JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XIV.

1927

PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIV

LECTURES AND PAPERS

		PART	PAGE
Air Route to India, The	By Col. H. Burchall, D.S.O.	i.	3
American Financial Mission to Persia, The	By Agnes Conway	iv.	334
Anniversary Meeting		iv.	373
Annual Dinner		iv.	376
Bayezid Ansari, The Story of, Founder of the Sect of Roshanias	Compiled by Alif Shabnam	i.	72
Education in Iraq	By Agnes Conway	iv.	344
Ferments in the World of Islam	By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah	ii.	130
Five Years' Progress in Iraq	By Ja'far Pasha el Askeri, C.M.G.	i.	62
Italian Red Sea Colonies, The	By Comm. Luigi Villari	ii.	115
Karakoram Himalayas, The	By Captain B. K. Featherstone	ii.	165
Lost Lands of Ophir, The	By Commander C. Crauford	iii.	227
Notes on the Motor Route to India	By Captain B. K. Featherstone	ii.	181
On the Trail of Ancient Man in Central Asia, Notes on a Lecture	By Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews	i.	43
Overland Route from China to India, The	By Captain F. Kingdon Ward	iii.	213
Persian Affairs	By Captain B. K. Featherstone	ii.	177
Position in China, The	By E. M. Gull	ii.	147
Railways in Persia	By Agnes Conway	iv.	340
Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee	By R. L. N. M.	iv.	349
Republic of China, The	By Professor P. J. Bruce	iii.	258
Struggle and Intrigue in Central Asia, A Story of	By R. L. N. M.	iv.	359
Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, The	By Captain G. J. Eccles	i.	19
Syed Ahmed, The Story of, Mosstrooper, Freebooter, Saint and Crescentader	By Alif Shabnam	iv.	369
Syria, Notes on a Lecture	By H. Charles Woods	ii.	103
Tatar Domination of Asia, The	By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B.	iv.	319
Transjordania, A Note on	By R. L. N. M.	iv.	346
Waziristan	By Major-General A. Le G. Jacob, C.B.	iii.	238

REVIEWS

		PART	PAGE
Afghanistan:	Beyond the Khyber Pass	ii.	201
	Unter der Glutsonne Irans	iii.	296
Asia:	The Changing East	i.	77
	The Islamic World since the Peace Settlement	iv.	389
	Der Kampf um Asien (i.)	ii.	191
	” ” (ii.)	iii.	277
	The Revolt of Asia	iii.	294
Arabia:	Arabic Literature, an Introduction	i.	89
	The Darvishes	ii.	193
	The Revolt in the Desert	iii.	282
	The Wilderness of Sinai	iii.	301
	Loghat el-Arab	i.	89
Iraq:	Ancient Cities of Iraq	ii.	204
	Mesopotamian Campaign (Vol. IV.)	iii.	302
Palestine:	Land Problems in Palestine	ii.	206
	Prophets, Priests, and Patriarchs	iv.	401
Syria:	Cedars, Saints and Sinners in Syria	i.	92
	The Middle East	i.	90
Central Asia:	Among the Karakorum Glaciers	i.	84
	Chinese Central Asia	i.	83
	In Himalayan Tibet	i.	87
	The Riddle of the Tsangpo Gorges	i.	94
China:	China and her Political Entity	iii.	290
	China in Revolt	iv.	393
	China in Turmoil	iv.	391
	China of Today	iii.	293
	In China	ii.	189
	On the Trail of Ancient Man	i.	81
India:	A Book of South India	iii.	285
	An Indian Career	iii.	285
	Mother India	iv.	385
	A Pageant of India	iii.	289
	Sir Pratab Singh	iii.	287
	Beyond the Khyber Pass	ii.	201
Assam:	The Ao Nagas	ii.	195
Minorities:	The People of Ararat	i.	93
	Moscou et la Georgie Martyre	iii.	305
Memoirs:	Leaves from a Viceroy's Notebook	ii.	200
	Letters of Gertrude Bell	iv.	403
	Memoirs of Halidé Edib	ii.	202
Persia:	Suhail	iv.	407
	Unter der Glutsonne Irans	iii.	296
Siam:	An Asian Arcady	iii.	295
	A History of Siam	iii.	296
Miscellaneous:	The Himalayan Letters of Gipsy Davy	ii.	205
	The Mosque of the Roses	iii.	299
	The Travels of Marco Polo	i.	98

JOURNAL
OF THE
CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XIV.

1927

PART I.

[illegible]

CONTENTS.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1926-1927.
THE AIR ROUTE TO INDIA. By Colonel H. Burchall, D.S.O.
THE SULTANATE OF MUSCAT AND ‘OMAN. By Captain G. J. Eccles, I.A.
ON THE TRAIL OF ANCIENT MAN IN CENTRAL ASIA. By Roy Chapman Andrews, D.Sc.
FIVE YEARS' PROGRESS IN IRAQ. By Ja‘far Pasha el Askeri, C.M.G.
THE STORY OF BÁYEZID ANSÁRI, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS PIR-I-ROSHAN AND FOUNDER OF THE SECT OF ROSHANIAS. Compiled by Alif Shabnam.
REVIEWS:
The Changing East. On the Trail of Ancient Man. Chinese Central Asia. Among the Kara-Korum Glaciers. An Unexplored Pass. In Himalayan Tibet. Arabic Literature: An Introduction. Loghat el-Arab. The Middle East. Cedars, Saints and Sinners in Syria. The People of Ararat. The Riddle of the Tsangpo Gorges. Central Asiatic Expeditions of the American Museum of Natural History, under the Leadership of Roy Chapman Andrews. The Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian.
LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED IN OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER.
BOOK NOTICES.

PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1

own Empire but by the world in general, there is perhaps some justification in agreeing to tell of what we hope to do, instead of waiting until we can speak of what we have done.

It is natural that the first Empire route should arouse great interest, for ever since the war, which developed aviation at such an enormous speed, and, stimulated by Sir Alan Cobham's wonderful flights, great expectations have been cherished that regular aeroplane services would bring the far-flung parts of the Empire nearer together, and knit even more firmly together the peoples that compose it.

Civil aviation is destined to play an increasingly important part in the history of the world, and it would be most regrettable if the British Empire, which perhaps needs civil aviation most, should be behind other nations in its development. The United States of America has its transcontinental air line, operated, it is true, by the air service, and carrying only mail; France has its long line from Paris to Constantinople, which it keenly wishes to extend to Baghdad, and its lines from France and Portugal to North Africa; while Germany, unable under the terms of the Peace Treaty to have an air force, appears to have unlimited money to spend on the development of civil aviation. Already over forty internal lines are in operation. Through an associated company a line is run to Moscow, and some experimental flights through Siberia to Peking have actually been made. Another route also is to run through from Stuttgart to Madrid. Belgium has its long line in the Belgian Congo, and the Dutch, in addition to their European services, are planning to run a long line in the Dutch East Indies in 1928.

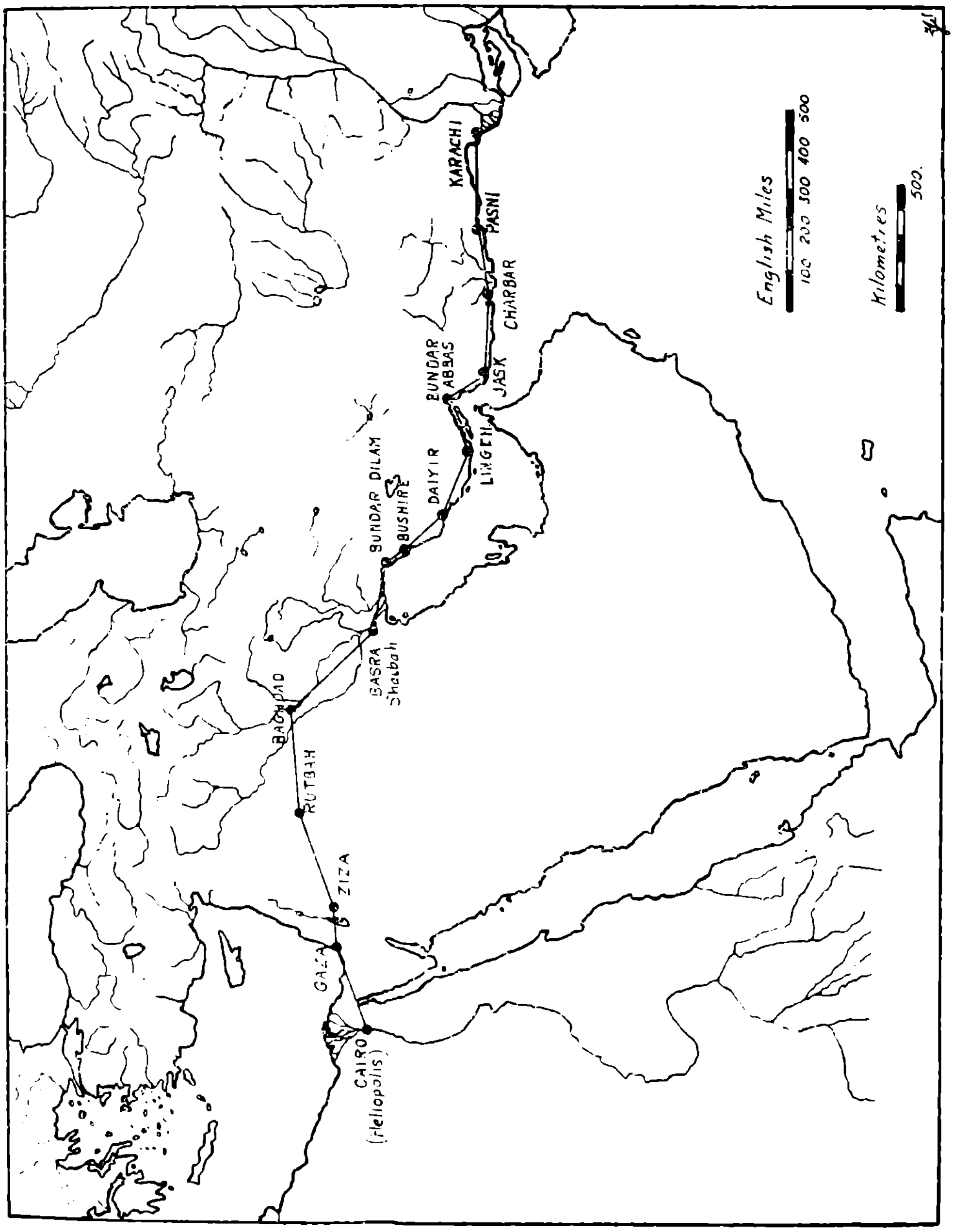
It is therefore a source of some satisfaction that in addition to the British European services (which are certainly not inferior to the services of other countries), the Cairo-Karachi line is about to be opened, and that already there are two most successful and highly creditable Australian services, one of them running from Perth to Derby, a distance of over 1,400 miles. Clearly, then, it should be only a matter of time for the English and Australian companies, perhaps with the assistance of India, Burma, and the Federated Malay States, to connect and provide a through service from England to Australia.

Apart from the Imperial aspect of the establishment of the Cairo-Karachi route, and eventually the England-Australia route, there does not appear to be any doubt that a new and fast means of communication from one country to another develops trade, and therefore instead of injuring the existing and slower means of transport actually benefits them.

The telegraph and telephone do not appear to have anything but a good effect upon postal traffic, and it is hoped that in a similar way the air service will work in harmony with all other forms of transport to the benefit of them all.

A form of transport that operates at 100 miles an hour must have its special use, but it can scarcely be expected to be no more expensive than a 15 to 30 mile an hour system, and, in fact, it provides a faster service but at a higher cost.

SAVING OF TIME.—Comparing the speed of a ship and an aeroplane suggests to the mind a very much greater saving of time than is actually achieved, since a ship steams night and day, whereas an aeroplane, at present, travels only during daylight hours, and needs periodical stops for refuelling. The comparison, therefore, is a ship travelling for twenty-four hours at, say, 15 miles an hour, or 360 miles a day, and an aeroplane flying for, say, eight hours at 90 miles an hour, or 720 miles a day. Under present circumstances, therefore, a journey by air should save half the time occupied by a ship, and since fast passenger


KARACHI
PASNI
CHARBAR
JASK
BUNDAR ABBAS
LINGEH
DAIYIR
BUSHIRE
BUNDAR DILAM
BASRA
Shaibah
BAGHDAD
RUTBAH
ZIZA
GAZA
CAIRO
(Heliopolis)
English Miles
100 200 300 400 500
Kilometres
500

trains maintain a somewhat higher average speed, rather less than half the normal time taken by a long-distance passenger train. Quite evidently, therefore, the air service between Egypt and India, if it can be regular and reliable, should be of considerable value for passengers to whom time is of importance, for mail, documents, and certain classes of merchandise. It is, however, imperative, if the desired ends are to be attained, that regularity and reliability should be assured.

AIR ROUTE RELIABILITY.—On the European routes of the company the following regularity was achieved in 1925: Total flights commenced, 4,179; completed same day uninterrupted, 3,888; completed same day after interruption, 148; not completed, 143. Percentage completed uninterrupted, 93.

While the percentage of flights completed without interruption is, perhaps, not as good as is maintained by the older forms of transport, it is of sufficiently high an order to justify air travel being accepted as a reliable method of transport, and it is interesting to examine the causes of interruption to estimate if the same degree of reliability is likely to be attained on the Cairo-Karachi route. In Europe 52 per cent. of the interruptions are due to weather, 33 per cent. to engine installation failure, and the balance to other causes. The "weather" interruptions in Europe are chiefly fog and low cloud, which are much less evident in the Middle East. The engine installation failures, it must be remembered, have occurred in a fleet of one, two, and three engined aircraft fitted with engines of four different types. Most of the engines are water-cooled, and the water-cooling system accounts for about one-third of the failures. The Cairo-Karachi route will be run with a fleet of new machines fitted with air-cooled engines, which thus have one serious possibility of failure eliminated, of a type that has already been tested under official observation for 25,000 miles without a failure of any sort. With the company's accumulated experience, and engines of the latest type that have been subjected to the most rigorous tests, the engine failures should be very considerably reduced; and since the aeroplanes will be equipped with three engines, and will be able to continue in flight with any one of the engines stopped, the degree of machine reliability should approach very closely the 100 per cent. mark, while the weather interruptions should be materially less, unless any special difficulties occur on this route that do not occur on the European services.

THE ROUTE TO BE FOLLOWED—EGYPT TO PALESTINE.—Let us, then, examine the actual route and see the climatic and topographical conditions to be encountered.

From Cairo the route lies along the edge of the Delta, and crosses the Suez Canal, and then follows the Palestine railway to Gaza. On this section navigation is simple; there are no mountains to cross, and the heat is not intense even in midsummer, fog is practically unknown, and winds and thunderstorms are no worse than are encountered in Europe. It may be asked, Why do we not go via Jerusalem? The hilly nature of the country in Central Palestine answers the question. There was an aerodrome at Jerusalem during the war, but it is not suitable for big commercial machines.

PALESTINE TO TRANSJORDAN.—From Gaza eastward the Jordan Hills have to be crossed, but as they do not reach a greater height than 3,000 feet they do not offer a serious obstacle. It would, of course, have been desirable to have made a halt at Amman, the capital of Transjordan, but the aerodrome is much less suitable than that at Ziza, where there is an almost perfect surface.

TRANSJORDAN TO IRAQ.—From Ziza in Transjordan the desert begins and extends for 500 miles to the Euphrates. The western side is a plateau at an average altitude of 2,000 feet, and no complete information is available of the meteorological conditions. The height of the ground above sea-level and the heat experienced in the summer are conditions that have not been encountered in civil aviation in Europe, and call for aeroplanes with a greater reserve of power than is necessary in Europe. In addition high winds, thunderstorms, and sandstorms are not unknown. Navigation over this section is also more difficult, firstly owing to the sparsity of the meteorological information, and secondly to the absence of readily identified landmarks. Both factors introduce a difficulty in making the necessary correction to the compass course to allow for the drift produced by unknown and possibly varying wind. If there were no wind a compass bearing would be sufficient for navigation purposes. To give a readily appreciated illustration of the stretch from Ziza to Ramadi on the Euphrates, it may be mentioned that the distance is the equivalent of London to Aberdeen, and that there is water throughout the year at practically only one place, the equivalent of York in point of position but in nothing else. When the R.A.F. first started the cross-desert air-mail a double furrow track was ploughed across the desert, and thus provided a continuous landmark, and so long as this furrow is kept in sight a pilot has no need for navigation as generally understood.

The only disadvantage of the furrow is that it is by no means readily picked up again if sight of it should have been lost. We who follow the R.A.F. in establishing the cross-desert air service as a commercial undertaking have the greatest respect for what was done by the R.A.F., and are more than pleased to have the opportunity of expressing our admiration of their work which alone has made it possible for us to undertake the organization of this service. We follow with the difficulties greatly reduced. Originally the R.A.F. flew from Ramadi to Amman—with two emergency petrol dumps in the desert. When we start operations there will be a police post with hotel accommodation, petrol supplies, wireless station, and meteorological instruments and resident engineers at Rutbah in the middle of the desert, and we therefore, instead of having to negotiate a stretch of 500 miles of desert, will have the 500 miles divided into two sections of 250 miles each. While, therefore, the desert section is perhaps the most difficult on the route, careful organization will leave nothing but the spice of adventure in the trip.

I should, perhaps, mention that all across the desert emergency landing-grounds have been made at intervals of about twenty miles. The desert formation is very curious. In one place the ground is covered with basalt boulders for about sixty miles. At various points there are mud flats, which are just like solidified muddy lakes. Whether they are the craters of extinct volcanoes, or merely depressions that have been filled up by constant washing down of soil from higher levels, I must leave the geologists to determine. They make, however, excellent landing-grounds. At another point there are lakes of bitumen, and yet again various hills with a crowning of basalt.

THE IRAQ RIVER VALLEY.—From Baghdad to Basra navigation is simple, and no special difficulties are encountered except sandstorms, which, however, can generally be forecast with reasonable accuracy. They are the equivalent of fogs in Europe, and will have precisely similar effects upon the regularity of the service. Fortunately they are less frequent than fog in Europe, and their incidence elsewhere is less than on this section where the country is soft alluvial soil. In the summer the heat will be trying, and will require a greater reserve of power for " taking off," but once a height of 4,000 or 5,000 feet has been attained, which can be done in about ten to fifteen minutes, a much more pleasant temperature and a calmer atmosphere is reached.

PERSIA TO INDIA.—From Basra to Bushire, and in fact on to Bandar Abbas, Charbar and Karachi the coast is followed, and navigation presents no difficulties whatever. It is true hills come right down to the sea in places, and the coastal plain is swampy in others, but so long as two of the three engines with which our machines will be equipped function, no difficulties are to be expected. High winds, however, on this section are not uncommon, and the monsoon region extends between Charbar and Karachi, and bad weather and a certain amount of fog is to be expected at times, with occasional gales, heavy rain and thunder. It will be remembered that Sir Alan Cobham met bad weather on this section, but it is doubtful whether in the aggregate the weather here is worse than in Europe during the winter. Fortunately the humidity that is so oppressive on the ground becomes less with increased height, and travelling by air is very much more comfortable than by sea or land.

Thus taking the route as a whole it may be said that navigation presents no special difficulty, and the weather conditions, although different from those in Europe, should have no more serious an effect on the regularity of operation. It is to be expected, therefore, that a reliability of 95 per cent. will be attained.

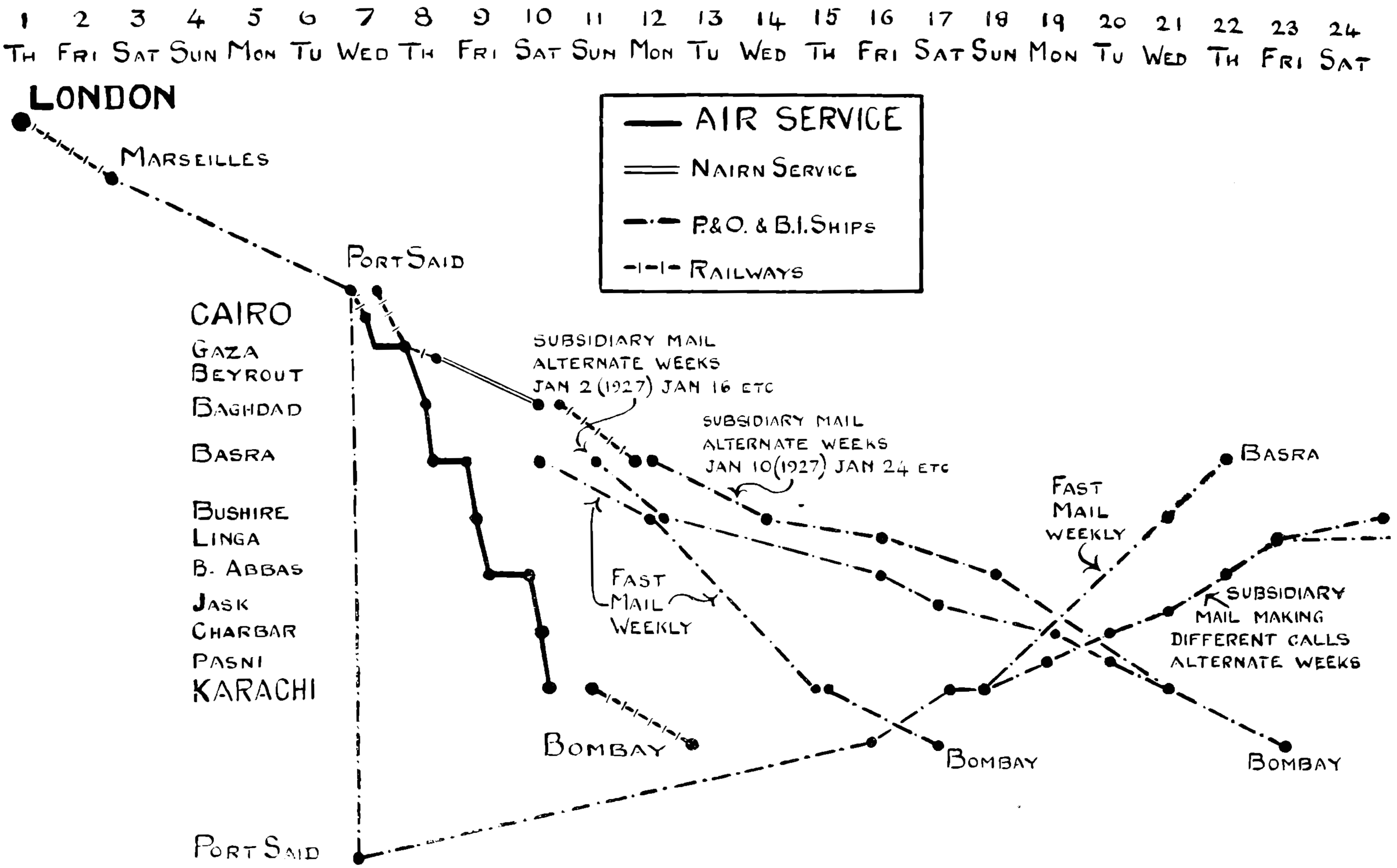
THE MACHINES TO BE USED.—One of the chief advantages of aircraft is that they can fly a direct course over mountains, valleys, sea, swamp and desert; but this very fact brings in its train the disadvantage that in the event of a forced descent alternative methods of transport may not be available. To avoid this disadvantage Imperial Airways are using only three-engined machines, which will fly on any two of the engines, and they have gone to great trouble to select an engine that offers great promise of reliability—the Bristol Jupiter, a nine-cylinder air-cooled radial. The machine, too, is being specially designed by the De Havilland Company to suit the conditions to be encountered.

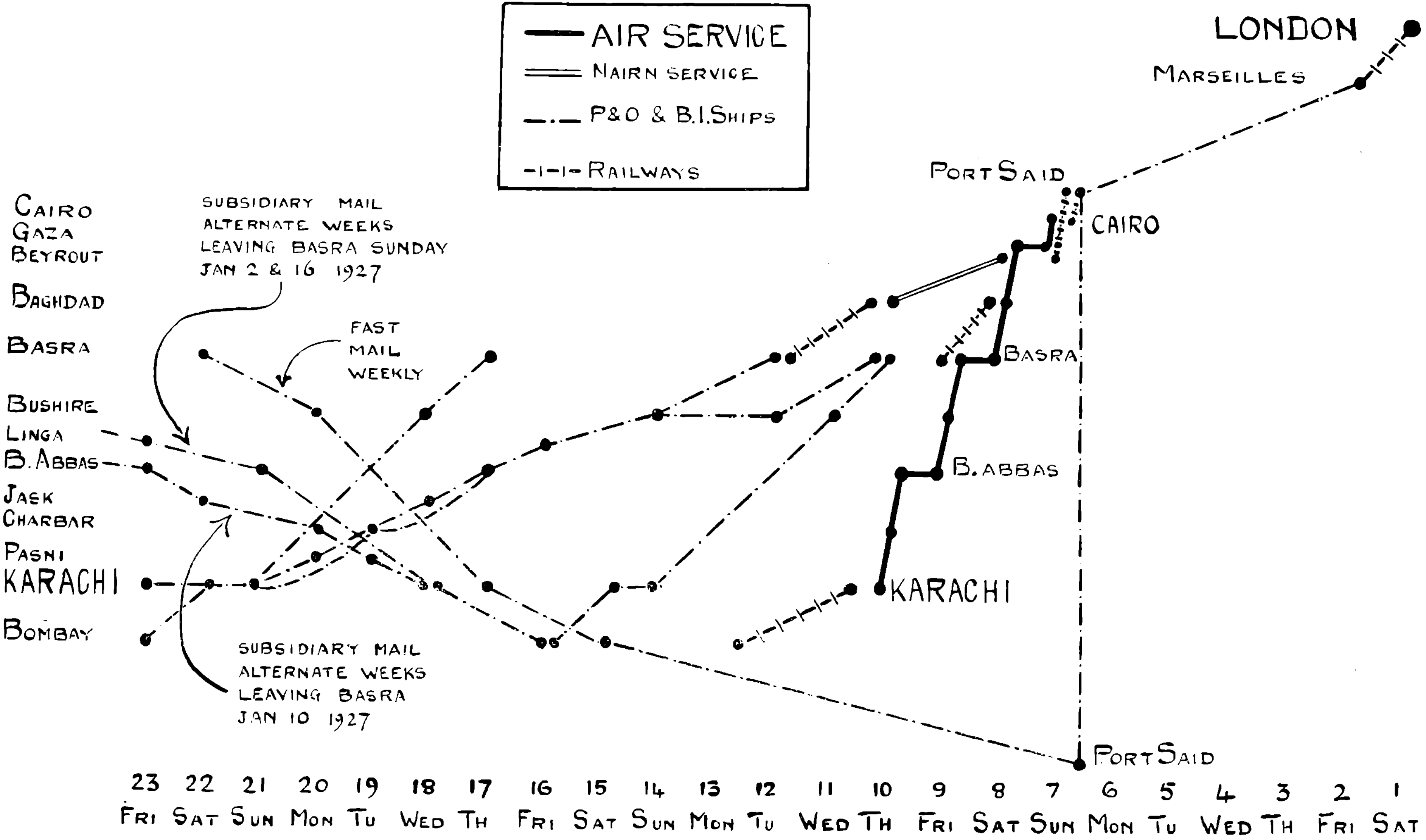
Briefly, the machines will be 80 feet span, 60 feet long and 18 feet high. They will have a top speed of 125 miles an hour, and a cruising speed of 95 to 100 miles per hour, and will be able, if necessary or desirable, to reach a height of 17,000 feet. The cabins will be 16 feet 6 inches long by 4 feet 3 inches wide by 6 feet 5 inches high, and will be capable of seating fourteen passengers. Special provision is being made for warming the cabins in winter and keeping them cool in summer, and for ventilating them at all times. The machines will carry 300 gallons of petrol, which will be sufficient to fly for about five hours or about 450 miles. Each engine will develop 425 horse-power, so that each machine will have well over 1,200 horse-power available.

IMPERIAL AIRWAYS' EXPERIENCE.—All the accumulated experience of the operation of air transport on Imperial Airways European routes will be used in the organization of the Cairo-Karachi route. The system of engine and aeroplane maintenance in force at Croydon, which has won the approval of all competent observers, will be adopted, and will there, as at Croydon, be such as to satisfy an independent, highly qualified and experienced official of the Aeronautical Inspection Department of the Air Ministry. Each machine will be certified as airworthy by a qualified engineer before it is allowed to undertake a flight. Certain routine will be carried out after every flight, and at predetermined intervals engines will be changed and completely overhauled, while after a specific number of hours flying, or the lapse of a certain time (whichever happens first), the whole machine will be subjected to a complete overhaul.

Before they are accepted by the Company all Imperial pilots must have had great flying experience, and must also obtain an Air Ministry licence for flying with passengers, and thereafter submit to strict medical examination at least once in six months.

Government control of pilots and engineers licences, certificates of airworthiness and pilots medical examination, has the Company's cordial approval, since it conduces to the excellent record established


1 Th
2 Fri
3 Sat
4 Sun
5 Mon
6 Tu
7 Wed
8 Th
9 Fri
10 Sat
11 Sun
12 Mon
13 Tu
14 Wed
15 Th
16 Fri
17 Sat
18 Sun
19 Mon
20 Tu
21 Wed
22 Th
23 Fri
24 Sat
AIR SERVICE
Nairn Service
P.&O. & B.I. Ships
Railways
LONDON
Marseilles
Port Said
CAIRO
Gaza
Beyrout
Baghdad
Basra
Bushire
Linga
B. Abbas
Jask
Charbar
Pasni
KARACHI
Port Said
Bombay
Subsidiary mail alternate weeks Jan 2 (1927) Jan 16 etc
Subsidiary mail alternate weeks Jan 10 (1927) Jan 24 etc
Fast Mail Weekly
Fast Mail Weekly
Bombay
Basra
Subsidiary mail making different calls alternate weeks
Bombay


AIR SERVICE
NAIRN SERVICE
P&O & B.I. SHIPS
RAILWAYS
LONDON
MARSEILLES
PORT SAID
CAIRO
BASRA
B. ABBAS
KARACHI
PORT SAID
CAIRO
GAZA
BEYROUT
BAGHDAD
BASRA
BUSHIRE
LINGA
B. ABBAS
JASK
CHARBAR
PASNI
KARACHI
BOMBAY
SUBSIDIARY MAIL ALTERNATE WEEKS LEAVING BASRA SUNDAY JAN 2 & 16 1927
FAST MAIL WEEKLY
SUBSIDIARY MAIL ALTERNATE WEEKS LEAVING BASRA JAN 10 1927
23 FRI
22 SAT
21 SUN
20 MON
19 TU
18 WED
17 TH
16 FRI
15 SAT
14 SUN
13 MON
12 TU
11 WED
10 TH
9 FRI
8 SAT
7 SUN
6 MON
5 TU
4 WED
3 TH
2 FRI
1 SAT

(See p. 15.)

on the British services of no accident involving the slightest injury to a passenger since 1924.

METEOROLOGICAL STATIONS.—In Europe meteorological stations are numerous, and observations are broadcast practically throughout the twenty-four hours. These reports greatly assist the experts of the Air Ministry to forecast the weather that is to be expected on the air routes. The forecasts are now remarkably accurate for the periods occupied by flights, and to obtain the same advantages on the India route a number of stations are being established, as shown on the map. These stations will be able to warn pilots of the direction and force of the wind to be expected at various heights, the presence of cloud, sandstorm, or thunder, and so enable them to take advantage of favourable and avoid unfavourable conditions.

THE USE OF RADIO TELEGRAPHY.—Wireless communication is also of incalculable value. It permits rapid passage of information from one ground station to another on weather, traffic requirements, and any other subject of importance connected with the service; and as every machine will be fitted with transmission and reception apparatus will permit the flight of a machine to be followed both by the aerodrome of departure and that of destination, and will permit them to pass to the pilot any desired information of sudden weather changes, etc.

It might be mentioned that wireless telegraphy will be used on this route in preference to telephony, as the range is greater and the messages more certain in an atmosphere liable to electrical disturbances. In view of the fewer machines wishing to use the wireless facilities in these parts, the lower speed of passing messages by telegraphy will not be a material disadvantage.

It is perhaps needless to say that for navigation purposes the machines will be fitted with all the instruments used in Europe, including the "turn indicator," which enables a pilot to remain on a proper course and in perfect trim even, as when flying in cloud, he is unable to see any horizon.

THE RELATION OF LOAD AND DISTANCE.—British civil aeroplanes are licensed to carry a specific load according to their type, and this load includes crew, petrol, oil, passengers, baggage, freight, mail, and, in fact, every item that is put into them. Accordingly, in order that the permissible weight is not exceeded, everything is weighed prior to embarkation. It will be obvious, therefore, that with a greater supply of petrol on board less accommodation is available for passengers and freight. Thus, if unequal stages are adopted, fewer passengers can be carried where greater petrol capacity is required, and the number of through passengers is governed by the capacity on the longest stage.

The passengers carried become less and less as the length of flight is increased, until, in the hypothetical case, the machine which would carry 3,000 lbs., or fifteen passengers, over a 300-mile flight, will carry nothing but the pilot, engineer, and the necessary petrol for an 800-mile flight. On the European routes flights of about 250 miles are the rule; and in deciding for the Indian route what stages to adopt we have many factors to consider — passengers' convenience, the available aerodromes, important trade centres, anticipated traffic requirements, any special equipment that must be carried, reduction in speed that would be caused by frequent refuelling, cost of providing refuelling points away from trade centres, and winds to be expected. On the last point it may be noted that, although ground distance is fixed, air distance is variable. Thus, if a distance on the ground is 100 miles, the time required to fly over it at 100 m.p.h. in still air will be 1 hour, but against a wind of 20 m.p.h. the speed over the ground will be reduced to 80 m.p.h., and the time required to cover 100 miles is then 1 hour 15 minutes.

FLIGHT STAGES.—I need not go into all our deliberations on this subject, but we have decided to adopt the following stages :

			Miles.
Cairo	to	Gaza	212
Gaza	,,	Ziza	91
Ziza	,,	Rutbah	274
Rutbah	,,	Baghdad	241
Baghdad	,,	Basra	300
Basra	,,	Bushire	218
Bushire	,,	Lingeh*	304
Lingeh	,,	Bandar Abbas	97
Bandar Abbas	,,	Charbar	335
Charbar	,,	Pasni	170
Pasni	,,	Karachi	250

It would have been a great convenience if we could have made a halt near Port Said to pick up passengers from the P. and O.'s; but no civil aerodrome can be found near Port Said, and political considerations prohibit the use of other aerodromes in the Canal zone.

In addition to the above landing grounds we are providing a number of other emergency refuelling points for use when high winds are encountered.

It may also be mentioned that, as we cannot at present change the engines of an aeroplane as the horses of stage-coaches were changed, we shall run the route in relays of machines as well as in relays of pilots. The scheme of operation has been carefully worked out so that no machine or pilot flies too long at a stretch, that adequate time is available for rest and adjustment, and that each machine returns in regular sequence to the main workshops for regular attention.

THE TIME-TABLE.—Having now briefly touched upon the country

---

* On the west-bound flight the stage will be :

			Miles.
Bandar Abbas	to	Daiyir	301
Daiyir	,,	Bushire	100

over which we have to fly, the conditions to be met, the refuelling points to be adopted, and the machines to be used, we can examine the time-table of flight in each direction.

As the stage from England to Egypt is not at present being done by air, it has been considered essential to arrange the air time-table to connect both outward and homeward with the arrivals and departures of the P. and O. liners at Port Said, so that the through journey between England and India may be completed in the shortest possible time. Night flying is not being included in our programme at present, and therefore the total flying per day is limited to the daylight hours.

TABLE OF TIMES ON SECTIONS

ON REVISED MILEAGE ADOPTED 12/10/26

	Miles.*	At 75.	At 80.	At 85.	At 90.	At 95.	At 100.	At 105.	Time Variation.
CAIRO–GAZA ...	221	2·58	2·45	2·36	2·27	2·20	2·13	2·06	12
GAZA–RUTBAH ...	377·4	†5·02	4·43	4·26	4·11	3·58	3·46	3·36	24
RUTBAH–BAGHDAD	250·9	3·21	3·08	2·57	2·47	2·45	2·31	2·23	16
BAGHDAD–BASRA	311·1	4·09	3·53	3·40	3·27	3·16	3·07	2·58	13
BASRA–BUSHIRE ...	227·5	3·02	2·50	2·41	2·31	2·24	2·17	2·10	12
BUSHIRE–B. ABBAS	419·2	†5·36	†5·14	4·56	4·39	4·25	4·12	3·59	22
B. ABBAS–CHARBAR	346·8	4·37	4·20	4·05	3·51	3·39	3·28	3·18	19
CHARBAR–KARACHI	438·6	†5·50	†5·29	†5·10	4·52	4·37	4·23	4·11	24
Total		34·35	32·22	30·31	28·55	27·24	25·57	24·41	2·22
Total time going East by the clock		36·57	34·44	32·53	31·17	29·46	28·19	27·03	—
Total time going West by the clock		32·13	30·00	28·09	26·33	25·02	23·35	22·19	—

* Miles are computed as ground distance + 5 miles for circling aerodrome + 2 per cent. for error.

† Shows stages where stage cannot be completed on fuel capacity without refuelling at an intermediate halt. Based on a consumption of 60 gallons per hour.

At midsummer the sun rises at 5 a.m. and sets at 7, and at midwinter rises at 7 and sets at 5. We have, therefore, a maximum of fourteen hours daylight and a minimum of ten hours. Now as the route lies roughly east and west, daylight is lost going east and gained going west. Further, the average wind throughout the year is ten to fifteen miles an hour from the west or north-west. Our machines will have a cruising speed of 95 miles an hour; and in working out our time-table we have made allowance for the normal unfavourable winds, but have not taken advantage of the help that favourable winds will give. The table above gives the distances of the main stages, and the times taken at various speeds, and the daylight gained or lost. We have assumed what we think will be the normal speeds realized on the various sections, and have made allowance for the various stops for refuelling, and have compiled a time-table which we expect to be able to realize from April onwards when our whole fleet has been delivered. Between January and April we shall be forced to run a restricted service as far as Basra only, and we have allowed slightly more margin of time for our initial service.

As you doubtless know, the Company's contract with the Government calls for a fortnightly service, and the service will leave Basra for Cairo every alternate Friday, commencing on January 7, and will leave Cairo for Basra every alternate Wednesday, commencing on January 12.

FARES.—The time-table without a table of fares leaves the picture incomplete, and I have accordingly included a provisional table of fares, which will enable the cost from any point to any other point to be ascertained. It should be noted that at Gaza, Basra, and Bundar Abbas, where no suitable hotel accommodation exists, the Company will provide rest-house accommodation, and they will also provide food on the journey.

ACTUAL TIME SAVED.—In comparing the fares with the alternative means of travel, the saving of time and the relative comfort will doubtless be taken into consideration. The charts on pages 10 and 11 seek to show in a graphic manner the saving of time achieved from any one point to any other. It will be noted that the saving of time varies according to the place in India the traveller wishes to reach; but if the air route could be extended to Delhi—and to do so would not involve the provision of additional machines—the saving of time would be increased to seven days, as from Karachi Delhi can be reached in one day's flying across the Sind Desert. You may ask, Why do we not then extend the line to Delhi? The answer is that civil aviation at present unfortunately cannot be carried on on its traffic receipts alone, and the subsidy provided by the British Government does not permit of any extension into India; but if, as we expect, a regular and reliable service can be provided as far as Karachi, we trust that the Indian Government will desire to have the line extended to the capital of the Indian Empire.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS.—I have endeavoured to give you an insight into the problems we have to face in organizing this service, and I trust I have made it clear that we have approached the problem in no happy-go-lucky frame of mind, but with a full realization of the conditions with which we shall have to contend, and have in our preparations taken all possible precautions to ensure success. We therefore, even at this early stage, look forward with confidence to further developments when once these initial plans have been proved. We shall not rest content until we have connected the European services with the India service, and stretched further out to provide a through service to Australia, but undoubtedly the next development will be night flying, which will still further increase the time saved on the present Cairo-Karachi route. Night flying is not hazardous, and, in fact, it needs only adequate ground organization, wireless, and navigation lighthouses to make it immediately realizable. It has already been done experimentally between London and Paris, and is in regular operation in America and Germany, and can be adopted by us when traffic warrants its adoption.

In conclusion, I should like to pay a humble tribute to the Secretary of State for Air for what he has done for this service, and to Lady Maude Hoare, for the wonderful inauguration that will be given to the service by her trip with the Secretary of State on the first of our machines to fly to India. We highly appreciate this confidence in our organization.

It would be extremely ungenerous not to record the continuous and the great work that the Director of Civil Aviation, Sir Sefton Brancker, is doing for British civil aviation, and we trust that we shall worthily follow up the magnificent work done by him and his staff at the Air Ministry in connection with civil aviation.

Finally, without the pioneer work done in the Middle East by the R.A.F., and without the assistance we have received from them in our preliminary work, it would not have been possible for us to have contemplated opening our service in January, 1927.

Captain Acland: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel it to be a great privilege and pleasure to say a few words regarding the admirable paper which Colonel Burchall has delivered to us this afternoon.

He is very shortly leaving England to take up his post, and I think we should be grateful to him for finding time to prepare such a deeply interesting and detailed résumé of the organization which is about to start operating the Cairo-Karachi Air Route.

Speaking as a member of the public, yet with inside knowledge, I am convinced that a better organization could not have been selected than Imperial Airways with their executive officer, Colonel Burchall, to organize and operate this new air line. They have demonstrated without doubt during the last few years that air services can be run with safety, comfort, and a high degree of regularity. Difficulties they have had; but theirs has been a story of steady progress, technical improvement, and constantly increasing traffic. This has been effected to a large extent by really good organization and attention to detail. It is insufficiently understood among the general public that the most vital work in connection with an air service is carried out on the ground; the aeroplanes and their engines have to be kept in perfect running order by a skilled staff, including inspectors, and only when they are satisfied should a machine be handed over to the pilot to fly. I think that Colonel Burchall has convinced us that in this direction his company has an ideal—and that is absolute reliability. To turn to our Society—I had the privilege some six years ago of speaking to you on air transport, and endeavoured to discuss the possibilities of this particular route. At that time, however, for political as well as for other reasons, it was impossible for private enterprise to make a start. We were fortunate in that our political chiefs and the higher command in the Royal Air Force realized the great imperial necessity for this line, and immediately the control of Iraq was taken over by the Royal Air Force this route was opened up and used for the transport of mails, etc., and a beginning made. The initial steps were described to us in Air Vice-Marshal Brooke-Popham's paper read before the Society. And now we find that the general security of this line is to be maintained by the Royal Air Force for the peaceful and secure passage of commerce. It is, indeed, a matter of the greatest interest and importance to find that, as with the sea, where the Navy protects the Mercantile Marine, so in the air the same development of policy is beginning to take place.

As regards the airship—you have heard the stages which will be served by the aeroplanes, and I think it opportune to say that with this beginning we can now consider the next step—namely, the linking up of the larger centres separated by greater distances, such as London, Cairo, Karachi, etc., by airships carrying the through traffic, and rapid distribution being effected from the great air junctions.

Finally, I think this evening we have a picture of progress before us, stimulating to the imagination, a quick means of transport both practical and feasible, and I do congratulate our Society on having arranged this talk at a time when the Imperial Conference is sitting; for, carrying the weight our members do, the effect on public opinion will be a stimulus to bring nearer the ideal for which so many of us are striving to-day, the knitting of our Empire closer together, and not least by making the fullest use of transport by air.

H.H. THE NAWAB OF DERA ISMAIL KHAN: It gives me great pleasure and honour to have heard the lecturer, and on behalf of Indians I say that we thank him and welcome the undertaking. We look forward to it as one of the blessings of the British rule that we are already enjoying, and will continue to enjoy. We thank the lecturer for all that he has given us, and for the lucid way he has shown it to us. We congratulate him on behalf of Indians and India. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am very glad that the Nawab of Dera Ismail Khan, whom we are all very pleased to see here to-day, has, on behalf of India, put in a word of appreciation for this great project. Nearly all of us here have connections in India and are interested in it, and this project will undoubtedly do a great deal to bring India into closer connection with this country, and will also be a great help not only to India but to those of our kith and kin serving there. It was therefore particularly appropriate that the Nawab Sahib should say something as to how this scheme would be appreciated by the people of India. But, as indicated by Colonel Burchall, the air-way should not stop short at Karachi, but should be pushed on to Delhi and Calcutta, and pave the way to the great scheme of linking up with Australia. Colonel Burchall referred to the fact that they had stopped short at Karachi for financial reasons, because no air service could at the start pay its way. He might enlighten us whether the Indian Government has done anything to subsidize the scheme or help it financially. It is obviously one the Indian Government should endeavour to foster and promote by all means in their power. It is not only a great gain to us to have this speedy connection with India, but a great security to India to be brought so much closer to England. I do not think any of us have listened to a lecture which has been characterized by so much lucidity, precision, and detail. (Applause.) The tables in particular at the end which Colonel Burchall showed us, as regards rates, distances, weights to be carried—including that of ladies, who do not like to be weighed in public (laughter)—were most informative, and showed, as one speaker pointed out, with what great care the whole scheme has been worked out. I am sure that any apprehensions any of us may have had as to undertaking the journey to India by air have been dissipated by Colonel Burchall to-day. Many of us are dying to make the five days' journey to Karachi and contrast it with the awful experience of travelling down the Red Sea, fighting the monsoon, and the unpleasant landing at Bombay, altogether taking ten, twelve, or fifteen days. I now ask you to pass a vote of thanks and of appreciation to the lecturer for the extraordinarily interesting lecture he has delivered to us, and the wonderful amount of information not only as to this particular route, but as to the work of air-ways in general, which he has been good enough to place at our disposal. (Applause.)

Colonel H. BURCHALL: Mr. Chairman, I thank you very much indeed for the way you received the lecture. It gives me great pleasure to tell you what I can about the air, as it is a subject on which my whole mind is centred at present. As to your point about the Indian Government and what they are doing towards this service I am not absolutely clear myself. Our negotiations have taken place with the Air Ministry, and any arrangements with the Indian Government are between the two Governments, and come outside our particular ken; but I have no doubt that as India has provided some financial help for the airship station, that we shall be getting a certain amount of assistance too, probably in the way of wireless facilities, housing, and land for our terminal aerodrome. I hope, however, that the time will come when they will want to give us more to extend our services into India. Very many thanks. (Renewed applause.)

THE SULTANATE OF MUSCAT AND 'OMAN*

WITH A DESCRIPTION OF A JOURNEY INTO THE INTERIOR UNDERTAKEN IN 1925

BY CAPTAIN G. J. ECCLES

GEOGRAPHICAL.—Although for some years public interest has been roused by events in Northern, Western, and Central Arabia, yet the large projecting corner on the south-east known as 'Oman has received practically no attention at all. Isolated by the Great Sand Desert to the westward from the rest of Arabia, she has been left alone to follow her own customs and feuds. Although she has been nominally subject at various periods to Persia, Baghdad, Portugal, and the Wahhabi kingdom of Central Arabia, yet these rulers have been for the most part content to hold the seaports and to levy taxes, and with the possible exception of the Wahhabis have had comparatively little influence on the life and habits of the tribes of the interior. Geographically 'Oman includes the Trucial coast to the north-west and the independent oasis of Biraimi, as well as Dhofar in the south. The latter, however, is at present kept by the Sultan purely as a summer resort to which he can escape when cares of State and his family's importunities become too burdensome. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the territory over which the Muscat Government claims suzerainty, though in fact the greater part of it is entirely independent.

---

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Wednesday, October 27, 1926, at 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, Sir Michael O'Dwyer (Chairman) presiding. A lecture was delivered by Captain G. J. Eccles, I.A., on "The Sultanate of Muscat and 'Oman."

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Council has to-day elected thirty-eight new members, the first being the Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin. The members include people from all parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe in which the Society is interested, beginning with China and ending with Nigeria. The subject for our address this evening is the Sultanate of Muscat and 'Oman. I fancy most of you, like myself, are blissfully ignorant of those delectable regions. Muscat, we know, is the place where the dates come from, and 'Oman is the place where the pearls come from; but by the time Captain Eccles has enlightened us, we shall know a great deal more than we do now about them. Captain Eccles is fortunate in having a unique experience of that coast of Arabia, so little known. From recent lectures we have come to know a good deal about the Hejaz, the Yemen, and even about Nejd; of the further side of Arabia we know very little. But within the last two years Captain Eccles, who is an officer of the Indian Army attached to the Sultan of Muscat, and in command of the Muscat levies, has had the opportunity of penetrating into the interior and carrying out a survey of the eastern side of Arabia. The results of that survey he will now put before us, and illustrate with an admirable series of slides which he has been fortunate enough to obtain.

The range of mountains which forms the backbone of ‘Oman begins at Ras Musandam and is known here as the Ru’ūs al-Jibal. This promontory includes the famous Malcolm and Elphinstone inlets, where the pirates of old used to hide, and is inhabited by an aboriginal tribe, the Shihuh, who are very primitive and speak a non-Arabic dialect. The mountain range continues in a curve parallel to the coast to Ras Al-Hadd, the south-eastern point of Arabia. The valleys on both sides of the ridge are studded with villages and cultivation in varying degrees.

Between Ru’us al-Jibal and a point some twenty miles along the coast west of Muscat the mountains recede from the sea and leave a coastal plain called the Baṭinah. Close to the shore of this plain date plantations run in a long continuous line. The population is very mixed. The villages on the shore are chiefly inhabited by Baluchi and negro fishermen. The Arabs live a little inland to look after the date groves and the grazing herds of camels and flocks of goats. Well-built but now for the most part ruined forts are dotted along the coast, in the most important of which live the Walis appointed by the Government of Muscat.

On the opposite side of the watershed lies the Dhahirah, a flat and stony plain sparsely covered with the usual prickly desert bushes and shrubs. It contains, however, many villages with excellent date plantations and gardens.

The hilly district to the west and south-west of Muscat on both sides of the watershed is ‘Oman proper and contains the Wadi Sama’il, which is the most populous part of the country with the possible exception of the above-mentioned Baṭinah plain. The local population when using the word ‘Oman always refer to this district.

Adjoining ‘Oman on the inner side of the mountains is the Sharqiyah, a network of small valleys running from the hills.

The coast to the south-east of Muscat is a mass of hills, the valleys of which are thinly populated by various tribes. The corner district is known as Ja‘alan.

The Dhahirah, ‘Oman proper, Sharqiyah, and Ja‘alan are all bordering on the great desert.

Muscat town is situated at the extremity of a small cove. The splendid little natural harbour is formed on the east by a long island which leaves only a narrow channel between it and the mainland, and on the west by a long spur of precipitous rock. On the land side it is surrounded by bare and bleak volcanic hills which greatly resemble those of Aden. There are no roads leading to the interior except narrow and rough footpaths suitable only for pedestrians and donkeys. All caravans to and from the interior use Matrah as the terminus, and goods have to be transported by sea between the two towns—a distance of two miles. The streets of Muscat are narrow, tortuous, and uneven.

There are several good though plain buildings, such as the Consulate, the Palace, and the leading merchants' houses. Mosques are plain, and there are no Minarets. Two picturesque and strongly built Portuguese forts stand one on each side of the sandy beach. They are built on cliffs some 150 feet above the sea, and were completed in 1587 and 1588. The population is very mixed. The majority are Baluchi. The negroes come next. The Arab community is comparatively small, though there are always many visitors from the interior. A community of Indian merchants has lived here for generations, as the local Arabs are very tolerant provided that those professing other faiths and following other sects do not interfere with them or speak disparagingly of their beliefs. The Hindus are allowed to celebrate their feasts just as if they were in their own country, by illuminating their houses and letting off fireworks, etc.

Before I leave Muscat I should like to make a small digression. Mr. Philby, in discussing in "The Heart of Arabia" the reliability of Palgrave's account of his visit to Muscat, quotes a remark made by Colonel S. B. Miles to Sir William Haggard, in which the Colonel stated that Palgrave talks about a road up the great precipice which overlooks the harbour of Muscat. Let me quote Palgrave in the only paragraph to which this can apply : "I had gone on an early walk and was sauntering on between the gardens and wells at the roadside where high rocks shut out the further view to right and left." So far he is absolutely right. He was walking up the bed of the Wadi Kabir, in which lie the wells which are Muscat's water supply and where are the gardens of the town. Here he met three inhabitants of the Jabal Akhdhar and accompanied them. To quote again : "During about two hours our way led across the rough hills which encircle Muscat from the land side, till we passed the last isolated fort on their heights and began to descend by a narrow gorge on the level lands to the south." This is an excellent description of the usual path taken by pedestrians who have no caravans and therefore need not go round to Matrah to reach the broader and more level track. I have several times traversed all the routes along which Palgrave states he passed in ‘Oman. Beneath his highly coloured imaginative views and his inaccurate nomenclature, there still remains an atmosphere of verisimilitude which I find it difficult to believe he could have created if he had written only from hearsay evidence. I therefore disagree with Philby in his aspersions on Palgrave's veracity.

Two miles to the west of Muscat lies al-Matrah, the gate of the interior. In the centre of the town facing the sea the Khoja community is found. Originally from the Hyderabad Sind district of India, the majority are followers of the Agha Khan. Their houses are built in a square mass with all the doors inward, thus forming a large fort which can only be entered by two gates—one in front on the sea shore, and the other at the back. They allow no outsiders to enter except their Baluchi servants.

The next port of importance is Sohar, the ancient capital of ‘Oman, 120 miles west of Muscat. It is a straggling town, and contains a walled-in bazaar and a large fort. Saiyid Thawaini, who was Sultan when Palgrave visited Muscat, was murdered here, and his body was entombed in one of the rooms of the fort. The present Wali is the Sultan's half-brother, and administers the western half of the Baṭinah plain.

The only other large port is Sur, eighty miles south-east of Muscat. This is at the moment the most flourishing port in ‘Oman, and should produce revenue not far short of Muscat. But the town itself is distracted by the continuous feud of the four sections of the Jannabah, who live each in a different quarter, and snipe one another. The Wali lives in his fort, and is esteemed of no account at all. The control of the port and district is at present in the hands of the Shaikh of the Bani Bu ‘Ali, who likes to call himself Amir al-Ja‘alan. He has lately been writing to the Government of India, objecting to receiving letters from the Political Agent at Muscat, and insisting on corresponding as an independent sovereign direct with the Government.

Political.—As the present political situation in ‘Oman originated to a great extent in the old tribal divisions, I must give a very brief and incomplete résumé of the history of the country.

The earliest Arab settlers were of Qahtani or Yamani stock, and came some before and some after the bursting of the great dam of Marib, which took place in the first century of our era. These were followed by further streams of Ishmaelite or ‘Adnani Arabs, who settled for the most part in the northern provinces. The two stocks, the Qahtani and ‘Adnani, have always been at feud with one another, and the strife, intensified by religious animosity, reached its height in the eighteenth century, when, in 1722, the ‘Adnani Tamimah, or paramount chief of the Bani Ghafir, was grossly insulted by the Imam's regent. Swearing vengeance, the chief returned and collected all the tribes in alliance with the Bani Ghafir. The regent, apprehending that war was inevitable, sent to the Bani Hina for support. So began the civil war which divided ‘Oman into the two great political factions which survive to this day. For the most part the Hinawi are of Yamani descent and Ibadhi persuasion, while the Ghafiri are of Ishmaelite descent, and the more important tribes are of Sunni or Wahhabi persuasion. But there is no hard-and-fast rule. In some cases the same tribe is divided between the two factions, and the continued regrouping of the parties from that time has been kaleidoscopic and extremely puzzling to the inquirer from without.

The predominant sect of Islam in ‘Oman is the Ibadhiyah. They are the descendants of the Khawarij or Seceders, who broke away from ‘Ali, the prophet’s son-in-law, and were defeated and scattered by him. Some of them came to ‘Oman. Their doctrines quickly spread, and were adopted by the majority of the Yamani and certain of the ‘Adnani tribes. One of the most important tenets concerns the Imamate. They deny the claim of the Quraish to the Khalifate, and object to hereditary succession in the Khalifate and the Imamate. They do not consider a Khalifah or Imam essential, but that when one is required any Muslim suitable in all respects may be elected from any tribe. In this way the founder of the present dynasty, Aḥmad bin Sa‘id, was elected Imam in 1741 as a reward for organizing the expulsion of the Persians from ‘Oman. His grandson, the great Sa‘id, however, for reasons which would take too long to explain here, never took the title of Imam, being known only as Al-Saiyid. He it was who moved the capital from Rostaq to Muscat. The former place had held this position since the first of the Ya‘arabah dynasty had moved it from Nizwah in 1625. As the present dynasty weakened and tended to rely more and more on foreign support, the interior tribes revolted and set up an Imam of their own; so that at the present time the Sultan in reality has authority only in Muscat and a stretch of coast to the north and south, which can be intimidated by British gunboats.

The present Imam of the interior, Muhammad bin ‘Abdillah al-Khalili, of the Bani Ruwaiḥah, is merely a puppet in the hands of Shaikh ‘Isa bin Ṣaliḥ of the Ḥirth. Under this powerful chieftain a confederacy of the Hinawi tribes of ‘Oman proper and the Sharqiyah has been formed, with the Imam’s banner as a rallying point. A combined attack was made on Muscat in 1915, but the Arabs suffered a severe reverse at the hands of the regular Indian troops who then garrisoned the outposts of the town. Through the mediation of the Political Agent a treaty was signed, since when there has been no further aggression; but last year Shaikh ‘Isa, alarmed at threats of Wahhabi invasion, determined to advance into the Dhahirah, and bring by force or persuasion all the tribes of that district, both Ghafiri and Hinawi, up to and including the Biraimi oasis, into his confederacy. All went well at first. Dariz, ‘Ibri, and Dhank submitted, but a severe attack of dropsy and a quarrel with one of his most powerful allied tribes caused him to break up the expedition and hurry back to ‘Oman. This ignominious retreat so humiliated the Imam under whose banner the tribes had been united that he offered to resign the Imamate, but was persuaded to carry on by the leading Shaikhs. This was the position when I left ‘Oman in May, 1926.

During the past two years the success and increasing strength of the Wahhabis has given rise to much anxiety, more especially as some fifteen months ago Ibn Jiluwi, the Wahhabi governor of al-Hasa, sent messengers to all the northern tribes of ‘Oman demanding in the name of his master, Ibn Sa‘ud, the payment of *zakat* or tithes. There is little doubt that if ‘Oman could combine in a determined opposition the Wahhabis would have an extremely difficult proposition; but many of the Trucial coast tribes are Wahhabi in sentiment, as also is the powerful tribe of Bani Bu ‘Ali in the Sharqiyah and Ja‘alan districts, whilst many others would probably prefer Wahhabi domination to that of the ‘Oman confederacy. For example, the Bani Na’im in Biraimi, when Shaikh ‘Isa was advancing toward them, sent a messenger to Ibn Jiluwi, asking for help in man-power, arms, and money. It is not difficult to see, therefore, what would happen if the Wahhabis made a serious effort against ‘Oman. The question at once arises, What attitude should we take up in that event?

There is little doubt that but for British support the dynasty of the Al Bu Sa‘id would have ceased to exist. Since 1891 we have been bound to a guarantee of protection in a treaty in which no definite termination has been stipulated. The present Sultan, Taimur bin Faisal, though a capable man and commanding respect, is weak and is lacking in ambition. His family are, with few exceptions, degraded and dissolute; and though there are still strong men to be met with from the more distant branches, who have not been debilitated by luxury and idleness, they are as a whole too weak to stand against the same popular opinion which in the beginning brought their founder to power. Also, the hereditary principle to which we committed ourselves when we undertook the protection of the Sultan and his heirs is foreign to Ibadhi sentiment, especially when forced on the country by foreign and infidel power.

Again, our support of this house against the whole of ‘Omani popular opinion destroys any hope of a country united under one strong man against Wahhabi or any other encroachments. This is Shaikh ‘Isa’s ideal, and not, I think, an impossible conception, though admittedly not supported by previous history.

We must remember that the interior has been in open rebellion since 1913, that a treaty has been signed between Muscat and Shaikh ‘Isa, which is a virtual acknowledgment of his independence, and that in any case we are not in a position for obvious reasons to defend the tribes of the hinterland. The question therefore narrows down to the Baṭinah plain to the north of, and the strip of coast to the south of Muscat, which indeed are the only districts outside the area of the capital which contribute to the state revenue. If the Wahhabis were to enter ‘Oman and we were determined to support the Sultan there are two alternatives:

1. To defend the whole strip, which would require a considerable increase in land forces as well as more constant patrolling by the gunboats.

2. To retain only Muscat and Matrah.

In both cases the expense would fall on the British Government, as for some years Muscat has been declining and it is with the greatest difficulty that the state remains solvent.

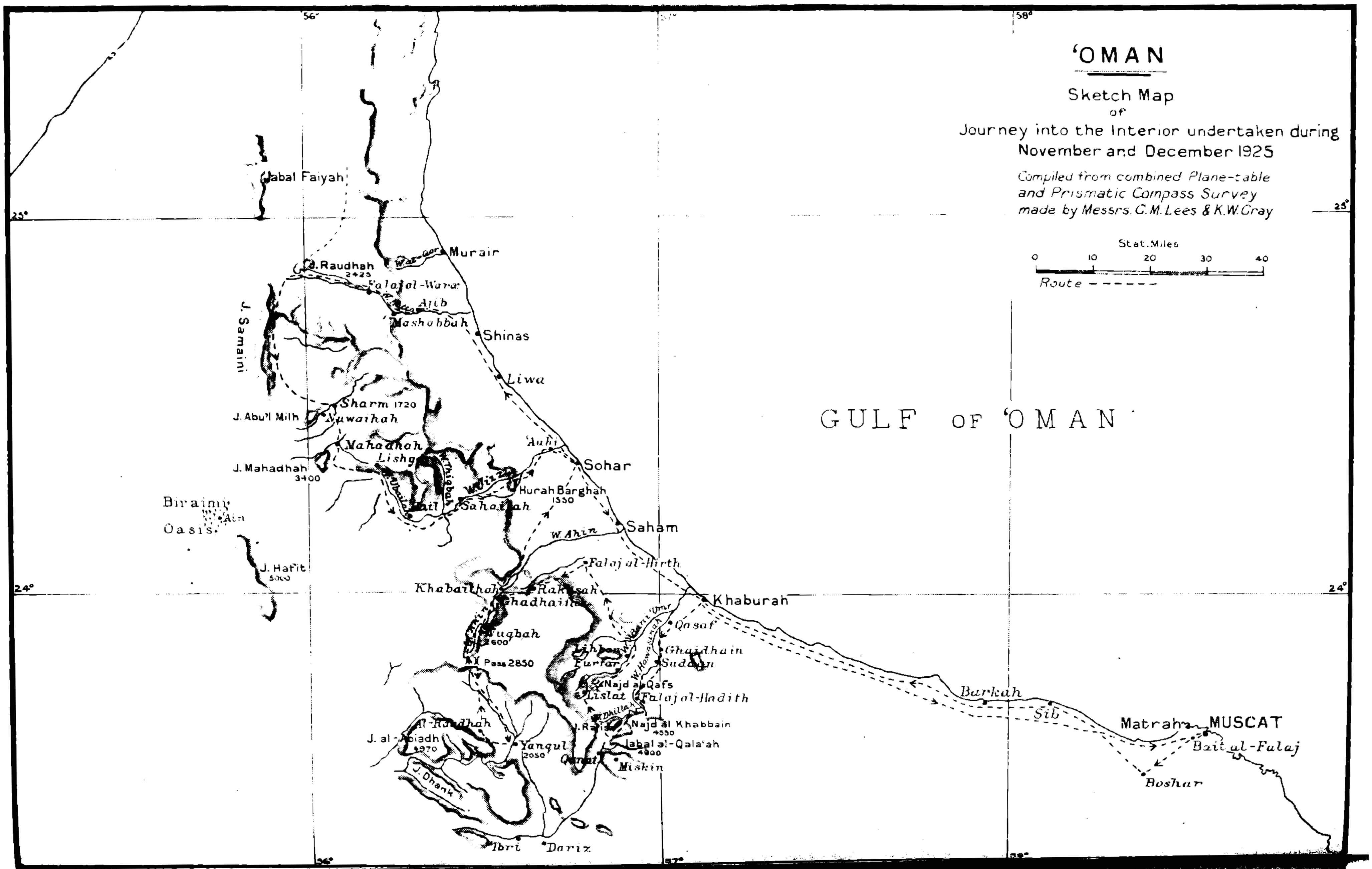
It would take too long to study the question in all its bearings. Our position and prestige in the Persian Gulf, the extent of our obligations under the treaty, the importance of Muscat to us at the present time, are all points for consideration. I propose, therefore, to turn to the less controversial subject of exploration.

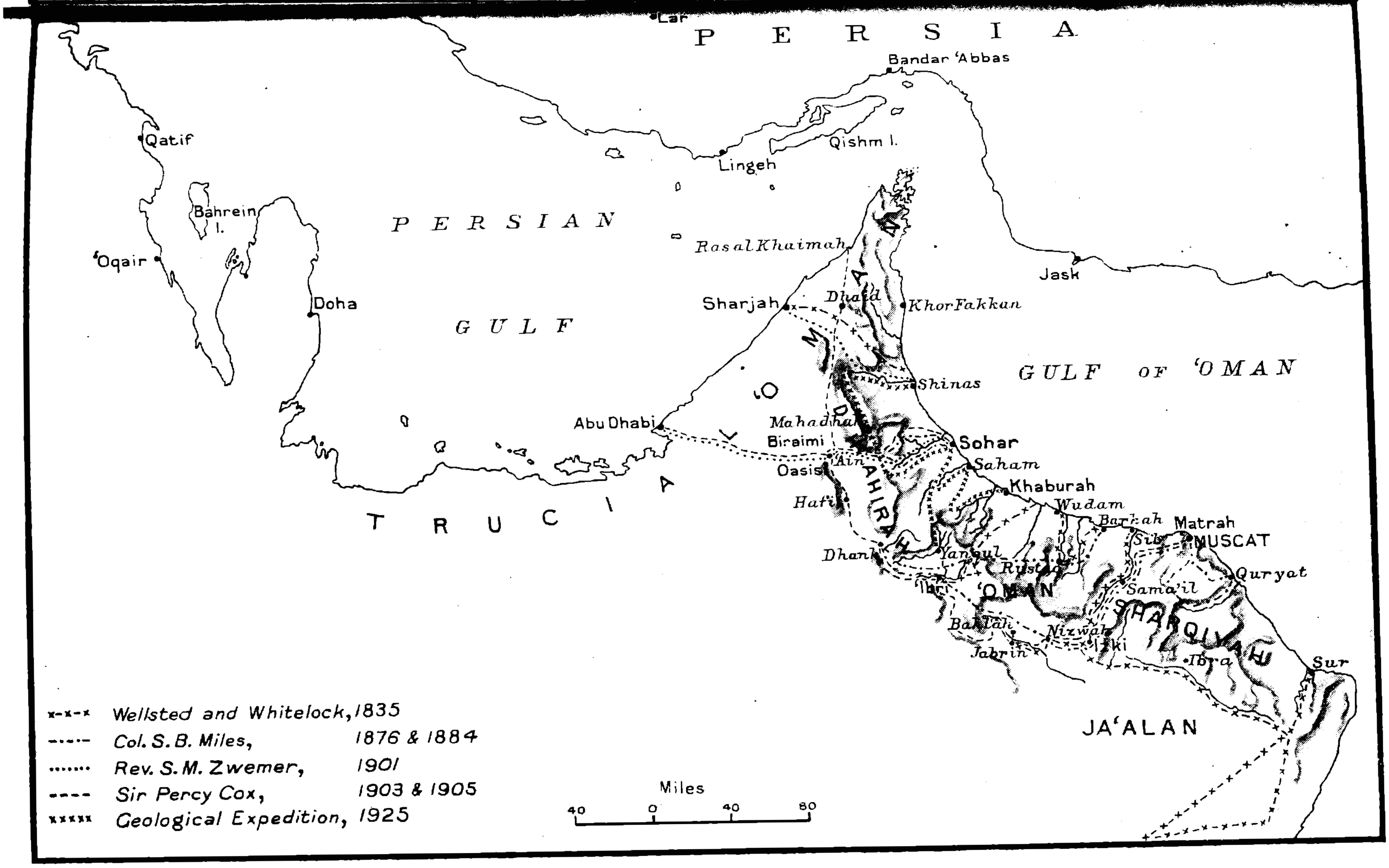
EXPLORATION UP TO 1925.—Badger, writing in 1871, in his preface to the "Imams and Seiyyids of Oman," says: "It is remarkable and by no means creditable to the British Government in India, that notwithstanding our intimate political and commercial relations with Oman for the last century, we know actually less of that country beyond the coast than we do of the lake districts of Central Africa."

Since then other writers have quoted this remark to draw attention to the paucity of our knowledge of this corner of Arabia, but with two notable exceptions, which I shall mention later, very few attempts have been made either by those on the spot or by outsiders to remedy our dilatoriness in this respect. Mr. Philby, in the discussion on Sir Percy Cox's paper to the R.G.S. in April of last year, notes that Sir Percy's predecessors number no more than three. Some twenty years have passed since the latter's expeditions, yet no one has come to displace him as the last on the list of explorers of 'Oman. Let us briefly review the journeys of these four with the aid of the map.

Pioneer, and most extensive traveller of all—Wellsted, with whom may be bracketed Whitelock. Wellsted was a naval lieutenant who had long been engaged on survey work on the west and south coast of Arabia, and had made other journeys in Hadramaut. His knowledge of Arabic was small, and though not badly supplied with instruments his map is unreliable. But Dr. Hogarth pays him the high compliment of comparing him with Niebuhr in that he did for 'Oman almost as much as Niebuhr did for the Yaman. In the Sharqiyah and Ja'alan districts, as the map shows, he stands alone, and his general information is for the most part accurate and full. He and Whitelock were in 'Oman between 1835 and 1837.

A generation passed before anyone made a journey of sufficient importance to justify his inclusion among the names of explorers in 'Oman. In 1876 Colonel S. B. Miles, who was then British Consul at Muscat, made the first of his expeditions. The retirement from 'Oman of the Wahhabis, whose presence had prevented Wellsted from reaching Biraimi, enabled Colonel Miles to make a flying visit to that oasis. He was also the first to pass from Jabrin to Dhank, and to visit the country between Muscat and Quryat, including the Wadi Taiyin, "one of the largest, most beautiful, and most populous valleys in Oman." Colonel Miles undoubtedly was the greatest of past authorities on the country. But unfortunately his book, "The Countries and Tribes of


'OMAN
Sketch Map
of
Journey into the Interior undertaken during
November and December 1925
Compiled from combined Plane-table
and Prismatic Compass Survey
made by Messrs. G.M. Lees & K.W. Gray
Stat. Miles
0
10
20
30
40
Route
56°
57°
58°
25°
24°
GULF OF 'OMAN
Jabal Faiyah
J. Raudhah
2425
Murair
Falaj al-Wara
Ajib
Mashobbah
Shinas
J. Samaini
Liwa
Sharm 1720
J. Abu'l Milh
Nuwaihah
Mahadhah
Lishq
J. Mahadhah
3400
Auhi
Sohar
Hurah Barghah
1550
Sahailah
Biraimi
Ain
Oasis
W. Ahin
Saham
J. Hafit
5000
Falaj al-Hirth
Khabaithah
Rakusah
Ghadhaiiah
Khaburah
Fugbah
2600
Pass 2850
Qasaf
Ghaidhain
Sudain
Furfar
Najd al Qafs
Lislat
Falaj al-Hadith
Al-Raudhah
J. al-Abiadh
4970
J. Ra...
Najd al Khabbain
4550
Jabal al-Qala'ah
4900
Yanqul
2050
Qamat
Miskin
J. Dhank
Ibri
Dariz
Barkah
Sib
Matrah
MUSCAT
Bait al-Falaj
Boshar


Lar
P E R S I A
Bandar 'Abbas
Qatif
Qishm I.
Lingeh
Bahrein I.
'Oqair
P E R S I A N
G U L F
Doha
Ras al Khaimah
Jask
Sharjah
Dhaid
Khor Fakkan
Shinas
GULF OF 'OMAN
Abu Dhabi
Mahadhah
Biraimi
Ain
Oasis
Sohar
Saham
Khaburah
Wudam
Barkah
Matrah
MUSCAT
Sib
Hafit
Dhank
Yanqul
Rustaq
Ibri
'OMAN
Sama'il
Quryat
Bahlah
Nizwa
Izki
Jabrin
Ibra
Sur
SHARQIYAH
DHAHIRAH
'OMAN
T R U C I A L
JA'ALAN
Wellsted and Whitelock, 1835
Col. S.B. Miles, 1876 & 1884
Rev. S.M. Zwemer, 1901
Sir Percy Cox, 1903 & 1905
Geological Expedition, 1925
Miles
40
0
40
80

the Persian Gulf," was written in the evening of his life, when failing sight and illness prevented him both from setting forth even a small percentage of his great knowledge and from correcting his notes.

Another generation elapsed before the next and last period fruitful in exploration. In 1901 the Rev. S. M. Zwemer, of the American Reformed Church's Mission in Arabia, travelled from Sharjah to Shinas by the Wadi Hatta. He was the first to describe this valley, nor, as far as I know, has any other account of it been written up to the time of our expedition of last year. He also was the first to journey from Abu Dhabi on the Trucial coast to Biraimi. To my mind his chief title to fame is that he and his companion managed the whole journey from Abu Dhabi to Sahar and on to the Muscat coast for ninety rupees between them.

He was followed after a comparatively short interval by Sir Percy Cox, whose first journey was made in 1903, and who only last year read a paper on his travels to the R.G.S. His two main achievements were firstly, the journey over hitherto unexplored country between Ras al-Khaimah and Dhank via Biraimi; and, secondly, the fixing of the position of the Biraimi oasis, for which purpose he carried a ship's chronometer to that place from Ras al-Khaimah—a distance of over 100 miles. He is our greatest living authority on 'Oman and the last of those who can justifiably be called explorers of the country. The detailed map of the Ras al-Khaimah-Biraimi route published with his paper proved most useful to us last year, and, considering the short time taken by Sir Percy in his journey, is marvellously accurate.

A study of the map will show that up to the date reached the Dhahirah plateau has been crossed, 'Oman proper has had several visitors, and, of course, the coastal plain has been thoroughly explored; but the main hills of the watershed, except for certain well-known routes such as the Wadi Jizzi, the Wadi Ḥawasinah, and the Wadi Sama'il, are still unexplored territory. And in this lies the interest of last year's expedition, of which I propose to give a brief account.

D'ARCY EXPLORATION COMPANY'S GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF 1925.—The party was composed of: Messrs. G. M. Lees and K. W. Gray, geologists; Mr. Joseph Fernandez, deputed by the Bombay Natural History Society; Mr. A. F. Williamson (al-Hag 'Abdullah); and myself.

I was in charge of the social and political branches; Williamson organized the transport and messing; the remainder were free to carry out their strenuous technical work.

It is a great pity that Williamson, or someone for him, does not write the story of his life. Some twenty-five or more years ago he was in Aden. There he became a Muhammadan and went up to Sana'a and the interior of the Yaman. Since then he has wandered over the greater part of Arabia. He has performed the Hajj—twice, I believe.

At the outbreak of war he was acting as agent for the Shaikhs of the great Muntafiq tribe, and during the war he was attached to the intelligence branch in Iraq. His knowledge of Bedouin life and customs is very profound, and it was strange to see 'Omanis, who are famed for their camel-breeding, bringing their camels to him and consulting him as to treatment for wounds and illness.

As the principal object of the expedition was a geological survey, the main scarp of the Jabal Akhdhar naturally offered most attraction. But, as I have already mentioned in describing the political situation, the whole of this region is controlled by Shaikh 'Isa bin Ṣaliḥ in the name of the Imam. The former was at that time (October, 1925) making preparations for his advance into the Dhahirah, and on being approached wrote politely regretting his inability to control his tribesmen should the party enter his territories. Although in consequence all the land to the south and south-east of the Wadi Ḥawasinah was barred to us, Shaikh 'Isa's advance, which coincided with our journey, was undoubtedly a help to us, as many Shaikhs who might otherwise have proved refractory received the party with open arms, hoping that exaggerated reports would reach Shaikh 'Isa of the presence of Muscat officials in their territories, and perhaps also seeing a vague chance of getting some help from the Muscat Government.

Williamson for the greater part, and I for the whole journey, travelled in Arab dress, and we found that it had a great effect in making our various hosts and visitors more friendly and in loosening their tongues. Every day after we had camped, between the afternoon and the sunset prayers, he and I and the Shaikhs and their followers would sit round chatting, and many were the amusing conversations we had. Another helpful factor in overcoming the shyness and suspicions of the Arabs was that one of my personal following was a slave of the Sultan's household famous for his coffee-making. He would carry all the apparatus on his riding camel, and wherever there was a long halt he would hastily prepare coffee for the party.

On November 3 all the transport and stores had been collected at Bait al-Falaj, my headquarters, two miles inland from Matrah, and on the following morning we made a start. Passing through Boshar (the Besheyr of Palgrave), famous for its hot springs, where we were hospitably received by Shaikh 'Ali bin 'Abdillah al-Khalili, brother of the Imam, we entered the Baṭinah plain at Sib, and followed the coast to Khaburah, where we arrived on the 10th. The Wali of the place, Mudhaffar bin Sulaiyim, is the son of an African slave who rose to a position of great influence in 'Oman, becoming Wali of Sohar and controlling more than half of the Baṭinah. Mudhaffar accompanied us throughout the whole trip. He inherits much of the character of his father—is forceful, active, much liked by the Arabs, and became our general manager and trusted adviser.

THE COUNTRY OF THE TRIBES AL-ḤAWASINAH AND BANI ‘UMR.—Khaburah lies at the mouth of the Wadi Ḥawasinah, which takes its name from the tribe which inhabits it, and up which we proposed to climb to reach and cross the watershed. Here we were joined by Shaikh Saif bin Muḥammad of the Ḥawasinah, a Hinawi tribe, and Shaikh Ghussun bin Salim of the Bani ‘Umr, a Ghafiri tribe. The two tribes are generally at feud with one another, and the two Shaikhs are quite dissimilar in character and disposition. The former proved himself a miserly, weak, shifty obstructionist; the latter a tactful, firm, and helpful disciplinarian.

Our path led us over the Baṭinah plain toward the mountains. Leaving on our right the deserted village of Qasaf, where the bare stumps of the palm trees bore mute testimony to the repeated failure of the rains during the past ten years, we reached Ghaidhain (555 feet), wrongly placed in Hunter's map of 1908. A description of the village will suffice to portray all the villages of this area, which are alike in essential details. It is well built of stone and local cement and stands on a terrace on the left bank of the Wadi about half a mile inside the foothills. Extensive date groves and gardens lie in a re-entrant behind the village and are watered by a *falaj* or water channel which begins from a spring underneath the surface shingle of the Wadi, a mile above the village, and continues underground for some distance before emerging into an open cemented channel. Those who are familiar with the Persian Qanat, or Kariz, will recognize the same type. In this case the open channel is divided into two streams just before it reaches the gardens, each stream watering a half of the date groves. Hence the name Ghaidhain, "The two groves." Pursuing a leisurely course up the Wadi we passed through Suddan, described by Wellsted, whose route we now joined, Bida‘ah, and Falaj al-Ḥadith. Here we came upon running water, and the valley bed was sprinkled with oleander and ziziphus shrubs, many of which reached a height of 10 feet. As we approached the junction of the Wadi Ḥawasinah and Wadi Dhillah the valley opened out and we passed a large tower built for the protection of the caravan route and occupied by three men of the Ḥawasinah. Two of them came down to meet us and to receive the customary *douceur*, which we gave them and passed on. But the third man, either not realizing that we had paid, or thinking it not enough, ran to a point directly overlooking the Wadi, fired over our heads, and started screaming in the sharp, high-pitched feminine tone used by men in this country to warn their friends of the approach of hostile or strange parties. His own companions ran to him from the fort, and our following started loud explanations from below. Williamson and I went steadily forward and left them to settle it.

During our passage up the Wadi Ḥawasinah we had suffered much trouble and obstruction from Shaikh Saif, and so we were relieved to turn into the Wadi Dhillah, which belongs to the Bani ‘Umr. From a high hill Lees gained a good view of the Wadi Ḥawasinah above its junction with the Wadi Dhillah. The hills appeared to recede somewhat from the river bed and to allow of small plots of cultivation on the terraces. A number of villages could be seen, including Hajajah, ‘Abailah, Tawi, Suwairiq, Washah, and Harm ‘Ali. The Wadi Dhillah is narrow with vertical cliffs rising sheer from the valley bed. It is uninhabited except for some Bedouin squatters. As we proceeded the valley became steeper and more narrow and the going became very bad, until we reached a zigzag path known as Najd al-Khabbain (2,970). Here we were forced to dismount and lead our camels to the top of the pass over the range which divides the Dhahirah and the Baṭinah.

We found a pleasant camping site on the further slope and determined to stay here a few days, as I had been having attacks of malaria, and the transport required some reorganization. From Jabal al-Qala‘ah (4,900) Lees gained a magnificent view of the Dhahirah up to the edge of the great desert. To the south-east the great scarp of Jabal Akhdhar was plainly visible. The Wadis, draining west and south-west, run out into extensive plains broken here and there by groups of small hills. The villages of Qanat, Dariz, and ‘Ibri could be seen, but Miskin was hidden by a range of low hills.

Two miles along the scarp west of the camp we were shown a wonderful gorge, called en-Naqs, 10 to 20 feet only in breadth, with vertical walls rising to a height of 400 feet. From half a mile away it is quite invisible. Breaking through the knife-edge ridge of Jabal Ra’is it joins the Wadi Dhillah and provides for good mountaineers, such as all the local tribesmen are, an alternative track to the Najd al-Khabbain. In the narrowest part the torrent bed drops a sheer 40 feet, and over the precipice thus formed a chain has been hung. Well forged with long, narrow links it is firmly secured between two rocks, but as it is not long enough to reach the bottom a rope has been attached to the further end. The face of the cliff is concave, so that no foothold is obtainable. The tribesmen said that up to twenty years ago there had been only a rope and many had lost their lives by its breaking. They could not name the public-spirited Shaikh who had substituted the chain.

On November 20 we packed up reluctantly and set out for the Wadi Bani ‘Umr, by which we had decided to return to the Baṭinah. During the loading up Williamson tried to make one of the tribesmen take on his camel some hens which had been bought for our messing. But the prejudice against the carrying of any kind of fowl by a man proved so strong that insistence would certainly have resulted in a general strike. In the same way we could only obtain eggs if we sent one of our own servants to fetch them. Our way led along a wide valley under the outlying spurs of the main ridge, which falls in far gentler slopes on the Dhahirah side. On a small hill in the centre there stood a strong but dilapidated fort dominating the valley. A short but difficult pass brought us over the watershed into the Wadi Bani ‘Umr, which we followed past the village of Suwaidah to Lislat (or Hail Islat, 2,300 feet). The latter had belonged to the Ḥawasinah, and was protected by a strong fort built on the summit of a solitary hill which rises abruptly from the valley bed. A well had been dug in the Wadi against the perpendicular side of the hill and enclosed by the semicircular wall built against the cliff right up to the fort 100 feet above. The place was captured by the Bani ‘Umr some forty years before. They have abandoned the old village and built a new and miserable one of palm branches on the opposite bank. When I asked Shaikh Ghussun the reason, he said that his and his father's deliberate policy had been to discourage the use and building of strong forts and villages, which proved only a source of weakness to the tribe, as each petty village Shaikh comes to rely more on his own fortifications than on the unity of the tribe, in which lies their real strength.

A little beyond Lislat the road left the Wadi, and passing the small village of Qisah on the right, climbed over the northern shoulder of Jabal Ra'is by a pass called Najd Bani ‘Umr or Najd al-Qafs (“the pass of the cage,” 3,110 feet). This was the roughest stretch we experienced throughout the journey, and almost the whole day's trek had to be done on foot. We re-entered the Wadi Bani ‘Umr at Furfar, and continued along it to the low foothills, passing Liḥban, a prosperous and well-built village, with extensive date plantations on both sides of the Wadi. Another day's march brought us to Falaj al-Ḥirth in the Baṭinah, seven miles inland from Saham. During the past few days several misfortunes had overtaken us. Lees and Fernandez had both had severe attacks of fever. Gray had upset a bottle of Indian ink over the plane table, and Williamson one day had lost the way, taking with him our special cook, and had not turned up till eight o'clock at night after darkness had fallen.

THE COUNTRY OF THE BANI ‘ALI.—We had been joined in the Ḥawasinah country by Shaikh Muḥammad bin Hilal of the Bani ‘Ali, an Arab of the finest type, quiet, unassuming, yet naturally dignified. He now came to me and invited us to visit Yanqul, the capital of the tribe and residence of his brother Khalifah, the paramount Shaikh. By this time Shaikh ‘Isa bin Ṣaliḥ in his advance from ‘Oman proper had reached Dariz. ‘Ibri was still holding out, but its fall was imminent. The Bani ‘Ali had always remained loyal to Muscat, and had turned a deaf ear to Shaikh ‘Isa's enticements. But now, when town after town in the Dhahirah was falling, Khalifah's position was very precarious, especially as there were in Shaikh ‘Isa's camp two rival claimants to the Shaikhly office. He had twice appealed to Muscat, but without avail. In inviting us therefore his motives were twofold. Firstly, Muscat might be induced through our influence to give him some support; and secondly, if he made a great show exaggerated reports would reach Shaikh ‘Isa, who might really think that Muscat and even the British Government were behind him.

But whatever the motive it was a golden opportunity for us, and we determined to start for Yanqul the following day by way of the Wadi Ahin. A rapid journey over the plain soon brought us into the foothills again, and we entered the Wadi at its junction with the Wadi Hibi, which enters from the south, and contains the village of Hibi, wrongly placed on Hunter's map. During the march Lees dismounted and turned aside to climb a hill. His guide immediately started to take the camels on, so that Lees was forced to turn back and stop him. An old woodcutter then appeared, and started chatting with the guide. Lees made another move to climb the mountain, whereupon the woodcutter ran towards him shouting abuse, and, as Lees continued on his way, began to throw stones at him. Lees, a tall and doubtless terrifying figure in his battered panama, turned and took three paces toward him, brandishing his geological hammer. It was quite sufficient. The old man turned and ran, followed by a shower of stones from Lees.

As we approached Wuqbah the river bed narrowed until we reached a part where there was a considerable stream with deep pools. In order to avoid this stretch, which probably in rainy weather became a series of rapids, a road had been built over the side of the Wadi, with steps made of stone and local cement (*saruj*) at either end from the river bed. These steps were a source of great pride to the tribesmen, who had several times warned me to look out for them. The valley starts to widen as it approaches Wuqbah, a village with very extensive gardens, wrongly placed in the Wadi Dhank in the "Handbook of Arabia," and gradually broadens above the river into a plateau well covered with jungle bushes and grasses. A short and easy pass brought us over the watershed, which is here not very clearly defined. A mile beyond there stretched from north-west to south-east a wide, well-wooded plain, bounded on the east by the irregular and serrated black peaks of the serpentine hills which form the watershed, and on the west by a long regular limestone scarp, known as Jabal al-Abiadh. We sent the caravan to camp at ar-Raudhah, a mosque and well immediately below the centre of the scarp, whilst we turned aside and made for Yanqul, which lies at the southern end.

I will not weary you with a description of our welcome, as it was almost identical with that given to Sir Percy Cox at ‘Ibri, and described by him in his paper to the R.G.S. last year. As soon as politeness allowed we proceeded to the house set apart for us. It was a strong two-storeyed building overlooking a pleasant garden. The upper rooms were high and well-windowed. The beams were painted red, and decorated with verses from the Quran in white. The staircase, as in all Arab buildings, was very narrow, steep, and low. The baths constituted a pleasant feature, which I saw in no other town. These were formed by irrigation channels running from the main *falaj* directly under the houses, where special bathing-pools were constructed. Strong gratings were placed over the channel where it entered and left the house. I noticed that Shaikh Khalifah could hardly speak, and wondered if he had a sore throat, but when he came to see me privately he told me the true reason. The night before our arrival an attempt had been made to murder him by three of his cousins, who would have succeeded but for the loyalty of the doorkeeper of the fort. There must also have been a disaffected element among the townspeople, as he had lost his voice in haranguing them after the failure of the plot. The three brothers were imprisoned in the fort, and he and Mudhaffar started to discuss their fate. Mudhaffar was all for killing them. “ Wait,” he said, “ till the captain and his friends have departed, then slay them all.” “ Idhrib bi‘l-saif wa kul ‘asal.” But no decision was made, and I have never heard what happened to them. On the following day news came that Shaikh ‘Isa had captured ‘Ibri. It was too late for Khalifah to expect any help, and two days later he set out for ‘Ibri to make the best terms he could.

Yanqul stands in a strong position between the southern end of Jabal Abiadh and a high conical peak named after the town. The fort is in good condition and is a large rambling building with a low tower. The gardens lie mostly to the west of the town. Whilst Williamson and I were occupied with interviews and conversation, Lees and Gray climbed the scarp of Jabal Abiadh and gained a splendid view of the Dhahirah up to the Biraimi oasis. Bearings were taken on ‘Ibri and Dariz which gave intersections with those taken from Jabal Qala‘ah.

Country of the Bani Ka‘ab.—We returned to the Baṭinah by the same route and entered Sohar on December 7. Our intention was to follow the coast to Murair at the end of the Baṭinah plain and work back to Sahar under the foothills. But a fortunate event occurred which changed our plans. Between Liwa and Shinas Williamson and I turned aside to visit a Baluchi Shaikh famous throughout ‘Oman for his hospitality. I had only intended to drink coffee, but when I told him so he seized my beard (by now quite a respectable one) and insisted on our staying the night. We compromised on a midday meal, during which I was introduced to Shaikh Ma‘adhad, brother of Shaikh Salim bin Diyan, Tamimah, or paramount Shaikh of the Bani Ka‘ab, whose district in the Dhahirah extends from Jabal Raudhah to the Wadi Jizzi in a long narrow strip among the outlying spurs of the main mountain ridge. Ma‘adhad invited us to visit his country and made himself responsible for us in everything. We naturally jumped at the opportunity. Matters were quickly settled and that night it was decided to work up the Wadi Hatta. Shaikh Ma'adhad gave me the impression of a man of very strong passions repressed by an equally strong will, giving him outwardly a quiet and reserved demeanour. In durbar he never spoke unless appealed to, when he would answer as laconically as possible. But his judgment was always direct and his followers held him in respect. Only when on the trek would he break through his reserve and talk and chant continuously.

For the third time we turned to re-enter the hills. Between Liwa and Wadi al-Qor they are of less elevation than those further south, but north of Fujairah they are reinforced by the Shimailiyah ridge. Our first halt in the Wadi Hatta was at 'Ajib, where, amongst other things, tobacco was being extensively grown. A little above the village the river bed narrows to a gorge, called al-Wajajah, with running water and deep pools which the path skirted. At the near end on a shelf overlooking the gorge stands a strong tower whose only method of ingress is by a rope thrown from a window. This tower marks the administrative boundary of the Wali of Sohar. Emerging from the gorge we passed the village of Mashabbah, the gardens of which have been almost entirely killed by drought, and entered an enclosed plateau dotted with small hills. As we advanced, passing several villages and continuous gardens, this plateau gradually merged into a wide plain covered with desert bushes, whilst in the distance a line of sand-hills gleamed red and gold in the sun. There was no marked watershed or pass. The stony plateau marking the head of the Wadi Hatta simply loses itself in the plain which slopes down towards the Trucial coast. The reason was explained by Lees, who found recent marine shells on the plateau at a height of 1,050 feet. This level plain is in reality a raised beach, and the Shimailiyah country to the north must have been an island when the sea was at this level.

We were now very close to Sir Percy Cox's route, which passed to the west of Jabal Raudhah. Lees climbed this mountain and overlooked Jabal Faiyah and Dubai to the west and the Gulf of 'Oman to the east. Here we turned to the west and passed under the main ridge of Jabal Samaini, keeping to the east of the scarp. Shaikh Ma'adhad had tales of panther to be found, which he said took toll not only of the flocks but also of grazing camels. The southern end of the ridge terminates in a peak known as Jabal Munfarid (3,700 feet). Some miles further on the road climbed a small pass and dropped into the plain, which here has the effect of a backgammon board, as long wedges of sand run right up to the black serpentine hills, leaving patches of stony, well-wooded plateau dovetailed between them. We were forced to cross one sand dune, and then turned again into the first range of hills, and leaving Jabal Abu 'l-Milḥ on our right reached Sharm, Ma'adhad's home, and the second in importance of the Bani Ka'ab settlements. The welcome given us was on a scale second only to that of Yanqul, and the dancing, which was of the kind seen by Wellsted at Suwaiq, continued throughout the rest of the day. On the same night letters came announcing the murder of Shaikh ‘Isa bin Ṣaliḥ at ‘Ibri, and the hurried retreat of all his forces toward ‘Oman. This was most fortunate for us, as Shaikh Ma‘adhad had apparently begun to regret having invited us to his country and tried to persuade me to return by the road by which we had come. But now the path was smoothed, for although the news of the murder was false, it was true that ‘Isa and his troops had retired in confusion.

We therefore set out with light hearts for Mahadhah, where we arrived after an hour and a half's riding over a stony plain within the first ridge of hills. The town lies at the side of a broad, bare "baṯhah" (wide torrent bed), which may possibly be the same as that crossed by Sir Percy Cox on the outskirts of Biraimi. The fort stands on a small hillock in the centre of the torrent bed. On the further side and to the west of the town rises Jabal Mahadhah, blocking any view of the plain and sand dunes beyond. Shaikh Salim ibn Diyan we found to be an older and more sedate man than his brother Ma‘adhad. More frequent journeys to Sharjah and Dubai had accustomed him to European manners and town-dwellers' amenities, and he was altogether more polished, more intelligent, and broad-minded, though no less virile, than his Bedouin brother. Whilst Williamson and I listened to the local politics and strolled round the gardens admiring the broad and strong water channel, Lees climbed Jabal Mahadhah (3,400 feet), and reconnoitred the Biraimi oasis and Jabal Hafit. The latter, indeed, was constantly coming into view during our journey from Jabal Raudhah to Hail in the Wadi Jizzi, and we heard no other name for it, nor was any mention made of a village named ‘Uqdah. It is, as Sir Percy Cox has pointed out, an isolated hog-backed hill some twenty miles in length, but he does not emphasize the difference between it and comparatively small hills such as Jabal Faiyah. Actually it rises to a height of about 5,000 feet, or nearly 4,000 feet above the surrounding plain.

Just before we left Mahadhah a message arrived from the Shaikh of the Bani Na'im inviting us to Biraimi. Lack of time forced us much against our will to forego this great opportunity. Shaikh Salim was much exercised in his mind as to the policy he should pursue in relation to the Bani Na'im. Some two days ago they had sent him a letter to inform him that they had despatched a messenger to Ibn Jiluwi, Ibn Sa‘ud's lieutenant in al-Hasa, asking for help in arms and man-power against Shaikh ‘Isa. They now wished the Bani Ka‘ab to join them. The latter were already in alliance with the Bani Na'im, and Shaikh Salim thought that he ought to have been consulted before so important a step was taken. His grandfather (who visited Colonel

Miles at Biraimi and invited him to Mahadhah) had been taken prisoner by the Wahhabis and led in chains to Dara‘iyyah, where he was kept for seven years, so that Salim had no love for them. In the earlier part of the year Ibn Jiluwi had sent his messengers to demand *zakat* from the Trucial coast and from the Biraimi oasis. Certain tribes had paid up, and it was ostensibly to prevent this and to unite the tribes against the Wahhabis that Shaikh ‘Isa advanced into the Dhahirah, as we have seen.

Time pressed, as Lees and Gray had to catch the mail-boat from Muscat, so we set out for the Wadi Jizzi, accompanied for the first two miles by our hospitable host. The track crossed a level boulder-strewn plain. To the east a number of wadis emerged from the black serpentine crags, the lower slopes of which were dotted with villages and date groves. Some low foothills hid the plain on the west. By some misunderstanding the caravan had turned aside to a well other than that agreed upon. Finding it unoccupied, we went steadily forward until by sunset we were well into the hills again, and we realized that we must have lost them. After much fruitless wandering in the darkness, during which all the Arabs argued their loudest, some to go back, some to advance, and some to stop where we were, we sighted a lamp on a hill to our right. It had been placed there by Gray, who was with the caravan. When we pointed it out to the tribesmen they refused to believe it. It must, they said, be either a star or a jinn. However, we insisted on turning towards it, and after a rough ride reached the camp very tired.

On the next day we followed the Wadi ‘Ubailah, which gradually narrows as it enters the hills, to its junction with the Wadi Jizzi, along which many European travellers have passed. Turning aside to visit the Persian ruins at Ḥurah Barghah, described by Colonel Miles and others, we reached Sohar on December 23. Here we divided. I rode back along the coast, spending Christmas Day with Wali Mudhaffar at Khaburah. The rest embarked on a dhow, and, more fortunate than Palgrave, reached Muscat in two days.

I must trespass on your patience one minute longer to thank Sir Arnold Wilson, through whom the opportunity was given me of accompanying the party. I have also to acknowledge with gratitude the help of the other members of the expedition, who have all contributed to the description of the journey, and have given me the free use of their negatives; and of Mr. J. N. Bower, who visited Boshar with me for the special purpose of testing the reliability of Palgrave’s account, and has lent me his photographs. Finally, I must mention another member of our Society, Mr. B. S. Thomas, who is at present Minister of Finance at Muscat. By his tact and knowledge he has gained a great influence over the Shaikhs and leading men, with whom he is constantly in contact. He is always travelling up and down the coast, and is only awaiting a favourable opportunity to go inland; and no one is more fitted to write a paper on the past history or present position of ‘Oman.

Sir PERCY COX: As I spent five very interesting years in ‘Oman, naturally Captain Eccles’ paper to-night has been of the very greatest interest to me. I think we have not only had an interesting, but a very good lecture. (Hear, hear.) I have made one or two notes of points I would like to mention. In the first place, of course, it is very satisfactory to me to know that the map which I made a good many years ago, and produced last year with a paper I read before the Royal Geographical Society, proved accurate. A traveller is always lucky if the men who come after him do not accuse him of lying in some way. (Laughter.) But I am glad to hear that Captain Eccles, so far as he could see, found there was ground to think that Palgrave's observations regarding his travelling in ‘Oman territory, in the part that he knew, seemed well founded. I think it is difficult always to support Palgrave; but his book is a great joy, and I am always glad to hear where it can be corroborated instead of given the lie to. One thing the lecturer mentioned, the Jebel Hafit, along the base of which I marched twice; I am astonished to find that he makes it 4,000 feet above the level of the surrounding country. I could not take any measurements, because I had no instruments with which I could measure the height; but I should have put it at 2,000 feet at the outside, and would like to ask him how the height was calculated. But the mere fact that I could be 2,000 feet out shows how easy it is to go wrong in a matter like that.

The LECTURER: I am afraid my authority for the 4,000 feet above the other level really rests with the other two who were with me and who were doing all the survey work. They made a point of telling me that the height was 5,000 feet.

Sir PERCY COX: I should like to hear later how they measured it. On the subject of travelling in ‘Oman generally, Captain Eccles has drawn attention to the fact that it is only about once in half a generation that anyone has done serious travelling there. I was there five years, and took such opportunities as I could get, on any excuse, of doing a bit of travelling. But it is an extraordinarily difficult country to travel in, and I do not see much chance of it being done very extensively or very often. In the first place, as Captain Eccles says, the Sultan's writ practically does not carry beyond the walls of Muscat. Inland those two main factions of Hinawi and Ghafiri are always ready to get at one another's throats, and one tribe is constantly at feud with the next. To travel you have to make elaborate arrangements at the start to square the chiefs of tribes through whose territories you intend to pass. That means money. As regards officers of Government, if you are one you cannot divest yourself of your official capacity, and that being so the Government do not encourage you to take on tours, or go on expeditions where you may have some inconvenient incident, which they may be obliged to take up officially. Incidents are a great nuisance to them. On one occasion, on one of my trips, I was held up for six weeks by one of the sheiks to whom the lecturer referred, Aysa bin Saleh. I refused to turn back: they refused to let me advance through their district. They thought I was after minerals of some kind and were very suspicious. I was travelling on my own and wanted to explore the country. It took me six weeks to negotiate, through the Sultan of Muscat, before I was allowed to go on. Such things can often happen and it is very inconvenient for a Government official. For private travellers there is not much attraction except the more or less unknown character of the country. There is practically no sport. You are blackmailed a good deal. With the D'Arcy Oil Company the blackmail of ‘Oman would probably not matter very much. But for the ordinary traveller it is a serious consideration. That is one reason we cannot expect a very rapid development of exploration in ‘Oman. As regards Hajji Williamson, to whom the lecturer referred as having accompanied them, I was very interested to hear that Hajji Williamson had been with them. I knew him well; he is a man with an extraordinary past. At one time he was married to a tribal Arab woman of one of the main tribes of ‘Iraq, and has lived as a Bedouin. He has also been in all sorts of posts. He is a regular rolling stone. He seems to have some kink in him, and an entire lack of initiative; perhaps someone will spend some time taking down the story of his life from him; there is no chance, I think, of his doing it himself. It would be exceedingly interesting. Here is an Englishman who has lived the life of the Arab in the desert, as well as in the towns of Baghdad and Basra, and who does not realize how interesting his experiences would be. But they would be of extraordinary interest to the world in general, I think. I was very sorry to hear that the lecturer's expedition had not been able to get to the Jebel Akhdar. There we have a very fine plateau, about thirty miles in length, on the crest of the range, which is entirely different country, of course, from the plains below. There is different vegetation altogether. There also it is very difficult to remain, or has been up to now; but I very much hope that the D'Arcy Oil Company will turn their attention to it, because they have the funds at their command, and can make a good job of it, which no private individual can. The interesting part is between the place marked Izki at the south-eastern end of the Jebel Akhdar—straight from there to Yenqul, along the crest of the ridge. As to the question of wearing Arab dress, I quite agree that if you can do it, it is much easier to travel in Arab dress. But the lecturer's expedition was there in the winter. It is all right then, you can do with the Arab *aqgál* and handkerchief; but I do not know what Captain Eccles would suggest for the hot weather. I travelled along the edge of the desert from the bottom of the Pirate Coast parallel to the backbone of ‘Oman, down to Muscat, in the month of June, when the thermometer was anything from 110° upwards; and I defy you to go without something on your head beyond an Arab *soof.* That is where I think the difficulty is. He has mentioned a very interesting subject, and rather a delicate one—the possible intentions of the Sultan of Nejd and Hejaz, Ibn Sa‘ud, in regard to ‘Oman. The great Wahhabi ruler, Ibn Sa‘ud, was and is a very dear friend, and I have discussed his ambitions with him many times. It may be of interest if I tell you briefly what they are. Practically he thinks that he is justified, in principle, in regaining any territory that his forefathers had a century ago, whether as territory or as a "sphere of influence." ‘Oman was in their sphere of influence. Bereimi itself was actually in Wahhabi hands, and that accounts for the fact that even now a large section of the population are Wahhabi in principle. The Sheikhs of the Pirate Coast, too, still retain latent Wahhabi sympathies, and would show their feelings more openly. In my time, before the war, we had intimate relations with Ibn Sa‘ud; we had a treaty with him under which we paid him a subsidy; and it was part of the agreement that he should not attack or molest any friends of ours, or any chiefs who were in treaty relations with us. Our friends were to be his friends. After the war, however, we had to reduce expenditure. We could not go on paying the subsidies we had paid before and during the war. We had to make reductions. One of those reduced was that of Ibn Sa‘ud. He was hard hit, but he quite realized that we could not go on paying this for ever. But what he felt was, "Up to now I have been under specific obligation not to annoy the British Government by any policy that I pursue. As long as I enjoyed a pension or subsidy from them it was incumbent on me to abide by their conditions; but now that they have felt obliged to stop any payment to me, I think I am entitled to pursue my own policy and work out my own destiny as I think best." He is now doing that. Up to now he has been extraordinarily correct and statesmanlike in all he has done. We have never been able to put him wrong. He has made himself King of the Hejaz, and we have recognized him as such. As long as we paid him the subsidy above referred to he kept his hands off the Hejaz; since it ceased he has extended his authority over that country, and I have little doubt but that in the course of time he will seek to extend his authority over the interior of ‘Oman. That I think will be his policy. As regards Muscat itself, we ourselves, the French, the Dutch, and the Americans have all had treaties with the Sultan of Muscat since the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the Sultanate of Muscat has rather changed since then. The rule of the Sultan is relegated to the coast ports, it being practically recognized that he has no authority over the interior. This fact, I think, would weaken our hands in any attempt on our part to safeguard the hinterland of 'Oman against Wahhabi intrusion. But that is a question of politics upon which I cannot offer a responsible opinion. One more remark and I have finished. I noticed that the expedition came in contact with the sand dunes at one point; if the Lecturer did much travelling over the dunes I was going to ask if he heard the music of the sands, as I did.

The LECTURER: No, we only just touched the dunes near Jabal Raudhah and Sharm.

ADMIRAL RICHMOND: I am afraid I know very little of those parts; I was only a passer-by when I visited Muscat with my squadron. We, of course, have always had a considerable naval interest in Muscat as being a commanding position on the coast. The two principal bases we have used are Muscat and Henjam. Muscat has a great history behind it. As late as 1839 the Imam of Muscat had a naval force of one 46-gun frigate, two of 20 guns, and two or three smaller vessels; it is always bound to be a place which, from the point of view of the sea, will be of interest to this country. I have listened with interest to what Captain Eccles has said, and congratulate him on his lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: We are very fortunate not only in having Captain Eccles and the series of slides in which he has been able to show us something of this very remote and unknown country, but we have also had Sir Percy Cox, who has a unique knowledge of the coast, and Admiral Richmond, who has seen it both from land and sea. One point has not been touched on which may explain its fallen greatness: in the days when the Sultan of Muscat had an overflowing treasury, his riches may have been due to the fact that Muscat was then a depôt for the smuggling of arms into Afghanistan and Persia. Is not that the case?

ADMIRAL RICHMOND: Not quite. The arms' question did not come until long after he lost his naval power.

The CHAIRMAN: Parties used to come from the Afghan Borderland —Mahsuds, Afridis, and Wazirs—to somewhere down the coast of 'Oman to get the arms imported from Europe. No doubt they paid, but whether the Sultan had a share in the profits one does not know. If so, we will not regret that that source of income has disappeared. No doubt our knowledge of 'Oman—my ignorance was such that when I started to introduce the lecturer I called it Ōman; now I know better—has been considerably enlarged by what we have heard from Captain Eccles. We are most grateful to him for his excellent lecture, and also to Sir Percy Cox and Admiral Richmond for their contributions to the discussions. (Applause.)

Before closing, I ought to announce what we decided this afternoon at a meeting of the Council. A memorial is, as you know, to be erected in memory of Lord Curzon, for years our most distinguished President, and the greatest authority on Central Asia we have had in the Society since its foundation. The Council has decided to offer a subscription of twenty guineas. What form the memorial will take will depend on the amount subscribed, but I am sure the Society will say that the Council has acted for the best in this matter. (Applause.)

ON THE TRAIL OF ANCIENT MAN IN CENTRAL ASIA*

REPORT OF A LECTURE GIVEN BY

DR. ROY CHAPMAN ANDREWS, D.SC.

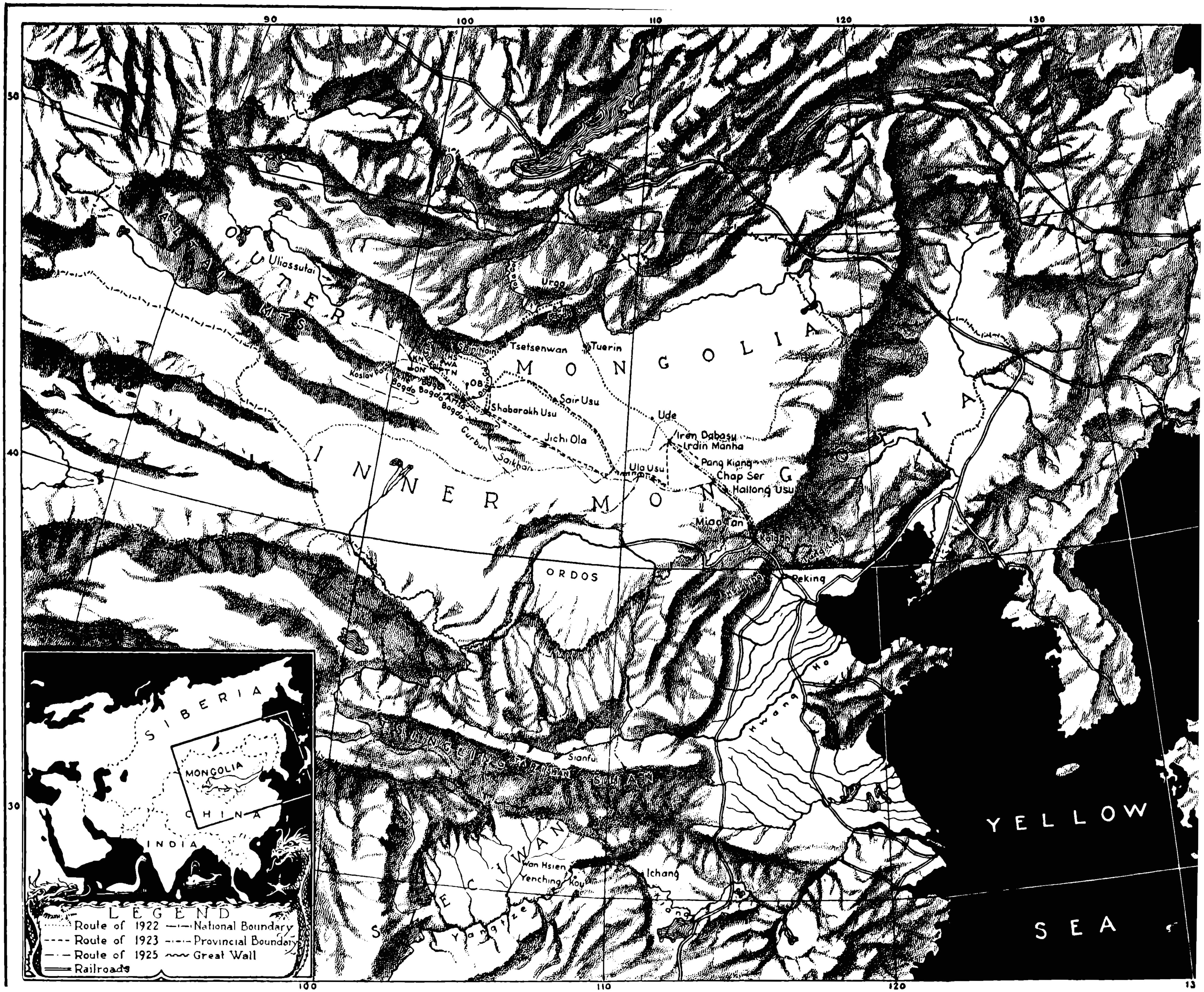
SIR MICHAEL, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is with a great deal more than ordinary pleasure that I take the opportunity of speaking to you to-day, particularly because I have had the honour to be a member of this Society some three years. Last Monday, at the Royal Geographical Society, I tried to give a kaleidoscopic picture of the work which the expedition under my leadership has been conducting in Mongolia for the past five years. Inasmuch as the search for fossils has been a very important part of our work, I am afraid that many of the facts I presented were dead, very dead indeed, because most of the animals had been dead for many million years. This afternoon I hope to tell you something more about the living side of Mongolia, because I believe the members of this Society are more interested in the people and the events that are going on and the conditions of the country than perhaps they would be in the fossil history. I should not say anything about our fossil explorations at all if I had not been particularly asked not to omit the dinosaur eggs. I find that dinosaur eggs pursue me like a ghost wherever I go, they cannot be laid. Therefore I shall first give you a very brief account of the dinosaur eggs, and then try to tell you something about the living people of Mongolia, and about the people who inhabited it before the Mongols came. I can show you with a map better than in any other way just what we did. Twenty years ago Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn, President of the American Museum of Natural History, propounded a theory that Central Asia would prove to be the centre of origin, and the place of distribution for a great part of the mammalian life of the world. He had no facts upon which to base his theory, it was almost entirely inductive reasoning. But he found in Europe and along the western coasts of America animals which obviously were very closely related, and he said these could only have had this close relationship if they had a common origin. They must have come from a central region and that place of common origin was probably half way between Europe and America, and would be naturally in Central Asia. You will see then how Mongolia does lie almost in the centre of the world and how the arrows follow over to America by way of the Behring Straits, which our work has shown has been land until comparatively recent times, and that the arrows also go southward to India and Africa, and over to Europe. I may say it comes to very few men to see the result of their predictions so well fulfilled as were those of Professor Osborn. We went to Central Asia to test this theory; not to prove it if it were not true, but to find out whether or not there were any facts which did substantiate it. We also wanted to reconstruct, so far as possible, the past history of Central Asia, its physiography, the climate, the animal life and vegetation, so that we brought to bear upon it as many branches of science as would help us to reconstruct it and thoroughly understand it. One of the reasons which have made this area a great centre of distribution is, as we have found, that it is probably one of the oldest if not the oldest continuously dry land in the world. Since Jurassic times the Central Asian plateau has been a high and dry continent, and therefore the upland life of the closing part of the age of reptiles has been preserved and we know just what it was, whereas it has not been preserved in other parts of the world. We might have gone with equal hope of success to other parts of Central Asia, to Tibet, or to Chinese or Russian Turkistan, but I had been in Mongolia for some years, and knew the country very well, so we made our start there.

---

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Wednesday, November 10, 1926, at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, and a lecture delivered by Mr. Roy Chapman Andrews, D.Sc., entitled "On the Trail of Ancient Man in Central Asia." Sir Michael O'Dwyer (Chairman of the Society) presided.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—This afternoon we turn over a new page in the history of the Central Asian Society; a new world is about to swim into our ken. As you know, in the past we have dealt with almost every part of Asia and the adjoining parts of Europe and Africa, from Peking to Khartoum. But there is one region of Asia, a land of mystery, which we have not yet dealt with for some time: that is that mystic land outside the great wall of China, embracing Inner and Outer Mongolia and the Gobi Desert. We know little about it; but some of our members, like Sir Francis Younghusband, have in the past been in that part of the world, and have given the benefit of their various researches to us and other societies. If we know anything of that great region we regard it, rightly or wrongly, as the nursing-ground of those warlike and barbaric hordes who, under Attila and Hulagu and Jenghiz Khan, overran all Asia and a great part of Europe, overwhelming—for the time being, at least—the culture of Rome, of Byzantium, of Delhi, and of Baghdad. That is about all we know of that remote and mystic country. But this evening the veil that has hidden that land from our gaze is going to be drawn aside by our lecturer, Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews. (Applause.) He has kindly undertaken to notify to us the results of the three years' explorations and investigations of the great mission which the American Natural History Museum has sent to investigate Mongolia and the Desert of Gobi. It has been a wonderful work, and we are very privileged to-night to be able to hear some at least of the results from the leader of that expedition. I will now ask Dr. Andrews to speak. (Applause.)

One of several reasons why Mongolia has remained comparatively unknown up to recent times has been its situation in the heart of a continent of vast distances, tremendously slow transportation and


90
100
110
120
130
50
40
30
ALTAI MTS
OUTER MONGOLIA
Uliassutai
Urga
Tola
Bogdo Ola
San Noin
Tsetsenwan
Tuerin
Koslov
ON
KN
HS
WA
TN
OB
Bogdo
Bogdo
Bogdo
Arts
Shabarakh Usu
Sair Usu
Ude
Iren Dabasu
Irdin Manha
Pang Kiang
Chap Ser
Hallong Usu
Jichi Ola
Gurbun
Saikhan
Ula Usu
Miao Tan
Kalgan
INNER MONGOLIA
ORDOS
Peking
Ho
Hwang
Sianfu
TSIN LING
TAI PEI SHAN
SHAN
SZECHWAN
Wan Hsien
Yenching Kou
Ichang
Yangtze
YELLOW SEA
SIBERIA
MONGOLIA
CHINA
INDIA
LEGEND
Route of 1922
Route of 1923
Route of 1925
Railroads
National Boundary
Provincial Boundary
Great Wall
100
110
120
13

very severe climate. If you compare a map of Mongolia and the United States you will see it is more than half as large as the United States exclusive of Alaska, but in all the great territory there is not a single mile of railroad ; in the western part there is only transportation by camels, which on a long march travel about eighteen miles a day. Mongolia is divided into the desert and grasslands. The Gobi runs from east to west, very arid in the western part but becoming less arid as one goes eastward. To the north is the capital, the city of Urga, the only large city in the entire territory. Perhaps to-day there are 25,000 people there, and more than two-thirds of them are lama priests. Over in the west we have Uliassutai and Kobdo, but both these places are small villages, which are important rather because there are roads running to them than for any other reason. Except for these three cities the only permanent dwelling-places are the temples which are scattered around in the grasslands and to a less extent in the desert; in some of these temples Chinese traders establish themselves and trade with the priests.

Our work was done almost entirely north of the Altai Mountains ; we began at Kalgan, and then went on up through the Gobi, taking different routes each year. In 1925 we went westward and cut through the Altai Mountains at three places. Next year we hope to go from Kalgan south of the Altais, and while we have spent three years north of the Altais, we expect it will take us another three years to make this southern survey. We have run an actual survey line from Kalgan right on beyond Uliassutai and we hope to do the same thing next year in this tract, and to connect up the splendid surveys made by Stein and Carruthers at Ahmi.

Our expedition numbered forty men all told. We had twelve Americans; there were two British in the foreign staff, and there were thirteen Mongols and thirteen Chinese. Some of the Chinese were very highly trained assistants, whom I had sent over to America, and who had been trained in the American Museum of Natural History. We believed that if we were going to have any better success than some of our predecessors in scientific exploration here, we must concentrate a group of sciences on our problem, and that every science which could possibly have any bearing on the problem we were trying to solve should be represented in the field, so that there could be the advantage of correlated work—in other words, so that the palæontologist should assist the geologist, and the palæobotanist assist both, and so on. Another very important factor was that if we were going to take a group of high-powered men into the field, from whom we expected great efforts, and many of whom had made great sacrifices to come, we must take them there and bring them back in a short time—they must not spend the long seven months of bitterly cold winter in the country. It seemed to me the development of some means of rapid transport would solve our problem. Motor-cars were the things if we could use them, and we felt that with good organization, with mechanics and spare parts, and all the things that would assist us in repairing a car if it was damaged, we should be able to use them. I am glad to say that the use of cars worked out even better than we expected, and while the camel caravan ordinarily does about ten miles in a day, we, with our cars, could do a hundred miles in a day. The result was we were able to work just ten times as fast as previous explorers who had only camels for transportation. We were the better able to do this because the Gobi is a bed-rock desert, not a sand desert such as the Sahara—in other words, we are driving very frequently right on the surface of rock, and the sediment is merely decomposed rock or very fine gravel. There are sand dunes, but only in isolated places, generally very long and very narrow; so that very often we could get through them if we could not get round. We had to be prepared for all sorts of trouble in the field. Often we would come to rivers, such as the Ongingol in the Western Gobi, one of the few rivers that come down through the desert. We used our cars as submarines by wrapping up their hoods in canvas covers, and we found we could go through the most amazing depth of water if we did it quickly. Mud is the one thing we are afraid of; so long as our car wheels actually grip the ground they are all right, but when we strike the late snow storms of spring or the early snow storms of winter, and the terrain is turned into a mass of mud, or when we get into the marshes which sometimes are found in the grassland, we get very anxious. Still, we have had no very serious difficulties.

The sand of the Gobi does not bother us very much, there is not a great deal of it. When we come to sand areas it becomes a question of taking off the thirty men riding on the seven cars, and making everybody get behind the car which is stalled and push for all they are worth. Sometimes it is strenuous work. We have had times when we have only made ten or fifteen miles in a day, but these times are infrequent; two-thirds of the going is very good indeed. Our explorations have had one very unlooked-for result. Commerce follows rapidly upon the heels of exploration, and we had hardly returned from our first trip to the Western Gobi in 1922 before we were besieged by merchants, most of them Chinese, who wanted to know how to get to the different trading stations so that they could bring in valuable cargoes of furs, and so we told them where they could send their petrol and what sort of cars they could use, and gave them the benefit of our experience. The result was that in the Western Gobi, where no cars were running until our expedition went in 1922, there were last year nearly one hundred cars bringing in various valuable cargoes of things which must be brought into the market quickly. I photographed one five-passenger car loaded with nearly three thousand pounds of stuff—it is designed for seven hundred. (Laughter.) It is a great tribute to this car that it can negotiate the Gobi Desert under these very strenuous conditions.

It would have been impossible for our motor-cars to go into the desert without a supporting caravan of camels carrying petrol and food for our large party, because in the Gobi there is virtually nothing that one can get to eat except antelope, and sometimes sheep. There are no vegetables of any kind, or any other supplies, so we had to send out caravans with these things. In 1925 there were 125 camels carrying 4,000 gallons of gasoline, 100 gallons of petrol, 3½ tons of flour, 1½ tons of rice, and other food in proportion, for we have to carry our entire party of forty men through more than five months' stay in the desert. The caravan must start at least three and a half months in advance of the motor party, for it can only go ten miles a day, so I would direct the leader to go out and wait for us at a certain well which we both knew of, perhaps 600, 700, or 800 miles out in the desert, and I would tell him to be there by a certain day; it has been amazing how well we have maintained connections between the caravan and the motors. By the time we arrived there we would have finished our gasoline and food. We would turn over to the caravan the collections of fossils we had made, and receive gasoline and fresh food supplies. Then, if we were staying at that particular point for some time, we would send the caravan on again in advance, or it might follow behind, but it was always the supply ship from which our fleet obtained the necessary things for us to go on. The caravan has had some very difficult times, it has had to start out in the middle of winter, when the temperature was forty, and sometimes fifty, degrees below zero, it has had to fight the snows and the terrible winter gales, but under the leadership of our splendid Mongols it has always come through on time. The camels which we use in Mongolia, you must remember, are different from those of the Sahara, they are very slow-moving animals, making an average of two and a half miles an hour, and are not hot weather animals. They are supposed to work in the winter and not in the summer. In the summer they should feed and get their great humps filled with fat, so that they can use them as reservoirs for the work in the winter when food is scarce. Unfortunately we have had to use our camels during the wrong season—during the summer. They cannot stand heat very well, and the result is we have had a tremendous mortality. At one time we lost all but sixteen out .of seventy-five camels. That was under difficult conditions when we had a strip of 400 miles of desert to go through, and there had been no rain for nearly a year. There was absolutely no food to be had, and I told my old camel leader that the camels must get through to the other side of this arid region; he said, "Well, I can go, but I cannot bring very many camels alive." I picked out sixteen camels laden with gasoline and a little food, and said he must get these through. He promised to do it, and got the sixteen through, but they were pretty sorry looking animals, and the others had died. I wanted to speak one word about the old camel leader, Merin. He is a great character. He has been camel leader for a number of exploring parties that have been in Mongolia, and has been in my employ for the last seven years. Merin is one of those men who never promise more than they can fulfil; he will bring our camels to the point where he has told us he will meet us, in spite of brigands and in spite of storms. He has had some very interesting experiences dodging brigands; in 1923 we were certain all our camels were lost, he had not arrived, and after two weeks I knew that something must be wrong, so we went out to look for the caravan. We ran several hundred miles in the cars, and then had no more gasoline and could not go on. As a matter of fact, we had passed within a few hundred yards of where Merin actually was, but he had heard that in front of him was a band of four or five hundred brigands, and so had left the caravan trail and dodged about from well to well during the night, keeping down in the hollows and concealed during the day, playing hide-and-seek with them, and eventually he came safely to camp with camels and supplies. Last year when the war prevented us from getting away from Peking he kept out in the field. He had gone out with 150 camels and we heard nothing from him. Then reports began to trickle in that a great caravan had been seized by the soldiers and brigands and everybody killed, and it seemed to be certain that it was our caravan. Just before I left China word came down that Merin and all the other men had been killed. But just before I left New York to come to London I had a telegram which said that Merin was still alive, as I hoped he would be, in the middle of the desert somewhere; they could not get to him, but he was there, and as soon as the brigands had transferred their operations elsewhere, Merin would come. (Applause.)

I will now turn to the dinosaurs' eggs: we found them first in a great basin surrounded by red sandstone bluffs, which we called the flaming cliffs, because they looked exactly as if they were aflame when we saw them in the distance. They are battlement bluffs, sculptured by the knives of wind, frost, and rain into a thousand fantastic forms; it was in this basin we found the first eggs in 1923, and a great group of eggs was also found here in 1925. When we went out into the field last year our slogan was, "Bigger and better eggs." (Laughter.) So I promised a reward to the man who discovered the best nest of eggs, and George Olson, who is, without doubt, the champion dinosaur egg finder of the world, discovered a splendid nest of an even dozen. The sandstone ledge they were covered with had broken up and left them beautifully deposited in the sand; all George Olson had to do was to brush them out with a camel's-hair brush. These are far and away the best eggs we have ever discovered yet; the texture of the shell looks like an ordinary hen's egg, but I believe that when they are studied microscopically a great many differences are found between the dinosaur egg shell and that of any fowl, bird, reptile, or turtle. One of the questions everybody asks is, "Why are these eggs so small?" A great many people think of dinosaurs only as huge reptiles, 60 or 70 feet long—the great sauropod which would have looked into a second-storey window if there had been second-storey windows in those days. They think a reptile of that size ought to have laid an egg at least a yard long, and they are rather disgusted because our eggs are only 9 inches. Some dinosaurs were large, some small. The dinosaur that laid these eggs was of an ancestral type, only 9 feet long, and produced an egg 9 inches long—as you will see, an inch of egg to each foot of dinosaur. That is not a bad effort. (Laughter.) A great many people say, "How do you know these are dinosaur eggs?" There are a great many reasons. In the first place they were found in a place where we found nothing but dinosaurs, but perhaps the most convincing reason is that in two of the eggs we have the fossilized skeletons of embryo dinosaurs; so that there is very little doubt now that we have really got dinosaur eggs. We have found several different kinds of them—some larger, some smaller. Once, in 1925, we found several forms, and a new, very elongated egg with an extraordinarily thin shell. These eggs we found quite by chance—five of them—but I have not time to tell you that particular story. I want to say a word about the dinosaur that laid those eggs and why they were preserved. We have got the evidence of geology and palæobotany that this was a very dry region at that time. There must have been tremendous wind storms, as there are to-day, and what probably happened was that the old dinosaur laid her nest of eggs and covered it up with a thin layer of sand to let it be hatched by the rays of the sun, just as reptiles do to-day; then came a tremendous wind storm, and heaped up several feet of sand over the eggs. The air was cut off and the heat of the sun. Incubation, of course, stopped abruptly. The weight of sediment cracked the eggs, the liquid contents ran out, and an extremely fine sand sifted in at the same time, so that now we get a sandstone core in them.

So much for dinosaurs. I want to say something now about the living inhabitants of Mongolia. First I should like to give you just a brief picture of what I think is the most interesting city that I have ever encountered during the fifteen years that I have been wandering into strange corners of the world—that is, Urga, the capital of Mongolia. When you come to Urga across the plain you drop down very abruptly into the valley of the Tola River, and on the shores of the Tola this city has been built. First you come to the Chinese section of the town, and I was amazed when I first arrived there to find that it looked very much like the pictures of the villages which were built during the North American Indian fighting days in America. Everything is stockaded with unpeeled timbers. Every house, every temple, every shop, is surrounded by these high stockades. Probably a great deal of it is to protect it from the terrible winds. Then, as you go on down the street—Urga has a length of about five miles—and leave the Chinese quarter, you go through the Russian section; here you see the little dwellings of the Russian peasants very much like those in Siberia, with brilliant roofs of green, yellow, or red, and the houses not too clean inside. As you go on further down past the Russian section you come to what was actually a few years ago, I suppose, the most horrible prison in the world. I have seen many poor wretches here confined in boxes only two and a half feet high and four feet long, with just a hole through which they could look out and have food passed to them. I actually talked to one man who had been in one of these coffins for five years, it was so low that he could not sit erect, neither could he stretch out at full length. His arms and legs atrophied and how he could continue to live was an entire mystery to me. Through the winter they were only given a sheepskin covering. I am very glad to say that this horrible form of imprisonment and punishment, so far as I know, has been abolished now. I was in the prison in 1924, and there were only two or three of the coffins then still visible, and these were piled up and had not been used for a long time. The Minister for Justice told me they were not using this terrible form of punishment any more. As you go on past the prison you come to the main street of Urga, which comes into a great square. Here you have a mixture of Chinese, Russian, and Mongol, all mingling together, but, what is very interesting, keeping their separate identities. Outside is the great temple which has been built on the hill, and is surrounded by a city in which live about fifteen thousand lamas. This great temple was built some years ago when the living Buddha, the Khutuktu of Mongolia, was threatened with blindness. He did become totally blind. Urga, of course, is a sacred city, and this was the residence of the Khutuktu until, I think, May, 1923, when he died. Another Khutuktu has not been appointed, and probably will not be, because the Soviet Government is not at all favourable to the encouragement of lamaism in Mongolia; in fact, they are doing everything they can to discourage it. Urga was the Mecca for thousands of pilgrims from all over Central Asia. I have seen here in this market-place Tibetans with many different types of dress which I did not know, and Mongols from all over Mongolia—some of them making their pilgrimage up to the temple, and then going over across the river to the palace of the Khutuktu just below the Bogdiara. I wish I could tell you many interesting stories about the Khutuktu, but I cannot begin to tell them now. The Urga market-place always reminded me of what we in America call a Wild West show or a three ring circus; it did not seem as if it could be happening in everyday life. The colour was amazing; one would be standing by one of the stores, and suddenly down the street would come a group of Mongols with feathers in their hats and doing extraordinary antics on their ponies. I always felt I was living more or less in a dream-world, and could not be seeing something which went on every day. The Urga horse-market is perhaps the most important part of the town, because the Mongol lives on horseback, and his greatest wealth is in horses. At the horse-market here you can buy a very good pony for about £6, a really good stout little beast. One of the most curious and characteristic sights in Urga is the feeding of the dogs by the lamas; these dogs are very savage, a great menace to human life, and we had to be careful how we ventured near a Mongol camp or caravan without protection from them. I think the narrowest escape I ever had in my life was once when I was attacked by one when I was asleep. The lamas get great credit by feeding these animals. The Mongols do not bury their dead, they throw them out to be devoured by wolves, bears, or dogs.

I am sorry to say I cannot give you the results of any original investigation of the living Mongols, because so far our expedition has not taken up the study of the living tribes, but I can tell you a little about them. We have not had an anthropologist or ethnologist with us, it is rather off our track, but the Mongols are so interesting that before the expedition closes in 1929 I hope we shall be able to put a physical anthropologist and an ethnologist in the field, and make a serious study of these extraordinarily interesting people. One thing that attracted me about the Mongols is that to-day we have life going on almost as it went on 800 years ago in the time of Kublai Khan. There has been very little reason to change it, because for many thousands of years Mongolia has been a country in which people could live only by raising flocks, there has been no manufacturing development because they could not stay long enough in one place. Grazing necessitates moving about, and they have no means of developing any art or industry of any kind. The women's dresses and elaborate head-dresses are picturesque and very interesting, and are entirely different in Northern and Southern Mongolia, on each side of the Gobi. Their hair is dressed over great frameworks, which without doubt were originally suggested by the horns of the argali, or mountain sheep. The woman wears on her head a silver filigree cap studded with precious stones for the richer people and coloured glass for the poorer ones. When going out she almost always puts on top of the silver cap the saucer-shaped hat which is also worn by the men. You cannot possibly overcolour a picture representing a Mongol woman; she wears every colour of the rainbow, and except for her footwear is altogether satisfying to the lover of bizarre and Oriental costumes. She wears the enormous boots with pointed upturned toes worn by the men, which are more than a cover for the feet—they are a receptacle for anything she cannot conveniently carry on her person, such as a pipe or tobacco. They also provide a convenient place to carry her lunch. (Laughter.) I have seen a woman reach down to her boots, take out a piece of mutton none too fresh and munch away at it. They never take a bath if they can possibly avoid it. The male population is divided into the lamas and the black men—those who are not priests. The black men have their hair done in a queue and are almost always dressed in a flame-coloured or blue gown. The Mongol is always on the back of his horse; he can sit in the saddle twenty-four hours of the day and be happy, but put him for an hour on the ground and he is miserable. One of our party declared he would make an excellent cook if you could give him a kitchen on his horse. About two-thirds of the entire male population of Mongolia is in the priesthood. There is a custom that the firstborn son of every family becomes a lama, in one or other of the orders, red lamas or yellow. I should say that lamaism was probably one of the greatest reasons for the decline of this once glorious nation. The lamas when they live in the temples are the most dissolute and degenerate of people, but fortunately for the country not all of them live in the temples. Some of them only go there a certain number of weeks each year, and then go back to their homes, otherwise there would not be people enough to carry on the work of the country. Here, as in other parts of the East, one has to be very careful about treading on their superstitions. At every temple there are prayer wheels, such as you find in other parts of the East; every time they are turned they are supposed to give a man a certain amount of "face" when he ascends to heaven.

Though they have lost their strength as a nation, I think the Mongol of to-day is physically as good a man as he was when he swept into Europe in the great conquests in the days of Jenghiz or Kublai Khan. They are able to withstand almost as many hardships, and to do almost as much strenuous riding and fighting as they did in the old days. There was a very interesting incident of a reversion to their old tactics in 1921. There were three thousand Chinese soldiers encamped 152 miles south of Urga, when Baron Ungern took over the city; and there was a very famous Mongol general with the Russians, an old friend of mine. Baron Ungern was going to send down some Cossacks to attack those three thousand soldiers, but this Mongol general thought he would like to have the fun himself. He gathered 175 Mongol soldiers, of whom only about half had rifles; the rest were armed with sabres or knives. They rode 152 miles in an incredibly short time, going straight on almost without a halt, and arrived at the Chinese camp just at daylight. I asked the Mongol general what he did there. He said, "We waited for ten minutes, then rode through the camp, shot everybody we could, turned and rode back again and killed everybody we saw, and then rode through the camp again. My fellows had used up all their ammunition, but it was not necessary, because all we did was to go through with the butts of our guns and club the Chinese." They absolutely annihilated three thousand Chinese. I saw the place there with thousands of cartridge shells all round, and I saw one enormous heap where hundreds of bodies had lain. These were the same tactics they had used in old days—a long march, a whirlwind attack, and then off again to a new field. The old Mongol aristocracy is still very proud of its ancestry, which dates far back into history, but the Soviet Government has taken their power away from them ; the four kings and the princes who used to rule Outer Mongolia have become common citizens.

Young Mongolia has rather a hard time of it, and how the children are ever able to grow up one can hardly tell. I remember coming in one day when it was bitterly cold, and I had on my heaviest fur garments ; but the little Mongol children were running around absolutely stark naked. If they are able to resist and grow up to manhood they become hardy people. Almost as soon as they are able to walk they are tied on the back of a horse or camel, and are made to ride and herd flocks.

I want to tell you also something about the Mongol home life and their dwellings. They seem to have developed the very best type of dwelling for their particular life. One must remember the Mongols are nomads, and must move from place to place, and so their dwellings must be such that they are taken about without trouble. They have two kinds of tents, one a felt covering, built over a framework which can be shut like an umbrella, and which looks rather like a beehive and is a second type which we ourselves used. It is designed so as to present a sloping surface at all points to the wind, and is quite difficult to blow down. When the Mongol pitches his *yurt*, the first thing he does is to put his furniture in and build his house round it. The whole thing is erected in an hour and the roof covered with felt. The interior is very simple, a fire of dried dung—the only fuel we have in the desert —a chest which is usually the family altar, on one side the place where the family sleep, and on the other side the place where the lambs and calves are brought in for the night. It is something of a community inside the *yurt*, none too clean, and with an odour it is sometimes difficult to stand.

The Mongol lives very largely on animal products ; indeed, in the desert he has almost nothing but meat and goats' milk, he has no flour nor any vegetables. Above everything else in the world he loves mutton ; he will eat it every day of his life, never get tired of it, and be perfectly happy. His lasso is a long pole, fifteen or twenty feet long, with a sliding noose at the end.

I have very often been asked about the so-called mystic methods of communication which they have in Mongolia. True it is when we go there news of our coming goes in advance; people for hundreds of miles know all about it. It seems mysterious, but the way I figure it out is this: the well is the only place for water, and it is commonly a meeting-place. It is like a telephone switchboard, or a club where people exchange gossip. The Mongols do not have very much to do; if one of them has got a choice bit of gossip very often he will ride forty miles away to a group of *yurts*, tell the people there about it, and spend the night and talk it over. That, I think, is responsible for the mystic communication and the way in which news spreads in the desert. The men are very keen sportsmen; in almost every section of *yurts* they have field meetings once or twice a year, with camel-racing, horse-racing, and wrestling tests. He understands our methods of sportsmanship, and I have never seen a Mongol take an unfair advantage in a sporting contest. He is a good loser, and can take a joke on himself, which is more than a lot of people can do.

I want to go back a few thousand years. I have given a very rapid sketch of the living inhabitants of Mongolia; I want now to tell you what we found about the life that had been there in the past. When we went there, people said, "It is ridiculous to suppose you can find evidence of past human life in the Gobi. How could they live in the desert?" But at practically every one of our camps there were stone implements and other evidences of a long prehistoric past. I should like to go through this very rapidly for you; probably some of you were at the Royal Geographical Society the other night, where I also spoke of it. The peculiar rectangular graves were found in the grassland of Mongolia, and far to the eastward; they are ordinarily more to the west in the grasslands in the Upper Yenesei valley, where the Russians have investigated them, but we also found them in the desert. There were also great circular piles of stones to mark graves, many of which we opened. Some of them gave us nothing, but in others we found the remains of a brachycephalic people, and in one grave particularly a splendid skeleton lying with its head on a saddle. Beside it were bow and reed arrows tipped with iron. The interesting thing to me as a horseman was this, when the archæologist brought the saddle down on which the head was lying, we said, "That is like our M'Clellan army saddle." When we brought it up to camp we had some M'Clellan army saddles there, and the saddle we had found proved to be an absolute replica of the saddle which General M'Clellan thought he had invented at the time of the Civil War. It was not like a Chinese or Mongol saddle, but an absolute replica of our M'Clellans—a curious thing to find in an ancient grave in Mongolia. We do not know much about these people: we think perhaps they are representative of the people who were here just before the Mongols; they may not go back more than two thousand years, evidently they were living in the period of the Bronze and Iron Age. Near these graves we almost invariably found a pictograph carved on the stones wherever there was a flat surface. Here we had ibex and stag and many human figures; some of the game animals represented there are not existing in that part of the country at the present time. Yet near these stones we never found any stone implement, although this type of pictograph is almost always dated into the Stone Age. In the same valley as the dinosaur eggs we found an extraordinarily interesting type of culture of a people we named the Dune Dwellers, because we found the culture in old sand-dunes. Our geologist told us that in this basin there had been for thousands of years a lake, which was probably more or less intermittent; these people must have lived on the shores of this lake, for we found that where the valleys had been eroded out there were literally thousands and thousands of stone implements, and flakes and chips taken off by the primitive artisans when making weapons and tools. Then again we found evidences of fireplaces, where, by making a cross-section and with very careful excavation we could find the bits of charred woods and heaps of ashes of fires that had blazed twenty thousand years ago. It was very interesting to us to picture the life as it was then where these people had sat around their camp fires, their primitive artisans making their tools, and this going on thousands upon thousands of years, one century after another; because we found that we had here a most interesting cross-section going back from the palæolithic or upper part of the old Stone Age, through a transition period, actually into the beginning of the new Stone Age when the use of pottery had begun. This was right on top, so that it was a continuous development of the culture from that Stone Age onwards. Our archæologist sorted out a great number of stone and other implements which we found, some finished, and, in sorting these things out, he eventually found he could arrange them in series, and show the evolution of the culture from this extraordinarily interesting old Stone Age culture up into the new Stone Age. He found, among many other things, stone-scrapers and the stone cores from which they pushed off those long, slender strips which they used as knives. There were implements dating to all periods of the old and new Stone Ages. A very interesting thing to me was this: I thought we were the original discoverers of the dinosaur eggs, just as M'Clellan thought he was the original inventor of his saddle, but we found these people had discovered the dinosaur eggs twenty thousand years before we were thought of, and had used them as necklaces and ornaments, because we found bits of dinosaur egg shell and ostrich egg shell, with neatly drilled holes in them, which evidently had been used in this way. In the Stone Age we found pottery already marked with a strong design.

What did these people look like? It is difficult to say, because we have to use European chronology, and except from implements and things of the sort we do not know what their relationship is. At the same time in Europe, about 25,000 years ago, we had people who had developed this wonderful art, and we find beautiful primitive drawings in caverns in France. Our people, we know, were not cave-dwellers, because there were no caves to dwell in; they were lake-shore dwellers, and they probably made shelters on the sunny sides of rocks, and made shelters in burrows. But what they looked like we cannot tell until we find human bones, for it is an extraordinary thing that we did not find in this great culture camp any human bones. It is probably explained by the fact that for some reason the conditions were not proper for the preservation of bones—there were very few pieces of animal bones, and we should certainly have found animal bones if the conditions had been right for proper preservation.

We have, however, found a much earlier culture than that of the dune-dwellers, though only in a few places. We found implements made by the Mousterian man living 100,000 years ago. As I say, we found these in only a few places, and hope next year to delineate them very much more fully. We can only say of this people that their culture was like that of Europe at the time of the Neanderthal man.

To summarize our finds of human beings in the desert shortly: We have found that primitive human beings were in Mongolia actually as far back as 100,000 years ago; they were very widely distributed, and we have found that their culture was very closely related to the culture of Europe. One question about that relationship is, of course, which is the older—whether they migrated from Europe, or whether they came the other way. This we are not yet prepared to say. But I am prepared to say we have discovered some extraordinarily interesting things as we have gone on a little further. We already know now where to look and how to look, and we think that we know that our men were more to the south in the Gobi. I have one other thing which I think most of you have not heard of. Dr. J. G. Andersson announced at a meeting of affiliated societies in Peking—when the Crown Prince of Sweden was there—that just outside Peking, at a spot twenty-five miles away, which I visited with him, they have found a human tooth which goes back to the Upper Pliocene: that is older than pithecanthropos or any other fossil. That is of the most extraordinary importance. My letter only gave me a brief sketch of it, but it is undoubtedly a human tooth, and a Pliocene tooth, the first definitely human relic from the Pliocene. It is a find of great importance in our hypothesis of Asiatic origin. (Great applause.)

Sir Francis Younghusband: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to make just a few observations upon the extremely interesting lecture we have heard. It so happened that twenty-nine years ago I travelled along about midway between where Dr. Andrews was exploring in the territory he has described in his lecture, and the district which he will be exploring—equally successfully we hope—in the next year or two. From what I saw then, on my way from Peking to Harbin, I can entirely corroborate what Dr. Andrews has said as to the nature of the Gobi district. It is not entirely sand, but mostly a fine gravel with a certain amount of scrub, which affords sufficient feeding at any rate for camels and wild asses. Also in some parts there are wild camels and wild horses. The great feature of this desert is the strength and frequency of the wind. There is a perpetual wind blowing practically every day; and at times there come on the most fearful dust storms, in which it is impossible to keep a tent standing, and it is very difficult to keep standing yourself. We often had to crouch down before the onslaught of the wind. As regards what Dr. Andrews will find on his next journey, I should imagine that he will have far greater difficulty as regards water, and as regards going generally, than he has hitherto had. The track which I had to follow took a very considerable bend northwards up towards where he was travelling in order to avoid the exceptionally dry desert to the south. We kept along the southern spurs of the Altai Mountains, and did just every here and there get a little stream of water, and anyhow places where we could dig for water. Probably further south he may find great difficulty. However, Dr. Andrews must be well aware of that. This evening we have had evidence of his great capacity for organization—in his great organization of camel caravans combined with motor-cars; and so we may well look forward to his successfully overcoming the difficulties which now lie in front of him. (Applause.) As regards what he said about the Lamas, I was in very hearty agreement with him. I think there is not the slightest doubt that if Mohammedanism had taken the place of Lamaism for the last 600 or 800 years, if the Mongols had been Mohammedans instead of Buddhists, they would have been a very much more warlike and very much rougher people to deal with than they are at present. I think he said about two-thirds of the men, an enormous percentage, actually become Lamas, and lead rather a lazy kind of life. Some of them, of course, are exceedingly good men, but the great mass are extremely indolent; and I think the whole tone of Lamaism tends to make the people slack and complacent. It deteriorates their virility. I delivered a lecture in this very hall some ten or twelve years ago on that very point, dealing with Lamaism in Tibet. If Tibet had taken up Mohammedanism instead of Lamaism its inhabitants would have been a more virile race than they are at present. Then as regards the Mongols retaining their same form of attack through these years, it was very interesting to me to hear what Dr. Andrews said, because when we were in Tibet in 1904 there were some Mongols brought there by the Tibetans mounted, as the Lecturer said the Mongols always are, and they proceeded to attack. Their form of attack is not very successful against machine-guns, or against a counter-attack such as we made upon them with our men armed with rifles, but I can see now that they were making that attack in exactly the form Dr. Andrews described—apparently the same form of attack as they used centuries ago. From some of those pictures which the Lecturer showed us, and from what he said, we can partly understand how it was that these great hordes of Mongols, starting from the heart of the world, which Dr. Andrews has been describing to us this evening, invaded and overran all Western and Southern Asia and far into Europe to the gates of Vienna. The fact was that the whole people moved. They are a nomadic people—they move with tents, horses, wives, and families. The whole people moved along and rapidly overran Western Asia. These are a few observations, but the Lecturer has had so many points, and it was such an extremely interesting lecture, that one could go on talking about it the whole evening. (Applause.)

Dr. BATHER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not wish to keep you, but I think those who are leaving the room should stay while I propose, if I may be permitted, a very hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Andrews for this lecture. (Applause.) To that I would add that I should like not merely to propose a vote of thanks to Dr. Andrews for this lecture this evening on behalf of this large audience, but I should like to propose a vote of thanks to Dr. Andrews on behalf of the geologists, and, indeed, on behalf of the scientific men of this country and the whole world. Dr. Andrews has shown us a new way. He has been a pioneer not only through the deserts of Central Asia, but a pioneer in methods of exploration. We of the British Museum have at the present moment a great expedition in Tanganyika territory, where we are intending to collect the bones of the dinosaurs which lived there. We wish to proceed further west, trace the ancient river up, and get more bones further to the west. I do not know that the conditions are precisely the same as they are in Mongolia, but we have learned a great deal from Dr. Andrews on the proper way to run an expedition of this kind, and although we are a national institution, the national museum of this country, we have to follow, and to follow a very long way behind, the Museum of New York—the American Museum of Natural History; because they have the art of getting money and we have not. I leave that point, though if anybody here likes to give us any money, of course he can do it. At all events we shall do our best to follow the lead of this American expedition in our own small way.

The mention of dinosaurs in Africa reminds me of something Dr. Andrews said at the beginning of this lecture. It always struck me as a very curious thing that these dinosaurs found in Tanganyika territory should resemble so remarkably those found right down the middle of North America. You remember he showed you at the beginning two continents coloured green—one was North America and one was Africa. It is odd they should have been coloured the same; besides, he drew one line of arrows going down into Africa to just the place where we are getting the dinosaurs, while the other dinosaurs are found in the part of North America where the other arrows ended. How did they get to North America—and one might add South America, where somewhat similar forms have been found? There is a Professor Wegener, in Germany, who has an idea that the east and west sides of the world were once much closer together—that there was no Atlantic. But, whether true or not, that connection did not last long enough for dinosaurs to get from North America to Africa. On the other hand, if this theory of my friend Professor Osborn is true—and, indeed, this expedition, which owes its inception to that theory, has apparently confirmed it—we have a very simple explanation of this extraordinary resemblance: we know why precisely the same kind of dinosaur is found in Tanganyika as in Wyoming and other parts of North America.

As a reward to those who are so kind as to stop and listen, I want to remind them that if they come to the National History Museum, to the Geological Department, they can there see some excellent models of the dinosaur eggs kindly presented by Professor Fairfield Osborn, as well as an excellent cast of the skull of the little Protoceratops—little that is for a dinosaur—which laid some of the eggs. As to the size of the eggs, I would remind Dr. Andrews that a crocodile is a fair-sized beast, and has an egg about the size of a hen's egg. If that egg can produce a crocodile I do not see why these eggs that are nine times the size of a hen's egg could not produce a good-sized dinosaur.

I would like to have heard a good deal more than Dr. Andrews had time to tell us about those ancient remains of men. I am not going to say anything about the Mongols, because I represent the dead side as Dr. Andrews called it—the geology. But I want to mention those ancient forms of flint implements. There is no doubt that if this expedition goes down to the southern part of Mongolia next year and in succeeding years, it will find further evidences. We know already that Pères Licent and Teilhard de Chardin of Paris have found in Ordos (which you saw down in the south-east corner of Mongolia), quartzite implements underneath the loess, that huge deposit of wind-borne and water-borne sand which extends over a great part of China, and which has been formed and then ravined by rivers since the makers of those implements lived there. Dr. Andrews talked about the two teeth of alleged Pliocene Age which were announced the other day in Peking.*

---

* Dr. Davidson Black, of Peking, in a letter to *Nature* (November 20, 1926), considers that the deposit at Chou Kou Tien, near Peking, which yielded the human teeth, is as likely to be Lower Pleistocene as Upper Pliocene.

We are waiting for evidence of their age. But there is greater difficulty in Mongolia about the evidence, because there are gaps in the succession of the Tertiary rocks up to this loess. I do not know that very much has been found to bridge the last gap, and it is therefore difficult to tell the geological age of the men who lived on this rock surface before the loess was deposited—to say in what age they lived. They may go back there possibly even as far as the Pliocene. There, at any rate, is a long stretch of culture, as Dr. Andrews has explained, going on from very remote periods in the same place, and there is no reason why we should not suppose that the very earliest men of all upon the earth were living and moving there. But what the age is we can hardly say.

Allow me to propose an exceedingly hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Andrews. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Before putting the motion I should like to say a word on behalf of the Central Asian Society. We thank Dr. Andrews for the most fascinating lecture he has delivered to us this evening. He said he hoped he had not spoken too long, but we all would have wished him to go on for another hour. (Applause.) He has dealt with the past and the present, and he has given us a most wonderful picture of a region unknown to most of us. As he spoke I was reminded of the old lines describing people listening open-mouthed to a master of his subject: "And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew that one small head should carry all he knew." (Laughter and applause.) One thing that struck me was that in one respect his silence was even more remarkable than his speech—that is the extraordinary modesty which he displayed. He told us nothing of the hardships of three years' campaign in that inhospitable desert of appalling heat and equally appalling cold. Cut off from all the amenities of civilized life, what he and his companions must have gone through in those years of research would have daunted the heart of an ordinary man. But he did not tell us a word about it. His reticence is a tribute to his innate modesty, and is also an explanation of the wonderful organization which he so successfully conducted.

I was in Central Asia some thirty years ago, and I got a most extraordinary tribute to the American power of organization in a place where you would least expect to find it. I was in Samarkand and wanted to go to Tashkent. There was no railway communication then, and we had to hire a rough country cart and traverse a region, known as the Hungry Steppe, for about 200 miles, and to come back by a fixed date, picking up horses as we went along. When we hired the conveyance the owner said, "When will you come back?" and we replied, "We shall be nine days away; three going, three there, and three coming back." We managed to accomplish it, and got back in the nine days to the office in Samarkand of the man from whom we had hired the vehicle. When we got there he looked at us and said, "Good heavens, are you back?" I said, "Yes." He asked, "How did you manage to get back?" and I replied, "We said nine days and are back in nine days." "It is wonderful," he exclaimed, and then added in Russian, "Soverskanns po Amerikansky"—"It is exactly what the Americans do." (Laughter and applause.) He was referring to our power of conquering the difficulties of the road and carrying out a programme by the date. That to a Russian was a very marvellous performance.

We were very glad to hear from Dr. Andrews that his labours are not at an end, that he proposes to continue them for three years more, and to complete that wonderful programme which is at present only half-way through. In proposing this vote of thanks I know you will all heartily support it, and I hope that he may complete the great pleasure he has given us this evening by coming back two or three years hence and giving us the benefit of his further investigations. (Great applause.)

The Council much appreciate the very kind letter of thanks from the American Museum of Natural History for the donation of ten guineas which the Central Asian Society was able to make as a sign of their appreciation of the great and far-reaching value of the scientific work undertaken by the Central Asiatic Expeditions under Dr. Andrews's leadership.

FIVE YEARS' PROGRESS IN IRAQ.

By JA'FAR PASHA EL ASKERI, C.M.G.

[A paper, intended to have been read by Ja'far Pasha el Askeri on November 17, 1926, before the Central Asian Society, but never delivered owing to His Excellency having been summoned from London, where he was his country's Diplomatic Agent, to become Prime Minister and to form a new Ministry in Baghdad.]

My subject is the progress of Iraq. The problem is a great one, nothing less than the creation of a modern, scientific administration in a country which was previously an outlying portion of an old-fashioned Empire. To build up an apparatus of government which the inhabitants will be able to work by themselves, or with as little help as possible, is the object to which our efforts have been directed for the past five years and will be continued to be directed. And though I can speak of very few things as an expert, I can perhaps claim to have been as closely in contact with the general questions of administration in Iraq as anyone. And it was on this account that I ventured to accept the kind invitation of the Central Asian Society to speak to you upon the subject of the progress which Iraq has made during these years of its infancy as an independent State.

Let me start with a few figures, though I do not mean to bore you with statistics, which will show you that when we are talking of progress in Iraq, we are still thinking of something in the future. The size of the country, for instance, is 150,000 square miles, which is about three times that of England and Wales, whilst the population is only 3,000,000. In the Nile Valley from Aswan to the sea, where you get a riverain population living upon irrigated lands, there are some 13,000,000 inhabitants. The possible irrigable area in Iraq is certainly not less than that of Egypt. We may start off by saying therefore that what Iraq wants above everything else is more population. This is a necessary condition of progress. Obviously it will take some time to achieve.

The first essential in a country is to provide means of communication between its various provinces. We have improved communications very greatly in comparison with what they were before the war. The only railway in existence in Iraq in those days was that portion of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway constructed between Baghdad and Samarra, a length of seventy-six miles. At that time it took from three to seven days, according to the season, to travel from Baghdad to Basra by river. It now takes twenty-two hours by train. I can still vividly remember the time when one drifted down the Tigris from Mosul to Baghdad on *kalags*, a picturesque but by no means rapid method of transit, in a week. When the railway from Kirkuk to Mosul is completed, the latter city will be brought within a shorter time distance from Baghdad than is Basra. There are also railways from Baghdad to Khanaqin, with a branch from Qaraghan to Kingerban, from which place the line to Kirkuk has been completed and opened to traffic in December, 1925. There is also a railway from Baghdad to the Diyala, and the railway from Baghdad to Samarra has been extended to Shargat. Another branch line runs from the Hindiyah Barrage, on the Baghdad-Basra line, to Karbala. Many bridges over the Euphrates and Diyala Rivers have been built at Barbooti, Imam Abdullah, Rumaithah, Jarbouiyah, Baqubah and Qaraghan. And at Baghdad we have a ferry capable of carrying 720 tons a day. In all, the approximate mileage open to traffic is 816, and the railways carry half a million passengers and 400,000 tons of merchandise per annum. I think that we have every reason to be satisfied with the progress that this shows.

But though railways are still the first essential for good communications, they have in Iraq a formidable rival, or rather a good ally in the motor-car. There are very few parts of the country where the motor-car cannot penetrate, thanks to the surface of the Iraq plains. With us, indeed, the making of roads is chiefly a matter of building bridges, as almost any part of the plain can be crossed if canals, etc., are bridged. In Turkish times there were few motor-cars in the country, but *arabanas* traversed a few roads, notably those from Baghdad to Karbala and Najaf, to Hillah, to Samarra and Tekrit, and to Baqubah and Khanaqin. *Arabanas* were rarely used in other parts of the country, though there was a small *arabana* traffic round Mosul. Now, however, practically the whole of the country has been opened up to motor traffic by building numerous bridges, and there are to-day some 2,627 miles of earth roads and 124 miles of metalled roads which can be traversed by motor-cars.

I should like in passing to give you a few details of the very considerable amount of work we have done in making bridges. A great many permanent bridges, chiefly of concrete or steel, have been built all over the country, and there are now very few places which cannot be reached by heavy cars. Altogether the Government has built some 300 bridges of more than six feet span. At the moment we are building a permanent bridge over the Euphrates in Fallujah for the trans-desert convoys. In some places, permanent bridges are at the present time impracticable. In such cases floating bridges are used. In Turkish times there were nine of these, many of which could only take *arabanas* with difficulty. To-day we have seventeen floating bridges, all capable of carrying the heaviest cars. In addition we have ten flying ferries on steel cables, which can also carry heavy cars. Whilst dealing with this branch of the activities of the Public Works Department, I should not forget to mention that electrical lighting is now provided in eight of our provincial towns, in addition, of course, to Baghdad and Basra. And whilst in pre-war days there was practically no water supply in the provinces, there are to-day installations in eight provincial towns. Baghdad is now excellently served, though both here and in Basra the system is under extension at the moment. In all these things, there is reason for solid satisfaction. Admittedly our railways and roads will undergo great extension. We are at the beginning of their development, not the end.

In the meantime the bedrock on which the future of Iraq depends is, of course, agriculture. I am not exaggerating when I say that, potentially, Iraq is to-day one of the richest portions of the earth's surface awaiting scientific cultivation. In the varied climate which Iraq possesses it is possible to grow crops of various kinds. The dates of Basra are deservedly famous, and their cultivation is possibly the best example in Iraq of a crop which is scientifically grown. Date-palms also flourish in the Baghdad district, and around Hillah and Amara. Large cultivators in Egypt have long discovered that their cultivation on lighter soils is a lucrative business, and doubtless, as irrigation spreads in Iraq, we shall do the same.

In passing I should like to mention the really excellent fruits which we grow. We believe our oranges to be second to none; our grapes, figs, and pomegranates have been the inspiration of our poets for centuries.

Other crops which Iraq can produce plentifully are rice, wheat, and barley. Rice naturally depends upon irrigation. But cereals can be grown upon the rain-fed steppe areas of Upper Iraq and on the hilly districts along the Persian frontier, and wheat and barley are crops which can to-day be cultivated upon a commercial scale. Thus, in 1923, the amount of wheat and barley exported was 206,000 tons. I am afraid that 1924 and 1925 were not good years for harvest. But this was only a passing set-back. Wheat and barley will also be continued to be grown, at present, in the irrigated areas in Lower Iraq as a rotation crop. Unfortunately, our Iraq wheat, and particularly our barley, which is of a comparatively high grade, commands a relatively low price owing to the insufficiently clean condition in which it is marketed, for which the middlemen are more to blame than the cultivators.

Improved seed and improved methods of cultivation are both necessary, and cultivators, in Iraq as elsewhere, are conservative folk. Nevertheless, the Government is alive to the importance of this matter, and in 1925 twenty-two new strains of Australian and Indian wheats were tested under Government supervision. I should add that the Government on its experimental farms is testing the suitability of introducing agricultural machinery, and is demonstrating its uses to cultivators.

Our progress in the cultivation of flax has not hitherto borne out our hopes. The fall in prices and the possibility of further fall, due to the reopening of the Russian supply, have discouraged any fresh capital being invested in this industry.

Then there is the very important question of cotton. The soil and the climate are suitable. There is plenty of water, and Iraq, when our irrigation system has been developed, can be one day one of the great cotton-growing areas of the world. Sir William Willcocks made a careful survey of Mesopotamia before the war and prepared plans which would have turned the district between the Tigris and Euphrates into a garden, as it was in Babylonian or Abbaside times. It has been calculated that in the future, when sufficient labour is forthcoming and the rivers have been harnessed, we might be able to export 3,000,000 bales a year. The British Cotton Growing Association from the start has been alive to the possibilities Iraq affords for cotton-growing, and its help has been consistent and unfailing.

The Government has carried out many tests to establish which is the type of cotton most suitable to be grown in Iraq. The question is a technical one, and I will not inflict upon you details which would be out of place in such a brief survey as I am taking. I should say, however, that we have still to find the ideal strain, suitable at once to the soil and climate, and also producing a high-ginning average. So far we have been most successful with the Webber types. I am still hopeful, in spite of the very real difficulties which have faced us in this matter, that Iraq cotton will one day be our chief export. But we must expect to move slowly, and the fact that many large landowners are interesting themselves actively in the cultivation of cotton is a good augury for the future. We may say, therefore, that if we have not made as much progress as we should have wished, we have at least understood the difficulties which stood in our path.

No remarks, however brief, upon agriculture would be complete without giving you some details of what we have done in the sphere of irrigation. Under the Turks no organized department existed, though the construction of the Hindiyah Barrage was undertaken on the advice of Sir William Willcocks. All irrigation was consequently flood. When the administration was taken over the Barrage was found to be in a very bad state, due partly to its construction—having suffered through lack of funds—partly to bad working, and partly to inefficient maintenance. It has cost the Iraq Government about 6 lakhs of rupees a year for the past six years to put it in a sound condition. The Government has also constructed four large main canals, all perennial, which altogether command an irrigation area of half a million acres. A considerable amount of work has been done too on old canals, and the spill-ways on the lower Tigris have been put under control so that the navigable conditions of the narrows at Qalat Saleh have been much improved, the low-water depth being now 18 inches higher than it was. The bunds, so necessary to the protection of the country against floods, are also now in a sound condition. So, if the large irrigation schemes have yet to be realized, it may be that, thanks to the Irrigation Department, everything is ready for further development when the time comes.

Then again, apart from our agricultural resources, there is the question of oil. So much attention has been given to this subject that I will say very little about it now. But, nevertheless, in any survey of the progress of Iraq oil must necessarily figure. After all, Iraq is the birthplace of the oil industry. Bitumen was used as mortar in 4000 B.C. at Tel-el-Ubaid, and as the lining of baths and for floors at Kish. Its use as mortar in the Tower of Babel and as caulking for Noah's Ark is referred to in the Bible. The inflammatory nature of petroleum was demonstrated before Alexander. Primitive refining has long been carried out at Kirkuk and elsewhere. The eminent French savant, Jacques de Morgan, was among the first of European scientists to draw attention to the potential value of the Iraq oil fields in 1895, and the D'Arcy Exploration Company, Limited, between 1903 and 1913, made extensive borings on the Turco-Persian frontier at Chiah Surkh, but without success.

During the last few years oil has been struck by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Limited, in the "Transferred Territories"—that is to say, in the territories that were transferred from Persia to Turkey as the result of the final delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier in 1914—and a refinery is now in course of erection at Khaniqin to meet local requirements. Sooner or later a pipe line will be laid, either to the Persian Gulf or to the Mediterranean, from the Transferred Territories; the route must depend, however, largely on whether and where oil is struck by the Turkish Petroleum Company elsewhere in Iraq. The Turkish Petroleum Company was granted in 1925 a concession for oil in Baghdad and Mosul Vilayets, and during the next eighteen months this Company will drill, I am informed, six test wells at various points selected after careful geological examination. On the result of these test wells will depend further developments. If they prove the existence of oil in commercially paying quantities, further wells will be sunk. If these likewise give satisfactory results, a pipeline will, I take it, be constructed to a Mediterranean port. When this arduous work, involving as it does much expenditure of capital, has been accomplished, the Company will doubtless be paying a dividend to its shareholders. In any case Iraq will commence to draw a royalty, under the terms of the concession, of four shillings on every ton of oil produced, and the income derived from this source will be, I hope, of material assistance to the Iraq Government. We shall then be in the same happy position as the Persian Government has been in respect of its royalties on oil during the past ten years.

I have mentioned some of the problems which Iraq has to settle to ensure its future prosperity. Perhaps I seem to have been talking rather of promise than of progress actually achieved. If that is so it is because Iraq has such enormous potentialities, and one is conscious that if much has been done very much more remains to be achieved.

With your permission I will now turn to one or two matters of a more purely administrative nature. Here we can point to solid and substantial progress. First and foremost comes the question of defence. It is no good our looking forward to developing our country unless we are ready and able to defend it from any attacks from outside. Happily in the last year our relations with our most formidable neighbour have much improved, and to-day Iraq is on friendly terms with all the adjoining states. Nevertheless, we realize that an army, and an efficient army, is essential to the future peace of Iraq. I think that we have made very considerable strides during the last few years in the formation of that army. Aided by English officers, of whom General Daly is the chief, professional soldiers of Iraq have worked hard to bring an Iraq army into being. In this, as in other things, we have had to work slowly owing to considerations of expense. But we have already made great progress. Our young officers, some of whom have been trained in England, are proving very efficient, and I hear nothing but good of them from all sides. Our programme is to have a small peace footing army, which could be increased by mobilizing the reserves to a size sufficient to ensure the defence of the country against any likely aggression. When a moderate form of military service by ballot is introduced, we shall be in a fair way to realizing our ideal. Our military strength will in case of emergency also be increased by the local tribesmen who are good fighting men. They are now being afforded facilities for taking up agricultural holdings—facilities which will increase with the spread of irrigation. The personnel of our army at present, when it is recruited under a system of voluntary enlistment, is representative of the various strata of the population of Iraq. About 40 per cent. consist of the town and village Arabs, some 35 per cent. are tribesmen, and the other 25 per cent. is made up of Kurds and Turcomans. Such experience of fighting as the young army has obtained in Kurdistan has spoken well of its military qualities. There is an excellent *esprit de corps* amongst our officers, and the relations between them and their British colleagues are most cordial. Though the voluntary system is inadequate to build up sufficient reserves to enable the army to expand in time of war, there is to-day no lack of recruits. In the all-important matter of defence, therefore, I do not think that we have any reason to be dissatisfied with the progress already achieved.

I can speak with a certain amount of personal experience on this question, since six years ago, when I was Minister of Defence in the first Iraq Cabinet, I drew up a memorandum outlining the form which in my opinion the Iraq army should take. In some respects my proposals, especially in the not unimportant of the rates of officers' pay, have been found too modest. But in general the suggestions we made then have been adopted. It is agreed that the peace strength of the Army should be 15,000, and that it should consist of short-term men, serving for two years with the colours and then passing into the reserve. So far the system of recruiting by ballot, the form of modified conscription which was in force in pre-war Turkish times, has not been reimposed. But it is a practical political question and one that is ripe for solution.

Closely allied with the question of defence is that of internal security. This in Iraq offers special problems from the size of our territory and the sparse distribution of the population. Here again great strides have been made, and the police enforce public order in a way undreamt of a few years ago. The prestige of the police amongst the tribesmen is steadily rising, and the cases where they are unable to deal with any infringement of public security without help from the military are becoming more and more uncommon. The force to-day consists of some 6,000 men, of whom rather less than half are mounted. Again, there is no difficulty in obtaining recruits, and the Arab police officers, with the help of British inspectors, are steadily strengthening the discipline and the *esprit de corps* of the force. The Police School in Baghdad is helping to instil into the police force the sort of technique which in the West is naturally expected from the guardians of public security. New Police Stations are rising in the provincial towns, a sign to all of the majesty of the law ; I should mention in particular that at Rutba in the desert, which guards the overland route. Those of you who know Baghdad will agree that the police there make a good show, not least in their efforts to regulate the traffic.

In nothing, I think, is the progressive growth of the authority of Government shown better than in the way the ideal of public justice and public security is gaining ground at the expense of the old ideas of revenge and the redress of private grievances through the intermediary of the " arfa," the "man of knowledge," who still plies his trade of mediator or arbitrator amongst the beduin. The Magistrates Courts have a growing number of cases each year, resulting partly from the greater efficiency of the police, and in part from the increasing willingness of the people to submit their disputes to constituted authority.

There were, for instance, 18,152 summary cases in 1925, as compared with 14,663 in 1924.

Of the organization of the Courts I need say little. It is sufficient for me to remark that the Iraq Courts are regarded as efficient both by Iraqis and Europeans, and that I do not think Iraq will ever be involved in the legal and administrative handicaps which have beset other countries in the Near and Middle East.

In the very important matter of public health we have made great progress. Cholera, as English people know only too well, for it was this disease which carried off that great soldier, General Maude, has been in the past a grave menace in Iraq. But, thanks to the vigilance of the Public Health Department, and in particular the Quarantine, the last time it attempted to pay us a visit, which was in 1923, its ravages were warded off. It began in Basra on that occasion, having been introduced, I believe, on a ship from India, and it managed to creep up to Baghdad by way of the river. There it stopped, and with only 184 cases altogether to its account. Other diseases, more insidious, though less alarming, than cholera, we have always with us. Bubonic plague in a mild form is endemic, and we have a few hundred cases every year, though it leaves Europeans severely alone. By means of vaccination we hope to stamp this out in time. Malaria, which is found in some parts, is more of a problem. Bilharzia and ankylostoma, which are also prevalent in the analogous environment of Egypt, are by no means uncommon, and amœbic dysentery claims a good deal of attention, particularly in Basra. But do not think from this list of diseases that our bill of health is a bad one. Those amongst the members of the Central Asian Society present here this afternoon who have been to Iraq know that our climate, though in parts it is decidedly warm in summer, is a healthy one. And the fact that our doctors are on the track of the diseases I have mentioned affords us the conviction that their power to harm will be gradually diminished. Already we have hospitals in fourteen of our provincial towns. In Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul there are two apiece. There is also a project for starting a medical school in Baghdad when the time is ripe. I should add that the Government is alive to the question of eye diseases, and that the fight against rabies is most efficiency conducted through the Pasteur Institute in Baghdad. We have also an excellent X-ray institute. Both these are Government concerns.

I must say something about education, a subject which I know most English people regard with suspicion. We Iraqis, on the other hand, who know what it means to be without it, are inclined to think it the remedy for all our problems. If I may say so, I admire the English in nothing more than in the way they have realized that education must discipline the character as well as the intelligence. Otherwise it may be worse than nothing. In such remarks, therefore, as follow I hope you will remember that by education I mean something more than mere book-learning or the ability to pass Government examinations.

If we look at the statistics of the Ottoman Ministry of Education, published in 1915, we find that the three vilayets of which Iraq consisted were very backward among Ottoman vilayets. At that time there were only in these three vilayets 160 primary schools with 6,470 pupils. To-day there are 228 primary schools with 22,712 pupils. This alone is sufficient to show that we are alive to the need of training our future citizens. But the progress we have made is more striking when it is borne in mind that the schools now are adequately staffed, and that the medium of instruction is no longer Turkish, which has, of course, always been a foreign language in Iraq, but Arabic, and in the Kurdish provinces, Kurdish. In secondary education we have also given increased facilities, and we have taken steps also to enable the many adult illiterates, who are to be found in the towns, to attend evening classes. About 2,400 men are at present going to these night schools. Almost more important than the better education of our male population is that of our women. I think that I speak for all Iraquis in saying that we are proud of the improvements which have been effected in female education. We have now efficient girls' schools in Baghdad (where an American lady is principal), Mosul, Basra, and Amara, and the numbers of pupils is only limited by want of buildings and of teachers. Altogether we have to-day, I quote from some recent figures, 31 girls' schools and 4,055 students. An important side of the instruction is that devoted to hygiene and infant welfare. I should add that the ladies in Baghdad, realizing the importance of raising the status of women, have organized a society which, in addition to its other activities, provides evening classes for women who wish to improve their education. Then again, in order to enable certain picked Iraqis to finish their education abroad, we have this year sent twenty-three to various higher colleges and universities. Ten have come to England, three have gone to America, of whom two are studying agriculture, and eight have gone to the American college at Beyrut in order to be trained as secondary school masters.

One or two special problems meet us in the field of education. There is, for instance, that of Tribal education. One cannot say at present that the need for education is felt as a pressing want by the tribesmen as it is by townsmen. And there are obvious difficulties in the way of bringing attendance at school, even were it geographically possible, within the four corners of the tribal Arab's outlook. I am glad to know that the sons of the tribal leaders are at the Royal Iraq Military College. These receive a special education, suitable to their knowledge, and at present they form about a third of the total number of cadets, which is in the region of a hundred. Lastly, I should like to point out that our future lies in the realization by all classes that technical education is of vital importance. We can only develop the resources of Iraq by the use of machinery and our people must learn to use those machines. Until that has been done, the people of Iraq will not have achieved their economic independence.

I will not detain you long on the question of finance. You have heard so much about this that I hesitate to say anything at all. Yet there are certain points which need to be made clear. It is not perhaps realized that the civil administration of Iraq is self-supporting and that included in our expenditure is about half the cost of the British Residency. In fact not only have our budgets since 1923 balanced, but we have had relatively large surpluses which have been a considerable, though not wholly unpleasant, anxiety to the Ministry of Finance. For instance, the revenue in 1923 was 509.41 lakhs and the expenditure 424.27, which left a surplus of 85.14 lakhs. In 1924 the revenue had increased to 527.03 lakhs and we had a surplus that year of 62.47 lakhs. In the current financial year our revenue is estimated at 551 lakhs and our expenditure at 2 lakhs under that amount. I should add that in these figures are included, neither the revenues of the port of Basra nor those of the State Railways, both of which are self-supporting. The volume of our foreign trade shows a healthy tendency to increase, gross exports having grown from 1.079 lakhs in 1922 to 1.420 lakhs in 1924. The excess of net imports over net exports is another matter which has caused some anxiety. This in 1924, the last year of which I have the statistics, amounted to 492 lakhs, but the experts, in view of the "invisible exports" of Iraq being considerable, including as they do the whole of the cash expenditure of the British forces in Iraq and the expenditure on local labour and purchases in Iraq of foreign capital, are not inclined to think that the country is living beyond its means. Certain outstanding details remain to be settled about Iraq's payment of its share of the Ottoman Public Debt. Its charge on the revenue will, however, amount to about 5·5 per cent. of the budget. One of the most important questions in this sphere of the government which has yet to be settled is that of our land policy, with regard to both the taxation of land and the distribution of Government lands. It is now receiving most careful attention. I should also add a word about the monetary policy which we hope to follow. As you know, the rupee was adopted during the war, and since then it has been the official medium of exchange in Iraq. But the rupee has obvious disadvantages, and we have now decided in principle to adopt the pound sterling—subdivided into a token decimal coinage—as our standard. The Iraq Minister of Finance was in London this summer discussing the question with the financial authorities here. It has also been proposed, and legislation on the subject will be introduced at an early date, to institute a Currency Board, which will supervise the issue of Iraqi notes against a duly secured reserve in sterling. I hope that if these measures secure the approbation of the Parliament of Iraq that Iraqi notes will be in circulation at an early date.

In this brief survey of what has been done in the past five years, I have necessarily left much unsaid. But I think that you will agree with me that we have begun the work of building up Iraq into a progressive state in a satisfactory way. The foundations at any rate have been laid. For that achievement we should be thankful. But before I conclude, I think it my duty to say a few words about the constitutional life of the country. Since the promulgation of our Constitution and the election of the National Assembly the people of Iraq have taken a lively and healthy interest in public affairs. The Parliament during many sessions has shown a spirit of seriousness and moderation in its debates and has a solid achievement of legislation to its credit. And above the Parliament has stood the King, who is the symbol of our national unity and who by his statesmanlike qualities has earned the respect of all parties. It is no exaggeration to say that in King Faisal, Iraq has its greatest patriot. His ambition, for which he works unceasingly, is to see Iraq a prosperous, progressive, and happy nation.

And, lastly, I should like in the fullest way to acknowledge the help which Iraq has received from Great Britain and from the British officials in the Iraq Government who have worked with such efficiency and enthusiasm in the various departments of the Government. Without their help I should not have been able to give you so favourable a picture of Iraq as I have to-day. And may I add a word to say that those who wish to visit Iraq and see for themselves what we have done will be very welcome? Tourists can now travel in comfort and security, they can enjoy the sunshine and the dry, bracing air of our winters, whilst all around them are sites and remains of those ancient civilizations which have given Iraq the most illustrious history of any nation in the world.

THE STORY OF BÁYEZID ANSÁRI, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS PIR-I-ROSHAN AND FOUNDER OF THE SECT OF ROSHANIAS

COMPILED BY ALIF SHABNAM

"VERILY God does not regard your forms, nor does He regard your wealth, but He regards your hearts and your actions."

Early in the sixteenth century, about the time of the Emperor Baber's conquests in Afghanistan and India, the descendants in the seventh generation of one Sheikh Siraj-ed-din Ansári (Arab) were living at Jullundar in the Punjab, and of these the youthful Sheikh Abdullah had been married to his cousin Banin, but, having no affection for her, he left her, and wandering away to the north, at last settled as a priest at Kaniguram, amongst the Wazirs. Banin meanwhile had given birth to a son, whom she called "Báyezid," and, hoping to gain the love of her husband, as being the mother of his son, followed after him, and, suffering many hardships, found her way with the child to Kaniguram. She was not successful in her endeavours, and Abdullah, having married another wife, spurned her devotion and shortly after divorced her.

Báyezid passed an unhappy boyhood through the enmity of his stepmother and of her son Yakub, as well as through the lack of paternal affection, though his father had him thoroughly instructed with the idea of his following him in the priesthood. Báyezid was an exceptional youth, astonishing those amongst whom he lived by his questions and his piety; but, doubtless owing to his unhappy surroundings, and the curious restlessness which seems to overtake most "seekers after the truth," he deserted his home, and, joining the kafilah of a horse dealer, accompanied him to Samarkand, going from there on a trading venture to Hindustan. He tarried for some time at Kalinjar, and there made the acquaintance of a mulla, of the so-called Malhed or Ismailiyah sect, named Suliman, evidently a Sufi of the Sufis. On Báyezid's return to Kaniguram it was clear that the ideas of his friend Mulla Suliman had had a great influence over him, for he became a solitary recluse, living in a cave in the mountains. After a while he laid claim to close association with God, and, a prophet having no honour in his own country, the orthodox, getting alarmed at his pretensions, reported him to his father Abdullah, who, in virtue of his paternal authority, seized a sword, and, attacking his son, wounded him, exacting from him a promise to renounce his ways and live according to the law. No sooner had Báyezid recovered from his wound, than, casting the dust off his feet, he left Kaniguram, his native land, and took up his abode with Sultan Ahmed in the Mohmand country, and would probably have succeeded as well with the people as he had with their chief, had not the fear and enmity of the regular ulemas (teachers) increased with the popularity of his doctrine. Amongst the greatest of all these was Akhum Darwaiza Baba, a very noted Pir, who, being a Zajik, was able to put all the Zajiks of Nanigram against him. Báyezid now moved to Peshawar, and converted all the Khalil division of the Ghorikhel; and, success attending him, he threw off all disguise and called himself the "Perfect Saint" without whom there was no road to God. "Now therefore," said he, "come unto me that I may bring you unto God; for the holy Koran directs you to seek after the divine union, and it is only through the intervention of a perfect Pir that this union can be accomplished." He also asserted in one of his ordinances that whatever exists in form is the mirror of divinity; whatever is heard or seen is God, who alone exists, while the material world is nothing but thought or idea. "The Lord preserve the faithful," says Akhum Darwaiza, "from such an infidel as this!" Báyezid was fond of introducing into his composition philosophical ideas and principles maintained by the Sufi sect. In another passage he asserts: "Nothing exists except God, and that besides the being of God there is no other being in existence." "God," says he, "remains concealed in human nature like salt in water, or grain in the plant, and He is the same in all His creatures and the soul of all."

This was very much the doctrine of that other Báyezid, who lived some 650 years before the subject of this story, and a great teacher of Sufiism, who said: "Thirty years the high God was my mirror, now I am my own mirror—*i.e.*, that which I was I am no more, for 'I' and 'God' is a denial of the unity of God. Since I am no more, the high God is His own mirror. So I say that God is the mirror of myself, for He speaks with my tongue and I have vanished." "Verily I am God, there is no God except me, so worship me! Glory to me! How great is my Majesty!"

Many Pathans from all over the country now joined his standard, including the Muhammadzais of Hashtnagar, to which city he removed his headquarters, and from there he issued his proclamations calling on all to come to him. He also assumed the appellation of "Pir Roshan," which may be rendered "Father" or "Saint of Light." It is from this title that his sect were termed Roshania, or the Enlightened —in fact, the *Afghan illuminati!*

Now began the great discussions spoken of by Báyezid's arch-enemy, the Akhun Baba of Swat in his monumental work, the "Makhzan Afghani," which were carried on by the historian and his Pir, Said Ali Tirmizi, on the one side and Báyezid on the other. Although the Akhun claims great victories, including the naming of his opponent Pir Tarik, "the father of darkness," instead of the father of light, it is doubtful whether he was a match for the profound knowledge and versatile genius displayed by Báyezid; for, by his own confession, his victories produced no effect on the easy-going Afghans, who were attracted by the lax principles of the new leader and the idea of release from strict dogma and difficult rules.

The proceedings of Báyezid gradually assumed a more serious aspect, and caused the Emperor's Viceroy, Mahsan Khan, at Kabul to become anxious. So by prompt action he surprised the Pir in his fort at Hashtnagar, seized him, and carried him to Kabul. Here he was publicly disgraced and his head shaved on one side. With consummate skill, however, he extricated himself from the difficult situation, and, preserving his credit unimpaired among his followers, and defending himself with great ability and learning, he gained the admiration of all the learned, and secured his own liberty.

Báyezid, having effected his release, collected his disciples and adherents, and retired to the hills of Totai, but, being pressed by his enemies, and not feeling absolutely secure, he again retreated and took up a strong position in the inaccessible hill country of Tirah, in a part then occupied by the Bangash clan, at that time one of the most powerful of all the Afghan tribes. In this rough and dangerous country, being free from all danger of sudden surprise, he set about retrieving his late disgrace and prosecuting his plans with increased activity. His sect began to assume almost a national character, and he stood to these wild tribesmen in the same relation that Mohammed used to stand to the Arabs.

His treatment at Kabul had sunk deep and festered in his mind, and no sooner had he collected his bands than he started attacks and depredations with great vigour against all who opposed his tenets.

From this time on Báyezid seems to have lost all sense of proportion, and his religious mania seems to have totally unbalanced his mind. Possessed by a violent megalomania, he announced that he would abolish the religion of Mohammed, and substitute his own in its place, and he slaughtered all ulemas who opposed him. He announced his intention of conquering both Khorasan and Hindustan, and of overthrowing the Emperor Akbar. He got even so far as to partition the various provinces among his followers. The Moghuls of Kabul, hearing of his boasts, prepared to attack him, and entered into communication with certain of the clans in Tirah; but Báyezid, being informed, determined to exact a terrible vengeance, and told 300 Bangash tribesmen, whom he suspected, to appear before him with their hands bound behind them. The simple mountaineers, deluded by the many mystical and symbolical ceremonies he had practised, did as he had ordered; he had them all murdered in cold blood, and laid their district so desolate that it was deserted by the owners and passed into the hands of another race. After this terrible lesson the whole border from Kohat to Peshawar turned to the new faith and gave up the ordinary observances of Islam.

Báyezid, with a considerable force, now descended on the plains, and having ravaged and sacked several towns and districts, was retiring to the mountains with the loot, when he was attacked by Mahsan Khan. His followers were dispersed with great slaughter; he himself escaped to Hashtnagar, where, after a few days, he died of a severe fever, aggravated by chagrin at his failure. His system in the end died out amongst the Yusofzai, but flourished under the leadership of his sons and grandsons for many years in Tirah.

In some way Báyezid's son, Sheikh Omar, annoyed the Yusofzai, who had long been his father's most strenuous partisans. They collected a party, attacked him, routed his adherents, and killed both him and his brother, throwing the bones of the father, which had always been carried with great pomp and veneration before the army into the Indus. A younger brother, Jalal-ud-din, was taken prisoner and sent to Lahore; but he managed to escape, and again raising the tribesmen, increased his power very considerably beyond that of his father, even to gaining possession of Ghazni by a *coup-de-main.* Being compelled to evacuate the citadel, he was attacked in retreat by the Hazaras and killed.

He was succeeded by Sheikh Omar's son, Ihdad, who was noted as a quiet, peaceful man, and from this time on the temporal power of the sect declined, the last record being of a descendant who accepted service under the Emperor in the Deccan about A.D. 1720.

Followers of this sect are still to be found on the frontier, and the story is by no means dead; but it is not fashionable, nor openly acknowledged, the reason being that a wave of puritanical fervour has swept away most of the old mysticism prevalent in the earlier centuries.

Now, what are the logical deductions to be made from this tale of Indian frontier life?

We learn that a youth, with an unhappy childhood, left the paternal home and took to a wandering life, during which be became acquainted with certain sectarians of his faith, who led him to devote much time to the thought and study of religion. Brought up amongst a wild, adventurous people, whose heroes were the conquerors who, passing through their lands, swept many of the young men with them to wonderful scenes of conquest and the undreamt-of wealth of Ind, he no doubt early formed ambitious ideas of personal grandeur and conquest. Knowing the depths of ignorance and the ingrained superstition in which the frontier tribes were steeped, he hoped by a mixture of fervour and charlatanry to persuade them of his claim to supernatural powers. He succeeded to a really wonderful extent, and it was only because he was naturally in opposition both to the constituted authority of the Empire and the orthodox priesthood that he failed to make any headway beyond tribal limits. But he shook the Emperor's feeling of security, and caused him to put very powerful forces in motion to crush the movement.

REVIEWS

THE CHANGING EAST. J. A. Spender. (Cassell, 1926.) 10s. 6d.

IN the preface Mr. Spender thus defines his purpose: "My object was to study the state of opinion and politics in Turkey, Egypt, and India, and to discover, if I could, how it fared with British policy or British rule. Turkey, Egypt, and India, though otherwise very dissimilar, have one feature in common. They are all countries which for long periods have been either inextricably mixed up with Europe, or subject to European control, and they are all attempting in one way or another to free themselves from the control."

The author has achieved his object with consummate skill, within the very reasonable compass of 250 pages, of which one-third is devoted to Turkey and Egypt and two-thirds to the much more complex questions of political India. There is not a dull page in the book, nor a sentence which requires rereading to be intelligible. One does not know which to admire most: the vivid portraiture of existing conditions and of outstanding personalities—the Ghazi in Turkey, Zaghlul in Egypt, Gandhi in India (each so representative of the varying political development of the three regions)—the subtle insight with which the movements agitating those countries since the war are analyzed, or the literary skill with which the conclusions are presented.

The facts are well up to date, and the book forms an accurate and fascinating picture of events and tendencies which those who have vainly tried to follow the kaleidoscopic changes of the years since the war will find most valuable. The comparisons which a survey of the three regions suggests have doubtless been as helpful to the author in forming his conclusions as they are informing to the reader. In all three we see the struggles of an ancient and genuine or of a newly born and spurious eastern Nationalism to assert itself against the inevitable advance of Western influences.

Turkey, shorn of her European and Arab possessions, has, under the iron despotism of Mustapha Kamal, disentangled herself from Europe and her past by sacrificing the Caliphate and the hegemony of Islam; by turning her back on Constantinople, the glorious heritage of Ottoman rule, because it is indissolubly linked with the West; by massacring or expelling the Greeks and Armenians who were the main factors in her commercial and industrial life. Those were enormous sacrifices to make for a national ideal, and while some of them must appear foolish and others criminal, one cannot but admire the stern resolution that dictated them. As Mr. Spender aptly sums it up, we see character and determination in one part of the Turkish renaissance, ruthlessness and overweening conceit in the other.

The irony of fate is that the overthrow of Greece, followed by the repatriation of one and a half million Greeks from Asia Minor and Thrace, while it has seriously weakened Turkey, has enormously strengthened her hereditary enemy. Greece has now a population as great as Turkey, active and progressive; Athens and the Piræus have prospered in proportion as Constantinople has declined.

Is it incredible that some future poet or historian will write, as Horace did, "Graecia capta, ferum victorem captum cepit?" Turkey to-day shows nationalism in its apogee, an iron despotism scarcely hidden behind a façade of democracy, and a so-called "Popular Party" which merely registers the decrees of the Ghazi; for there is no use for an opposition, except to provide material for the hangman (fifteen members of the opposition were hanged in Constantinople in July last, after the travesty of a trial).

In Egypt to-day we see a nationalism more vocal, perhaps, but less resolute and less effective. For Egypt by geography and history, as well as by material interest, is so indissolubly linked with the West that she cannot, even if she would, disentangle herself and assert a national independence which, in fact, she has never enjoyed.

Egypt under British protection has prospered so greatly that, however much her politicians may clamour for complete independence, they are unwilling to make the sacrifice—of the fleshpots—which it would involve, or to turn their back on that Europe from which they derive their wealth and importance. As Mr. Spender puts it, "Though the foreign stranglehold is as strong in Cairo as in Constantinople, I cannot imagine the Egyptian pashas proposing to transfer their capital to the Fayum or the Assouan Dam." The Egyptian politician is more modern, more prosperous, more progressive than the Turk, thanks mainly to British administration and European capital. But he wants the best of both worlds; he clamours for a complete independence from Britain which, if granted, he could never maintain against the European powers that would hasten to step into the vacant place, and at the same time he wants to retain all the advantages of British protection. In this he resembles the Indian politician. But the Egyptian has more reason on his side, for Britain never claimed in Egypt more than the right to secure her own financial and imperial interests. Egypt, too, though less homogeneous than present-day Turkey, is infinitely less rent by racial and religious divisions than India (Mr. Spender compares it to a single Indian province—the Panjab), and apart from the incapacity for self-defence (which is common to Egypt and India), has strong claims to be regarded as a nation.

Mr. Spender brings out clearly the similarity between Egyptian and Indian nationalism. Both have their murder gangs; in both "political" murder is condoned or approved by certain extremist leaders; in both the native politicians have got entangled in formulas which logically lead to a complete break with Britain, while most of them are quite aware that such a break would be even more disastrous to them than to us.

The Indian situation has rarely been so clearly and, on the whole, so impartially presented as in this book. The author begins by telling us that—

"Looking at India and comparing it with Europe, one's feeling is not of despair that there should be unrest, but that there should be so much tranquillity over so vast an area. . . . The Indian politician (ignorant of the past of the vast sub-continent and with no historical perspective) takes it for granted, as if it were a happy achievement of nature or Providence, and needs little or nothing to enlighten him about the effort which has brought it about or the mechanism which is needed to keep it in being.

"He, too, being unconscious of what the European has done for him, speaks lightly of throwing off the European partner, and apparently he thinks it a simple thing to govern a continent and keep its peace."

The position could not be more succinctly summed up or more clearly expressed. Mr. Spender, while sympathetic to their aspirations, is not unduly tender in exposing the short-sighted views and irresponsible activities of the Indian politicians (beginning with Gandhi) with whom he came in contact.

But he has not given the obvious explanation—viz., that these Indian "leaders" come generally from a class which has never ruled or known the responsibilities of rule, and they are therefore lacking in any real political instinct. That explains why so many of them have pinned their faith to a muddle-headed ascetic such as Gandhi, and why men with the acute critical intellects of some of the Swaraj traders make themselves and their followers ridiculous by their "cat-and-mouse" tactics in the Indian Assembly, and their incapacity to formulate any constructive policy.

Mr. Spender has not been slow to realize, what many well-wishers of the Indian peoples have been urging since the Reforms took shape, how little claim these "representatives of India" have to speak for the rural population—90 per cent. of the whole. He writes (p. 160):

"Whatever the future may bring, there is undoubtedly at this moment a gulf fixed between the politician and the peasant which makes it extremely dangerous to accept the opinions of the one as covering the needs of the other, and which is unlikely to be bridged until the peasant himself sends his own spokesman to the Councils and the Assembly."

He illustrates this argument by quoting his own experience of the Legislative Assembly in March last, when it was left to an Anglo-Indian member to charge, and rightly, the Swarajists, and the Government who truckled to them, with sacrificing the interests of the great masses in their zeal for a protective tariff, designed to benefit a handful of Indian manufacturers. This is not the only respect in which the author shows a clear insight.

He has seized the heart of the situation in pointing out (p. 250) that religion, the one constant and all-pervading factor in India, renders no account to politics; that Indian politics are in consequence to a large extent artificial, for the real masters of opinion are not yet, if they ever will be, the politicians.

Mr. Spender displays equal candour and vision in his remarks on the much-discussed Diarchy. He admits that on the evidence then available (only one side was presented) he was in favour of that cumbersome device when it was first proposed; but he finds that where it has had any measure of success—*e.g.*, in the Panjab, Bombay, Madras—that is due to the fact that the Governor has ignored the unworkable system and treats his Ministers as one Cabinet.

He concludes, and few will differ from him, that "as a political device the thing called Diarchy has great defects; and if it is allowed to continue unamended may, instead of instructing Indians in responsible government, as Mr. Montagu intended, have the exactly opposite result of turning them into irresponsible agitators."

What a pity that the authors of the Reforms Scheme did not listen to these very arguments when placed before them by seven out of the nine Provincial Governments in 1918-19! If they had, India by now might have made some real progress towards self-government.

Finally, Mr. Spender again goes to the root of the matter in his conclusion—that before any further advance is made towards provincial autonomy the powers of the Central Government must be considerably strengthened, as in the United States, so that it may be able to suspend a Provincial Government and take over the duties if the latter fails to function.

The Reforms Scheme proceeded on the assumption that, while the constitutional experiment was being made in the provinces, the powers of the Central Government would remain unimpaired. In fact, as the history of the last six years shows, the Central Government has at times allowed itself to be reduced to a shadow—"a ghost sitting on the tomb of the old Indian Empire." That, fortunately, is no longer the case.

Mr. Spender (p. 155) is undoubtedly right in emphasizing the fact that over and above the British *personnel* indispensable for a progressive administration, India's "pressing need is for (British) engineers, men of science, men of business, etc., to combat the poverty which is the great latent cause of unrest." But in dwelling on the inadequacy of roads, railways, irrigation, agricultural development, etc., and comparing it unfavourably with what Lord Cromer and his engineers did for Egypt, he is hardly fair to what has already been achieved in India by British brains, capital, and enterprise. No less than £1,000,000,000 sterling have been invested in Indian railways (now 40,000 miles), irrigation projects (now watering 30,000,000 acres), the great tea, jute, cotton, and mining industries (which employ over 2,000,000 people).

To follow up his own parallel between Egypt and the Panjab. At annexation in 1848, the Panjab had a quarter of a million acres inefficiently irrigated by the spill of her great rivers. In the first forty years after annexation British engineers had raised the area to 2,000,000 acres. Within the last forty it has been raised to 12,000,000 acres (almost all perennial irrigation), so that the Panjab in less than eighty years of British rule has created an irrigation system twice as great as Egypt has achieved in 4,000 years, under the Pharaohs, the Ptolemys, and the masterful efficiency of Cromer. Within the next ten years the Panjab area will approach 18,000,000 acres. The "pauper" province of India is now its granary. But these magnificent achievements are unhonoured and unsung, *quia carent vate sacro.* Our people in India has been too busy doing things to boost their achievements. Perhaps they were wrong.

The only serious error in the Indian portion of the book is the statement (p. 101) that the Council of State (Upper House) "is entirely official or nominated." In fact, over half of its members (thirty-four out of fifty-nine) are elected, and there is a considerable Indian majority.

Few can read Mr. Spender's description of present-day politics in India—all the more valuable as coming from a staunch Liberal—without realizing that the attempt, which Indian politicians have encouraged for their own purposes, to transplant to India our British system of democratic representative Government is foredoomed to failure. The substance of the matter is set forth at p. 249: "Both British and Indians are on false ground when the one pretends, and the other accepts the pretence, that India is a kind of undeveloped Europe, which only needs to be endowed with Western institutions to go peacefully ahead in the path of progress." Those who uttered that warning in 1919 were condemned as heretics or reactionaries. Now that after six years of experiment their warning is confirmed by a writer of Mr. Spender's experience, judgment, and well-known Liberal views, perhaps it will be listened to. The fact is there is as yet in India as a whole no national spirit, no feeling of common citizenship, both of which are the essential bases of responsible government. If that elementary fact is borne in mind, we can set ourselves to the task of developing provincial autonomy in conformity with the varying aptitudes, traditions and stages of progress, as shown in the experience gained since 1920.

How much less anxious one would be as to what Mr. Spender terms "the unhappy date, 1929," if one were assured that before then the members of the various legislatures in India and of both Houses of Parliament here had studied this book so carefully as to be prepared to pass an examination in it. There would then be less danger of the defects in the 1919 Reforms Scheme being perpetuated.

M. F. O'Dwyer.

On the Trail of Ancient Man. By Roy Chapman Andrews, D.Sc. Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons Ltd., London and New York. 25s.

Those who heard Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews lecture at the Royal Society of Arts to the Central Asian Society will be more than eager to read his written account of his explorations "On the Trail of Ancient Man." The lecture covered generally in outline the same ground as the book, which commences by explaining how the determination was formed to test Professor Osborn's prophecy that Asia and the Desert of Gobi, or thereabouts, would prove to contain the original site of mammalian life from which, by land-bridges and across continents, the mammals had spread north, south, east, and west. To those who appreciate "*bandobust*" the description of the preparation will appeal, especially the reference to Stefansson's remark that "adventures are the mark of incompetence." In other words, that with all the resources of modern science and invention it should be possible to be prepared against vicissitudes and unforeseen happening.

The expedition was based on Peking and obtained the spacious house of the late Dr. Morrison, *The Times* correspondent, as its headquarters, where it arrived in April, 1920. Before the expedition started for Mongolia, Mr. Granger went off to the province of Szechuan to search for pits and strata containing fossils of primitive fauna, a search in which he was conspicuously successful, and Dr. Andrews himself went off to the country about the Tang Ling or Eastern Tombs, eighty miles from Peking, and in the autumn of 1921 went to the Shensi province in search of specimens of modern fauna for the American Museum of Natural History. The takin (*Burdorcas bedfordi*), which Dr. Andrews describes as the modern representative of the "Golden Fleece," was the principal object of this expedition; the takin, related to the chamois, the serow and the goral, but resembling more a cow, has a really golden fleece, or rather hide with shorter hair. The specimens were only obtained after phenomenal exertion and weighed some 500 lbs.

It was not until April, 1922, that the expedition, now complete with members skilled in every branch of natural history and geology, save only for an ethnologist and an anthropologist, actually started by car (Dodge) on the long and rough route through the Great Wall to Urga in Mongolia, "a land of painted deserts, dancing in mirage, of limitless grassy plains and nameless snow-capped peaks, of untracked forests and roaring streams, a land of mystery, paradise and promise."

Thrice did the expedition penetrate far into Mongolia—viz., in 1922, 1923, and 1925—returning in the intervals to their base at Peking. Thrice did the column of heavily loaded cars wend its way with no great difficulty hundreds of miles into the heart of northern Mongolia, with long convoys of powerful shaggy camels bringing up supplies ahead and behind them to the various depots on the line of communication. Each season for five months the expedition kept out at its exploration, with the most remarkable results perhaps that have ever been achieved. Professor Osborn's theories were amply proved.

The primary object of the expedition was to look for vast fields of fossil mammalia, and these were found exceeding all expectation, first at Irén Dabasu on the eastern edge of Mongolia, not 300 miles from Peking. Here finds of great importance were made, no less than the bones of the dinosaur and teeth of the titanothere and rhinoceros. It meant "that we were standing on cretaceous strata of the upper part of the age of reptiles—the first cretaceous strata and the first dinosaur ever discovered in Asia north of the Himalaya mountains . . . and had opened up a palæontological vista dazzling in its brilliance."

The expedition soon passed on 350 miles to Tuerin, "the city of the living god," *en route* to Urga, and found the camel convoy under its faithful Mongol leader, Merin, duly waiting for them. From Tuerin the expedition pushed on through the passes of Balkuh Gol to the uplands on which stands Urga, and through the Russian and Mongol settlements to their hunting ground in the valleys at the eastern end of the Altai mountains. Here, close to the lake of Tsagan Nor, they came to the great home of mammal remains they had hoped for, and settled down to the work of the expedition.

Their finds read as one long romance, including, in addition to many remains of adult dinosaurs, the famous discovery of the dinosaur eggs, with the shells intact, in the debris of the "Flaming Cliffs," where natural battlements of rock stood up among the ruins of what were once high cliffs. Each day produced new wonders, including the bones of the giant Baluchitherium, which stood twelve feet at the shoulder, hitherto only found in the Bugti hills of British Baluchistan. Finally, in September, 1922, gorged with finds the expedition crawled back by the springs of Sair Usu the 600 miles to Peking.

The finding of the Baluchitherium, Dr. Andrews explains, is most interesting, in that it may have lived when man was evolving from the anthropoid apes, and where its bones are, there also remains of primitive man may be found, and this chapter contains fascinating suggestions on life in a Mongolia apparently crowded with giant mammalia and reptilia. Dr. Andrews indeed gives us some drawings of what the beasts must have looked like.

In 1923 the expedition again made for the Flaming Cliffs of the Tsagan Nor and discovered more and more dinosaur eggs, the shells as complete as when laid ten million years before, including even the skeletons of tiny dinosaurs unhatched within the egg.

The romance of the story as told by Dr. Andrews must be read to be believed and understood with all the wealth of discovery of all kinds, including the finding of the sites of the Dune Dwellers of Mongolia, who, many thousands of years earlier, discovered the dinosaur eggs and used them as ornaments. At Shabarakh Usu, some 200 miles S.E. of Tsagan Nor, innumerable flints and artifacts of some very early people were found, which added a new thrill to minds overgorged with fossil wealth.

It is a little hard in reading the book to disentangle the exploits and adventures of one season from those of another, but that does not detract from the charm and colour of the description nor the excitement of the finds, which are most successfully communicated to the reader.

Eventually the expedition hopes to return to a more southerly portion of Mongolia and the Desert of Gobi, where it is supposed the habitat of early man may lie. It is within the bounds of possibility, nay of probability, that finds regarding the cradle of the human race may be discovered as startling as those of the mammalia and reptilia. If nothing else transpires, the origin of the peculiar Mongolian race, which stretches, almond-eyed and beardless, from the Baltic to the Pacific, will alone be worth the toil involved. A Mongol grave of 1,000 years ago was found in 1921, but Mongol remains of 5,000 years will throw much light on a blank page of the world's history, while the possibility of *Pithecus erectus*, some link between man and the anthropoid apes, is not too much to look for.

The next expedition will complete its staff of scientists with an anthropologist and an ethnologist.

G. MacMunn.

CHINESE CENTRAL ASIA. By C. P. Skrine, I.C.S. Methuen and Co. 21s.

Within the last year we have had two remarkable books on Chinese Central Asia by two successive Consuls-General in Chinese Turkistan.

Lieut.-Colonel Etherton dealt largely with the political significance of the "Heart of Central Asia," and in particular with the Bolshevist thrust through that region towards India and China.

Mr. Skrine, who left Kashgar in the autumn of 1924 after a stay of over two years, gives us a most vivid description of the various races, settled and nomadic, of their ways of life, social habits, their legends, arts, and superstitions. But beyond that he set himself to explore many of the unknown places in the great mountain ranges (Kunlun and Tien-Shan) which separate the Chinese "New Dominion" from Tibet on the east and Siberia on the north, thus filling up blanks left in Sir Aurel Stein's epoch-making investigations, and opening up new ground for the sportsman, the archæologist, and the geographer.

The narrative throughout shows a crispness of touch, a keen and trained observation, and a pleasant humour that make it delightful reading, and the reader gains information and instruction without any conscious effort.

Mr. Skrine, like others officers of the Indian Political Department, starts with the advantage that having served in many lands—Persia, Baluchistan, as well as India—he could (though he does not) say, like Ulysses: "Much have I seen and known. Cities of men. And manners, climates, councils, governments."

It is this wide knowledge of the East, its peoples and problems, that gives writers like him so much valuable material for comparison and analysis. And nowhere is there more scope for these than in Chinese Turkistan, where three empires meet (if China and Russia can still be called empires) to-day, where in the past the three great civilizations of India, China, and Persia met and reacted on one another, and where three great religions, Islam, Buddhism (from India), and Confucianism have struggled for the mastery.

The persistence of China to reassert her authority over this remote and, in many respects, unprofitable and unpopular possession is a striking illustration of the importance of prestige in the East. The sidelights on Chinese administration are of special interest. Thus, in his first meeting with a Chinese Amban, the author made a *faux pas* by asking the Pir or spiritual head of the important Maulai sect to join them at dinner, for a high Chinese official considers it beneath him to sit at table with one of the subject race.

The Chinese administration follows the traditional Oriental method of combining executive and judicial authority in the district officer. In India that officer, if he is to discharge his duty to the people in his charge, must spend three or four months of the year in touring amongst them. Chinese officialdom recognizes no such obligations. In the course of two years' almost continuous travelling Mr. Skrine only once met a Chinese Amban away from his headquarters.

The fact is that China in her "New Dominion" confines herself to the two elementary functions of raising taxation, which is light, and of maintaining order, which is not difficult among a people so docile as the easy-going Muhammadans of the tract. The Chinese officials work almost entirely through the local Begs or tribal chiefs, whose authority is thus maintained. The Chinese military forces appear to exist mainly on paper, and where in evidence, to be sodden with opium. An enlightened Amban now and then makes an effort to extend cultivation and establish new villages; and it is interesting to find that, aided by a rich soil and a plentiful water supply, cultivation and population are steadily extending. How productive the country is, is shown by the reply of a local Beg to Mr. Skrine's inquiry whether maize could be obtained: "You can get anything in this country except chicken's milk"!

But any further material or intellectual progress is outside the ken of the Chinese administrator. Perhaps this has some compensations and one may be forgiven for hoping with Mr. Skrine "that a corner of the earth may long be spared in which a peaceful, contented, simple, lovable, and by no means uncivilized population exists without motor-cars or cinemas, without newspapers or telephones, without broadcasting or advertisements, without a mile of railway or even of metalled road, a land shaped in the Middle Ages, picturesque and quaint almost beyond belief—truly an Arcady of Cathay."

The Chinese Government showed wise prevision in rigorously excluding Soviet influence and propaganda from this Arcadia; and though a Soviet consul (without an escort) has recently been admitted to Kashgar, one hopes that this will not pave the way for the infiltration of Bolshevist ideas, which have already dominated Mongolia and much of Southern China.

But Chinese officialdom itself can at times be as ruthless and bloodthirsty as the worst forms of Bolshevism. The grim account of the rise and fall of the fierce tyrant, Ma Tihai (G.O.C.), who, defying the civil authority, terrorized not only Kashgar city, but much of the province for years, is most graphic. This man, "one of the basest scoundrels in Central Asia" according to Mr. Skrine, was a Muhammadan from Yunnan, and his atrocities are no doubt paralleled by those of more than one Tuchun to-day in China itself. Mr. Skrine must have been relieved by the fact that before he left Kashgar this ogre met the fate he deserved.

The value of this fascinating book is much enhanced by the admirable maps and the many beautiful illustrations, nearly all of which are reproductions of photographs taken by the author himself.

In this, as in so many other respects, he was fortunate in having his wife as the capable and intrepid companion of all his journeys and hardships.

John Lawrence, as ruler of the Punjab seventy years ago, is credited with saying that when he came across a young civil servant encumbered with a wife and a piano, he hustled him about from one jungle station to another till the young man parted first with the wife and then with the piano!

Had Lawrence been alive to-day and read Mr. Skrine's account of his travels he would doubtless have altered his views, and prescribed a wife (such as "D" in this narrative), a camera, and a plane-table as the equipment of a young and energetic officer.

M. F. O'D.

AMONG THE KARA-KORUM GLACIERS. By Jenny Visser-Hooft. With contributions by Ph. C. Visser. Arnold. 21s. net.

There will be few readers of Mrs. Visser-Hooft's delightful book who will not experience satisfaction and admiration, but the first point that strikes us is the wonderful enterprise of this Dutch party, who are heartily to be congratulated. It is surely a remarkable fact and one worthy of notice that people from one of the flattest countries in the world should set out to explore and unravel some of the mysteries of one of the most gigantic mountain regions in existence. One would, however, have wished that it had fallen to the lot of a British party to have continued the work in this area, where so many Englishmen have already done so much; but, as has so often been said, exploration is an international arena wherein all may compete.

The Hunza area that this Dutch party selected lies between the Hindu Kush and the Kara-koram mountains. It is one of the most obscure parts of the Himalayas, and is exceedingly difficult to approach. It is also the one part of the Indian Empire which remains unexplored, though it has been visited from time to time by people of all nationalities, among whom may be mentioned Sir Francis Younghusband, General Cockerill, and Sir Martin Conway. Sir Francis Younghusband in 1889 merely looked into the Shingshal valley and then turned his attention to the Khunjirab, eventually coming down into the Hunza valley through the Mintaka pass. General Cockerill, who was there in 1892, visited the Khunjirab and Hunza valleys, and also had a glimpse of the Gujirab. Sir Martin Conway did some useful work in the Hunza area; but yet there still remained much to be learned.

There were five Europeans in the party, the work being thus divided : Ph. C. Visser, meteorology and geology; Mrs. Visser-Hooft, botany and the collection of butterflies ; Baron B. Ph. van Harinxma thoe Slooten, zoology; and, lastly, two Swiss guides. In addition, a surveyor, Afraz Gul Khan, lent by the Survey of India, accompanied the party.

The expedition left Srinagar on April 25, 1925, and returned again on October 30. Bad weather caused a delay at the foot of the Burzil pass, where it was impossible to use pony transport, so coolies were hired, and eventually Gilgit was reached. On May 20 the party continued on to Hunza, where they were fortunate in obtaining the help and active assistance of the Mir of Hunza, who made arrangements for a band of permanent coolies to accompany them. It was then that the Vissers really began their work of exploration into this glacial sea of ice. Their first base was at Pasu, from whence they visited the Pasu glacier. Here the expedition encountered one of the many difficulties of exploration in the Himalayas, due to the unfavourable condition of the snow early in the season. Consequently, Mr. Visser wisely decided to defer the exploration of the great Batura glacier.

The next objective was the unknown valleys at the head of the Hunza river, which had always been looked upon as inaccessible by the inhabitants. The Vissers soon found themselves at the entrance to the Khunjirab, from whence with difficulty they found a way into the Gujirab valley, which was longer than they had imagined. They also discovered the source of the Gujirab and the Hunza rivers. Following the footsteps of General Cockerill, the party then crossed into the Shingshal valley, going to its head to explore the glaciers. They reconnoitred first the Khurdopin glacier, passing on to the Verjirab glacier, which had never before been seen by any white man, and then the Yazghil glacier. Returning to Pasu, they again visited the Batura glacier, the mapping of which was one of the great feats of the expedition, and took about twenty days. On their return journey the party visited the Hispar area, and finally reached Srinagar on October 30, having travelled a distance of more than 1,200 miles, and mapped 2,580 square miles of ground which was practically *terra incognita*. At the end of the book we are given a very brief summary of the scientific results, which is enough to whet the appetite of the specialist. The observations are still in the hands of the experts, and include topography, glaciology, flora, zoology, geology, meteorology, and physiology. There is no doubt that when published, in particular the topographical ones, they will add considerably to our hitherto scanty knowledge of this region.

Transport in the Himalayas is always a source of difficulty, but there is no doubt that in this case the Vissers profited by their experiences gained during their first trip to the Kara-korams in 1922. One gathers that none of the party knew anything of the language, which is a pity, as all travellers should make an attempt to learn something, even if only the rudiments of Hindustani, in order to give the natives confidence. There can be no doubt that to have this confidence is worth any amount of Government assistance in the form of *parwanas* or passes enjoining officials to help one.

A reviewer's duty is to criticize, often adversely, for the benefit of his readers, but, happily, in this case adverse criticisms are few, and fade into the background so far as the general reader is concerned. There are two classes of readers of travel books—those who wish to know scientific facts, and those who are satisfied with a straightforward account. It is for the latter that Mrs. Visser-Hooft has written this book, and we must not therefore regard it from any other point of view. She has a delightful way of keeping our attention by her human touches, and one has but to read a few pages to realize that both the author and her husband are real explorers and pioneers. They possess the right spirit and the proper philosophical frame of mind which are essential requisites for this craft. There are some excellent and striking photographs, admirably reproduced, which form a strong feature of the book.

There are, however, one or two minor things which cannot be passed by unnoticed. The author has an unfortunate and annoying habit of peppering her narrative with untranslated German sentences—exclamations of her Swiss guides. She is also not too fond of translating native terms for us ; a glossary would have been a useful addition to the book. We should like to point out that the distances on the maps are in kilometres, whereas in the text they are in miles. Nowadays there seems to be an epidemic of misspelt names in this region, which has also crept into this book, where the word Kara-kor*a*m is spelt Kara-Kor*u*m. It is difficult to understand why the spelling adopted by the Survey of India is not consistently used in all travel books. In spite of these defects, the book is heartily to be commended, and we wish the author and her husband every success in any future expedition they may undertake, and can only hope that their love of exploration will take them again to this same part of the world to clear up some of the mysteries and topographical problems that still await solution. B. K. FEATHERSTONE.

AN UNEXPLORED PASS. By Captain B. K. Featherstone, F.R.G.S., with an Introduction by Brigadier-General the Hon. C. G. Bruce, C.B., M.V.O. Messrs. Hutchinson and Co. 18s.

A book of this nature should serve as one of the strongest inducements to young men to join the Indian Army. We have here the plain, well-written, and well-illustrated description of a journey such as hundreds of young officers from India make, well within the capacity of a moderate purse, and, what is more important, within the period of the annual leave of three months granted to officers serving on the frontier.

What can be more delightful or more healthy than to wander away into the glorious Himalayas, and, according to your personal predilections, include in your objective some exploration or some shooting. Many times on these very routes has the writer of this review met young officers with the minimum of kit and the maximum of energy, accompanied by one servant, the all-necessary shikari, and a few coolies, legging it for all they were worth to some distant nullah, returning two months later with health renewed, with bronzed faces and hardened muscles, and incidentally taking away some fine trophies of the chase.

Captain Featherstone's particular objective was the exploration of the New or Western Muztagh Pass. That he actually failed to carry this out is a minor matter, a larger and more expensive expedition led by a man of his energy would probably have been successful, as it would have been independent to a great extent of local transport, but the effort made is worthy of all praise.

Transport difficulties invariably take a prominent place in a narrative of this nature, they are so often the traveller's *bête noir*; but we cannot help sympathizing with the villagers called upon to undertake an arduous journey for what to them must seem such a totally inadequate reason. Since the village of Askole in particular has had to bear the brunt of so many expeditions, the Royal Geographical Society might well consider the suitability of giving such a village one of its minor awards, as assuredly these villagers collectively have done much to further the advancement of geography.

The small but clear map shows the author's route from Srinagar over the Zoji La down the Indus to Skardu, up over the Skoro La to Askole, then the attempt on the New or Western Muztagh Pass, back down the Shigar and up the Shyok River and so to Leh; from thence back on to his old route, and so back to Srinagar again. Little new ground, it may be said, in all this, but none the less a very readable narrative.

The neighbourhood of the Karakoram Range has been a lure to many travellers, and we should soon be receiving further information regarding the northern area and particularly the Shaksgam from the expedition led by Major Mason, R.E., of the Survey of India.

Rudolph Schlaginweit tried the ascent of the New Muztagh Pass in 1856, Godwin-Austen in 1861, Younghusband reconnoitred it from both sides; the Duke of Abruzzi, Martin Conway, the Workmans, de Filippi, and others have thrown much light on the neighbouring glaciers, but the pass itself remains uncrossed by Europeans.

Nowhere in the world can be seen scenery on so magnificent a scale; nature verily in its wildest moods meet the eye on all sides. Steady nerves are indeed necessary when the paths traverse the face of these towering cliffs or cross the roaring torrents by shaky and precarious bridges. The inhabitants, used as they are to these amenities of travel, often quail at some of the worst places; while the white man, the leader, with his heart in his mouth, has to show an undaunted spirit he may be far from feeling. Good leadership is essential to success; firmness tempered by kindliness is a sure way to the Balti's or Tibetan's heart. No young officer can spend his leave better than by carrying out similar wanderings; there are many parts of the Himalayas still little known and many of its peaks still unclimbed, and it is a merit in the "Unexplored Pass" that many who read it will be tempted to go and do likewise, while those who have already accomplished some similar journey will read it with pleasure, as it will recall to them incidents just as they occurred in their own journeys. Many have done these trips, but few have written a book about them, and very few certainly could have written so readable a book.

C. H. D. RYDER.

IN HIMALAYAN TIBET. By A. Reeve Heber and Kathleen M. Heber. Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd. 21s.

There can be little doubt that of all the qualifications likely to be useful to a traveller in a strange country—certainly in a backward one, to use the phrase of to-day—that of a surgeon and doctor of medicine probably ranks first. Owing to the intimate nature of his dealings with the natives, he is able to acquire a first-hand knowledge of their mentality which is often denied to the ordinary traveller. This applies particularly to those engaged in mission work, and may account for the success of medical missions in foreign parts. Dr. Heber and his wife have written an account of Ladakh and its people, which they describe as touching only the fringe of all there is to be known of the natives. The book is based on the experience of a twelve years' residence in the country, and in this respect it compares favourably with the efforts of some travellers who, on the strength of a short trip, rush into print with great confidence.

The historical sketch given at the beginning is one of the weak features of the book. It is a pity that the authors did not see fit to make their account fuller and more lucid, as it does not give a good chronological idea of events to anyone unfamiliar with this part of the world. The authors claim to omit, from the purely travel point of view, a detailed account of the journey from Srinagar to Leh on the ground that it has been described by so many travellers. In spite of this, however, thirty pages of the book are taken up with this part of their journey. Of more interest perhaps to the traveller will be the accounts of two trips rather off the beaten track. One of these was taken from Ladakh through Zanskar to Lahoul, and back by way of the plains of India. The small province of Zanskar consists of but seven villages, which were presented to a former king in reward for assistance given to Zorowar, the Dogra general, on his way through to the conquest of Ladakh.

The most interesting journey described is one made from Leh by Dr. Heber, accompanying the representatives of the British and Kashmir Governments. They went through Pohrang over the Kiula Pass to Drogpo to meet an official styled the "Gaspon," who was to act on behalf of His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Lhasa. A dispute had arisen concerning a Ladakhi who had settled in Tibet proper, married and grown rich. The Tibetan Inland Revenue had then come down on him, asserting that he had become liable to Tibetan taxation. Thereupon the man crossed the border into Ladakh, followed by the Dalai Lama's people, who arrested him and brought him back. The Ladakhi then appealed to the Kashmir authorities and later to the British Government. The Tibetans at first claimed that the spot from which they had taken the Ladakhi was on their side of the border, but this was not correct. Finally, the conference broke up without any agreement being reached, the usual exchange of presents terminating the proceedings.

"In Himalayan Tibet" contains chapters on a great variety of subjects, such as professions and industries, manners and customs, domesticities, sports and pastimes, surgical work amongst the natives, monasteries, rajahs, demon dances, and the mystery play at Hemis. It may be recalled that the subtitle of Sir J. E. Frazer's "The Golden Bough" was "a Study in Magic and Religion," and much of what the authors relate shows the intimate connection between the two in Ladakh. As is well known, the soothsayer plays an important part in the everyday life of the natives, and the Lamas derive a substantial revenue from this source.

The general reader will find a large amount of most interesting matter, which, unfortunately, it is difficult to appreciate, as each chapter is a mass of facts jumbled together and hurled at the reader. The style of the book is very heavy, and often one finds a paragraph over two pages long. The index is poor—in fact, practically useless—as, for instance, the important city Leh is omitted altogether. The many photographs are not striking, but the map at the end of the book is good. The authors have spent over twelve years in Ladakh, but surely this affords no reason for the use of an extraordinary method of spelling place-names, which is entirely their own and is very annoying. The Survey of India is the authority on such a subject, and one wonders why travellers have apparently such rooted objections to using their method.

B. K. F.

ARABIC LITERATURE: AN INTRODUCTION. By H. R. Gibb. London. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. 1926.

This useful little book is a marvel of condensation. In a small volume of some 37,000 or 38,000 words Mr. Gibb gives us not only an easily intelligible account of the structure and genius of the Arabic language, but a complete, though necessarily cursory, survey of the vast body of literature produced in the course of thirteen centuries by writers on grammar, philology, *belles lettres*, history, poetry, theology, mysticism, law, philosophy, logic, physics, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, geography, navigation, astrology, and alchemy. He describes the birth of Arabic literature in the love songs of the Bedawin of the desert, and its spread, with the religion of which it became the expression, and with which, in its later developments, it was sometimes at variance, into Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Transoxiana, Egypt, North-West Africa, Spain, Sicily, and India. He traces the effects of foreign influence, of Greek science and philosophy, Syrian mysticism, and Persian intellectualism on the literature which originated with the pre-Islamic poets and the *Qur'ān*, and briefly, but lucidly, discusses the principal religious movements in Islam—the clash between orthodoxy and rationalism, the Shi'a schism with its offshoot, the sect of the Isma'ilis, and that sect's odious offspring, the secret society of the Assassins; and the dual development of Sufism, in one direction as a system striving to reconcile the mystic with the orthodox life, and in the other wandering into pantheism and antinomianism.

The slight sketches of the development of strophic verse in Spain, and its influence on Romance poetry, and of the enlightened policy of the Norman rulers of Sicily in an age when toleration was liable to be confounded with heterodoxy, are suggestive, and will probably appeal more strongly than any other part of the book to the ordinary Western reader.

Mr. Gibb's work merits high praise. Not only will it provide the young student with a sound foundation for the study of Arabic literature, but it will be found by the more mature scholar invaluable as a guide and handbook.

The author's style is clear and perspicuous, a desideratum in so condensed a work, but one unfamiliar word appears on page 93, where a court poet is commended for the absence of "flunkery" from his works; but perhaps this is a portmanteau word, compounded of "flummery" and "flunkeyism."

WOLSELEY HAIG.

LOGHAT EL-ARAB, a monthly literary, scientific, and historical review, published by the Carmelite Fathers of Mesopotamia at Baghdad.

Of this useful publication, now in the fourth year of its existence, we have received four numbers, containing, besides articles chiefly of local interest, such as those on the topography of Iraq and the history of the press in Iraq and of the press of the Dominican Fathers at Mausil, others of more general interest on history and philology, with reviews of books.

In No. 3 we are glad to discover a sympathetic notice of the late Miss Gertrude Bell, that accomplished and devoted scholar who gave of her best to Iraq.

The philological articles which call for special notice are those on neologisms, on the mispronunciation of Arabic by foreigners, and on the vulgar dialect of Iraq, which may be read with profit by all students of Arabic, but in the two last it is unfortunate that no use has been made of any system of phonetic transcription to represent modifications of the sounds assumed in literary Arabic, and that no attempt has been made to explain, or at least to represent, the accentuation and its effect on the vocalization. In this aspect it may be said that the work is good so far as it goes, but falls short of modern scientific methods.

The literary and historical articles are interesting and will repay study, and the review is a worthy contribution to the literature of modern Arabic.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

THE MIDDLE EAST. By Major E. W. Polson Newman. 10″×6″. Pp. xv+278, Appendices I.-VI.; fifty-nine illustrations and three maps. London: Geoffrey Bles. 25s. net.

Although Trans-Jordania, 'Iraq, and Persia are included in the purview of his book, Major Polson Newman devotes his attention chiefly to a review of recent developments in Palestine and Syria.

In the chapters dealing with Palestine he expresses, with some force, his opinion of Zionism in practice, and it is probably this section of his book which will arouse the greatest interest. After describing the new colonies, their inhabitants, and the manner in which they are organized, he concludes that the economic position of the settlements is unsound and that they will be unable to retain permanently a progressive population without the continued financial assistance of European and American Jewry. This opinion does not strengthen some of the arguments put forward in support of the policy which led to the Balfour Declaration of 1917. In his introductory chapter the writer refers to "the obvious advantages of covering the Suez Canal by an outpost territory, in which important elements of the population would not only be bound to her (Great Britain) by every interest but would command the support of world Jewry," adding the remarks that "the Declaration certainly rallied world Jewry, as a whole, to the side of the Entente," and that "in the future Jewish support may exceed its value in the past."

It is generally admitted that Great Britain had no alternative to accepting some degree of responsibility for the future of Palestine; but opinions will differ as to whether the Balfour Declaration was a necessary corollary to British suzerainty or to a decision that a modicum of support should be given to Zionist ambitions; and comparatively few will agree that the Declaration has assisted in the maintenance of peaceful conditions in the neighbourhood of the Suez Canal. However this may be, the Declaration is a *fait accompli,* not to be ignored, and, on the other hand, our pledges to the Arabs must be observed. In depicting the manner in which we have attempted to carry out these obligations, Major Polson Newman has, on the whole, observed impartiality, but he shows a tendency to accept the Arab *intelligentsia* of Palestine at their own valuation as the representatives of Arab opinion in general, and his readers will detect an inclination to attribute pro-Zionist leanings to successive British Governments and to the Palestine Administration. His account of the incidents attending Lord Balfour's visit to Palestine and Damascus is of interest, and not without touches of humour and of pathos. It should be read by those who advocate the innovation of lightning tours by Cabinet Ministers as a satisfactory departure from the practice of placing confidence in "the man on the spot."

To the chapters dealing with Syria some local colour is given by the writer's description of his experiences there, but, taken as a whole, this part of the book will not add considerably to the knowledge of those who have followed the reports of recent events in the more reputable English journals. It is impossible to disagree with the criticisms of General Sarrail, and the reference to the Bureau des Renseignements (which we should designate the Political Department) as "a glaring example of administrative inefficiency" cannot be considered an overstatement, especially as regards the linguistic qualifications of its personnel.

Referring to the spread of the insurrection from the Jabal Druse to the Moslem districts nearer Damascus, the writer says : "That . . . antagonism to European influence existed seemed to be beyond doubt, but it appeared more likely that the Druse insurrection with its results was being exploited in the interests of Pan-Islam than that Pan-Islam was the cause of the turmoil in Syria." It appears that the ambiguous expression "Pan-Islam" should be here interpreted as meaning the craving of the more advanced Moslem-Syrians for a preponderating share in the administration of their country. The writer suggests that tranquillity can be restored only by an attempt to meet the demands of the Syrian Nationalist Party, which he calls, not altogether accurately, "the demands of the Syrian people." It is possible that concessions to these demands would go some way to remove the difficulties by which France is now confronted, although it may be argued that the Nationalists would probably take whatever may be offered them and immediately ask for more, since their desire is for nothing less than the unattainable prize of complete independence. It may be observed, however, in this connection that insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that the Moslems who took the field against the French Army of the Levant were not the Syrian Nationalist leaders themselves, but the naturally turbulent tribal and settled inhabitants of a region where the benefits of a stable government have not, as yet, made themselves felt. General Sarrail's inability to stamp out the Druse outbreak as soon as it showed itself offered these elements an irresistible opportunity for indulging in their time-honoured customs, which, there can be but little doubt, would have been seized without such encouragement as, on this occasion, was received from the extremists of the towns. A measure of autonomy for Syria may lessen the grievances of the educated and partially educated classes, but it will not remove the potential source of disorder which exists in the presence of a considerable population that is mobile, well armed and elusive, and ready to lend itself to intrigues against constituted authority, whether European or indigenous. The wilder inhabitants of Syria will not become peaceful and useful members of society before their material prosperity has reached a state that renders the preservation of tranquillity conformable to their own interests. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Mandatory Power will not make the mistake of adopting what appears, at the moment, to be the line of least resistance by establishing a regime which might prejudice the economic development of the country. The internal security of Syria depends as much upon improvements in communications and agriculture, and satisfactory trade in the towns, as upon the attitude of the politically minded minority.

The chapters dealing with 'Iraq and Persia appear to have been written to express the point of view of one whose personal acquaintance with those countries has been limited to brief visits to Baghdad and Tehran. The writer was in Baghdad when the report of the 'Iraq Boundary Commission was received there, but he does not give his opinion of the merits of that document. This is, perhaps, to be regretted. It is in Asia, rather than in Europe, that British interests are most liable to conflict with the aspirations of other countries, and the 'Iraq frontier dispute is the only international controversy of first-rate importance which the British Government has, up to the present, submitted to the arbitrament of the League of Nations. A survey of the manner in which the League dealt with this dispute would serve, therefore, as a useful means of judging whether we can rely on the League for the maintenance of peace.

Major Polson Newman expresses himself with considerable optimism in regard to Persia's prospects for the future. It is not easy to share this view, much though we may hope that he will be justified by future events. He gives considerable prominence to the question of opium cultivation, but makes no mention of the vital problem of Persia's relations with the Soviets and their effect upon her political and economic stability. He also avoids any reference to the attitude of the tribes and outlying districts towards Persia's new form of government.

"The Middle East" is well illustrated and contains useful appendices. It is intended, no doubt, for those who are unfamiliar with the complex problems of that region, as an introduction to further study. It will be much appreciated.

A. L. R.

CEDARS, SAINTS AND SINNERS IN SYRIA. E. S. Stevens. Hurst and Blackett, Ltd. 1926. 21s. net.

"Good wine," says the proverb, "needs no bush," and this book, quite the best that Mrs. Drower has yet published, does not, as the title suggests, require "apt alliteration's artful aid" to ensure a ready sale and wide circle of readers. Admirably illustrated and indexed, it needs only a good map to take its place in the first rank of travel literature, for its range is as wide as the author's sympathies, themselves almost wholly free from sentimentalism, idealism, and other dangerous "isms" which have played so large a part in recent years in bringing Syria to its present plight. Nowhere are false gods more generally worshipped by politicians than in Syria, but Mrs. Drower will have none of them (*vide* pp. 269 *et seq.*). In no book on Syria that the present reviewer can recall is the historical and racial background of current events better presented to the lay reader. Studied in conjunction with the Syrian chapters of Major Polson Newman's recent work on the Middle East, this book may well serve as a guide not only to travellers but to students of foreign affairs generally. Her observations on French administration are at once sympathetic and discerning; she has not failed to notice the very general ignorance of Arabic displayed by French civil and military officers, and to compare it with the fluency of almost all European officials in Iraq in the same tongue. The excuse offered by a French official that his compatriots are bad linguists may be true—observations in many lands tend to show that in this respect the Englishman abroad outshines all other Western nations—but it does little credit to their administration.

Space does not permit of criticism on points of detail of a book which is full of challenging and stimulating ideas, but the statement (p. 69) that the Arab does not destroy a foundered camel lest he waste powder and shot is surely incorrect. Camels are killed for food by a knife thrust into the jugular vein at the base of the neck—nothing is easier than to destroy an abandoned beast thus. But it is not done, in Islamic countries, because such action is regarded universally as wrong. The present reviewer has frequently raised the point with Arabs and Persians alike, noticing with what disapproval they saw him kill beasts in such case. "It is not right," said one man, "to take life except for man's needs, though there be careless folk who kill for sport. Life is the gift of God and is precious to the liver, be he man or beast; would you put a man out of his pain by killing him, or let him kill himself, even though you loved him dearly and though he must soon die, unless to save his honour from his enemies?" Such beliefs may be wrong-headed, but they are deeply ingrained, and until we in the West can answer the old man's question in the affirmative we shall be well advised to cast no stone.

Mrs. Drower's praise of the American University at Beirut is unstinted, but must not be allowed to blind the reader to the deduction, which may be quite legitimately drawn from a study of her book as a whole, that the fostering of American ideals, whatever they may be, and the English tongue, in competition with the culture and language of France, in a country economically and culturally wholly dissimilar to the U.S.A., has done more harm than good. The *genius loci* is a goddess whom Mrs. Drower has found and done something to reveal; she has perhaps influenced the Jesuit priests who have laboured so long and so devotedly in Syria; but she will withhold her co-operation from the followers of Abraham Lincoln, charm they never so wisely.

A. T. W.

THE PEOPLE OF ARARAT. By Joseph Burtt, F.R.G.S. The Hogarth Press. 3s. 6d.

This little book has been produced under the auspices of the Armenian Committee of the Society of Friends. Bishop Gore contributes a prefatory note. The first part of the book comprises a brief description of the geography of Armenia and a short history of the Armenian people down to our own times. In the latter chapters the author discusses the problem of repatriating the scattered remnants of this unfortunate race, and ends with an appeal to the Western Powers to provide the League of Nations with the money required to carry out the work. The interesting, though tangled and blood-stained, history of this ancient race stretches back into the mists of antiquity, but it is only in comparatively recent times that the question of Armenia and the other Christian minorities in the Turkish Empire has become such an urgent problem for the Powers of Europe.

In February, 1856, the celebrated Imperial Edict, or Hatti-Houmayioum, was promulgated by the Porte. This has been called the charter of the liberties and rights of the Christian minorities, and was due to the influence and perseverance of our Ambassador in Constantinople, Stratford Canning. This Edict was embodied in the Treaty of Paris in March, 1856. This Treaty, as the author states, showed "an increased distrust of the Turk's fitness to govern,' but by pledging themselves not to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey the signatory Powers effectually deprived themselves of the power to enforce the terms of the Hatti-Houmayioum. The result was it became a dead letter. Lord Stratford had insisted on the necessity of the Powers reserving the right to interfere to enforce the reform. He saw what would be the result of the omission, and declared he would rather have cut off his right hand than signed the Treaty. In writing to a friend he expressed the opinion "that despair on their (the Christians) side and fear on that of the Turks would engender the bitterest animosity between them, and not improbably bring on a deadly struggle before long." Subsequent events showed that he was right. Thus was the opportunity lost. The author sketches the history of the subsequent efforts of the Powers to enforce reform, but in the meantime the condition of the Christian minorities had become more serious, while the delicate European situation prevented the Powers from taking decisive and united action. How difficult the problem was is shown in the interesting chapters on the Eastern Question in Lady Gwendolen Cecil's "Life of Lord Salisbury."

The misery and discontent of the Armenians was increased in the reign of Abdul Hamid, more especially through the arming of the Kurds and their conversion into a national militia or Hamidyeh. Harassed by the Turks on one side and the Kurds on the other, unable to defend themselves and their families, as they were forbidden to carry arms, ground down by an oppressive system of government and a ruinous taxation, the Armenians lived in a continual state of dread and destitution. Even in the provinces of Russian Armenia they were not much better off, as there they came under the ban of the Orthodox Church. Lynch in his classic work on Armenia shows the state of oppression under which they lived under Russian rule.

Later, under the Young Turks their lot was no better, while the massacres and deportations during and after the Great War are fresh in the memory of all. As the author states in his Introduction, the Armenian problem is a difficult one. It has not been rendered easier in the past by the misguided efforts of their friends. Proposals to found an Armenian Empire without a clear idea of how or where that empire was to be formed could only end in failure. Passionate appeals to sentiment and vilification of the Turk, such as was indulged in during Gladstone's Bulgarian atrocity campaign, only resulted in making the Armenian position worse. The regeneration of the Turk and the amelioration of the lot of the Christian minorities was bound to be a work of time, and the problem could not be solved by heroic measures. The long efforts of the Western Powers to assist the Armenian cause have ended in nothing but the virtual extinction of the race. The reviewer, who had considerable experience of these people while on the Repatriation Staff in Iraq, agrees with the author that the disappearance of the Armenians would be a loss to the world. They have serious defects, such as vanity, acquisitiveness, love of intrigue, jealousy, and a fatal propensity to quarrel among themselves, which has been a cause of their undoing. On the other hand they are a hardy and intelligent people, as skilled in finance as in the arts and crafts, sober and industrious. With their love of education and capacity for assimilating Western civilization they formed a valuable link in Turkey between the East and the West. The reviewer is of opinion that given the opportunity to develop in security on their own lines the Armenians would prove to be the equal of any people now inhabiting the Near or Middle East. With the expulsion of the Greeks the Turks can now boast that they have rid Asia Minor of the Christian population. But will it profit them? Assuredly not. Ximenez, who knew the country intimately during the Great War, paid a visit to Anatolia just after the Greek debacle of 1922. In his book recently published, "Asia Minor in Ruins," he describes the devastation that has been caused, and states his opinion that the loss of the Greek population has been an irreparable disaster for the Turks, and has put the country back 500 years. The same observation might apply to the disappearance of the Armenians. The reviewer hopes that Mr. Burtt's book will assist in procuring the financial assistance so urgently required to alleviate the present misfortunes of "The People of Ararat." F. F. R.

THE RIDDLE OF THE TSANGPO GORGES. By F. Kingdon-Ward, F.R.G.S. Map and illustrations. London: Edward Arnold. 21s.

Captain Kingdon-Ward's latest book is in many ways the most interesting that he has yet given us. He and Lord Cawdor were fortunate enough to obtain permission from the Tibetan Government to travel extensively in what is botanically the most interesting portion of that country, and probably of the unknown world. In South-Eastern Tibet the flora of Western China meets and mingles with that of the Himalaya in a climate which approaches sufficiently near to that of Great Britain to render it probable that plants collected there could be introduced and acclimatised to beautify our gardens at home. Tibetan religious scruples precluded the collection of the fauna of the country, but, apart from the collection of plants, several points of great geographical interest were elucidated. The result is this book, a pleasing blend of scientific information and well-told incident.

The journey through Calcutta, Darjeeling, and Sikkim to Gyantse is dealt with in a very few pages. The road to Gyantse has been travelled and described by many, and the botany of Sikkim revealed in detail by Sir Joseph Hooker in his classic "Himalayan Journals." It was not until they had travelled some distance beyond Gyantse that the travellers broke new ground.

Their journey up to Tsetang called for little notice, though a portion of it had not been previously explored. The next section of their journey was down the Tsangpo valley to Tsela Dzong. For about twenty-five miles between Trap and Dzam and for a shorter distance near Nang Dzong, the river flows through gorges, though the drop in the level of the river is not very great in either case. The author and his companion did not follow the river through these gorges, where there must be some remarkable rapids, especially in the uppermost of these two stretches. They were, however, able to make the necessary diversion in one case over unexplored country.

Up to Tsela Dzong the travellers were on the high and dry Tibetan plateau. The plants of this part of Tibet are useless for horticultural purposes in Great Britain, because, as the author explains, they require an arctic or subarctic climate. It was only after reaching the neighbourhood of Tsela Dzong, where the monsoon rains penetrate and give the amount of moisture necessary for the more suitable and desirable plants, that Captain Kingdon-Ward was able to commence collecting in earnest. After moving to the neighbourhood of the Temo La, primulas, meconopsis, and rhododendrons were found in wonderful profusion and of the most beautiful species. Captain Kingdon-Ward's description of these and of his enthusiasm and excitement in obtaining new and beautiful forms is well communicated to the reader. The seed collector has many enemies; autumn snow may cover the plants he had marked when in flower in the spring; grubs may eat the seed; the plants may fail to set seed for various reasons which the author explains. Then there are the ordinary risks of the journey to Europe through different ranges of climate; but great care and attention to detail which comes from long experience resulted in only two per cent. of his collection failing to germinate, and some of these will probably germinate in time. There were, however, some disappointments, and he failed to obtain unquestionable seed of one of his most striking finds, the "ivory poppy"; there is a possibility that some seed of this may have been collected unwittingly, and if so it may flower next year in some fortunate garden.

All this was not done without very strenuous work and great hardship. Few of the people who will eventually grow the plants which Captain Kingdon-Ward has introduced will realize the dangers and troubles entailed in obtaining the seeds for the first time from their inaccessible habitat.

At the end of June the party left the neighbourhood of the Temo La and moved to the Doshong La, where marvellous rhododendrons predominated, and several startling botanical discoveries were made. During a later trip in October to collect seeds of plants which had been noted in flower, much hardship in the snow was encountered. The collection of rhododendron seed is shown to be very difficult, as the time between the ripening of the seed and the heavy snowfall is so short. Captain Kingdon-Ward's previous journeys in a like quest have accumulated knowledge which must have been invaluable.

In August a journey was made towards the North-West. Captain Kingdon-Ward and Lord Cawdor were the first Europeans to visit the beautiful lake, the Pasum Tso, and there is a charming photograph of the island monastery in the lake. In the first week of September they were again in the dry plateau land of

Tibet for a few days, and there they touched the main Lhasa-China road, and connected up with the routes of many previous travellers, and cleared up some geographical questions connected with the watershed between the Tsangpo and the Salween.

In the middle of November the travellers started on what was geographically the most important part of their journey in their attempt to follow right down the gorge of the Tsangpo, and to fill in the fifty-mile gap which was unknown. They succeeded in following some miles down the river below the portion which had been previously explored, after which they were obliged to leave the bed of the river and to cross a spur, descending which they again struck the river at the village of Payi, about midway in the unexplored fifty-mile gap.

They crossed the Tsangpo by a rope bridge and, after climbing a high spur, descended to the junction of the Po-Tsangpo with the Tsangpo; from here again, after surmounting almost superhuman difficulties, they managed to reach the river again some miles up-stream, from which point they were able to see a considerable way up-stream towards where they had been obliged to leave the river some days previously, and must have been able to recognize points seen from there.

They discovered waterfalls about 40 feet high—a very great height for a river of this enormous size. There remains a distance of about five miles at this point which they did not actually see, and it is necessary to postulate a fall of 132 feet per mile to account for the drop in the river level on this stretch. This is an enormous drop for such a river, and is greater than any drop which was measured over such a long distance. They have proved that enormous falls do not exist; but the detailed survey, with altitudes of the still unknown portions of the river, still leaves a very interesting piece of exploration to be done. The unexplored portion of the river between Payi visited by Captain Kingdon-Ward and Lord Cawdor, and Lagung, some twenty miles down-stream, cannot have any great falls. The drop in the river level can be accounted for by a steady fall of about 35 feet a mile.

It would have made this very interesting portion of their exploration clearer if the map had been on a larger scale than 1 : 500,000. On this scale several of the places mentioned in the narrative and several important altitudes could not be shown.

From the vicinity of the falls the party returned to the country near the Pasum Tso, and were prevented from travelling again over the passes at the head of the Drukla Chu by snow; so, after taking latitudes at important places, they returned, and eventually, on January 18, 1925, they reached the Lhasa-China Road at Gyamda, a place which they had previously visited on September 2. From now on they were undertaking that most unpleasant operation, a winter journey across the Tibetan plateau. The author's graphic descriptions of terrific winds carrying stinging dust, with temperatures below zero, recall to some the bitter months spent at Tuna with Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission in January and February, 1904. The joy and relief with which they eventually reached trees and subtropical vegetation gives the reader a personal sense of relief from the hardships of the plateau in winter. A journey down the wooded Nyamjang valley and through a portion of Bhutan brought the party to the railway in Assam, and their long journey was over.

Apart from the account of the journey and of its botanical results, there are explanations of the causes of climate and vegetation, with scientific explanations of the uncertainty of seed production. Anyone attempting to collect seed in any part of the world should certainly read this book.

There are two chapters by Lord Cawdor, who describes the manner of living, the architecture, crops, clothes, utensils, trade, etc., of the people among whom he travelled. There are also some useful notes on migration of the people. He has a remarkable photograph of two wooden figures seen in Tibet which seem to be quite unlike anything Tibetan.

There are one or two important misprints. On p. 65 the reference to the Sang La is hard to follow unless this is a misprint for Tang La. No Sang La appears on the map.

Takin are described as weighing between 600 and 700 pounds and standing 2 feet high. This is clearly a misprint. The height of a big Takin is about 4½ feet.

F. M. B.

CENTRAL ASIATIC EXPEDITIONS OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF ROY CHAPMAN ANDREWS. Preliminary Contributions in Geology, Palæontology, and Zoology, 1918-1925. Vol. I., Nos. 1-63. June, 1926.

Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews has presented the Society with a copy of this work, which consists of sixty-three papers by seventeen authors, giving the preliminary results of the Central Asiatic expeditions under his leadership. Of these papers, twenty-six deal with new mammals, birds, reptiles, and fishes; six are devoted to geology; and thirty-one describe the fossils (mostly mammals and reptiles) from the Mesozoic and Cainozoic rocks.

There are much older rocks than this in Mongolia, but they have yielded no fossils, if ever they contained any. In the early part of the Mesozoic Era those older rocks were folded and crumpled into chains of mountains. These were planed down by water, wind, and frost; and then the more or less level surface thus formed was again raised and bent in such fashion as to produce a shallow basin with an area estimated at a million square miles. It was in this basin that there were laid down those rocks that have yielded fossils to the explorers from the American Museum of Natural History.

The first rocks thus formed in this Mongolian basin were black muds spread out in thin layers and containing such fishes and insects as inhabit fresh water. It is clear that there were broad shallow lakes and swamps in which the great water-loving dinosaurs were at home. Later rocks were largely composed of wind-blown sand and indicate arid conditions. In those deserts lived the land dinosaurs, which laid their eggs in the sand, and were sometimes overwhelmed by the sand-drifts.

As conditions changed, the great reptiles disappeared, and in the Cainozoic Era their place was taken by mammals. The country was diversified, with variable rainfall, and with rivers and vegetation alternating with desert tracts. The mammals were correspondingly various: small burrowers for the deserts, horned titanotheres for the grassy plains, and the strange giraffe-like rhinocerote —Baluchitherium—for the wooded country. The remains of this—one of the largest beasts that ever trod the earth—may be seen in the Geological Department at the Natural History Museum. There also are placed plaster-casts of the dinosaur eggs and nest, the carnivorous reptile Andrewsarchus (called after leader Andrews), the egg-laying Protoceratops, and others.

This volume is the first fruit of the organized exploration of an almost virgin area undertaken by highly competent authorities under unique conditions of time and of the material resources at their disposal. The result is worthy of Dr. Andrews and his distinguished colleagues.

THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO THE VENETIAN. With an Introduction by John Masefield. Messrs. J. M. Dent and Sons. 7s. 6d.

The announcement of an edition of the travels of Marco Polo with an Introduction by John Masefield raised hopes that a step forward had been taken, and a solution found for some of the difficulties that still exist in the elucidation of the narrative of the illustrious Venetian. During the last generation remote countries, such as Persia and the Pamirs, have been explored by travellers deeply interested in tracing Marco's route, so that the position is very different to what it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and I hoped that the edition would have used the new information that is available.

I will frankly own that I was bitterly disappointed when, on examining Messrs. Dent's publication, I found that the text was a reprint of Marsden's translation, published together with his notes, the latter considerably curtailed, but otherwise unaltered.

To give an example the thirteenth and following chapters, the country between Yezd, Kerman, and Bandar Abbas has been surveyed, and the routes followed by Marco Polo have been traced. Yet, on p. 58, note 1, we read that "Pottinger's map is the most modern we possess." That explorer, of course, travelled more than a century ago! Again, to turn to chapter xxix., the Pamirs have been explored, and many Englishmen, myself among the number, have shot the great sheep of Marco Polo, the *ovis poli*. Consequently the note on p. 91 in which the great ram is believed to be a goat is utterly out of date and misleading; the same remark applies to many others.

In view of the above facts I cannot recommend this edition to members of the Central Asian Society. P. M. S.

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED IN OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER.

The Right Hon. Lord Irwin, G.M.S.I., etc., Viceroy of India.
Amps, L. W., A.M.I.C.E.
Baird, Colonel H. B. D., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O.
Barker, Captain A. T., M.C.
Battye, Major T. H., 3rd Gurkha Rifles, I.A.
Beckett, Captain C. T., Royal Artillery.
Bell Kingsley, Major H. E. W., D.S.O., 4th Gurkha Rifles.
Boileau, Colonel G. H., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E.
Brindley, Captain W. W., M.B.E., 4/10 Baluch Regt., I.A.
Brock, Lieut.-Colonel B. de L., M.C., O.C. 4/10 Baluch Regt., I.A.
Brown, Captain George, 2/14 Punjab Regt., I.A., attd. South Waziristan Scouts.
Brown, Captain V. C., D.S.C., Royal Marines.
Bryant, Lieut. A. D., 9th Queen's Royal Lancers.
Burney, Lieut.-Colonel G. T., The Gordon Highlanders.
Charvet, G. C G.
Clarke, J. C.
Clay, A. S.
Clayton, Colonel E. R., C.M.G., D.S.O.
Coke, Richard.

Constable, Captain J. H., R.A.
Cox, Dr. R. J. H.
Crawley, Colonel Archer.
Deedes, Major R. B., O.B.E., M.C.
Dodd, Major P. C. R., D.S.O.
Filippi, Sir Filippo di, K.C.I.E.. etc.
Foweraker, Lieut. H. A.
Glubb, Captain J. B., O.B.E., M.C.
Goschen, Colonel A. A., D.S.O.
Greene, Colonel A. C., R.G.A.
Hackett, Captain T. W. D., M.C., R.A., Sudan Defence Force.
Heathcote, Lady.
Holland, Lieut.-Colonel R. T., D.S.O., M.C., R.A.
Ikbal Ali Shah, Sirdar.
Jeffries, J. M. N.
Jones, Captain W. H. C., D.S.O., 4/10 Baluch Regt.
Jordan, Stanley.
Keble, Captain T. H.
Kirkpatrick, W.
Livingstone, Mrs.
MacCormack, Colonel D. W.
McLeod, Captain N., M.C., D.C.M., The Seaforth Highlanders.
Massy, Lieut.-Colonel H. R. S., D.S.O., M.C., R.A.
Mellor, Captain F. H., Northern Nigerian Police.
Nariman, G. K.
Nisbet, Colonel T., C.M G., D.S.O., I.A.
Northcroft, E. G. D.
Partridge, The Rev. W. L.
Randolph, John.
Robertson, Captain H. L. C., 2/15 Punjab Regt.
Schopflacher, Mrs.
Sherriff, Lieut. Geoffrey, Royal Artillery.
Simpson, Captain G. O., 16th Cavalry, I.A.
Smith, Captain C. C. H.
Waters, Lieut. J. R., R.A.
Weatherbe, D'Arcy.
Willis, Major-General E. H., C.B., C.M.G.
Wilton, Sir Ernest, K.C.M.G.
Wood, Miss M. M.

BOOK NOTICES

Library Table.—The Council wish to thank Dr. Andrews for the Reports of the American Museum of Natural History's Central Asiatic Expedition, Vol. I., which contains articles and notes by Professor Osborn, W. Granger, W. K. Gregory, and others, including the leader of the expedition; and Mr. Mackenzie for Ainsworth's "Travels in Asia Minor," both of which are very welcome additions to the library.

The following books have been received for review:

"The Vanished Empire," by Putnam Weale. 9″ × 6″. 379 pp. Illustrations. (London: Messrs. Macmillan. 15s.)

"The Changing East," by J. A. Spender. 9″ × 5¾″. 256 pp. (London: Cassell. 10s. 6d.)

"Chinese Central Asia," by C. P. Skrine, I.C.S. Illustrations and map. (London: Methuen and Co. 21s.)

"Among the Karakorum Glaciers," by Jenny Visser Hooft. Map and illustrations. (London: Edwin Arnold. 21s.)

"Beyond the Khyber Pass," by Lowell Thomas. 9″ × 6″. xiii + 223 pp. 116 illustrations. (London: Messrs. Hutchinson. 18s.)

"An Unexplored Pass," by Captain B. K. Featherstone, with a Foreword by Brig.-General the Hon. C. G. Bruce, C.B. 9½″ × 6¼″. 293 pp. Map and 25 illustrations. (London: Messrs. Hutchinson. 25s.)

"The Riddle of the Tsangpo Gorges," by Captain F. Kingdon Ward. 6″ × 9″. viii + 328 pp. Map and illustrations. (London: Edwin Arnold. 21s.)

"Travels of Marco Polo," with an Introduction by John Masefield 8″ × 5¾″. xv + 461 pp. 11 illustrations. (London: Dent. 7s. 6d.)

"Arabic Literature," by H. A. R. Gibb. 7½″ × 5″. 128 pp. (Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.)

"Cedars, Saints and Sinners in Syria," by E. S. Stevens. 9½″ × 6¼″. 291 pp. 75 illustrations. (London: Hurst and Blackett. 21s.)

"The Middle East," by Major Polson Newman. 10″ × 6½″. xv + 278 pp. 6 appendices, 59 illustrations, and 3 maps. (London: G. Bles. 25s.)

"Land Problems in Palestine," by A. Granovsky. 8½″ × 5½″. xvi + 104 pp. (London: Routledge and Sons. 2s. 6d.)

"The People of Ararat," by Joseph Burtt. 7½″ × 4¾″. lv + 184 pp. 8 illustrations. (London: Hogarth Press. 3s. 6d.)

"A Book of South India," by J. Chartres Molony. 7¾″ × 5½″. 252 pp. 16 illustrations. (London: Methuen. 7s. 6d.)

"A History of Siam," by W. A. R. Wood, late H.B.M. Consul-General, Chengmai. 8¾″ × 6″. 293 pp. 11 illustrations and map. (London: Fisher Unwin. 15s.)

"An Asian Arcady," by Reginald Le May. 10″ × 6½″. xiv + 274 pp. 63 illustrations and map. (Cambridge: Heffer and Sons. 21s.)

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

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

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XIV.

1927

PART II.

CONTENTS.

NOTICES.

SYRIA. By H. Charles Woods.

THE ITALIAN RED SEA COLONIES. By Commander Luigi Villari.

FERMENTS IN THE WORLD OF ISLAM. By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah.

THE POSITION IN CHINA. By E. M. Gull.

THE KARA-KORAM HIMALAYAS. By Captain B. K. Featherstone.

PERSIAN AFFAIRS.

NOTES ON THE MOTOR ROUTE TO INDIA.

REVIEWS:

In China. Der Kampf um Asien. The Darvishes The Ao Nagas. Leaves from a Viceroy's Notebook. Beyond the Khyber Pass. Memoirs of Halidé Edib. Ancient Cities of Iraq. The Himalayan Letters of Gypsy Davy and Lady Ba. Land Problems in Palestine.

NOTES:

The Nejd Boundary. L'Inquiétude de l'Orient (VII.): En Afghanistan. Italian Expansion in the Red Sea. The School of Oriental Studies.

PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1

NOTICES

MEMBERS are asked to send any change of address to the Secretary and to notify the office as soon as possible if they do not receive lecture cards and JOURNALS.

JOURNALS have been returned by the Post-Office for Bassett Digby, Esq., and Miss Nina Mylne.

The Council wish to thank Mr. Houston for an autograph letter of Mr. Wyman Bury's, written in 1916, which they were very glad to have for the Society.

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the JOURNAL.

SYRIA*

The situation in Syria is of the greatest importance to the British Empire because that country is located on our route, or on the flank of our route, to the East. Moreover, whilst a short stretch of the Baghdad Railway lies actually in French territory, a much longer section of that line forms the northern boundary of, and is therefore more or less commanded from, Syria. And then the zone under discussion is situated adjacent to the British mandated areas of Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq, where the problems are in some ways the same as those existing in French territory. Lastly, Damascus, the largest town under the control of the French, is the centre of a Nationalist movement which has its influence not only in Syria, but in Egypt, Palestine and the Middle East generally.

The position of the French at the time of, and shortly after, their arrival was complicated by a variety of circumstances. They were unpopular with the Moslems and particularly with the Druzes on account of their attitude assumed towards and in connection with the Christians since the sixties of last century. The presence of the Emir Feisal (now King Feisal) at Damascus created widespread difficulties. Furthermore, French prestige suffered heavily as a result of the treaty made with the Turkish Nationalists in the autumn of 1921—a treaty under which a considerable area of Syrian territory was handed over to the Government of Angora. Finally, the facts that Syria of to-day is much smaller than the pre-war zone known by that name, and that Syria, Palestine and Trans-Jordan are now separate political units, have affected the prosperity of the people and therefore influenced them against the new state of things.

The mandated area is divided into four separate States—the Greater Lebanon, Syria, the Alaouites and the Djebel Druze. These States are practically linked together only by the persons of the High Commissioner and of his staff, and politically and administratively there is no such thing as Syria except in so far as the name applies to one of the four units under the French Mandate. With regard to the principles of Government, whereas the British in Palestine have not deputed any theoretical or real power to the inhabitants, the French have nominally delegated certain functions to the Syrians, whilst at the same time they have actually kept the real authority in their own hands. The French High Commissioner and the French army are thus in fact the Government of the whole mandated territory, but in most of the States there are native administrations, at the headquarters of which the High Commissioner is represented by a French Delegate, who is an all-important personage.

---

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Wednesday, December 1, 1926, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, presiding. Mr. H. Charles Woods delivered a lecture on Syria, of which lecture these notes form a synopsis.

It has already been shown that the Mandate was established under great disadvantages, and it must always be remembered that the unrest and discontent which have developed in Syria during the last few years are due partly to questions over which the French had no control and partly to conditions for which they were in a measure responsible. In addition to the difficulties above enumerated, the immediately post-war British occupation complicated the situation, since that was a period of liberal expenditure, and since British troops of all ranks, being comparatively well paid, were in a position to be more extravagant than the French administrators and the French army. Moreover, Turkish intrigues have been constant, the Syrian Nationalists have been encouraged by the taste for self-government which they realized at Damascus during the régime of the Emir Feisal, and the highly desirable abolition of the favourable position enjoyed in Turkish times by the upper classes, usually known as the Effendis, has created serious opposition among these territorial leaders in Syria and in Palestine and set them free to agitate against the French and British Administrations.

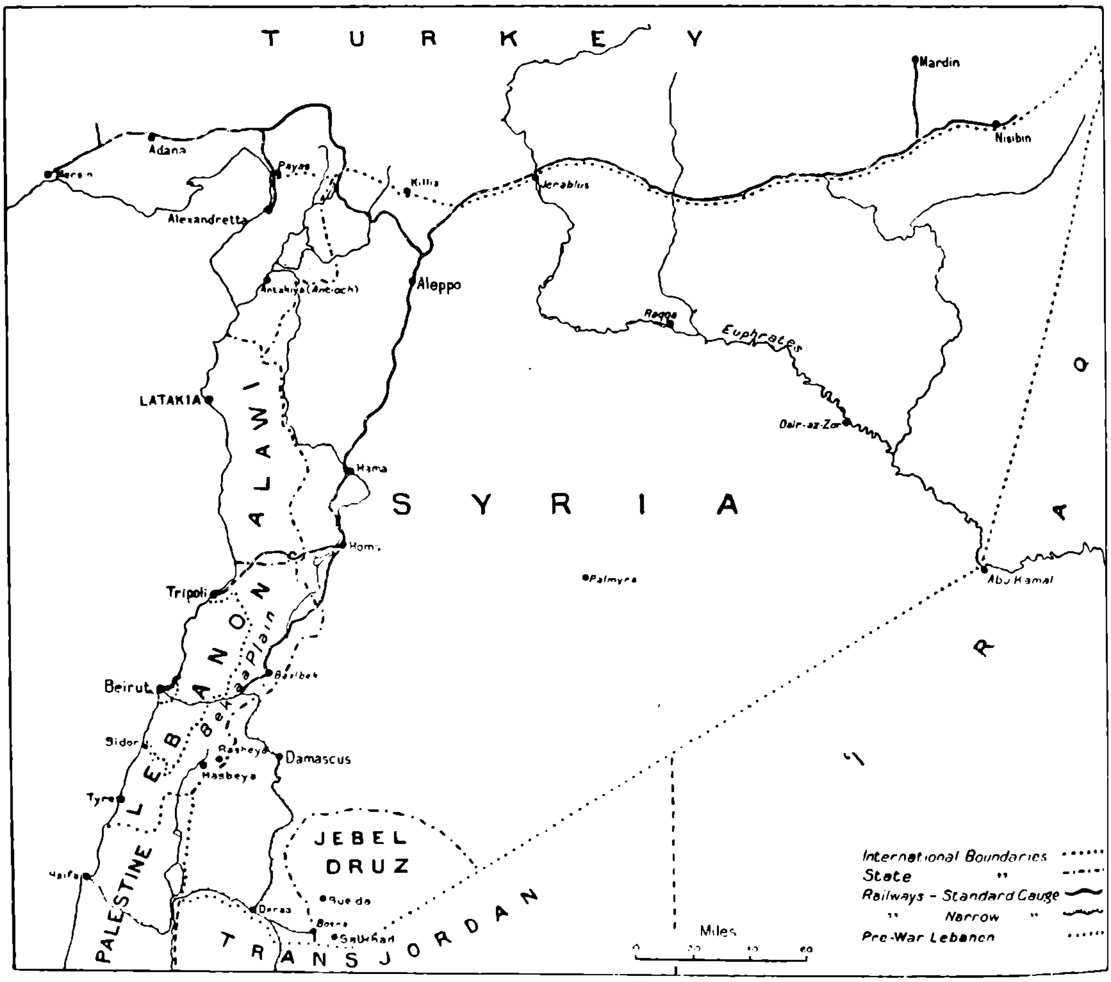
The French were powerless to prevent such conditions being used to their disadvantage. But their policy has certainly been inconsistent, and whilst General Gouraud and General Weygand—especially the latter—performed their duties efficiently and secured the confidence of the people to a wide extent, the appointment and the régime of General Sarrail were disastrous. He antagonized the Christians by his anti-clericalism, and he offended the Moslems by his lack of consideration for their susceptibilities. In addition some of the French functionaries have tried to govern the country in a Colonial spirit, and certain of the local officials, many of whom have been Turks, have received their appointments rather on account of their sympathy for France than of the confidence which they enjoyed with the people. And then the introduction of a currency based upon the French franc, the value of which has enormously declined since that introduction, has brought about heavy losses for the Syrians, many of whom are shrewd business men, and this has reacted seriously against the prestige of the Mandatory Power. Finally, the enlargement of the pre-war autonomous Lebanon into the present Greater Lebanon State has done a great deal to increase the hostility of the Moslems and the Druzes against French authority.

These were the general reasons responsible for the situation in Syria immediately prior to the Jebel Druze outbreak in the summer of 1925. But there were other and particular causes of discontent in that State, which is the smallest of the units which make up the French mandate. The Druzes had been promised an autonomy, for which they probably were, and are, not fitted, and this autonomy was never properly and fully given. The French Governor, Captain Carbillet, appointed in 1923, did a good deal for the people and the country; but he could not speak the language, and was not popular with the people. When representatives of the Druzes, who are very jealous of their feudal customs, the abrogation of which they greatly fear, were sent to negotiate with General Sarrail, the then High Commissioner either refused to see them or received them without the courtesy which is expected in the East. At the outbreak of the revolution in July, 1925, the French forces, which then perhaps numbered 14,000 to 15,000 all told, were too weak to deal with the situation, and the earlier defeats, particularly during the attempts to relieve Sueida, encouraged the insurrectionaries.

The events which took place in Damascus in October, 1925, and above all the bombardment of that city on the nineteenth of that month, converted what had been a Jebel Druze revolt into a Syrian national insurrection. The French became panic-stricken; tanks were sent through the streets, and the town was attacked by artillery and from the air. These lasted about twenty-four hours; there were serious casualties, and an area measuring roughly 300 yards square suffered severely. Opinions will always differ on the subject, but if it was a military necessity, as it probably was, to bombard the city, the authorities are seriously blameworthy for allowing the development of a situation leading to this necessity, for not issuing a definite ultimatum to the inhabitants beforehand, and for not warning the foreign communities in advance. After this, while General Sarrail was removed from his office, fighting spread to a wide area of the mandated territory, and at one time the French were in real danger. However, reinforcements, which should have been sent in large numbers directly after the trouble began, gradually arrived, and with their presence the actual military situation became assured.

The period of M. de Jouvenel's High Commissionership, which lasted from December, 1925, until the late summer of the following year, was principally occupied by detached fighting and by peace negotiations which led to no tangible results. But His Excellency was faced with great difficulties, and if the confidence of the people in the French decreased rather than increased at this time, M. de Jouvenel worked loyally with the British authorities in the neighbouring areas. When his successor, M. Ponsot, arrived in October, 1926, he found a situation in which the country was under the military control of about

50,000 French troops, who could, and probably can, prevent anything except isolated outbreaks. The great question before the French Government, therefore, is whether this force shall be maintained at an expense which is already a heavy drain upon the exchequer, or whether serious concessions shall be made to the Syrians. The adoption of the latter alternative would necessitate an amnesty, in which the leaders would have to be included, and the granting of a wider autonomy at least to the State of Syria. Such an autonomy would certainly require French supervision, but if it were accompanied by the establishment of a suitable native ruler at Damascus, it might prove a solution of a problem which has now become complicated in the extreme.


TURKEY
Mardin
Adana
Mersin
Payas
Killis
Jerablus
Nisibin
Alexandretta
Antakiya (Antioch)
Aleppo
Raqqa
Euphrates
LATAKIA
ALAWI
Dair-az-Zor
IRAQ
Hama
SYRIA
Homs
Palmyra
Abu Kamal
Tripoli
LEBANON
Bekaa Plain
Baalbek
Beirut
Sidon
Rasheya
Damascus
Hasbeya
Tyre
JEBEL
DRUZ
Haifa
PALESTINE
Suweda
Deraa
Bosra
Salkhad
TRANSJORDAN
International Boundaries
State "
Railways - Standard Gauge
" Narrow "
Pre-War Lebanon
Miles
0
20
40
60

In conclusion, it must be said that, whatever have been the faults of the French, their difficulties have been enormous. The country under their Mandate may have been in a disturbed and an abnormal state for eighteen months, but prior to the outbreak of the revolt public security, justice, and general conditions were undoubtedly better than was ever the case in Turkish times. The Syrians are not fit to govern or defend themselves, and although they make special complaint against the

French, they would object equally, or almost equally, to any other Mandatory responsible for their affairs. The French were our allies during the war, their presence in Syria is decidedly advantageous to the British Empire, and it is better for us to understand their difficulties rather than to criticize them.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before the discussion begins I would like to make an apology on behalf of the Council both to the lecturer and to the audience for the shortcomings of the lantern operator. We have really placed Mr. Woods under great difficulties, but he contended with them manfully, and we are most grateful to him. But we are all sorry this should have happened. The remarks of the lecturer will provide a most fruitful field for discussion and criticism.

Sir Arnold Wilson: Mr. Chairman, I am sure we all feel grateful to Mr. Charles Woods for having given us such a dispassionate view of events in Syria. For me it was almost too impartial; I do not think we can usefully discuss even current history without a healthy bias, which our lecturer has done his best to exclude. Current history is a sequence of contingencies which may or may not be fortuitous; their interpretation depends in large measure on the tendencies of the historian, whose views lend the spice that aids digestion. I quite agree it is no use condemning French policy, because we have no constructive criticism to offer; their position in Syria to-day is the result of misreading and misunderstanding history and national sentiment. They thought the events of 1860 justified them in going to Syria as the redeemers of Syria. They turned out to be quite wrong. There is a Roman inscription, not official, but by a soldier, scrawled on a rock near Damascus, which may be freely translated, "The Syrians are a rotten crowd." (Laughter.) That was the opinion of the common soldier of Rome about A.D. 200, and I gather it is the opinion of the French soldier who to-day is the lineal descendant of his Roman predecessor. There is no sort of unity in Syria, and as far as we can see there never has been in all its long history from Old Testament days onwards. The unity of Syria might have been accomplished, as in a measure it was accomplished in Iraq, in the years succeeding the Armistice, by two or three years of intensive administration under economic pressure; but such administration as there has been has displayed separatist tendencies, and there has been no economic policy, with the result that Syria is still in practically the same condition politically as it was in Old Testament times. The Christians of the Greater Lebanon, the Moslems of the Greater Lebanon, the townspeople and tribes in and around Aleppo, Homs, Hama, and Alexandretta, the Druzes and Damascenes, all revel in separatist ambitions; they have a passionate desire to be left alone to go their own gait; and at least half of them by independence mean liberty to control the affairs of their neighbours. The Druzes, with whom I have a considerable sympathy, having seen something of them and a good deal of people who resemble them, have lived from the remotest ages at the intermittent expense of their neighbours; and to prevent them from doing so involves far more military and economic pressure than the French can bring to bear. The Christians have flourished exceedingly in Lebanon, partly under the tuition and tutelage of the Great Powers, who forced Turkey after the events of 1860 to give them certain privileges. Those privileges they have now lost, and it is not surprising they should resent the levelling tendencies of their redeemers.

I do not fully share Mr. Charles Woods's views as to the great work done by the American Mission at Beirut, and the Syrians themselves, looking at it from their own point of view, may well think they have done more harm than good. For U.S. citizens to start a College and to impart advanced views, made in the U.S.A., into Syria, whilst divorcing themselves from all responsibility for the inevitable result, is of very doubtful advantage to the country. You will recollect that when the question of the French Mandate was under discussion it was a U.S. citizen, Mr. Crane, who led the Commission whose activities raised hopes which the U.S. Senate had no intention of assisting to fruition. The Commission asked the people whom they would like as Mandatory. "Anyone would be better than the French," replied the majority. "Very well," in effect replied the League of Nations, "you shall have the French." Is it surprising that the Commission left a bitter feeling behind? As to men like Shahbandar, whom I personally respect, it does not lie in the mouth of any European combatant in the Great War to criticize what Shahbandar has done in Syria in defence of his policy; it does not become any of us to criticize what others have done in Syria; we all have something to regret. As regards the bombardment of Damascus, it is a very real relief to see how little damage was done; I was certainly under the impression that the area was far greater. It would have been better if photographs, such as Mr. Woods has shown us had been published in place of the panoramas which appeared in English newspapers immediately after, indicating that the bombardment had been far more extensive. I do not think we can possibly exonerate the French from full responsibility for the bombardment. I was not there myself, but I have had a good deal of first-hand information on the subject. To turn heavy guns on to the most ancient city in the world without notice, to kill at very short notice a thousand people or so, practically all of whom were innocent of any sort of offence, is to commit a crime against civilization which no amount of white-washing by the League of Nations can really wipe out. (Applause.) Not only foreign inhabitants, but the whole population should have had notice. It was a terrible mistake, and I am convinced that had the French military authorities on the spot been under the full control of the French High Commissioner, and had he really realized the damage involved by letting loose the military arm, it would never have occurred. The fact that there is a French high official, neither soldier nor politician, in the employ of his country abroad is to me a novel thought. (Laughter.) Such men are not uncommon in the service of His Majesty abroad, but my own brief experience is that the French official abroad is generally one or the other.

Finally, if I have any views on Syria, they can be deduced from the map. Syria has no definite geographical boundaries on any side except the Mediterranean. It has neither racial, nor linguistic, nor commercial unity. It has few natural resources, and it has been a cockpit for a period of time that goes well back into Hittite times, if not before. The advice given by the prophet to Naaman to wash in Jordan was not taken because it was too simple and too obvious. He was a Syrian and a prominent soldier; the Syrian to-day will probably adopt the same attitude to any simple scheme for remedying the present state of affairs. The country is now divided into four or five different administrations, none of which have any natural boundaries; and I cannot believe that such a system is more than transitory. Sooner or later the French will be forced to unify the administration, to avoid any sort of communal legislation or communal authority, and revert to the single form of administration which is now enforced on the one hand in Turkey and on the other hand in Iraq and Palestine. In such a policy we may find peace. (Applause.)

Major Polson Newman: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have heard to-night a most interesting address from Mr. Woods, and some very appropriate words from Sir Arnold Wilson. There is just one point I should like to add, and it is on the question of anti-French propaganda. Since I came back to this country, about two months ago, I have always been asked why it is we cannot get any accurate news from Syria, or, on the other hand, why the news from Syria is so misleading. I can tell you in a few words the reason. A great deal of the news or reports which come through from Syria are simply nothing more or less than propaganda directed against the Mandatory Power. They emanate from the Arab Executive in Jerusalem, on the one hand, and on the other hand from the Syria-Palestine Committee in Cairo. Both these institutions are strong supporters of the rebels, and actually go to the length of sending literature and newspapers up to the villages of Syria and the Jebel Druze, in order to encourage the rebels to continue the rebellion. A great deal of this information comes to the ears of foreign correspondents, who perhaps arrive in Syria for two days and are then gone. It also finds its way to London and appears in the London press. A certain amount is also sent direct from those sources to

London, and finds its way into headlines of certain organs of our press. At the present moment the news from Syria is not very exciting: it is not the kind of news that makes headlines. It therefore is rather apt to be neglected. On the other hand, those reports which come from the sources I have mentioned are rather fantastic and are most certainly exciting. Such reports make fine double-deckers in the front pages of the newpapers, and help the newspapers to sell. The consequence is, I am afraid, that a great deal of this stuff has been dished up to the British public, and the British public at the present moment, I think, have a very false idea of the true situation in Syria. I think it is up to us as a co-Mandatory Power with France in the Near East to try and stand by France in every way we can, most especially in our press, and to try and help her instead of hindering her. (Applause.)

Sir GILBERT CLAYTON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Nearly everything I thought it possible to mention has already been said; but I have had some experience of Syria both in the country and since the war, when I was a member of the administration of Palestine, and I should like to emphasize the great difficulties which confronted—necessarily confronted—whatever Power took over the Mandate for that extraordinarily mixed country. Those difficulties have perhaps not been solved quite as quickly or quite as cleverly as they should have been. But at the same time I think we should avoid destructive criticism, and remember the point which Mr. Woods brought forward so clearly, that Syria is of extreme importance to Great Britain. If you were to serve, as I did, in the administration of Palestine, you would realize that a great deal more than you can sitting here in London. Every little thing that happens in Syria—any little trouble that arises—reacts immediately on Palestine, and *vice versa*; and therefore I think it is for the two Mandatory Powers to keep in very close touch and co-operation. When we first started the mandatory system there was a good deal of suspicion, at any rate on the part of the French, that we were anxious to secure the Mandate for Syria. I can only say, Thank God we did not. (Hear, hear.) We did not anyhow, and perhaps there was a certain jealousy, and the French watched very sharply anything that happened in Palestine that might react against themselves. When I was there myself there was a brigand affair on rather a serious scale south of Damascus, and there is no doubt the brigands emanated from Trans-Jordan, which is under our Mandate. But directly news arrived prompt measures were taken to put a stop to the trouble, and a force was sent up to the frontier without delay. None too soon, because the day after they started down came a delegation from General Weygand to complain. When the French found what had been done the effect was extremely good, and the foundation was laid of a close co-operation which existed all the time I was there, and at any rate until General Weygand left. As to what happened after his departure I am not sure. That instance illustrates how very necessary it is to have co-operation between the two administrations, and I think, from everything I have read, there seems to be no trace of criticism against the administration of Field Marshal Lord Plumer and the Palestine Government in this respect. They seem to have co-operated as far as it was possible to do so, and that I am sure will lead us in the end to a solution of our mutual difficulties. (Applause.)

Major SALISBURY JONES: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I cannot help feeling very diffident in getting up and speaking after such distinguished speakers as have preceded me. At the same time, as I have spent the last two and a half years attached to French headquarters, I do not feel that I can very well be present and not say anything at all. I only want to touch on one point—I shall not be very long—and this point is the future importance of Syria, which I think Mr. Charles Woods did touch upon in his extremely interesting lecture, I think Mr. Charles Woods did remark that we did not many of us realize exactly what Syria is. He explained to us what it is, and I would like to say what in my opinion are the future possibilities of Syria. Hitherto we have looked upon the main road to the East as via the Suez Canal—in the old days it was through Syria. Since the opening of the Suez Canal two important things have been invented, one is the motor and the second is the aeroplane. Most of you realize that already there is a very well organized motor service from Beirut to Baghdad: I do not think all of you realize that every aeroplane flight to the East by foreigners has passed through Syria, and I think I am pretty safe in prophesying that the future of Syria from the air point of view is not inconsiderable.

I would before coming down from this platform like to take this opportunity, if there are any French people present, or even if there are not, of mentioning the extreme courtesy which I received under three High Commissioners, first General Weygand, then General Sarrail, and finally Monsieur Jouvenel. (Applause.)

Sirdar IKBAL ALI SHAH: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I can only add a few words from the Moslem point of view to a very excellent lecture that we have had this afternoon from Mr. Woods. Some years ago, when the Indian Khilafat Delegation was visiting this country, Mr. Mohamed Ali, its leader, was very jubilant about the fact that he was received very well in Paris, but the British, he then thought, were imbued with anti-Islamic sentiments. I differed from him on that point then as I differ from him in all points always. (Hear, hear.) The cause of Mr. Mohamed Ali's jubilation has seen a definite change, for in the Moslem world to-day the French and not the British are out of favour with the Mohammedans. You might think that I am inventing this, but as one of the speakers this afternoon was alluding to the bombardment of Damascus, I could not help recalling to mind the scenes that marked Moslem sentiments at the time. I happened to be in the East then. The degree of resentment which was felt throughout Islamic Asia—almost amounting to a religious fanatical frenzy which tended to decry everything foreign and Christian—I find difficult to portray in words. Again, as a proof of the sentiments of the British people being pro-Moslem, I can refer to the very interesting lecture, with its unbiassed criticism of a very tangled question, by Mr. Woods this afternoon. There is one thing above all that I value in the lecturer's remarks—he take no sides. Mr. Woods lays before us the facts and he keeps to the best traditions of the Society by giving us an unbiassed lecture. One point I should mention. At the end of his lecture he mentioned that Frenchmen had their difficulties. We all have our difficulties at one time and another. It has been said there were military men and politicians who made the bungle in Syria. In your own case you had Kitchener in Egypt—he was a great administrator; you had a politician in India in Curzon, and he was a brilliant success, as everybody knows. I cannot understand how your next-door neighbours cannot produce generals and politicians equally efficient in this way, and that should be levelled as a criticism against them. Another point of interest is that it has been suggested that the direct control by French people of Syria should be encouraged. It has been hinted that an Arab king should be placed as a ruler of Syria under the ægis of the French Government. It is a most admirable suggestion. I hold no brief for the Sharif Ali Haidar Pasha, but from all I have heard as to his learning and capacity as a ruler he would be the right man in the right place; and I think the present difficulties of the French would entirely disappear if they worked the country through the agency of one of the Syrians' own kinsmen, as you are doing to-day in Mesopotamia. It is a system that has elicited a very great amount of praise for your administrators and those who work the Mandate in Mesopotamia to-day. (Applause.)

The Lecturer: Ladies and Gentlemen,—At this late stage I almost hesitate to get up and speak again, but I want to do so for two reasons. First of all I very much appreciate what the various speakers have said upon the subject of Syria, and upon the subject of my lecture. I value particularly, if I may venture to say so, the remarks of Major Salisbury Jones, Sir Gilbert Clayton, and Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. The other reason for which I want to say a word or two is I am sure you realize I have very little idea what I really said during this lecture, and I am convinced, in spite of nice things that have been said by people who have spoken since, you must have a very small conception of what I meant to say. Perhaps I should have been inarticulate in any case, but certainly the disorganization of the lantern slides has made such shortcomings worse than otherwise would have been the case. I wish, therefore, now to refer to three points upon which I do not seem to have been very clear—first of all in regard to the American University at Beirut. When I referred to the good which I feel that institution has done, I was speaking of the general good throughout the Near and Middle East. Of course it may be a question of opinion as to whether it is beneficial to educate these people or not; but I certainly think that, whatever may be the faults of America—I know there have been a great many in regard to the post-war position in the Near East, and I believe the Crane Commission did a great deal of harm in Syria—but whatever be their faults there is no doubt that great institutions like the Robert College at Constantinople and the American University at Beirut have done a great deal for the civilization of the people. Whether that civilization has been used to the best advantage is another question. Second, there has been a pretty full discussion about the bombardment of Damascus. Please do not think that I in any way approve of that. What I meant was that the French undoubtedly got into a panic, and I fully agree with one speaker who followed me, and who said that had the local situation been properly under French control, the developments of October would never have happened. But I did say also that I thought the French were even more blameworthy for allowing the situation to develop which necessitated the bombardment than for the bombardment itself. That is not to excuse the bombardment. When Sir Arnold Wilson suggested I thought the foreign communities should have been warned and not the natives—I do not say natives in any disparaging sense, I mean the local population—that is the last thing I intended to infer. What I meant to say was that a proper and definite ultimatum should have been issued to the whole town, and that the people should have been clearly led to understand what would happen if they did not behave properly. I did add, I believe, that the foreign communities should be warned, because it is usual in those countries to give notice of important forthcoming events to the various consulates. Had the foreign communities been advised perhaps some of the difficulties which took place with our own representative, Mr. Smart, might have been avoided, for I am convinced that he did everything possible to protect the British, and that he was guilty of no acts likely to inflame the situation in Damascus. Thirdly, I stated that Monsieur Ponsot was not a politician. I do not possess his personal confidence, and I know no more whether he is a politician than I know whether many of the gentlemen who represent this country abroad are politicians. What I meant was that he is not a politician by career; he is a functionary by profession. He may be a politician or not, but he does not go out to Syria either as a soldier or as the result of political success. He is there as a consequence of his distinguished work for his country, as a man who has held high office in the French Foreign Office, and therefore a person from whom I think we may expect perhaps a great deal more than we have had before. I would like to join with Major Salisbury Jones in saying that, whilst I criticized General Sarrail for many things that he did in Syria, I cannot exaggerate how extremely kind he was to me, and how greatly he furthered any objects which I had in visiting that country. I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your attention under very difficult circumstances. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before we part I know you would like me to tender on your behalf a very cordial vote of thanks to our Lecturer, all the heartier because of the great difficulties he has had to contend with, and which we so much regret, and for which we must offer him the apologies of the Society. (Applause.)

THE ITALIAN RED SEA COLONIES*

BY COMMENDATORE LUIGI VILLARI

DURING the wars of the Risorgimento and at the time of the unification of Italy hardly anyone thought of Italian expansion beyond the seas. Public opinion was so absorbed by the political problems at home that economic questions in general, even those directly affecting the welfare

---

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Thursday, December 16, 1926. Sir Michael O'Dwyer presided, and a lecture was delivered by Commendatore Luigi Villari on the Italian Colonies on the Red Sea and their connection with Central Asia.

The CHAIRMAN: A fortnight ago we had a very interesting lecture on French Syria, and to-day we are going to have a lecture on the Mid-Eastern colonial possessions of another ally, the Italian Colonies on the Red Sea, and their connection with Central Asia. We all know that Imperial Rome was the founder of colonization as we understand it in the West; in fact, most of Europe to-day is based on the colonies of Imperial Rome. When the Empire of Rome disappeared and Italy was broken up into a series of little States, we find that some of these city States, like Venice and Genoa, founded sea-empires in the great trading centres of the Mediterranean and Levant. The advance of the Turkish Empire prevented their further extension towards the East; at the same time the discovery of the Cape route deflected the whole course of colonization of Western Powers to ocean routes. The result was that all the great colonial empires established between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries were built up by countries which had frontiers on the Atlantic—Spain, Portugal, France, England, and Holland. These maritime empires practically filled all the waste places of the world as then known, and one result of that was that when Italy at last became unified seventy years ago she found very little room for colonial expansion. That is the problem which the Commendatore will speak to us about to-day. Italy of to-day is the heiress of the traditions of Imperial Rome, the founder of so many colonies. Italy has a rapidly growing population; she wants a place in the sun. She wants elbow room, and there is a feeling in Italy among many people—and I think it is shared also by some people in this country—that in the post-war settlement Italy did not receive the complete fulfilment of the aspirations which were encouraged in her at the crisis of the war. However, that is another matter. To-day we shall hear from the Commendatore of the progress made by Italy in her colonies along the Red Sea littoral and their reaction on Asia, which is our own particular subject. I think all of us who know anything of Italian colonization regard it with sympathy and with benevolent interest. Wherever we have come across the Italians abroad we have found them good neighbours, and wherever we have had any difficulties with them, whether in Jubaland or the Jarabub Oasis in Egypt, we have been of the people, were hardly realized. When in later years the economic problem inevitably thrust itself on to the attention of the nation, it was in its internal aspect alone that it was at first considered.

The Emigration Movement.

It was the emigration movement which first awakened Italy to the need for expansion in some form or another. During the latter part of the nineteenth century an ever-increasing stream of Italians, unable to find sufficiently remunerative work at home, migrated to foreign lands, attracted by higher wages and wider opportunities than were afforded by Italy at that time. These pioneers showed a great spirit of enterprise, courage, industry and sobriety, and colonized vast tracts of the Argentine, Brazil, the United States, Tunisia, etc., to say nothing of those who made railways, bored tunnels, built roads and bridges, dug canals, and executed other great public undertakings all over the world.

But useful as was this work, public opinion began to regard the exodus of so many of the best workers from the country with a certain anxiety as being no unmixed advantage for Italy and the Italian people as a whole; many of these emigrants were definitely lost to the nation, especially those who settled in overseas countries, and by far the largest part of the profits deriving from their labour went to the benefit of the country in which they were working.

Exploration in Africa.

At the same time another group of men, smaller by far in numbers, but even more enterprising and courageous, inspired by no thought of personal gain, were exploring the unknown regions of Africa, and achieving fame for their country. Cecchi, Camperio, Bottego, and many others organized expeditions of considerable scientific interest, encouraged by the Italian Geographical Society and the Society of Commercial Exploration in Africa, and not a few of them lost their lives in the quest of the unknown. The Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time, Pasquale Stanislao Mancini, took a keen interest in these enterprises. But after 1885 exploration was discouraged under the régime of the Depretis Cabinet, and no further expeditions of importance were undertaken for many years.

The more intelligent part of the Italian people was, however, begin-

---

able to settle those difficulties amicably. We therefore are inclined to look with favour on the development of the colonization policy of Italy in Asia and along the Red Sea. The Commendatore has special knowledge of this subject because he was attached as liaison officer to Sir George Milne in the Near East and in Macedonia during the war. After that he was connected with the Italian Emigration Department. Then for years he was working in the League of Nations, and he has travelled widely in the Near and Middle East. He is therefore very competent to inform us of the potentialities of this new colonial expansion now active. In Italy to-day everything has received a new vigour. One consequence is this new colonial expansion which Italy is carrying out. I will now ask the Commendatore to deliver his lecture. (Applause.)

ning to realize the necessity that Italy, like other great countries—and indeed, owing to her rapidly growing population, more than most of them—should secure territories suitable for colonization, where her sons could work and prosper under the national flag and for the benefit of the nation. It was found, however, that nearly all the more suitable territories had been annexed or ear-marked by other Powers. There remained certain parts of East Africa still available, which were believed to be capable of considerable economic development, and in the 'eighties Italy proceeded to occupy various territories on the Red Sea coast. The first point occupied had been the Bay of Assab, but only as a coaling station for the Florio-Rubattino Steamship Company in 1869; owing to the objections raised at the time by Great Britain, Turkey, and Egypt, it was not formally annexed until 1880. Massaua and other places were occupied during the following years, and in 1890 these various possessions were unified in a single colony under the name of Colonia Eritrea.

Eritrea.

It was hoped and believed at the time that the new possession would prove suitable for Italian colonization by white settlers, and that at least a part of the stream of Italian emigration would be deflected thither from the foreign lands which had hitherto attracted it. The coastal area and the lowlands generally are tropically hot, but on the uplands of the interior the climate is moderate and healthy. But war with Abyssinia made colonization difficult, and the defeat at Adua, which the Government of the day saw fit to leave unavenged, although the reserves under General Baldissera had victory within their grasp, put an end to all ideas of settlement by whites. The exaggerated optimism with which Eritrea had been regarded in the early days of the occupation was succeeded by an equally exaggerated pessimism, both being due to lack of knowledge and experience of colonial affairs and of tropical countries. The colony came to be looked upon as a bad bargain, which was not evacuated simply on account of the loss of prestige which such evacuation would naturally involve. Public opinion for many years ceased to take any interest in Eritrea, and almost tried to forget its very existence. There was during that period a reaction against all ideas of colonial expansion throughout Italy, not only among the Socialists, Republicans, and extreme Radicals, who were averse to any policy likely to distract public attention from home affairs, social reform, and class war, but even among the Conservatives and Moderates of Northern and Central Italy, who saw in colonial expansion nothing more than costly and unproductive adventures, which absorbed Italy's none too abundant capital needed for internal development, and which might involve the country in dangerous international complications.

The Prime Minister, Francesco Crispi, was one of the few Italian statesmen since Mancini who realized the importance of expansion for

Italy, but he had come before his time, at a moment when the nation was not educated up to these ideas, and his really great qualities and far-sighted policy were not appreciated by the mass of his fellow-citizens, not even by the more intelligent part of them. The defeat at Adua brought about his fall—many of his opponents actually regarded it with satisfaction for that reason, so little did they appreciate its disastrous effects on the country's prestige—and he retired from office a broken man.

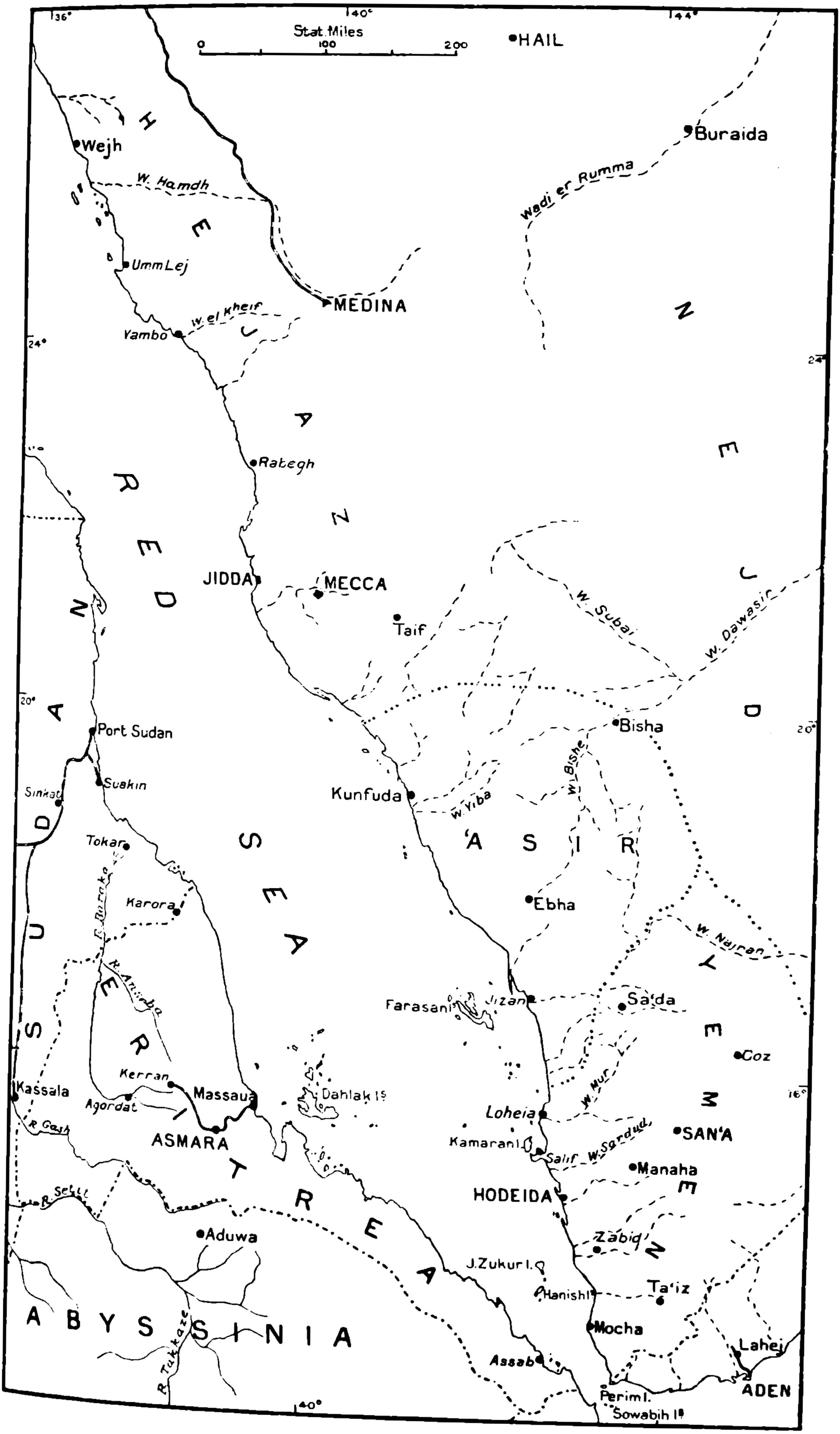
At the beginning of the present century, when with the general increase of prosperity and of cultural development the idea of colonial and economic expansion revived once more, attention was turned rather to the possibilities of North Africa than to the almost forgotten Red Sea colony, or to that part of Somaliland which Italy had recently occupied, but which was known to the public chiefly on account of some not too edifying squabbles between the civil and military authorities.

The Ascari.

But the Italo-Turkish war of 1911-12, which was the outcome of Italy's schemes of expansion in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, provided unexpected evidence of the utility of Eritrea in at least one respect. From the early days of the occupation a considerable number of Eritrean natives had been enrolled in the Italian army, and indeed the great bulk of the Italian garrison consisted of these Ascari, as they are called. They proved excellent and faithful soldiers, even when engaged in fighting against men of their own or analogous race. The Italian officers and N.C.O.'s in command of Ascari units rapidly succeeded in inspiring in them the utmost devotion and discipline. On the battlefield of Adua, after only a few years of Italian rule, round the body of every dead Italian officer were found groups of dead Ascari, who had fallen fighting to defend the life of their white commander. Between 1896 and 1911 the organization of the Ascari was perfected and extended, so that when the Libyan war broke out it was possible to employ them in North Africa, where they very greatly distinguished themselves. After the end of the war some of them were brought to Rome as a reward, and received a welcome no less enthusiastic than that which greeted the home-coming of the white regiments. In the world war they did not serve in Europe, as Italy did not wish to employ coloured troops against white foes; but they continued to perform garrison duties in Eritrea and Libya, and afterwards helped to reconquer the parts of Libya which had been evacuated during the war.

Internal Development of Eritrea.

In the meanwhile the internal development of the colony had been proceeding satisfactorily, almost unnoticed by the immense majority of Italians. The administration was improved and simplified, economic progress was advancing, a railway was built, the port of Massaua provided with modern appliances, and other public works were undertaken. The total import and export trade of the colony has expanded rapidly


36°
40°
44°
Stat. Miles
0
100
200
HAIL
Buraida
Wadi er Rumma
H
E
J
A
Z
Wejh
W. Hamdh
Umm Lej
W. el Kheif
Yambo
MEDINA
24°
24°
N
E
J
D
Rabegh
JIDDA
MECCA
Taif
W. Subai
W. Dawasir
RED
SEA
S
U
D
A
N
20°
20°
Port Sudan
Suakin
Sinkat
Bisha
W. Bishe
W. Yiba
Kunfuda
'A S I R
Tokar
R. Baraka
Karora
Ebha
W. Najran
ERITREA
R. Anseba
Farasan Is
Jizan
Sa'da
Y
E
M
E
N
Coz
16°
Kerran
Massaua
Agordat
Kassala
R. Gash
Dahlak Is
Loheia
Kamaran I.
Salif
W. Sardud
W. Mur
SAN'A
Manaha
ASMARA
HODEIDA
R. Setit
Aduwa
Zabid
J. Zukur I.
Hanish I.
Ta'iz
ABYSSINIA
R. Takkaze
Mocha
Lahej
Assab
ADEN
Perim I.
Sowabih Is
40°

since the war; the caravan trade, which in 1921 amounted to 45,000,000 lire, had grown to nearly 119,000,000 in 1921, while the sea-borne trade had grown from 96,000,000 to 323,000,000 in the same period. The budget of the colony amounted to 34,420,000 for income, and the same for expenditure, of which 12,000,000 lire were for defence purposes. The total area of the colony is 119,000 square kilometres; its population in 1921 was 393,000, of whom 4,283 were Italians and 398 other Europeans.

The original idea of making of Eritrea a field for white colonization has been abandoned, as even its more temperate zone is not wholly suitable for that purpose. The scheme, warmly advocated by the late Baron Leopoldo Franchetti, of colonizing the uplands with Italian farmers was maintained as a possibility for the future on the statute-book for many years. It involved a measure of expropriation of the land belonging to the natives, which was always theoretically possible in territories formerly under Turkish law, and a beginning was actually made towards its practical execution. But owing to the discontent it aroused among the natives the colonization scheme was suspended *sine die*. Under the present Governor of the colony, Signor Gasperini, the law itself has been altered, and all idea of colonization by white labour abandoned. The area in question is now reserved *de jure* as well as *de facto* for the natives, to their great satisfaction. On the other hand, the lowland area, which does not interest the natives, as its development would require costly and extensive drainage and irrigation works, is to be set aside for exploitation—not colonization—by whites employing native labour.

The Government has undertaken the drainage and irrigation works, especially in connection with the waters of the river Gash, and the hydraulic part of the scheme at Tessenei has now been carried out. An agreement has been concluded with the Anglo-Sudanese Government whereby the Sudan may utilize the waters of the Gash, for which it pays an annual fee; the amount collected goes towards the expenses of the development scheme.

The land thus reclaimed and improved will be divided into concessions, and granted to private individuals or land companies formed into a development consortium, after the method generally practised in Italy in analogous circumstances.

Cotton has long been regarded as the most important product of this area, as Italy, like other countries, aims at emancipating herself from being tributary to the United States. The Government began by an experimental plantation of 1,000 hectares with cotton; the crop was about nine quintals (a little less than one ton) of raw cotton, corresponding to three quintals of fibre per hectare. It is hoped to extend the cultivation, and eventually to secure a total crop of forty to fifty thousand quintals of fibre. Besides the Government scheme, there are also other private cotton-growing undertakings in different parts of the colony.

One serious difficulty is labour. Eritrea is not densely populated (about 3·3 inhabitants per square kilometre), and up to the present some 15,000 of the best workers were recruited for the army, which comprised twenty battalions of Ascari, several of them on duty in Libya. In former times a considerable contingent of recruits came from Abyssinia proper, the Government of which country encouraged its subjects to serve under the Italians, so that they should acquire an advanced military education. But this no longer occurs in the same measure as before, so that the recruiting has to be effected in Eritrea alone, and even here there are difficulties; owing to the increased prosperity of the colony, the native population is now less inclined to regard the army as the most lucrative and dignified profession, and to find more attraction in agricultural pursuits. The Governor has put a limit to the recruiting of Eritrean Ascari for Libya, all the more so as the two North African colonies now possess well-organized native forces of their own, so that only the Ascari needed for Eritrea itself are at present recruited, in order to leave more labour available for peaceful development.

Besides cotton, Eritrea produces large crops of oleaginous seeds (sesamum, linseed, castor-oil, etc.), which are consumed in considerable quantities abroad. The natives are experts in this kind of cultivation, which has also the further advantage of being less subject to violent fluctuations of the market price than cotton. This year, for instance, owing to the bumper crop in the United States, the price of cotton has gone down, and does not offer great encouragement to the Eritrean cotton grower. But this is, of course, only a temporary difficulty.

At present it is believed that there is an even greater future for cotton in Italian Somaliland than in Eritrea. The great irrigation scheme now being carried out under the direction of H.R.H. the Duke of the Abruzzi is expected to result in a large increase of output.

Among the other agricultural products are, on the eastern slopes, tobacco, pineapples, bananas (which flourish exceedingly), the American aloe, indigo, etc. On the high tableland, cereals (besides the oleaginous seeds already mentioned), lentils, beans, etc., are grown. The commonest qualities of cereals are wheat, barley, and *dura*; the wheat crop averages eight quintals per hectare, which is a little inferior to that of the less highly cultivated areas of Italy. Among the fruit trees, medlars, almonds, and pomegranates are the most important. In the eastern valleys only *dura* and Indian corn are grown, while on the western border, between the rivers Gash and Setit especially, is the cotton belt. There are forests of dum palms in parts of the country, and the baobab tree also abounds. The eastern lowlands are tropically hot and very rainless, so that irrigation works on a large scale would be necessary for their development. As I have said, works of this kind are being carried out at present in the western lowlands, where, although the climate is almost as hot as in the east, the nights are cooler, and benefit is derived from the rains of the adjoining upland area.

There are also schemes for creating coffee plantations, and there is already a promising beginning of such plantations, as there are two rainy seasons in parts of the colony.

But Eritrea is important not merely in itself. It is in a certain sense a pivot whence Italian commercial influence may radiate outwards into the various neighbouring territories. Eritrea is the natural outlet for the trade both of parts of Abyssinia and of the opposite Arabian coast, and a transit market for goods between the two countries. The above-mentioned Foreign Minister, Mancini, under whose auspices Eritrea was occupied, had grasped these possibilities, but he was not listened to at the time; since then, although this trade has been developing for many years, it is only quite recently that its importance and possibilities have been realized by the Italian public.

Parts of Abyssinia are more easily reached from the French colony of Djibuti or from other points, but a considerable area is more accessible from Eritrea, and finds its natural outlet through Massaua, with its well-equipped port connected by rail with the interior. Relations between Italy and Abyssinia are now quite satisfactory, and even the little flutter caused by the recent Italo-British agreement concerning the development of the country, exaggerated by a part of the foreign press, died down as soon as the terms of that understanding were properly explained; Abyssinia herself, who had sent a protest to the League of Nations, ended by withdrawing it.

Trade with the Yemen.

On the other hand, the trade between Eritrea and the opposite coast of the Red Sea has been increasing in volume during the last few years. Signor Ferdinando Martini, who was Governor of Eritrea after Adua, was the first to establish relations with the Yemen, and many natives of that territory, then under Turkish rule, although in a state of endemic revolt against the Constantinople Government, entered the Italian service, and fought with distinction in Somaliland and elsewhere. In past times Italian travellers had taken an interest in the commercial possibilities of the Yemen, beginning with the mysterious Bolognese traveller of the fifteenth century, Lodovico de Varthema, of whom very little is known, but who seems to have been the first European to explore the country. Another Italian who in more recent times visited the Yemen was Renzo Manzoni, the nephew of the famous man of letters Alessandro Manzoni; he lived there for a considerable time and wrote what is probably the best account of it. A third Italian, the trader Giuseppe Caprotti, lived for thirty years at Sanaa—the only European then in the town. Through the intervention of a learned Italian priest, Monsignor Achille Ratti, now better known as His

Holiness Pope Pius XI., and of the Islamic scholar Eugenio Griffini, Caprotti's valuable collection of Arabic MSS. was secured for the Ambrosiana library of Milan.

Trade between Eritrea and the Yemen amounted last year to 60,000,000 lire, and the recent agreement between the latter country, now an independent kingdom, and Italy consecrates an existing state of things, and raises hopes for a future still more important development of mutual trade relations. Owing to its proximity to the Yemen, Eritrea tends to become a sort of intermediate market for the exports from that State to a large part of the Western world and the Mediterranean lands.

Italy and Central Asia.

Italy's interests in Central Asia proper are not at present very extensive. Although the first European traveller to explore Central Asia in the Middle Ages was the Venetian Marco Polo, since his day few Italians have had occasion to visit those mysterious regions, with the exception of some missionaries in the seventeenth century. In the latter years of the nineteenth century and in the first of the twentieth century there have been several travellers and explorers, of whom the most distinguished are H.R.H. the Duke of the Abruzzi and Dr. Filippo de Filippi, whose journeys for the purpose of scientific survey in the Himalaya are as well known in this country as in Italy. Dr. de Filippi is now organizing another Italian scientific expedition to Palestine with the object of carrying out a geological and hydrographic survey of the Dead Sea and surrounding country.

Nor has Italian activity been very conspicuous in the past in Persia. But during the last two or three years, in view of the impulse given to the development of the country under the new Shah Reza Khan, various schemes have been made for Italian participation in it. In the matter of railway and road construction, drainage and irrigation, Italians have, through their great experience both at home and abroad, become past-masters ; and a syndicate of Italian banks, financial houses, and manufacturers has been formed in view of extending Italian activity in those regions.

There has also been a beginning of Italian enterprise in Afghanistan, and a certain number of Italian traders, engineers, and technical experts have visited the country ; but as yet things are only in the preliminary stage.

In a general way Italians have been successful in their dealings with Mohammedan peoples. The large Italian colonies existing in Turkey have almost always got on well with the Moslem population, and in the strenuous years immediately after the Armistice the Italian Government was the first to realize the importance of the Turkish Nationalist movement and to regard it with sympathy and appreciation. If the policy advocated by Italy had been followed by the rest of the Entente a great deal of bloodshed would have been spared, and the prestige of the Western world in Turkey would stand higher than it does to day.

Under the impetus given by the present Government of Italy, Italian enterprise is extending to ever new fields in the East as elsewhere, and Italian trade is penetrating into many parts of the world where it had been unknown before.

It is peculiarly satisfactory to be able to say that in all the enterprises undertaken by Italians in the countries dealt with by me to-day, where Great Britain has shown such magnificent and useful activity, there has always been the most cordial co-operation between Italians and British. Perhaps no two other peoples are destined to collaborate so closely in the great work of extending European civilization and European ideas, for the benefit not merely of all Europeans, but also of the native inhabitants of those lands, and for the happy blending of the thought of the West with that of the East.

Colonel Jacob: Sir Michael, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not think I can say anything to improve on the very able lecture given by the Commendatore except that I have been myself several times to Eritrea. I have been all over the country, and have been most hospitably entertained on every occasion by the Italians there. Therefore I was rather surprised to hear the Commendatore say that they were giving up colonizing Eritrea by Italian colonists, because it seemed to me, from the little I saw of it, that it has tremendous possibilities in such direction. Water is to be had anywhere in the colony—at Asmara on the plateau and various other places—at a very small depth below the surface. But as the Commendatore says, perhaps it is advisable for Italian traders to "boss," so to speak, the work by Abyssinian labourers. That is perhaps the best idea, in the long run, and yet I would repeat that I am surprised that the whites do not go there in still greater numbers. I had the privilege of being conducted by the Governor over an interesting part of his colony in the direction of Adua. He showed me many of the forts. We had two very instructive field-days, when the troops were all out, and I was much struck by the fine discipline and bearing of all the men, both Christian and Moslem—perhaps preferably the Moslem. In my "twopenny-halfpenny" book, written in 1923, I have said a good deal about Italy, and it seems to me their policy is very much the same as was pursued by Agricola, whom we read of in Tacitus. When Agricola came over to this country he used to educate the Britons in all Roman arts, and used to send them over to Rome to be educated. It seems to me the Italians are doing the same to-day. I know a good many Abyssinians who have been sent over to Rome, been very well educated there, and gone back to spread Italian culture. As I said in my book, and may say again without any undue pride, I have seen a good deal of Italian colonisation, and I have always considered them the very best colonists *next to ourselves!* The French I think highly of, but, of the Italians, I am inclined to say they are *almost as good as ourselves*, but the Commendatore will not, I trust, mind if I say they are, at any rate, "No. 2"! I will not take up any more time, for I am sure there are several others who would like to speak. I knew Signor Caprotti, who was thirty years at Sanaa. Italian enterprise is marvellous and highly to be commended, and I only wish that we Britons were equally enterprising. I thank you for giving me the opportunity of hearing this excellent lecture given by the Commendatore. (Applause.)

Mr. ENTHOVEN: Sir Michael, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel I am rather taking advantage of the audience to-day, because I am not a member of the Central Asian Society, I regret to say, but only a member of a somewhat kindred institution, the Royal Asiatic Society. But perhaps I can excuse my intervening in this discussion on the ground that I have known Signor Villari since he was a very small boy indeed, and the Chairman is an old colleague of mine in India. I take advantage of the opportunity given me to make a few remarks to say just two things: in the first place, I think we are all greatly indebted to the lecturer for the very complete summary he has given us of the Italian position in the Red Sea. We have been, I think, most of us interested in the recent developments. Many of us perhaps have not followed them very closely since the disastrous events to which he referred, and which dwell in our memory; and we are very glad to know that the prosperity of those dominions seems now to be assured. I think we are all greatly beholden to the lecturer for the very clear manner in which he has elucidated the subject. We should hardly have expected anything else from the son of such a distinguished professor as his father, Pasquale Villari, whose works on Italian history many of us know well. (Hear, hear.) Those who read *The Times* know also that it is the lecturer's privilege to be to modern Italy what the late Professor Villari was to the Italy of earlier days. The point I want to come to in justification for saying anything at all is that I rather hoped our friend the lecturer would tell us what the ultimate aims of Italy in this direction are. I have had recently some personal experience of Fascismo in Italy. I am not going to enter on a discussion of that subject because it might get out, and I should like the lecturer not to give me away. But I think we would all like to know what the ultimate aims of Italy in Central Asia are. We hear it said constantly, it is repeated by most Italians in the speeches they make, that Italy is Rome renascent. Now we know that the standards of Rome were carried by Trajan down to the Persian Gulf—some of us perhaps do not know that there was even a Roman garrison in an obscure part of India. That has been ascertained comparatively recently; but I think it is an historic fact. Are we to look forward to the prospect of Italy being found one day at the head of the Persian Gulf, or in this remote part of India, because such a development is likely to lead to complications between two very good friends, the British Empire and the Kingdom of Italy? The lecturer will, perhaps, discreetly skate over that very delicate subject; but in his lecture he has told us that Eritrea is the centre of Italian influence, and the source of the spread of Italian influence in those regions; and those of us who are interested in Central Asia, and more particularly India and so on, would like to be reassured that we are not going to see in the end the beginning of a new Roman dominion in the Near East. I apologize for having intervened rather hurriedly with no preparation, but I want particularly to thank the lecturer for his very interesting discourse. (Applause.)

Sir GILBERT CLAYTON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not know that there is very much that I can say in addition to the very excellent paper which we have heard read. I have had the opportunity of serving nearly all my life in the area with which the Commendatore has dealt, and I have had a great deal of communication with the Italian authorities in various places, which I must say has been of the very pleasantest nature both officially and personally. It is over twenty years ago I was in Eritrea, and I was at that time serving in the neighbouring province of Kassala, which now belongs to the Anglo-Egyptian Government. I was invited very kindly by the Governor in Eritrea to pass through that colony on my way on leave, and I did so. Nothing could have exceeded the pleasure of that trip, or the hospitality which I was shown throughout. That was in the days of which the Commendatore spoke, not very many years after the unfortunate defeat at Adua, a defeat which, as the Commendatore very truly remarks, would, had a different policy been accepted by the Government of the day, have been merely a temporary set-back. However, I did not observe the effects that the Commendatore has alluded to, and I should like to say to-night how much I was struck by the work that the officials and administrators of the Italian Government were doing in Eritrea even then, although, as I fully believe, they were not enjoying that meed of enthusiastic encouragement which they deserved, and which I am glad to say they subsequently received. Nothing could exceed their kindness or, if I may say so, the common sense which they seemed to me to bring to the task before them, and even in those days, when I was a good deal younger than I am now, I was very much struck by their methods. Indeed, at the risk of being thought conceited on behalf of my own nation—mind you I was only about thirty—I really thought they were nearly as good as we. Also, I think that anyone who works in the Red Sea area will see the great influence that Italy is exerting all over that area. The Commendatore has said that Eritrea is one of their centres. Well, they don't confine themselves to their centres, and wherever I have found them the Italians have always been foremost in spreading the finer side of civilization, especially in culture, scientific research, and so forth. Take a country like Egypt, where I served for many years, which has few more valuable assets than the Italian colony in Egypt. And throughout that area I believe that Italy, as we ourselves, is beginning to realize that times are moving; nations that were formerly backward are awakening, and a policy of selfish exploitation not only is morally improper, but does not, in fact, pay nowadays. It is, I think, on the lines which we are trying to follow in those countries that we find perhaps keener sympathy from the Italians than from any other colonizing power. I should like to once again say, as a person who perhaps knows something about those areas, how much I have appreciated the Commendatore's paper. (Applause.)

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: Mr. Chairman, the Commendatore has given us a splendid lecture. I did not quite catch the name of the present railhead from Massaua.

The LECTURER: Kerran.

Mr. MELLOR: What is the kilomètrage?

The LECTURER: I think about 200 or 300 kilomètres.

Mr. MELLOR: Thank you. It was a difficult undertaking, the railway into the interior, and as it gets farther in it will be more difficult still; but we know the Italians are energetic and enterprising, and the difficulties will not stop them if they wish to go ahead with it. He also mentioned the hydraulic works. I should like to see the photographs of those works, because we know if there is a nation that has really first-class experts in hydraulic work, that nation is Italy, and the experts are her engineers. I should certainly have been very much interested in seeing some of the photographs of those big engineering works in Eritrea. I must again congratulate the Commendatore on his lecture, and thank him very much for it. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you will all join with me in thanking the lecturer very heartily for the most interesting lecture he has given us, and the admirable series of slides with which he illustrated it. From the account he has given us of Italian colonial development I think we shall agree that, given elbow-room, it has a great future before it. It has a great future for this reason, that the Italians of to-day, perhaps after ourselves—we always put ourselves first in this Society—have a wider outlook than almost any other nation. That is very natural because, as I said before, they have the traditions of the great Roman Empire. They have the secular tradition of widespread rule. The principle of that widespread rule is summed up in the words of one of their great poets: "Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos." That was, I think, a saner, a more practicable idea than the modern one of self-determination. Anyhow, they have that great tradition of rule, and we have had testimony this evening from British officers who have seen the Italian colonies on the Red Sea how admirably they are carrying out that purpose. Then they have also, as Commendatore Villari told us in his concluding remarks, the great cultural tradition, the tradition of Imperial Rome, the mother of laws, of civil administration. I might give an illustration of that which may be of interest here: I claim to be one of the few people who have followed up the system of land tenures and taxation from West to East, and I believe I have succeeded in proving that the system of land administration which we now follow in India—which we derived from Akbar—was derived by Akbar from the Persian kings, who derived it from the Khalif Omar, who derived it from the Byzantine Empire; and it was derived through the Byzantine Empire from Julius Cæsar. (Applause.) Those of you who know the East will know that the land-revenue system is the pivot of the whole system of administration. I will give you one proof of it: Akbar, when he reorganized the system in India, said, "The old system which we inherited from Naushirwan, the Khalif Omar, and others has degenerated. We must go back to two root principles: one is an equitable system of survey based on Cæsar's yard measure, the *kaisari-gaz*," the standard of length which Cæsar introduced into old Rome from the pace of a Roman soldier, 2 feet 9 inches. That to-day is the basis of all the land measurements in the East, and that survives from Cæsar's time. Akbar also went back to the traditional standard of one-third of the produce, which, after Cæsar's land reforms, was taken by the Romans from the State land and conquered countries. He reverted to the two root ideas which had come down from Julius Cæsar through Diocletian and the Byzantine Empire—that is to say, an accurate system of survey based on a fixed standard of length, and a reasonable standard of assessment. That shows how a great idea emerging from the brain of a great man can go down through the centuries; twenty centuries after Cæsar we are practically carrying out the principles that he adopted, though fortunately for India we have been able to reduce the standard from one-third to about one-eighth of the produce of the land or its value. Finally, besides the secular and the cultural traditions, Italy, as the seat of the Papacy, has a world-wide spiritual influence and a powerful spiritual tradition. Given all these advantages, secular, cultural, and spiritual, it is not astonishing to think that Italy to-day should look forward to a great period of colonial expansion; and we are assured that she intends to secure that expansion not at the cost of others by any selfish methods, but by a policy of co-operation and friendly association with other Powers, and a friendly adjustment of boundaries. (Hear, hear.) We, as the greatest empire of to-day, because we were one of the earliest in the field, must wish well to our latest competitor in the field of colonial expansion. The Commendatore has shown us how admirably that is being carried out, and in passing him a hearty vote of thanks we can assure him that we wish well to the policy which he has explained to us this evening. (Applause.)

FERMENTS IN THE WORLD OF ISLAM*

BY SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH

THE lessons of current history seem to have been lost upon those of us who still disbelieve in the existence of the challenge of Islam. That a challenge has been thrown by Islamic Asia to the scientific civilization of the West is a patent fact to those sons of the Orient and scholars of the West who have not misread the signs of the times even amongst the

---

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Services Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Wednesday, January 19, 1927, Sir Michael O'Dwyer (Chairman) presiding. A discussion on the "Ferments in the World of Islam" was opened by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject which we are going to discuss this afternoon is "Ferments in Islam," and a very competent Islamic authority, Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, is going to begin that discussion. He is eminently qualified to do so because he comes of an old Kabul family. He has a wide experience of the Near and Middle East, and has also a great knowledge of Europe, so he is very well qualified to discuss this question, and has already done so frequently in the Press in various periodicals. The subject of "Ferments in Islam" is one that must interest particularly the Central Asian Society, because the part of the world which we range over is predominantly Islamic, and anything that happens in one part of Islam, owing to the solidarity of the Islamic religion, has its effects and reactions in other parts ; therefore anything of importance in the world of Islam is bound to affect very considerably the British Empire as the greatest Islamic Empire in the world at the present day. Of the 250 or 300 million Moslems in the world to-day I think over 100 million are in the British Empire or its protected or mandated areas. As an indication of how what happens in one part of the Islamic world has reactions in other parts, I may mention that a few years ago a man named Abdul Krim, a descendant of Yakub Khan of Afghanistan, started a rebellion against the present Amir. That rebellion was put down after considerable resistance, and Abdul Krim fled as a fugitive to India. For some time he was in hiding there, then arrested in Gurdaspur, and taken charge of by the British authorities. I hope he was not eventually handed over to Afghanistan, for he would have had short shrift there. At the same time, 7,000 miles away, a rebellion against the French was raised in Morocco, and the hero of that rebellion or the patriot—according to the point of view from which you regard him—was a man called Abdul Krim. The Mohammedans in India and a large part of Asia rushed at once to the conclusion that the Abdul Krim who had rebelled against the Amir of Afghanistan was the same as he who tried to throw off the Spanish and French yoke in Morocco. That shows how events which happen in one place are closely scrutinized and sometimes irregularly followed in others. Another example arose out of the conquest of the Hijaz by Ibn Saud. The great Wahabi leader, helter-skelter of shifting scenes in the old world. But to fully comprehend the potentiality of this threat, a few details of its historical evolution are necessary, because it is essential to appreciate the point that this modern movement is not synonymous to Pan-Islamism; for Pan-Islamism has been greviously misunderstood in Christendom, chiefly, perhaps, because it was misused by its modern protagonist Sultan Abdul Hamid, who gave it an aggressive tone. And although this "revivalism" has all the soul force of the former thought, yet in conformity with its limited aspirations it should be non-aggressive. It is exactly in this difference that its greatest strength lies. Bewildered by the fact that modern civilization is marching, phalanx after phalanx, into its very heart, it gives a clear call to the faithful to muster strong under the banner of Islam, and "revive" its ancient, but fading, glory.

After explaining the difference of the two movements, it might appear paradoxical, but it nevertheless is true, that the parent trunk of the "modern revivalism" tree is undoubtedly Pan-Islamism; the new has grown out of the old; in the nature of things it could not have been otherwise. Now let us see how this phenomena evolved itself; and to do this, one will have to go back a little to the origin of Pan-Islamism.

Abdul Hamid.

The very first indications of Pan-Islamism date back to the declining days of the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid; he perceived a rapid growth of public opinion, not only amongst the Turks, but also in the Asiatic race, which threatened his personal power and prestige.

The young Turkish party had passed the embryonic stage, and in the desert the Pan-Arab movement was rapidly spreading. Observing

---

after many years, succeeded in expelling the Shereefian family from the Hijaz. In doing so, no doubt, certain things happened in the holy places which caused a great deal of disturbance in the Islamic world. The lecturer will probably refer to that. Taking the case of our own Islamic fellow-subjects in India, there were two classes of thought most violently opposed. One section looked upon Ibn Saud as the purifier of the Islamic religion, as having driven out the Shereefian family, whom they considered to be not fit protectors of the holy places. On the other hand, a large section of Mohammedans, both Sunni and Shiah, took strong exception to the action of Ibn Saud, or at any rate to some of Ibn Saud's followers; and the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, a leading Mohammedan notable, sent telegrams all over the world, strongly attacking the conduct of Ibn Saud in the holy places, and asking for the interference of the Powers for the protection of the Islamic religion. I mention this as showing how closely anything that happens in one Islamic country produces reaction in the others. That is one of the subjects the lecturer is going to address us about, and by the time he has finished I am sure we shall be in a position to carry on the discussion on broader lines. I may say that he has kindly consented, as it is a subject which invites discussion, to limit his address to thirty-five minutes, so as to give more time for discussion; and I trust the many authorities I see here who come from the various Islamic countries, or who have experience of them, will join in that discussion. (Applause.)

these cross-currents, he quickly organized a scheme of personal consolidation, harnessed the sympathy of the clergy, and inveigled Syed Jamaluddin Afghani—a great scholar and philosopher of my own country of Afghanistan—into his scheme. The necessity of the strength of Islam was preached far and wide; propagandists roamed from Bokhara and Java to Morocco, and exhorted the faithful in the name of religion to look to Abdul Hamid for moral and political resurrection. But under the plethora of these events a great movement of "awakening," due to Western impact, had caught the imagination of the people; the clergy were fast losing their hold because educated men would no longer swallow dogma. Democratic principles in the life of the people were weighing the scales against the thraldom of autocratic potentates; modern conceptions of liberty were driving the effete conceptions of the Eastern Governments to the wall. But, whilst all these enormous forces were at work, this battle was being fought behind closed doors, for Abdul Hamid was watching.

The Post-War Period.

Forces of economic life had, however, become too great, and the cumbersome structure succumbed to its own weight. A Western wave passed over Turkey, and the Sultan was swept off the deck. Then the war came and completely revolutionized the ideas of men, old and young, Turk or Afghan. Age-long fetters were broken; the world of 1914 ceased to live; the priests of Islam continued to make desultory attempts to bring the flock back, but none would return to the old fold. Westernization had won the day, even in the slumberous East. Empires rose and fell: Sultans, Khalifas, Shahs, Amirs, and desert chieftains were dethroned. Social order was completely altered, with the result that the East became more Western than the West itself, the pupil had outrun the instructor. The surging tide of scientific civilization of the West had carried everything before it, as it broke wave after wave upon us in Islamic Asia. And the matter of great concern was that it did not make us better men, because the movement, being essentially foreign to our mentality and outlook on life, struck us as spectacular, overpoweringly fresh, full of economic allurements, and we drank of the stream much more than was good for us. We yelled for Nationalism where no nationhood existed; we craved after a representative form of Government in a land where generations had lived and died under benign autocracy; we began to speak of religion but lightly.

In diplomatic affairs Islam had been altered materially. The Nationalist Government in Turkey had led the way, chiefly through Western impact, and the ideals of French culture were beginning to be noticed in Angora. In Persia, the downfall of the Kachar dynasty proclaimed, in no uncertain manner, that the older order could not be tolerated; in Afghanistan likewise, the fact that the third son of the late Amir ruled the country, and ruled it well, was sufficient proof of the rising public opinion: and, above all, the idea of a Grand League of Moslem Nations—with the sympathy and co-operation, shall we say, of the Russians—was not devoid of potentialities both grave and unwholesome. The ferment amongst the student community of India and Egypt was but the first sign of yet another superwave of Westernization which threatened to further rend asunder the heavy veil of dogma with which the priests in Asia covered the eyes of the younger generation. Last, but not the least important, was the question of the Khalifat, a traditional office, from the responsibilities of which its former custodian was sick at heart. The Women Suffrage movement in Turkey, Egypt, even in India and Persia, were all indications of a "revolt"; insurrection at once vigorous and potent against both the Church and the State. This was, then, the genesis of "awakened Islam."

The Recall to Islamic Principles.

But side by side with this movement of modernization a spirit of revivalism has been existing, and to-day it has come to play a very significant part. When politicians and "worldly men" copied Western scientific civilization to the extent that in certain parts of Asia they can hardly go any further in their effort of mimicry, philosophers of the Moslem East were strengthening the roots of the cult of the Prophet of Mecca. They have shown to their deluded co-religionists that materialism in excess, and at the expense of the soul of religion, will bring chaos and disruption. The result has been that now there is a "call back to the Book"—"back to the real essence of Islam," a revival toning down the revolutionary ideas of the creed.

And, curious to relate, that very western culture which undoubtedly had given birth to Pan-Islamism and nationalism amongst the Eastern races is now despised and abhorred. To Moslems conversant with the real motives of the neo-Egyptian and neo-Turkish nationalism it is none other than an earnest effort to withstand materialistic aggression.

A recent endeavour to organize a great League of Moslem Nations is a convincing proof of their patriotism, spelt in the real terms of Islam's love of the fatherland of its religion. Moslem countries of the world, which still retain their freedom of action and freedom of choice, are not seemingly nations related in the European sense, but members of the body politic of Al-Islam, very much after the manner of the United States of America, with a concrete local basis of cultural traditions, but built over with a multi-coloured and heterogeneous superstructure. The revivalists of Islam have now somewhat disappointed those Europeans who gloated too wildly over the supposed downfall of the old principle in the renaissant Moslem East, which retain their love of universal Moslem nationalism, despite their unveiled women and Occidental dressed men. If symptomatic of anything at all, the attempt of the Turks and others to cast off worn-out social customs is indicative of a new attitude of mind, which judges every secular idea in terms not of age, but in those of utility in a world where sentiment has given place to value.

In this process of regeneration the Wahabi King of Mecca has helped considerably, for it must be appreciated that whereas his exploits are pre-eminently associated with the Pan-Arab movement, yet his success has deeper meanings. All through this period of the ferment of Islam one fact has remained patent—that the Calvinistic tendencies of the people of Nejd had been kept at a white heat by the guiding spirit of their devout leader, with the consequence that Ibn Saud's zealots have not only wrestled the power out of the hands of the Shariffian family, but also have been called upon to steady a too liberal interpretion of the "book." Ibn Saud's cult broke down the barriers which priestcraft has been increasing with each successive generation. He gives a clear call: "Back to the Book," back to the original faith, shorn of all its reservations and additions of the clergy.

Ibn Saud. It is in the effort of putting a period to the ultra-liberalism of Islam that Ibn Saud's triumph has proved of incalculable value. Indeed, the guiding principle of the working of the Grand Moslem Conference at Mecca—which I attended in June last—showed very clearly the thoughts that actuated the efforts of the Wahabi. What he does strive after is that there should not be any "break-away" from the true spirit of Islam. At the outset many had feared that he, as the guardian of the holy shrines of Islam, might perpetuate an orgy of iconoclasm; but recent events in the Hijaz have shown that Ibn Saud was fully aware that, by assuming the reins of the Hijaz Government, he was committing himself to a gigantic enterprise, in which a disregard of the religious susceptibilities of respective Islamic sects would detract from his influence, and he marvellously stayed the hands of many a zealot prone to go to excesses in "driving the liberalism out of Islam." He is fired by a formidable zeal for cultural reform, both in the Hijaz and amongst quite a large number of foreign Moslems, who have learned to value his advice. Nevertheless, he has not been sleeping on a bed of roses since his accession to the throne of the Hijaz a year ago, as all over the Moslem world frequent voices of dissent, even of vehement denunciation, have been raised against the advent of the Wahabi in Mecca.

The Persian Mejlis once postponed its meeting as a mark of resentment; an Indian committee of the clergy, styled Khudam al Haramain of Lucknow, made no end of noise; and the affair leading to the return of the Holy Carpet of Egypt during the last pilgrimage season not only brought down the anathema of theologians of Alhazr, but also public opinion in Cairo was greatly excited. Feelings at one time ran so high that an Egyptian newspaper proposed that the Egyptians should immediately convene an All-world Moslem Conference, when a mandate should be secured to oust Ibn Saud from the Hijaz, and beat his army back to the Nejd if needs be. Campaigns of Mohammed Ali of 1810 were freely recalled to mind.

In these connections we must, of course, bear in mind the cross-currents of Islamic politics before crediting such anti-Wahabi movements—Persians, for instance; whilst no one can deny the excellent services of that country towards Islam, yet the Shias (who predominate in Persia) were never too enthusiastic about Mecca as compared to their secular shrines at Nejaf and Karbela in Iraq.

The good people of Khudam al Haramain of India, who have recruited the support of the Ali Brothers, are not over-particularly keen to see anybody guard the holy cities of Mecca and Medina except themselves, and give no cogent reason for it. But in respect of an Arab-Egyptian tension, I have heard it said, both at Mecca and elsewhere, that when the guardianship of the holy shrines was vested in the Sultans of Turkey, and the Shariff of Mecca was a vassal of the house of Osman, the Holy Carpet was sent from Egypt by the order of the Turkish sovereigns, as not only a privilege of the guardianship, but also as a prerogative of supremacy over the whole of Arabia. It was alleged that, along with other causes, it was King Husain who, upon the proclamation of his independence, refused to accept a gift which brought certain implications in its train: and it was frequently "whispered" during the last pilgrimage that this idea might once again be responsible for disturbing the religious felicities between Egypt and the Hijaz. Professors of this view seem also to think that the Mahmal affair is not entirely disassociated with the Cairo Moslem Conference of May last, when King Fuad's name was mentioned in connection with a resuscitation of the title of the Caliph.

Revival of Islam.

There are now no competent observers of world diplomacy who cannot agree that a spirit of revivalism has definitely set in in Islam after the first wave of the revolt has passed. It has also been shown that there has been no revolt against the essence of the faith, but an insurrection against the thraldom of the clergy and the autocracy of Eastern monarchs. When once these two factors were destroyed, Islam has gained its strength, and is fast assuming the solidarity of its former years. And it has been asked whether as such the religion of the Prophet presents a menace to Christianity. I venture to answer this in a negative sense. For when the Christian faith itself is reeling under the impact of scientific materialism, which constitutes a very real danger to any system of morality, the Islamic danger to it—if any—can only be of a secondary significance. And I feel convinced that the modern conception of exclusive material gain is not bringing the life of men and women an inch nearer their original creed. So grave has the situation become that in the words of Lord Ernle "in 1850 it was a courageous act to question details of orthodox Christianity; to-day, in certain circles, courage is needed for their defence." The threat to Christianity is through the mad rush after the materialistic as divorced from the philosophical, in the same degree as there was danger to Islam from scientific civilization, through which it suffered, and from which it has now emerged refined and strengthened through the efforts of the "Revivalists." Challenge there is in Islam to-day, but that is a challenge to the materialistic instincts of man, an instinct which never sustains peace in the world for long. (Applause.)

Sir ARNOLD WILSON: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is not without some diffidence that I enter upon this discussion. It is impossible for anyone to do otherwise than appreciate and sympathize with our Lecturer's suspicion of what he calls "scientific materialistic civilization." We all feel it, never more than when we are in London, and never less than when we are in Islamic countries. I have spent some twenty years or more in Persia, Turkey, Kurdistan, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf—and have visited others, and my first comment upon our lecturer's views is that I am not prepared without very many saving clauses to admit that there is a conflict between what he calls "materialistic civilization" and Islam. On the contrary, I think that Islam has gained very much more that it has lost by adopting certain material and scientific aids to comfort and economic prosperity, without which education and progress are impossible. The adoption of railways, motor-cars, telegraphs, wireless, and aeroplanes by Afghanistan, by Iraq, and by Syria, for example, has in no way weakened the spirit of Islam, to which such things are in no way opposed. Where the Arab and Persian differ in my experience from many Orientals is that they welcome, take to themselves and apply to their own purposes, any scientific improvement that they consider likely to assist to make life more comfortable and to increase their own material welfare; at the same time they do not by any means become "materialists." If they feel that their culture and ideals are being endangered, if they even suspect that the basis of their own social order is threatened, they will at once throw over all those advantages. Sheikhs who have been accustomed to travel by camel and who own ten thousand or fifteen thousand camels have now invested in motor-cars in which they career across their ancestral deserts, but they are no less able to control their own people, and much better able to protect their interests. They have adopted and made their own every successive improvement in means of transport, in means of printing, and in the amenities of life that the West has offered them.

Had our lecturer been more in touch with recent developments in Persia, in Afghanistan, and in Iraq, perhaps he might have been a little less inclined to assert that our contribution to the East has been purely materialistic. We have contributed throughout, especially in late years, something more than "materialism." Whatever seeds of progress are coming to fruition in Eastern countries to-day have had their origin in the West, just as some ten or eleven centuries ago it was to the East that the West looked for light.

The truth is that there has been for the last two or three thousand years a constant interchange of spiritual and intellectual gifts from one to the other. The great religions have come from the East to the West; great advances in mathematics, in chemistry and medicine, improvements in agriculture and stockbreeding had their origin in the East, and after a time we of the West have given these things back in full measure developed and applied to fresh uses. There is nothing more interesting than to study the early origins of, for example, agriculture, which was highly developed in the East before it came to the West, or of astronomy, or of navigation, which were likewise highly developed by Sumerian and Semitic races; it is a theme that might be developed almost indefinitely. The principal fruits of Europe, and many of the animals we now use most commonly in agriculture, came originally in far distant days from the East. On the other hand, we have handed back many and great gifts to the East in things such as medical science, the use of steam and electricity, and, above all, an ethical outlook which has on the whole made life sweeter for the poor, and has mitigated human cruelty and curbed human ambition. But it is still true that Islam has a stability of culture which enables its adherents to face famine, misery, revolution and death with dignity, and still retain their finest characteristics. Eastern peoples are not degraded by misery and poverty as they sometimes are in the West. I do not, however, think that is due wholly or mainly to Islam, but to inherited characteristics far older than Islam.

I do not believe in Pan-Islamism either as a possibility in the future or a real movement in the present. I believe Islam is essentially a decentralized religion, and I think it is all to the good that it should remain so. The flowers that are sown all over the desert cannot be wiped out by years of drought; but once a tree is destroyed, it cannot be replanted without difficulty, and will take perhaps two hundred years to reach maturity. The flowers will come up again when the fruitful rain falls. Islam, like the flowers, has scattered its seeds widely from innumerable centres. It has a vitality which it draws from the national instincts and the habits of each individual race in which it was implanted thirteen or fourteen centuries ago. Though I do not regard Pan-Islamism as a reality, I recognize Islam of to-day as a very great force. It is changing its objectives and its outward manifestations are being altered, but as our Lecturer remarked, it is no weaker than it was before, but rather stronger. Finally, if I might make a suggestion, my own feeling about East and West is that essentially it is a difference of longitude rather than latitude. We do not claim to be on a higher level than Eastern countries, but we have a common object and with them we are converging towards a common point as do the lines of longitude. Our common objective is the spiritual progress of the human race, the reality of which is, I think, demonstrated by the history of the world. We are moving, however, slowly, in a single direction, and that is progress. (Applause.)

Colonel Jacob: Sir Michael, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have honoured me, an outsider, by asking me to say a few words.

I put it as a query. It all depends, it seems to me, on the meaning you give to the word "ferment." If you mean an "agitation" or "excitement," there is nothing particularly agitating Islam to-day any more than has agitated it since its earliest history. If, however, a ferment is a "leavening," I think there *is* to-day a strong leavening in process.

"Islam," says an eminent Moslem authority, "is independent of the Caliph," but let us briefly review the Caliphate.

Al Shāfa'i said that there were only five orthodox Caliphs—viz., Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, and 'Umar b. 'Abd al 'Aziz. Al Shāfa'i may have been biassed. Some assert that the 4th Caliph 'Ali was the last of the Spiritual Caliphs. The Prophet said: "My successorship will last thirty years; thereafter will come Kings and Princes." "The rule of the Umayyads was a military despotism maintained in the interests of the *Arabs*. The 'Abbāsid Dynasty which followed sought a wider basis—a *Moslem* Empire as opposed to an Arab one," so wrote Canon Sell. When the Eastern Caliphate was at its close, 'Abdul Rahman III., in A.D. 929, assumed in Spain the title and insignia of the Caliphate. A few years prior to this, the Fatimite (and Shia) Caliphate had risen in Egypt. This period is important in Moslem history as marking the existence of independent Caliphates—although it was after the 3rd Caliph, 'Uthman's, assassination, in 35 A.H., that Islam became separated into different parties.

With the rise of the Ottoman Caliphs, Islam found a strong Moslem *King*. The Caliph was one who claimed his right to administer politically the affairs of the Moslem world. This Turkish Caliphate has gone. The Turks in later years, or, more accurately, the *Young Turks*, wished to efface the Arab "tang" from their new programme. Prior to the Great War they were actively intent on altering the wording of the Koran to suit the Turanian taste. In Arabia their policy was the Ottomanization of the Peninsula; in Arab parlance it was expressed as "tatrīk Jazīrat al 'Arab," or the "Turquisation" of this tract. Finally, Turkish secularism and Turkish *nationalism* has prevailed, and has ousted first the Sultan and then the Caliph. The Turks are thus self-debarred from any voice in Islam's future Caliph.

The question to-day—a purely academic one for the Christian world—is whether Islam can be politically unified. "Is it not more reasonable to suppose," asked Macdonald of Hartford, Connecticut (in 1916), "that the principle of nationality is now uppermost in Islam?" It is the swing of the pendulum back to the Umayyad's ideal—applied severally by each nation.

Who, in the Islamic world of to-day, can unite Islam politically? No *one* being, I believe. King Husein of the Hijaz was not able. India, for one, would have none of him. The Hashimite and Sherifial House has been eclipsed in the vicinity of the two sacred cities of Mecca and Al Medina. Can Ibn Saud, the conqueror of the Hijaz, do the needful? Will his Puritan creed, however pure it may be, please all sects in Islam? Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, whom we welcome in our midst, in writing to the Press this month, said: "An Anglo-Arab alliance is the need of the hour. When its results manifest themselves, contentment will prevail from Java to Africa. *Islam will be strengthened,* and anti-British propaganda will vanish into thin air." Yes, I agree that very excellent results *might* then accrue, but I think, with Macdonald, that "Islam is fast becoming more of a simple religion and less of a political system," and that "the Head of Islam *must be independent of external entanglements with non-Moslems.*" If the Sirdar is looking for a *Caliph,* he cannot, surely, expect the help of *Great Britain* to affect the choice. Will India, will Afghanistan's ruler, will Persia, or Morocco, or King Fuad of Egypt, or the Zaidite Imam—a strong man in his Yemen Hills, with a vast horde of warriors; a man little accounted of to-day, solely because he is so little known—will *he,* or any of them, submit to the Caliphate of Ibn Saud? I have been associated with the Yemen since 1897, and I can assure you that Imam Yahya will never submit. He is styled by his own followers, "Amir al Muminin"; and the Turkish Power in the Yemen from 1873 to 1918 could not force him to abandon the style. Perhaps the new lord of the Hijaz has no such ambition.

Ibn Saud is not the "Master of Arabia," as his numerous British protagonists so often affirm. Ibn Sa'ud is wiser than his Western supporters. He has bitten off as much as he can adequately chew—to use a vulgarism—and he will be wise to consolidate his rule in the Hijaz, without becoming entangled in the hills and fastnesses of the Yemen—a country which withstood successfully the inroad of Turkish regulars for so many years. Even supposing that Ibn Saud could, and did, displace the personality of Imam Yahya, do you suppose that Zaidi warriors would "lie low" and permit his pacific penetration of the Yemen Province? The whole country would be in a chaotic condition, and remain so for all time; for the creeds of the Wahabis and of the Zaidis are as antagonistic as fire and ice. "Allah," they say, "can reconcile the conflicting properties of ice and fire"; but Ibn Saud? No. Even the Prophet himself would find the problem difficult, for the sectarian spirit was to follow his decease, and he had not to confront this difficulty. There is no outstanding personality to-day strong enough to weld Islam into an integral and political unit, nor is there any need of this aim, for, if I may venture to say so, Islam will return to its spiritual source. There Allah is supreme, and has no need of Prophet or of Caliph. The word "Mohammedan" instead of "Moslem" is a misnomer. No Arab would adopt this nomenclature. In Arabia the *Shahāda*, or profession of faith, is not, "There is no god save Allah, *and* Mohammad is Allah's Messenger." The word "and" is omitted as suggestive of co-ordination between the two totally distinct affirmations. A Moslem is one who is *resigned to Allah.*

To revert to the "leavening" process and to take two important Islamic centres. Egypt is instinct with the cult of Europe. India is following hard after the phantom of Western civilization. In India the juxtaposition of Moslems with Hindus, Buddhists, and Christians, as well as with cults redolent of Christian influences—these all have left an indelible impress upon India's Moslems. Even in the "Cradle of Islam" it was left to an old-time Arab to address the worldly learned men of his day as follows: "O possessors of learning, your palaces are Cæsarian; your houses are those of Kasra; your garments those of Saul; your boots are like Goliath's; your vessels are of Pharaoh's pattern; your ships are of Korah; your banquets resemble those of the Times of Ignorance; and your religions are Satanic—where, then, are the things of the Prophet?"

And yet Islam, shorn of accretions, *is* a simple religion. Modern thought may call for a readjustment in interpretation, but the kernel of Islam remains secure, untouched. Its essence may be expressed in the words of the Koran: "Surely they who believe, and the Jews, and the Christians, and the Sabians—whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day and does good—they have their reward from their Lord. For them there is no fear, nor shall they grieve." Prohibitions do not constitute the essence of any religion. Is it not the "Sermon on the Mount" rather than the Decalogue of the Exodus that lightens the path of the Christian? So "Al Islam" is an appeal to the spirit that resides in man, and Islam will exist as long as the spirit of Islam exists in its votaries.

I will close my prolix remarks—you must long since have consigned me to a Trappist monastery!—by quoting the words of the prophet of Islam, who said:

> "Al Islam has come into the world as a stranger, and will return a stranger, as it came. It will cling to the space between the two mosques, just as a serpent clings to its hole."

This it will do, irrespective of Islam's ruler or rulers. These will ever be in the plural number. I am not apprehensive of any untoward ferments in Islam, which will work out its own salvation, provided we let it strictly alone.

Lord Headley said there was not time enough to say all he should wish about the many aspects of the subject. He gave an account of his conversion to Islam and his pride in pointing to Islam as the religion most free from dogmatic intolerance. He had lived for some time in Islamic countries and had always found the greatest tolerance among the Moslems; they had always been ready to listen to the other side.

"When I was out in India some thirty years ago I remember very well certain very sanguinary conflicts which took place between the Sunnis and the Shiahs, the Shiahs being the Persians I think mostly, and the Sunnis, much the larger numerically, were chiefly in India where the population is about seventy millions. Then we have the Wahabis, who have been alluded to in the lecture we have listened to. The Wahabis came into Mecca two years after I had left. I had the honour and privilege of going to the Holy City in 1923, when I was the guest of the then Shareef of Mecca, King Husein, who was my very kind host. Mecca was full and everything possible was done for the convenience of the visitors. I went about dressed in ordinary clothes and never had any interference or trouble of any kind, but was treated very kindly by all. I am told that when the Wahabis came into Mecca last year, one of the first things they did was to smash up the *hookahs*, because they said it was wicked to smoke. I remember several old friends who used to sit on the doorsteps pulling away at their *hookahs*. I used to try and talk to them, and it is sad to think of them without any *hookahs* to comfort them. Other things were done which tend to show that the Wahabis are rather strict and intolerant people. They are great sticklers as to the letter, but do not seem to care so much about the spirit, it seems to me, though I may be doing them an injustice. There is another sect of excellent people I have been with. I am very fond of them, but they have an idea that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, whose book I have here, was the Promised Messiah, and they make very stringent rules which seem to me to be rather unfair and derogatory. For instance, a man who is an Ahmadi is not allowed to attend a funeral and say prayers over the dead body of a man who does not happen to be an Ahmadi, although he may be a good Moslem; nor is a man allowed to say his prayers under the leadership of another Moslem unless that Moslem happens to be an Ahmadi.

"I would like to say one more word. The Guardian of the Holy Places, the Sultan of Turkey, was for long looked upon as the Sheikh of Islam. He was the Head of the Islamic Faith and the Protector of the Sacred Places, and why was he so? Because as Sultan of Turkey he was the most powerful monarch, and therefore best able by his position and influence and actual force of arms to take charge of the Holy Places. That I think is very well known. Another thing that is important for him is that he should be a good Moslem and that he should, if possible, be a Seyid. My dear old friend Husein, ex-King of the Hijaz, was a very good Moslem, most religious, and I have said my prayers with him over and over again in Mecca in the Grand Mosque. With regard to the ferments, I think a good many of them are likely to be caused by the Wahabi influence and the Ahmadi influence, and I think it is a great pity. I do not know for certain, but I am told there are nearly 400 sects in the Christian faith, ranging from the Roman Catholic right away down to the lowest of the Plymouth Brethren. (Laughter.) I do not think there are more than about half a dozen sects in Islam—so far as I can make out. That possibly may be taken as a healthy sign of the times." (Applause.)

Maulvie Abdur Rahim Dard (Imam of the London Mosque): Worthy Chairman, Sisters and Brothers,—I thank first of all my God for giving me an opportunity of expressing myself before you, and with that I also thank the worthy Chairman for calling upon me after all other friends.

I may say that I do not think, as my friend Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah has suggested, that it is the Western civilization, or the scientific or material progress of the Western people, that has been the cause of the downfall of the Moslems. I do not see any reason for this, and I have every sympathy with Sir Arnold Wilson. I think he is quite reasonable in maintaining that it is not their fault. The East, in my opinion, must rather be thankful to the West for all that they enjoy now in this repect. Material progress and scientific inventions do not necessarily make a people leave religion and degenerate in life spiritually or morally. It is, on the other hand, the internal mind: if *it* becomes corrupt, even prayers cannot help. It is really one's own self that is at fault in such matters. Moslems have left their religion and have forsaken their God absolutely, and so they have degenerated; and this is in accordance with the prophecies of the Holy Prophet Mohammed himself. He had said: "A time is coming when my followers will become corrupt and will be divided into a number of sects, and at that time there will appear a man from amongst them who will bring them back to God." I belong to the movement to which Lord Headley has referred in his remarks, and our movement stands for the moral and spiritual regeneration of Islam. I think Lord Headley has been either misinformed or has consciously misrepresented our teachings. I cannot answer his questions in so short a time, but I may say: "How can we give our daughters to, or pray behind, the non-Ahmadis who are actually stoning us to death for our beliefs?" He says ours is like the Athanasian Creed, while we are the only ones of all the Moslem sects, including perhaps that of Lord Headley and his friends as well, that do not believe in anything like that. All the orthodox Moslems believe that those who are not Moslems are going to everlasting perdition. That is the Athanaian Creed; but the founder of our movement, the Promised Messiah, has told us that this is unreasonable. God is love and more than love; it is impossible to think, and is incompatible with Divine mercy, that He would send a man to eternal damnation for his actions covering only sixty or seventy years of life. It is unreasonable, mischievous, and un-Islamic. Those who do not believe in the prophets of God will suffer hell, but it is not eternal. The word used with hell is *abad*, which in the Arabic language would mean a very long punishment, but it does not mean eternal damnation. There is no doubt that all unbelievers and corrupt minds have to be kept somewhere, here or hereafter, in some hell—you can call it a hospital or reformatory—but it is not eternal or everlasting.

I am sure Lord Headley, if he belongs to any sect, though I do not think he does, will have to admit that it is one of the beliefs of the orthodox Moslems that those who do not believe in the Holy Prophet Mohammed are eternally damned. He may disassociate himself from this and create his own Islam as it were, as he sometimes tries to do, but that will not do. It is a grievous and painful thing to have to refer to such things. I wish he had kept silent; but I remember, some time ago, it was he who suggested that drinking was forbidden by Islam only for hot countries. It does not apply to this country. He went so far as to suggest that Moslem prayers required some modification to suit the Western people. I can show him British people who kneel with me, behind me, like all Moslems, and do not want any modification at all. I am sure the number of such people is increasing and will increase. He has accused us of intolerance, so I may be allowed to say a few words about it. You know that we have built a mosque here, the first mosque in London. It was I myself of the Ahmadis, a humble follower of the Promised Messiah, who was broadminded enough to call upon Ibn Saud—who regards others as infidels and is an infidel himself according to the orthodox Moslems, Shiah and Sunni—to request him to send his representative to open our mosque.

After that I will say a few words on the subject "Ferments in the World of Islam." I think it is not a ferment only in the world of Islam, it is a ferment in the whole world, and this was written in 1905 by the founder of our community. He says: "There is a ferment in the whole world and in the heavens for the sake of Truth; and the people are coming towards it, even the freedom-loving people of the West," who are accused of corrupting the Islamic countries. The words are no doubt true. He was born in 1836 and laid claim to being a messenger and reformer in 1890. From then until now, you know, kingdoms have been consigned to oblivion and the whole world has been completely revolutionized. His movement is the only ferment that will bring round the whole world to union between East and West, and Islam will be the uniting link. Islam means to be at peace with God and man. I hope the day is not far off when the East will be united with the West, and I believe Great Britain will take a lead in that.

She has already begun to take interest in religion; the very centre of materialism, as she is accused of being, is taking more interest than the Turks who are turning mosques into dancing-halls. I hope it will be Great Britain, according to the prayers of the Promised Messiah, that will lead the whole world not only in politics, but I should say in religion as well. I end my words with a prayer that, as the physical sun shines and does not set over the British Empire, I pray that the spiritual sun, when they become Moslems, may as well never set on the British people. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: I have not a long speech to make and I am certainly not going to enter into any religious controversy. I fear that the title of the lecture has confused many of us. Some thought that I had come here with a personal message and proposition as to who should be the next Khalifa; others that I came to tell them what are the new sections which are springing up every other day among Islamic people, as Wahabis, Ahmadis, and so on. I am afraid everybody had made up his mind what he was going to say before he had an opportunity of listening to what I had to say. As to Wahabism I hold no brief for it. To attend a pilgrimage or to be at the Grand Moslem Conference does not mean that I am a Wahabi or pro-Ibn Saud. A man can still tell the facts and not be styled as pro- or anti-Wahabi. Those who were present when Mr. Philby spoke on this platform will remember I was fresh from Mecca and said something which was different from what I am saying to-day. I have learnt a great deal since. The point is that really no constructive criticism has been levelled against what I had actually made out. Its point, which is still somewhat hazy in the minds of most of you, is that materialism, as opposed to philosophy, is entering into conflict with Islamic people. This point, I am sorry to say, the Maulvie has misunderstood too; I do not mean that materialism has shattered the very root of the philosophy on which Islam is built, but the fact that the Western impact has been felt all along from China to Morocco is undeniable, and that impact has given rise to alien symptoms. I see unmistakable signs of it. This evening questions of theology have been dragged in, but it was no purpose of mine to introduce any point of comparative theology, Christian or Islamic. It was merely consideration of cultural phenomena which was reeling under the impulse of the Western materialism to-day in Asia. Then the question regarding the next Khalifa was not in the scheme of discussion at all any more than it was my purpose to say whether Imam Yahya was going to fight with the Wahabi king. We know they might be at loggerheads, and as to who will win I have no reason to prophesy, and I have no axe to grind whosoever is made Khalifa. This matter stands as a separate form of discussion. But I think the only real criticism which has been offered to me is by Sir Arnold Wilson and some remarks which Sir Arnold made are valuable.

Yet I feel that materialism has made a palpable effect on the culture of the people from which there has been a revolt, and from the revolt we have emerged. That is the only point. (Applause.)

General Sir Edmund Barrow, as Chairman in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's absence, closed the meeting with a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and speakers.

NOTE FROM LORD HEADLEY.

Some of my remarks on Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah's lecture to the Central Asian Society on January 19, 1927, seem to have given offence to Mr. Dard, the Imam of the Southfields Mosque. This I regret, but seeing that the title of the lecture was "Ferments in the World of Islam," I think I was well within my rights in calling attention to the attitude and aspirations of certain Islamic sects which have been undeniably productive of no little commotion and ferment.

It will not be denied that the Sunnis and Shiahs, the Wahabis and the Ahmadis, are recognized sects of Islam, and I took the opportunity of alluding to certain authorized instructions appearing in a work entitled "Ahmad." The present leader of the Ahmadi movement is His Holiness Hazrat Mirza Mahmud Ahmad, who is described as Caliph II., in succession I believe to his father, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, India, who was recognized by his followers as the Promised Messiah and Mahdi.

I have read the "Teachings of Islam" and other works from the pen of Ahmad of Qadian, who must have been a saintly and beautiful character in every way, and I hold him in the highest esteem and veneration, especially on account of his just appreciation of the marvellous qualities of our Holy Prophet Mohammed, of whom he says: "The grace of God granted the Holy Prophet suitable opportunities for the display of all sorts of morals such as meekness, charity, courage, forgiveness, justice, etc., in a highly excellent degree which is without parallel in history."

Amongst the instructions to the new Ahmadis appearing in the book "Ahmad" are the following:

1. "It is the duty of every Ahmadi that he should pray under the leadership of Ahmadi Imams only."
2. "It has been prohibited that Ahmadis should give their daughters to marriage to non-Ahmadis, for wives are generally influenced by their husbands and thus it is making a soul apostate."
3. "Likewise, Ahmadis should not attend the funeral services of non-Ahmadis, for it would amount to interceding with God for a man who has proved himself an enemy by denying and opposing the Promised Messiah."
4. "He who does not believe in Mohammed—peace be on his soul!—is an unbeliever (Kafir), but he who rejects the Mahdi and the Promised Messiah shall also be deprived of the light of faith. The result is the same in both cases."

To my simple and, I hope, unbiased mind, these declarations are far too dictatorial and can hardly fail to promote dissension, since they must prove distasteful to a large proportion of the great Moslem community. Not very long ago I informed Mr. Dard that I could not myself subscribe to them as they savoured too much of Christian intolerance, and might almost be inspired by the spirit of the Athanasian Creed which most of us unite in condemning.

In one place, p. 462, of the book "Ahmad," the Promised Messiah is reported to have said:

> "Consider then the consequences of not believing in me. I do not say it of myself, I solemnly declare it as a truth that my rejection implies the renouncing of the whole of Quran. . . . Again, my rejection means the rejection of the Holy Prophet Mohammed himself, and therefore before one should venture to reject me one should seriously consider whom he is going to reject."

I do not propose to go into the question of the Messiahship of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, but I may be permitted to point out that the high-handed line now being taken by the Ahmadis is hardly in accord with the true spirit of Islam which places toleration very high amongst the virtues to be encouraged. The innovation is entirely from the Ahmadis, who can hardly complain because questions are asked concerning the new rules. The last excerpt leads me to understand that all Moslems who fail to recognize the claims of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad are to be placed outside the pale and can no longer be regarded as true Mohammedans. I look upon this as a very serious matter, for it looks like an attempt to bind the consciences of the whole Moslem world to the views of one particular sect; indeed, it reminds one of a slogan used elsewhere—"no salvation outside the Church."

THE POSITION IN CHINA*

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Had I been giving this lecture a month ago, or even a shorter time ago than that, I should have considered it desirable to dwell at some length on certain aspects in the present situation, which I think I can now take more or less for granted. I should have considered it desirable, for example, to dwell on the Bolshevist aspect of the situation, to show how Bolshevist influences began and how they are responsible for a great deal that has taken place. Similarly I should have considered it necessary to point out to you the size of our interests in China — the Chairman mentioned the figure just now — and I should have gone on to emphasize the imperial aspect of the whole question, arising as it very well may, though it has not yet, through Hong Kong. However, to an audience such as this, after all that has been published about Bolshevism, after all that has been published about Nationalism and the very great necessity for distinguishing between the Bolshevistic elements and the Nationalistic elements, I think that I can occupy your time more profitably by dealing with those aspects of the situation with which His Majesty's Government is dealing at the present time in the negotiations at Hankow and Peking. I think if I deal with the points that are there involved I shall on the one hand give you an insight into the views and the aims of the Nationalists, and at the same time show you the very practical difficulties that exist.

---

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Wednesday, February 9, 1927, at 74, Grosvenor Street, W., and a lecture was delivered by Mr. E. Manico Gull on "The Position in China." Sir Michael O'Dwyer presided.

In introducing the lecturer the Chairman said : Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasing duty to introduce to you Mr. E. Manico Gull to lecture to us on "The Position in China." That is a subject on which he can speak with authority, having lived in that country for twenty years. If there is one subject that is uppermost in our thoughts to-day it is the situation in China ; for there not only is our prestige as an empire at stake, but also the security of the hundreds of millions of British capital which have been invested in China for the development of that country, and, above all, the safety of our British fellow-subjects, from fifteen to twenty thousand. How the situation has arisen which menaces those interests it is not for me to say. Anyhow, we know the policy of the British Government as declared in the King's Speech yesterday. There are two factors in the situation: one is our policy towards China, which everyone admits is a just and generous one ; the other is the attitude not of China, for to-day there is no China, but of the warring Chinese factions, and especially of the Cantonese or Nationalist movement. How far that movement is one of genuine nationalism, how far it is a camouflage for the personal ambitions which play so large a part in Chinese politics, how far it is dominated by outside influences hostile to Great Britain and the British Empire, I am not in a position to say ; but I am sure our lecturer this evening will enlighten us on all those points. He has special knowledge of the situation in China, having lived for twenty years at Nanking, Shanghai, and Peking, having known many outstanding Chinese personalities, including Mr. Chen, and having left China only about two months ago. We are particularly fortunate in having as lecturer one able to bring us so much light and recent information on the subject. (Applause.)

I must warn you, I am afraid, that in the endeavour to put these points before you I shall be dealing with a subject which is to some extent a technical subject. I am not going to give you, I am afraid, anything in the nature of a popular lecture. I want to lay these points before you because it is most essential to my mind that the issues involved in the negotiations at Hankow and Tientsin should be clearly understood in England, and I cannot imagine a better audience before which to lay those points than this one.

As you know, the Government has made certain proposals both at Hankow and at Peking, and just by way of refreshing your memories I may run through those proposals as published the other day. As published they state that our Government are prepared to recognize the modern Chinese law courts as the competent courts for cases brought by British plaintiffs or complainants, and to waive the right of attendance of a British assessor at the hearing of such cases. His Majesty's Government are also prepared to apply, as far as practicable, in British courts in China the modern Chinese Civil and Commercial Codes and duly enacted subordinate legislation, as and when such laws and regulations are promulgated and enforced. The Government are also prepared to make British subjects in China liable to pay such regular and legal Chinese taxation, not involving discrimination against British subjects or British goods as is in fact imposed on and paid by Chinese citizens. The Government are prepared to discuss and enter into arrangements, according to the particular circumstances of each port, for the modification of the municipal administrations of British concessions so as to bring them into line with the administration of the adjacent Chinese areas. There are one or two other points, but those are the main ones.

Now in making these proposals, in making these offers, the aim of the Government is to reassert certain principles with which our connection with China began, and to bring to an end where possible the *imperium in imperio*, which through various circumstances has been built up in China; and it has got to do this while at the same time protecting the legitimate British interests that have grown up during the process.

Now the first point I want to make quite clear to you is this, that according to the original treaties foreigners are not exempted from taxation. There is nothing in the original treaties which exempts foreigners from taxation in China, and yet as a matter of fact, with the exception of Customs duties and land taxes foreigners for the most part do not pay any taxes. Similarly, there is nothing in the treaties to withdraw Chinese subjects from Chinese judicial control, and yet until quite recently there were a very large number of Chinese who to all intents and purposes were withdrawn from Chinese judicial control. The treaties do not state that the Customs duties shall be collected by foreigners, nor do they provide for the banking of the revenue when collected in foreign banks, and yet that has for some time past been and is at present the procedure. So you will see that a good deal has been built up which is not actually provided for by treaties, and it is that situation which is partially responsible for the present movement in China; it is that situation which the Government has now to tackle and to alter.

Now how comes it that this situation has arisen? How comes it that we enjoy in China a number of rights and privileges with which we did not start, and that we do a large number of things in China for which we can give no actual treaty warrant?

Let me take first of all the extensions that have grown up of our extraterritorial rights. The first mention of those rights was in resolutions issued in pursuance of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. In virtue of that treaty, as you will all remember, we obtained Hong Kong, and five ports were opened in China, amongst them the great port of Shanghai; not, of course, then a great port at all, but no more than a mud flat. The resolutions laid down: "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 into force; and regarding the punishment of Chinese criminals, these will be tried and punished by their own laws." That was developed by the Treaty of Tientsin into the following:

> "Chinese subjects who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities according to the laws of China. British subjects who may commit any crime in China shall be tried and punished by the Consul, or other public functionary authorized thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain. Justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides."
>
> "A British subject having reason to complain of a Chinese must proceed to the Consulate and state his grievance. The Consul will inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese have reason to complain of a British subject, the Consul shall no less listen to his complaint, and endeavour to settle it in a friendly manner. If disputes take place of such a nature that the Consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of the Chinese authorities, that they may together examine into the merits of the case and decide it equitably."
>
> "If criminals, subjects of China, shall take refuge in Hong Kong, or on board the British ships there, they shall upon due requisition by the Chinese authorities be searched for, and on proof of their guilt be delivered up. In like manner, if Chinese offenders take refuge in the houses or on board the vessels

of British subjects at the open ports, they shall not be harboured or concealed, but shall be delivered up, on due requisition by the Chinese authorities, addressed to the British Consul."

"All questions in regard to rights, whether of property or person, arising between British subjects shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the British authorities."

"The Chinese Government will place no restrictions whatever upon the employment by British subjects of Chinese subjects in any lawful capacity."

That was the original extraterritorial basis on which our relations with the Chinese were in the first instance founded. I warned you at the beginning that I was bound to be a little technical, but we can pass on now to the next point, which is to show you how this original basis extended, how from having these rights, these rights that I have just read (not all of which of course are connected with extraterritoriality —the right to employ Chinese subjects, for example, is not an extraterritorial right) we came to occupy a position, especially in Shanghai, which exceeds the authority given to us by treaty. I will take Shanghai because the story of that port illustrates the process in the best and clearest way.

Between September, 1853, and 1855 the native city of Shanghai, as you probably remember, was occupied by the Taiping rebels, and in order to escape from them very large numbers fled into the foreign area of Shanghai, which at that time was only about 470 acres in extent (it is now eight and two-thirds square miles, but that was the original size of it); and with this large influx of a Chinese population fleeing from the wrath and cruelties of the Taipings, it became necessary for the authorities of the settlement to seek wider powers of government than they actually possessed. Accordingly in 1854 a set of land regulations was issued, with the approval of the Chinese on the one side and of the Diplomatic Body in Peking on the other, and under those regulations, as Mr. H. B. Morse says, "the Government having authority over the soil and the Governments having authority over the persons and property of the foreigners delegated to those foreigners the highest power in all Governments—that of taxing and policing their own community." It was not intended, however, that this power should withdraw Chinese residents from Chinese control. It was not intended that it should withdraw them from Chinese fiscal control; on the contrary, the Chinese-American treaty of 1858 states quite clearly: "Grants of right or interest in any tract of land should in no event be construed to divest the Chinese authorities of their right of jurisdiction over persons and property within the said tract of land, except so far as that right may have been expressly relinquished by treaty." Mr. Bruce, who was the British Envoy at the time, dealing with this particular point in a communication with the Shanghai settlement, put the matter very clearly. He said: "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. . . . Because we protect Shanghai from falling a prey to a horde of brigands—the Taipings—it does not follow that we are prepared to interfere with the natural relation of the Chinese to their own Government." In virtue of that authoritative statement coming down to the Shanghai community from Peking, it was agreed to reach a sort of compromise in the matter of taxation, and to allow the Chinese authorities to levy in the settlement a poll tax that was being levied in the native city. Nevertheless, the Shanghai people replied to the views of the Envoy in Peking, and in their memorial they put the matter this way. They admitted that according to the strict letter of the treaties Mr. Bruce was perfectly right; but they maintained, on the other hand, that according to the spirit of the treaties he was not. They put the point in this way—they said: "It is of very great importance to the future safety and well-being of this important port that some restrictions be placed upon the actions of the local native authorities within the limits of the foreign settlements"; and if you will try and picture for a moment what the condition of things must have been then, with this very large Chinese population—not less then than five hundred thousand—flooding into what was an exceedingly small area, I think you will agree that the desire of the Shanghai community to protect themselves from official encroachments on the part of the Chinese was one which we can quite understand. It must be remembered that for precisely the same reason arrangements had been entered into in regard to Chingkiang, Hankow, and Tientsin, where we have concessions. The leases of those concessions stated quite definitely: "In the allotting of ground to British subjects, in the construction of roads, 'and in every other matter appertaining to the said ground,' the British Consul shall exercise sole control, and may from time to time make such regulations as he sees fit." That was the basis laid for the government of the concessions—the difference between a concession and a settlement being simply this: that in a concession land is leased by government to government—by the Chinese Government to the British Government—whereas in the settlement of Shanghai and other such places land was taken up by British residents direct from the Chinese owners. Well, the suggested compromise of a poll tax fell through, and from that time down to the present time the Chinese have not levied taxes in the settlement other than Customs duty and land taxes, the principle being the one which was contained in the Shanghai memorial to Peking—namely, that it was essential to protect the Government of Shanghai from interference by the Chinese officials, and to prevent the growth of a dual administration.

How, then, how did the Chinese come to be withdrawn from judicial control? The origin is to be found in exactly the same circumstances — namely, the Taiping rebellion. When all these Chinese began to flood into the settlement, nobody quite knew who was responsible for them. The Chinese authorities were not certain, our own people were not certain; but somebody obviously had to take the job in hand. The Shanghai magistrate proposed that he should be supplied with a list of Chinese who had entered foreign employment as servants, so that he might know exactly who was doing what, and keep an eye over them. That appeared to the Consuls to be a dangerous thing to let the Chinese officials do, and their answer to the request was as follows: "If the Chinese authorities wish to arrest anyone, a specific charge describing the offence must be made, and if the accused claim foreign protection the claim must then be referred for the decision of the Consul concerned." That strikes me, as I think it will strike you, as a perfectly legitimate precaution to take in regard to the request which the Chinese officials had made. However, the problem did not stop at that: it was not as simple as that. The Chinese population was mounting up and up, and some sort of arrangement had to be arrived at in regard to the exercise of jurisdiction over them. The practice for some time was for all cases to come before a sort of mixed tribunal, and it was eventually decided to establish a regular mixed court, the deputy of the Chinese magistrate taking cognizance in police cases, and hearing purely civil cases between Chinese, whereas, in accordance with the terms of the treaty which I read to you at the beginning, in cases where foreigners were concerned—either civil or criminal cases—there was to be present an assessor of the nationality of the plaintiff or complainant. In 1869 those regulations were modified in order to enable any case which had a foreign interest in it to be tried by the Chinese magistrate, with a foreign assessor present. That position continued from then right up to 1911.

But in 1911, as you will remember, occurred the revolution which turned the Manchus off the throne of China. The Chinese magistrates of the mixed court fled, incidentally taking with them all the cash they could lay their hands on. They disappeared and the court was left in the utmost confusion. Again, in circumstances not dissimilar from those of the Taiping rebellion, some actual practical method of meeting the difficulties that arose had to be found, and so, as a temporary measure, it was determined that the Consuls should appoint a Chinese magistrate, and that that Chinese magistrate should be paid for the time being from municipal funds. The arrangement was in origin a temporary one: it was not intended to continue it. It was thought the best way out of the difficulty at the time. But the arrangement continued for very much longer, and it continued largely because as a result of the anti-Manchu revolution all government in China began to deteriorate. Year after year matters got worse, civil wars constantly succeeded one another; and to avoid the dangers of living under Chinese rule larger and larger numbers of Chinese came down to live in Shanghai, just as larger and larger numbers of them went to live at Tientsin. So that ultimately you had this position: you had a large number of Chinese living in Shanghai, many actually taking out foreign nationality papers. You had a court which was supposed to be a Chinese court, and which was applying the Chinese law, actually functioning under a Chinese magistrate who was really the nominee of the Consuls. It was a very anomalous position, but a position which worked very satisfactorily, the proof of that fact being the large numbers of Chinese who came to live in Shanghai to enjoy the protection which the arrangement gave them. But, as you will see, in two very important directions, fiscal and judicial, the community of Shanghai had travelled a very considerable distance from the original arrangement provided for in the treaties.

Next to come to the Customs, which, as I said at the beginning, are not by treaty supposed to be collected by foreigners, nor is the revenue supposed to be placed in foreign banks. Here again the origin of the present Customs service and the present Customs practice was the Taiping rebellion of 1853. On the seventh of September, 1853, the native city fell into rebel hands. The Custom house was burnt, the Chinese magistrate fled into the settlement, and what was to be done? To whom were duties to be paid? The first arrangement arrived at was not to pay any duties at all, but to give bonds for their payment. Later on, when the arrangement proved unsatisfactory, temporary Custom houses were opened; but they, it was very soon perceived, had insufficient authority to run the administration. As a way out an arrangement was arrived at with the Chinese authorities whereby three foreign inspectors were appointed, the arrangement being dated June 29, 1854. One of these was an American, one a Frenchman and the other a British subject. The Frenchman and the American very shortly afterwards dropped out, so that you were left with a British subject responsible for the collection of Customs duties; and then four years later, by the rules of trade attached to the Treaty of Tientsin, it was provided that "the said officer, that is to say the Chinese superintendent of trade, will be at liberty of his own choice and independently of the suggestion or nomination of any British subject he may see fit to help him in the administration of the Customs." That was how the present Chinese Maritime Customs Service originated: it originated owing to force of circumstances. It originated in and was first applied only to Shanghai; gradually it was extended to other ports.

But up to 1911 all that the foreigners did was to collect the Customs duties: they were not in any sense responsible for the handling of the duties. The money was paid in Chinese banks, and foreigners had nothing to do with that side of the business. All that they were responsible for was to see that the right duties were collected. The circumstances of 1911 I have just related to you, and they had an effect on the Customs similar in a sense to the effect which they had on the mixed court. Some of the Custom houses fell into the hands of the revolutionaries. What was to be done with the money that was being collected? The arrangement arrived at, after various suggestions had been made, was that the duties should be paid into foreign banks; and one reason why that arrangement was arrived at was because the Anglo-German loan of 1896 had fallen into default. You sometimes hear it said that China has never defaulted: it is not true of that particular loan. She did for a time default, and it was owing to that default that this arrangement of paying the money into foreign banks was originally conceived. The agreement was a perfectly formal one made in 1912, and in 1913 altered to read as follows: "The banks chiefly interested—*i.e.*, the Hong kong and Shanghai Bank, the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank and the Russo-Asiatic Bank—shall be custodians of the Customs funds at Shanghai; at the end of each month, beginning with January, 1914, the surplus, after all payments due each month on account of loans secured by the Customs revenue and contracted previous to 1900 have been duly met, shall be divided *pro rata* amongst the banks having charge of the indemnity service" (that is to say, the Boxer indemnity service) "up to the amount of the instalments respectively due to them each month." At the beginning of the Great War the German bank dropped out.

Now that was in origin a provisional arrangement. It was an arrangement arrived at in order to safeguard the moneys collected by the Customs, a certain portion of which moneys was earmarked for the service of three loans, generally spoken of as the pre-Boxer loans. It was not intended that the arrangement should be a permanent one, but as a matter of fact it remained permanent and a number of other developments took place. One was that in July, 1917, the service of the reorganization loan, in which perhaps a good many are interested, was placed on the Customs and taken from the salt. In the same year, after the Chinese declaration of war against Germany, the monthly sums due to Germany as her share of the Boxer Indemnity were cancelled and placed to the service of certain domestic loans, the money being banked in a foreign bank. Subsequently the Austrian and Russian indemnity moneys were treated in the same way, and, futhermore, in 1921 the Inspector-General of Customs, Sir Francis Aglen, was authorized by the Chinese Government to apply the surplus—that is to say, the money left over after foreign loans had been met, and after the Boxer Indemnity had been met, for the service of domestic obligations. The surplus was used for the consolidation of certain other Chinese domestic loans.

Well, then, what was the position? You had foreigners collecting the money under a British Inspector-General; you had that money being placed in foreign banks, of which one of the chief was a British bank; and, furthermore, you had all that was not necessary to cover foreign obligations being used for certain domestic loans, nearly all of them contracted by the Peking Government, which for a number of years had been fighting the Southern Government.

The consequences were important, especially from the point of view of what has recently taken place. As regards Canton, in 1918 and 1919 the Cantonese put forward a claim to their share of the surplus—that is to say, of the money not required for foreign obligations. They threatened to seize the Custom house if their share was not given to them, a threat which had to be replied to. They were warned that if they did seize the Custom house certain consequences would follow. In 1919 an arrangement was arrived at as between the Cantonese and the Peking Government, whereby the Cantonese got a share—13·7 per cent.—of the total, and they were paid this share until May, 1920, when, owing to the existence of rival parties in Canton, nobody knew who was entitled to receive the proportion. There were three men who claimed it, on one side—Sun-Yat-sen, Tang-Shao-i, and Wu-Ting-fang; but they were all driven out of Canton, and so the money for the time being was withheld and placed in safe custody in the hands of the Inspector-General. Later, in 1920, however, the three men got back to Canton, and they threatened to seize the Customs in Canton. In 1923 they made a fourth threat, and it was necessary for the Powers to keep, from December, 1923, to April, 1924, a number of warships in the vicinity of Canton in case the threat should be carried out. In 1924 there was a fifth threat made. That was the position in which we were landed in regard to Canton.

Similarly we got into awkward relations with the Central Government. In 1919 the Central Government put forward a request that when all foreign obligations had been met, any surplus should be automatically released without the consent of the Diplomatic Body. In 1920 they put forward the same request, and on both occasions the request was refused. The basis of the refusal was in part this: the Diplomatic Body said, " If we agree to release all the Customs surplus without any sort of reference to us at all, we know what will probably happen to that money. We know that it will be spent in armaments and in civil war, and the fact that we are releasing it in this ready way will get us into trouble with the Southerners." So they declined to agree that automatically and without any reference to them the money should become releasable when there was enough of it to release. Then, in 1921, a demand was made by the Chinese Government to raid the very fund which they had agreed the Inspector-General should use for the service of the domestic loans. The Diplomatic Body supported the Inspector-General in not yielding to the attempt to get money from him—money which he regarded as being pledged for the service of the loans for which he had made himself responsible; and in consequence of this attitude on the part of the Diplomatic Body and on the part of Sir Francis Aglen, there was a great deal of abuse, not only of him, but of Great Britain. In 1924, when there was a big civil war taking place in North China, the Inspector-General undertook the service of certain Treasury bills, a step which had nothing at all to do with the Diplomatic Body or with Great Britain. But the Chinese believed that it had, and the Chinese accused the British of quite deliberately taking sides in a civil war and using Sir Francis Aglen, who, they said, was a British agent. They accused the Government of using him to back one set of Chinese militarists against another. Thus by the end of 1924 and the beginning of 1925 there was a very great deal of ill-feeling on the part of the Chinese in regard to our position in respect of the Customs service. You had a dissatisfied South and a not particularly satisfied North, and, as you know, it was on May 30, 1925, that the storm broke. It was in May, 1925, that the riots took place in Shanghai, and everything that has followed since then can be linked up with that affair.

Well, I think that in going over these events I have shown you how, through force of circumstances, arising first of all through the Taiping rebellion and then through the anti-Manchu rebellion, we had got into a position which was never originally contemplated. When regard is had to the circumstances, the position is entirely intelligible, and from a practical point of view justifiable. At the same time, we have given cause to the Nationalists in China to resent what we have done.

It is out of this position that the British Government is at the present time trying to get. It has made certain offers, the offers I read to you at the beginning of this lecture, which will modify the position that I have sketched to you. The question of the Customs has not yet, so far as I am aware, come up, but it is pretty certain to come up. Sir Francis Aglen, as you know, has recently been dismissed, and whether he will be reinstated or not remains to be seen. But, in any case, even if he were reinstated, the whole question of the foreign control of the Customs revenue is bound to be raised when and if China gets tariff autonomy, or, in fact, gets the 2½ per cent. increase, for refusing to collect which the Inspector-General has been dismissed.

It is not an easy position out of which to negotiate this country, for the obvious reason that while the Government is most anxious to do full justice to Chinese Nationalist sentiment, and while it is most anxious to reiterate the principles which were asserted as far back as

1862 by Mr. Bruce—principles which I quoted to you—it has, on the other hand, to bear in mind that, during all these years, there has grown up a very considerable British interest in Shanghai and in the concessions. As the Chairman pointed out, a very large sum of money is invested, and it is absolutely essential, while doing the fullest possible justice to Chinese Nationalism, not to let our own people down—our people who have built up enterprises that are of very great and direct importance to this country. It is very necessary that they, who built up those enterprises in perfect good faith, should not be in any sense sacrificed merely because through force of circumstances with which they had nothing to do, and with which our own Government had nothing to do—owing to circumstances, in fact, for which the Chinese themselves can alone be held responsible—namely, the disorders which followed the Taiping rebellion, and the disorders which have been for years past following the anti-Manchu rebellion—it is not right that our people should in any way be let down. (Applause.)

Sir Richard Dane: Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask Mr. Gull whether he can answer one or two questions. First, have the Maritime Customs Department, or the British Chambers of Commerce, prepared any statistics as to the extent to which the eighteen provinces of China and the three provinces of Manchuria are really interested in British trade? I ask the question because I think it has a bearing on the manner in which the right of the Chinese to levy any additional Customs duty is always linked up with the demand for the abolition of Inland Customs taxes throughout China. As I recently showed, Indian opium only went into half China, and I have always been doubtful as to how many provinces of China British goods really go into. Unless they go into the whole of China, to say to the Chinese that before we will give them an additional 2½ per cent. Customs duty they must abolish the Inland Customs Duties throughout the whole of China, seems to me to be unjust.

There is another question: Was it really necessary to retain the Mixed Court for the trial of Chinese cases at Shanghai which fell under foreign control during the 1911 revolution? The court was retained even during the two years when Yuan-Shi-Kai had established a more or less stable Government throughout China. At this time the orders of the Central Salt Administration used to go into every Province except Kwangsi, and we got replies even more promptly than we would have done in India. After the suppression of the outbreak of 1913 until Yuan-Shi-Kai tried to make himself Emperor in January, 1916, it is not fair to say that China was in a state of complete disorder.

I think many people must want to know why it is that Great Britain has now been singled out for this great display of hostility. There is much force in the German contention that when the Chinese were encouraged to enter the war, and all German rights in China were swept away, the foreigners were sapping the foundations of their own position in China. The Chinese had been able to deal with one set of "foreign devils," and it was a great temptation to them to go on and deal with the others. But when I left China in November, 1918, British influence was strong in Peking, and Great Britain was regarded as a friendly power. Then came the Treaty of Versailles. Mr. Lloyd George now says that Great Britain cannot afford to quarrel with four hundred millions of people with whom she wishes to trade, but it is a pity he did not think so at Paris. In the Versailles Treaty great injustice was done to China. The Treaty professed to transfer to the Japanese the rights and privileges of the Germans in Kiao-chow and Tsing-tao, but it must have been known that the position which the Japanese had seized in Kiao-chow and in Shantung differed entirely from the position the Germans held there. The Germans had mining and railway rights, but the railway from Tsing-tao to Tsinanfu, the capital of Shantung, was policed by the Chinese. The Customs were collected at Tsing-tao by a German Commissioner under the Maritime Customs Department, but only a proportion was given to the development of the port, and the rest was treated as part of the general revenue of the Maritime Customs. The Japanese treated the railway zone as Japanese territory, and the railway was guarded by Japanese troops. The Japanese had established themselves there, and there was good reason to suppose that they intended to exploit the railway rights and to make themselves the dominant Power in that part of China. The Chinese were indignant and would not sign the Peace Treaty. I maintain that that was the turning-point.

We should not, it is true, have incurred such great unpopularity if it had not been for hostile Bolshevist and also, I should add, American propaganda. A great deal is said about Bolshevists in China, but, for some reason, British correspondents do not say so much about American propaganda. When the Shameen affair occurred and an armed mob under the instigation of the Russians attacked the Foreign Settlements, the Professors of the Canton Christian College signed a statement accusing the British of firing on unfortunate Chinese students without provocation; and I think that only the Principal of the College has had the honesty to retract that statement. Similarly, when the so-called Christian General was fulminating threats against Great Britain an American journalist at Peking committed himself to the statement that Feng could defeat any force that Great Britain could send against him. That was translated and circulated in China, and did not do us any good.

I think, however, that our Government, and also the people of Shanghai, have been slow to realize that the comfortable state of affairs which existed in China before the war could not be continued in the changed conditions of the world, and after China had entered the war on the side of the Allies. She was urged to join, and did so, and sent coolies to France, and was entitled therefore to favourable consideration.

The disability which the Chinese have laboured under for years of not being allowed to collect more that 5 per cent. export and import duties was a result of our wars. The privileged position they enjoyed was so far abused by some of the Powers that I understand that, before the Washington Treaty of 1922, the actual duty which the Maritime Customs Department was collecting did not exceed 3½ per cent.; because whenever there was any question of revising schedules of values some interested Power would object, and so the thing dragged on. As the result of the Washington treaty a Revision Commission was appointed, and the matter adjusted, and the Customs Department now collects the 5 per cent. Still, it is a very low duty. When I was in China I tried to convince some of my countrymen that it was very unfair to China that thousands of foreigners should live there drinking the choicest wines, and smoking the choicest cigars, and paying a nominal duty thereon of 5 per cent.; and that that duty and the land tax paid by landowners in the Shanghai settlements should be their sole contribution to the finances of a poor country. For China is a poor country; you may talk about boundless resources, but there is tremendous poverty and misery there.

The retention of the Mixed Court also was a source of irritation to the Chinese. They resented it very much, and certainly during Yuan-Shi-Kai's time I do not think it was necessary.

In addition to these things I understand that roads have been made outside the area of Shanghai, and these also were objected to by the Chinese, as they thought the area of the Settlement was being extended and they did not like it.

These grievances, particularly the Customs duty, were fully exploited by our enemies, and then came this unfortunate incident of the shooting of the students and other rioters in Shanghai in May, 1925. That was the spark on the gunpowder.

Now that our enemies have been able to twist the situation against us, I cannot see how any reasonable man can object to what the Government is doing. To attempt to negotiate with Eugene Chen and the Nationalists with an excited mob behind them, without a display of force, would have been futile. (Hear, hear.) At the same time it is a matter for regret that our people were not more ready to recognize that some change ought to be made in the good old state of things which they had enjoyed for so many years.

The Maritime Customs question Mr. Gull has fully explained, but I should like to ask if he can tell us how many Chinese are now holding administrative positions in the Maritime Customs Department. After all, it is a Chinese Department, and from the time when the Maritime

Customs Department began to collect more than was necessary for the service of the foreign loans and the Boxer Indemnity, it seems to me that the British Government should spontaneously have raised the question of whether the time had not come to reorganize that Department in some way more in consonance with the fact that it is a Department of the Chinese Government. In Sir Robert Hart's time not a single Chinese held an administrative appointment in that Department: the Chinese were clerks. Any qualified foreigner could be a Commissioner of Customs, but no Chinese was good enough in Sir Robert Hart's opinion. In 1863, when the Department was organized, this view may have been justified, but not when I was in China. We collected in the Salt Department, before the country fell into disorder, a net revenue that actually exceeded that of the Maritime Customs; but there were never more than forty foreigners employed in connection with it in the whole of China. That revenue was collected by Chinese banks and the money was paid into foreign banks. It is another grievance of the Chinese that the Customs revenue is all paid into foreign banks, and that the Chinese banks have not the handling even of the surplus over and above the amount required to meet foreign obligations.

These grievances are not great things in themselves, but they lend themselves to hostile propaganda; and I think that is how the very unfortunate present situation has arisen. Instead of Great Britain being regarded as the friend of China, as in 1918, she now apparently is regarded as the enemy, and, if any strong action becomes necessary, there is very great danger that the Northern people will combine with the Southerners in hostility against us. (Applause.)

Major MACLAINE: There is one question I should like to ask, how much the other nations are implicated? Is it solely on the part of Great Britain? What interests have other nations got out there?

The LECTURER: I think it will be most convenient to take the last question first—*i.e.*, as to the extent to which other nations are interested. Well, they are all very greatly interested, and two of them, commercially, are more interested than we are. The largest share of Chinese foreign trade at the present time is done with Japan, and the next Power on the list is the United States. American trade is bigger now than the United Kingdom trade, though it is of course not equal to British Empire trade. All the other Powers have interests in China, and of course the Japanese interest is very large indeed and must ultimately be the largest. It is commercially the largest at the present time, though as regards the actual amount of capital invested in China there is probably more British money than there is Japanese, and certainly more than there is American. From that point we can go on to take one question put by Sir Richard Dane—namely, that of allowing the Chinese a larger duty than 5 per cent.

What has to be borne in mind, I think, is that from the very beginning of our relations with China, or from very shortly after the first treaties, everything had been done in concert with the other Powers. Any agreement arrived at with one Power has by virtue of the Most Favoured Nation clause always applied to the subjects of other Powers, and it has become the stereotyped custom to move in conjunction. As Sir Richard Dane pointed out, that began to break down when the Germans were turned out of China. When they and the Austrians lost their extraterritorial rights a big gap was made in the Diplomatic Body in Peking, and it became more and more difficult to maintain any sort of unity among the foreign Powers. But for a long time the aim was to maintain unity, and it was only quite recently, after it was found during the last Tariff Conference in Peking that it was impossible to get the Powers to work together, that Great Britain began to break away. I think it would have been diplomatically an extremely difficult thing for Great Britain to take that step at an earlier stage. Now, wiser after all the events that have taken place, we are probably quite right in thinking that she had better have taken the step earlier. But it was not an easy step to take, yet as the result of the policy of working together, or trying to do so, a good many reforms that are now considered to be desirable have been delayed. That of increasing the 5 per cent. tariff was delayed not by Great Britain, but by France. It was the refusal of France to ratify the Washington Treaty that held up the terms of that treaty until Chinese Nationalism had actually begun its anti-British operations. We got the blame for something we had not done. In regard to the question connected, in a sense, with tariff revision—namely, the penetration of British trade into the interior—that is a question which was examined with some care during the Tariff Conference in Peking, and it was found impossible to arrive at anything more definite than a sort of rough percentage. I think it was agreed that not more than from 47 to 48 per cent. of the trade actually went far into the interior. In respect of the mixed court it is true that during the years 1913 to 1915 China had a reasonably stable Government. The effort of the Cantonese to overthrow Yuan-Shi-Kai in 1913 was a dismal failure, and for a short time North China at all events was governed with a more or less firm hand and more or less successfully. Looking back, I think it is probably correct to say, as Sir Richard Dane has said, that we might have taken that opportunity of handing back the court. But there was no discontent in the matter at that time. There was no reason to suppose at that time that the Chinese were dissatisfied with the position of the court. It was working very well: a great many reforms had been introduced. It was a better, a healthier, and more effective institution than the one which had existed before.

In regard to the employment of Chinese in the Customs, I cannot give any figure as to the exact number of Chinese who are employed in the higher posts. Of course, taking the service right through, by far the larger number of employees, if you count heads, are Chinese, as Sir Richard Dane, of course, knows. In the higher administrative posts, on the other hand, the number of Chinese is small. On paper that looks an inequitable state of affairs, but I must say, although Sir Richard Dane, as everybody knows, was the organizer of the great service, the Salt Gabelle, although his knowledge of these matters is greater than mine—I must express the view that even now to place any large number of Chinese in control of the higher administrative posts in the Customs service would be an extremely dangerous step to take. If you are to have a decently and honestly run administration it is absolutely essential, even to-day, to keep the number of posts in Chinese hands extremely small.

Sir RICHARD DANE: The Chinese could not deal with foreign shipping undoubtedly, but there are a large number of stations in China where Customs are collected practically entirely from Chinese traders; and in some of these stations I heard as a fact that the collections were not even sufficient to pay the salary of a foreign Commissioner or Deputy-Commissioner of Customs, and remittances were made for the purpose. Surely in places like that it would pay, and it would be gratifying to Chinese sentiment, to appoint a Chinese Commissioner or Deputy-Commissioner.

The LECTURER: The danger is that what you do in one part of China, especially in matters of that sort, you are almost invariably asked to do in other parts. If you appoint Chinese Commissioners even in those unimportant places—and there are one or two Chinese Commissioners in them—you will be met with a request for their appointment in more important places.

Sir RICHARD DANE: There might have been an arrangement like the arrangement that the Indian services should be Indianized up to 50 per cent. Some such arrangement might have been made.

The LECTURER: Something might have been done to increase the number a little, but I think it would have been extremely difficult to do that and yet maintain the efficiency of the service. (Hear, hear.) One other point Sir Richard Dane made: that was the question of roads at Shanghai being built outside the settlement limits. It is true that those roads were thrust out. There was an extremely energetic member of the Shanghai Public Works Department who saw the necessity of those roads, and whose influence was certainly on the side of building them. But I think this has to be remembered, that he had very good reason to think that no inconsiderable number of Chinese living in those neighbourhoods wanted the roads to be built. They knew that if the roads were thrust out it would mean considerably increased convenience for themselves, and also increased security for themselves. That is the point. That is what the Chinese have always got out of Shanghai. That is what they have so very greatly appreciated, and that is why they have flocked to Shanghai in thousands, and to Tientsin and everywhere else where they could be assured of decent, honest foreign administration. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you would all wish me to thank the lecturer on your behalf for having enlightened us so much as regards the present state of affairs in China, and how that position has grown up. After his lecture, and after the interesting side-lights which Sir Richard Dane has thrown on the subject, I think we are now in a position to understand the Chinese situation. Sir Richard has very vividly explained to us the various so-called pin-pricks which may have prepared the Nationalist mind of Southern China and made it favourable ground for foreign Bolshevist influence to work upon. There is an irony in the present situation. The lecturer, in a recent article, said that if you want to understand anything in China you must look at it from the point of view of topsy-turvydom; you must stand on your head to understand it. There is a great deal of truth in that. From what we have heard to-night, the more admirable and efficient our administration in the Chinese settlements and concessions, the greater the difficulties we have raised for ourselves; that is to say, by the security and the justice that we have established in Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow, and elsewhere, we have attracted hundreds of thousands of Chinese to come and live under the British flag. We have employed no compulsion; they have flocked in. We have offered no inducement, but justice and security. This enormous immigration has caused the difficulties with the various Chinese Governments, North and South, which are the crux of the situation to-day. Our very excellence in administration has been, in a way, the cause of our troubles. Another serious cause is our allies. (Laughter.) One expects, as a rule, when one is in a tight place, to find support from one's allies. I am sure the various distinguished military officers here to-night will know that is a first principle in the field. Apparently in diplomacy it is otherwise; you do not always get support from your allies; but when you are in a tight place the difficulty is very often aggravated by the action of your allies. We have been particularly unfortunate in China as regards our allies; I will not specify instances, but you will have gathered what the situation has been. If we alone had to deal with the Chinese that situation would not have arisen. Another instance of the irony of fate in China is that it has fallen to the lot of the British Empire over and over again to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for somebody else. We went to war in 1842 over the question of extra-territoriality, when the Chinese attacked our ships, and attempted to arrest certain British sailors. We fought the war, not on the question of opium, but on the doctrine of extraterritoriality, refusing to hand over British subjects to a barbarous judicial system, and we obtained in 1842 a treaty in favour of Great Britain. We obtained that concession by force of arms. In 1844 the United States and France came along and gained the advantage which we had won in a perfectly peaceful manner. In the present troubles we have had again to take the initiative in protecting our own and other foreign interests. I do not think we have anything particular to reproach ourselves with in regard to China. With regard to Japan, we know we were the first to accept the position of equality, to recognize the jurisdiction of the Japanese courts, and to do away with the doctrine of extraterritoriality directly we were satisfied that the Japanese courts were in a position to ensure justice to British subjects. That is the position which I take it we have insisted upon in China. As far back as 1902 we assured the Chinese that directly they could give us guarantees as to the proper dispensation of justice we would give up the doctrine of extraterritoriality, as we had given it up in Japan. Here, again, we were the first to make the offer; the year after the United States, France, Sweden, and other countries followed suit. We have always led the way, but to-day the full brunt of all dissatisfaction with existing arrangements, which has grown up through no fault of ours, is borne on our shoulders. We can only hope that the Chinese are reasonable people, though their mental processes are probably not intelligible to us; that they will come to the conclusion that all the evils they are now attributing to us are not due to us, and that they have been the dupes of malicious propaganda by the Bolsheviks and not very friendly propaganda by some of our former allies. I think the lecturer has made the situation extremely clear to us. He told us the lecture would be dry. I do not think it was. He gave an extremely clear summary of the facts which have brought us to the present situation. (Applause.) We are all very grateful to him for having done so much to enlighten us. It is also a great satisfaction to know that he considers that the steps which have been taken (perhaps somewhat tardily, for a single battalion in Hankow two months ago might have saved the situation there) by His Majesty's Government to safeguard our interests in China are all that is possible to be done at the present time. I now ask you to pass a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer. (Applause.)

THE KARA-KORAM HIMALAYAS*

By B. K. FEATHERSTONE

My object in giving you an account of my travels is to show you what exploration and pioneer work in the Kara-Koram Himalayas entails. It will also, I hope, answer a question which may unconsciously be at the back of some of your minds—namely, "Why has this icy wilderness been so slow to yield up its secrets to mankind?" Unfortunately, the part I played in solving some of its mysteries is very small, but it has served one purpose, and that is to show us again the difficulties which must be encountered. No one man can ever hope to explore these tracts in their entirety, and it is only by constant individual efforts that we can hope to piece together this part of the world, in the same way that we do a jig-saw puzzle. General Bruce once wrote of the Kara-Koram Himalayas in these words: "Remote and repellent, it is a most savage and cruel country, and one of the marvels of the world." No truer words than these were ever written, and it is only when one ventures into this frozen wilderness that one can form any idea of their size and grandeur.

The Kara-Koram Himalayas are situated at the north-west end of the main Himalayan range, and lie across the direct route between the plains of Northern India and the tablelands of Central Asia. Their physical characteristics may be judged from the fact that this area contains, amongst many remarkable peaks and glaciers, the second highest peak in the world, which is only a few feet lower than Mount Everest. The first known European actually to cross this range was Sir Francis Younghusband, in 1887, in the course of his remarkable journey from Peking to India, since when explorers of all nationalities have ventured there. Each explorer must choose for himself what his aim and goal will be. I was attracted by an unexplored pass over this range which leads into Central Asia. This pass is called the New or Western Muztagh, and I hoped to be the first European to cross it, and thus clear up a minor part of exploration. Only three attempts to cross it are on record: Rudolf Schlagintweit in 1856 and Godwin-Austen in 1861 (both these men were driven back by weather conditions); then came Sir Francis Younghusband's attempt in 1887, and he found it impracticable owing to immense glacier changes. Since then no further attempts have been made to cross the range by this pass, and its summit remains untrodden by any European. Travellers in this part of the world have not only the forces of Nature—the climate and the immense disintegrated masses of rocks and ice—to overcome, but also the forces of mankind. One of the most important factors in travelling in the Himalayas is the question of transport, and persuading porters to travel into these glacial regions is one of the greatest difficulties to be overcome. Travellers will always have this to contend with, but the difficulties will be greatly diminished if one is fortunate in securing a good *shikari*, or headman, who will be found to be a tower of strength. In this connexion I must mention Subhana, my headman, whom I was lucky enough to get. Subhana was about fifty years old, and a native of Kashmir. He spoke Persian, Tibetan, Turki, and many hill dialects, and was also widely experienced. I can truthfully say that, but for his ready smile and cheery willingness, and, above all, his influence over the other natives, I could neither have covered the distance nor surmounted the difficulties encountered on my journey.

---

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Wednesday, February 16, 1927, Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the chair. Mr. B. K. Featherstone gave an account of his journey in the Kara-Koram Himalayas.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—As you know, we have been lately discussing some of the more torrid parts of Asia, the Italian settlements along the Red Sea, and the very sunny coast of Oman. We made a recent excursion into the regions of Islamic movements, which provoked, as you know, another ferment at our last meeting. To-day we are essaying a higher flight, up to the roof of the world in the Kara-Koram, and Captain Featherstone, the lecturer, will tell you about his efforts to explore the hitherto unexplored pass of the Western Muztagh. I may say he belonged to that gallant force, the Frontier Force, which is never content unless it is fighting either man or nature; and when up in the Khyber in 1922, having found no Afridis or Orakzais to fight, he decided to take on the higher Himalayas. He will tell you the results of that struggle in the lecture which I will now ask him to deliver. (Applause.)

Transport

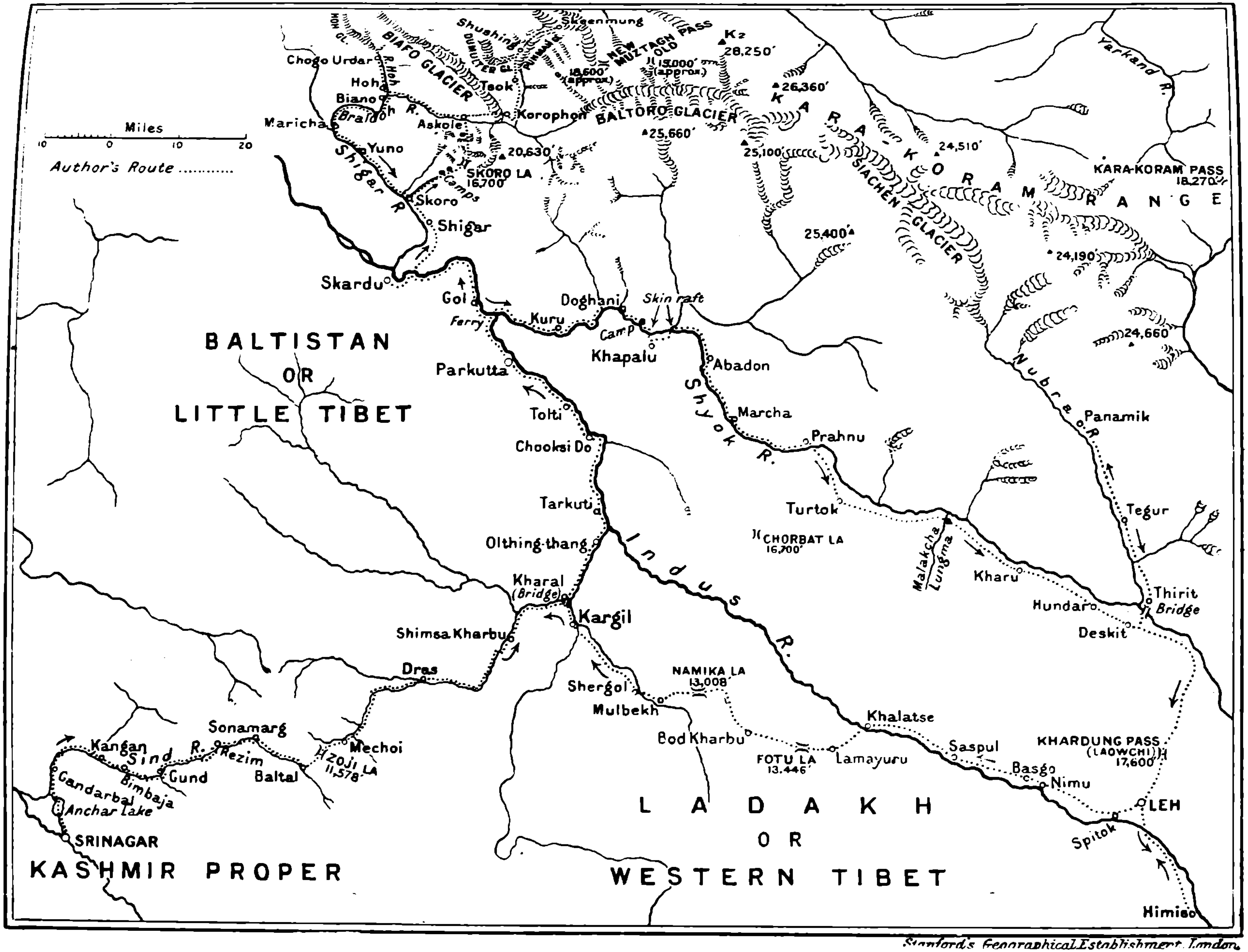
It was in 1922, while stationed in the Khyber Pass with my regiment, the 54th Sikhs (Frontier Force), now known as the 4th Battalion (Sikhs) 12th Frontier Force Regiment, that I first read of Sir Francis Younghusband's journey over the Kara-Koram Range, and consequently thought of attempting this 1,000-mile trip. My plan was to cross the New Muztagh Pass and return by the Old Muztagh Pass. One of the privileges of officers serving on the North-West Frontier at that time was an extra thirty days, should the exigences of the Service permit, making in all three months a year. I therefore seized the opportunity when my leave at last fell due, with the result that, on June 24, towards evening, I set out from the Dal Gate of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. With me were four natives, and, after a passage of a few hours in a *shikara*, or canoe, across the Anchar Lake, we reached Gandarbal, where we camped for the night. The following day I began the 220-mile march to Skardu, my first immediate objective. We soon entered the beautiful Sind Valley, and in three days arrived at Baltal, a small village lying at the foot of the Zoji La. We left the next day under a cloudy sky, just before dawn, following a rugged path which in places became a narrow ledge, overhanging a precipice of some hundreds of feet. During the morning the highest point was reached—11,578 feet. Near by lay the skeletons of three men, serving as a grim reminder of the perils of Himalayan blizzards. We were soon overtaken by a blinding snowstorm, but after an hour the weather cleared, the sun revealing a barren and treeless country. This wilderness is called Baltistan, and is practically isolated from the outer world during the winter months. It is a wild district, with peaks over 28,000 feet high, and it has glaciers over 30 miles long. Food is scarce, and the Baltis eke out a miserable existence, but it is astonishing how really cheerful they are. The next day, in the early hours of a frosty morning, we resumed our journey, following downward first a tributary of the Indus and then the main river. The going was rough at times, and the rock-hewn path dwindled away here and there into the face of the cliff. The Baltis probably rank among some of the best road builders in the world. Where there is no foothold, they built *parris* which are made by fixing beams of wood into the ledges and crevices of the rocks. Cross-beams are then laid over them and covered with stones and beaten earth, thus forming a track, the whole being supported by struts. After a week's steady going we arrived at Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, on July 6, having covered 234 miles in thirteen days.

Baltistan.

We spent two days repacking our stores, and then set out for Askole by a short cut rarely used by natives. I had great difficulty in finding porters to carry my baggage, as some of the intervening country is uninhabited, and the Skoro La, 16,700 feet high, had to be crossed. On the third day we were heading up the Skoro ravine, fording the torrent six times in the first four miles, till finally we halted the next afternoon on a narrow ledge about 15,000 feet high. Here there was no room to pitch a tent, so I spread out my bedding on the ground. I had remembered to collect some fuel, so were able to make hot native tea from melted snow, and turned in early only to awake later to find a bitterly cold wind and driving snow. At the first glimmer of dawn I roused the seemingly lifeless porters, and we were soon cutting steps up a steep slope of frozen snow. A sudden rumbling sound reminded us of the danger of avalanches, and, had we been a few yards further on, we might have been swept down thousands of feet. Small avalanches continued throughout the ascent, but we made the summit at noon. Before us stretched a vast snowfield, pierced by enormous jagged rocks, while beyond lay a glacier glistening in the mid-day sun. The porters dropped their loads and, forming a circle, offered up a fervent prayer of thanksgiving to Allah for having brought them safely through "hell's road," as they termed it. We loaded up again and struggled over the snowfield, sinking in above our knees, and half-blinded by the dazzling whiteness, at length finding a suitable camping place at the end of the glacier. The next afternoon we arrived on the left bank of the Braldoh River, where my carriers at first declined to cross the *jhula*, or twig-bridge. These twig-bridges are made solely from the small branches and twigs of trees twisted together to form ropes. The span of this bridge is 270 feet, the rope ends being about 80 feet above the water level, and sinking to 40 feet in the middle. After an hour's delay, I eventually succeeded in persuading my porters to cross. In justice to them I should mention that none of them had ever crossed one, for they are not used in their part of the country. With a strong wind blowing, these bridges are apt to sway both horizontally and vertically, and are decidedly not the kind of bridge I should choose for everyday use. How these bridges were kept in repair was a source of some anxiety to me. I was reminded of the cliff monasteries in Thessaly, some of which can only be visited by being hauled up in a basket tied on to the end of rope, and the rope is never changed until it breaks. I can only say that at one part of the bridge there appeared to be only a few twisted strands left.

Askole. About half an hour later we were in Askole, where my welcome was not at all enthusiastic. Askole is the name given to a group of seven villages lying 10,000 feet above sea-level. Wrapped in winter for eight months of the year, it is a kind of world's end on the edge of a sea of ice, formed by some of the largest glaciers outside the Polar regions. It was here that my real difficulties began with the porters. We must look at it from their point of view, and what is it? The Balti finds that whenever he ventures into this icy wilderness, the intense cold makes him feel miserable, and by going to higher attitudes he gets mountain sickness. Often he sees his comrades fall in deep crevasses and killed by avalanches, all of which mishaps he puts down to the evil spirits. The idea of going anywhere with no ostensible object does not appeal to them. They are superstitious about mountains, and fully conscious of the dangers. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Baltis are unwilling to travel in these parts, for Askole is the last village—beyond it lies an uninhabited glacial wilderness.

I shall not easily forget my departure from Askole on July 16. The women tried to persuade the men not to accompany me, and only after hours of incessant arguing were we clear of the village. We soon sighted the Biafo glacier, a mass of ice some 300 feet thick, over thirty-five miles long, and nearly a mile wide. I had never before seen a Himalayan glacier of any great size, and I must own to feeling excited at seeing one of the largest in the world. I had previously


Miles
10 0 10 20
Author's Route ....
BALTISTAN OR LITTLE TIBET
KASHMIR PROPER
LADAKH OR WESTERN TIBET
KARAKORAM RANGE
KARA-KORAM PASS 18,270'
K2 28,250'
26,360'
25,660'
25,100'
25,400'
24,510'
24,190'
24,660'
20,630'
NEW MUZTAGH PASS
OLD 15,000' (approx.)
18,600' (approx.)
BALTORO GLACIER
BIAFO GLACIER
SIACHEN GLACIER
DUMULTER GL.
HOH GL.
Shushing
Skeenmung
Chogo Urdar
Hoh
R. Hoh
Biano
Braldoh R.
Maricha
Askole
Tsok
Korophon
Yuno
Shigar R.
SKORO LA 16,700'
Camps
Skoro
Shigar
Skardu
Gol
Ferry
Kuru
Doghani
Skin raft
Camp
Khapalu
Abadon
Shyok R.
Marcha
Prahnu
Turtok
CHORBAT LA 16,700'
Malakcha Lungma
Kharu
Parkutta
Tolti
Chooksi Do
Tarkuti
Olthing-thang
Indus R.
Kharal (Bridge)
Kargil
Shimsa Kharbu
Dras
Shergol
Mulbekh
NAMIKA LA 13,008'
Bod Kharbu
FOTU LA 13,446'
Lamayuru
Khalatse
Saspul
Basgo
Nimu
LEH
Spitok
Himis
KHARDUNG PASS (LAOWCHI) 17,600'
Deskit
Hundar
Thirit Bridge
Tegur
Panamik
Nubra R.
Yarkand R.
Mechoi
ZOJI LA 11,578'
Sonamarg
Rezim
Baltal
Sind R.
Gund
Kangan
Bimbaja
Gandarbal
Anchar Lake
SRINAGAR
Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London.

MAP FROM "AN UNEXPLORED PASS," BY CAPTAIN B. K. FEATHERSTONE. (*Published by Hutchinson and Co., Ltd.*)

caught a glimpse of it on my way down from the Skoro La to Askole, and instead of the usual blue-green or dark ice-colour glacier, as seen from a distance, no ice of any kind was visible. We finally reached the Biafo, and found the surface covered with detritus, and broken up into a tortuous collection of ridges, depressions, caves, and small running streams, with the ice in places exposed. The porters, eighteen in all, reached the other side about half-past one, and I tried without success to make them go further that day. In order not to waste time I reconnoitred the Biafo glacier, in particular its snout. The question of the movement of these enormous masses of ice is one of great interest, but time will not now permit me to go into this. I will just show you one or two pictures of this glacier.

The next day sleet fell, and the porters threatened to return. Eventually, however, we proceeded, and late that night arrived at Tsok, where the men actually mutinied, throwing down their loads, and starting to desert. With Subhana and others I intercepted them, and drove them back, and after I had promised them one of two sheep I had with me and a day's rest, they agreed to stay. The Baltis, as I said before, are very superstitious, and in order to appease the mountain spirits they sacrificed the sheep the next day. This had the desired effect of putting them into a cheerful frame of mind again. This incident always reminds me of a traveller who, when confronted with a disinclination on the part of his porters to start on a so-called unlucky day, brought out a pack of cards to be used for divining purposes, and having himself previously withdrawn the unlucky cards, succeeded in getting them off. Such is the simplicity of the Balti's nature. When, however, the journey was resumed, and a short march had brought us to the Punmah glacier, which leads to the New Muztagh Pass, discontent was again rife. It was only after a long discussion that they were persuaded to continue up the Dumulter glacier.

On the following day the men refused once more to advance, saying that their food had run out. This was untrue, but I persuaded four porters to accompany me up the Punmah glacier as far as Shushing, which is situated just this side of Chongulter. All attempts to make them go further were useless, and two days later, with one

Skeenmung.

porter, I left for Skeenmung, which is only ten miles from the summit of the western Muztagh Pass. The surface of the glacier was very uneven, and it was hard-going. I reached a point just opposite Skeenmung, a point from which I judged it might be possible to make the ascent up the pass, and get back the same day. I was but ten miles from the summit, but it was late, and I had to be back in my camp before dark. I sat down for a few minutes in this vast uninhabited ice arena, with snowy peaks towering above me. To me a snowy peak is one of the most impressive and overwhelming sights in Nature. Finally, there was nothing to be done but to abandon the attempt of reaching the summit, so with one last look in the direction of the pass I turned back towards camp, disheartened and beaten on the post, so to speak. I could do nothing else, though it was not easy to give in after travelling same 350 miles and getting within a few miles of my goal. I had one consolation left me, however, when I reflected that I had trodden classic ground, and as the names of those who had made attempts on the pass occurred to me I felt that I could say, in all humility, that I had failed in good company. I reached camp just before dark and decided that another attempt was impossible, so the following day we made a short march back to the Dumulter glacier, where my main camp was established, and two days later I reached Askole again. Returning to Skardu, I took the Braldoh River route, which is used in preference to the short cut over the Skoro La. Near to where the Hoh River flows into the Braldoh we crossed a *shwa,* or mud stream. This stream was flowing in a channel 3 yards wide, with perpendicular banks of soft soil, about 10 to 15 feet high, and was very difficult to approach, as the soil gave way under any pressure. The stream itself consisted of semi-liquid mud, interspersed with rocks and boulders. It was uncanny to watch the resistless way in which the moving mud laid hold of—so to speak—these large rocks, moving them in a much firmer manner than water would have done. At times the surface of the stream was reduced, due to the accumulation of mud and rocks causing a temporary block—only, however, to burst forth later in an overwhelming manner. It took some time to cross the *shwa*, but fortunately the passage was accomplished without mishap. Subsequently I followed up the Hoh River, camping at Choga Urdar on the edge of the Hoh glacier. Owing to rain and a heavy mist, little could be seen of either the glacier or the surrounding country, so I returned to the Braldoh and continued my journey along the banks of the river. At Shigar a *zak*, or skin-raft, was placed at my disposal, and I was able to avoid walking the last six miles to Skardu a respite all the more welcome because the way was mostly over loose sands. The *zak* consisted of about sixteen goat skins, inflated and fastened to a wooden framework, six feet square, made of thick branches lashed together ; the *zak wallas*, or crew, numbered four, and steered with poles. I climbed on to the raft, which drifted into mid-stream. There were dangerous rapids ahead and our speed increased steadily. We were soon projected violently into what appeared to be a wall of water, half-submerging the raft and causing it to creak in a most alarming manner. Once through the rapid, we floated along quietly and set to work to re-inflate the goat skins, this being done by blowing through one of the legs. Later we were held up on a sandbank for an hour and had a skin torn off by a rock, but we reached Skardu without further mishap.

Return to camp.

At Skardu we replenished our stores, and on August 7 started off for Panamik on the Yarkand Road, a place just south of the Kara-Koram Pass. At the confluence of the Indus and Shyok rivers, we crossed in a barge, and continued along the right bank of the Shyok for two days, arriving at Khapula. Following upon a day's rest we set off early in the morning, but, unexpectedly, it took us till evening to get over the the Shyok again by skin-raft. We started along the riverbank, and when it became too dark rested in the open until the moon rose, finally reaching our destination at sunrise. Not wishing to lose time, after a belated breakfast, we took fresh porters and made for Prahnu, sixteen miles away. It was not till after dark that Prahnu was reached, after a march of thirty-six miles without resting. We found the inhabitants hostile, and they refused us a camping ground, so finding a suitable place ourselves, we occupied it. While the tents were being unloaded, a squabble began and things looked serious, but order was soon restored, and the rest of the night, on the whole, was peaceful, except for a few rocks and stones which were periodically hurled at us. We had some difficulty in getting out of Prahnu, but managed by means of bribery to get a sufficient number of porters to take our baggage to Turtok, the last village in Baltistan.

Meeting-place of Muhammadanism, Buddhism, and Hinduism.

The next morning we started on a march of thirty-six miles to Kharu, across the borderland between Ladakh, or Western Tibet. During the day we met a native band which played in my honour, and their music, I understand, has features of interest to students, owing to the intervals employed, which are said to appeal to some of the ultra-modern composers, though easily beyond my musical knowledge. Toward sunset on the second day we came to Kharu, and it was curious to note that the stretch of country which we had traversed since leaving Turtok was a kind of no man's land—absolutely barren, with no important physical features of any description ; yet the inhabitants of the two provinces are entirely distinct in race, religion, and customs. We had left behind Muhammadanism and entered the land of Lamaism. This part of Asia is probable one of the most interesting in the world. It has been pointed out that we are here at the meeting-place of the great Asiatic religions, and that from this spot and from none other in Asia can we go eastward to China through countries entirely Buddhist, westward to Constantinople among none but Muhammadans, and southward over lands where the Hindu religion prevails to the extremity of the Indian peninsula.

Lamaism.

This now brings me to Lamaism, the religion of Western Tibet. First, what does the word the " Lama " mean ? It is a Tibetan word, meaning "superior one." No traveller could fail to notice the influence of the Lamas in every walk of life, with the result that Tibet has become the most priest-ridden country in the world. To become a Lama is a lengthy process, taking about twelve years. The child destined to become one remains at home until he is eight, when he is sent into a monastery, where he is treated at first like a school boy, being taught to read and write. After three years he is admitted as a novitiate, and receives most of the privileges of a monk, such as having a cell of his own. In twelve years he is eligible for ordination, which cannot take place before he is twenty. His education consists chiefly of memorizing the sacred words and prayers of Buddha, which are in many cases unintelligible even to themselves. The monastery itself is called a *gompo*, which means a solitary place or hermitage. The size of these *gompos* varies from four Lamas to eight hundred, the largest in Western Tibet being at Himis. The actual site is most important. The building should face east to catch the first rays of the sun, there should be a lake in front, and a waterfall is a good omen. Once the site is chosen, it is consecrated, and this is a great ceremony.

I once attended one of the religious services, which are held three times a day, and consist of recitations accompanied by music. Incense is kept burning throughout, and offerings of meat and flour are made to the gods which are represented by images. I was sitting on a wooden bench and, judging by the expression on the faces of those taking part, they seemed to be doing their duties in a most perfunctory manner. This was confirmed when, at the end of the service, one of the head Lamas came up and asked me if I would like more, as, if so, they would continue. I declined this offer with thanks. I was politely informed that the monastery funds were low, so I took the hint which increased my popularity.

Ladakh.

Ladakh, or Western Tibet, contains one of the highest inhabited regions in the world. No part of it is below 8,000 feet, and a great number of the inhabitants live at heights of 12,000 to 15,000 feet. The barren aspect of the country that one sees in Baltistan is here repeated. Kharu owes what little importance it has to its being the first place over the border between Baltistan and Ladakh. The houses, generally of one storey, were irregularly spaced, with here and there a tree. From some of the houses were flying prayer-flags of coloured cotton, and women, with their peculiar headdress called *pirak*, gathered on the flat roofs, some to pray and others to watch our arrival. The next day we left for Deskit, where two Lamas welcomed us and kindly offered a place for my camp in the monastery compound. A glance at the suggested place showed it to be very dirty; but not wishing to hurt the Lamas' feelings, I pitched my tent there. As soon as it became dark, three large dogs, rather like Alsatian wolf-hounds, were let loose to ensure our safety. I thought of the stories of the monks of St. Bernard and the dogs kept to rescue travellers in danger on the Alps. In our case these animals did their work so well that none of us dared move, as to do so was the signal for prolonged barking and blood-curdling growls.

We left Deskit the next day, and waded through stretches of flooded land. After crossing the Shyok River by a fine suspension bridge, built by the Government to facilitate trade, we joined the Yarkand Road, where I soon overtook a caravan bound for Kashgar, with which I travelled as far as Panamik. We had now started on our return journey, and, after two days, recrossing the Shyok River by the suspension bridge, we reached Khardung, one of the highest villages in Ladakh. The next day we set off for Leh, which was twenty-five miles away, with a pass 17,600 feet high to be crossed. We ascended gradually for the first eight miles, and then came to a steep part leading over a glacier near the summit. Ahead of us was a caravan, and I saw two ponies slip and fall, sliding down the ice until brought to a standstill by a projecting rock. This death-trap at the bottom of the ravine was filled with carcases of animals; above hovered a number of grim-looking birds of prey, probably kites, fresh from feasting on the remains. It was not long before we were all suffering from mountain sickness, my servants being utterly overcome. We reached the summit, and below us saw the Indus River winding its way along the valley, and in the distance the highest peaks of the Kara-Korams showed up clearly. The descent seemed long and tedious, and only at nine o'clock that night did we arrive at Leh.

During the few days I spent in Leh I visited Himis, the well-known largest monastery in Ladakh, and then continued my journey to Srinagar, 241 miles distant. It was a long and dreary march, including the crossing of the Fotu La and Namika La, each pass some 13,000 feet above sea-level. I remember distinctly passing through the small village of Shergol. This village is the farthest western station of Lamaism in Asia, and it was with a feeling of regret that I left the land of the Lamas. Even with a short stay in the country, one sees many good points in the Buddhist cult. Charity and kindness to all living things are everywhere prominent. Cattle are well treated, and it is rarely that a life is wantonly taken. There is also a genuine spirit of consideration and politeness which travellers cannot fail to notice. And so I left what is to my mind the most fascinating country in the world. September 5 saw us in Mechoi, and the next morning we started up the gradual ascent leading to the Zoji La. The snow had vanished and the pass had a very different appearance from that which it had presented three months earlier. Beyond it we again passed through the Sind Valley, which had already an autumn tint. Here all the savage grandeur and the fantastic appearance of the Kara-Korams were left behind and the eye dwelt with enjoyment on the change. Bare rocks had given way to verdure, and the mild air with its smell of earth and its fruits was welcome. We reached Srinagar on September 10, having covered 1,100 miles in just over eleven weeks at altitudes varying from 5,000 feet to 18,000 feet above sea-level.

There is a saying that there is nothing like experience for teaching, and this is particularly true of Himalayan travel. You have now been taken a thousand miles, and I hope this account will have given you some idea as to what pioneer work entails. I hope also that it has given you a general idea of this part of the Himalayas and its inhabitants. There is, however, just one thing I would like to add, and that is that the Kara-Koram Himalayas form only a small area of the Himalayas. About a thousand miles to the east we have an area which is the exact opposite of this barren and treeless country. It is as rich in vegetation, trees, and flowers as the Kara-Korams are barren and devoid of them. Those who have been to the Kara-Korams, I think, will share my view that neither photographs nor words can ever depict the beauty and grandeur of these gigantic mountains, which are undoubtedly one of the wonders of the world.

Sir GEORGE MACMUNN said he would like to know the difference between the old Muztagh Pass and the new one, and why the old one was abandoned. Was it ever a much-used route?

The LECTURER: There are two passes, the Old or Eastern Muztagh Pass and the New or Western Muztagh Pass. The Old Muztagh Pass was the original pass, and it became disused probably owing to the changes in the glaciers. Sir Francis Younghusband crossed the Old Muztagh Pass in 1887 with difficulty, having found the New Muztagh Pass impracticable. I think the last record of the New Pass being crossed was by two natives in 1861. These passes cannot be described as passes in our sense of the word, but merely as a place at which the Kara-Koram range can be crossed.

The New Muztagh Pass lies some seven miles to the west of the Old Muztagh Pass.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—No one seems disposed to carry on the discussion on these wild regions, and it only remains for me to propose on your behalf a vote of thanks to the lecturer. (Applause.) We have been very much enlightened by his vivid description of his intrepid journey, and also by the admirable series of slides with which he illustrated his experience. One thing that struck us all, I am sure, was his very modest reference to the difficulties of the journey and his own achievements. That one always expects from a great explorer, and though he did not quite succeed in defeating the Western Muztagh Pass, he all but succeeded, and it is certainly no disgrace to any explorer to have failed in such company as that of Sir Francis Younghusband. All the same, he had a most interesting experience, and he has put that experience at our disposal. We were particularly struck, I think, by his comparison of the manner in which two civilizations and two religions, if not three, met on the roof of the world, the Baltis on the one side and the Ladakhis on the other—the Baltis being Muhammadans and the Ladakhis Buddhists—inhabiting the same country, living under the same conditions, but absolutely different in their outlook on life. We were also much interested to hear what a favourable opinion Captain Featherstone had formed of the Lamas. They did not look particularly prepossessing in the pictures he showed us, but apparently they are very good fellows at heart. The training for a Lama is a very severe one, taking twelve years; but you find full compensation afterwards, because you lord it over the rest of humanity once you have passed the portals and become a Lama. We all congratulate the lecturer on the lucidity of his discourse, on his modesty when speaking of his own achievements, and on the beautiful series of slides with which he has explained his lecture. (Renewed applause.)

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

TEHERAN,
February 8, 1927.

THE past year has not been marked by any sensational occurrences of major importance. The coronation of Reza Pehlevi in April was an imposing affair, with gorgeous new uniforms, processions and plaudits to order, and no expense spared. The populace waited for hours (with nothing to watch but the decorations, or the pariah dogs that ran bewildered up and down the streets) to see the vassal tribesmen from all corners of the Guarded Realms go riding by, and to catch a brief but blessed glimpse of a Cinderella coach, and, within, an unfamiliar Majesty, hunched, in the royal cloak, beneath the weight of a truly royal crown The crowds were not enthusiastic beyond the limits of decorum. Neither were the people impatient: many of them, indeed, had waited longer outside the bakers' shops, and been rewarded with not even a flap-jack of clean bread.

The effects of the 1925 crop failure lasted till midsummer, when, with the first arrivals of a plentiful harvest, the capital found its bread supply at last adequate. Transport difficulties were eased by the use of the motor-lorries hurriedly imported by the Government during the winter, many of which are still serviceable. The use of motor transport on all possible roads throughout the country continues to increase rapidly, and camels, mules, donkeys, and horse-carts are being diverted to secondary roads. On the Baghdad-Teheran highway everything is to be seen from Fords to 10-ton Scammels, and even on the Bushire-Shiraz road Fords, Chevrolets, and Dodges ply daily, scrambling up and down the dizzy passes at the risk of their lives. The English touring car, unfortunately, is very rarely seen, being too fastidious and expensive a creature for such rough-and-ready usage. The Shimran road to the summer resort of the capital was well served last year by a fleet of motor-buses run by the Russians. A European company has now been given a concession for a similar service in town, though what privileges the "concession" carries is not clear. The negotiations with the postal authorities to enable the Junkers Flugzeugwerk A. G. to implement the concession for aeroplane service granted them a year ago are at last completed, and a weekly air service between Teheran and Baku will commence on February 11, to be followed by a service between Teheran and the Iraq frontier. Meanwhile it is possible to buy from this company a through ticket from Pehlevi to London via Moscow and Riga, by sea and rail.

Parliament, which met in July, after elections of a more or less traditional type, was adjourned till mid-August, and thereafter spent much time in preliminaries. The achievements of this Sixth Majliss are not so far noteworthy: it has delved extensively into the murky past of some of its members, wrangled in full debate over a few hundred pounds more or less in the salary of a few foreign experts, and shown generally a lack of drive and a disposition to quarrel over inessentials, with latterly an increasing jealousy of its prerogatives and much ill-informed criticism of the independent action of the cabinet. The ministers have been men of no remarkable distinction or energy, if one excepts the peripatetic minister of court, who, after accompanying the Shah to Meshed, visited Russia and Turkey on a confidential mission, out of which nothing has openly materialized as yet. In the present temper of the Majliss it appears difficult to find a cabinet which would both command a working majority and be ably led to work. Mustoufi ul Mamalik, who resigned the premiership on January 29, rather than face an interpellation, is a master of urbane inactivity, noted for the size of his hunting parties in the old days, and the size of the fortune he has spent here and in Europe. The deputies treat him with good-humoured respect, knowing that at the worst he will not commit the country to active error. The cabinet has been reformed under his leadership.

The most unsavoury incident that has occurred since the murder of the American Consul some years ago was the attempt on the life of Mudarris, the venerable leader of the democratic party. He escaped with shots in the hand and the arm and is now back in the Majliss as a supporter of the Government, but the mysterious elusiveness of his assailants impelled the public to put the worst interpretation on the affair, which has now been hushed up.

It was not to be expected that the first year of the new dynasty should pass without disturbance or challenge. The rebellion of a number of the troops quartered in Khurasan caused much uneasiness in July, as it was feared that the Turkoman would take the opportunity for raiding southwards; but order was restored on the personal appearance of the Shah in Meshed and the arrest of the army commander there whose depredations had been partly responsible for the delay in paying the troops.

Disaffection throughout the ranks of the army was simmering at this time, and in the mind of the general public there was a strong sense of dissatisfaction and apprehension, as it was felt that financial integrity among the officers was not stimulated by conspicuous example. Of less danger to the country's peace was the reappearance in the Kurdish field of that pathetically recurring figure, Salar ed Douleh, who inspired a local rising that was foredoomed to failure. Troops were despatched to Hamadan and Senneh, largely in motor-cars commandeered from all and sundry, and the trouble quickly fizzled out.

Relations with Russia have been during the last year, as indeed they are normally, Persia's gravest problem in politics and trade. The dispute over the fishery rights on the Caspian littoral is still unsettled, and the Russians maintain the embargo against imports from Persia with the exception of cotton. Permits for limited quantities of produce are given spasmodically from time to time, and the Russian trading agencies purchase rice, raisins, and so on, at intervals, when they are obtainable at starvation prices, but much of North Persian produce has rotted unsold. A number of bearer permits have recently been issued for small quantities of Persian exports, to supporters and friends of the Russian legation, and these permits have been transferred to traders for a consideration. The facts are that Persia has no alternative market for most of the produce of her northern provinces, that Russia is obliged to restrict imports, that she is dissatisfied with Persia politically, and that her trade concerns are largely at the mercy of Soviet officials actuated by theory. Meanwhile the sale of Russian sugar is being pushed in all Persian markets as far south as Kerman and Duzdab, and on the Kermanshah road the economically curious sight may be seen of Russian and A.P.O.C. oil passing each other in opposite directions.

The finances of Persia, under the American administration, have been further strengthened during the year. Doctor Millspaugh's sixteenth Quarterly Report, to September, 1926, which has just been issued, shows a remarkable continuance of the drain on the people's capital to swell the Government purse, mainly, of course, in anticipation of railway building, for which the receipts from the Sugar and Tea Tax are earmarked. It might be supposed that the accumulation and hoarding of this latter branch of the revenue at the rate of a million sterling annually could not continue for long in a country of Persia's meagre resources, while on the other hand the amount collected over a few years would not suffice to build more than a small proportion of the mileage contemplated, and the receipts from traffic could hardly be expected to pay the interest on the capital expenditure. It should be remarked, however, that this temporary drain on the country's wealth is set off by about the same amount received in royalties from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company—an annual windfall of recent growth—and it may therefore be argued that the prosperity of the A.P.O.C., and that alone, enables Persia to stand the unaccustomed strain of saving for future capital outlay. A further million sterling annually is spent in the country by the A.P.O.C. for wages, provisions, etc., an important factor which the finance administration shows a curious reluctance to include in its estimates of the balance of trade.

While the recently arrived American railway expert is developing his proposals for a comprehensive survey, increased attention is being given to the less debatable need of roads, the improvement and upkeep of which is partly provided for by yet another port tax on foreign trade. With the expenditure of a few million sterling on road work under Russian engineers the transport problem would quickly solve itself for the time being by a manifold increase in the use of commercial motors. The road between Baghdad and Tabriz, by way of Rowanduz, is being opened up as an alternative to the Trebizond and Batoum routes, which are economically preferable but are sometimes barred. The traffic between Bushire and Shiraz demands a deviation of route to avoid the worst passes. The Isfahan-Ahwaz road might make a traveller despair of its ever being anything better than what it always has been—a stony test of endurance to man and beast. The Dizful-Khurramabad road is very slow to develop, and its experimental use as an alternative to Bagdad has not encouraged traders to desert Iraq.

The American financial advisers are still moderately popular. There is a general desire among the political classes to curtail the power of veto possessed by the administrator-general, but it is perhaps well that the purse-strings should be held yet awhile by a pre-eminently cautious foreigner who has proved his integrity. Doctor Millspaugh's scheme for an agricultural and industrial bank is now before the Majliss. It is proposed to create the capital for this native bank by the sale of crown lands and of part of the crown jewels. There is much in the scheme to recommend it, the main difficulty being that of sound, economical, and trustworthy administration. It is worth bearing in mind that the only two business organizations of any magnitude which have made good and have held their own in the country are the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Imperial Bank of Persia—both British.

The native press improves as time goes on, but there has been lately a general recrudescence of the hysterical jeremiads which used to issue, many years ago, from the hot brains of idle politicians. The "Iran" is constructively progressive, and now publishes topical photographs in addition to much reliable matter of practical utility.

The winter has been cold and dry so far, and rain or snow is much needed for the autumn-sown crops and the summer water supply. The local form of rinderpest has taken heavy toll of the cattle, and the American agricultural expert has devoted much of his attention to coping with the disease since his arrival last summer. An instance (let us hope unique) may be given of subordinates' action in a matter of this nature. An official in an outlying district had made a pleasant little addition to his salary in illicit fees for inoculation when this was voluntary. Later inoculation was made compulsory, and at first our friend feared the loss of his supplementary income. By this time, however, the dire mortality directly attributed to his inoculations had become known; so his luck held, for the cattle-owners thereafter paid him handsomely to leave their beasts alone.

SOME NOTES ON THE OVERLAND MOTOR ROUTE TO INDIA

In view of the increasing interest that is being taken nowadays in road communications in Asia, the following brief notes, based on the writer's experience on a recent motor journey from Haifa to railhead at Duzdab, may be helpful to those contemplating a similar journey.

From Haifa as far as Baghdad the road is now so well known as to call for little comment. When the writer went across in July last the Damascus route was closed for political reasons, and the Tripoli-Homs-Palmyra route was followed. The coast road from Haifa to Tripoli is very good going, but from Tripoli to Homs it is thoroughly bad: broken, with a rough, rocky surface, which entails a very heavy strain on springs and chassis. Beyond Homs the desert itself is for the most part excellent going, and one can travel "all out" for long distances.

The stretch from Baghdad to Khanikin similarly presents no difficulties, while the main road from the Persian frontier to Teheran is, or rather was, a proper motor road. Constructed by the British military authorities during the war, it was, when finished, a first-class road. Like most other things in Persia, it has been totally neglected, and is now rapidly falling into decay. With the great increase in motor traffic, particularly with the large number of heavy commercial vehicles constantly moving up and down it, the surface has been ruined; and whereas a few years ago cars could go at high speed practically the whole distance from Teheran to Khanikin, now they have to pick their way carefully over the bumps.

The journey up to Teheran falls into four easy natural stages—viz, Baghdad to Kermanshah, 223½ miles, is the longest, and most travellers would find it more convenient to rail their car from Baghdad as far as Khanikin, a matter of 94 miles, and thus avoid the least pleasant part of the journey. The remaining stages—viz., Kermanshah to Hamadan, 113½ miles, Hamadan to Kazvin, 146¾ miles, and Kazvin to Teheran, 92¾ miles—are all easy ones. There is a hotel in each of the halting-places mentioned. That at Kermanshah has very little to recommend it. It is infested with flies, and is situated in the bazaar; but as the traveller would only be staying for the night, this would not worry him very much. The hotel at Hamadan is better, and has a less unpleasant atmosphere about it. The Kazvin hotel is a very unpleasant one, and a single night is the most that anyone would feel inclined to stay. The rooms all open on to one common verandah, which in turn looks out over the sarai. The latter is generally full of cars, and the noise is almost continuous. Here one finds oneself rubbing shoulders with unpleasant-looking Bolsheviks and their equally unpleasant-looking womenfolk on their way up and down from Enzeli. The corridor and verandah are filled with a motley collection of local travellers, whose chief characteristic is their extreme noisiness. The food leaves a great deal to be desired, and it is advisable to limit one's demands to a samovar with tea and boiled eggs.

The remaining ninety-two miles into Teheran make an easy and quite pleasant run. Petrol can be purchased at all the places so far mentioned. Up to Hamadan and in Teheran the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's petrol is obtainable, but in Kazvin, as in all other northern towns, it is not generally stocked, and one has to buy the Russian product. The latter is sold in soft iron tins of one pud, or approximately four gallons. The quality of the petrol itself is good, but with the control in Soviet hands, one almost invariably finds a quantity of dirt and water in the tin, not to mention short measure.

There are several quite efficient repair garages in Teheran, and a number of shops fairly well stocked with the commoner kinds of accessories. Prices are very high, however, and it is most advisable to bring up all the spares one is likely to require from Baghdad. Here it is as well to mention that English cars are very rare in Persia, and can almost be counted on the fingers of two hands. Practically all the cars are American. There are naturally more Fords than anything else, but the number of Buicks, Oaklands, Hupmobiles, Chevrolets, and Dodges is increasing rapidly.

The road from Teheran to Tabriz is fairly straightforward going. The distance is 374 miles, and with a good car one can make Zenjan the first night, and with an early start reach Tabriz by the evening of the next. The only really difficult piece of road is that going over the Kaplan Kuh. The road over the Shibli Pass, where cars had formerly to be hauled up and let down with ropes, has now been properly constructed, and one can get over quite comfortably. It is advisable to carry petrol for the whole journey from Teheran to Tabriz. It can be obtained at Zenjan, but is expensive, and one cannot count on getting any at Mianeh. There is a great deal of climbing and low-gear work to be done on this trip, and this should be taken into consideration. In case one should run short, it is often possible to obtain one tin of petrol at the village of Haji Agha, some thirty-five miles short of Tabriz, but the price asked for it is exorbitant.

In Tabriz there is a good garage with an efficient mechanic in charge. The rates are about 50 per cent. higher than in Teheran. The road itself is not too bad, though there are a number of river-beds to negotiate, and one or two very steep bridges. The greatest trouble are the countless water cuts, some of them irrigation channels; others, in the hills, simply places where the rain has worn away the road. The latter are in nine cases out of ten at the foot of an incline. One comes coasting gaily down a beautiful gradient with ample impetus to carry one well up the next incline on top gear, but one has invariably to pull up with a jerk to negotiate a broken water crossing, and then work slowly up a long incline on low gear. If only the Persian authorities could be persuaded to lay down Irish bridges at these points the trouble would be obviated and the road immeasurably improved.

The Kazvin-Enzeli road, constructed by the Russians before the war, is still in a fairly good state of preservation, though here also the surface is rapidly becoming destroyed by the number of heavy commercial vehicles which daily ply along it. The Russians are good drivers, but believe in high-speed work. They are apt to come upon one unawares from round corners, and one has to bear this constantly in mind in negotiating the very sharp cliff corners going down the long Kuen Gorge to Menjil.

Some seven miles beyond Menjil one emerges abruptly from the bare, wind-swept mountain road into lanes hedged with thick foliage, and inches deep in mud, for it rains nearly every day in the year in Gilan. The chief trouble here are the strings of Russian country carts, or fourgons, resembling old English millers' waggons, each with four horses abreast. In many places the road is barely wide enough for them to pass. They will naturally choose the inside berth next to the hillside, and it is good policy to stop the car and let them do the passing; otherwise it is quite easy to be misled by the thick foliage on the outside of the road and imagine it is an ordinary ditch, whereas it is in reality the actual khud-side. The writer made this mistake, and slipping into what he casually thought was an ordinary roadside ditch, he found himself hanging at an alarming angle over the side of the cliff itself. The slightest push would have sent the car hurtling several hundred feet into the river below, and nothing could be done until half the inhabitants of a neighbouring village had been collected and the car lifted bodily on to the road again.

All this, however, has nothing to do with the route to India. We will, therefore, return to Teheran and set off afresh.

From Teheran to Ispahan the going is quite straightforward. The total distance is only 287 miles, and this can be done easily in two days, a convenient stopping-place being the small village of Dilijan, 162 miles from Teheran. Here one can doss down for the night in a new *hujra* belonging to the headman of the village. The rooms are perfectly clean, and one can spend a comfortable night there. There is the usual *chae-khaneh* in the village, and quite a good meal can be had at short notice. The main road to Ispahan formerly ran via Kashan, but the new route via Dilijan is better going and is much shorter.

Petrol can be obtained at Qum, but one cannot count on getting it anywhere else before Ispahan, and it is best to carry sufficient for the whole trip from Teheran.

At Ispahan one can stay quite comfortably at the Hotel Ghar-Bagh, and the food is quite good. There are one or two garages run by Baghdadis. It is extraordinary how the Iraqi has taken the initiative in Persia in everything appertaining to motors. A large proportion of the taxi-drivers in Teheran are Iraqis. They are to be found in and about most garages, and they are more in demand than Persians as private chauffeurs.

Between Ispahan and Shiraz there is only one troublesome place, and that is just beyond Yezdi Khast, ninety-six miles from Ispahan. The road descends and crosses a deep nullah, and the ascent the other side is so steep, with a sharp bend at its steepest point, that very few cars with any load in them will reach the top without assistance. The villagers make capital out of this, and one can always get half a dozen of them to come and push.

A convenient halting-place would be Dehbid, 203 miles. This would leave one with sufficient time to spend an hour or two at Persepolis the following day. Petrol should be carried for the whole journey to Shiraz. Here there is quite a good repair garage belonging to an Indian, but very few spares are obtainable.

The road from Shiraz to Kirman via Niriz and Saidabad was constructed by the South Persian Rifles during the war, and after their disbandment and the withdrawal of effective protection to travellers, the latter abandoned the road altogether. It has remained closed for some years, and the fear of robbers, coupled with the fact that, unlike all the other main routes in Persia, there is no telegraph line, has made people afraid to use it. Caravan and other traffic has, therefore, for some years past, been using the northern and longer route via Yezd. The Persian Government is now arranging to police the Niriz road and open it for traffic again.

The writer embarked upon it with somewhat mixed feelings, particularly as no one in Shiraz was able to give him any information about it, but he met with an agreeable surprise. True, the road was devoid of traffic, and for the first time one missed the welcome little *chae-khaneh* at every few miles' distance ; but once one has passed the first seven or eight miles over a very broken mountain track leading from the Shiraz plain the road is excellent, and for the remaining 100 miles as far as Niriz one can go at any speed one's engine is capable of.

It is advisable to make a very early start from Shiraz and make

Niriz as early as possible, so as to have plenty of time to negotiate the Hasanabad Pass. It is desirable to leave Niriz at least a clear three hours before sunset, or, if the car is a Ford, and at all heavily loaded, spend the night at Niriz, and start for the pass the following morning. With a good car the pass can be easily done on a low gear, but a low-powered car, or one that is heavily loaded, would have difficulty in getting up some of the gradients. A convenient place to spend the night would be either Hasanabad, which is nothing but a small, ruined gendarmerie post, with good water, but rather cold at night, or Bishneh village, about twenty-five miles further on, and 137 miles from Shiraz. It should be noted that between Bishneh and Dasht, a matter of twenty miles, there is a total absence of water. Care should be taken in crossing the salt plain beyond Khairabad to keep strictly to the tracks. There the road is perfectly solid, but the moment one leaves the track there is a grave danger of getting bogged in the salt morass.

If difficulty is experienced in making Kirman before dark, the most convenient place to spend the night is Mashiz, some thirty miles short of Kirman. There is a road-guard post there, and water and supplies can be obtained.

In Kirman there is one good garage with an excellent native mechanic. Spare parts are not to be counted on, but petrol and oil are obtainable.

There now remains the final and most trying stretch of all. The distance from Kirman to Duzdab is 317 miles. The most convenient stages are to make Fahreh, 161 miles, the first day. With luck, and provided one did not lose time in the sandy track at Shurgaz, it might be possible to make Duzdab the following evening; though should there be any doubt on this score, it would be better to content oneself the second day with reaching the small telegraph post at Sipi, from which one could comfortably reach Duzdab early the following afternoon.

As this is the least-known portion of the whole journey, it may be of interest to give a more detailed description of the track.

From Kirman the going is quite good. Mahoum village, with its small but beautiful Madrasseh, is reached at twenty miles. There is then a steady ascent until the top of the rise, 8,000 feet, is reached at forty-seven miles. Some six miles further on the road crosses a deep nullah, after which the track remains quite good as far as Dharud (Tahrud), seventy-four miles, where there is a rest-house belonging to the Indo-European Telegraph Company. Some twelve miles further on the road leaves the hills and traverses a level plain about twenty-six miles wide. One then crosses a shallow nullah, and at mile 118 reaches Bam.

At Bam there is a telegraph rest-house with a clerk in charge.

From Bam the going is quite straightforward as far as the large village of Wekilabad, 126 miles. Here there are a number of irrigation cuts, but once past them there is no other difficulty until a rather deep and difficult wadi is reached just short of Fahreh, at mile 160. The water at Fahreh is very slightly brackish, but is the best for very many miles around. One requires to take a sufficient supply of this water for the next stage to Sipi.

Once past Fahreh the going becomes more sandy, and three miles further on one enters a perfectly flat plain, the surface of which is covered with a very fine gravel. The gravel is but a veneer, and below it is nothing but very fine sand. Some patches are softer than others, and while, in the harder tracts, the wheels do not sink in more than 3 inches, one may suddenly strike a softer patch and find the wheels buried up to the axle. To avoid the softer area one should strike away left of the telegraph line and keep away from it for about four miles. One of Nadir Shah's watch-towers can be seen on the horizon, and this can be taken as the point at which one rejoins the telegraph line. The writer got stuck in the sand within half a mile of this tower. The sand was well up to the axles, and digging only made the wheels sink in further. The most effective remedy was to spread a couple of cheap rugs down under the rear wheels and pull out on them. This method proved quite successful, and was used on subsequent occasions. One rejoins the telegraph line at mile 168, after which the going is quite firm and level as far as Shurgaz, mile 191. Here there is a small telegraph linesman's post and a well of brackish water.

The track now becomes sandy again, and the going heavier. Some sand dunes are passed, and at mile 194 the Shurgaz river bed is reached. This is a shallow depression about three-quarters of a mile wide, and consisting entirely of soft drift sand. The going is as heavy as it possibly can be, and it is doubtful if any laden car with less than six wheels could get across it without outside assistance. It took the writer one hour and a half to get across in a Dodge car with the rugs and spades in use, and with three men pushing. This is the *pièce de résistance* of the whole journey, and once the Shurgaz is crossed, there is nothing ahead to give very much trouble.

The going remains rather sandy for some miles, and then becomes firmer. At 223 miles Kunarak telegraph-post is passed about three-quarters of a mile on the right. The track now rises to the Kunarak hills, which are entered some eight miles further on. At mile 245 the Afghan Pass is reached. One follows the track, which is very stony, and resembles a typical North-West Frontier nullah-bed, until the nullah forks. One follows the left-hand track, which gets rapidly narrower until there is barely room for a car to pass. The track is no longer rocky at this point, and a very little pick and shovel work would widen the track and improve it beyond measure.

The top of the pass is reached at mile 247, after which the descent is quite an easy one. The track leads down into the plain, and nine miles across it one reaches the small telegraph-post of Sipi. There is good water, but no provisions whatever are obtainable.

Six miles beyond Sipi the track traverses a belt of hills and then emerges into a wide plain. The going would be quite good were it not for very numerous dry watercourses, which check one every few hundred yards. At mile 313 a telegraph-line branches off left to Dehaneh Baghi, but must not be followed. Duzdab is reached four miles further on.

Though it is just possible to take a car by road all the way through to Quetta, yet with the railway actually working from Duzdab, no useful purpose would be served by doing so, and the journey is a most difficult and unpleasant one.

A few general hints to travellers by car in Persia may be useful.

First of all, as regards the type of car best suited for the country, the Americans are, at present, easy favourites. There is a belief, and one has often heard the opinion stated, that the most suitable car for Persia is the Ford. This is partly based on the fact that Ford cars were used during the war by the British military authorities, and did excellent work; and also because it is perhaps easier to obtain spare parts for this make of car than for any other. What is much more important, however, is the fact of the Ford having such a large clearance and short wheel-base. Nevertheless, there are two serious disadvantages attaching to the Ford for travelling long distances in a country like Persia. Firstly, the Ford car is not made for low-gear work, and in Persia one has a great deal of this to do; and, secondly, the engine heats up very rapidly, and the radiator is constantly on the boil. This in a country where, in many areas, one has to carry all one's water with one, is in itself a very great disadvantage.

The trouble with British cars is usually their lack of clearance. There are numbers of British makes of car which would compete very favourably with the Americans were it not for this one disadvantage—lack of sufficient clearance. Apart from the roughness of the track in some of the hilly areas, where one frequently has to drive over projecting pieces of rock, there are numerous bridges over irrigation cuts to be negotiated. Most of these are short, but they are so steep that a car with a long wheel-base and ordinary clearance frequently impinges on the crest of the bridge and sticks there.

In setting out on a trip across Persia, it is important to time oneself so as to avoid the rainy season. Generally speaking, one can travel quite safely any time after the end of March and before the beginning of November. The Teheran-Tabriz road remains open generally until the end of November, after which time, and sometimes earlier, bad weather must be expected, and the road remains practically impassable until the spring. The same conditions apply to East Persia. Once the winter rains have broken, the Kirman-Duzdab route is turned into a sea of mud, and neither cars nor camels can get across it.

It would be ungrateful to complete these notes without a brief reference to the British Consulates in Persia. Well known for the kindness and hospitality they invariably extend to travellers, it behoves the latter to appreciate the position of the Consulates. With the development of motor transport, the number of British travellers in Persia is increasing, and there is a tendency on the part of a few of them to regard the British Consulates as institutions existing specially for their convenience. It is true that in many towns in Persia there is still no hotel accommodation suitable for Europeans, in which case the traveller may find himself thrown upon the hospitality of His Majesty's Consul. Out of consideration for the latter, therefore, and as a matter of courtesy, it is desirable, where possible, to write ahead and inform the Consul of one's arrival if it is desired to invoke his assistance.

Most travellers find themselves indebted sooner or later to the Indo-European Telegraph Department for permission to use their rest-houses. These are a real boon, for in most cases they are situated in the smaller and more out-of-the-way places, where no other accommodation is possible. Permission to occupy them should be obtained from the Indo-European Telegraph Department in Teheran. The officials of the Department are always most obliging, and more than one traveller on his way through to India has had to thank them for assistance rendered, without which they would probably never have reached their destination.

REVIEWS

IN CHINA. By M. Abel Bonnard. London : Messrs. G. Routledge and Sons. 15s.

M. Bonnard was merely a visitor to China, but he had made some study of Chinese history and literature, is a shrewd observer, and has marked literary ability. His book is therefore very interesting and instructive.

The description which he gives of Peking in the summer and in the autumn is excellent.

His love of the East and his admiration for the achievements of ancient China in literature, philosophy, and art, lead him sometimes into extravagance. He laments that he was unable to meet any of "the great Taoistic priests in their magnificent monastic libraries, whose minds travel silently through depths that few of their fellows can even conceive of, to the ultimate point which man's speculations on the universe have reached." Are there any such Taoist priests in China? I doubt it. In the "China Year Book" we are told that Taoism, as now practised in China, is a "polytheistic hotchpotch of witchcraft and demonology," and I believe this to be correct. The Chinese are not great religious thinkers. As an educated man once said to me: "I do not think that a Chinese cares much what is going to happen to him in the next world as long as he can have a good time in this one."

M. Bonnard also, like many other people, indulges in unnecessary enthusiasm about the Great Wall of China. They read that the Emperor Shih of the Tsin dynasty constructed a great wall in the third century B.C., and they see north of Peking and at Shanhaikuan the magnificent wall which the Ming Emperors built in the sixteenth century A.D. to keep out the Manchu Tartars, and they imagine that a wall of this character was constructed before the Christian era across the whole of North China. Personally I doubt if the wall built by the Emperor Shih differed materially in character from Offa's Dyke. In Kansu the wall does not appear to have ever been anything but an erection of mud; and in Shensi, along the border of Mongolia, south of the Yellow River, much of the structure was mud, though the guard-posts and barracks were of brick. Kansu and Shensi are regarded by the Chinese as the cradle of their race.

In a passage about Confucius and his design of society M. Bonnard sees visions of a China which, except perhaps in periods of strong autocratic rule, does not ever appear to have existed. "It seems," he writes, "as if the problem of civilization had never been more perfectly solved, nor with such dexterous elegance, because the disorderly element, which exists everywhere else only held in check by fear, had disappeared altogether in China, and there was no need of constraint of anyone, because everyone seemed to be converted." There is no country in the world more subject to periodic disturbances and upheavals than China.

M. Bonnard, however, has an observant eye, and saw China as it is with vivid clearness—a "stark dumb land," where the people are an unfailing object of interest, but the scenery is for the most part dull and uninteresting, and the filth and misery resulting from over-population and overcrowding cause the foreigner to shudder. The following are descriptions of what he saw at Foochow and Chungking in Szechuan :

"But the smells are worse than anything else. Pails of filth without any cover stand about everywhere, and the ill-fitting paving-stones expose the drains into which the filth from every dwelling-house is discharged. The overflow from these drains spreads itself almost with an air of pomp into sheets of filth, breaks out into bubbles, and mixes its disgusting eddies to such an extent that when I passed a stable, from which there came a strong smell of horse manure, it struck me as such a pleasant, wholesome smell by contrast that I stood still an instant to breathe it as a corrective. . . .

"Hideous maladies take hold of swarms like these, just like brambles clinging to a wall. One sees swellings, scabs, mottlings, and bright rashes. Nothing cheerful stands out in the uniformity of the crowd, but now and then you are suddenly frozen with horror at the poor unbearable face of a beggar, a face contracted like a closed fist, with merely the remains of an eye or lip to be seen in it."

When he deals also with modern-day politics M. Bonnard's observations are very sagacious. In 1918 the pro-Japanese policy of the Anfu Government at Peking aroused the indignation of the students, and a number of strikers attempted to set fire to the house of an unpopular Minister. Students headed demonstrations to protest against Japanese influence and to constrain the populace to boycott their goods. When M. Bonnard was in China this agitation was still continuing, and he was shrewd enough to see its possibilities. "If you want," he writes, "to know a nation, you had much better begin by studying the young people. For, thanks to their exuberance and to the fact that they are not yet rendered discreet by the necessity of retaining employment for the earning of their bread, they involuntarily reveal the soul of the nation." . . . "We should not allow ourselves to be deflected from the main issues by our amusement at details, which may be dangerous in so far as they obscure the profound meaning of the movement. Although in these actions the students are obviously only feeling the way, it is unmistakable that a new force is struggling to the light and becoming conscious of itself, and as each of these crises makes it more and more conscious of itself the crises naturally recur."

On the question also whether Bolshevism will spread in China M. Bonnard's observations are very much to the point : "Those who always deal in the small change of received ideas will answer that there are too many smallholders and cultivators here to admit of the possibility of Communism succeeding. But the people who observe for themselves are less decisive. They know what the peasants have to endure and fear, that they will become desperate at last and ready to deliver themselves up to any party which promises them a better fate. Then, too, the soldiers, who are badly paid and badly disciplined, feel quite as much discontent as they give rise to, and would easily be swept into any revolutionary movement. Thus we get the formation of immense masses of people who are no longer attached to any solid principle." . . . "Let us remember what rebellion in China may mean if we want to understand how successful Bolshevism or any other form of excess may become here. As a fire sweeps through the serried ranks of the native wooden hovels from one burst of its appalling energy, so in this race, where there is no effective separation between individuals, one mad idea inflames countless multitudes simultaneously. There are numerous examples of these outbursts of frenzy in Chinese history up to the Boxer riots, and even since then."

These observations were made in 1920-21. It is a pity that some of the people in England, who are supposed to interpret China to the public, were not equally far-seeing.

R. M. Dane.

Der Kampf um Asien. By Hans Rohde. Stuttgart, Berlin, und Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Unstalt. 1924.

The author of this remarkable work in two volumes relates in a continuous narrative the more recent phases of that great struggle between East and West which may be said to run through history from the epoch of the Trojan War onwards. Only the first—namely, the one on the fight for mastership in the Levant and over Islam—is here dealt with ; the second treats of the problems of the Far East and the Pacific Ocean.

In the course of a long residence in the Levant Herr Rohde has convinced himself of the truth that the history of Asia—and, indeed, world history—is in our day dominated by the necessity imposed at all times on Great Britain of securing and maintaining by sea and land her communications with her Indian Empire. From this supreme object her foreign policy is never for a moment deflected. When she meets with rebuffs she overcomes them, at one time by force, at another by negotiation and compromise. In the end she is usually successful, and at the conclusion of this volume we are comforted with the assurance that, after a disastrous interlude marked by the triumphs of Mustafa Kemal Bey, the Near East has been left again under the influence mainly of our country. A word of warning, however, is added. The Treaty of Lausanne paid too little attention to Russia and Germany. In the long run the virtual exclusion from the settlement of two Powers, surely not uninterested in Eastern developments, is likely to make itself felt, nor can final equilibrium yet be said to have been attained in the region under review.

In the period preceding the opening of the Suez Canal, when the Mediterranean was only a lake with a narrow issue at its western extremity, Great Britain's main reliance was necessarily on Turkey, the principal Power interposing between Russia and India. After 1869 Egypt, whence the canal could be more closely watched, began to take the place of Turkey, and Great Britain did not rest satisfied until she had firmly established herself on the Lower Nile. France acquiesced, now taking largely the place of Great Britain in Turkey. British sea communications with India were thus secured. It remained to keep safely within the British orbit the lands forming a bridge between India and Egypt: Afghanistan, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. Although Afghanistan and Persia have now gained their independence, Herr Rohde shows that Great Britain has contrived to retain an influential position in those countries, while Mesopotamia and the Arab lands are admittedly subject to her prevailing authority.

France is represented as Great Britain's principal rival in the Near East, but the author is led to believe that Great Britain has always at hand a sure means of overcoming French resistance in Asia by the simple device of giving France a free hand against Germany in Europe. By a mutual understanding of this kind the field was opened for Monsieur Poincaré to carry out his long-cherished intentions in the Ruhr in return for concessions at Lausanne, enabling Great Britain to settle in her own way some of the outstanding questions in the Arab territories.

On this and other points on which stress is laid in the book before us no reference is given to show on what authority the author relies for some of his categorical statements. His 260 pages are unaccompanied by a single note ; and though the reader is thankful never to be distracted from the even tenor of his perusal by tiresome references at the bottom of the page, he is left under the impression that, while the writer possesses undoubtedly an accurate knowledge of the successive situations he so skilfully delineates, some of his conclusions are perhaps derived more from his inner consciousness than from any definite documentary source. On the whole the book is flattering to the self-esteem of the British reader. His country is represented as the principal factor in world movements, being credited with a degree of intuition, prescience, and unswerving perseverance in the attainment of her ends which he would hardly dare to claim for her. The following passage, taken at random, may serve as an example:

"Lord Salisbury's proposal"—advances made to Germany in 1895—"shows once more the whole vast scope and the far-seeing character of English policy; how it adopts aims which are perfectly clear and definite, yet never loses sight of its main object, using each new situation towards the attainment of that object, and shaping all its actions single-mindedly to the gaining and securing of England's position as a world power."

At home it is sometimes said that Great Britain's place in the world has been gained not so much by her adherence to a fixed and definite plan as by a certain suppleness in adopting, when in difficulties, the line of least resistance.

However this may be, the book affords very interesting reading. There is no new revelation, but the known facts are linked up in an illuminating manner, and an unbroken narrative is presented of the principal events of Near Eastern history in recent times.

The author naturally devotes a good deal of space to the incursion of Germany into Eastern politics after the accession of the Emperor William II. In the previous period Bismarck had advisedly abstained from taking a leading part in the affairs of the Levant. He described himself as rather pro-British in Egypt and pro-Russian in the Straits; but he refused to be drawn into any definite line of policy not obviously conducing to the consolidation at home of the Empire he had created. Herr Rohde deplores the departure subsequently made by Germany from this cautious attitude. Germany, he holds, was led to seek expansion eastwards by aims purely economic, forgetting that a policy exclusively economic and unaccompanied by political and military power is doomed to failure. Her great enterprise, the Bagdad railway, was beyond her capacity. Her final discomfiture was largely due to the fact that her only supporters were two Powers, each rotten to the core—namely, Austria and Turkey.

No attempt can here be made to summarize the contents of this work, but attention may perhaps be directed to the dramatic account which it contains of the post-war period in the Levant. Great Britain, in military control of the Asiatic territories of the old Turkish Empire, sought at first to make sure of the land bridge to India, which is regarded by the author as being one of her chief preoccupations. With this end in view she imposed a Treaty on Persia (August, 1919) which amounted virtually to a protectorate. Next she approached Mustafa Kemal with proposals of a similar kind. On these being scornfully rejected, she determined that Turkey must be reduced to impotence. Hence the Treaty of Sèvres, to be enforced on Turkey by Greece, now in military possession of the Smyrna region. Behind Greece stood Great Britain; behind Turkey, France. The outcome is too well known. Herr Rohde describes it as a triumph of French over British policy, and he regards the Treaty of Sèvres as a turning-point of history. It confirmed the East in its determination to stand up against the civilization of Europe. Greece was expelled with ignominy from Asia Minor. Russia was drawn into a kind of Quadruple Alliance with Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan. Revolts broke out in India and Egypt. The Treaty of Sèvres was torn to shreds, the first wedge being thus driven into the solid block of the Peace Treaties. The Treaty of Lausanne followed, giving

Turkey all she wanted, but leaving Great Britain, nevertheless, thanks to her skilful handling of the Arab factor, in the position once more of the dominant Power in the Levant.

MAURICE DE BUNSEN.

THE DARVISHES. By John P. Brown, edited by H. A. Rose. Oxford University Press. 18s.

Sixty years have passed since Mr. John P. Brown, at Constantinople, wrote the preface to his work on the Dervishes, published in the following year. A new edition has long been badly needed, and Mr. H. A. Rose, who has undertaken the task, has accomplished an excellent piece of work which gives evidence of much patient research. It is only those who have made some attempt to wade through the mass of traditions, legends, and miracles, with all their discrepancies, in Persian, Turkish, or Arabic, original or translated, which the subject involves, who can realize the difficulty of such an undertaking. It is perhaps questionable whether it would not have been better to retain the original title of the Dervishes, or if a change was to be made to have adopted that of the Darwīshes.

Many travellers, not only students, especially to Egypt, where perhaps more visitors than those to any other Mohammedan countries witness the exercises of the Dervishes (the "Whirlers" and "Howlers"), would be glad to know more of the inner life of the fraternities whose *tekkiehs* they visit. But Brown's work, with all its merits, was the despair of those who consulted it, owing to its want of method, its misspellings and repetitions, and the want of an index, which were the causes of constant perplexity. The author, as the editor says, was "unfortunate in the choice of a scholar who saw his book through the press," and "lacked access to a good library, and other advantages." But perhaps, as Mr. Rose says, this very deprivation had its advantages, as the work "is based on information gleaned by laborious inquiries at first hand." It was more easy, in order to obtain a condensed account of the subject, to turn from the guide-book to Lane's "Modern Egyptians," to Lane's "Thousand and One Nights" (especially the notes to chap. iii.) to the Encyclopædia Britannica, and to Hughes' "Dictionary of Islam" under the terms Faquir and Sufi. A *faqír* (poor) is a man poor in the sight of God, whose mercy he needs ; and under that term the dictionary gives its information regarding the Dervish orders.

There are many besides students who would like to have a condensed account of the relations between the Dervishes and Islam, since they are told that the latter disowns the former, and to learn how they "vindicated to themselves," to quote Palgrave, "a sufficient, though not unquestioned, reputation for orthodoxy much as Becky Sharp established her own disputed reputation by presentation at Court." Volumes, of course, could be written on the subject.

It was certain that the mystic orders would come into conflict with the orthodox Ulema, and sometimes with the civil authorities, at different times and places, not only because they tended to lead astray their adepts from the austere and simple purity of the Muslim creed, but because it transpired that some of the fraternities countenanced practices which would sap the foundations of morality. It was equally certain that the teachings of the Sufis could be shown to conform to the inner spirit of Islam. Many devout Mohammedans joined the ranks of the Sufis : no one more eminent than the Imam Ghazzáli, who did so much to bring Sufism into line with orthodoxy. In his "Confessions," as translated by Claud Field, he pays the following tribute to the Sufi life : "I learnt from a sure source that the Sufis are the true pioneers on the path of God: that there is nothing more beautiful than their life, nor more praiseworthy than their rule of conduct, nor purer than their morality. The intelligence of thinkers, the wisdom of philosophers, the knowledge of the most learned doctors of the law, would in vain combine their efforts in order to modify or improve their doctrine and morals. It would be impossible. And what other light could shine on the face of the earth? In a word, what can one criticize in them?"

While various orders have been at times subjected to persecution and attempted suppression, some have enjoyed much favour. Sultans and princes have given their patronage. Turkish sultans have been affiliated to their fraternities. Thus Mahmoud II. joined the Mevlevis. In Egypt members of the Khedive's family have been affiliated to the Mevlevi and Bektashi orders, to which rich presents have been made by their harems.

The ninety-nine names of the Deity include those of *Ez-Zāhir* (the clear) and *El-Batin* (the secret or hidden), Numbers 75 and 76. In the distinction between these two is contained the essence of the difference between orthodoxy and philosophic sufism, or dervishism. While Mohammed condemned celibacy, and would have no monks in Islam, sanction can be found for all the main doctrines of the brotherhoods. The Sufi is a Muslim and something more. The Muslim is "a bird with one wing"; the Sufi is one with two, by which he can soar to heights unknown to the former, and unknowable except to those who have reached them through faculties out of the reach of reason. The esoteric meanings of the divinely given Kurán were known to the Prophet, and handed down through Ali and other Khalífehs to the mystic sheikhs, whose knowledge transcends that of the ordinary uninitiated Muslim. There are endless differences of opinion among the Ulema. There are *Zahir* sheikhs and *Batin* sheikhs.

The term Dervish has come to cover a wide field; and while some may be proud of it, others would reject it. At the one extreme is the Sufi, with his lofty ideals. At the other are found the "poor but honest" mendicant, but also a tribe including hypocrites and impostors, who have always been objects of ridicule, pity, or contempt. In all countries there are many who merely seek to lead an idle life, and to evade military service. Many jocose tales have been told at their expense. The story of the ass's grave, which became the shrine of a venerated sheikh, duly finds its place, and occupies fifteen pages.

To the average mind probably the word Dervish suggests thoughts of the hordes of so-called Dervishes of the Sudanese Mahdi, and again of the Senussieh (Sanusyah) fraternities, of whom no mention seems to be made. A good account of them is given in Canon Sell's "Religious Orders of Islam." More might be said of missionary and propaganda work, which is so largely carried on by this and other proselytizing orders. To the Christian missionary the Ulema and the Dervishes are often said to be the chief opponents of reforms. There seems to be no reference to the division, especially in India, to *bi-shara* and *ba-shara* Dervishes: to those who follow the law, and those who are free thinkers.

There is much valuable information in the editor's introduction, and in his notes throughout the volume. To the question whether any of the Turkish industrial guilds originated in the religious fraternities, no positive reply, he says, can be given. The orders have at times given support to the Sheikh-el Islam, when resisting arbitrary acts of rulers. It may be added that they have served as a refuge for political fugitives, and sheltered the persecuted. The influence of some fraternities before and after the Seljuk Turks is mentioned. To many it will be new to learn that there is an order, or school, which admits women. The *Doseh*, or Treading, in Egypt, in which the Sheikh of the Saadieh order rode a horse over the prostrate bodies of Dervishes and others, is mentioned as if still practised. It was abolished by the Khedive Tewfik.

There is but little alteration in the text of the original work. Chapter xii. is not reproduced, notes on the orders by Lane being found in their place elsewhere. The long list of Tekkiehs (Tekkés), or convents in Constantinople, including Scutari, is rightly relegated to an appendix (iii.) where, with the editor's valuable notes, it occupies twenty-five pages. The list can probably be of little value henceforth, unless it be for the curious who may visit, or search for, the old haunts.

Wherever the traveller goes in Muslim lands he comes across little domed tombs of reputed saints. But of these, who forget God, the poet El Bedri el-Hejazi, quoted by Lane, says :

"When he" (one of them) "dies they make for him a place of visitation, and strangers and Arabs hurry thither in crowds :
Some of them kiss his tomb, and some kiss the threshold of the door, and the very dust.
Thus do the idolators act towards their images, hoping so to obtain their favour."

To Mr. Rose much gratitude is due for the welcome appearance of the new edition, and for the painstaking manner in which he has carried out a very difficult task. Indeed, one may well wish that he could have rearranged the whole work.

THE AO NAGAS. By J. P. Mills, M.A., Indian Civil Service. (Macmillan and Co.)

This book is the twelfth volume of the series of tribal monographs which is being published by the Government of Assam in accordance with instructions drawn up early in the century for an ethnographic survey of India, and is the second volume dealing with this particular tribe. It is not quite clear why the Aos should have been twice described, and we cannot help thinking that had Mr. Mills's volume been ready a year or so earlier, that of Dr. W. C. Smith, which was published in 1925, would not have been accorded a place in the series; not that it was not worth publishing, but because Mr. Mills, writing as he did while living among the Aos and after a long sojourn in the Naga Hills, has produced so very complete an account of the tribe that no other is necessary.

It is a subject for congratulation that the members of the Governor's council, with whom the provision of funds for the publication of the series rests, have sufficient wisdom and foresight to realize that the money thus spent will bring in a good return. We do not refer to the scientific value of the books, nor do we propose in this review to deal, except in passing, with the contents of "The Ao Nagas" from an ethnographical standpoint. Members of this Society are, we venture to think, not uninterested in ethnography and anthropology; but there are journals that are specially devoted to those subjects, while the Central Asian Society is mainly concerned with practical politics, and therefore with the future of these tribes as members of the British Empire. From this point of view these monographs are of extreme value. Mr. Henry Balfour, M.A., F.R.S., who contributes a valuable foreword to Mr. Mills's book, speaks of these volumes "as a means of understanding and evaluating the status and potentialities of these 'unrisen' peoples, a prime factor in promoting and facilitating an enlightened, sympathetic, and just administration," and all who have had experience of dealing with these strange folk will endorse his opinion.

The frequent costly military expeditions have become things of the past, and this may safely be attributed to the policy of which these monographs are the outward and visible sign—namely, the encouraging of local officers to study their people closely, whereby they have come to understand them better, and have also learnt to influence and to some extent control the tribes beyond the border by less clumsy and cheaper means. The Assam Government will therefore, we feel sure, receive a good return for its expenditure, and we trust will continue issuing these books until all the tribes in and around its borders have been dealt with.

It might be thought that tribes living in close proximity would resemble one another in social structure, laws, and customs sufficiently to render detailed studies of each unnecessary for purposes of administration, but such is not the case. The Angamis are the most democratic of communities, and have a very highly developed system of terraced cultivation, with elaborate land laws; while adjoining them are the Semas, who are governed by chiefs each of whom, Dr. Hutton tells us, has an almost feudal position as lord of the manor of his village, and who cultivate on the jhum system. The Angami oath, if taken with all proper ceremony, is considered so sacred that false oaths are seldom taken, and many cases are settled in that way; but a Thado has no such fear, and will take any oath you demand if he thinks that he will benefit thereby. In such a matter as the rules of inheritance there is the greatest difference. An Angami can modify the customary disposal of his property by verbal directions, whereas an Ao has no such power—all his sons must inherit equally; while among the Lhotas, though property goes exclusively to male heirs, the need of the heirs is the primary consideration in the division. The eldest son, who has married and settled down, will get less than the youngest, who has all the expenses of getting married and of performing various ceremonies in front of him. An eminently sensible system, which is said to work excellently. The policy of our administration is to interfere as little as possible with the system of government and the customs of the different tribes, and therefore the great value of these monographs, which can be safely accepted by officers, new to the district, as authoritative guides, will easily be realized.

There are some customs with which it has been necessary to interfere, such as head-hunting, and the torturing of animals before sacrificing them, and the plucking alive of fowls, which used to be part of certain semi-religious ceremonies; but all Government officers are agreed on the importance of maintaining all harmless customs, and here they and the members of the American Baptist Mission differ.

Dr. Hutton and Mr. Mills even regret that it has been necessary to stop head-hunting, and seem almost inclined to think its prohibition was a mistake. Mr. Mills writes: "Life for the Ao, now that head-hunting is abolished, may be less strained, but it is certainly more drab. Much of the spice is gone. No more the thrill of the raid and counter-raid. He is a poor sort of man who does not at times feel a longing for risk." Which reminds us of a friend from whom we parted out Wipers way, and met years after with a bank counter between us, who, in reply to an enquiry as to his welfare, said, "Oh! all right. They kept my job open for me. It's all right, but d——d dull. By Jove, Colonel, I often find myself wishing a shell would drop at the end of the street."

Mr. Mills points out that head-hunting keeps people braced and alert, which must redound to their good, and he explains that this advantage is gained at very little cost, for in Naga wars casualty lists are not long. Tamlu and Nam-sang, two villages on opposite sides of the same valley, fought for sixteen years, at the end of which the combined casualties totalled four. "There were raids innumerable, but neither could catch the other napping, and an attack is never pressed home against an enemy who is ready."

The same views have been put forward by other writers,* and Dr. W. C. Smith, although once a member of the American Baptist Mission, admits that head-hunting had its good points, and critically observes: "Some new avenue should have been developed for satisfying the desire for recognition, lest they should become disorganized and lose interest in life," and tells us that in the Philippines the United States Government introduced baseball "as a wholesome substitute." With the same intention no doubt the missionaries in the Naga Hills have introduced football in their schools, but, unfortunately, they are doing everything in their power in other ways to deprive the Naga of everything that made life worth living to his forefathers.

The Aos are fond of singing, and every festival is enlivened by songs. "Not only are the traditions of the past enshrined in their songs, but any notable event of the present day is similarly celebrated." The old men are in the habit of reciting tales of the feats of the great men of the past when the whole village is assembled at these great festivals, many of which are feasts of merit, to perform which was the ambition of every Ao, for thereby he left a name which would be sung at future festivals to the honour of his descendants. For these festivals elaborate costumes have to be made and intricate dances have to be learnt. By celebrating these feasts the right to wear cloths of special pattern and to affix certain ornaments to their houses is gained. These cloths and the dance costumes are highly artistic, and the carvings on the "morungs" (bachelor's houses), though in some respects crude, are highly effective. These home industries ought surely to be encouraged; they give the people an interest in life, they develop their artistic taste, and afford healthy relaxation from the monotonous round of daily life, yet it is just these features of Naga life that the American missionaries are doing their best to abolish because they are considered heathenish; and Mr. Mills says: "What care the well-oiled youths of the Impur Mission Training School for the foolish traditions of their ignorant heathen forebears? To bury the past is the tendency of the semi-educated generation which is growing up. Christians never join in the old songs; they are definitely forbidden to do so, I believe."

Dr. Hutton, the Deputy Commissioner in charge of the Naga Hills, suggests that "the native taste for colour and brilliant effects which the Naga possesses should be turned to the glory of God instead of being regarded as an offence before Him." He would have "the insignia of renown in war made badges of rank in the congregation; the bright cloths worn as a reward for the giving of feasts of merit retained by the Christians for their own acts of social service, and the deacons and pastors encouraged to wear hornbill feathers and cowrie aprons as badges of office, and the members of the congregation urged to come in their best native get-up, and the talents of the wood-carvers exercised in the ornamentation of the church instead of the 'morung.'" These measures, Dr. Hutton says, can hardly dishonour the Deity, "while the villages would not be deprived of the brilliant festivities which at present do so much, where Christianity has not destroyed them, to brighten the dull monotony of village life."

Unfortunately, the missionaries are not content with attending to the souls of their flock, but also aspire to covering their bodies with the garments of a more civilized cut, but entirely unsuited to the climate and mode of life and occupation of a Naga who lives a natural life. Mr. Mills gives three very good reasons for characterizing this insistence on the adoption of civilized clothing as the greatest of the mistakes made by the missionaries. As regards the prohibition of rice beer, we are inclined to doubt the wisdom when we read that the common drink of converts is tea-dust and tea-house sweepings boiled up, diluted with cold water, sugar and milk being rarely added. Sometimes the white of an egg, frequently past its prime, beaten up, is used instead of milk! No wonder that Mr. Mills tells us that Ao Christians have discovered substitutes for the drink of their forefathers, such as opium, distilled liquor, and rectified spirits of wine, which they said it did them good to sip as medicine "when their chests hurt."

---

* *Cf.* Rivers, "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia," p. 101 *sqq.*; Kingdon Ward, "In Farthest Burma," p. 285; T. J. MacMahon, in the *Blue Peter* (July and August, 1922).

Was it to obtain scriptural backing for their teaching that the translators of the New Testament into the Ao language have translated *οἶνος* in 1 Peter iv. 3, "excess of wine," as *yi zumugo—i.e.*, drank rice beer; but the same word where the context is favourable to its use is translated *tzukmenatsu tzu*, which implies the unfermented grape-juice used by them in administering the Sacrament. Another curious mistranslation which Mr. Mills brings to notice is James v. 20: "shall save his soul from death" has been translated by Ao words which mean "shall save his soul from hell-fire"; and Mr. Mills tells us that all Ao Christians firmly believe that their non-Christian brethren are doomed to burn for ever and ever, a doctrine which a member of the Mission told Mr. Mills he himself held and taught. To escape this awful fate many Aos, when sick or getting old, become converts, and others change their religion to escape certain unpleasant consequences of following the customs of their forefathers. Then their souls yearn for *madhu*, and they rejoin the non-Christians; later they may change their minds and give up *madhu*, and be readmitted into the Baptist Church. Dr. Hutton in a note mentions that an old Ao friend of his has done six months each way, turn and turn about, during the last three years. A most worthy Ao Vicar of Bray! In contrast to whom let us quote the words of a brave Chang Naga, who said to Mr. Mills with reference to the teaching of the missionaries: "Even if their words are true, am I a coward that I should fear to join my father and mother and suffer whatever torments they may be suffering? If they can bear them, cannot I?" For whom will the trumpets sound loudest? For Kingsley's Viking old Wulf, dying unbaptized in Spain, and our gallant Chang, or for that old Vicar of Bray with his six months turn and turn about.

Mr. Mills tells us that at the last census in 1921 no less than 1,180 persons, more than one-eighth of the total of the Christians, returned themselves as "sitters in the middle"—that is, people with no religion at all. They had been Christians, but had left or been turned out of the Baptist community, and had as yet not rejoined the faith of their fathers. Naturally, when missionaries acquiesce in these lightning changes of religion, the idea is spreading that it does not matter much what a man believes, and Christianity is spoken of as "a set of customs," and to many Aos it can mean little more. This must have a most disastrous effect on the tribe, and Mr. Mills asks what England would be like if a large proportion of the population was continually changing from the creed of Mahomet to that of Christ and back again. One sad effect of the teaching of the American missionaries is a loss of the sense of humour, and Mr. Mills was able to pick out a large number Christians without making one mistake, in the course of an evening stroll down the village street, by their solemn faces and dowdy appearance. A more serious charge is that Ao

Christians are inclined to place their individual convenience above the common good, and that very few Christian Aos were prepared to leave the comforts and security of their homes to face the unknown dangers and hardships of service in France with the Naga Labour Corps. A great contrast to the Lushai Christians, who, led by their Welsh parson, provided a strong contingent.

Having dealt thus faithfully with the missionaries, it behoves us to record that Mr. Mills reports that Christians are cleaner, more honest, and less vindictive and quarrelsome, save in matters of religion, and after marriage are stricter than the others, though divorces, some for very trivial reasons, are pretty frequent.

Mr. Mills gives in an appendix a very interesting account of the lines on which the Naga Hills are run. The area of the district must be between three and four thousand square miles, about half that of Wales, and is just as mountainous as that principality. The population is sparse, under 200,000; but it is divided into thirteen tribes, each with its own language, customs, and system of government. The people live in villages scattered fairly evenly about the district, so that the two civil officers responsible for peace and order of the district have to be constantly on the move, for they must keep in personal touch with the people as much as they can. The duties of Deputy Commissioner and his assistant, the subdivisional officer of Mokokchung, are to assess and collect taxes, settle disputes, and look after the well-being of the area in general. The Deputy Commissioner has powers equivalent to those of a Sessions Judge. Justice is administered in the spirit of the Indian penal code, but not by its letter. Chiefs, headmen, councillors, or other heads of communities dispose of cases if they are not of a very serious nature, but appeal lies to the officer in charge of the subdivision. Labour is requisitioned for public purposes, road-making, buildings, etc., but is paid for. If the Naga can no longer take his neighbour's head, neither can his neighbour take his, and this immunity extends to about two days' journey beyond our frontier, so great is the prestige of the "Burra Sahib" of Kohima. The district has been fairly opened up by the construction of good bridle-paths, and the rivers have been bridged. Mr. Mills describes briefly the difficulties that have been overcome in adjusting the disputes between Christians and non-Christians, the chief of which has been over the performance of village duties, payment of village dues, and observance of communal tabus.

The impression that we gain from studying this appendix is that these two officers must have quite enough work to keep them busy, and that they must be extremely interested in their people to devote enough time to the study of them and their manners and customs to produce such excellent volumes as Dr. Hutton and Mr. Mills have done. It is also clear that the Hills are run on sensible lines, the Government at Shillong being content with laying down the general lines of policy without interfering with the local officers in matters of detail, which is the only sound system with these wild folk, with whom the ruler must be a personality, not a mere name. We have used the term "wild folk," but anyone who studies the account of the laws and customs of the Aos will realize that, though they may not be civilized according to our standards, they are a very long way removed from savages; and it is just because their present system of tribal government and internal economy and also their mode of life in general is so well suited to their environment that we consider the American missionaries are so wrong in their efforts to destroy much that they can never replace.

One reason why our officers are so successful in dealing with "wild tribes" is, we think, because they seem always to get fond of their own particular people, and Mr. Mills is no exception. Though he does admit that "to like the Ao one must know him long and well," he defends them effectively against all accusations, one of which is lack of courage, in reply to which he points out that they did well in the operations against the Kukis, and sent a big contingent of volunteers to face utterly unknown dangers of service in France, who rendered good service in the Naga Labour Corps. In considering this matter of courage, it is well to remember that an Englishman who is killed in battle is looked on as a hero, his name is honoured, his descendants mention it with pride, and no sect teaches that such a death diminishes his chance of happiness beyond the grave. With the Naga warrior it is very different. Death in battle is shameful, and "a man whose head is taken brings shame upon his family and misery upon his own spirit, which is earth-bound till the victor dies and takes it as a slave to the next world." Surely we should all take off our hats to all Nagas who under these circumstances go forth to battle, even if they do look after their own lives carefully while on a raid.

We trust that we have shown that Mr. Mills's book, and in fact all the books of this series, contain much that is of interest and value to the general reader, especially to those who are interested in the welfare of their fellow-subjects of King George.

The illustrations are numerous and good, there are two good maps, an index covering sixty double-columned pages, and the whole is turned out in Messrs. Macmillan's best style. J. S.

LEAVES FROM A VICEROY'S NOTEBOOK. By the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K.G. (Macmillan and Co.) Price 28s.

This new book by Lord Curzon is rather a revelation. It is neither profound in matter nor treatment, nor bulky in size. It is just a delightful collection of stories told with a distinct touch of humour. Each chapter is, in fact, a little story of some incident or event which pleased him. They not only show characteristic sidelights on the habits and customs of India, Egypt, and Persia, but they reveal somewhat intimately Lord Curzon in bending mood—Lord Curzon reveals himself, in fact.

The thing that strikes one most in reading the "Viceroy's Notebook" is his subtle sense of fun. Who would have thought it to look at him, or even casually to talk to him? The volume is light, and his chapter on the inappropriateness of certain hymns, about which he was particularly learned, his delightful description of his arrival at the Portuguese State of Goa, and quickly learning a sentence in Portuguese at the banquet because no one present understood English or French, are clever descriptions of scenes he lived.

He tells a good story and he tells it against himself, such as the holding up of a grand function because his sun hat could not be found, and finally being retrieved from the cook-pot.

In India in 1920 I was always hearing of Lord Curzon's more serious work, especially his restoration of ancient buildings. One day Mr. Malcolm Hailey kindly motored Mr. Hylton Young, M.P. (the former has now attained the prefix of "Sir" to his name), and myself out to Kutb and the Humayun's tomb near Delhi, where Mr. Hailey explained how Lord Curzon had swept away all the dirty corners, the rubbish heaps, and the human garbage, till then lurking in every corner. He had found new ground plots for this impecunious humanity, scraped away the black fire smoke from those pink walls, grown grass, and planted trees. It was a great work that Curzon did for the antiquities of India, and always with respect and reverence.

Lavish in many ways, a Viceroy who demanded regal state, pompous, awe-inspiring, and extravagant in display, he did the funniest little things.

In 1924, after circling the globe, with many side-tracks, I was back in India visiting the superb white marble Victoria Museum in Calcutta, so superb outside, and so void of light and stairways inside. I was shown a picture of one of the builders of India which Lord Curzon had just sent out to enrich the collection of the famous makers of that enthralling land of colour and surprises. It was an oil-painting, more important for its subject than for its craftsmanship, and with it had come the late Viceroy's orders and a sketch denoting exactly on which wall he thought it should be placed. Curzon possessed a wondrous memory and was great at details. The picture had just been hung, and his suggested space had been found quite suitable, then—yes, then came the bill which accompanied it. The picture and packing and freight had cost a few pounds and some odd shillings, if I remember rightly, and that wealthy man expected payment for this trifling sum. He often sent things to the museum and he always sent the bill—just a strange little idiosyncrasy of the rich!

Lord Curzon, besides being profound and a colossal worker and quibbler for detail, had wide visions. His brain conceived big subjects, and once in the saddle he galloped hard for attainment.

The fine home of the Royal Geographical Society facing Hyde Park owes much to this master-mind, and he looked the essence of power, contentment, attainment, and human success as he received the Fellows at Lowther Lodge on the opening night.

His book does not mention these funny little sidelights, but, after all, the inner man is revealed by such things. The book is an amusing compilation by an amazing man whose brain could seldom have been idle, and whose work in many walks of life did much to mould the history of his time; yet the keynote of this last book is both light and amusing. MRS. ALEC TWEEDIE.

BEYOND THE KHYBER PASS. Lowell Thomas. (Hutchinson.) 18s.

A globe-trotter's book on the North-West Frontier of India is nothing new, and is often well illustrated and written with picturesqueness, but Mr. Lowell Thomas's "Beyond the Khyber Pass" is something more than that. It is a really glowing and sympathetic account of the frontier, its troops, and its tribesmen, describing a motor tour from Baluchistan, Dera Ismail Khan, and the frontier road to Peshawur, and thence up the Khaiber to Kabul, a trip for which the necessary permits had taken two years' hard work to obtain. The author is a master of descriptive writing, as he who told the story of Lawrence in Arabia must needs be. Tank, Kazmak, the Tochi, Kohat, Peshawur, all pass in effective and sympathetic review. Perhaps as the journey starts the American is a little inclined to gird unconsciously at the lofty position of the British, guiding and controlling this immense land; but long before even Peshawur is reached his sympathy is very fully given to those who keep watch and ward and sit on the safety valve. He is surely seized of the romance of the frontier. No "Piffer" could have imbibed it more. Listen: "Who shall say in what the fascination lies? The grey hills that jag into the turquoise sky, the little green valleys, the mournful beauty of the dawns and twilights, the majestic cirque of hills that girds the fertile plain of Peshawur, the sunlit plain of Kohat as it stretches out from the pass, the desolate gorges and snowy saltpetre of the river by Bahadur Khel—these things weave a spell, in recollection anyway, that will hold the memory when many more beautiful scenes are forgotten." It is not possible to see it clearer than that!

We need not follow Mr. Thomas and his fanatic photographer, Harry Chase, in their frontier epic. The photographs are extremely well selected, and are more than typical. Some of the types of Mahsud and Wazir and Afridi are devilish in their selection of the more ruthless types. Towers, forts, and tombs are all more than well selected. Speaking of the relief of quitting Waziristan the author says: "As we view it from afar, it comes back to us as the very navel of bedevilment. Surely the men who guard such plague spots on Britain's 'far flung battle-line' deserve much gratitude from stay-at-home Englishmen . . . more indeed than they are likely to get." All of which is very true, except that just for the moment there are few stay-at-home Britons of mature age, and a good many London bus drivers even have seen the Khaiber in summer.

The talk of Kabul, still a city of romance to the last two generations, is especially fascinating, and to show how the traveller has sensed some of true inwardness of the British position in India, *vis-à-vis* India itself and Central Asia—the following amusing dicta of his acquaintance the Faraz Bashi at his quarters in Kabul may be quoted:

"My friend the Faraz Bashi was consuming a canteloup and looking over the hazy purple mountains that rose against the turquoise of approaching twilight. He pointed to the crescent moon lately risen over the ruins of the Balar Hissar. 'The sickle of the true believers shall reap the harvest of faith,' he said. 'At last Afghanistan is safe. Neither Britain nor Russia would dare attack us. Persia cannot, for she is too weak. In the next decade we may be able to go down to Hindustan and place the yoke of Islam upon the necks of the fat and infidel rajahs, who dress like women, with pearls in their hair and bells on their trousers.'

"'And shall you take India?' I asked.

"'Inshallah, if God wills,' said the Faraz Bashi, pouting a big chest. 'For India needs a master; he will come through the glades of Kaniguram and the cane-brakes of Bannu and the rose-gardens of Peshawur.'

"'Does His Majesty approve of the idea of attacking India?'

"'Kings keep their own counsel. . . . Kings know the wisdom of Solomon, who said there is a time to embrace England and a time to refrain from embracing her. . . ."

"So the Afghan waits with the patience of the Oriental for something to turn up. A revolution in India, for instance, will find him in Peshawur."

Mr. Lowell Thomas talks very good talk, and it would cheer him to learn how Peshawur was held in '57 in just such a juncture. The whole talk of the progressive Kabul of to-day and all the foreign Ministers, and of the modern young Amir and his ambitions, are by no means the least effective portion of the book. G. MacMunn.

Memoirs of Halidé Edib. (John Murray and Co.) 21s.

The authoress is comparatively unknown to the English-reading public, except to those persons who have special knowledge of modern Turkey. The memoirs of Halidé Edib Hanoum throw no fresh light on the political events which took place during the period which she covers, since her explanations and criticisms of these events differ in no way from the stereotyped opinions held by the modern Turkish nationalist.

However, the book appeals in other ways—firstly, in the charming pen-picture of the life of a young Turkish girl during the time of Abdul Hamid, and secondly, the tracing of the intellectual growth of the modern Turkish woman with liberal ideas, of which the authoress is the most brilliant example. We see in her mental development the desire to throw off the yoke of oriental religious fanaticism and blind conservatism, which is interpreted in an ardent desire for the progress of her people along the lines of Western culture and civilization.

In all this she shows herself to be an advanced democrat, yet her conception of democracy is coupled with a strong nationalism; thus she says: "I will almost admit that there is a narrow, negative, and destructive nationalism in the world which has deluded itself with the belief that a nation can only grow and thrive by exterminating and oppressing the peoples under its rule, or by conquering and suppressing the nations around it. Both are forms of wrongly understood nationalism which can be called by the name of Chauvinism and Imperialism." Again she says: "Nationalism used for political purposes is an ideal turned into a monstrosity." One can only hope that these words will sink into the minds of those of Halidé Edib's compatriots who are responsible for the government of Turkey to-day, especially as regards the treatment of the minorities which still remain in Turkey, and as regards Turkey's relations with foreign Powers. In this respect we see the broad spirit of tolerance all through Halidé Edib's life, especially in her affection for her Greek nurse and her friendship for the Armenian priest Goumitas. Commenting on the Exchange of Populations, which formed part of the Treaty of Lausanne, she says: "Although the younger nationalists tried to disregard religion in the national ego, in practice they have been far from doing so. There are purely Turkish Orthodox Christians who were exchanged by the Lausanne Treaty because of their Church difference. And it is strange to think that Riza Nour Bey, who was one of the Turkish delegates, signed the Treaty, although he is a strong nationalist, on the basis of origin and language."

The minority question in Turkey is too complicated to discuss here, and such discussion would be out of place. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the Turks have had the greatest provocation from their Greek and Armenian minorities. However, one cannot help feeling that if Turkish statesmen had possessed the same breadth of outlook and enlightenment as Halidé Edib Hanoum, they would have found some other solution to the problem than that of massacre. The broader political issues between the great Christian Powers, their divergent interests and even petty jealousies, were responsible for much as regards the massacre of the Christians by the Turks and the Turks by the Christians in retaliation. As regards the petty jealousies between the different sects composing Christendom in Turkey, Halidé Edib Hanoum recounts the following incident, which is as shameful as it is ridiculous. Whilst in Jerusalem, she entered a church connected with the Virgin. She says: "Those ancient churches and consecrated spots (in Jerusalem) had no peace. One felt that all these many creeds and peoples were trying to have them to themselves and were ready to jump at each other's throats at any moment. . . . The Turk alone had a calm, impartial, and quiet look. He divided these spots justly among them all, and stood calmly watching, stopping bloody quarrels and preventing bloody riots in holy places." In this particular church she found a Turk, the guardian of the carpet, marking off the place of each particular creed. He was there to stop any brawls which might occur between the different Christian sects. In reply to a question by Halidé Edib Hanoum, he said: "They would murder each other in an instant if they saw that one crossed the boundary by much as a hair-breadth. See that window? It was black with the dirt and cobwebs of ages. None dared touch it. Each asserted the right of cleaning it. But an attempt to do so on the part of any would have meant a wholesale massacre." "Who washed it at last?" she asked. He smiled as he answered. "Enver Pasha came two months ago. He saw the dirty state, and he called the heads of the creeds and asked them to wash it. There was an instant row as to who should hold the brush and who should carry the water. Then the Pasha said: 'The Turkish soldiers are the guardians of the place, they shall wash it,' and it was cleaned in half an hour."

The second half of Halidé Edib's book regarding her educational activities in Syria is even more interesting that the first half. Not only does she give a vivid picture of the country through which she passed, but she shows that she was imbued with the highest motives of charity and toleration of all classes and creeds in the cause of humanity, apart from which she shows herself, by the results obtained, to have been a first-class organizer and a profound student of the theory of education.

In conclusion, one cannot help alluding to the present political exile of the authoress and her husband, Dr. Adnan Bey. No one worked harder and more loyally than these two people, under the banner of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, during the Turkish War of Independence. It is deplorable, in the higher interests of Turkey, that Dr. Adnan Bey should have been arraigned before the Turkish Tribunal of Independence in the autumn of last year on a charge of conspiracy against the State and against the person of the Ghazi, and that, although acquitted, he and his wife cannot return to Turkey in safety at the present time. Halidé Edib does not allude to these events in her Memoirs; she tells us of all her sufferings and disappointments, but surely this exile from her country, which she lives to serve, must be the cruellest of all. In the epilogue of her Memoirs she says of the period between the Armistice of Mudros and the Treaty of Lausanne: "How the new era began, and what was the scene enacted must be told as a separate tale—the tale of one of the greatest epics of modern Europe." Perhaps Halidé Edib will tell us in that volume why she and her husband cannot return to Turkey to carry on the good work they have begun.

The curious part is that there is no fundamental difference of opinion between them and the present rulers of Turkey, but it seems that the latter have not yet learnt the value of team work, and that there is room for everyone who is prepared to work, not in the interests of self, but for the common weal.

It would appear that even among the newest, but perhaps not the most enlightened, republic petty jealousies exist as in every State. Possibly she had something of this in mind when she wrote on p. 124: "A despot is not a real despot if he is not jealous of every popular talent not exclusively used for his royal pleasure, and permitted to the public only through him."

Ancient Cities of Iraq. By Dorothy Mackay. (The Bookshop, Baghdad.)

In her foreword to this little book the author truly remarks that to appreciate the flat and dusty plains of Iraq it is necessary to have the eye of faith and the gift of imagination. Endowed with these the traveller, though at first depressed by the monotonous expanse of the Iraq landscape, gradually comes to feel the subtle and mysterious influence which, as the author says, the country exercises over all who try to understand it. Nor must the visitor expect to find in the ruined cities of Iraq the same interest and attraction which he may have felt in viewing the relics of the past in other parts of the world. The interest is there, but it is of another kind. One is impressed, first of all, with the remote antiquity of these ruins. According to the chronology at the end of the book, Kish, the site of which the Oxford and Chicago Expedition is now excavating, was the first capital after the Flood.

Many of these ancient cities and peoples are mentioned in the books of the Old Testament in passages describing the relations between Israel and Judah and Assyria.

Who that gazes upon the mounds which alone remain to mark the site of the once proud city of Nineveh can fail to call to mind the fiery denunciation of the prophet Nahum: "Thy shepherds slumber, O King of Assyria: thy nobles shall dwell in the dust: thy people is scattered upon the mountains and no man gathereth them"; or who can visit Babylon without thinking of the Jewish captivity: "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion"?

In perusing this book one is struck, too, by the complete devastation and obliteration which has overtaken so many powerful nations and cities. Of Selucia, the once important capital of Seleucus, the successor of Alexander the Great, which numbered half a million inhabitants, nothing remains but "a few insignificant mounds, that are little worthy of a visit," to quote the author's words; while what remains of the famous seven-staged Tower of Babel lies at the bottom of a large hole.

The combined efforts of scholars and excavators are gradually bringing to light much of the past history of this ancient land which was at one time considered lost. It was our countryman, Sir Henry Rawlinson, who gave such an impetus to cuneiform decipherment by the translation of the celebrated trilingual inscription of Darius at Behistun in 1851.

What modern excavators are now doing is exemplified in the author's description of the work of the joint expedition of the British Museum and that of the University of Pennsylvania, who have been able to trace out a skeleton history of the city of Ur for some three thousand years.

The author pays a just tribute to the late Miss Gertrude Bell, who did so much to further the cause of archæological research in Iraq.

The "Hints to intending Visitors" might well include some information as to the cost of visiting these places, and the book would be improved by a larger folding map of the country in place of the existing one, which is on too small a scale.

It is a sign of the times that this well-produced and printed little volume is published by Mr. Mackenzie of the Bookshop, Baghdad, and it is worthy of mention that he can supply copies of all the works referred to in the bibliography at the end of the book.

F. F. R.

THE HIMALAYAN LETTERS OF GYPSY DAVY AND LADY BA. (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd.) 15s.

This volume records the wanderings in Ladakh, Baltistan, and the North-Western Himalaya of an American couple, who elect to mask their identity under the *noms de plume* of Gypsy Davy and Lady Ba. The journeys, which apparently extended from August, 1923, to October, 1924, are recorded in the somewhat irritating form of a series of more or less imaginary letters from the authors to their various friends.

The travellers do not appear to have ever ventured far from the beaten track, and, as a contribution to the geography, natural history, or politics of the regions visited, their book is of negligible value. Those readers, however, who possess sufficient patience to wade through the considerable masses of irrelevant "small beer" embodied in the "letters" will be rewarded by a number of interesting folk-lore stories and picturesque incidents described with typical originality and humour.

The authors are very partial to the use of vernacular words—Urdu, Tibetan, and Turki. These are all explained in a glossary at the end of the volume, but for the benefit of those who have no acquaintance with the area in question, it would have been preferable to print all such words in italics in the text. By way of further elucidation of the authors' travels the volume is embellished with four somewhat fantastic sketch-maps in the quasi-mediæval style of "here be divers wylde beestes."

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the book is that describing a winter and spring spent at Tsam Skang, near Leh. H. T. M.

LAND PROBLEMS IN PALESTINE. By A. Granovsky, with a Foreword by the Right Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P. (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd.) 2s. 6d.

Mr. A. Granovsky's collection of essays on "Land Problems in Palestine" should be read by all who are interested in the question of Zionism. He emphasizes the mainspring of Zionism, which is "the bringing back to the soil of an adequate proportion of the Jewish race," and brings out very clearly the many difficulties which confront the Zionist organization is their task of placing "the Jewish Homeland" on a solid foundation.

Mr. Granovsky's statement of the problem is above criticism, but his suggested solutions are open to much argument, as is evident from a perusal of the valuable foreword contributed by the Right Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P. It must be remembered that the Zionists have not a clean slate on which to inscribe their policy. Palestine is an old country, and has been for many centuries under the rule of a reactionary and conservative government, which has intensified the national distaste for change and drastic reform. Steady progress and gradual introduction of new policies and modern ideas are better calculated in the long run to achieve the main object aimed at, rather than sudden and revolutionary changes, which can only widen the rift between Jew and Arab in Palestine.

Mr. Granovsky, however, has done valuable service to Zionism by putting forward so clearly and candidly the problem which has to be solved, and solved aright, before the primary aim of the movement can be attained.

G. F. C.

Notes on Articles from American and Foreign Magazines and Newspapers recently added to the Pamphlet Library.

THE NEJD BOUNDARY.

The American Geographical Journal for January, 1927, has a note on the boundaries of Nejd.

The writer points out that the "geographical basis of a grazing society" has been very clearly recognized of late years, more particularly in the Treaty of Kars between Turkey and the Soviet republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia in 1921, in the Angora accord between France and Turkey in October, 1921, and in the Treaty of Angora of 1926 between Great Britain and Turkey. Further examples are found in the Italo-Egyptian accord of 1925 and the protocol of January, 1924, between Great Britain and France respecting the boundary between the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan and French Equatorial Africa. Both of these make detailed arrangements for the regulation of nomadic affairs, the use of wells, etc. Considerations arising out of the nomadic state have influenced all the various agreements concluded between the Nejd Sultanate and the contiguous Powers on the subject of boundaries. The first boundary agreement of May, 1922, between the governments of 'Iraq and Nejd recognized the right of any tribe to settle in the territory of the other state upon payment of a grazing fee, while the protocol appended to the agreement allows for the common use of wells which are situated near the border, and demilitarizes such points, forbidding the concentration of troops in their vicinity and the building of forts.

The Bahra agreement of November 1, 1925, laid down provision to regulate migration and to prevent raiding, which is rendered liable to severe punishment. Migration is allowed only if the requirements of grazing necessitate it, and is subject to the permit of the government concerned. A similar agreement, the Hadda agreement of November 2, 1925, between the governments of Nejd and Trans Jordania deals with migration, raiding, etc., on the same lines. The delimitation of the boundary is, however, the interesting part of the latter agreement. The crux of the situation was the possession of the Wadi Sirhan and Kaf. The Wadi Sirhan extends northwards from Jauf to Kaf. The recent conquest by Ibn Saud of Jauf placed his tribesmen at the entrance to the Wadi, and he contended for the possession of the whole of it. It happens that the principal Trans-Jordan tribes use the Wadi in winter and spring, moving northward to the Damascus region in the summer. An effort was made to keep Ibn Saud out of the Wadi, not merely for the protection of these tribes, but also because the depression is largely frequented by the Ruwala nomads, who occupy the region through which runs the route from 'Iraq to Syria. This British corridor between Palestine and 'Iraq is regarded as of much importance. Through it runs the Imperial Air Route to the East. It is probable that an oil pipe-line will be laid from Mosul to Haifa, and possibly a Baghdad-Haifa railroad may be constructed.

Kaf is an extremely important strategic outpost of the Trans-Jordan country from which Ibn Saud could launch attacks and propagandize at will. As finally drawn the boundary runs in such a manner as to include the Hejaz railway in the Trans-Jordan country, and it also leaves the four tributary wadis to the Wadi Sirhan—namely Wadis Bajer, Gharra, Hasa, and Hedrej—in the Trans-Jordan, but cuts off the more easterly summer grazing grounds of the tribesmen, swings around Wadi Sirhan and puts in the hands of Ibn Saud a valley upon which he can base attacks upon both the railway and the country west.

As regards the actual boundaries of Nejd, the Sultanate includes the formerly independent kingdom of the Hejaz and the Amirate of Jabal Shammar (Hail) as well as parts of El Hasa Asir and Yemen.

Its boundary, starting from Jabal Anazan in the Syrian desert (39° E., 32° N.) runs south-west to a point on the right bank of the Wadi Sirhan, south-west of Kaf, thence along the Wadi to a point 38° E., 30° N., thence westward to the Gulf of 'Aqaba south of 'Aqaba.

The boundary between 'Iraq and Nejd runs eastward from Jabal Anazan to a point about 200 miles west of the Euphrates, thence south-east at about the same distance from the Euphrates, but with indentations to take in certain wells until it reaches the boundary of Kuwait.

The boundaries between Nejd and Kuwait and Nejd and the south were only roughly laid down some years ago, the former by the Anglo-Turkish convention of 1913, and the latter in 1914. Recent developments render it unlikely that either of these could stand now.

I. C.

L'INQUIÉTUDE DE L'ORIENT (VII.): EN AFGHANISTAN. By M. Pernot. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January, 1927.

In this article M. Pernot continues the series on the subject of "Unrest in the East," which began in the *Review* of June, 1927. Members of the Central Asian Society will find the whole series, and those which are promised to follow, well worthy of perusal.

In this article on Afghanistan the distinguished French publicist offers us plenty to think about. After describing his journey from Lahore, via Kohat and Peshawar, through the Khyber Pass to Kabul, where he arrived towards the end of April, 1925, in time to witness the triumphant return to the capital of the Afghan Army, under the command of Sardar Ali Ahmad, brother-in-law of King Amanulla, from its campaign in the south against the rebellion of Mangals and Jadranis, he gives a detailed and interesting account of the progress and development towards independence and stability which are now being achieved under the ambitious young ruler.

The part played by the representatives of the French Republic in this progress are put prominently before us. But one cannot fail to notice that the exclusive right to archæological research which was obtained by Professor Foucher in 1922 has not succeeded to the satisfaction of the writer, owing, apparently, to lack of funds and the absence of personnel.

No mention is made of the good influence which, we know, is exercised by the British Minister at Kabul, and as the writer describes Britain in the same category with the Russian Soviet, as harbouring designs against the independence of the country, one must inevitably conclude that he neglected his opportunity for obtaining more up-to-date information on the subject of British-Afghan relationships.

France, of course, figures as the disinterested friend of the Afghan King and his people, and it would be interesting to learn more about the school which is described as having been established at Kabul under French professors.

On the whole, the article is recommended to the attention of all interested in the situation on the North-West Frontier of India.

ITALY AND THE ROAD TO INDIA.

The *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, commenced on January 14 a series of articles on "Italian Expansion in the Red Sea." The writer's contention is that the English have certain fixed ideas, and one of these is that no European power except themselves has any business in Arabia, since Arabia guards the road to India. He recalls the negotiations between the Imam Yahya and the British since the end of the Turkish domination of the Yemen in 1918, and speaks of the excellence of the Yemen troops under their Turkish officers, whom the Imam kept for several years after the war and only allowed to leave under pressure from Angora. He gives the history of the British evacuation of Hodeida and the handing over of that portion of the Red Sea coast to the Idrisi, a policy which caused the Imam to come down from his hills, fall on the Sultan of Kuwait, lay desolate Da'la and take Hodeida for himself.

The visit of the English Mission in 1926 is narrated with dramatic vividness, their failure to secure a treaty is told in detail, the Imam declaring his inability to sign until a Yemen garrison was in Aden, and he himself occupied the throne of the Hijaz. The Italian Mission, with its gifts of munitions and aeroplanes and its flattering titles, was apparently more successful.

The author proceeds to narrate the various Italian activities in the Middle East: the settlement of large bodies of Italian emigrants in Egypt; the Italian custodianship of the Terra Santa and their building activities in Palestine; the permission their representative is said to have got from King Abdullah to settle a large number of Italian workmen in Transjordan. He points out that the coast of the territory ruled by the Zaidite Imam borders on the Straits of Perim, while Egypt, Palestine, and Transjordan are on the road to India. He then draws his own conclusions.

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES celebrated on February 23, 1927, the tenth anniversary of its opening. Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, speaking at a luncheon held at the School on this occasion, strongly urged the need for further funds. He dwelt particularly on the fact that although the School was the largest and most important School of Oriental Studies in the Empire, if not in the whole of Europe and America, none of its University Chairs or Readerships was endowed. For this reason recognition as a School of the University of London was only precariously granted by the Senate from year to year. If teaching and research were to proceed as they should in an atmosphere free from the pressure of financial worry and inadequate resources, it was very necessary that this state of affairs should be remedied. The School was founded in the stress of the war; and it was impossible then, as it has been difficult since, to obtain the full measure of public support it deserves. The need for such a School of the University as a learned institution is of course beyond question; the need for it as a practical institution, undertaking the training in the languages and manners of the East of all those who are going out in any capacity whatsoever, is no less: the 3,000 students who have already attended its classes and courses are the proof.

The University Professorships and Readerships that call for endowment are the Chairs of Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian, Chinese, the History and Culture of British Dominions in Asia with special reference to India, and the Bantu languages; the Readerships in Malay, Bengali, Hindustani, Tamil.

To endow a Chair a sum of £25,000 is required; to endow a Readership, £12,500. These, and the long list of lectureships, indicate the opportunity there is here for public benefaction.

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

JOURNAL
OF THE
CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XIV.

1927

PART III.

CONTENTS.

NOTICES.
THE OVERLAND ROUTE FROM CHINA TO INDIA. By Captain F. Kingdon Ward, F.R.G.S.
THE LOST LANDS OF OPHIR. By Commander C. Craufurd, R.N. (Ret.).
WAZIRISTAN. By Major-General A. Le G. Jacob, C.B., C.M.G.
THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA. By Professor P. J. Bruce.
REVIEWS:
Der Kampf um Asien, Vol. II. Revolt in the Desert. With Lawrence in Arabia. Fifty Years of Madras. Sir Ratap Singh. A Pageant of India. China and her Political Entity. China of Today. The Revolt of Asia. An Asian Arcady. A History of Siam. Unter der Glutsonne Irans: Being an Account of the German Expedition to Afghanistan. The Mosque of the Roses. The Wilderness of Sinai. History of the Great War: The Campaign in Mesopotamia, 1914-1918, Vol. IV. Moscou et la Georgie Martyre.
NOTES:
Iraq and Syria. Baffin's Grave. Archaeology.
LIBRARY NOTICES.
LIST OF NEW MEMBERS.
COUNCIL, 1927-1928.

PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1

Recently Published

AN ASIAN ARCADY

The Land and Peoples of Northern Siam.

By REGINALD LE MAY, M.R.A.S.

Royal 8vo., cloth. 21s. *net* (*Postage 9d., Foreign* 1s. 2*d.*)

With a coloured Frontispiece, many Illustrations and Maps.

"Reads less like a record of travel than a romance, and sometimes like a fairy tale." *New Statesman.*

"An attractive and informing account."—*Luzac's Oriental List.*

"There is only one word to describe this book . . . joyous."—*Rangoon Gazette.*

A new catalogue of publications is in preparation and will be sent post free on request.

OF ALL BOOKSELLERS

W. HEFFER & SONS, LTD., CAMBRIDGE

BOOKSELLERS, PUBLISHERS & PRINTERS

Telephone 862

NOTICES

MEMBERS are asked to notify the office at once if they do not receive *Journals* and lecture cards.

Journals have been returned as "unknown," addressed to the following members: Captain S. G. Bennett; Bassett Digby, Esq.; P. B. Haig, Esq., I.C.S.; Captain A. C. Trott, 5th Devon Regt., Political Dept., Govt. of India; Captain S. A. Wright.

The Secretary would be very glad if any addresses for the above could be sent to the office.

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

THE OVERLAND ROUTE FROM CHINA TO INDIA*

BY CAPTAIN F. KINGDON WARD

To most of us no contrast could be greater than that between India and China, two densely populated regions of Asia. Their civilizations, traditions, art, literature, religion, philosophy, architecture, and language are quite different. It is true that the pundits who burrow

---

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on April 28, Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject of our discussion this afternoon is the Overland Route between India and China, and Captain Kingdon Ward is going to enlighten us on that very difficult question. If we had a map of Asia here it would strike you that the two dominant features in Asia are the great Chinese Empire on the east and the great sub-continent of India on the south. They are very close together—in some places separated by only a few miles—and it is an extraordinary fact that in the past, though so close together, they had so little connection, either in the way of trade or of the passage of populations. The reason is this, that both those countries are very densely populated, prosperous according to the Asiatic standard from an agricultural point of view, and both were inclined to look upon themselves in the past as the only civilized people in the world, and all outsiders as barbarians. The Chinese regarded all outsiders as "foreign devils," and the ancient inhabitants of India looked upon all outsiders as what they call *mlechas* or unclean people. To preserve this exclusiveness India was assisted by the great mountain wall of the Himalayas, which was supposed to keep out the foreign and barbarous races. China had no such natural barrier, and built the Great Wall to keep out the "foreign devil" by land. But it was the irony of fate that neither the artificial Wall of China nor the natural barrier of the Himalayas succeeded in keeping these two great countries secure from foreign invasion. China was invaded time after time through the Great Wall by the Manchus, Tartars, and other conquering races; India was subject to a continuous series of invasions, and it is a most significant fact that no invasion of India, whether by sea or land, ever failed until the British came there. After the British blocked the mountain passes on the north-east and north-west, so making India secure by land; and having the command of the sea they were able to make it secure from the sea. The only point from which India was invaded from the north-east was through Burma or that strip of land between Burma and Tibet, which our lecturer is going to talk to us about this afternoon. There was no doubt a considerable infiltration of Mongol peoples down into Bengal and Assam during past ages through that corridor. Captain Kingdon Ward will explain to you why it is that no great movements of population are possible, at all events in these days, owing to the natural difficulties created by mountain, river, forest, and malarial valleys. He has spent some nine years in exploring as a botanist this very deeply into these matters trace, shall we say, Mongolian influences in Hindu art, or Hindu influences in Chinese philosophy; but to the myopic these are not visible and China and India are as distinct from one another as though they were in different continents.

Being all but continuous land masses, their great fertile plains densely populated, both containing very ancient civilizations, the trading instincts of their peoples highly developed, able to supplement each other's requirements, and their wise men, one would suppose, anxious to meet and discuss philosophy, this is the more remarkable; nor is it due to lack of trying, at least on the part of the Chinese.

Yet the measure of their success is plain for all to see. The veriest tyro could not confuse a Chinaman, using that word in its widest application, with a native of India of any race or creed.

I do not, however, propose to go into the history of the intercourse between India and China. It will be sufficient to say that in the past it has been more intense than it is now. I am speaking of intercourse by land only. Indeed, owing to climatic changes in Central Asia and in methods of transport, the centres of world influences have shifted. The ancient overland routes between China and India no longer exist. They have been replaced by sea routes.

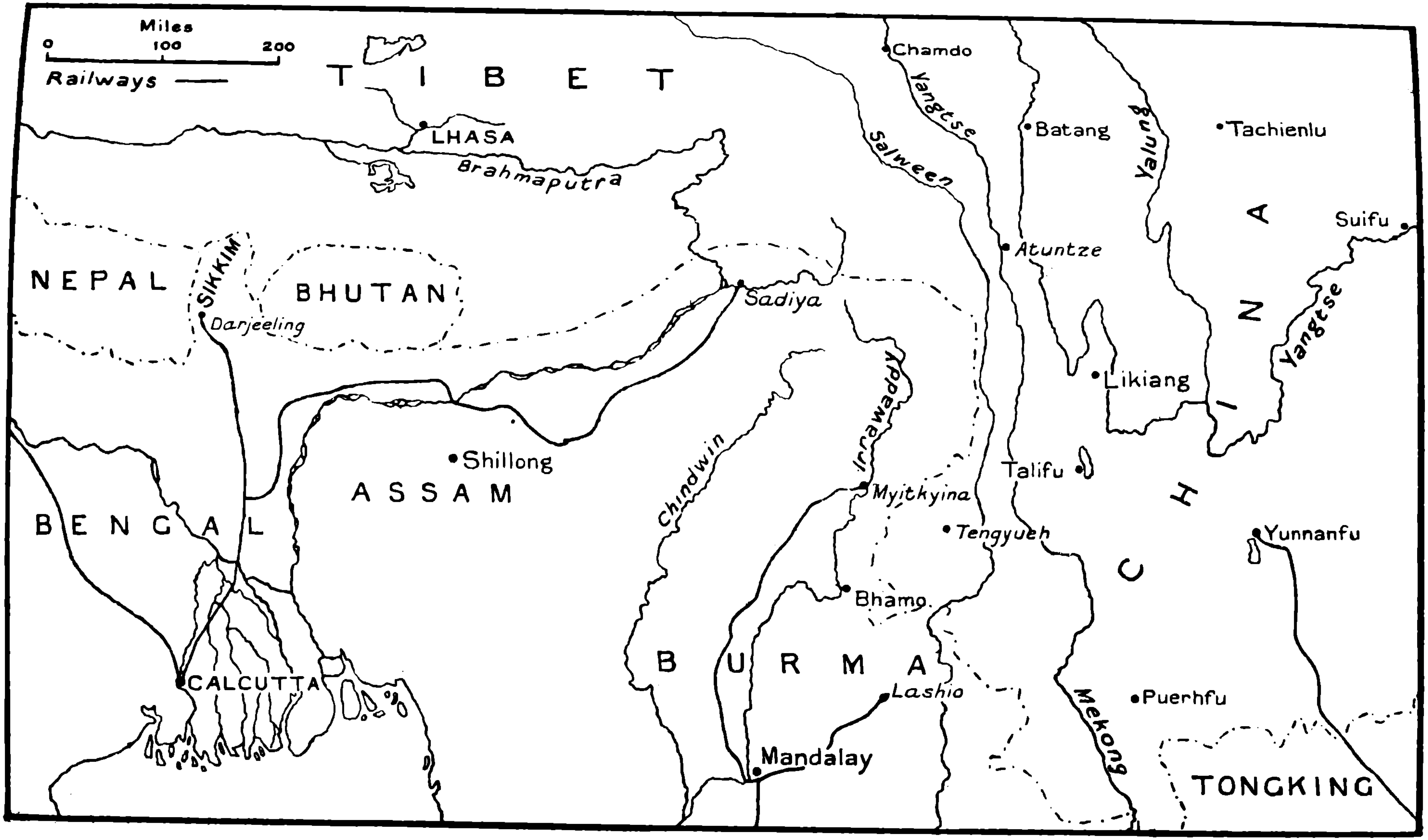
Nor do I propose to enter upon a discussion of various possible overland routes and their merits. My object is merely to discuss the question of a *direct* route between India and China and to make a few remarks upon the route which I myself have followed.

I must here point out that the question of a direct overland route was a very live issue within recent years, although it may be said to have been settled by now. This search for a trade route—a short cut from our Indian markets to the very heart of China, as an alternative to the sea voyage from Calcutta to Shanghai and the long river and overland journey into the interior—implied, if it meant anything at all, the shortest and most direct route, and a glance at any map of Asia will show in which direction that lies, the Yangtze, which is the great highway of China, being the obvious goal.

Although the mouth of the Yangtze is so far from India, the upper Yangtze actually flows within 150 miles of the Indian frontier, and it was this fact which it was hoped to turn to good account. As we pushed up on our north-east frontier and laid down a definite line, up

---

fascinating and very difficult country. He has gone over it again and again. He has crossed all the great rivers at different points, and he knows the difficulties which beset the various routes which are supposed to be open for trade and the movement of populations. He will explain those difficulties to you in his lecture, and illustrate it by a series of slides which he collected no later than last year, when he made his last visit to that extraordinarily difficult country between Assam and China. I will now ask Captain Kingdon Ward to tell us his story. (Applause.)


Miles
0
100
200
Railways
TIBET
LHASA
Brahmaputra
Chamdo
Yangtse
Salween
Batang
Yalung
Tachienlu
Suifu
Atuntze
CHINA
Yangtse
NEPAL
SIKKIM
Darjeeling
BHUTAN
Sadiya
Likiang
Irrawaddy
Shillong
ASSAM
Chindwin
Talifu
Myitkyina
Tengyueh
Yunnanfu
BENGAL
Bhamo
BURMA
CALCUTTA
Lashio
Mekong
Puerhfu
Mandalay
TONGKING

to which our administration gradually extended, we approached more and more closely to the great highway of China, until, as I say, there remained only this gap of 150 miles in an air line. The problem then was to bridge that.

Remember, so far as an overland trade route was concerned, it was this or nothing. For our purpose the historical route, in so far as it still exists, from Peking, via Kashgar, the Karakorum pass, and Gilgit, to Leh, is useless; it has been rendered obsolete by the far easier, quicker, and cheaper method of sea transport. The route via Lhasa is equally useless—we want a much shorter route, and one which would avoid the mighty barrier of the Himalaya. Such direct routes do exist in the south—but unfortunately they all land you in Burma, not in India. We wanted to find one further north, but not too far north; and the head of the Assam valley ran up nicely in the desired direction. Therefore just as the Yangtze was the link on the China side, so the Assam valley was the link on the Indian side.

Now there have always been two great stumbling-blocks to any traffic in this direction. The facts stated at the beginning of this paper prove that there must have been; it is safe to say that had this route been comparatively feasible, it would have been used long ago; and since there has been so little intercourse between India and China, it is clear that even the best routes have been very little used, partly for the same reasons, at least for several centuries.

The obstacles are these:

In the first place, that 150-mile-wide belt of country is extraordinarily difficult, being not only very mountainous, but infinitely cut up into a close succession of deep gorges separated by lofty ridges, covered with dense, impenetrable forests, and cursed with a vicious climate and all its attendant evils. Once the plateaux of Tibet on the one hand, or the plains of India on the other, are left behind, one becomes involved in this distracting tangle of mountains.

The second obstacle depends on the first. It is obviously impossible for any great civilized community to occupy such a region, and so this belt of country lying between the highlands of Tibet and the lowlands of India, and separating Mongol and Aryan, is inhabited by tribes who for the most part have always resisted free passage through their territory. In this attitude, often spontaneous and natural enough, they have generally been encouraged by the Power on the other side of the barrier, either because they prefer to keep us at arm's length, or because they themselves are eager to penetrate it, but in their own time and in their own way. Moreover—and this practically clinches the matter—supposing these difficulties were removed, as to some extent they have been, we should still be faced with the unpleasant discovery that the Yangtze at this distance from the sea (nearly 3,000 miles) is not continuously navigable, even for small country boats.

Thus we see that just as deserts have to a large extent isolated India on the one side, so have jungles kept her free of mainland Asiatic influences on the other; the north-west frontier may be the gateway to India, but we must never forget that the north-east frontier is the tradesmen's entrance. This back door, as we have seen, is further strengthened by that splendid line of outposts afforded by the independent tribes, and though these tribes are a two-edged weapon, and have frequently given us trouble, they form a bulwark which it is very much to our interest to strengthen, and not weaken.

* * * * *

Apart altogether from the question of trade route, however, the overland route from China to India is full of interest to the traveller; and I propose now to leave generalities and to deal in rather more detail with the actual route I followed. By means of photographs I shall try to convince you of the great physical difficulties which have to be overcome on this route, and also of the absorbing interest of the country to the naturalist.

It will hardly be necessary to remind you that—I will not say the most beautiful—but the most sublime and indeed terrifying scenery is to be found in regions remote from human habitations; and there can be few places in the world where the scenery is grander than in the great mountain ranges of the Chinese Himalaya.

Let us start from the upper Yangtze in Tibet, the nearest point to India. To north and east of the great mountain barrier which curves round the north-east frontier of our Indian Empire, the country is high and dry. There are caravan routes, towns, villages, monasteries; there is transport and food. The Tibetan people are civilized and friendly, although their official attitude to strangers is largely determined for them by an autocratic ruling oligarchy; the same remark applies to the Chinese.

As we travel westwards, or south-westwards, these conditions change more and more; and we can only escape them by keeping to the north of the Himalaya, or by working so far south that we shall miss India altogether. There is nothing for it but to go straight ahead. Across our path lie these four great rivers, with four great mountain ranges separating them from one another.

Here is the Tibetan Yangtze flowing at an altitude of 8,000 feet. It is still a fine river 3,000 miles from its mouth, but it is subjected to great changes of level, winter and summer, and is interrupted by enormous rapids from time to time. The Chinese call it the "River of Golden Sand." It is navigable for considerable stretches by Tibetan skin boats, and as there are no bridges, the Chinese cross it in great scows.

Beyond the Yangtze we have to cross a great range of mountains. The passes are over 15,000 feet, but, in spite of the intense cold, they are open all the year round, as not much snow falls. No serious difficulties are encountered so far; there are regular caravan routes, and transport is easily obtained. In three or four days after descending many thousands of feet we reach the Mekong. This river is much narrower than the Yangtze, and goes bouncing along through a deep gash in the mountains. It is quite unnavigable, but being narrow is crossed by rope bridge—a sufficiently unpleasant contrivance.

Immediately after crossing the Mekong we begin to climb up again, the mountains being almost as steep as the side of a house.

The next range also is crossed without great difficulty in three days; the passes vary between 13,000 and 16,000 feet, and there is apt to be a good deal of snow.

Descending into the next trough, where flows the Salween, we notice a distinct change in the vegetation; the country becomes more forested, for the Salween flows at a lower level than the Mekong, and has a wetter climate.

Here we encounter the first of the many tribes who inhabit the enormous rain-drenched jungle-clad enclave at the headwaters of the Irrawaddy. The Lutzu are a docile and friendly folk, but sooner or later we shall encounter the redoubtable Lisu tribe, who also live here. I dare say the Lisus have been maligned—their worst fault is perhaps a fondness for petty larceny—but the fact remains the tribe has at least one European murder to its credit. I have come up against them in the Salween valley under awkward circumstances, and avoided a serious *fracas*, more perhaps by good luck than anything else: on the other hand, I had two Lisus with me last year who stood by me during a crisis and helped to extricate me from an unhappy dilemma.

We now cross the third great barrier, and descending into the abysmal depths of the Irrawaddy itself pass into the keeping of the jungle.

The passes henceforth are the lowest of which we have had any experience so far, not exceeding 14,000 feet, and frequently much lower; nevertheless, they are more difficult than anything we have encountered hitherto. The track is often invisible or, indeed, non-existent, and without knowing the way we could never find it for ourselves. Cliffs have to be scaled, and in places the path is full of unknown terrors.

Here the question of transport is a question of coolies; no mule or pony, even if unburdened, could scale these mountains. Also it is better to choose one's time with some care. In the summer it rains perpetually, and though one can of course traverse the passes then, it is not a very pleasant experience. On the other hand, for nearly six months, in winter and spring, the passes are completely blocked by snow. By far the best time then, can one but choose, is the autumn, when one may get comparatively fine weather at least part of the time. Crossing the pass then we descend to the Irrawaddy, and now find ourselves thoroughly involved in those difficulties to which our attention has already been drawn.

The Irrawaddy is not like the other rivers we have crossed. Instead of flowing in one narrow trough it flows in dozens. Its basin at this point is about a hundred miles wide; the climate is very bad, with rain all the year round, though more falls in the summer than at any other season.

We have to cross no less than four considerable rivers, besides innumerable small streams, and our best plan is to get out of the Irrawaddy jungles as quickly as possible. We are in a country which has recently been in the limelight owing to the Slave Mission sent by the Government of Burma to release all slaves, whether in administered country or not, and the killing of a British officer by the most belligerent of the Irrawaddy tribes.

This jungly river basin as a whole is occupied by Kachins and cognate tribes; but large areas are almost entirely uninhabited. The tribal country begins north of the point where the main stream of the Irrawaddy splits into two branches, an eastern and a western. There are bridges over the rivers, but they are not pleasant. They may be either monkey bridges, which involve haulage, or cane foot bridges, which are all right when you get used to them.

During the summer the Irrawaddy jungle is a perfect hell of leeches, mosquitoes, sand-flies, blister-flies, and other pests. They give one no peace. For this reason it is more comfortable to travel here in the winter.

On the other hand, we have still to get out of the Irrawaddy basin into that of the Brahmaputra, and the passes are completely snowed up in winter, so that one must not leave it until too late.

I crossed by the Diphuk La, 14,300 feet: but there are passes further south of 10,000 feet.

The route I followed involved crossing all the headwater streams of the eastern Irrawaddy. A better route is one a little further north, by which only the main stream is crossed, after which, climbing one more divide, you come directly into the valley of the Lohit–Brahmaputra.

The geographical barriers which separate India and China, then, speak for themselves. They comprise high snow-clad ranges of mountains, swift unnavigable rivers, dense jungle, and a troublesome climate.

But the dual obstacles to which I have referred cannot be considered apart; they are mutually inclusive. Up to a point, the higher the mountains and the thicker the forest the more obstructive the tribes. As the forest gets thinner and the country more open the population increases and becomes more homogeneous, and as an obstacle the human element disappears, individually at any rate, though there may be polite organized opposition. On the other hand, in the worst country there comes a time when the jungle becomes so thick, the mountains so steep, and the climate so bad, that there is no population at all. As an obstacle the human element has again disappeared; but it may be questioned whether a country without food, transport, or paths, fenced by impenetrable jungle, enclosed by precipitous mountains, and cursed with a thoroughly bad climate, is not more of a deterrent. After all, you may succeed in getting round a tribesman by making him laugh, or by being in a position to give him something which, in his simple way, he would sell his soul for: but without men you are lost. It was this capital difficulty of no transport and no food I was up against last year during my expedition to the headwaters of the Irrawaddy. So serious did the situation become, that early in August, just after I had received letters and newspapers telling me of the general strike, the same microbe attacked my staff, who, rather than face the discomforts of the situation any longer, risked the long journey back to comparative civilization, decamping quietly in the night.

Throughout last summer I was plant-hunting in the neighbourhood of the Diphuk La, the last pass between me and India. There was a small and decadent Tibetan colony in the valley, but for coolies I had to depend on Nungs and Tarons, the latter an Ishmaelite tribe, lurking in the uttermost depths of the jungles, and these had to be collected from afar. They had no food or clothing, but lived principally on roots dug up in the jungle, their meagre crops having failed for two years owing to the flowering of the bamboos, which had caused such complete decontrol in the birthrate of jungle rats that they had devoured everything.

These Tarons were all right in the summer—when I could get them. In the winter, when I had to cross the Irrawaddy-Brahmaputra divide under snow, though willing enough, the trip proved a physical impossibility for them.

The Tibetans, who would have been equal to the task, since they have to cross the Diphuk La from time to time to get salt, were mostly away. Compared with their fellow-countrymen of the plateau they are a rather poor type. The ordinary Tibetan cannot live below 10,000 feet, but these people had established a colony in the forest region at 7,000 feet, where they tilled the soil and kept flocks. They came from the warm, low-lying province of Zayul, and in olden days Zayul was a penal settlement for the criminal classes, so that many of the people there are connected with the old convict "county families," and may be somewhat degenerate as a result. Much snow falls in the upper Seingbku valley in the winter, and it is hardly possible to cross the Diphuk La between January and June.

I started on the final lap to Assam at the end of October with sixteen Taron coolies, two Lisus, and four Nungs, two of the latter being my personal staff. Unfortunately, the weather, which had been fine for some days, broke just as we started, and rain in the lower valley meant snow in the heights. The Seinghku valley is about forty miles long, and it is about three days' march from the main river on the Burma side (the Nam Tamai) to the foot of the pass, and five marches from there to the Lohit on the Tibetan side through uninhabited country.

On the last day of October we camped at the foot of the pass. A light snow fell during the night, but this melted so rapidly next morning that right up to the pass the valley was clear. At the summit, however, we gazed upon a very different scene. A bitter wind was blowing from the plateau to the north, and below us we could see nothing but deep snow and bare rocky mountains; there was not a tree in sight. The descent on the Tibetan side is precipitous for a thousand feet to a glacier lake below, and the snow had drifted heavily on this face, so that we plunged into it up to our knees. The Tarons were half frozen. Arrived at the lake a few of us pushed on to stamp a trail as quickly as possible and reach the first fir-trees, where we could make a fire. But as soon as we were out of sight, the Tarons, now half dead with cold, threw their loads down in the snow, and bolted back over the pass into Burma, and of course we never saw them again.

It took us a week to salve the loads—some were abandoned—and move them down into safety by the hot spring camp, where we had shot a takin in the summer. Then we pushed on to the Lohit, and from there engaged more coolies to go back and bring in the loads.

The Lohit, like all the other rivers of this region, flows down due south from the Tibetan plateau for some distance, but it then suddenly and conveniently swings down at right angles and flows due west to reach the plains of Assam. Where it flows southwards the climate is comparatively dry, although the altitude is only about 4,000 feet. The rocky flanks of the gorge are covered with pine woods, there is little cultivation, and the country is inhabited by Tibetans.

As soon as the river changes direction, however, we find the valley filled with dense forests again, and here dwell the once formidable but now friendly Mishmi tribe, who have in the past proved a very formidable obstacle to penetration; like the Lisus, they have the ultimate argument of murder to their credit.

The journey down the Lohit, though short, is not easy; it is only about fifteen days from Rima to the plains of Assam, but the going is not good. I found the Mishmis friendly and helpful, thanks to a succession of able political officers on the frontier, and not least to the present officer.

I reached the plains on December 7, and Sadiya two days later. To sum up:

There is no easy direct route from China to India. The chief difficulties are the mountainous nature of the country and its climate, lack of food and local labour, and the political situation amongst the more powerful interests behind the tribal belt—Tibetan and Chinese.

The climatic difficulties are best overcome by avoiding the Irrawaddy enclave altogether. By keeping more to the north, only the Taron or main stream of the eastern Irrawaddy need be crossed, after which one descends straight into the gorge of the Lohit.

Threading a way through these mountains, so as to cross the easiest passes, it may be necessary to a certain extent to march to and fro up and down the river gorges; but the going here is comparatively easy.

The best route from China to India is probably one which, leaving the Yangtze at Pangtzula, crosses the mountains by the Paima La to Atuntzu, thence to the Mekong via Dong, over the Chu-la to the Wi river, and so to Menkung on the Salween. Thence to Rima, up the Rong Thod Chu across the Glei pass to Tawliang on the Lohit, and so to Sadiya. This is by no means the route described in the above paper, but I myself have followed a good bit of it.

General BEYNON: Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Captain Kingdon Ward, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I came here today I had not the slightest intention of saying anything, but I have been fascinated by what the lecturer said. His photographs and illustrations have brought back to me a very interesting portion of my life, and I want to congratulate him on the vivid and fascinating way in which he has told of the life that goes on there. It was my business at one time to take part in an expedition going up not quite so far as he went, but up more north into Tibet. We were going up into the Arbor country, and from his description and the photographs he showed us the country he described was almost identical with that which we encountered. Nominally, they had killed an Englishman or two, but we were going up more on an expedition to find out whether the Tsangpo, which we had crossed on the way way up to Lhasa, really joined or became the Brahmaputra. It had not been settled in those days, and I am not quite certain that it has been surveyed in these days. I think a few miles have not been surveyed, but I think that it is practically settled that the Tsangpo we knew was the Brahmaputra which comes down into Bengal. The population there, the Arbor, were very much the same as the tribesmen Mr. Kingdon Ward describes, and were invariably drunk about four o'clock in the afternoon. It was always necessary if you wanted to have any business with them to get them when they were fairly sober in the morning. It was no good doing anything after four o'clock, sometimes after twelve. They were also very good shikarees, as you saw in the picture of the man who shot the takin. They had bows and arrows, and, at the distance of this room, they would plug any one of these lights without the slightest hesitation. They had a nasty habit of dipping the arrows into dead corpses, which made wounds rather deadly, otherwise they were not bad. Another point he has not mentioned is the fishing. I do not know if the fishing is good up there, but it was magnificent where we were. I caught a 44-pound mahseer on a 10-foot trout rod with mahseer tackle, and never had better sport in my life. Up in the hills were fish 6 feet long lying by the dozen in the pool. It was a magnificent fishing country. Going back to a more serious question : as to roads, I do not think there is any difficulty. I do not see the slightest difficulty, speaking as a soldier, why you should not rush a force right through that country if you organized well. It is a matter of organization and, as the lecturer said, of food. We ran our paths right up the Brahmaputra through what looked impossible jungle, and with the pioneer regiment to work and cutting parties of sappers to help us, we had a good mule road as far as we went. There is nothing to stop a determined force going anywhere if they have time, and it is only a matter of time before we shall have a road from Sadiya through Rima to the Yangtze. I see no reason why we should not do it. The passes are nothing. When we went up to Lhasa we had roads over 16,000 and 17,000 feet high. We had a fight at 16,900 feet. There is nothing to stop you ; it is only a matter of organization. Just before we were up there the Chinese had come down and occupied Rima. They had to go, and, of course, they went. But still they may come again, and we shall have to stop them. Again, there is another interesting point. During the rains the jungle we went through was absolutely uninhabited, not only by men, but by animals. The leeches and mosquitoes are so bad that even the tiger, samber, bison, and deer all leave the lower Terai Jungle and clear out. In our road-making parties the advanced guard consisted of one man, who cut down the jungle, mostly lianas and things like that. Two men behind him widened out the path a bit, and also removed the leeches from the man in front. (Laughter.) We lost two Gurkhas who went out shooting. They were used to the jungle, but they lost their way, and we never found them alive again. Their bodies were discovered within a mile of the post some weeks afterwards. They had died of leech-bites. It is a most fearful country, and I think the way the lecturer has gone through it and survived leaves us to congratulate him on being alive. I congratulate him on his excellent lecture. (Applause.)

Mr. F. H. SKRINE : Does the lecturer really think it within the bounds of possibility that a road can be constructed over the terrible country he mentioned ? The last speaker talked about a road. I have made hundreds of miles of roads in India : the difficulties even in the

Plains are bad enough, but over these passes and through the jungle, with leeches to poison one, it seems to me perfectly impossible. I would like to have the lecturer's opinion. Another question: What is the distance between the upper navigable reaches of the Yangtze and the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra which are navigable, and does the lecturer think it possible to bridge it by an air service?

The Lecturer: General Sir William Beynon mentioned fishing. There is good fishing on some of the headwaters of the Irrawaddy, and also on the upper Salween; but not, I think, on the Yangtze or the Mekong. But the fish are very small and are either speared or netted. The water, which comes straight from the melting snow and ice, is apparently too cold for mahseer or any very big fish. As to the question of a road, Sir William Beynon said that he thought, speaking as a soldier, it would be perfectly easy to rush a force through that country to any threatened point. So far I agree, but, speaking as a financier, it is a question of money. I have no doubt the Indian Government could find the money, and would find the money, if the north-east frontier was as vulnerable a point as the north-west. In that case I am perfectly certain the roads would be made, but I do not think we are likely to see them made either for the tradesmen or botanists, unfortunately. (Laughter.) Mr. Skrine has raised the point in a more precise form as to what the distance is between the head of navigation on the Brahmaputra, at Sadiya, and the Yangtze. Where the Yangtze is flowing south, 150 miles from the Indian frontier, as I pointed out, it is not navigable. You have to go a long way further east to reach a navigable point. Suifu, about 300 miles from Chungking, is the head of navigation. Above Suifu there are navigable stretches, but there are big gorges also, and it is not navigable for large Chinese junks. I do not see why a road should not be made; it is a question of expense. The difficulty is not that you cannot make the road, but there is no local labour. The expense would be enormous. You would have to feed all your pioneers, engineers, and road-makers, and would have to import labour. The question of leeches does not come into the question, because if you make your road wide enough you are leech-free. There is a road which runs from railhead in Burma, 200 miles, which is quite easy. It does not matter about leeches, the road is six feet wide. The leeches drop on you as you go through the jungle; if you are pushing your way through the jungle you get them down your neck, in your ears, and everywhere; but if you make the road wide enough, they cannot drop on you. As regards crossing the high mountains, if you can have a road over the Karakorum, I do not see why you should not have a road over these great divides. You cannot take a bee-line, but must align your road to cross the lowest passes, and go up and down the valleys until you find a convenient crossing-place. If you keep well up the Salween, and go down the Lohit river

I think you can push a road through—it would not be a motor road to start with. There is a mule road already from the Yangtze to Rima, but it does not go on to India. At the time Sir William Beynon was speaking of, another expedition pushed up the Lohit river, and the Pioneers made a road to Rima. Coming down the Lohit last year one of the most interesting things I struck, and the thing that told me I had stepped out of the blue over the British frontier was a large boulder on which was carved this legend: "5th Coy. 1st K.G.O. Sappers and Miners, 1912." It was carved on the stone, and as soon as I had passed that I knew I was somewhere within the orbit of the Indian Empire.

The CHAIRMAN: We now know a great deal more than we did an hour ago about the interesting but inhospitable country which the lecturer has described to us so well by word and illustration, and we can realize why, in the past, communications between China and India have been so infrequent and so difficult. It is now intelligible that when there was any regular communication between China and India, it did not pass by the direct road—that is to say, from the north-east of Assam up to the valley of the Yangtze through that 150 miles of terrible country. It went round about through Kashmir, Yarkand, Eastern Tibet, Chinese Turkistan, and so on to Peking. The proof is this: the one great thing which India exported to China was religion, Buddhism. If you mark the progress of Buddhism from India to China, you will find it went by the road I have described—through the Peshawar valley, up through Swat, over the Karakorum, through Chinese Turkestan, and so on past the Great Wall into China proper; and when the Chinese pilgrims wanted to investigate the sacred relics of Buddha, and came to India for that purpose, they did not come by the short road which the lecturer had described, but chose the enormous detour of probably 5,000 or 6,000 miles, rather than the 300 or 400 miles of appalling difficulty between the Yangtze and the Tsangpo. That showed how impressed they were with the appalling physical difficulties of the country which the lecturer this evening finds so pleasant—difficulties he makes so light of. Perhaps it is as well for India that the intervening country—that 200 miles—should be an effective bar for either invading forces or great hordes of immigrants. In fact, our north-east frontier is far more secure than the north-west. One thing struck me when talking of Buddhism. A Chinaman is a very good man at a deal. India exported a very fine religion, Buddhism, to China; what did China give in return? China is now trying to make us a present of Bolshevism. It is a very significant fact, and bears on the way in which ideas follow the lines of communication. Bolshevism started at Moscow and Petrograd, and ran west to east 6,000 miles, all through Russia and Siberia. It penetrated from Siberia down into China, through Mongolia, simply because there was no great physical obstacle; ideas penetrate easily, and the Bolshevists are masters in the art of propaganda and peaceful penetration. We hope its further progress down towards the Indian frontier and also down into Burma, will be overcome by the tremendous physical barrier which the lecturer has so vividly described to us tonight. I am sure you will all like to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to him, and show by your acclamation how much you appreciate the work he has done and the very admirable way in which he has described it. (Applause.)

LOST LANDS OF OPHIR*

NOTES ON A LECTURE BY COMMANDER C. CRAUFURD

THREE thousand years ago the land of Ophir solved for Suleiman a political problem. In the present day we are faced with the same problem and the same solution is at hand. Suleiman's kingdom, with its new-found prosperity, was protected to northward and to south by the trade influences of his building activities. His temple and palace in their building gave a steady import incentive to his lands. The kingdom of Suleiman was rapidly becoming the manufacturing centre and the horse market of the Middle East.

Palestine imported raw material and exported finished articles. This kept the trade routes open to north and south.

Palestine in the Days of Suleiman the Wise.

To the eastward lay the restless Bedou folk. Suleiman realized that the Bedou are weak in their offensive, but they are implacable. Their activities would be a tax to his lands, and eventually warding them off would drain the trading strength of his kingdom.

---

* A Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Wednesday, May 11, 1927, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W. Sir Michael O'Dwyer (Chairman) presided. A lecture entitled "The Lost Lands of Ophir" was delivered by Commander Craufurd, R.N. (ret.).

THE CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—Those of you who have been fairly constant in attendance at our lectures here will, I think, agree with me that they combine in a singular degree interest, instruction, and occasionally even amusement. In my own case it has been my duty and it has been my privilege to be a very regular attendant for some years, and the lectures have enormously extended my knowledge of geography and also of history. Perhaps that is because to start with that knowledge was very limited. The lecture we are going to hear this afternoon will, I think, fulfil those conditions in a very marked degree. The subject is "The Lost Lands of Ophir." Many of us have vague recollections of having read of Ophir in our Bible, but we are very vague as to where it is located. Some may think it is in Arabia, others across the Red Sea in Abyssinia, others locate it in Ceylon or India, and others who have read "King Solomon's Mines" would place it somewhere in Mashonaland. It is one of the unsolved riddles, and that riddle we hope to have solved for us this evening. It is characteristic of the Royal Navy, which goes everywhere and does everything, which is the eyes and ears of our Intelligence Department, that no secret is hidden from it ; and Commander Craufurd, who spent sixteen years along the shores of the Red Sea and the Gulf, is going to solve for us the riddle of the lost lands of Ophir.

Most people who discover a gold mine, even a derelict one, are inclined to keep the secret to themselves ; but the Royal Navy is much more disinterested, and Commander Craufurd is going to share his secret with us. I will now ask him to disclose it. (Applause.)

Bedou life is simple; their wants are negligible. It is almost hopeless to develop a steady market in their countries. Their life is unstable; they know no peace; if they did they would no longer be Bedouin, but would have become a pastoral people.

For a while Suleiman held his eastern frontier quiet. He traded with the gold-mines of the Hejaz. Then, as it seemed the surface outcrops were being cleaned up, that failed—there was no deep surface working possible for mineral then. So the remedy which would keep the Bedou employed and active was to be sought further afield. Suleiman decided to employ the Bedou in the transport trade. Somewhere to eastward there lay the land of Ophir, with its ruler, Bilkis, Queen of Sheba.

If Ophir is lost to modern geography the loss is not due to lack of information. After twenty years' search I had the good fortune to visit Ophir, finding it where it ought to be, and now, after another seven years, I can furnish proofs of its identity. Let me hope that my proofs will be convincing to you. If not, I shall hope to bring you further proofs next year.

To continue the story: after long and exasperating negotiations, Suleiman won his point. The Queen of Sheba consented to visit him. She brought with her the greatest gifts on record: 33 tons of gold, bags of jewels, incense, and spices, algum trees, and probably a small quantity of almug trees, apes, peacocks, and unspecified goods. In her train she brought 1,000 boys and girls. She was preceded by a rumour that she had goat's feet, and some said she was a she-devil. I like to picture her endless caravans winding slowly through the dust of Edom.

* * * * *

Looking into the Ophir problem we note that the presents of Bilkis to Suleiman could not possibly have all come from the same country. King Hiram looked over the merchandise, noted its wholesale markets, and planned a trading scheme which the mercantile marine of the present day could not better. He sent his ships on a merchant cruise to the wholesale markets, including Ophir.

Trading all the way and without wasting time, they returned to Ezion Geber and to Tarshish within three years.

Put the problem on its practical basis of trading and you will find Ophir. To me the problem proved a patient one. Many lands have been suggested for the land of Ophir.

False Ophirs.

We went to China, but we did not find Ophir, though we learned something to help us.

Africa gave us its hints, but it did not show us Ophir. The Persian Gulf showed us how to find the ships of Ezion Geber, but it could not show us Ophir. We went to the Mediterranean to learn about the ships of Tarshish. They could not show us the way to Ophir. We tried South America and the Aztec country. We did not find Ophir there.

We went to India and Ceylon, for there are strong rumours of Ophir in those lands. How could Ophir, the capital seaport of the Sabbæan Empire, be outside the Sabbæan lands? Back to the Red Sea, and there we learnt what we wanted. We learnt the locality of Ezion Geber. We learnt about the ships of Ezion Geber, and so the way to the true Ophir. Name repetitions have confused investigators. There may have been many a secondary Ophir, for El Darfur seems a very probable repetition of El Ophir or Ed-Oph'r.

The Ships of Ezion Geber.

By studying ships from before the Flood to the present-day construction, we find that the ships of Ezion Geber were identical with the modern Red Sea dhow. We have the ship that Hiram used. We have the trade winds that Hiram utilized. We learned the markets which were touched by Hiram's fleet.

His ships cargoed with incense, spices, gold, jewels, apes, peacocks, almug trees, pearls, algum trees, and the gold of Ophir. Those were the main cargo items arranged in the order of the markets where they were obtained.

Now supposing that we are sailing in a dhow 3,000 years ago from Ezion Geber. We are waiting for the north monsoon to set in firm. It is early in the month of October. The monsoon sets in here between the 7th and the 15th of the month; there have been very small variations.

I ask you particularly to note the name of the port. It was, I suggest, Al Zion Kebir, or the Greater Zion; but in its more ancient language the "Al Zion" was pronounced more mute as Ezion, just as is often done in the colloquial Bedou Arabic of other words, quite apart from the classical distinction between solar and lunar lettering. That classical distinction only came into being somewhere about A.D. 600. This language debate is not a digression. The mutation of the article "Al" has served to hide Ophir for many hundred years.

The fleet would coast down the Hejaz hugging the land, keeping always inside the reefs, for thereby they get calmer water. In the daytime the sea breeze edges the ships towards the land, for it blows steady on the starboard quarter, and later in the day it works round more to the starboard beam. At night they would usually anchor to avoid the coral patches, but weigh before the dawn so as to work a little seaward with the off-shore breeze, which is technically termed the land breeze. On they would go, southward always, past ports and harbours hardly known to modern navigation.

They would come to "Asir," the "difficult land," and would pass Khor-Abu-s-Saba—the port of Saba.

The Cruise

They would come to the borders of the Yemen and on past Khor Guleifaka, that old Sabbæan port which is poorly represented by the modern Hodeida. On through Bab-el-Mandeb, now called the Straits of Perim, when really it is the door which the wicked djinn opened too quickly when he lost his temper, and at last to Aden, the "place of pleasantness," where the fleet anchored, though it did not use the modern anchorage. Aden had then its marble baths carved from the quarries of Shukra stone, and its constant water supply, presumably more than two million gallons a day, coursing down from Hareb, through the wadis, till the flow climbed the hills and found its terminus at the tanks and their overflow to the sea. The tanks of Tuweila are modern reconstructions of some of the tanks which were to be found.

The north monsoon is growing stronger and has turned more northerly. The wind on the port bow blows the dhows down to Punt and Æthiopia, or in modern parlance, the Somalilands and Abyssinia.

These lands are strong with histories of Bilkis and rumours of Ophir. Bilkis finished her reign in these lands, and her son by Suleiman succeeded her. His descendants have fulfilled the prophecy that Suleiman should never lack a reigning prince for descendant. Here the fleet could get incense, and though we may suggest that Ed-Darfur is a name repetition of Ed-Ophir, it is not the land of Ophir. The route now goes past Socotra Island, past Ras Mouni, then round the eastern extremities of Africa and past Ras Hafoon, the harbour of the mermaids, which unromantic scientists classify as Dugon.

Sailing south, the dhows would gain an average speed of 8-10 knots per hour. This brings us to the Sheba lands, made famous by Sir Rider Haggard. Though there would be jewels there, they would not be great enough for the main jewels of the priestly breastplates.

We shall not find Ophir, for this Sheba was merely a name repetition, and this was an outlying colony of the Sabbæan Empire.

At the southern terminus the dhows would have to refit and wait for the change of the monsoon wind.

When the south monsoon sets in, about the month of May, they would set sail with a fair wind for Ceylon and the Malabar coasts. Ceylon has been suggested as the land of Ophir. The suggestion is based on the fact that many of the cargo items can be obtained in Ceylon. The suggestion is weak, the statement is erroneous. How could the city of Ophir be in Ceylon when it was the main seaport of Arabian Sabbæa?

Apes, peacocks, almug trees (some kind of red wood, either cedar or mahogany), and jewels, though not the finest, would be taken from Ceylon. Before the monsoon gets too strong the fleet would sail up the Malabar coast; part goes on to the Persian Gulf, while part probably harboured at Karachi or one of those ports on the Eastern Ocean.

Kishm, an island in the Persian Gulf, has been suggested as Ophir because there are a few Sabbæan ruins there, but a few Sabbæan ruins are not evidence for Ophir, for traces of Sabbæan civilization can be found all over the Middle East.

When the south monsoon died away, the fleet could work southward to Bahrein, where the Sabbæan Empire has also left traces. Here the pearls could be had.

In the Persian Gulf the monsoon changes about November 1. With the commencement of the third monsoon the fleet would coast southward along the Trucial coast, past Mascat, round Ras al Hadd, and southward along the coast of Oman. As one works south along this coast the Sabbæan traces grow strong and Sabbæan inscriptions become plentiful.

We are nearing Ophir. I hesitate to tell you the exact locality, which is astronomically fixed to within about 400 yards of latitude and one mile of longitude. After twenty years of search I look forward to taking you there myself. Then I can show fullest proofs—geographical, linguistic, marine technicalities, and archæology.

The fleet we have been picturing has been cruising for some fourteen to eighteen months. They are in their third monsoon, and there are six monsoons to three years. Consequently they reach Ophir with a month or two to spare for the half time of the cruise.

Ophir.

Digging is sometimes weary work, whether you delve in the earth or through musty volumes. You are richly repaid if you find a jewel such as Ophir. For that ancient city could awaken to prosperity the whole Jezirat-ul-Arab—the Island of Arabia, the peninsula that is larger than India and less known than the polar regions.

The city is ideally situated. It has a harbour to north, sheltering the north monsoon anchorage. It has a rock headland and anchorage to shelter shipping from the south monsoon. Further, it has a very rare feature for an Arabian seaport—a river and khor which give wharfage to the seaport.

With all these advantages, you will ask, Why did the town ever die? The answer is peculiar to Arabia. As jungle is to India, so is sand to Arabia. A ribbon of sand cuts across some fertile land, and cuts off its communications from the outer world; then that land loses its prosperity and dies. With the seaport of Ophir a thin ribbon of coral sand has drawn across the harbour mouth; the city was strangled, and its prosperity died. It would be worth our while to cut that cord, for inland there lays the undeveloped Transvaal of the Middle East.

The journey from Aden is very simple. Thirty-six hours from Aden lies Makalla, the modern Ophir, for it has absorbed the remnant of trade that belonged to the Ophir country. It is a deep-water port with a very large harbour, and could be developed into a first-class seaport so soon as its trade potentialities are realized.

We arrived there at dawn. The officer of the watch grabbed an Arab, who, full of his own importance, had come to call on us, by his cotton waist cloth. It came off! "Don't do that," said the Arab in excellent English, "I am the Port Admiral." He suggested that we should go in the motor-car to call on the Sultan. We had thought we were three hundred miles from civilization, but we found a modern car waiting for us, and though it had a bargeing match with a camel, it brought us in comfort to the Sultan's palace.

His Highness asked us to dinner. After the twenty-third course I struck, and dinner ended abruptly. We gained valuable information, went back to our ship, and proceeded eastward. We found our landmarks. We knew we were near to Ophir, but a booming surf showed us that our boats could never land. A surf boat came off to us. Abdulla, the Sheikh's son, and his party had come to call on us. He was much dressed, with the village sword girt too tightly about his waist. His sandals nearly tripped him up, but when he had saluted us he threw his sandals down into the boat, and with difficulty unbuckled his swordbelt. Barefoot and at ease he accompanied us round the ship. The wonders of our modern ship left them unimpressed. The wireless excited no wonder. The electric fan amused them, but left them cold. Then Sheikh Hassan, Abdulla's brother, asked for a glass of water. We went to the filter and turned on the tap. Here was a wonder, indeed! By the time they had finished playing with the filter the wardroom was in a flood.

* * * * *

The Town of Ophir Located.

We borrowed the Sheikh's boat for landing, and here I must break into Arabic.

"*Salaam a leikoom Sheikh. Fain al bilad el Ophir?*"

It was my best Arabic and the Sheikh looked puzzled. We broke into Bedou talk, which comes easier. "*Yah Sidi. Wain al bilad ed-Ophr?*" (Where is the town of Ophir?).

"*Haza al beled Ophr*" (This is the country of Ophir), answered the Sheikh readily.

"*La la nisht al bilad mush beled*" (I want the town, not the country).

"*Ho, Al Bilad. Hunna. T'Shoof*" (The *town*. Over there. Look). And in those words he sealed a friendship for life.

* * * * *

Modern Problems.

To come to modern times and see how the problems are almost unchanged. Palestine of 1927 is closely comparable to Palestine of that date. It is not yet the Palestine of Suleiman's third decade, for at that time Palestine was the manufacturing and trade centre of the Middle East. The country was secure to north and south, more so than at the present time. Only its eastern frontiers were unsettled, and King Suleiman owned one of the most efficient armies in the Middle East. For his father David had been the first ruler to adopt chain mail for his troops. Also his kingdom had the finest horses.

Suleiman had well-equipped garrisons at his important towns. It is questionable if we could afford to give Palestine so certain a military protection as it enjoyed in the days of Suleiman. We must go further back into history for our comparison. In the days of King David the country had accumulated its own gold reserve, and was a well-developed pastoral country. At present Palestine has not regained so full a development. It is partially developed, with somewhat insecure borders to northward and to eastward. In fact, it is the Palestine of King Saul, and it lies within our power to develop the land to the prosperity of Suleiman.

Present-day Palestine is being developed rapidly and with marvellous efficiency as well as boundless tact. Let us hope its cities will be rebuilt with local labour and with local material as in the days of Suleiman.

Let us hope that its Eastern lands will redevelop with their mineral resources. With the help of the Ophir lands we may have a Palestine that includes all Arabia and also the extensive kindgom of Sabbæa.

Then we shall see the fulfilment of the dreams of two of the great rulers of history—namely, Suleiman the Wise and Bilkis the Beautiful.

Sir PERCY COX: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to enter into the discussion because I spent some years in that part of the world—*i.e.*, in Oman—but I have very little personal knowledge of the particular place that Commander Craufurd has been telling us about, although I have just been there. In any case it is exceedingly useful, in respect of a problem like this, that those who are interested enough to endeavour to advance theories or arrive at conclusions, should come and explain them before others likewise interested. It gives an opportunity for discussion. But, while I am sorry to offer destructive criticism, I must query the conclusions that Commander Craufurd has come to—on several points. As the Chairman has told us, this question of the position of Ophir has puzzled geographers and Bible students for many centuries, and it has been very deeply gone into by various scholars, and several theories have been advanced and so-called evidence brought to bear to prove them. For instance, there is the theory of the Zimbabwe Ruins in Mashonaland, and other theories that it was Malacca, India, or Ceylon, or the place Commander Craufurd has told us about; and if you start with one of those theories you can, I will not say by " manipulation," but by arguing your points as you go along, practically make the voyage and the conditions agree with your theory, whichever it be; and finally you arrive at the conclusion that you have got the right place. But there is almost always some flaw in the evidence, and in Commander Craufurd's evidence this evening I think there are several. One or two details first. The question of the commodities or animals that were brought from Ophir, according to the Bible. In all probability we cannot, in regard to a point like this, depend at all upon the accuracy of the English version as we have it now. Our version speaks of the "peacock," but it may just as well have been some other bright-plumaged bird. It is not necessarily the peacock of India. It has somewhere been suggested, in order to suit another theory, that it must have been the parrot. All I mean is that we cannot safely base an argument on any certainty that the peacock of the Bible is the peacock as we know it today.

The place-name referred to by the lecturer—Ezion Geber—seems very likely, as he suggests, to be a corruption of Arabic words. It might be El-Zion El-Kebir (Zion the Great), which would be ordinary Arabic, and there is a general trend of belief that Ophir was somewhere in Arabia, because Havilah and Tarshish, the places coupled with it, are located in that part of the continent of Asia. When, however, we get down to the particular place referred to by the lecturer, and he takes up the grammatical point, I must point out that the district in which Al Bilad lies is not called Dōphĭr (Dhōfăr) at all, but Dhŭfār (ظفار) with a short "ŭ" and a long "ā." There you have a difficulty, not perhaps an insurmountable one; but if the pronunciations Ōphĭr and Dōphĭr are correct, then they cannot be identical with Dhŭfār. But of course we may have got the word Ōphĭr wrong too in the Bible rendering.

Again, in regard to the question involved in the forms "Al Ophir" or "Ed-Ophir," I cannot admit that you can have the form "ed" before a vowel. "Ed-Ophir" would not be possible in my opinion, in any Arabic, Bedou, or other; it might be either Al Ophir or Dophir, but never Ed-Ophir. That is a point which only those with some knowledge of Arabic would appreciate.

As regards the voyage involved—there are no doubt others here with a knowledge of navigation who would be able to work it out, and perhaps have done so. I believe you can work it out to fit that district of Dhŭfār, and the man who has studied this question most in the last generation, a scholar named Glaser, came to the conclusion that undoubtedly the Ophir of old was somewhere in the district of Dhŏfār. As regards the ruins at Al Bilad, I never examined them myself, but it was the general impression in circles where I discussed the question that they are post-Mohammedan, and they need a good deal more thorough examination before it can be accepted that they are any older than that. Most of my comment is, I fear, somewhat destructive, but I do not apologize to the lecturer for that, because, as I say, the chief use of such a paper as we have just heard is to encourage discussion; and, if I am destructive, I hope someone will be able to argue on the other side. But I think the subject wants more study before we can accept that we are any further advanced towards the proof of the identity of Ophir by what we have heard this evening. (Applause.)

Major Reilly: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I may tell you that I am not at all qualified really to join in the discussion as to the whereabouts of Ophir. Although I have spent many years in Arabia, and I know some of the localities that our lecturer has spoken about, I cannot claim to have made any study of this particular problem that he has dealt with today, nor have I seen the place to which he went, nor the particular spot which he described. The part of the country that I have known is the district which he described as having been at one time such a pleasant place—namely, Aden—but as we know it now has rather a different reputation. We know the districts to the interior by repute very well, and we see many of the remains of the Sabbæan civilization in the district of Saba there. We do not penetrate, unfortunately, from Aden—as many of us as would like—owing to the difficulty of present circumstances; and much as I should have liked at times to have made some journeys into the interior and round about these districts that Commander Craufurd has been talking about, I am sorry that I cannot claim to have done them except the one along the coast.

Admiral Richmond: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—So far as the winds are concerned that Commander Craufurd has spoken of, I do not see anything in the monsoon to upset his theory. It is perfectly reasonable to start off from Ezion Geber, go down the Red Sea, and go down to Zanzibar with the northerly monsoon. I do not know how long Hiram's dhows would have to wait at Zanzibar filling up. I presume they were going to draw something from Zanzibar?

The Lecturer: Yes, gold.

Admiral Richmond: Then they went across to Ceylon when the south-west monsoon began. They would probably have to spend some time there, and they could, working on the monsoons as we know them now, get up to Karachi perfectly well by the following autumn, and then come down again and get to this port of Ophir. I do not quite follow the lecturer after he leaves the port. How does he absorb the remainder of the time if the voyage is to take three years? He has taken fifteen months getting there, and I am not quite sure how the remaining time is filled up. I take it that the things named as having been brought home from the voyage were got from the different places, the gold from Zanzibar and the birds and stones from Ceylon; but I do not know what he got from Karachi.

The Lecturer: Up that coast he got the algum tree.

Admiral Richmond: I do not see how the lecturer identifies either the algum tree or the other tree that he mentions. I do not see any proofs as to the identity of Ophir with the biblical Ophir on the ground of the tree. But on the general grounds of the voyaging, with the exception of some slight doubts as to how the second half of the time is to be used up, the theory of the winds is perfectly reasonable. It might be wise to have a rather more complete examination as to what knowledge there is of these ruins to be able to make sure whether they are post-Mohammedan ruins or earlier ones. The photographs he showed us had the appearance of being of more recent date than he ascribed to them.

The LECTURER: I will only keep you a minute or two to answer one or two of the questions that have been put to me. These ruins might, of course, be post-Moslem or, as I suggest, very much older. I am not a qualified archæologist, nor am I sufficiently qualified to express a definite opinion on this subject, but I should point out that if they are post-Moslem it is rather extraordinary that we could find no type of writing, even when searching all over those ruins, which suggested post-Moslem dates. We found no writing at all. I next looked for anything that might suggest something to do with any masonic suggestions, triangles, circles, and so on. But as a matter of fact we found no writings of any sort, although the ruins are very solid, and we might have expected to find something on them. That, as a matter of fact, is rather well supported by various traditions among the Arabs—which I have not got time to go into—about the lack of artistic skill amongst the Arabs of the days of Bilkis. The other question that we have to look at rather carefully is how the rest of the time was spent in that eighteen months' cruise. You will remember on the way back they had the rest of the north monsoon to carry them down that southern part of the Arabian coast. Then the south monsoon carried them up to Jedda and right up to the head of what we call the Gulf of Suez, to the modern place Suez, and then the last touch of the north monsoon would bring them down again to Ezion Geber. It would take eighteen months, for this would be a slower trading trip than the rest of the voyage because it was over a wealthier stretch of coast. I do not think there is any other problem I could deal with at all satisfactorily in the short time at my disposal.

Sir EDMUND BARROW: Could you give us the answer to the riddle?

The LECTURER: The answer to the riddle is this: Bilkis had the true flowers and the artificial ones. When Solomon said to her, "Pray be seated," she sat near a window, and the bees coming in gave the answer. (Laughter and applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have, as I anticipated, listened to an amusing, instructive, and enlightening lecture, and to a very interesting discussion on it. I am not qualified to say anything as regards the geographical questions involved; but it suddenly dawned on me as the lecture went on that the Sultan of Shihr and Makalla (whose beautiful capital was shown to us on the screen), with his sons Abdulla and Hasan, were old friends of mine, and my acquaintance with them throws some slight and indirect light on the question raised this evening. The old Sultan was the ruling chief of the Arab coast under the political jurisdiction of the Government of Bombay, and was entitled to a salute. I made his acquaintance in Hyderabad, Deccan, where he was known as the Pirate King from his swashbuckler appearance and breezy manners. In Hyderabad this old gentleman was the commander of Arab mercenaries in the service of the Nizams. His ancestors 130 years ago had imported these Arab levies, and they were the backbone of the Nizam's forces, far better than any material that could be found in Southern India. From the fact that he used to provide these forces, who were the bodyguard of the Nizams of Hyderabad, he acquired a very high position in Hyderabad, and was known to have accumulated enormous wealth, not from his own Ophir on the shores of the Gulf, but from the Nizam's very well-endowed treasury. I was Resident in Hyderabad from 1907 to 1909, and this old warrior, Abdulla's father, had claims against the Nizam's Government for about one and a half millions arrears of pay for his Arab levies. He was on quite good terms with the Government, but wanted the arrears paid up. The Nizam's Government replied that he had been paid over and over again, and that it had counter-claims against him for about two millions. As British Resident in Hyderabad I used often to be visited by the Sultan of Shihr and Makalla, asking me to bring pressure on the Nizam's Government and get them to settle his claim. I used also to get letters from the Bombay Government saying that the presence of the Sultan of Shihr and Makalla in his own state was very necessary, and asking me to bring matters to a settlement. On one occasion when I managed to get him and the Nizam's Minister together, I said, "Cannot you really come to some settlement, or let us have a commission on it?" The Nizam's Minister repeated that the Sultan had been paid, and in fact overpaid. He added: "Hyderabad has been to him the gold-mine which he lost in his own country." (Laughter.) I did not know anything about Ophir in those days, and I said, "Have you gold-mines in your country, Sultan?" He replied: "I believe there was a gold-mine there thousands of years ago, but it is exhausted." I mention that because it shows that even then the Nizam's Government had this tradition that the Sultan of Shihr and Makalla possessed a gold-mine in his own country; and the Sultan admitted there was a tradition that a gold-mine had existed there some thousands of years ago. I think we are all very grateful to the lecturer for the very delightful way in which he has handled a most fascinating subject, and for the admirable slides with which he has illustrated it. I would ask you to pass him a most hearty vote of thanks before we adjourn. (Applause.)

WAZIRISTAN*

BY MAJOR-GENERAL A. LE G. JACOB, C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., C.B.E., D.S.O.

Our First Contact and Relations with the Inhabitants of Waziristan.

BEFORE dealing with Waziristan as it is now, I propose to describe very briefly the country and our relations with its inhabitants from the time when we first came into contact with them.

To many of you here, who probably know the country as well as I do, this will not be necessary, but for those who have not been in those parts a reference to past events will make things clearer. We have here a map of the North-West Frontier Province (or at any rate of the greater part of it) which it will be as well to examine carefully.

It is merely an outline map, and does not show any of the physical features of the country, but it gives the names of the various places of importance and the communications, and also part of the Zhob district of the adjoining province of Baluchistan.

There are two lines marked on the map which are of importance, the Durand Line and the Administrative Border, which I will refer to presently.

---

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, on Wednesday, May 25, 1927, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Chairman, presiding. Major-General A. Le G. Jacob, C.B., etc., delivered an address on Waziristan.

The CHAIRMAN, in his opening remarks, said : "Ladies and Gentlemen, this afternoon we are going to hear something about Waziristan. We have heard much about it in the past; it has generally been a thorn in our flesh. No invasion of India from the north-west ever failed before our time; every invader succeeded in effecting his entrance into India, from the days of Alexander down to the Afghans in the eighteenth century. It was only when we came on the scene that the invasions of India stopped. India is particularly liable to invasion from two routes: one is the Khyber in the north—that is held by the Afridis—and the other route is through the more southern passes, the Kurram, Tochi, and Gomal, all of which lie wholly or partly through Waziristan; Waziristan is a very vital factor in the defence of India. Therefore it is essential to us to have a strong position in Waziristan and to strengthen that position by having the local tribes on our side. We are very fortunate this evening in having one of the greatest authorities on the subject to address us. General Jacob, who has kindly agreed to deliver the lecture, belongs to a family which has been known on the North-West Frontier for approximately a hundred years, and has given many distinguished soldiers to the Indian Army. He himself has spent nearly all his service on that frontier except for the four or five years of the Great War. He finished his service by commanding in Waziristan, and he will be able to tell us what a large part Waziristan plays in the scheme of Indian defence, of the policy we are adopting now, and whether that policy is furthering the end in view, the defence of British India. I will now ask General Jacob to give his address."

The Administrative Border is in the plains, and practically corresponds with the foot of the hills.

The country between these two lines is a mass of mountains, not on the gigantic scale of the Himalayas, but of considerable size, many of the peaks running up to anything between 10,000 and 12,000 feet in height.

The Two Tribes. This chain of mountains runs all along the north-west frontier, through Baluchistan right down to the sea, some 2,000 miles, and is inhabited by some 300,000 well-armed tribesmen. The lower hills in Waziristan, up to a height of 4,000 feet, are very barren and desolate looking, but the higher hills are well wooded with oak, pine, and fir trees.

The inhabitants of Waziristan consist of two main tribes, the Wazirs, or Darwesh Khel, and the Mahsuds. Although undoubtedly having a common ancestor, these two tribes are distinct.

Wazirs. **Mahsuds.** The Wazirs, who are the stronger numerically, inhabit roughly the upper part of the Tochi valley, Shawal, and the country round Wana and Spin, while the Mahsuds occupy the centre.

Through this mass of mountains there are five important passes from Afghanistan into India. Commencing from the north:

The Passes.

1. The Khyber.
2. The Peiwar Khotal.
3. The Tochi.
4. The Gomal.
5. The Bolan.

Khyber and Bolan. The Khyber and the Bolan are the two most important, and have been used by armies for the invasion of India for some thousands of years, and there is now a railway through each of them.

Peiwar Khotal. The Peiwar Khotal came into prominence during the second Afghan War, when Lord Roberts advanced by it into Kabul after the massacre of our envoy, Sir L. Cavagnari, and his escort.

The Tochi. The Tochi has not been used by any modern army, either from or into Afghanistan, but it was traversed several times by Mahmud of Ghazni in his various invasions of India in the eleventh century. It is not a very difficult route. It leads to Ghazni.

The Gomal. The Gomal Pass, which follows the Gomal river, is fairly easy so far as the actual track is concerned, but the country through which it goes is about the worst on the frontier. This route also leads to Ghazni, but has not been used by armies for some centuries.

Both these passes, especially the Gomal, are used every year by the Ghilzai Powindahs during their migration into India in the autumn and their return to Afghanistan in the spring. They move with their wives and families and all their camels, sheep, etc.—about 70,000 human beings, and about the same number of camels, through the Gomal Pass alone—and this migration takes about two months each way.

Before we came into these parts, the Powindahs had often to fight their way through the pass.

The Administrative Border and the Durand Line.

When we annexed the Punjab in 1849-1850 we took over all the countries which had been under the rule of the Sikhs, and, as regards the frontier, this extended only to the foot of the hills. In some places, notably the Bannu district, their rule was only nominal.

Their only method of collecting any revenue from it was by sending periodically a small army there which looted and destroyed, but it ended generally in their being chased out of the country by the exasperated inhabitants without any revenue.

In the district further south, now the Dera Ismail Khan district, their rule was less shadowy. Raiding by the tribesmen from the hills was constant, but the Sikhs only once attempted to enter the hills and were only too glad to come out again.

After annexation we took over charge and established garrisons and administered the country right up to the foot of the hills—taking revenue from the people—and this is, practically speaking, our administrative border now. Although we have garrisons in the hills and in many places beyond it, we do not "administer" or take revenue beyond it.

The Durand Line.

Most of you know what the *Durand Line* is, but for the benefit of those who do not, I will explain it very shortly.

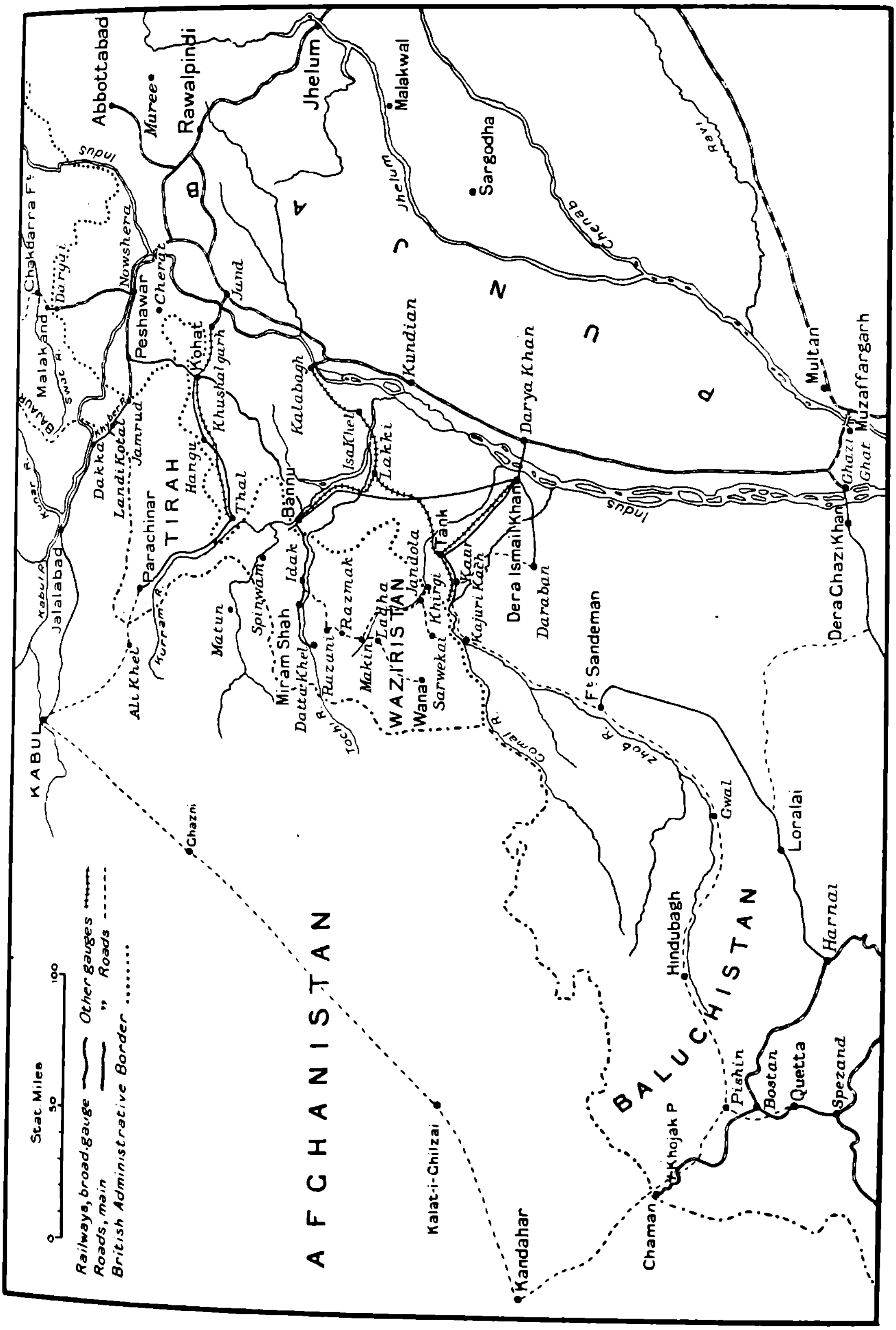
The mountains all along the frontier are inhabited by various tribesmen, such as Mohmands, Swatis, Bajauris, Afridis, Orakzais, Wazirs, Mahsuds, etc., who have always been immensely proud of their independence, and acknowledged neither the Amir of Afghanistan nor the British as their rulers, and who look upon the various phases of frontier fighting as their normal existence.

Although all alike in their spirit of independence they are not alike in their tribal constitution and idiosyncrasies. They are all Pathans, and are allied in language and religion to the Afghans, but not in race affinity, except, perhaps, the Mohmands.

They have not the faintest race sympathy with India or the ruling people of India, but all of them would appeal to the Amir of Afghanistan as adviser and supporter. If he has not been their king, he has been their religious chief and their political referee.

It was extremely easy, therefore, for the Amir to stir up these tribesmen against us if ever he wished to make himself unpleasant and to give us trouble.

In 1893 relations with the Amir had been strained for some time. Among other reasons he was very sore about our selection of New


Stat. Miles
0
50
100
Railways, broad gauge
Other gauges
Roads, main
,, Roads
British Administrative Border
AFGHANISTAN
BALUCHISTAN
WAZIRISTAN
TIRAH
PUNJAB
BAJAUR
KABUL
Jalalabad
Kabul R.
Kunar R.
Ghazni
Kalat-i-Chilzai
Kandahar
Chaman
Khojak P.
Pishin
Bostan
Quetta
Spezand
Hindubagh
Harnai
Loralai
Gwal
Zhob R.
Ft Sandeman
Gomal R.
Abbottabad
Muree
Rawalpindi
Jhelum
Malakwal
Sargodha
Jhelum
Chenab
Ravi
Multan
Muzaffargarh
Ghazi Ghat
Dera Ghazi Khan
Indus
Chakdarra Ft
Malakand
Swat R.
Durgai
Nowshera
Peshawar
Cherat
Jamrud
Khyber P.
Landi Kotal
Dakka
Kohat
Jund
Khushalgarh
Kalabagh
Kundian
Isa Khel
Lakki
Hangu
Thal
Parachinar
Kurram R.
Ali Khel
Matun
Spinwam
Bannu
Idak
Miram Shah
Datta Khel
Tochi R.
Razmak
Razani
Makin
Ladha
Jandola
Tank
Khirgi
Wana
Sarwekai
Kajuri Kach
Murtaza
Dera Ismail Khan
Daraban
Darya Khan

Chaman as the site of the railway terminus on the far side of the Khojak. He considered that we had gone too far down into the plain, and had violated the Treaty of Gandamak. On the other hand, we had various complaints against him for aggression, so negotiations were made for a mission to proceed to Kabul and definitely fix with the Amir our respective spheres of influence. Sir Mortimer Durand, at that time Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, was our envoy, and after some months succeeded in getting the Amir to sign the agreement. The line you see on the map was agreed to, and it has been called the Durand Line after Sir Mortimer Durand. Except in a few places, which it was impossible for our parties to visit, the whole of this line has been marked out by pillars.

Durand Mission to Kabul.

Expeditions into Waziristan.

I will now mention very briefly the various expeditions which we have had to carry out from time to time against the tribesmen in Waziristan. Raiding has always been looked upon by the trans-border tribesmen as a normal condition of existence, and as a legitimate source of income. In this respect, raiding, temptation with these border people lies all on the side of India. Their own lands are barren and rough, and cultivation is confined to the narrowest strips of alluvial soil which may be found alongside their mountain streams. In fact, their own country is not self-supporting, and up to recent times they looked to raiding and looting the plainsmen to increase their means of subsistence. They are born with the instincts of the old Scottish Border robber in them, and the fat plains of the Punjab were their traditional hunting grounds. After taking over from the Sikhs, we very soon came into conflict with both the Mahsuds and Wazirs. The result was our first expedition against the Mahsuds in 1860 under General Sir Neville Chamberlain. Those were the days of muzzle-loaders, and the Mahsuds trusted chiefly to shock tactics, especially attacks on a camp just before dawn. They made one of these on our camp at Palosin, near Jandola, and managed to get in, but were beaten off with considerable loss on both sides. There was also some severe fighting at the Barari Tangi, but our force went through the country, brought the Mahsuds to terms, and then withdrew from the hills.

First Expedition.

Except for occasional raiding, matters remained comparatively quiet for some years, but towards the end of the second Afghan War in 1880 the Mahsuds and Wazirs came out of their hills in strength and sacked Tank (about nine miles from the nearest hills), and in the spring of 1881 an expedition under General Kennedy started in two columns, one up the Takki Zam from Tank to Kaniguram, and the other up the Khaisora valley, with Razmak as its objective. There was some desultory fighting, and various villages and towers were destroyed. The Mah-

The Sack of Tank and the Expedition in 1881.

suds and Wazirs came to terms, and the force again retired from the hills to their cantonments in the plains.

The Third Expedition, 1894.

Occupation of Wana.

The next expedition, the third, was in 1894-1895. Shortly after the Durand Line had been agreed to the Government of India decided to form a military post at Wana. The Amir had built a post there shortly before this, but had been obliged to withdraw the garrison in accordance with the Durand agreement.

Wana is some twenty miles from the Durand Line on our side of it, and its strategical importance had been recognized by both our political and military authorities for the following reasons :

A military force established at Wana is in a position (*a*) to stop Afghan emissaries and troops from entering that area from Birmal; (*b*) to dominate the Suleiman Khel and other Ghilzai tribes who enter our territory every year by the Gomal river route; (*c*) to check both Mahsuds and Wazirs from raiding in the Zhob district.

It was decided to occupy the place with a brigade of all arms, and incidentally to use this force as a support, which was considered essential to the actual demarcation of the Durand Line west of Waziristan.

Attack by Tribesmen, 1894.

This brigade arrived at Wana in 1894, and encamped in the open plain. Here they were attacked by a combination of the Mahsuds and Wazirs just before dawn. The enemy managed to penetrate the camp, and a fierce hand-to-hand fight took place in the dark. They were eventually driven out by the bayonet with heavy loss, and as soon as it was light enough to see, the cavalry were let loose, followed by infantry and guns, and the tribesmen disappeared into the hills.

This led to the expedition of 1894-1895 under General Sir William Lockhart. Again our troops went right through the country, and the Mahsuds came to terms. Then was our opportunity to occupy Mahsud country, and the Mahsuds were prepared to accept it. There was at that time scarcely a single breech-loader in the country, and occupation could have been followed by gradual disarmament without much difficulty, but again we cleared out.

However, we occupied Wana in Wazir country, and its effect was very soon apparent. Raiding into the Zhob district of Baluchistan almost ceased, and it was found possible to reduce the strength of the garrisons and outlying detachments by nearly one-half.

The force eventually kept at Wana after the demarcation of the Durand Line was one battalion of infantry, one section of mountain artillery (two guns), and one squadron of cavalry.

Before this occupation of Wana the route through the Gomal Pass, from Kajuri Kach to Murtaza, had been opened in 1891 by Sir Robert Sandeman, A.G.G., Baluchistan.

There was thus communication to Wana through this pass from the plains and also communication with Zhob along the Zhob river from Khajuri Kach.

About the same time the Tochi valley had been occupied, our most advanced post being at Datta Khel at the head of the valley.

Attack on Maizar, 1897.

Except for occasional raids the country was more or less quiet for a few years. Then came the treacherous attack on our troops at Maizar, about ten miles beyond Datta Khel, in 1897, resulting in the expedition against the Wazirs, but with very little actual fighting.

The Waziristan Militia Corps.

In 1900 the Government of India decided to raise two local militia corps in Waziristan, to take the place eventually of the regular troops located there. One, the North Waziristan Militia, to be located in the Tochi valley, and the other, the South Waziristan Militia, at Wana and along the Gomal route. Local militia had been tried with success elsewhere along the frontier, notably in the Kurram valley, but the position there was very different from that in Waziristan.

The inhabitants of the Kurram valley, the Turis, were only too glad of our presence and support in their valley, as they were surrounded on three sides by hostile tribesmen, so they joined the militia freely and worked with us.

The Kurram Militia.

That corps, the Kurram Militia, was in actual fact what it was intended to be—a corps locally recruited and for local service, and it answered admirably. In Waziristan, on the other hand, it was extremely risky to enlist Mahsuds in large numbers; we were not occupying a single yard of their country, and had therefore very little control over them. Moreover, one of the main duties of the militia would be to intercept raiders, and most of the raiders were bound to be Mahsuds. The case of the Wazirs was slightly different; we were occupying a good deal of their country in the Tochi and at Wana, and we had therefore some hold over them. A good number of them were enlisted and did well.

We tried the experiment of enlisting Mahsuds at Wana, the headquarters of the South Waziristan Militia, and at one time we had about 500 of them—about one-third of the strength of the corps—but it was not a success. They got out of hand, made a plan to seize the headquarters post at Wana, which very nearly succeeded, and they incidentally murdered the commanding officer, so they were all discharged. With the exception of a small number of Wazirs, the corps eventually consisted of other border tribesmen such as Afridis, Orakzais, Khattaks, etc., and was not locally recruited.

Shortly after the raising of these two militia corps had commenced, the Mahsuds, whose offences in the way of raiding and other outrages had been mounting up, were fined, as a tribe, a lakh of rupees. They were given a month in which to pay up, failing which they were to be blockaded. Needless to say they didn't pay, and the blockade started in December, 1900. This lasted nearly a year, was not successful in bringing them to book, and another expedition—the fourth—was carried out against them. This was in the winter of 1901-1902, and again we went through their country.

The fighting was not severe, and a lot of destruction of villages and towns was carried out as before.

Here again was our opportunity to occupy their country, and again we declined to take it and cleared out. Meanwhile the Mahsuds had become very much better armed. More than one-third of their fighting men had breech-loaders by this time.

In 1904 the two Waziristan militia corps relieved most of the regular troops in Waziristan, and the situation remained more or less quiet until the outbreak of the Great War.

Our position then in Waziristan was this: We occupied the whole of the Tochi valley on the north, and the Gomal route up to Wana on the south side. The east side had always been held by us, but the west towards the Durand Line was entirely open, and both Mahsuds and Wazirs had free communication with Afghanistan whenever they chose. Not a single part of Mahsud country was occupied by us.

Enlistment of Mahsuds in the Indian Army.

In the early nineties Mahsuds had been enlisted in one of our Indian regiments, the 124th Baluchis, up to the strength of one company—114 men—and about ten years later, in 1903, a company of Mahsuds was raised in the 130th Baluchis.

Both these experiments proved successful, and in 1910 it was decided to raise two additional companies in the 130th, and three companies in each of the 127th and 129th Baluchis. There were thus at the outbreak of the Great War, in 1914, ten companies of Mahsuds altogether in these four Baluch regiments—about 1,050 men.

Many of these Mahsuds served in France and East Africa during the Great War and did extremely well.

As was the case among other trans-border tribesmen enlisted in our Indian Army, notably the Afridis, disinclination to serve (to put it mildly) became apparent, and it ended in the discharge of practically every trans-border Pathan in our Indian Army; up to then the situation in Waziristan was more or less normal, but in 1916 and 1917 serious trouble broke out—and we had few reliable troops with frontier experience to cope effectually with it. In 1919 the crash came, fomented and actively supported by the present Amir of Afghanistan.

When the two Waziristan militia corps were first raised in 1900—I happened to be one of the officers first appointed—it was always impressed upon us that we should never be left in the lurch, and that we could always count on support by regular troops in time of trouble.

Retreat from Wana, 1919.

However, in 1919, when real and very serious trouble occurred, no support was forthcoming.

The commandant of the South-West Militia at Wana, Major Russell, a very gallant officer, received instructions by telegram that he could not receive any support, and that he could hang on to Wana or clear out as he thought best. I cannot imagine any officer being placed in a more unfortunate position. He could have hung on to Wana for possibly a month until his supplies gave out—water would not have been any difficulty, as there was a well in the fort—but by that time the whole country would have been up and retreat would have been almost impossible. He wisely decided to clear out while there was still time. He had no transport, and he and his officers and men had nothing but what they stood up in. He decided to retire quietly during the night, and his only line of retreat was to Toi Khullah, twenty-eight miles, and thence into Zhob. Some 200 Afridis of the corps, who happened to form part of the garrison at headquarters at Wana at the time, turned traitors and fired on the others. So the retirement was hampered from the very start. To cut a long story short, the unfortunate remnants of the corps, some 300 or 400, eventually straggled into Fort Sandeman, having had to fight their way down for about fifty miles before they got clear. Major Russell himself was badly wounded, and nearly all his British officers were killed.

Effect of Evacuation.

You can imagine the effect of this evacuation of Wana in the country round.

Afghan emissaries and troops almost at once came in from the Birmal direction. The Wazirs joined in with the Mahsuds, and practically the whole of Waziristan was up.

I have already mentioned the strategical importance of Wana, and our abandonment of the place at once had its effect.

Strong parties of raiders, both Mahsuds and Wazirs, at once started operations in Zhob, and at one time Fort Sandeman itself, the headquarters of the Zhob district and about a hundred miles from Wana, was besieged for some days. The troops in these parts had to be reinforced—to about double their former strength—and all their work had to be carried out as on active service in an enemy's country, where formerly all had been quiet and comparatively peaceful.

We were then compelled to carry out operations against the Mahsuds at a most inconvenient time. The Great War was just over, most of our regiments in the Indian Army consisted of mere recruits with no frontier training and experience, and their British officers, with a few exceptions, were much the same.

We organized what in former years would have been considered a very large force, and more than adequate to deal with the situation, but before the Great War we had many very fine regiments thoroughly well trained in frontier warfare, both officers and men, and up to all the tricks of the game. Now in 1919 we had to rely on quantity, not quality, and to add to our difficulties there must have been something like 2,000 Mahsuds against us, who had been trained by us—about one-fifth or one-sixth of the fighting strength of the tribe. Nearly every Mahsud had a modern rifle and knew how to use it, and he was on his own ground, with every inch of which he was familiar; whereas in the expedition of 1901-1902 our troops, well trained and able to shoot well, plastered the Mahsuds with lead up to 800 yards every time they showed themselves, now the boot was on the other leg. Many of our troops had not even fired a recruits' course with their rifles, and it was *our* men who got the plastering; the result was the biggest butcher's bill on the frontier, our casualties being over 2,000.

Reoccupation.

However, we won in the end, and this time we fortunately did not clear out of the country. We occupied strongly with troops the line up the Takki Zam to Ladha, close to Kaniguram, and proper road construction for motor transport was carried out. The South Waziristan Militia was reorganized at Jandola, and renamed the South Waziristan Scouts.

I may mention that the withdrawal from Wana also entailed the evacuation of all the other posts held at that time by the South-Waziristan Militia and the complete abandonment of the Gomal Pass, which we had held for nearly thirty years.

It was a very heavy blow to our prestige, from which we have not completely recovered. At the same time as the withdrawal from Wana took place, the commandant of the North Waziristan Militia was ordered to abandon Datta Khel and the other posts in the Tochi valley above Miram Shah held by the militia, and actually also to burn them on retirement. Imagine the effect of this on the local tribesmen of the country round and on those enlisted in the corps. They could only think one thing—and that was that we were "down and out." Things were comparatively quiet for some time after the expedition of 1919-1920, chiefly because we were in occupation of the country or, at any rate, of part of it—but there was a distinct feeling of unrest owing to the delay in the decision of the Government of India as to whether we intended definitely to remain or to clear out. Fortunately, Government decided to retain troops in the country; and then came the question of the best place for locating these troops in order to dominate the Mahsuds. Razmak was the place decided upon.

Razmuk Field Force.

In the autumn of 1922 the Razmak Field Force was formed from the troops of the Kohat district with orders to occupy Razmak and form a strong movable column capable of operating in any direction from there.

Frontier Roads.

This operation was duly carried out, and the Razmak plateau was occupied in January, 1923, in a blinding snow-storm; at the same time a good metalled road fit for heavy mechanical transport was constructed, branching off from the existing road up the Tochi at Isha and thence all the way to Razmak.

From Razmak this road has been continued, and now joins up with the road from Jandola up the Takki Zam, so that you have a circular motor road now running from Bannu up the Tochi, right through the heart of Waziristan, down to Jandola, and then on to Dera Ismail Khan in one direction, and to Sarwakai to the west.

Razmak itself is an excellent place for a cantonment—6,500 feet in height and a good climate, about five miles from Makin. The garrison is a large one, consisting of three pack batteries, one section medium artillery (6-inch howitzer), one company S. and M., six battalions of infantry, and one battalion pioneers; and the movable column from this force consists of two pack batteries, four battalions infantry, one battalion pioneers, and one company S. and M. I will now deal with the present situation and our future policy in Waziristan.

Policy and Present Situation.

The present situation is this: we have a large force at Razmak with a strong movable column, which dominates the Mahsuds to a great extent; but there are certain sections of the tribe which this column cannot reach at present without a lot of additional pack transport. It is equipped with M.T. A.T. carts, and a certain amount of pack-mule transport, and it can move anywhere along the circular road and up to Sarwekai, and it can also move to Wana when necessary, as it did last year, and in the opposite direction from Razmak into the Tochi up to Datta Khel. It can also strike at any tribesmen within a day's march of the metalled road; but there are two important parts of the country which it cannot reach without pack transport—*i.e.*, camels—and they are (*a*) the Shaktu valley, and (*b*) towards Kaniguram and the Khaisara valley.

The road itself from Bannu right round through Razmak and Jandola and thence to Manzai in the one direction, and to Sarwekai in the other, is strongly held by regulars, scouts, and khassadars.

The present policy is, in my opinion, thoroughly sound, but it must be continuous and progressive.

What we have suffered from in the past is a lack of continuity in our policy, or rather a lack of any policy at all. We blew hot and cold alternately, with no practical result so far as the pacification of the country was concerned.

We should therefore continue our present policy steadily and progressively, and the next step in our progress should be the reoccupation of Wana, and the sooner this is done the better.

On a frontier which consists of a chain of mountainous country like our north-west frontier, one of the most essential and important things is good lateral communications, so that troops and supplies can be moved without difficulty where and when required. At present there is no lateral communication by road between Waziristan and the Zhob district of Baluchistan, although the two districts are adjoining: there used to be before we withdrew from Wana.

In this connection there is already a narrow-gauge railway from Khanai (about thirty miles north of Quetta) to Hindu Bagh, and I have reason to believe that an extension of this railway from Hindu Bagh, down the Zhob valley to Fort Sandeman has now been sanctioned. It seems natural and obvious therefore that this railway should eventually be continued down the Gomal valley to Tank, where there is a similar narrow-gauge railway.

I have already mentioned the strategical importance of Wana and the effect of its occupation.

Now, since our withdrawal, there is a big gap in our line of about forty or fifty miles, exposing the Zhob district from the north and west, and communication by road has ceased to exist.

The reoccupation of Wana would at once close this gap, and automatically cause a reduction in the number of troops which it is now found necessary to keep in the Zhob district for its protection. In fact that fatal withdrawal in 1919 has put us back thirty years in that part of the country.

Our next obvious steps, therefore, it seems to be, should be (*a*) the occupation of Wana; (*b*) construction of a metalled road fit for mechanical transport from Razmak to Wana; (*c*) extension of the road from Sarwekai to Wana; (*d*) a branch from this road to Khajuri Kach and thence to Fort Sandeman.

If the above be carried out, our hold on Waziristan would be complete: Wana should be held by regulars.

It would not mean any addition to the troops now in the country. The garrison I recommend is one squadron of cavalry, three battalions of infantry, and one pack battery, all from the Manzai Brigade. We are not committed to any serious building programme yet at Manzai, and the troops could be hutted at Wana just as easily as at Manzai, and in a far better climate.

The regular troops in Waziristan would then be concentrated in the two most important places for dominating and holding the country as regards both Mahsuds and Wazirs.

The soundness of our present policy is to my mind apparent. It has resulted in peace and quiet during the past two years, such as was unknown before, and if we continue this policy steadily and progressively on the lines suggested, the gradual disarmament of the tribesmen will most assuredly follow. It is merely a question of time.

The Mahsuds are undoubtedly settling down, and are recognizing and reconciling themselves to the fact that we mean to stay.

There will be no opposition to our reoccupation of Wana from the Wana Wazirs, and as regards a road from Razmak to Wana via Kaniguram, the Mahsuds are already beginning to ask about contracts for work on the road, as they are convinced that this is bound to come.

The civilizing effect of good roads is apt sometimes to be lost sight of.

What we are doing now in Waziristan is exactly what was done in the Highlands of Scotland nearly two hundred years ago by General Wade when he made a road right through them, and the effect will be the same.

The pity of it is that it was not done thirty years ago when we had the chance, and when the tribesmen were badly armed. We should have saved ourselves a vast amount of blood and money.

Sir Louis Dane: General Jacob ended up on the note that he was very sorry that what they are doing now was not done thirty years ago. It is almost exactly thirty years since the Punjab Government, which was then in charge of the frontier, but without much means of enforcing its authority, after the Maizar affair proposed to make a road from Datta Khel through Razmak over the Orehaktarhazai to Wana—which is more or less what is suggested now. I am afraid that when we told the Government of India that this Shawal was a fine country with open areas and plenty of trees it rather sounded to them like the old fool babbling of green fields. The Sandeman policy was to try and intern a tribe by getting behind them, and this road through a track which was a sort of no man's land would have cut off the Mahsuds from Afghanistan. The Wazirs were fairly easy to deal with, but the Mahsuds were different. Also their country was fairly easy, and that of the Wazirs appallingly difficult. I suppose it has taken about three years of road-making to get to Razmak up the gorges.

The Lecturer: Oh dear no, about three months.

Sir Louis Dane: The troops, at any rate, were there a considerable time. If the road had been made in 1897 and 1898 it is exceedingly probable that an enormous amount of money and many lives might have been saved. As to the native levies, those people used to be called in the first instance khazadars, then levies, then militia, and now they are khazadars again. Well, a rose by any other name would smell as sweet, and the levy man is very much the same man as he always was. It was not for want of telling that this valuable road was not made, but unfortunately after the Terah affair we got rather bad cold feet; everybody was for doing nothing and saving as much as possible. Ultimately this policy led to enormous expenditure afterwards. There was a regular Alsatia in the corner at Gumattee which gave endless trouble to the frontier officers until we made a rough track from Idak to Thal. A cart road is an excellent tranquillizer, but a track for pack traffic is not so good. If you have a pack caravan it is fairly easy for the raiders to cut up some drivers and then to carry off the goods on the pack animals; with carts this is not so easy. A railway is best of all, it cannot easily be destroyed, and it gives employment which helps pacify the country. The next best thing is a motor transport road.

As envoy to Kabul and otherwise I had a good deal to do with the Durand Line; one of my instructions was to urge upon His Majesty the Amir the desirability of his not instigating the tribes to raid our territory, and so get them to comply with the conditions of their allowances. It was not a very pleasant thing to have to do; the reply one always met was, "You say they are your people, why not go and coerce them yourselves? I have nothing to do with it." It was a difficult thing to answer this. Where a tribe was divided the difficulties have been greatest. The Waziristan line was not jointly demarcated, but pillars were put up by British officers only. The Mohmand border has never been demarcated. I can tell you an amusing story about this Mohmand border. When I came home in 1908 the celebrated week-end expedition against the Zakha Khelat in the Khyber had just taken place. Lord Morley was exceedingly pleased. He said, "You see how enormously successful it was. Everything went off according to order." The dates had been fixed from Whitehall. I said, "Yes, sir, but I think it went off so well because, when the officer went into the Bazar valley, he did not move out on the day he was expected to. The tribesmen knew perfectly well the day he was expected to move out; they came back to their homes, but found the force still in occupation, and received a nasty knock." Lord Morley said, "At any rate it is all over now." I replied, "I am not so certain of that." He asked, "What do you mean?" and I told him he might possibly have trouble with the Mohmands. I left London and went down into the country, but was summoned to return because the Mohmands had come down and attacked and looted Shabkadar. I found Lord Morley very much disconcerted, and almost inclined to think I must have been in some way responsible. He said to me, "Of course you have heard what has happened?" I said, "No," and he told me what the Mohmands had done, adding, "How could you possibly have said that would happen when you saw me a week ago?" I replied, "It is what often happens on the frontier. In 1897 the Mohmands rose first. Then they urged on the Afridis to rise, and after a week or ten days of indicision—during which if we had only supported the Khyber Rifles we might not have had a war at all—the Afridis rose, and we were let in for the 1897-1898 affair. Arguing on that I thought it exceedingly probable the Afridis would stir up the Mohmands—which they have done." I very nearly lost my appointment as Lieut.-Governor, but he eventually recognized it was not my fault. I tried then to get him to demarcate the Mohmand border as we had to send up a force there. He very nearly agreed, but ended up by saying, "It would be contrary to my life-long views, and I really cannot do it." It is a thousand pities the Mohmand border has never been settled. It will have to be done soon in view of the changed position of Afghanistan, and it may be a costly affair.

It is a great pleasure to me and all old frontier officers to hear from General Jacob that the policy of lateral communications is being carried out.

Sir Hugh Barnes: Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel some hesitation in speaking on this subject, as it is twenty years since I left India and nearly twenty-seven since I left the frontier. But I presume the principles of frontier management do not change, and to me it has been a real pleasure to listen to General Jacob, and to learn that at long last the policy has been adopted in Waziristan of occupying the country between the Mahsuds and the Afghan frontier. I say at long last, because this was the policy that used to be advocated by Sir Robert Sandeman quite forty-five years ago when I first went to Quetta. I distinctly remember him discussing the matter at Quetta, and putting a big blue pencil mark round Wana on his map hanging on the wall, and saying: "That is the place to go to if we are to quiet down the Mahsuds and Wazirs"; and at a later date he used to say that we ought to run a road from Kajuri Kach to Datta Khel. His theory was that, if you can hold the country between the tribesmen and Afghanistan, they are bound sooner or later to come to terms. I think the most interesting occasion on which I heard him explain his views officially was at a Conference at Dera Ismail Khan in 1889. I happened to have been sent up to Simla from Quetta to act as Under-Secretary for a short time. Towards the end of the season Sir Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary, fell ill of pleurisy, and when he recovered he had to take leave, and I had to carry on until his successor arrived. Consequently I had the pleasure of accompanying Lord Lansdowne on his frontier tour. After visiting Kohat, the Viceregal party went down the Indus in boats accompanied by Sir James Lyall, Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab. We visited Bannu, and finally reached Dera Ismail

Khan, where there was to be a Conference on the subject of opening the Gomal Pass, which had been closed for months by the Mahsuds. The question was whether there should be an expedition or not. The other members of the Conference were Sir Frederick Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief, and Colonel Sandeman, who had been summoned from Quetta. Sandeman at once put forward the suggestion that the whole of Waziristan should be included in the Baluchistan Agency, the Baluchistan boundary being fixed at the Tochi instead of the Gomal. Then he said he would undertake to open the Gomal Pass. Naturally Sir James Lyall would not hear of anything of the kind. Sandeman then begged Lord Lansdowne to allow him to go back and complete his work in Zhob, and he said: "If you will lend me Mr. Bruce, the Deputy-Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan, we will go down the Gomal from Zhob and open the Pass for traffic." Sir James Lyall was quite willing to agree to this, and so Sandeman went back to Zhob, collected several of his Baluch sirdars and levies, summoned the Waziri Maliks, and under their escort proceeded with a small military force to march down the Gomal most successfully—I think almost without a shot being fired. It was a wonderful feat, and it led to tribal levy posts under the Mahsud Maliks being established in the Pass, and for a long time afterwards the traffic in the Gomal went on all right. Personally, I have never been an advocate for handing Waziristan over to the Baluchistan Agency. Baluchistan is quite big enough as it is, and obviously Waziristan can be more easily managed from Bannu or Dera Ismail than from Quetta or Zhob. But there is no reason why the Baluchistan system of tribal management, and tribal levies, should not be brought into force, and if that had been done, and if Razmak or Shawal or some neighbouring place had been occupied in those days, before the Wazirs had become well armed, and before we had trained them as soldiers by passing the majority of their young men through our levy corps, I think we should have escaped a great many of the expeditions which have occurred since.

General Jacob has described the military arrangements that have now been made, and I entirely agree with him as to the importance of the road from Kajuri Kach to Wana and thence to the Tochi and Razmak. It is astonishing to me that the Government, after the length of time they have been dealing with Waziristan, especially since Razmak has been occupied, have not made the roads long ago. I remember in Lord Minto's time their construction was under discussion.

It is no use nowadays discussing the old controversy between the close border policy of the Punjab and the more liberal tribal policy of Baluchistan, but I should like to correct one or two misapprehensions which exist about the latter, for there are still a few people who believe in the close border policy. One misapprehension is found in the argument that the Baluch are so different from the frontier Pathans that arrangements which apply very well to the Baluch, who are not democratic and follow their chiefs, are quite useless when applied to the democratic Pathan. Those people who hold that view fail to appreciate the difference between Baluchistan proper, the territory of the Khan of Khelat, which we don't govern, and what we call the administered territories of Baluchistan. These latter are almost wholly Pathan. The Baluchistan Agency is so called because when Sandeman first went up he had to deal with Baluchistan only, but after the Afghan War of 1878-1880 we annexed Pishin and Sibi, which included Achakzai, Toba, Hurnai, and Thal Chotiali, and we gradually progressed down into Zhob and to the Sherani country round the Takht-i-Suliman. All these districts are entirely Pathan. Even the Quetta district is largely populated by Kakar Pathans, so that it is rather an assumption to suppose that a system which has succeeded with the people in these Agency territories is not applicable to the Pathans elsewhere. Of course, the country is much easier. It is not nearly so difficult as the terrible country which General Jacob has shown us. That everyone admits.

Another theory is that the Baluchistan levy system is also quite unsuited to the Pathans. People I think generally do not know how the Baluchistan levy system arose. Except myself and Mr. Bruce, I suppose there is nobody alive who can say. What occurred was this: Before the Afghan War there were very few levies in Quetta and the Bolan. The Baluch and Brahui sirdars in the Kalat State had certain allowances, and there was a mounted levy corps under Major Mosley, known as the Baluch Guides. After the annexation of Pishin and other Pathan districts it became necessary to reorganize the levy system to suit them, and in 1882 or 1883 Sir Robert Sandeman appointed a Committee consisting of Mr. Bruce, Major Mosley, and myself to consider the matter. It so happened that when I was one of Sir Oliver St. John's assistants in Kandahar in 1880 I was ordered to make lists of the Afghan system of tribal militia or levies in the Kandahar province. It was found that the Afghan practice in almost every village or tribe was to pick out their principal headmen or Khans and give them small allowances to keep up a certain number of mounted men (sowars) or footmen (known as khasadars) to act as escorts and police their districts. A small Khan might have to maintain only two sowars, another five, and another twenty. At our Quetta committee the Kandahar system was considered, and it was decided to abolish the Baluch Guides and to distribute the available money in allowances to the principal Khans and Maliks on the Afghan system, with various improvements. The important point on which Sir Robert Sandeman and Mr. Bruce always insisted was that the money paid to the men employed must be disbursed through the selected headmen or Maliks on whom was placed responsibility. When, therefore, it is argued that the Baluchistan levy system is not applicable to Pathans, it is overlooked that it is based on Afghan custom and practice.

Nowadays, since the Punjab frontier province was created, the officers in Baluchistan and the Punjab frontier province are all members of one service, the Indian Political Service. They are interchangeable, and have no doubt much to learn from one another, and as time goes on, if the Government will only stick to the policy of occupying Razmak, extending roads and giving tribal service to the Maliks, so wisely advocated by the Lecturer, I believe ultimately and before very long we shall see Waziristan settle down in a very satisfactory manner.

Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton: My first acquaintance with the Gomal and the Mahsud border was some forty-five years ago when I marched from Dera Ghazi Khan to Kohat and halted for some days at Dera Ismail Khan. In those days the border was watched by cavalry detachments in small posts along the frontier road, which roughly coincided with the Administrative Border. These posts were under the O.C. the Cavalry Regiment which garrisoned them, and he visited them periodically. In the winter when the Powindah kafilas came down the Gomal to trade in India, they arranged for their own protection *en route* against the Mahsud and other tribes who wished to take toll of them, and it was the usual custom for the cavalry at Dera Ismail Khan to take this opportunity for studying the arts of "Protecting and Attacking a Convoy," with which object the regiment would move into camp near the mouth of the Gomal for training purposes; and when news arrived of the approach of a kafila, the officers with a small escort would ride some way up the Pass to a convenient place from which to view the performance, and this was done without molestation. Any slackness on the part of the Powindahs in preventing straggling on the part of their laden camels, or in the distribution of its escort was promptly seized upon by the Mahsuds, a party of whom would dash out from cover and attempt to drive off the straggling animals towards their own country, pursued, of course, by some Powindahs, and I was told that a good deal was to be learnt from a study of the methods of both parties. In those days we assumed no reponsibility for the safety of the kafila till it crossed our boundary, and it was not till some years later that we took over the Gomal and the Powindahs got soft and relied on us for protection while passing through it.

General Jacob has alluded to the attack on Tank by a large force of Mahsuds some fifty years ago as an act of aggression against the Indian Government, and, of course, in one sense it was so, but its primary object was, I have always understood, to settle a matter of grave personal importance to the Mahsuds, who in the conduct of their trading operations with India were obliged to use the bankers or baniahs of Tank as their intermediaries, and had got into their debt in the course of these transactions, as also had their customers in Tank. With the connivance of the latter, therefore, the Mahsuds organized the raid in order to destroy the baniah's books and so wipe out all record of these debts. Much the same action was taken by the sepoys of the regiments which mutinied in 1857, and if you read the accounts of those events you will find that the first act of the mutineers was, in most cases, to burn the baniah's books.

Not only today, but on frequent other occasions, a good deal of caustic comment has been made on what is called the "Punjab policy" of evacuating tribal territory after a punitive expedition. I venture to think that this blame is generally wrongly apportioned. My own experience, which covers a good many such expeditions, is that the so-called "scuttle" was dictated by political exigences in this country. Either the Sovereign was about to open Parliament, or a Foreign Potentate about to visit this country and the Government of the day wished to include in the Speech from the Throne or other proclamation that "Peace reigns in all parts of the Empire." It is quite unfair to put the blame for this inconclusive result on the authorities in India, either civil or military.

As regards the character of the Mahsud, I believe that he is hated by all his neighbours as a predatory wild animal, perhaps even as vermin, to be shot at sight if he crossed his own borders into their territory.

I was glad to hear General Jacob acknowledge the usefulness of and necessity for maintaining pack transport for the maintenance of troops in frontier warfare. Whatever roads are made for strategical purposes and suitable for mechanical transport, there comes a stage in such operations when for tactical purposes troops have to leave those roads and only rough mountain paths are available for their maintenance, and on these occasions pack transport is indispensable. In the days when the Punjab Frontier Force was under the Punjab Government this fact was fully recognized and "mobility" was that Government's watchword in regard to its troops. Every regiment then maintained on regimental charge a half scale of first line pack transport, and the regimental baniahs were called upon to maintain transport for the food supply of half the regiment for seven days. The Punjab Government attached the greatest importance to the efficiency of this transport, for the purchase and feeding of which commanding officers were responsible, and regiments as a rule took great pride in its efficiency. It was thus possible for half the strength of each unit of a frontier garrison to move out at a moment's notice and maintain itself for a week in case of trouble on the border. With the abolition of this a great blow has been struck at the efficiency of frontier garrisons.

The LECTURER: One thing I forgot to mention at the end of my lecture. I heard unofficially during the last few days on very good authority, and I think I am justified in saying it is true, that Wana is going to be reoccupied. (Hear, hear). I understand that the Government of India has decided to do it, and I have also been told it will probably come off before the end of this year.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have had a clear, concise, and convincing exposition of the problem of Waziristan both from the Lecturer and also from the many authorities, civil and military, who have contributed to the discussion. It is very satisfactory to him to find his views have met with support on all sides, and that the problem of Waziristan as he has put it is mainly one of communications, of reoccupying Wana, involving as he says not only a consistent but a progressive policy. We have realized that our failures in the past, some of them most discreditable, have been due to the lack of any such consistent policy, and we are glad to learn that the responsibility lies, not with the civil and military authorities in India, but with higher authority here in London. Anyhow, we are glad to know that we have now got on to the right track. Wana is to be reoccupied, the railway is to be taken up the Zhob valley to Fort Sandeman, and the problem of Waziristan is being placed on a sound and permanent basis. All our trouble in the past has arisen from the fact that the Mahsuds and Wazirs did not know what was at the back of our minds. We ourselves did not know if there was anything there. You can quite understand the dangerous position in which we placed our military and political officers on the frontier, the heavy sacrifices we called on them to make, and the risk they had to run, without any adequate guarantee that we were pursuing a definite policy. It was too much to expect of any men. The loss of the lives of the many gallant officers who were the victims of fanatical outrage or sacrified themselves in the withdrawal of 1919 testify to the appalling results of a want of definite policy. It is particularly necessary to be watchful at the present time in Waziristan. You know that in the last twenty-four hours we have cleared out from within our borders some of the alien people who have made trouble in this country. Being cleared out of this country they will redouble their efforts to stir up trouble for us everywhere in the East. You may have noticed when Soviet Russia concluded a treaty some years ago with Afghanistan one of the clauses of the treaty was to have three consular posts along the Indo-Afghan border at Ghazni, Kandahar, and I think at Jellalabad. You know that Russian agencies even here in London under the eye of authority have been used for hostile propaganda, and you can imagine what the Bolshevik consulates in these three places are meant for. Anything we can do to strengthen our own position, and also to get the Wazir and Mahsud tribes on our side by giving them increased opportunities for a livelihood, will enable us better to meet any menace from that quarter. You will all agree with me that the Lecturer has brought out most clearly the necessity for the action that has been taken, and for maintaining a consistent and progressive policy. We owe him a debt of gratitude for the admirable lecture he has given us, and for the delightful lantern slides with which he has illustrated it, and I will ask you to show your appreciation. (Loud applause.)

THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA*

By P. J. BRUCE

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—There are just one or two words I would like to say by way of preliminary. It was with considerable diffidence that I accepted the invitation with which I was honoured to address this Society, because you have recently had lecturing to you such men as Mr. Woodhead, Dr. Morse, and more recently Mr. Gull, who are experts and were able to speak with very much greater authority than I can possibly claim. If I have any claim to speak on a subject like this it is because of my affection and pride for my own country. I do not stand in a white sheet when I speak with regard to our own country and its relations to China. I have also a very great admiration for our merchant community in China, and I want to say in that connection that, living as I have lived getting on for forty years among the people, so far as the people themselves are concerned, when they are apart from anything in the way of deliberate propaganda, they share that admiration of the British commercial community in China. (Hear, hear.) Then I also have, and perhaps that is my strongest claim, a very great admiration and affection for the Chinese people. (Hear, hear.) I yield to none in my admiration of their great qualities, qualities that have been manifested time and again all through their history. They are a great race, and it will yet emerge that they have qualities sufficient to carry them through even this extremely trying period. Now we, in this country, have recently had considerable difficulties in our relations with China. I want to emphasize this afternoon that these difficulties are largely, if not wholly, due to the internal difficulties which China has herself. If there were none of those internal difficulties I do not think that we should have any difficulty whatever in adjusting any question that might arise between us and China. As Mr. Gull pointed out in his lecture a little while ago, the so-called unequal treaties arose out of China's internal troubles, mentioning in particular the Taiping rebellion, and it is so today. These difficulties that we have, and the desire and plea that the so-called unequal treaties should be revised—should be annulled, in fact—all arise out of China's internal troubles. So my subject, although it may appear to be somewhat apart from what is most in our minds at the present moment, is none the less an extremely important subject. The subject is, as I understand it, the Republic of China, and I want to deal with it in three parts—first the collapse of republican government; then that division between North and South which is so markedly to the fore just now; and finally, if I may venture to state them, what I consider to be the conditions essential to a stable government in China.

---

* The Chairman (Lieut.-Colonel F. E. Fremantle, M.P.): Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have the very great privilege this evening of listening to a lecture by Mr. Bruce, who, after having been in China for thirty-six years with the Baptist Missionary Society in Shantung, has now come home and has taken up the position of Lecturer on the Chinese Language and Literature in the University of London. Consequently there is nobody who would be better qualified to tell us of the conditions of that country which is occupying our attention at the present time—the conditions out of which the present chaos and disorder have arisen. When Professor Bruce was in China he was President of the Shantung University, and that brings in another side of the modern life and development of China. I will now call on Mr. Bruce to give us the lecture.

Causes of the collapse of first Republican Government.

First of all, as to the collapse of republican government, the first thing to be said is that there is no republic in China, and there never has been a republic in China if we speak realistically. There was what was something of the semblance of a republic in China, which lasted for two or three years perhaps, under the President Yuan Shih-kai, but what we see today is a collapse of even that semblance of republican government, and what I want to do is to inquire into what are the causes of that collapse. I should name three. I do not mean to suggest that there are no others, but they stand out rather prominently in my mind as the result of observation through several years. The first is the ineffectiveness of the Government at the centre, the second is militarism in the country at large, and the third is financial bankruptcy. Of course, one grows out of the other. They are not, so to speak, in three different watertight compartments, but one is related to the other, and the relation is very much that of cause and effect.

Parliamentary difficulties.

To begin with the ineffectiveness of the Government at the centre. I want in speaking of these causes, if I can, to show how there has been in them all a certain measure of what one might call inevitableness. We are rather apt to be impatient with the Chinese people in this their transition stage. I think instead of being impatient we ought to give them all the sympathy that we possibly can. To pass from a millenniums-old despotism to modern democratic government was a gigantic task. I think at first most of us who were friends of China, and most of the Chinese themselves, were optimistic—perhaps too optimistic. It looked as if it was done. It was done without bloodshed. The treatment of the Manchu dynasty was honourable and dignified. There was so much that was admirable about it that we forgot at the time that there must of necessity be certain elements of difficulty inherent in the situation, inherent in the task, altogether inseparable from such a task, and that those elements of difficulty would in course of time emerge. One of the difficulties to which I refer as inherent in the situation was inexperience. Take the question of illiteracy. I believe I am correct in saying that something like 99 per cent. of the population at that time were illiterate. The illiteracy was the illiteracy of an electorate representing four hundred million people electing a Parliament to represent a vast country. I should suppose that the number of those who understood anything whatever about the issues involved was extremely small, and most of them were in the maritime provinces in the eastern section of China. Then take the ignorance of the legislators. I think that the Lower House of the two Houses of Parliament had something like five hundred members elected from all parts of China. I suppose that four-fifths of them—at any rate, at least half of them—had never seen the inside of a deliberative assembly before. I believe that at that time, apart from Christian communities and young men educated in foreign countries, there was hardly anyone that had had any experience whatever of a deliberative assembly. They would not know what a chairman was, and would not have the slightest idea of chairman law. Now, such ignorance of necessity reflected itself in the Parliament that was elected, and so you had a Legislature that was really incompetent. The only political leaders of the time who knew anything about anything so far as modern politics were concerned were young men educated in colleges and schools of a Western type, some in China, but most of them in Universities in America, Japan, and Great Britain—returned students, as they were called. So far as experience was concerned, all that these young leaders had had was in the College Debating Societies of their respective Universities. Now, imagine a Parliament assembled under such conditions as those, and can you be surprised at the ineffectiveness that has obtained ever since at the centre of government?

Then, secondly, there were certain defects in the Constitution, or in the interpretation of the Constitution, which led to considerable difficulties in government. For example, the relation between the President and the Legislature was very imperfectly understood, to say the least. No matter what you had on paper, there were certain fixed ideas in the minds of those who had to handle the Constitution that were not affected very much by what they saw on paper, and these misunderstandings led early to critical relations between the President and the Legislature. I am speaking now of the time when Yuan Shih-kai was President. Those relations were chiefly with regard to the respective functions of the President and Legislature, so far as executive government was concerned. There was a tendency on the part of Parliament to demand that every detail of executive government should be submitted to Parliament for its approval; and with a man like Yuan

Shih-kai—who was a strong man, a man of the statesman type, a man who had a realistic tendency—with a man like that there was bound to be conflict when he was being held up at every turn on administrative details, matters of executive government, and particularly matters of foreign policy, which affected vitally the welfare of the country. In things of this sort, to yield to a Parliament such as I have described—ignorant, inexperienced, and incompetent—was a thing that a man of his type could not brook; and the eventual result was that he dismissed the Parliament and carried on without it. Then, another difficulty arising out of the Constitution was in the relation between the President and the Premier. Now, we have a republican constitution in the West in the United States of America, where you have a President and Legislature but no Premier. We also have a republican constitution in the West in France, where you have a President and Premier. In America, where there is no Premier, the President exercises executive functions such as are exercised by our Premier, in addition to such functions as are exercised by our King. But in France the President does not exercise the functions that are exercised by our Premier, but only those that are exercised by our King—I am speaking, of course, in general—and in France you have as Presidents men who are strong enough, who are experienced enough, and wise enough, to keep their activities within the sphere of those functions. But in China, if you have a President such as Yuan Shih-kai, or any strong President, you will find that he will not want to be a mere figurehead: he will want to exercise functions which would ordinarily be exercised by the Premier, where you have a Premier. So it was that very early in the day there came collisions between the President and the Premier. Later, in 1917, when Li Yuan-hung—by no means so strong a man as Yuan Shih-kai, but a disinterested and good man—was President, there was very strong difference of opinion between him and Tuan Chi-rui, then Premier, with regard to China entering the Great War, and the result was that Li Yuan-hung dismissed the Premier. But the Premier was a strong militarist, and had many friends among the militarists, who came to his help, and the upshot was the flight of the President. In 1918, after Li Yuan-hung had vacated the Presidential Chair, and the Vice-President, Feng Kuo-chang, was in his place, again there arose conflict between the President Feng and the Premier Tuan in regard to the policy of the Government in relation to Japan. Then again, in 1920 the President, Hsu Shih-chang, under the pressure of the Chihli party, one of the important parties of that time, had a strong difference of opinion with Tuan Chi-rui, the same Premier, who was the leader of the An-Fu party, which party was supposed to be in the pay of Japan, and entirely under the control of Japan. So you find that through all this period no steady policy was possible: instead you had intrigues followed by intrigues, which could only result in ineffectiveness. A third difficulty arising out of the Constitution was the matter of the quorum. A quorum seems rather a simple thing; it is generally put in a corner of a constitution as a sort of side-thought. But it works very great havoc sometimes. Now the quorum required by the Constitution of the Parliament was a majority—a majority of the members must be present for any business to be done. I wonder what our obstructionists in the House of Commons would do with a weapon like that? Any Government would be ready to despair if an obstructionist party, simply by inducing a minority to abstain from attendance, could prevent any business being carried on. I believe the number in the House of Commons required for a quorum is forty. True it was that time and again the Chinese Parliament would meet and no quorum would be there. You see, it was not a case of two-party government. If there had been two-party government, then the party in power would represent the majority, and they could command the attendance of the majority, but there were any number of groups, and it was not difficult in the then state of affairs, with innumerable intrigues going on, to secure at any time that there should not be the necessary quorum to carry on business. So the Parliament became more and more inefficient, particularly when some very important matter had to be decided, for in this case the quorum necessary was as much as three-quarters, and in some particular instances as much as four-fifths.

Militarism.

The second of the causes of the collapse of the republican government is militarism. Now, what is the origin of militarism, not in the sense in which we use it in Europe of one country being aggressive in relation to the surrounding countries, but militarism in the sense of the rise of certain what you might call satraps, commanders-in-chief of large armies in various parts of the country, having full power over those regions, including control of the revenues? The origin of it is a very simple one. For the protection of the republican Constitution there needed to be an army—the President's army—and this army was divided into sections resident in various parts of the country. During the Presidency of Yuan Shih-kai these sections of the army were under commanders-in-chief who had grown up under him, had been trained by him, were subordinates in his army before the collapse of the Manchu régime, and so long as Yuan Shih-kai lived those subordinates of his were loyal to him. But after his death the bond was broken, and thenceforth those commanders-in-chief fought each for himself, and, as I have intimated, eventually had control of the various regions of the country, and that control included control of the revenues. They had political control, and they had financial control, and they had military control; and, of course, under those circumstances—it is not necessary for me to enlarge upon it—under those circumstances it was possible for them not only to ignore the Presidential mandates, but even to overawe the President. Now, that is so far as militarism is concerned: I do not think I need to take up more of your time on that point this afternoon, but pass on to others.

Financial difficulties.

The third cause of collapse that I mentioned was financial bankruptcy. Under the Manchus tribute was paid by the provinces to the Central Government. In the early years that I spent in China, at any time that you crossed the Grand Canal, or if you went along it any distance, you would find the traffic largely made up of canal boats laden with grain on their way to Peking. It was the tribute of the provinces that were tapped by that canal. But with the revolution of 1911 all that ceased; no tribute went to Peking, so far as I know, after that year. Not only was there no contribution from the provinces to the Central Government, but the demands of the militarists were all the time increasing—demands upon the Central Government, and demands which for obvious reasons could not be ignored by the President as the presidential mandates were ignored by the militarists. In 1913 an effort was made to meet these financial difficulties. There was what you all remember—a Financial Consortium representing the Powers interested in China, and a reorganization loan was negotiated. But the conditions imposed by the Consortium resulted in the collapse of those negotiations. The chief of the conditions that had that result was the demand for an audit of the expenditure under the loan. Now, the demand for such an audit was a perfectly natural one on the part of the financial interests concerned, because experience had already shown that any loan that was given would most likely go to the militarists, and there would be no reorganization resulting from it. But the demand was very much resented both by the Central Government in Peking and by the Cantonese party in the South—resented as an indignity to China and an infringement of China's sovereign rights, and so the negotiations collapsed; and thereafter the Powers practically passed a self-denying ordinance, and there were no more loans forthcoming. The revenue therefore remained inadequate to the needs of the Government, and when you have expenditure at one figure and revenue at a considerably lower figure, you know what the process is. Strikes followed of all sorts—strikes in the different Ministries in the Government of Peking, strikes in the colleges and schools on the part of the professorial staffs, strikes in the armies, going by the name of mutinies. [A good many of the military defeats on the part of the various armies on one side or the other in China were due to the lack of funds to carry on the conflicts, as is largely the case today so far as the North is concerned.] Then there was resort to domestic loans, the result of which was that the Government sank deeper and deeper into the mire, because the moment a loan was raised there happened what the Consortium had feared would happen—the militarists put in their demands for considerable shares of those loans, and those demands, as I said just now, could not be resisted. Now, there were two sequelæ of all this financial stringency: one was increasing military exactions among the people, and the other was the growth of an agitation against the unequal treaties which, so far as the tariff element was concerned, were held responsible for the financial inadequacy of the revenues available for the Government. But the most tragic result was the increased ineffectiveness of the Central Government.

Division between North and South.

The second main point that I wanted to speak of this afternoon is the division between North and South. This division that we see today so clearly marked is not a new division: there has been a historical recurrence of it. One might go back earlier in the history, but I will only go back as far as the reform era under the last of the Manchu emperors. When the Emperor Kuang Hsu made his abortive effort at reforms he was largely guided by a man named Kang Yu-wei, who was a Cantonese. That was a significant fact because it was typical: all those progressive ideas, those new ideas, came from the South. In 1911, when the revolution took place, in a moment as it were, but the outcome of agitation for years under the Cantonese Sun-Yat-sen, at the very first striking of the signal for revolution the whole of the South was on that side. There was a clearly marked division between North and South geographically along the line of the Yangtse River, and it is significant that at that time the halt of the revolutionary party was made at the Yangtse River at Hankow, and Yuan Shih-kai, representing the Manchu dynasty, went down to Hankow and was in command of the Manchu armies there. Then later, when the revolt against Yuan Shih-kai took place, which led to his virtual downfall, and which preceded his death by a short time, that revolt was started in Yunnan, a province in the extreme South of China; and immediately the whole of the South and the whole of the West were on that side against Yuan Shih-kai. Now, this division between North and South has been somewhat masked for the past few years by two causes: one is the weakness of the Cantonese party. The Kuomintang, really the Cantonese party, was proscribed by Yuan Shih-kai at the time he dismissed the Parliament because of its ineffectiveness. After that proscription there was an interval, and then a Parliament was set up in Canton composed of a number of the members of the original Parliament elected by the people of China, which had sat in Peking, and which had been set aside by Yuan Shih-kai. In 1921 Sun-Yat-sen, the leader of the Kuomintang party, went to Canton, and was elected by that Parliament as the President of the Chinese Republic. He was there, I believe, about a year, and then was ejected by a man named Chen, and in 1922 took refuge in Shanghai. From that time the Cantonese party were weak, and remained weak until recently. At times their control did not extend beyond Canton and the next province, Kwang-si, or a province to the north, Fu-kien. It extended a very short distance so far as actual political control was concerned. At one time Wu Pei-fu, who avowed himself strongly in favour of centralized government, and tried to procure the unity of China by military force, had almost succeeded in extending his control to Canton, when through the desertion of Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian general, he came to grief. The other cause of the masking of the division between North and South has been the dissension between the Northern leaders. First there was the dissension between the Chihli and An Fu parties, represented by Tsao Kun and Tuan Chi-rui, whom I have referred to before. The dissension issued in civil war, which resulted in the victory of Tsao and the defeat of Tuan, largely by the action of Wu Pei-fu. This was followed by another civil war between Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin, whose name you see frequently in the papers as commander-in-chief of the armies in Manchuria. Later there came the division between Wu Pei-fu and Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian general, who deserted Wu, and so led to his defeat by Chang Tso-lin. Later still there was a rupture between Chang Tso-lin and Feng Yu-hsiang, who had allied their forces to defeat Wu Pei-fu; and so you had one after the other these ruptures and civil wars between the various leaders of the Northern party. Now, these two things have masked for some years the division between North and South, but what I want to point out is that the division remains. It has a deep root, and has re-emerged in the last two or three years. The first sign of it was a rapid march from Canton on the part of the Cantonese party up to the Yangtse and the collapse of Wu Pei-fu's resistance to that march, due largely to Russian strategists on the side of the Cantonese and their expert advice and to treachery on the part of subordinates on the side of Wu Pei-fu, which I attribute largely to financial causes. But again there has come this halt on the Yangtse: I suppose the time the Cantonese have spent since they arrived at the Yangtse is about double the time that it took them to march up from Canton to the Yangtse. And so we have today the two-party situation crystallized, and it is of extreme importance if we want to understand the inwardness of all that is happening in China. In the first place the North retains very largely the monarchical tradition: leaders in the North are generals of the old monarchical régime, and their spirit is a monarchical spirit. Secondly, the South, we have to remember, before the revolution was anti-Manchu, anti-dynastic; and therefore, to say the least, tended to be anti-monarchical. So that in the North the spirit and tendency is pro-monarchical even though it be in republican phraseology, while in the South the spirit and tendency is anti-monarchical; and we have two parties corresponding largely to the parties of the Right and Left in the West. Dare I say, too, that we have Conservatives and Progressives, who tend to emphasize on the one hand the principle of centralization and on the other the principle of local autonomy? They are very like the two parties in the United

States of America—the Democratic party, whose slogan is State Rights, and the Republican party, who stand for National Government. But here comes in the paradox of the whole situation: these two ideals of centralization and of local autonomy, although they are represented in the concrete by these two parties, the North and the South, yet, so far as my experience goes, both exist in every Chinese breast. I have found Chinese who would become passionately indignant at the very idea of China splitting up; they have a passion for the unity of China, and at the same time they would be equally passionate in their demand for the declaration of the independence of their own province. Those two ideas are very really and very genuinely held by the same individuals.

Essentials for stability: Provincial authority.

Now I must pass on to my last point: What are the essentials to stable government? First of all, I would say that an absolute essential to stable government is provincial autonomy. I dare to take my stand with the Cantonese on this particular point. Not by any means on all points. I do not believe it is possible—this is not any mere theory on my part, I rather come to it from the practical side—I do not believe it is possible for any one party to dominate the whole of China. It is too vast a country. If the Cantonese win out in this struggle and become the Government of China in Peking, if they try to dominate the whole of China on any other principle than that of full provincial autonomy they will fail. Disintegration is bound to set in. That is my profound conviction. Provincial autonomy on the same principle as in the United States of America—where the powers of the Provincial Government are not delegated by the Central Government, but the powers of the Central Government are conceded to it by the provincial, the State Governments—that is the only thing that will work. I believe myself there will never be a stable Government in China until it is recognized that every province has the right to independence, and only such rights are given to a Central Government as are necessary for national services. If this is conceded, then the provinces will choose their own governors. Hitherto the governors of the provinces have been appointed from Peking; if that continues we are bound to have a recurrence of the War Lord system. The provinces must have full powers to appoint their own governors, and the provincial chambers must have full powers to vote revenues, to vote taxes, and the size of the army, if any, to be maintained in each province. The second essential is with regard to the Central Government: it should be for national services only, and those defects in the Constitution which have led to such difficulties in the past should be removed. There should be no Premier and there should be no Parliament in the same sense as there has been hitherto. I do not think China has the men, or is likely for some time to come to have the men of experience and statesmanship in sufficient number to provide a Parliament in two chambers

The powers of the Central Government.

of something like a thousand members. A small Council—at most two representatives of each of the different provinces—would be amply adequate to the services demanded of it.

Then financially—I mention this, but need not take up your time with it: To the Central Government certain specific sources of revenue, like Customs, railways, etc., should be assigned, so that the Central Government should not be dependent on the provinces. On the other hand, the provinces should not be dependent on the Central Government: they should have all other revenues in their hands, with full liberty to raise loans and to decide upon taxes without the dictation of any other authority.

The need of financial rehabilitation.

Now I come to possibilities—sanctions one might call them. There is the possibility of a Constitution something like what I have indicated being drawn up. There has been talk on the part of the Cantonese party of a People's Conference being called together, and I think it is not at all unlikely that such a Conference would produce on paper a Constitution with provisions such as these. But the crucial difficulty is, how is that Constitution to be maintained? In the first instance, as I said just now, military force was depended upon, and if that is depended upon again we are bound to have a recurrence of all the evils from which China has suffered. On the other hand, there is the absence of tradition, the absence of that spirit of loyalty to a Constitution which is our salvation in a country like this. The only possibility I can see is that of some economic sanction. There must eventually be financial rehabilitation. China cannot possibly get that rehabilitation without foreign assistance, and that foreign assistance should be given on certain conditions—not such conditions as it was endeavoured to impose before, impinging on the sovereignty of China, but simply these: If financial assistance is given in the form of a loan or loans, instead of one huge reorganization loan, the loan or loans might be given in instalments only, and given not to one Central Government, but to all the Governments—the provincial Governments as well as the Central Government. If the loan were given in that way there is only one condition that need be laid down—that is, that the National Government and the provincial Governments alike should observe their own Constitution. Whatever Constitution it is that they agree to adopt, some register of it should be made and deposited with the League of Nations, if you like, as giving some sort of sacredness to it. The Constitution would, of course, contain within itself provisions for its own amendment. If there were such a Constitution, and some sort of register of that kind were made of it, it would be possible for foreign Powers or for foreign financial interests to give financial assistance, on the one condition that the provisions of that Constitution were observed; and if it were given, as I say, in instalments, and given piecemeal to the Provinces and to the National Government, I think you would find that the sanction would work. But that is the suggestion of a novice, and possibly has no value in it whatever. (Applause.)

General Willoughby: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I really have very little excuse for getting up and speaking except that I happened to be in China at the birth of this rather monstrous thing, the Chinese Republic. As Dr. Bruce has told us—and it wants stressing again at this moment—there is no such thing as a Chinese Republic. I think that nobody who has been closely in touch with the Chinese, and had much to do with the Chinese for any period of years, can have other than a feeling of affection for the people. They are really a very good and sound and kindly race. It does not seem so from the news imparted in the papers; you imagine they are extraordinarily cruel. But in the main they are extraordinarily sound people, and in matters of business Chinese integrity and honesty are almost proverbial. (Applause.) It is continually said that the Chinaman's word is as good as his bond, and it certainly used to be so. About this Republic, what Dr. Bruce told us is a thing that one must bear in mind, that at the beginning of this Republic there were really no experienced people to "run the show" for them; they were largely the products of outside influences, and very largely American influences. I think that the American missions in China—with all due respect to Dr. Bruce—had a great deal to do with fostering this republican tendency. I am skating over rather thin ice, but all along I have felt that. (Hear, hear.) A lot of these young men are full of splendid ideas. They are enthusiastic young idealists, but in most cases, of course, they are utterly lacking in balance. It is a case of *vox et preterea nihil.* As regards action, there is nothing behind it. They will "take in" Western audiences in a wonderful way. I heard the other day an educated young Chinaman who spoke most admirably, but there it was, just words, words; and I think it is rather a pity—again I am on thin ice—that some of the people who direct the affairs of our great country are so carried away by the "Locarno spirit" that practical considerations are rather absent from their minds. Some of the people at the top have not got any idea of Oriental mentality. Yesterday I dare say a great many of us read that letter to *The Times* from that very incisive writer, Mr. J. O. P. Bland. It was really rather like a breath of fresh air on the sickly sentiment that obsesses so many people. There was a reverend gentleman, with a great experience of China, the Abbé Huc. Let me quote what he says about the Chinese: "This people yields nothing to reason and everything to fear." That is very true, not only of China, but in the Orient generally. One has to be firm and show that one means what one says. Our being there has been a benefit alike to China and to ourselves. The trade we have built up has been of enormous benefit to the Chinese;

what these enthusiastic young idealists want to set up in its place will be a pack of cards in comparison with the structure we have built up by a century's effort. It is tragic, really, to see our treaty rights, acquired painfully over a long period of years, being given away and absolutely surrendered without any *quid pro quo*, without any safeguard. I know I am rather carried away (laughter), but I just want to hark back to that point, that I yield to nobody in admiration of the Chinese people as a whole. I have great affection for the Chinese people. I was there a good many years, travelled in eighteen of the provinces, and know the Chinese people very well. I was there at the beginning of the revolution, at Hankow, when the issue was yet on the knees of the gods; we did not know which way it would go. I was one of the little deputation (consisting of the Vice-Consul, the senior naval officer, and myself) who went over to Wuchang to see Li Yuan Hung about the shells falling into the Concession at Hankow. Passing through the streets of Wuchang, one was conscious of the sharp line of definition between North and South of which Dr. Bruce spoke. It was certainly the Yang-tse then. Li Yuan Hung was the rebel commander, but had become so with the greatest misgivings; they had said to him, "You have got to come and command us or we may be under the painful necessity of depriving you of your head." He had to go, but went with the greatest reluctance into the thing. He afterwards became President of China. He was a kindly man. I knew Li Yuan Hung, having inspected his brigade, the 19th Brigade of the Hankow Division, only the year before. He recognized me when I went into the room. There he was now Commander-in-Chief of the rebels. The result of the interview illustrates the value of just stating definitely what you want and what you intend to have done. It was an extraordinary thing that at the beginning of the revolution, while the two sides were fighting across the Yangtse, we, a handful of foreigners, should interfere with two armies fighting, and say, "You must do this and must not do the other." We went over into the rebel camp (as it was called then) to see the Commander-in-Chief, and said, "You are sending a lot of shells into the Concession; there will be a jolly good bill to pay, and of course the fellow who is responsible for firing those shells will have to pay that bill." He replied: "Fêng Kuo Chang has his batteries hiding behind your walls, and we are shooting at his batteries on the other side of the Concessions, and of course not at the Concessions." We went over and saw Fêng Kuo Chang (the Commander of the Northern forces), whose headquarters was in a railway carriage, the next day, and said, "Look here, you are not indeed right up under our walls, but you are not so very far from them; and, anyway, you are rather in the line that will bring the shells over here; so we are afraid we must ask you to take all your artillery away as far as the golf links." And he did. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. E. MANICO GULL: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am very anxious to say one thing, at all events, and that is the very great gratification I felt in the opening remark of the lecturer in regard to the opinion which the Chinese have of the British mercantile community in China. It so happens that I have been intimately connected with that community for a period of seven years, and I should not have liked to get up and claim what Dr. Bruce has asserted. It is, therefore, with extreme gratification that I hear outside evidence corroborating what was my very honest, though my private, opinion. I want to go on if I may to discuss one or two of the points in the extremely suggestive and able lecture to which we have listened, and which personally I have enjoyed very much. The lecturer itemized a number of causes as to the failure of republicanism in China. He mentioned inexperience and illiteracy, ignorance of the Legislature, and defects in the Constitution itself. I would like to add what, with all due deference to him, I would suggest is perhaps a more fundamental cause of failure, and that is that the Chinese have not, as far as I understand them, a conception of *res publica.* The Chinese have a great idea of personal rights, but they have not developed a conception of the public weal, and I think that lies right at the root of the failure of republicanism in China. Indeed, to say that is almost to express a truism ; but I think it is a truism that wants expressing. They are interested in the family, they are interested in the clan, but they are not interested in the big thing that embodies the family and the clan, that stands outside, that embraces them ; they are not at present interested in, nor do they fully realize the conception of the state. I think that what the lecturer said about the payment of tribute is an illustration of that. They were perfectly ready to pay tribute to a personal monarchy, which they thoroughly understood. As soon as the monarchy disappeared the tribute ceased, because it was being paid to something which to their minds was very intangible, which they had not realized or appreciated. I should like also to pass on from that point to the question of North and South. The lecturer is obviously a much greater believer than I am in that division. Personally I take the view—I submit it with all due deference—that that division is very much more geographical than anything else. It is perfectly true that on several occasions in Chinese history the Yang-tse has been the dividing-line. But it has been a dividing-line because of its physical properties, and because of the military events that have been dominated by those physical characteristics. We must remember that the race from whom the modern Chinese are descended sprang from north of the Yang-tse, and while there are great differences in temperament, and certainly very great linguistic differences between North and South, I do not myself believe that those differences are of such a character that they will make a real division along the Yang-tse River. In any event I think it would be exceedingly difficult to base any permanent settlement in China upon recognition of the Yang-tse as a boundary. It could only, in my opinion, become a boundary either as the result of military stalemate, which of itself would be a very impermanent foundation for any settlement, or as the result of negotiation of a most complicated kind. Remembering that, while Shanghai is on the south side of the Yang-tse, the trading port of Hankow is on the north, I think it would be an exceedingly difficult boundary to negotiate about, and I do not think myself the Chinese have arrived at that stage when any negotiations to that end would be likely to be successful. In regard to the lecturer's very suggestive comments as to the essence of a permanent settlement in China—he said he was putting the suggestion forward as a novice, and I do not claim to have any very great financial experience —it seemed to me that he perhaps underrated the necessity for security when you lend money to anybody. To lend money merely on the assurance that each province is going to work in accordance with its Constitution does not appear to me to be the sort of security the financiers of Europe and America would be likely to accept. I should like again to express the very great appreciation—perhaps I ought not to put it that way—the very great pleasure with which I listened to what the lecturer had to say about the mercantile community in China, and I should like to add my thanks to those already given him for his extremely able and suggestive lecture. (Applause.)

Mr. MOON: I should like to ask Dr. Bruce whether he thinks it would be outside the scope of his lecture to tell us at what point of time the Bolshevist influences arose in Southern China, and how long he anticipates they will continue?

The Rev. Dr. MOOR: Thanks, sir, for your extraordinarily interesting lecture. To us who have only travelled in China it was most illuminating to be told the whole history of the Republic from the beginning. There are one or two things, I think, which tend to show that even at the present time China is more united than she seems to be. The wonderful postal service continues to this day throughout the whole of China. We get our letters by Siberia within three weeks. You can send a letter from one end of China to the other for a sum equivalent to one penny, and the postal service continues somewhere from the centre, and I suppose is managed from Peking. There are something like twenty-five great managers of the service in the different provinces. They carry on that wonderful postal service to this day in a most magnificent organization. That shows that somehow China is not so divided as she seems to be.

With regard to the question of the Yang-tse, of course it is a very great natural divider. I believe that for at least 1,300 miles there is not a single bridge, and the river is quite a mile wide through the greater part of its length. There is another great cause of division: the fact that although the pure Mandarin is the same in all parts of China for the really educated, the different dialects of China are so extremely different from one another that the man from the South will not understand the man from the North or even from a province much nearer. Then I think we might emphasize what the last speaker said, that the Chinese looks out from a very narrow point of view—he cannot appreciate the fact of there being one great empire. He was taught by his original teachers, and their teachings have sunk down very deep into his soul, to emphasize the greatness and importance of the family. Confucius dwelt upon the family virtues, and the outlook of the ordinary Chinese family emphasizes the great virtues of the family, but does not look broad enough to see the importance of the whole race or empire. In that way the Chinaman is entirely different from the Japanese. The Japanese is taught by his religion to emphasize the importance of the race and empire. The great national religions of Japan emphasize the nationality and the importance of the empire, and every man becomes intensely patriotic.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will do the concluding part of the entertainment by expressing the thanks we all feel to Dr. Bruce for his lecture this evening. It will be of interest to the public generally to realize that this evening in the House of Commons we have a resolution to discuss the question of the Defence Force going to Shanghai, and one or two of us here may possibly find extra pabulum anyhow for our thoughts in that discussion this evening. But it has been very interesting and pleasant to us all to have had from Dr. Bruce the other side of the situation—that is, not the actual military and diplomatic difficulties at the present time, but an attempt to look into the actual thoughts and conditions of China. For these are really at the bottom of the whole trouble.

The more we have been thinking over his words, the more we realize that we are here in the face of a great uprise of feeling in a certain very limited section in China, as a result of the reverberations of Western education and Western thought. As General Willoughby said to us in his striking remarks, many of the young men of China, who have come over to this country or gone over to the American Universities, have naturally been enthused by the idea we have all felt one way or another in our time of independence, self-government, and so forth, and naturally they wish to put their enthusiasms straight into force. They have made exactly the same mistake as Mr. Gull was saying some of our statesmen have made and our whole country have often made in their philanthropic thoughts towards other countries—the idea that you can suddenly raise a nation to enjoy democratic government. It is one of the bitter lessons that we have learned as the aftermath of the late war, that whereas in the warmth and generous feelings of the war we were promising self-government to all nations, great and small, we have learned how unhappy nations are who have self-government given to them when they are not fitted for it. (Hear, hear.) Nations are happy in self-government only if they fit themselves for it by a long process of education, self-denial, and strenuous effort, such as our own and several other nations have gone through, by which they have reached the right and the ability to govern themselves. The shibboleth of democracy has never, I think, been more thoroughly exposed than by the lecturer this evening. We can realize how absurd it is to imagine that a nation, 97 per cent. of them—the lecturer says 99 per cent.—illiterate, could suddenly spring into having a representative assembly. I think that is one of the many lessons we have had.

Yet, let us look to the other side. In our good will, unfortunately, we have introduced the influence, the westernizing influence—whether we have felt our call to take a share in welcoming and helping those who come to this country or, on the other hand, in sending out our missionaries, doctors, and educational agencies to the East; in one way or another we are responsible largely for having thrust these ideas on the Chinese people, and we cannot be surprised when we see the result now happening. The result is a development we must study from outside and watch with the greatest sympathy. It is full of natural and right feeling, although it expresses itself in outrages and clashes which are obviously most inconvenient to us, and capable of a wrong interpretation.

I remember an incident when I stayed a night with a young officer of the Customs Service in the Yemen in the closed city of Canton some twenty-five years ago. His Chinese instructor had, unfortunately, not been able to come and give him his lesson in Chinese that evening: he had told him he would not be able to do so as he was unfortunately up for his examination. My friend had said to him: "Your examination! You told me you were forty years of age. What is the examination?" The reply had been: "It is the examination for promotion in the army." Then my friend had asked what were the subjects in which the candidate would be examined, and had been told the examination would be in the classics and the use of the bow. My friend had made some humorous remarks on the value of the classics and the use of the bow as a test for service efficiency. His teacher with the greatest politeness had replied to him: "But have you not promotion examinations in the English army, and is it not the fact that the subjects in which you are examined are the Latin and Greek classics and the use of the sword?" (Laughter.)

It only brings one back to the fact that *ceteris paribus*, if you really examine it, man is very much alike all over the world, and the Chinese with four hundred millions of population have the same heights and depths, breadths and lengths of human wit, intelligence, and possibilities. They have certainly most wonderful virtues and most wonderful ignorances from our point of view; and, as we learn from our own people, the generally ignorant are often the most cultivated and intelligent in their own small sphere. So in China. But take them out of their sphere and you have an abnormal position created which is liable to lead to very inconvenient and incredible results. We have to watch this evolution from both sides of the two main big forces confronting each other on the Yang-tse; we must preserve the utmost patience, as we see our countrymen preserving it out there, maintaining an attitude of absolute neutrality and fairness. We believe if we stand by our people in that country, and they stand by the ideals and traditions of the British race, we shall eventually see China solve her problems in the only way in which they can be solved, solving them for herself, and recognizing amongst her best and abiding friends the country of Great Britain, to which we are all proud to belong. (Applause.) I wish to ask you to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Bruce for his extremely interesting and entertaining lecture. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: I am very grateful to you for this vote of thanks, and also to those who have spoken so kindly of my effort. There are one or two questions to which the Chairman has asked me to reply as briefly as possible. General Willoughby made reference to the influence of American missionaries, and was very diffident about it, as he was skating, he said, on thin ice. But he need not be afraid of me, I am thick-skinned enough. But it is true that there was a very strong American influence at that time: most of the returned students were from America. Yuan Shih-kai was very pro-British and strongly in favour of a monarchy; but he had to yield to the strong tendency in the direction of a republic. One thing I would like to refer to that General Willoughby said. I am not quite in agreement with, and I have not the same reverence for, that reverend gentleman whom he quoted. As the result of my own experience, I do not admit that the Chinese yield nothing to reason. My experience is that they yield a tremendous lot to reason, but their reason is not of the same logical order as ours. They have an expression *ching-li*: *ching* means feeling, *li* means reason. They think feelings ought to be taken into consideration as well as reason, and if you have any dispute with an individual Chinese in China, and you ask him to talk *ching-li* with you he will do it. Mr. Gull's references, I think, were extremely appreciative and very kind. I quite agree with him with regard to the lack of a conception of the *res publica*. Why is that? It is because China has been for millenniums under despotism, and it is not a thing that she can do rapidly, to pass from the psychology that has grown up under that into the psychology that grows up under a democratic regime; and it is largely due to ignorance too, that same illiteracy to which I referred. But I feel this, that it is growing. I think there are signs of its growth already, the sense of *res publica*. With regard to the division between North and South, I would not suggest for a moment that that division is based on a geographical basis. Not by any means. The division between North and South is very largely in social habits. There is a point which is a little north of the Yang-tse, mentioned in the papers today—Pengpu—which I think is the dividing-line between the rice-eating people and the millet-eating people, and the difference between rice-eating people and millet-eating people is a very important difference in the matter of temperament; and I think this difference politically is largely a matter of temperament. It is also very largely a matter of history. Those people furthest south have had a great deal more to do with the West. There are numbers of Cantonese in California, for instance, and the reaction of that relationship upon the people of Canton is immense. There is a great deal of that. With regard to security, of course there must be proper financial security, but I did not venture to trench upon that field. I leave the financiers to do that. There is security now, and we hope it will remain in spite of all that is happening. Of course I know that unless security can be furnished there cannot be financial assistance. Now may I conclude with the question with regard to the Russians: When did their influence begin? My own opinion is that it began with the collapse of Sun-Yat-Sen's power in Canton. That collapse, I believe, was largely due to the cessation of the stream of monetary help that had hitherto been coming to him from California. With the cessation of that stream he had to turn to other sources, and then was the time he began to flirt with the Bolsheviks of Russia. As to the question how long that influence will continue, my own opinion is that it will continue as long as the Chinese can make any use of it. (Laughter.) Not one moment longer. (Applause.)

This lecture has already appeared in the reprint "Some Problems of the Chinese Republic" lately issued, but it has been considered desirable to include it with this number of the "Journal" in order to give the discussion and to preserve the continuity of the lectures.

NOTE ON THE MAPS OF MONGOLIA OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

THESE maps are of considerable interest at the present moment, interest not merely of a geographical but rather of a political nature, in view of the fact that Mongolia has recently been Russia's stepping-stone towards China in general, and the Christian Marshal Feng-Yu-Hsiang in particular.

As might have been expected, the maps show little more than a trail with a small amount of detail on either hand. For a part of the way the route can be identified on the Russian forty-verst map as following the recognized caravan tracks from Kalgan towards Kobdo via Sair Usu and a small portion of them from Kalgan to Urga, now transmogrified by its Bolshevik name of Ulan-Bator (" The Red Warrior ").

The scale is $\frac{1}{2000000}$, and the series covers about 15° of longitude eastwards from 100° east of Greenwich, whilst there are some area sketches on a scale of $\frac{1}{20000}$.

If there be a criticism to make, it is of a scarcity of place-names, whilst the English user may find it difficult to understand some of the American topographical expressions. At the same time, anyone familiar with the tantalizing difficulties of pinning down ephemeral and nebulous place-names in a nomad country would be loath to press the first point.

Briefly, the traveller who wanders through Mongolia with the aid of these maps, whether by motor, by camel, on a horse, or in an aircraft, will have much cause to be grateful to Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews and to Messrs. Roberts, Butler, and Robinson, though his gratitude may well have an Oliver Twist flavour to it.

The reproduction is admirably clear.

L. V. S. BLACKER.

REVIEWS

Der Kampf um Asien. Vol. II. By Hans Rohde. Berlin, Stuttgart, und Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt.

The second volume of this work is of special interest at the present time, leading up as it does to the situation as we see it developing in the Far East today. It is divided, like the preceding volume, into three parts, dealing respectively with the pre-war, war, and post-war periods. The first part covers the struggle for the upper hand in Corea, as carried on first between Japan and China, and secondly, after China had been knocked out in 1894, between Japan and Russia. It shows how Japan, victorious in both contests (1894 and 1905), came to realize that, notwithstanding all that had happened, her true interest required a friendly settlement with Russia, if only in self-defence against the rapid advance of the United States towards a commanding position in the Pacific Ocean. Even before the outbreak of the Great War Japan had achieved for herself a prominent place among the competing Powers in that quarter of the globe. How the situation developed is told in considerable detail by Herr Rohde. His inclination, as in his first volume, is to ascribe all happenings to the spirit of deadly earnest, to the penetrating foresight, to the unwearying persistence of England. British action in the surrender of Port Hamilton to China in 1887, in refusing in 1895 to join France, Germany, and Russia when they deprived Japan of the fruits of her victory over China, and finally in concluding a definite treaty of alliance with Japan (in 1902), is set forth with undisguised admiration. The object, of course, as he sees it, is always to put the British Empire in the most favourable position for the ultimate destruction of Germany. France and Russia, it seems, had been manœuvred into a position of mere vassaldom to England for the achievement of this supreme purpose. This indeed was the inner motive of the alliance with Japan, which contributed so powerfully to the overthrow of Russia. Russia, by her defeat in 1905, was driven back into the maze of Eastern European politics. England well knew that this would bring her into antagonism with Austria, and so with Germany. The Entente with France of 1904 was soon completed by the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907. If England had had her way the annexation of Bosnia by Austria in 1908 would have served quite well for the long-desired assault on Germany. But Russia was not yet ready for war, and England successfully employed the remaining years till 1914 by preserving a state of peace in the Far East. She saw that any warlike disturbances in that quarter would hamper the ultimate

Allied attack on Germany. With this end always kept in view, she brought about in 1907 important treaties between Japan on the one hand and France and Russia on the other, by which the independence and integrity of China was assured. In the following year the United States were induced to follow suit by signing with Japan a treaty to the same effect. These three Far-Eastern treaties, we are told on p. 86, "were nothing else than the overseas factors of the great English plan which aimed at the encirclement and isolation of Germany. They were all of English origin. Their conclusion was an undoubted success for English policy, a success all the greater in that on 31st August, 1907, the Anglo-Russian understanding had likewise become a fact."

Apart from such preconceived ideas on the underlying motives of British policy, the author presents an instructive account of the events which made the period between 1894 and 1914 so vitally important in the history of the Far East.

The second part of the volume under review, the war period, is taken up largely with the forging ahead of Japan into a position of scarcely disputed primacy among the Great Powers in the Far East. Her first forward step was the seizure from Germany of the Shantung peninsula, with its important port, Tsingtau, and railways, a successful stroke completed (November 7, 1914) at a loss of over 10,000 Japanese lives. She gave her Allies further and very effective assistance by helping with her warships to clear the Pacific of the scattered naval forces of Germany. Thus she was enabled in a few months to seize and utilize for her own purposes the numerous German naval, cable, and wireless stations in the Caroline, Marshall and other island groups till then under German control. Not satisfied with a commanding position in the ocean, she proceeded to bring defenceless China into a relation not far removed from that of a Japanese protectorate. This far-reaching stroke of policy she accomplished by forcing upon China her famous twenty-one demands. Most of them were reluctantly accepted by China in a batch of treaties signed on May 9, 1915. The author considers that, taken as a whole, these hard conditions placed China virtually in a position of subjection to Japan, no less humiliating than that which years before Japan had enforced upon Corea.

The post-war chapters take us on to the Washington Conference of 1921-22, and ultimately to the conditions in the Far East which have brought about the great Nationalist challenge of China to the Treaty Powers. Japan had emerged from the war unhurt and triumphant. As the result of the twenty-one demands she could now do what she liked with Manchuria. She controlled the entire coast-line of China. She had obtained a valuable hold on the Chinese mines and coal-fields. She had extorted almost exclusive privileges for the supply of munitions, loans, advisers, and even troops to China. In Shantung she was left with more than the rights and advantages previously conceded by China to the Germans. The German island groups north of the Equator had fallen into her hands, and there was no one to dispute her predominance throughout the Far East, whether by sea or land.

And yet Japan was not happy. She had grasped more than she could hold. She had been weakened by the downfall of Russia and by the complete elimination of Germany. No Power was left to lend her a hand in her growing rivalry with the United States except England, her ally. And she felt that England could not entirely be reckoned on for the future. America, since the opening of the Panama Canal, was sending her rapidly increasing naval forces into the Pacific. Hawaii, the Philippines, and Guam were becoming important naval stations, competing with the Japanese island strongholds.

Herr Rohde emphasizes the growing strain between Japan and the United States. By the year 1921 breaking point, according to this German author, had almost been reached, and the issues of peace or rupture would depend on the action taken by England—a Power which had shown evident reluctance to take part in the struggle. Her need of rest and recuperation had discouraged distant adventure. Yet now she was forced to intervene, for in July, 1921, her treaty of alliance with Japan was to come up for renewal or denunciation. Japan strongly desired renewal, seeing no other hope of facing America on equal terms in the impending negotiations. The heir to the throne was sent to London on a state visit and tempting offers were made. The Japanese Alliance had been popular in England, and often helpful. On the other hand, England could not afford to undergo such an eclipse in China as seemed to be implicit in the attitude assumed by Japan towards that country. England, moreover, was falling more and more under the influence of the Dominions, now uniformly opposed to a pro-Japanese policy on the part of the Mother Country. The United States left no stone unturned to attract England to her side, and so to secure the naval support she needed to turn the scales against Japan.

Under these rival influences, all fully detailed and discussed by Herr Rohde, England was successful in devising a compromise acceptable to both sides. She would neither renew nor terminate the Japanese Alliance, but would recast it in a new form—and that, namely, of a three- or four-power in place of a two-power treaty. The difficult problem was discussed and in outline settled at the Imperial Conference in London in the summer of 1921. There were useful conversations with the American Ambassador, and early in July Congress fell in with the idea. It was realized that there must be a joint and friendly negotiation between the Powers chiefly concerned in the solution of the Chinese and other Pacific questions. In this spirit of mutual co-operation was conceived the fruitful project of the

Washington Conference, which met accordingly in the autumn of 1921.

The Conference treaties, both those on the limitation of naval armaments and those relating to China, affected profoundly the political development of the Far East. They brought about a new grouping of the Powers, which soon declared itself in negotiations between Japan and both Russia and China, indicating a strong tendency on the part of those three Powers to settle Asiatic and chiefly Chinese questions in a manner excluding Western predominance and even equality. The United States, on the other hand, lost no opportunity of asserting the principle of the complete independence and integrity of China and the open door for all. The author comes to the conclusion that England, as usual, had secured for herself the strongest position. She remained friends both with Japan and the United States, each of which Powers needed her support against the other in their rivalry for the upper hand in the Pacific. She commenced the construction of a first-class naval base at Singapore, thus showing clearly, in Herr Rohde's view, her intention to hold the balance between the two great Pacific Powers. With the help of the Dominions she would be in a position henceforth to throw the whole weight of her naval power in the direction that would best suit her policy. In other words, the peace of the Pacific Ocean rested in her powerful grasp to keep or to break as she might choose.

The concluding chapters become rather wearisome by their detail, but the author spares no pains in expounding the numerous treaties, whether concluded before, during, or after the Washington Conference, by which each of the interested great Powers sought to secure its own position. Even before the close of the war the United States had sought to come to an understanding with Japan. By the Lansing-Ishii notes exchanged on November 2, 1917, they had recognized that Japan rightly enjoyed special interests in China by reason of geographical proximity, but had insisted at the same time, and Japan agreed, that the principle of the open door in China must be maintained. The Washington Treaties embodied a carefully considered programme of action by which the principal Powers agreed to bring about the revision of the outworn treaties and tariffs of which China had so long complained.

Herr Rohde believes that in the "fight for Asia" Japan and Russia, notwithstanding temporary divergencies, are destined in the end to act mainly in concert, as the two great Asiatic Powers. Between them they can control China and, indeed, the greater part of Asia. They concluded an important treaty on July 3, 1916, establishing a kind of Monroe Doctrine in favour of Japan in China. Five years later Japan, as already shown, was compelled to draw in her horns at the Washington Conference. But soon after (July, 1923) she was again in negotiation with Russia at Tokyo, and the latest treaty between the two Powers was signed on January 21, 1925. It amounts to a full recognition by Japan of the Soviet Government in return for Soviet recognition of the position secured to Japan in Corea and Port Arthur by the Treaty of Portsmouth. Japan undertook to evacuate Northern Saghalien, to join in a revision of old treaties, abstain from anti-Soviet propaganda in exchange for a corresponding promise by Russia, and grant most favoured nation treatment on terms of reciprocity. In the Japanese Parliament the Government has been repeatedly urged to complete the Russian Treaty by a comprehensive treaty with China. By this combination the United States would be compelled to lean on England, and England, as stated above, would be brought into the position of *tertius gaudens.*

This, broadly stated, was the position when China burst into flame in the summer of 1925. A genuine Chinese Nationalist movement gave Soviet Russia her opportunity to strike at the British Empire. How this great conflagration will finally affect the relative situation of the Great Powers in the Far East cannot yet be determined with any great degree of confidence. But Herr Rohde believes there must be a drawing closer yet of the ties between the United States and England to counteract the claim which he perceives of Russia and Japan to combine with China in support of the cry of "Asia for the Asiatics."

In his view the natural alliance, both in Europe and Asia, would have been one between Russia, Japan, and Germany as against the two great sea Powers, England and the United States. This would have made, he thinks, the Great War impossible; but Germany, in her folly, continued to break both with Russia and Japan. Japan, unless she can come to terms with Russia and China, stands alone against the probable combination of the United States and England. Having lost her natural backing—namely, Germany—she has sought for French support, but in vain. "Only the support of a newly strengthened Germany and of a Russia revived and reawakened can give Japan the hope of extricating herself from the Anglo-Saxon group and of recovering her freedom." Japan, he continues, took the first step in this direction by concluding her treaty with Russia (1925), outlined above. The next one should be a closer union with Germany, which might result in again bringing Germany on to the scene as a World Power. If Russia and Japan need backing they must now turn to Germany. The fight for the control of the Far East and Pacific Ocean must be fought out, the parties being—

(1) The block of England and the United States.

(2) Japan, Russia, China, and the "oppressed" people of Asia.

Then ultimately will come the fight for Asia.

Such, in a condensed form, is the final summing up of this well-informed, but rather prejudiced, author. It is to be hoped that he will continue his interesting contribution to the history of Asia.

MAURICE DE BUNSEN.

REVOLT IN THE DESERT. By "T. E. Lawrence." Jonathan Cape. 1927. 21s.

WITH LAWRENCE IN ARABIA. By Lowell-Thomas. Hutchinson and Co. 1926.

> *"Mean men a state may shake;*
> *But 'twere a giant's task to make*
> *Secure the shaken state again*
> *Unless the kindly God should guide*
> *For mortal hand the ruling rein."*
>
> PINDAR: *Pyth.*, iv. 12.

"Revolt in the Desert" will be read, by some, as the literary masterpiece to which reviewers, with rare but justified unanimity, have paid unstinted tribute. Nor will such be disappointed, for it is in all respects a remarkable work, full of vivid word pictures, which will make the most stay-at-home reader realize the wild glare and savage lustre of Arabia Deserta—"a land of iron with a sky of brass," to quote Disraeli, a crucible in which the Ishmaelites of Arabia have been tried by fire and have emerged, not free from dross, but more keenly tempered and more militant than any other race in touch with Europe and the Mediterranean basin. Other readers again, in the cant phrase of the book-trade, will study it as "a human document": they will find what they seek.

"The bird of Minerva," wrote Landor, "flies low and picks up its food under hedges." Lawrence's hermaphrodite deity flies lower than Landor's bird, and seems to have a preference for the cesspool, but we must be grateful to be spared, in this edition, more detailed references to a vice to which Semitic races are by no means prone. To most English readers his Epipsychidion on this subject will be incomprehensible, to the remainder, unwelcome.

Those who study this book as a human document will find little trace therein of the modesty claimed as an outstanding virtue of "T. E. Lawrence" (the inverted commas are his own) by the publisher and by the innumerable articles of that prince of press-agents, Lowell-Thomas, with its sixteen posed photographs of its hero in almost as many costumes (though the same "chefieh" seems to have done duty for different persons on several occasions), and if the reader's curiosity carries him further to study Lawrence's published writings in post-war years in English and American journals and magazines they will wonder the more at the genesis of this particular myth, for the book is permeated by a pardonable vanity of which the following is a random example:

> "Allenby was . . . morally so great that the comprehension of our littleness came slowly to him . . . he was hardly prepared for anything so odd as myself —a little barefooted silk-shirted man offering to hobble the enemy by his preaching if given stores and arms and a fund of two hundred thousand sovereigns to convince and control his converts."

This is almost the only reference in the book to the financial aspect of the Arab revolt. The Official History when it appears will perhaps tell the world how many hundred thousand sovereigns were needed *monthly* to feed the languid fires of Arab nationalism; "boxes of sovereigns," to quote Lowell-Thomas (p. 249), "gold conscripted from every part of the Empire, to help arouse enthusiasm in the breasts of the Bedouin whenever the spirits of those temperamental gentlemen began to flag." For an idea as to how this gold was disbursed, see Lowell-Thomas (p. 312). We do know, however, that the cessation of the golden stream that flowed freely from the British Treasury to the Sharifian family, and thence, much less freely, to the Bedawin, was the signal for the break-up of the Arab revolt, so painfully fostered. By 1924, King Husain and his eldest son had been evicted from the Hejaz by the united voice of the people of Mecca and Jeddah; Abdullah had been saved from a like fate at Amman only by British arms; Faisal survived, thanks to the grace of God, his own abilities, the support of the Royal Air Force, and to the efforts in Iraq of a corps of British advisers, who were able to build on the sound foundations they inherited from the war and post-war period foundations for which Lawrence and Faisal had no words bad enough.

> "Our aim," writes Lawrence, "was a façade rather than a fitted building. It was run up so furiously well that when I left Damascus on October 4 the Syrians had their *de facto* Government which endured for two years, without foreign advice . . . against the will of important elements among the allies."

Is this so? There were at least half a dozen *de facto* British advisers with the Arab Government in Syria in 1919, and a substantial Army of Occupation with numerous technical departments still heavily subsidized by the British taxpayer, engaged in propping up the said façade which, had the French not pushed it down, would indubitably have collapsed a few months later for lack of Syrian support.

For the estrangement of Anglo-French relations in the Middle East, due to not unjustified suspicions on the part of the French of the good faith of British agents on the spot, suspicions which had very widespread repercussions elsewhere, and for the present deplorable situation in Syria, Lawrence is, more than any other single person, responsible. To quote Lowell-Thomas (p. 258) once more: "Lawrence's personal attitude . . . was straightforward and simple: if Great Britain was not going to guarantee independence to the Arabs . . . he intended to devote his energies and talents to helping his Arab comrades in arms contest France's claims and obtain the rights for which they had so valiantly fought." Yet it is clear from Lowell-Thomas's narrative (p. 307) that "he knew all along the French would never agree to the Arabs even keeping Damascus," and that "the Allies, once victory was assured, would find it difficult . . . to fulfil their obligations to the Hejaz leaders."

Nor does this book, regarded as a work of art, ring true. It was Sainte-Beuve who said that literature never seems to have more savour than when it comes from someone who is unaware that he is making literature. A conscious artistry is too often apparent in its pages—unworthy alike of author and his theme.

> "The women . . . came across, straddling their bellies in the billowy walk which came of carrying burdens on their heads" (p. 134).
>
> "I learned to pick . . . the feral smell of English soldiers : that hot pissy aura of thronged men in woollen clothes: a tart pungency, breath-catching, ammoniacal : a fervent fermenting naphtha smell" (p. 423).

The author's references to Indian troops, to whom, in the main, in Iraq, and to a large extent in Syria, the Arabs owe whatever of independence they have obtained, disclose a complete lack of understanding combined with an intellectual snobbery which would be remarkable were it not fairly common amongst those Arabian experts whose knowledge of the East is confined to Western Arabia.

> "My mind felt in the Indian rank and file something puny and confined ; an air of thinking themselves mean ; almost a careful, esteemed, subservience, unlike the abrupt wholesomeness of Beduin. The manner of the British officers toward their men struck horror into my bodyguard . . . " (p. 418).

Elsewhere (p. 417) he is at pains to accuse Indian troopers of theft on the strength of an incident which suggests souvenir-hunting at the expense of somnolent Arab sentries, rather than any base motive.

The Arab forces seem seldom if ever to have been called on to endure heavy casualties or to attack unbroken Turkish formations, except occasional outposts. They excelled, as ever, in harrying retreating hordes, but the sterner task of defeating the enemy in the field was reserved to British and Indian battalions, to whose prowess little or no reference is made in these pages.

Nor does Lawrence approve of negroes.

> "Their faces, being clearly different from our own, were tolerable ; but it hurt that they should possess exact counterparts of all our bodies" (p. 83).

As a contribution to history this book is little worth, for the story is needlessly involved in the telling and the essential facts are obscure : it is not without significance that Ibn Saud, who today holds almost all Arabia in fee, is barely mentioned in its pages.

The Arab Bureau of Cairo died unregretted in 1920, having helped to induce His Majesty's Government to adopt a policy which brought disaster to the people of Syria, disillusionment to the Arabs of Palestine, and ruin to the Hejaz. Its members and protagonists, amply mirrored in these pages, appear to constitute a mutual admiration society—almost a cult, of which Lawrence is the chief priest and Lowell-Thomas the press-agent. But a prophet is not without honour save in his own country, and outside Arabia the cult is assured of a long and (if the price current of the limited edition in the U.S.A. is any indication) a profitable life.

It remains to note that the best friends of Lord Lloyd, Sir R. Wingate, Dr. Hogarth, and Jafar Pasha would have difficulty in identifying them from their portraits.

The style of printing is worthy of the publisher, Jonathan Cape, which is to say that it is very good indeed; but why has he inflicted upon the public (p. 7) a gratuitous parade of the author's amiable eccentricities, couched in the language of the private schoolboy? Is this the latest development of "Truth in Advertising"? If so, its justification may perhaps be found in one of Pope's letters to his friend Addison, with which this too lengthy review may suitably be brought to an end:

> "I have often found by experience, that nature and truth, though never so low and vulgar, are yet pleasing when openly and artlessly represented; it would be diverting to me to read the very letters of an infant, could it write its innocent inconsistencies and tautologies just as it thought them."

A. T. W.

FIFTY YEARS OF MADRAS.

A Book of South India. By J. Chartres Molony (Indian Civil Service, retired). London: Methuen. 1926. 7s. 6d. net.

An Indian Career, 1858-1908. By Sir Philip Hutchins, K.C.S.I. Privately printed. 1926. (Copies on sale by the League of the Empire, 124, Belgrave Road, S.W. 1. 7s. post free.)

During the last few years several books of interest about Southern India have appeared: it would seem that the Madras Civilian, observing the mass of printed matter in which it is assumed that the India about which the public wish to hear centres round Calcutta or Bombay or Delhi or the frontier, has said to himself: "Semper ego auditor tantum?" and seized the pen of reminiscence. Mr. Molony, who rather prides himself on having spent twenty-five years in India without exploring north of the Vindhyas, proves successfully that the people and places of the South can give an observant man abundant scope. Sir Philip Hutchins, though his position as member of the Governor-General's Council enabled him to range from Quetta to Bhamo, from the Khyber to Shillong, evidently rates Ootacamund and the Nilgiris as far more delectable than Simla, and finds the mosquitoes of Calcutta more objectionable than all the *puchis* of the Tamil lands. The two books between them span the years from 1858 to 1925, though Sir Philip left Madras in 1888 and India in 1893 (seven years before Mr. Molony joined the Service), to complete at Whitehall the fine record of half a century given to the service of India.

Mr. Molony, whose book is full of good stories, possesses to the full that sense of humour which carries a man cheerfully through the troubles and vexations of official life in a trying climate. His book is eminently good-tempered, and he has the faculty of liking primitive folk, such as Todas and Khonds, and also seeing the attractive side of the highly sophisticated Madrasi Brahmin. His story is mainly of district work in the ordinary line, but he superintended a census, administered that small (and very unconventional) Moslem state, Banganapalle, and filled the rather thankless office of President of the Madras City Corporation. His friendly encounters with Indian lawyers added to the spice of life. He nearly paralyzed a vakil who tried to get a decree from a British court served in an Indian State by declining to recognize the jurisdiction of "my brethren of Madras" because "I am the High Court of Banganapalle." On the other hand, he pays tribute to the candour of another vakil, who suggested that he might "suspend the High Court's decision" and prevent a lawful religious procession in Trichinopoly. "Don't you know that you are talking nonsense?" "I do," replied the lawyer blandly. "Why do you do it?" "Why do you charge me income-tax?" queried the lawyer, with unabated good humour. "I've got to earn it somehow or other, haven't I?" And he can sympathize with the vaccinator who, called to account for neglecting a particular village, explained: "Sir, I visited this village and explained the advantages of vaccination to the inhabitants. But they replied ignorantly by beating me with a pickaxe!"

On caste and religion Mr. Molony has much to say that is well worth reading, and also on the reasons which led to the estrangement between the races which was so marked a few years ago, but now seems to have passed its worst stage. "I have little patience with the pretence that the Englishman saves India every morning from plague, pestilence, battle, and anarchy; or that, immolated on the altar of humanitarianism, he spends body and soul in a thankless and ill-requited service. This pretence was intensely irritating to the Indian." But he thinks that a Government ought to govern, is outspoken on the follies of "non-co-operation," and writes frankly yet without offence on the much-advertised question of Indian membership of clubs. There is food for thought in his answer to a protest by a newly arrived Englishman against the refusal of English society to accept on equal terms his Indian friend X., educated and well liked at an English University. "I handed to my questioner a card; it was an invitation to the wedding of X.'s daughter aged *five years*."

If he disdains Simla, Mr. Molony has visited the capitals of French and of Portuguese India, which few Englishmen know, and his descriptions of Pondicherry and Goa are vivid. But a short stay at Hyderabad produced an impression decidedly more favourable in some respects than those who know that city intimately appear to have received. As regards the graver political issues, this book points out that while an older generation of Indians saw tangible improvements introduced by our officers, and realized what these had done, its grandchildren take such things for granted, which, after all, is human nature. Thus a villager in Kurnool, who could remember the famine of 1877, knew that the introduction of the railway made it in future impossible for people to die of hunger simply because grain could not be brought into the district. But to his grandson the railway is just part of the landscape, and does not affect his views of the British.

Apart from this, however, it is interesting to find an Indian civilian of Mr. Molony's generation observe: "I sometimes think that the high officials of my young days were bigger men, more likeable men, than their successors of today." For in the second book on our list we have the reminiscences of one who passed though Haileybury, landed in India in 1858, saw the Company's rule come to an end ("Apart from Queen Victoria's wonderful and most beneficent Proclamation, the change seemed to make no sort of difference, and in many parts of the country passed almost unnoticed "), and, as a member of the Secretary of State's Council, assented to the Morley-Minto reforms. When he retired in 1908, after thirty-five years in India, five years as a Departmental Secretary at the India Office, and ten years as Member of Council there, Sir Philip Hutchins was the last of the Company's servants to lay down official harness. Now in his ninetieth year he enjoys the respect and affection of all those who served with or under him. His recollections of his earlier experiences in India are wonderfully fresh, but the book is a model of official discretion as regards political questions, though it throws light on many matters of administrative interest, particularly the history of Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty. Sir Philip was a district and a secretariat officer, a High Court judge, and a member of the Executive Council in Madras, before he passed to the Government of India. He witnessed the introduction of the Indian Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes, without which it is hard for our contemporaries to visualize the work of an Indian magistrate. As Home and Revenue Member of the Viceroy's Council he showed extraordinary energy in touring to the ends of the Indian Empire to see things for himself; in those days quasi-parliamentary duties did not imprison a Member at Delhi. He evidently found the India Office restful, but while he is quite justified (as a former subordinate gladly testifies) in saying that when he was Judicial and Public Secretary he could easily have done all the work of that department single-handed, he passed to the more serene atmosphere of the Council just when Lord Curzon went to India and began to overhaul the whole administrative machinery, and well before Constitutional Reform schemes engendered despatches. The India Office had plenty to do between 1893 and 1898, but its anxieties were bestowed mainly on fiscal, financial, and frontier problems, and the Whitehall counterpart of the Indian Home Department was not much worried. In fact, this fine cricketer—for at cricket Sir Philip excelled—could see something of the game at Lord's towards the end of the afternoon without in the least neglecting his work, whereas it has not always been easy for a later generation to get to a dinner-party in time. While he was at the India Office Sir Philip began his association with the League of the Empire, to whose activities the last chapter of his book is devoted.

M. C. S.

Sir Pratap Singh. By R. B. Van Wart. Oxford University Press.

The Indian States are lands of romance to all who travel or sojourn in the East, and even to those who can only hope to know India from books. The spell is hard to analyze, but it can be felt without crossing the British border. In British India there is an atmosphere of Western order and method, a conformity to implanted type, an admirable dissemination of British institutions which have taken root and flourish bravely to outward view, and a comparative security and peace which mirror the might of the Empire. The beholder may rightly marvel at these things, but after a time they cease, by their very familiarity, to hold his interest when he has comprehended the impulse of the machinery and marked the uniformity of its motions. The airs that blow from the States bring suggestions of primæval and incalculable things, of forces that stir in remote depths and manifest themselves with seeming caprice, of immemorial custom that is almost impervious to new ideas, of prescriptive right that defies the iconoclast, and of sentiment that is stronger than reason and deeper based than political dogma. At the great Delhi Darbars of 1903 and 1911, it was the presence of the Princes and their retinues that gave colour to the picture and held the thoughts of all who desired to penetrate the screen of Western discipline and culture and discern something of the real India that lies behind. The unswerving obedience and implicit devotion which a ruler can command from his subjects, his responsiveness to their emotions and needs, the passionate loyalty which he himself displays for the throne and person of the King-Emperor, the pride with which he clings to his ancient rights and privileges, his readiness to make any personal sacrifice for the honour of his State and family ; all these things compel admiration and excite attentive interest.

Among all the ruling houses of India, the Rajputs hold pride of place, distinguished by their ancient lineage, their gallant past, and their proud, sensitive spirit. Of the Rajput clans, the Rathor is one of the greatest and most famous, providing as it does rulers not only for the parent State of Marwar or Jodhpur, but also for seven other States in Rajputana and other parts of India. Sir Pratap Singh, the hero of Mr. Van Wart's memoir, was the third son of the Rathor Prince Takhat Singh, Maharaja of Jodhpur. He never succeeded to the rulership, but he governed Jodhpur as Regent during three minority periods, on the second occasion, in 1911, relinquishing for the purpose his position as Maharaja of Idar, to which he had been appointed by Lord Curzon in 1902, as the nearest suitable heir. Sir P., as he was affectionately called in his later years, was unquestionably one of the most remarkable Indians of his time. His strength of character, courage, and endurance would have singled him out in any walk of life, but as a member of the great House of Jodhpur, his many exploits, which Mr. Van Wart relates so vividly, have already ranked his name with those of legendary heroes of Rajasthan. Who else but Sir Pratap would have wrestled with a monkey at the age of five, would have killed two panthers on foot single-handed at nine, would have thrown up a sword to catch it by the sharp edge when dared to do so, would have ridden in the hot weather 250 miles in twenty-one hours, or followed up a wounded tiger armed only with a dagger? The reviewer remembers seeing Sir Pratap, when nearly seventy, playing in an inter-statal polo tournament at Abu, growing more and more furious because none of the opposing side would ride him off the ball, and at last falling from his horse from exhaustion. When he recovered consciousness, he said that he hoped to have died from the fall, since he was growing too old for fast polo.

Sir Pratap's acumen and administrative ability were considerable, as the author shows, but in Jodhpur his forceful personality was his greatest asset. The reviewer was in Jodhpur in 1911 at the time when Sir Pratap was appointed Regent, and well remembers the wholesome and immediate effect of the announcement ; how intrigue subsided, evil livers and boon companions slunk to their dens, and the great city of Jodhpur waited, good as gold and with considerable apprehension, for the coming of the autocrat. From the point of view of efficiency, an abler and more enlightened administration could easily have been constructed without Sir Pratap, and on paper there were cogent reasons in favour of adopting this course, but Lord Hardinge wisely decided that all other considerations were outweighed by the importance of enlisting Sir Pratap's assistance to revive the true Rajput spirit from the temporary eclipse which it had suffered in the State. The measures which Sir Pratap took to this end were drastic, including edicts that all nobles should revert to the habit of riding, eschewing carriages and cars, and that tobacco and alcohol should be *taboo*. He relaxed them to some extent as soon as the lesson had been well learnt. In spite of his long absences from the State, on military and other duty, his authority never waned and orders passed in his name were never questioned.

The author has collected many good anecdotes of Sir Pratap's downright sayings and trenchant criticisms of things that met with his disapproval, which readers may be left to cull for themselves. Perhaps too much emphasis is laid in these stories on Sir Pratap's "little language." The habit of speaking broken English, hardly intelligible to the uninitiated, grew on him in later years, possibly because he knew it was expected of him and because it gave him additional license. He had, however, in reality quite a fair knowledge of English, and could carry on a serious conversation in it when he liked. He also had a *penchant* for making after-dinner speeches of considerable length, starting in English and lapsing into Hindostani.

The mainspring of his life was his passionate devotion to Jodhpur and its traditions, with all that they embodied of Rajput chivalry. A short while before his death he planned to build a hot-weather abode at Mount Abu, on a point whence he could see across the plains to Jaswantpura, the nearest point of his beloved Jodhpur. He was never really happy in Idar, where he found it hard to create the environment which his spirit needed. The recall to Jodhpur was the most fortunate thing for him, as well as for the State of which he became Regent.

Had he lived a few centuries earlier he would probably have been a great king and leader of men. In modern days he was a Don Quixote whose dreams came true. He challenged and overturned shams and abuses, and he recreated in Jodhpur and in Rajputana, and among the military races of India, much of the old martial spirit that had been overlaid and stifled under changed conditions. In this he performed a service of inestimable value to the Empire. His character was an inspiration to everyone, whether European or Indian, who knew him, and in his death he was mourned with true affection and respect by the highest and the lowest in the land.

Mr. Van Wart has succeeded in producing a book which can be read with amusement, interest, and profit, even by those who were not privileged to know Sir Pratap personally, while his many friends may regard it as a worthy and appropriate memorial of a really great man.

From the point of view of historical accuracy, it may be noticed that, in the first chapter, Mr. Van Wart adheres to the theory enunciated by Colonel Tod in his "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan"—namely, that the Rathors reigned at Kanauj, and that the Marwar dynasty was founded by migration of members of the clan to the desert when Kanauj was conquered by Shihabuddin at the end of the twelfth century. Modern criticism, however, holds that the ruling dynasty of Kanauj belonged, not to the Rathor, but to the Gaharwar clan, and that the first Rathor settlement in Rajputana must have occurred anterior to the conquest of Kanauj by the Musulmans. An inscription found at Hathundi in Marwar names four Rathor Rajas who reigned there in the tenth century.

A PAGEANT OF INDIA. By Adolf Waley. Constable and Co., Ltd. 1927. 15s.

> "He that no more must say, is listened more
> Than they whom youth and ease have taught to gloze."

The author of this book was throughout his short life plagued by bodily infirmity. He never saw India, but devoted years to studying its history, and has left behind him this book which begins and ends with stanzas from Omar Khayyam:

> "Think, in this battered caravanserai
> Whose doorways are alternate night and day,
> How Sultan after Sultan with his pomp
> Abode his hour or two and went his way."

Mr. Waley is mainly concerned with the various great Sultans, with the conquerors and kings of ancient and mediæval India. He tells us of the strong attraction which the distant prospect of the plains of India exercised over stream after stream of invaders from the mountain barriers of the North-West Frontier, of the doings of Alexander, Mahmud of Ghazni, Timur and Babar, of the desperate valour of the Rajput chiefs, of the heroism of their women, of the bitter rivalries of Moghal princes. Some space he gives to philosophers and religious leaders. But his interest mainly centres in the men of action, the warriors. And yet the futility of constant wars was never more manifest than in these pages. No Indian dynasty long survived its founder. The longest lived of all was the Moghal; and even that, after giving to India four Emperors far superior to the average Asiatic despot, sank rapidly into impotence and degradation. Even in the day of its power it was constantly discredited by wars of succession fought out with extreme ferocity. Little mercy was shown by fathers to sons, or sons to fathers, and none at all by brothers to brothers. Yet the fruits of victory and revenge turned speedily to dust and ashes. Occasionally, however, a tragic story is relieved by episodes of a different kind which are feelingly described. "There is," Mr. Waley writes, "no more moving scene in Indian history than that which depicts the parting of Shah Jehan from his favourite son, the only one who had always behaved towards his father with loyalty and affection. The Emperor held Prince Dara in close embrace as though incapable of letting him go, but at length he raised his hands in prayer and called the blessing of Allah and His Prophet down upon the son who was to go and fight for "the empire." Dara, overcome with emotion, seemed for the moment speechless, and making a reverent salaam to his father, prepared to take his departure; but as he was leaving the Hall of Audience, his natural buoyancy reasserted itself, and there issued from his lips in clear tones the words of a proverb, after applied by members of the house of Timur, and in this instance of prophetic meaning: "Ba Takht ya Tabut" (the throne or the tomb). Shah Jehan, as though turned to stone, stood with grief-stricken eyes watching for the last glimpse of the gallant young figure which he was destined never again to behold in life" (p. 440).

Mr. Waley has spared no pains to acquire accurate knowledge of a wide subject. Many passages testify to his care, industry, and the untiring enthusiasm which carried him through a heavy task. H. V. L.

CHINA AND HER POLITICAL ENTITY. By Mr. Shuhsi Hsü. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. New York. 12s. 6d.

The author's recital of what China has suffered in the past century from foreign nations is, it must be admitted, impressive. But the book has evidently been written to revive American interest in Manchuria, and to secure thereby a counterpoise to the dominating influence which Japan has secured in that region. The full account which is given of the attempts made by the Government of the United States to interest itself in Korea in 1882-87 and to obtain the neutralization of the Manchurian railways in 1907-10, though there was no permanent political result in either case, is an illustration of the author's object. It may, however, safely be held that Mr. Shuhsi Hsü imagines a vain thing if he counts upon American intervention. The letter which he quotes from President Wilson to Mr. Reinsch, the American Minister in China, is instructive:

"I have had the feeling that any direct advice to China, or direct intervention on her behalf in the present negotiations, would really do her more harm than good, inasmuch as it would very likely provoke the jealousy and excite the hostility of Japan, which would first be manifested against China herself. . . .

For the present I am watching the situation very carefully indeed, ready to step in at any point where it is wise to do so."

This letter is said to have been written in February, 1915, at a time when the independence and integrity of China were seriously threatened by Japan. It was left to Great Britain, the ally of Japan, to incur the odium of deprecating the more obnoxious of the twenty-one demands, while the Government of the United States remained aloof, and contented itself, when the Treaties of 1915 had been forced upon China, with a notification to both countries to the following effect:

". . . The Government of the United States has the honour to notify the Government of the Chinese Republic (or Japan) that it cannot recognize any agreement or undertaking which has been entered into, or which may be entered into, between the Governments of China and Japan impairing the rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the Open Door Policy."

As the author sadly remarks, the Wilson Administration made it clear in 1915 that "its interest in the Open Door was to enter it rather than to maintain it." If we may judge from what has happened in the past in China and from what is happening now, the policy of other American Administrations is not likely to be materially different.

In fairness also to Japan it must be admitted that, although China has a better title to the country than any other nation, the three Provinces of Manchuria are not on the same footing as the eighteen Provinces of China proper. The Manchu conquerors of China have in their turn been subjugated by the Chinese; but to substantiate a claim to the home of the Manchus China must be able to show effective occupation. But as the author readily admits, the Manchus for nearly two centuries tried to prevent the colonization of Manchuria by the Chinese.

The account given in the book of the early political relations between China and the Nuchen Tartars, Korea and Japan, is interesting. It is possible, as he says, that a Japanese attack on Korea in the time of the Tang dynasty was routed by the Chinese. The successful attack upon Nepal made by the Chinese in the reign of Kienlung is one of the unexplained military puzzles of history. But Mr. Shuhsi Hsü's statements to the effect that Japan sent periodical missions of homage to China in the time of the Tang dynasty, and that Yoshimitsu's son was invested by the Ming Emperor as King of Japan in 1402, must be read in the light of the facts that the ambassadors sent by Great Britain to China in 1792 and 1816 were taken up the Peiho River to Tientsin in boats, with flags inscribed "ambassadors bearing tribute"; and that China, as the Viceroy of Canton informed Captain Elliott in 1837, claimed to stand "at the head of the lands at its remotest borders in no other character than that of a ruler amid ministering servants."

According to Mr. Shuhsi Hsü, in the early days of the Manchu (Tsing) dynasty the country east of the Liao River was formed into a province of China, with two prefectures and nine districts. Chinese officials were employed and Chinese colonization of the province commenced. In 1751, however, the Emperor Kienlung (1736-1785) modified this policy. Chinese were gradually excluded from all important appointments, and measures were taken which, as the author says, "snatched Shengking from the Chinese and gave it to the Manchus. After this Shengking ceased to rank with the intramural provinces, and came to be associated with Kirin and Hailungkiang as a group." An edict issued by Kienlung in 1776 is quoted: "Shenking and Kirin are the home of the dynasty. To permit immigrants to settle down there would greatly affect the Manchu mode of life. In Shengking, which is adjacent to Shantung and Chihli, immigrants have during years of peace gradually gathered. It is not possible to order them to leave without at the same time depriving them of their means of subsistence, and thus we have established civil governments to accommodate them. As to Kirin, which is not adjacent to Chinese territory, they ought not to be allowed to stay there. Report has it that new settlements have gradually been formed in it. Let Fu Sen be commissioned to investigate and settle the matter, and orders be given out that immigrants are for ever prohibited from entrance."

Kienlung's policy in the matter of appointments is said to have been relaxed after his death, and, notwithstanding the prohibition, some Chinese colonists established themselves in the vicinity of Changchun, the number of families (according to a report submitted in 1799) amounting to 3,330, with about 50,000 acres under cultivation. An Imperial edict then issued permitted the settlers to remain, but added the injunction that "not one more settler was to be permitted to enter the country."

The Rev. C. Gutzlaff, one of the first missionaries to China, who visited the Shengking or Fengtien Province about 1830, says in his book "China Opened," which was published in 1838, that the Emperor Kanghsi encouraged emigration to Shengking, which was depopulated when the Manchus swarmed into China, but that "his successors, less anxious for the welfare of the nation, left the colonization to take its natural course." The prosperity of the province was ascribed to the colonists. "On a moderate calculation," as he writes, "the population has been tripled within the short space of ten years; for the needy adventurers from Shantung flock there in increasingly large numbers, so that it may be hoped that within twenty years no spot will be left uncultivated, and that these thrifty farmers will have found their way into the adjacent province, Kirin."

In later years immigration was facilitated by the opening of Neuchwang as a Treaty Port and by the introduction of steam navigation on the Liao River; and, according to Mr. Shuhsi Hsü, at the end of the nineteenth century the population of Manchuria amounted to 14 millions, of which 80 per cent. were Chinese. Kienlung's prohibition of immigration into the Northern Provinces was not, however, finally withdrawn until 1906, when the Dowager-Empress Tzu Hsi ordered the replacement of the Military Governor by a Viceroy at Shengking and the appointment of Civil Governors in Kirin and Hailungkiang, and directed that measures should be taken for the reorganization of the three provinces. Manchuria, therefore, was not formally recognized as part of China until five years before the downfall of the Tsing dynasty.

It is also necessary to remember that the greater part of Manchuria was practically lost to China before the Russo-Japanese War. In the seventeenth century an incursion of the Russians into Manchuria was checked by the Manchus; but, when the weakness of China was disclosed by the war between China and Great Britain and by the Taiping Rebellion, the Russians made themselves masters of the Primorsk Province. The country was practically derelict; and, by the Treaties of Aigun and Peking in 1858 and 1860, the Russian occupation was recognized without much opposition from the Manchus, whose attention was fully occupied with the war then in progress between China and Great Britain and France. Several years then elapsed, but the intervention of Russia, France and Germany after the conclusion of the war between China and Japan gave Russia an opportunity for strengthening her position in Manchuria. A loan was guaranteed and an alliance was made with China, and by a mixture of cajolery, bribery, and intimidation a complete stranglehold on the three provinces was secured. The construction of a railway across Manchuria, linking the Primorsk Province with the Trans-Baikal region in Siberia, was arranged for; Port Arthur and Dairen (Dalny) were leased to the Russian Government; a neutral zone north of the leased area was established; and the construction of a railway (the South Manchurian), linking the ports with the railway running through Manchuria (the Chinese Eastern), was also arranged for. After the Boxer Rising the Russians further strengthened their position. The three provinces were occupied by Russian troops, and evacuation was only agreed to in 1902 after prolonged negotiations. Evacuation was begun, but was stopped in 1903, when Admiral Alexiev was made Imperial Lieutenant of the region under Russian control, and further evacuation was made dependent upon the fulfilment of certain demands. These were rejected by the Chinese, but from the nature of the demands made throughout the negotiations it is clear that the Russians had no intention of departing, and it is practically certain that in a few years the rest of Manchuria would have followed the fate of the Primorsk Province, if Russian ambition had not overreached itself in the attempt to extend Russian influence to Korea and to exploit the forests on the Yalu River. This brought on the Russo-Japanese war.

The recent awakening of the national spirit, and their greater capacity to stand the rigour of the climate, may enable the Chinese to hold what remains to them in Manchuria; but it is not possible to feel the same sympathy with complaints of Japanese aggression in this region as with complaints of Japanese aggressiveness in Shantung.

R. M. DANE.

THE CHINA OF TODAY. By Stephen King-Hall. L. and V. Woolf: Hogarth Press. 2s. 6d.

"The China of Today" is a useful contribution to the discussion of the Chinese problem.

In his reference to the past Mr. King-Hall is hardly fair to the Manchu Government, which, at its best, was a benevolent despotism well-suited to the circumstances of China and, at its worst, was preferable to the misgovernment and anarchy which have succeeded it. The Muhammadan rebellions in Yunnan and in Kansu and Shensi were certainly suppressed with ruthless severity, but the slaughter in the Taiping rebellion, to which Mr. King-Hall refers, was mainly caused by the Southern revolutionaries, the precursors of the ruffians who committed the Nanking outrages. Chinese officials employed by the Manchu Government were certainly corrupt: but it has yet to be seen whether the officials employed in the new China will be any better than their predecessors.

It is also an exaggeration to say that in China the "State was organized on a system unknown to Western minds." A Hindu trader, who had spent his life in Yarkand, said to me in 1890: "The Chinese administration is a copy of yours": and there were certainly many points of similarity between the Governments of the British in India and of the Manchus in China.

Mr. King-Hall, however, appears to be unquestionably right in his view that China, aroused and excited, cannot be treated by foreign nations in the manner that was customary in the period of the decline and fall of the Manchu dynasty; and he rightly acclaims as an act of statesmanship the Memorandum which was addressed by H.M. Government to the other interested Foreign Powers in Christmas week in 1926, advocating the adoption of a constructive policy in China adapted to the altered situation of the time and the abandonment of the idea that the development of the country can only be secured under foreign tutelage. Great Britain has suffered much in the past three years from the attempt to work in concert with the other Powers, and H.M. Government will probably be more successful in its negotiations with the Chinese if it takes its own line.

It is more difficult to follow Mr. King-Hall in his enthusiasm for what he calls the renaissance in China, or in the view, which he evidently holds, that salvation can only come from the south. The Government at Peking is contemptuously called a "ghostly thing." In discussing also the probable efficacy of local arrangements he is unwise enough to prophesy. As, he writes, "the prize of victory will be the privilege of representing that particular area in dealings with the British, it is fairly certain that all contestants will take every care to see that British interests are well protected."

It is certain that Great Britain has gained nothing by the local arrangement made at Hankow: and at the present moment the so-called Nationalist Government at Hankow is a more ghostly thing than the Government at Peking.

It appears to be both unjust and unwise to cold shoulder the Chinese in the north, who have on the whole treated foreigners well since the time of the Boxer rising, in an attempt to conciliate the bitterly anti-foreign politicians and soldiers in the south. Apart from the Customs and Salt Revenue organizations, the Chinese postal and telegraph service, which Mr. King-Hall rightly praises, has been destroyed whenever the Southerners have obtained control. The establishment, with the assistance of foreigners, of this service was one of the achievements of the Government at Peking.

There is at present no Government of China; and *de facto* rulers of particular areas must, as Mr. King-Hall says, be recognized: but they should all be treated alike and no favour should be shown.

R. M. DANE.

THE REVOLT OF ASIA. The End of the White Man's Dominance. By Upton Close. G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd. 10s. 6d. net.

Pythagoras is reported to have required from those whom he instructed in philosophy a probationary silence of five years. It is to be regretted that writers on Asiatic questions, particularly graduates of Transatlantic universities, do not impose a similar probationary period upon themselves before putting pen to paper. The author's qualifications are succinctly indicated by the publishers' blurb, which describes him as "one who really knows," whilst the difference in outlook of the New York *Times* and that of London is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the former has referred to the book as "so timely as to be almost inspired," adding that "it deserves to be read by every American." It may be said at once that it deserves no such attention either in the Old or the New World. If any, or indeed most, "white" men shared the views or the attitude of the author, such "dominance" as they at present exercise in Asia would have come to its unregretted end long ago, for, like many writers of the Socialist-Communist variety, he has only exchanged one set of prejudices for another.

The author seems to have taken the trouble to make some investigation on the spot into the affairs of the Far East, but his acquaintance with the rest of Asia seems to be restricted to a hasty trip across India through Baghdad to Egypt, during which he has just enough time to place on record a few obvious misstatements and a somewhat larger number of equally obviously imaginary interviews with impossible Englishmen, such as a "genial Scotchman," who, at page 48, refers to the inhabitants of India as "niggers" and indicates incidentally in the course of a conversation that he himself belongs to some trade union; on his way from Delhi, apparently to Madras, "across the Indian Desert" he records a conversation with a "cultured young officer of the Education Department," who claims that Indians should certainly "get off the street" on the grounds that "we are a superior race." At Madras and on the Afghan border he falls in with "military men," from whom he learns of "the largest concentration of tanks in history" which, reinforced by an air force, will strike decisively at Kabul "on the next vernal outbreak of the Afghan menace." He learns, apparently from the same officers, of "a little Sikh mutiny in the Punjab," and is told that "Indian troops are no longer trusted to do any job alone," from which he deduces that India is only a little behind China in the Revolt. He meets Persian merchants and Persian students in every city from Rangoon on his way to Duzdab, "whose sallow faces darken as they bring up the $170,000 indemnity they are paying for the death of an American Consul at the hands of a mob whose religious prejudices he had offended." He emerges from Persia, "after a well-earned experience in jolted bones," at Abadan, from which we can only deduce that he is the first European to have reached Mohammerah by car from Duzdab; but as to this part of his journey and of his journey and of experiences throughout Persia the book is silent. At Mohammerah he meets the "fanatical human sacrifices of the Shiah sect," and in Iraq hears Arabs everywhere voicing "lazy dissatisfaction with the political situation under Britain." He learns that the Arabs dislike "the Scotch honesty" of the administration of the Auqaf, and he is dragged in—by whom is not stated—"to address boys, whose faces glow as they hear of sister peoples of Asia struggling for self-assertion. Russia is their inspiration, Turkey their model, and the Imperial Powers their antipathy."

He leaves "the opportunistically created kingdom" thankfully, but not without making some insulting remarks to "the modernized Arab" in charge of the Passport Department. After he crosses the Euphrates he proceeds on his way to Damascus cautiously, with all lights out, "for the Druse warriors are still a peril." He notes with regret "the camaraderie which seems to have grown up between the urban Moslems of Damascus and their rulers," and finds much bitter feeling in Turkey at the rejection by the U.S. Senate of the Lausanne Treaty. He insults the Egyptian quarantine officials and gets into trouble, but revenges himself by describing the Egyptian intellectual as "vain, crafty, supersensitive, sexually depraved . . . the most impossible human being on earth." The fanaticism of a million inhabitants of Cairo causes him to liken Egypt to "a sullen hound watching a man who has thrashed it for opportunity to bite his throat in two while he sleeps," and he here finishes his journey through Asia thankfully "lest it bring him more such experiences." His observations convince him of the Revolt that is taking place in every country on the Asiatic seaboard, and he assures us that close investigation would bring out many more. We do not doubt it, for publicists of this type usually find what they seek. It is fortunate for the public in the United States that they do not lack other and better guides to world politics, such as Mr. Norman Harris, whose book on "Europe and the East" (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 20s. net) is perhaps the best antidote for these vapourings.

A. T. W.

AN ASIAN ARCADY. By Reginald Le May. 10 × 6½; pp. xiv + 274; sixty-three illustrations and map. Cambridge: Heffer and Son. 1926. 21s.

A most interesting book, dealing with one of the lesser-known countries of Asia. Mr. Le May is to be congratulated on having written so charming and accurate description of Siamese Laos. The author having spent many years in

Siam is in a position to speak with authority on his subject, and his book shows evidence of mature judgment, and is not like the average book of travels written by one who has paid but a brief visit to the places described.

The book is very well illustrated with a large number of excellent photographs, and is one that can be confidently recommended as a thoroughly up-to-date and accurate description of North-Western Siam.

A History of Siam. By W. A. R. Wood, C.I.E. 8¾ × 6; pp. 293; eleven illustrations and map. Fisher Unwin. 1926. 15s.

This is a very notable book, as it is the first that has ever been published in English dealing with the history of Siam as a connected whole. The author, having been very many years in Siam, and having an excellent knowledge of that difficult language, Siamese, has thus been able to study the native Phongsawadan, or Annals, and to correlate them with the various works extant in European languages dealing with various periods of Siamese history.

The present work deals in detail with the events of Siamese history up to the end of the reign of Phya Taksin, and there is a very brief summary of the chief events of the Chakri dynasty given in a supplement at the end of the volume.

The author must be congratulated on having produced so excellent a work, and it is to be hoped that he may at some future date produce a companion volume dealing with the history of modern Siam in similar detail. Mr. Wood has been very fortunate to have had the assistance of H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, who has devoted years of his life to the investigation of his country's past history.

The book contains a fair number of excellent illustrations, and can be recommended with confidence to those desirous of knowing something about the history of a little-known Eastern land.

Unter der Glutsonne Irans: Kriegserlebnisse der deutschen Expedition nach Persien und Afganistan. Oskar von Niedermayer. Munich: Einhornverlag in Dachan. 1926. 8½ × 5½. Pp. 330. Map and illustrations. 7 Mark.

At a distance of ten years, the main events of the world war begin to assume a more historical aspect, even to the active participants. The most evenly balanced minds cannot fail to be influenced by skilfully directed propaganda, the very *raison d'être* of which is to bring the enemy into disrepute and, at the same time, to glorify the deeds of one's own country, however questionable they may be. Thus the action of Germany in proclaiming herself the champion of Islam in the waging of the Jehad raised a storm of indignant protest in this country, but not more so than that caused in Germany by our employment of coloured troops in France. Germany attempted to take advantage of our embarrassments in Ireland, but not to the same extent, nor with the same success, as the Entente powers encouraged the disaffection of the component parts of the Austrian Empire. Political stratagem is a legitimate weapon of warfare, however much it may be deplored, especially when it concerns the employment of Eastern nations by one European power against a fellow-white and fellow-Christian nation.

The story of the German political expedition to Afghanistan in 1915-16, told by its leader, is one of exceptional interest. It is a story of a difficult and dangerous mission, well, and in a measure successfully, accomplished in the face of almost superhuman hardships and trials. It is a story of adventure well and forcibly told, which compels the recognition of real sportsmanship for those who participated therein.

In an early passage the author hints at many accusations which he might have made against his opponents, but he states that he has restrained himself from indulging in past recriminations. On the whole, he has kept his resolve, but in two passages he makes very definite accusations of cruelty against British officers. On the other hand, the conduct of the German personnel is held to be beyond reproach, which may be true in the case of the majority, but unfortunately the records of some, of one in particular, are not without blemish.

The initial chapters of the book make very pleasant reading. Accustomed to think of the great efficiency of the German military machine, it comes as an agreeable surprise to find that it was capable of making as human blunders as our corresponding organization. The great German expedition to Afghanistan to raise the Jehad in that country against British India merely "happened" in its initial stages. The personnel chosen was most unsuitable and mostly without any qualifications for such an undertaking. Niedermayer introduces himself while taking part in skirmishes on the French Front—in the midst of which he receives a telegram asking if he would be prepared to join a foreign expedition. Having travelled extensively in Persia, Afghanistan, and India before the war, and having a thorough knowledge of Persian, he was well suited to be leader of the expedition, yet his participation was the result of a chance suggestion from an Embassy official at Constantinople.

The equipment, including machine-guns, rifles, a wireless set, etc., was arranged in Berlin and despatched to Constantinople via Roumania. To facilitate its passage through this neutral state it was consigned as a travelling circus outfit. The long wireless masts were labelled "circus tent-poles," but the careless omission to remove the insulators led to detection and the whole equipment was confiscated. After much delay a second outfit was got ready in Berlin, and this time extensive bribery assured its safe passage through neutral Roumania. Meanwhile, the personnel of the expedition was awaiting events, partly at Constantinople and partly at Aleppo, and as their patience diminished their quarrels with the Turks increased in number and intensity. The forward journey to Baghdad in midwinter, 1914, is a record of delays and disputes about transport.

On arrival at Baghdad, it was found that the Turks not only had orders to abandon all active participation in the expedition, but they adopted a definite policy of obstruction. The commander-in-chief, Suleiman Askeri, claimed that the German personnel was at his disposal and the whole equipment was confiscated. Later, however, as a result of pressure from Berlin, ill-natured apologies for the "misunderstanding" were tendered, and part of the equipment was returned, but apparently no amount of pressure could make a Turk disgorge a machine-gun!

It was decided to despatch an independent party, consisting of Wassmuss, Lenders, and Bohnstorff, direct from Baghdad to Deshtistan, the hinterland of Bushire. After much difficulty they were sent off, travelling first by ship to Kut-el-Amara, then into the territory of the Wali of Pusht-i-Kuh, and through Dizful towards their goal Borazjun. At Behbehan disaster befel them. Lenders, their local personnel and equipment were captured, and Wassmuss alone succeeded in completing the journey, Bohnstorff being forced to return to Baghdad.

As a result of obstruction on the part of the Turks, and delays caused by the delicate political question of Persian neutrality, it was March 31, 1915, before the main body started for the great adventure, taking the trail through

Khaniqin and Qasri-Shirin for Kermanshah—a trail which three years later was to see the start of another similar expedition with a somewhat similar mission, namely the British Dunsterforce.

Niedermayer does not state the total strength of his party, but it probably did not ever exceed 100 Germans and Austrians. At later stages they received occasional reinforcements from escaped prisoners from Siberia, but on the other hand they suffered heavy casualties throughout as killed, captured, and died of disease. Nor does he state the amount of money spent to achieve their ends, but he maintains that it was only a small fraction of the fabulous sums which he is usually supposed to have had at his disposal. The caravan for the first stage of their journey consisted of 150 animals.

Kermanshah was reached without serious incident, and the expedition found a strong pro-German sympathy, thanks largely to the zeal of Schünemann who had preceded them. The main body proceeded to Ispahan under the command of Seiler, while Niedermayer visited Teheran to discuss further programme with the German Embassy. The theoretical neutrality of Persia prevented direct interference on the part of the British or Russians, and the pro-German sympathy of the Persian gendarmerie under command of Swedish officers offset the rather stronger court influence of the Entente powers. All attempts to move the populace by a Jehad proclamation produced no tangible result.

In June, Niedermayer rejoined the main body in Ispahan, and on July 1 the first group started on their perilous journey eastward towards the goal—Afghanistan. The route taken was through Nain, Anarak, Chehar Deh, and Birjand. In the neighbourhood of the last-named place the formidable British-Russian East Persian cordon had to be crossed, and, with the exception of a minor skirmish, this was accomplished safely, thanks to careful planning, forced night marches, and good luck. The hardships endured as a result of the natural conditions and the great desert crossings in midsummer with shade temperatures up to 52° C. (!), and the continual difficulty of driving unwilling, hired, local *charvadars* to undergo the unavoidable fatigues and privations are vividly described. Good pay and tempting promises are powerful instruments with the Persian *charvadar* (mule driver), but in the face of hardships or possible danger only the personality of a leader can enforce his orders, and abuse is more effective than fair words. At last the frontiers of friendly Afghanistan were reached, but not before the forced marches had exacted a heavy toll from both men and animals. In three consecutive days after crossing the British cordon 75, 90, and 50 kilometres are claimed to have been covered. Once across the frontier, however, the party travelled as honoured guests, and arrived at Kabul on October 2.

A pleasantly situated house on the outskirts of the town was allotted to the expedition, but after a few days' residence they found to their dismay that they were in reality prisoners. A hunger strike by a political mission does not seem a very glorious weapon, but at any rate it had the required effect, and certain demands, such as the services of a doctor, were granted, but not before Niedermayer's faithful German servant, Jacob, had died of disease. Finally, after three weeks of monotonous waiting, the Amir granted the long-sought interview.

During the course of the following months, every endeavour was made to induce the Amir to declare the Jehad against British India—but in vain. Clever political negotiations on the part of the Indian Government, and the fear of future revenge should he attack England in her moment of weakness, kept the Amir undecided, and the German mission's activities were confined to instigating tribal raids, organizing the Afghan army, and forming a staff college and courses of various sorts. Although Niedermayer was thus unsuccessful in his main object, the presence of the mission in Kabul and the continual menace of an attack on India kept large numbers of troops in India for internal defence which would otherwise have been available elsewhere. When the large forces employed in the East Persian cordon, and the lavish expenditure incurred are also considered, we must grant to Niedermayer a very generous share of success.

Despairing of further achievements in Afghanistan, Niedermayer determined to withdraw to Persia, and on May 21, 1916, he left Kabul. When the frontier was reached he sent the main body under command of Wagner to break through the cordon near Badshistan, while he himself, travelling in disguise, set out for Teheran, which he finally reached on July 23, after severe hardships and many adventures. The further journey to Hamadan proved to be even more arduous. The caravan which he had joined was attacked by a robber band and ransacked, and, at one time, Niedermayer was reduced to begging for food from place to place.

Meanwhile in Ispahan, Seiler had established German influence both with the townspeople and with the Bakhtiari and Qashqai tribes with such success that the British and Russians were forced to withdraw. The charge that Seiler achieved this success by lavish payments is denied. The total amount paid out for political purposes in this period was only 3,500 toman!

In November, 1915, an advance into Afghanistan was planned, and under command of Seiler the expedition started from Ispahan for Yezd and Kerman. All being fair in such a war, Seiler had no compunction in removing forty mule loads of silver from the British bank in Yezd and in burning a million toman in bank notes. Disaster and hardships dogged this party throughout. Unsuccessful in an attempt to break through the cordon near Neh, the survivors returned to Kerman, and then made their way through Herat towards Shiraz. On the way they were attacked by tribesmen and lost several of their number and all their equipment. Finally they reached Serghun, near Shiraz, where they were welcomed by the Persian gendarmerie. At last, confident of safety, they laid aside their arms—but only to find they had fallen victim to an age-old Persian trick and were prisoners. The activities of this party thus came to an end, except for a bold escape from prison in Shiraz by Seiler and Fasting, who succeeded in reaching the Turks at Kermanshah.

By the end of 1916 the only remaining active member of the original mission was Wassmuss who, alone and unaided, continued his daring campaign against the British forces in Bushire. Unfortunately his exploits are not described in any detail as Niedermayer had no direct dealings with him, and the book closes with the rounding up or withdrawal of the various isolated groups of the mission in the latter months of 1916.

G. M. LEES.

THE MOSQUE OF THE ROSES. By Captain Harold Armstrong. 7½ × 5. London: The Bodley Head. 1927. 7s. 6d.

It adds to one's interest in reading this book to know that the author has some special acquaintance with the Turks. Captain Armstrong was a prisoner in Turkish hands in the Great War. After the Armistice with Turkey he was employed in Constantinople in several capacities. For some time he was Assistant Military Attaché at the British Embassy. Later he served in the Allied police and was one of the British officers in command of a detachment in the Turkish gendarmerie.

"The Mosque of the Roses" is a highly coloured romance; there are spies, intrigues and plots, captures and escapes, brigands and gendarmes, and running through it all the passionate, devoted love of a beautiful Turkish girl for a British Army officer.

The author has caught the atmosphere of those years very vividly, and so much of his story is based on actual facts that it is of historic interest. During the four years of Armistice the Turks under Mustapha Kemal had risen in revolt, they had triumphantly driven the Greeks out of Smyrna, and at the time of this story they were at last brought into conference with their conquerors in the Great War to settle the terms of peace. It was a time when Bolshevik and other sinister influences were making Constantinople a hot-bed of intrigue and treachery, and the Allies seemed unwilling to assert themselves too strongly lest they should offend the Turks with whom they were negotiating. This confusion lent itself admirably to every kind of perilous adventure and romantic pursuit.

It may be gathered from this story that Captain Armstrong has no love for the Turk; in fact, he expresses this forcibly in describing "Djemal Bey," the Governor of Stamboul, in whose face was revealed "the soul of the Turk." "Through the polish and veneer of everyday politeness and courtesy showed the brutal, unreasoning, inhuman animal. He saw lust to torture weakness and passionate cruelty asserting itself when there was no danger of reprisal. He was looking full into the soul of the Turk, and behind it lay stretched rich countries, depopulated and stricken with poverty, great cities wantonly reduced to ruins, and mass cruelty used as a weapon of government."

It is also evident that the author considers the Turks to be like other semi-civilized peoples, whose respect for others is based upon fear. He makes it clear that in dealing with the Turks firmness alone meets with success. The failure of the British general, in the story, to obtain the release of "Captain Sanford" from prison is entirely attributed to weakness and inability to appreciate that "a little show, a very little show, of strength" would have produced a different result. Later in the story, on the other hand, when the British "Minister" adopts a strong line of action with the Turks, "the show of force acted like magic and almost instantaneously."

The tale is remarkably well told throughout. Suspense is admirably sustained, and the reader's attention always held as one situation, full of danger and audacity, follows another. One of the most vivid passages is that in which the author describes "Captain Sanford's" experiences with the brigands. The flavour of reality is just as intriguing when it concerns the romance and personality of "Yasmin Hanum," the Turkish girl. There are in real life Turkish women such as he describes, who are superlatively feminine, the product of generations of women whose only interest could be in the emotions. And there are Turkish women who, like "Yasmin Hanum," took part in the great effort of Mustapha Kemal. Fired with a passionate love of their country and a long-standing hatred of the Greeks, they even fought side by side with the Turkish soldiery. "Yasmin Hanum," however, was perhaps more a woman than a soldier. Her love for the British officer whose life she saved carried before it her prejudices against him as an Englishman. Nevertheless, her charm and seductiveness were not enough to bridge for long the inevitable gulf dividing an Englishman and a Turkish girl. "Yasmin Hanum" remained to the end only a passionate episode in "Captain Sanford's" life. The author claims that with one exception all the characters in his novel are fictitious. It is felt that the Turkish girl may well be the real one, for he could scarcely have drawn her character with such sympathetic insight had she not entered into his life. All the characters, however, seem to have some substance of reality, and the whole story is most credible. I. B. KEBLE.

THE WILDERNESS OF SINAI. By H. J. Llewellyn Beadnall. London: Edward Arnold. 10s. 6d.

To geologists "The Wilderness of Sinai" doubtless contains descriptions and theories of great interest. The journeyings were undertaken to study the geology and the book is mainly devoted to that subject.

In addition, however, it gives a pleasing story of many months of wandering in an area hitherto little known even to those whose administrative duties hold them in Sinai.

The Egma plateau was said to hold colossal ibex, interesting rock cisterns and other delightful things, but it is off the track from or to anywhere and few officials have visited it. That the knowledge of it presented in the book would have been of great value from a military intelligence point of view, as suggested in the foreword, is perhaps open to doubt. The fact from a military point of view is that the district is of no interest to those attacking or defending Egypt. And this negative information could have been supplied by at least two or three officials who had served or travelled in Sinai. Certainly for some considerable distance south of latitude 29° 30′ there has been great vagueness in the maps of Sinai, and let us hope that one result of the author's tours will be the production by the Egyptian Survey Department of the necessary sheets to fill in the gap and to complete the topographical map of Sinai.

Throughout the book it is refreshing to feel the author's love of the desert and its wildness and loneliness, which would stand to many as forbidding and harsh. There is also sympathy with the Arabs, tempered with a possibly not excessive amount of impatience at their slipshod methods and squabbles.

He suffers with unconcealed annoyance the irksome administrative rule that camels should be hired from the tribes of the area being surveyed. There are reasons for it—namely, that with a small police force of about 150 men working over an area of roughly 20,000 square miles it is essential to utilize the authority of sheikhs of tribes and to welcome their readiness to accept responsibility over their tribal districts.

To question details in the book: there is a curious mistake on page 5 where the author states that the province is administered by the Intelligence Department of the Egyptian Army War Office. That is an old pre-war story. Latterly Sinai has been under the Frontiers Administration of the Egyptian Government.

On page 9 the population of the region of Sinai is given as 5,430, but some error must have crept in. This figure perhaps included only the Arabs of Southern Sinai. The numbers for the whole of Sinai are probably nearer 20,000. On page 17 Professor Palmer is said to have been betrayed by Meta Abu Sofia of the Deboura section of the Huitat. It is true that some of Professor Palmer's camel men were of this section, but the guide in whom he trusted, and who made off with the money, was Meteir Abu Safih of the Safaiha section of the Lehaiwat.

Page 60. The "Juhal," translated as the "old people," probably means "the ignorant" or pagan people—*i.e.*, before Mohammedan times.

Page 85. Colonel Jennings Bramly is mentioned as having written a very interesting account of the Beduin of Northern Sinai. It should be Mr. W. Jennings Bramly, Colonel Jennings Bramly's brother.

Page 94. Numbers of the bustard found in Sinai breed there, a fact probably unknown to the author since his sojourns there were mostly in the winter season.

On page 35 a definition of Arab names for water-supplies is given. The term "Mashash," much used in Sinai, and which applies to shallow water-holes in shingle and sand, is omitted. The word "Galt," quoted by the author, is not commonly used in Sinai. No two persons ever agree in the transliteration of

Arab names, place names, or names of tribes, but as regards the latter certain forms have been more or less accepted and appeared in edited lists of the tribes of Sinai and Palestine during the war. Probably the author was unaware of the existence of this handbook, since he adopts other forms.

The photographs are really excellent and give a wonderful impression of the variety of country. The book is full of interest and should accompany anyone intending to travel in Sinai.

A. C. PARKER.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR: THE CAMPAIGN IN MESOPOTAMIA, 1914-1918. Vol. IV. Compiled by Brigadier-General F. J. Moberly, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O. H.M. Stationery Office. 15s. net.

With the publication of this fourth volume, Brigadier-General Moberly brings to a most successful conclusion his task of recording the stirring events of the war in Mesopotamia and the operations further east related thereto.

The previous volume had carried the story of the campaign up to the end of April, 1917, that is to say, to the series of operations undertaken by General Maude to consolidate our position at Baghdad—viz., westward, the occupation of Falluja, on the Euphrates; northward, the capture of Samarra, consequent on the successful operations of Generals Cobbe's and Marshall's Corps up the right and left banks of the Tigris; eastward, through Baquba to the Jabil Hamrin, to get in touch with the Russians, whose effective co-operation, owing to the Revolution, was becoming increasingly doubtful.

The present volume carries on the narrative from May, 1917, to the Armistice.

Within the restricted limits of a brief review it is impossible to do more than give the barest outline of the events recorded in a work so crowded with incident. Suffice it to say that General Moberly's narrative flows evenly along, the story of the successive operations of the various parts of the expeditionary force being harmoniously correlated and kept chronologically parallel. Such digressions as are necessary into matters of high policy or of allied operations elsewhere which bear on the course of the campaign are introduced just where required, and with a nice sense of proportion.

The brief preface touches on the results of the Mesopotamian campaign. "Our action destroyed German dreams of dominance which constituted a real menace to the security of our Indian Empire and to our sea communications east of the Red Sea; it brought about the defeat of Pan-Turkish ambitions in Caucasia, Persia, and Central Asia, it assured the independence of Persia and Afghanistan, and it opened to Mesopotamia a prospect of prosperity which she had not known for hundreds of years." It notices, at the same time, that our early successes "had led to our underestimating the enemy's capacity and to our overlooking or disregarding our own insufficient means" which resulted in the disaster of Kut. "After the surrender of Kut it was of advantage to us that, instead of pressing his good fortune, the enemy despatched an Army Corps to invade Persia and left us unmolested on the Tigris to rest and reorganize." During the final phase of the war, dealt with in this fourth volume, "the detachment of large Turkish forces to the Caucasus at a time when their Syrian and Mesopotamian fronts were in urgent need of reinforcement is difficult to understand from a purely military point of view. It can only be explained satisfactorily if it is regarded as an attempt to vindicate their national ideal by building up a new state which would include the ancient home of their race."

There follows a useful chronological summary of the campaign from the beginning, and then a table of the contents of the chapters which constitute Volume IV.

Nine appendices give the distribution of the Mesopotamia Expeditionary

Force in May and November, 1917, and March and October, 1918; lists of the principal officers serving with the Force at the end of 1917 and 1918; an estimate of the Turkish Sixth Army on August 15, 1917 ; an illuminating letter from Mustapha Kemal to Enver Pasha, dated September 30, 1917; and, finally, a list of the Indian units that served with the Force, with their titles in 1918 and their present titles (this particular appendix will be of great value and assistance to a large number of readers, including even many old officers of the Indian Army, who nowadays find it hard to recognize under their new numbers corps they knew of old).

Thereafter comes a list of the maps which elucidate the history—viz., a general map of the whole region, as frontispiece, and twelve others illustrating the various operations. They are clear and admirably adapted to their purpose.

Seventeen photographs scattered through the book embellish the narrative. Of these it may perhaps be said that some of the aerial photographs, possibly, do not quite convey to the lay eye that ruggedness of the regions depicted—*e.g.*, those of the Fatha Gorge and the battlefield of Sharqat, in contrast to which the two of the Khan Baghdadi battlefield show much more clearly the broken nature of the terrain.

Turning now to the body of the book, the opening chapter commences with an appreciation of the situation. It touches on the increasing Russian disorganization; the formation of the Turkish "Yilderim" Force (including a German Asiatic Corps); Indian frontier troubles, the question of Arab levies (regarding which General Maude writes: " Even if these forces are systematically organized, I am inclined to think that, owing to lack of time and the inadequacy of means for training them, their influence for good will at best be small, whilst they will always represent potential danger in the area of operations"). The matter of reinforcements from home and from India is next touched on, and finally the unsuccessful attack on Ramadi, in the height of summer, involving 566 casualties, of which no less than 321 were directly due to heat. "According to the Baghdadis," says Candler in " The Long Road to Baghdad," " it was the hottest season in the memory of man. Most things were too hot to touch. The rim of a tumbler burnt one's hand in a tent. The dust and sand burnt the soles of one's feet through one's boots."

The following chapter records our reluctant recognition of Russian defection. The British liaison officer with Caucasus Headquarters telegraphed on September 30, 1917 : " British gold may keep the Russians in Persia, but it will not make them fight. The old Russian Army is dead, quite dead."

At this time our fighting strength in Mesopotamia was 58,887 British and 107,563 Indians. The capture of Ramadi, brilliantly conceived by General Brooking and resolutely carried out by the troops under his command between September 27 and 29, 1917, at a cost of close on 1,000 casualties, had a decisive effect locally. About the same time, on our other flank, the seizure of Mandali, on the Persian border, by General Norton's Seventh Cavalry Brigade "so affected the supply situation of the Turkish Thirteenth Corps that not only had the First Infantry Regiment to be withdrawn to Kirkuk from Kifri, but the Cavalry Brigade had also to retire to the right bank of the Diyala." The chapter ends with an instructive account of increasing tension between Enver Pasha and von Falkenhayn regarding the respective claims of the Palestine and Mesopotamian fronts and, generally, also regarding questions of command and the German dominance.

Chapter XXXIX. describes the occupation, in October, 1917, of the Jabal Hamrin, by General Marshall's Third Corps, an operation dictated by General Maude's desire " to render his right flank more secure, and to deny to the Turks this screen for movements against his flank and into Persia." Marshall's well-conceived plans resulted in the attainment of his objective at the cost of only thirty-seven casualties. Following on this operation came the advance of General Cobbe's First Corps up the Tigris to repel a hostile advance down this line. The actions of Daur and Tikhrit successfully disposed of this threat, inflicting 1,500 casualties on the Turks, our own being 1,801, of which, however, the killed numbered 161 only.

About this time a Russian detachment of all arms, numbering some 1,200, under Lieut.-Colonel Bicharakoff (an Ossatin Cossack of Vladikavkaz), which had become isolated at Qasr-i-Shirin from Baratoff's main force, joined us at Mandali, and was attached to our Third Corps,

On November 18, to the deep regret of the whole force, General Sir Stanley Maude died of cholera in Baghdad, after two days' illness. Lieut.-General Sir William Marshall succeeded him, and General Egerton took the latter's place as Commander of the Third Corps.

General Marshall's first move was against the Turks beyond the Jabal Hamrin and along the Diyala. General Egerton's well-planned operations resulted in a loss to the Turks of some 350 men, two guns, and other war material, and a considerable strengthening of our right flank. Bicharakoff's Russians took part in these operations and did good work.

Chapter XL. tells us of the inception of the epic of "Dunster Force," to counter the hostile thrust eastward into Persia, laid open by the Russian collapse. Such a hostile move, if successful, would have completely turned our right flank and constituted a serious threat to India. On March 12, 1918, Marshall's responsibilities were extended to cover all military measures necessary to check enemy penetration through North-West Persia. Ultimately, therefore, his widely extended front stretched from Ana on the Euphrates to distant Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian—*i.e.*, a distance in a straight line of some 750 miles. Operations were, at this time, undertaken on our left flank, up the Euphrates. General Brooking occupied Hit on March 9, and the decisive victory of Khan Baghdadi followed on the 26th and 27th. The bold encircling action of Cassel's cavalry cut off the main body of the enemy and resulted in wiping out the entire Fiftieth Turkish Division. A pursuit ensued as far as Ana, where the Turkish stores were blown up.

Chapter XLI. describes the operations in Kurdistan, carried out by General Egerton's Third Corps, the object being to drive the Turks well away from the Persian road, which was of vital importance to us. These operations carried our arms to Kirkuk, after the successful action of Tuz Khurmatli, and drove the demoralized remnants of the Turkish Second Division across the Little Zab.

Chapters XLII. and XLIII. record the thrilling adventures of "Dunster Force" in Persia and Caucasia. It is a tale of surpassing interest. Have British soldiers ever been called upon to fight under circumstances more discouraging than those that confronted the gallant handful of our men who strove to hold Baku against the Turk? The unreliability of the despicable Armenians ensured the tragic failure that ensued. The twenty-two local battalions, totalling about 6,000 rifles, had a twelve-mile front to hold. They were "so lacking in discipline that they wasted much ammunition and left their places in the line whenever they pleased"! "Political meetings, speeches, and discussions interfered with all work." The British troops were too few to do more than hold the left of the line and the "Dirty Volcano," a vital point in the middle of it. "During the fighting on August 18 four-fifths of the local troops retired hastily to Baku, leaving both flanks of the weak North Stafford Company (which was holding a vital part of the line) uncovered." Elsewhere we read in a description of the defence line, "The above statement does not take into account the dispositions of a large part of the local forces, as these were never known to the British *and never accorded with the orders issued to them*"! Time and again the Armenians left our men in the lurch. Armenian cowardice lost Baku, but "the stand made by the three British battalions, totalling less than 1,000 rifles, is worthy of our highest admiration."

The two last chapters tell us of the final triumphant victory of Sharqat, where all arms vied with each other in prodigies of valour and endurance, and of the Armistice which followed close on the heels of this victory.

The vexed question of whether we had the right to continue our advance into Mosul after the Armistice came into force is very clearly set at rest. Clauses 7 and 16 of the Armistice terms undoubtedly conferred upon us that right. Space does not admit of more than merely mentioning the growth of railway construction, water communications, mechanical transport, the administrative work of our political officers under Sir Percy Cox, the affairs of South Persia, etc., all of which matters are fully dealt with in this book.

A point which cannot but impress every reader of this history is the record it discloses of loyal and selfless co-operation, not only between the several commanders and parts of the force, but between the several arms—horse, foot, artillery, and air.

Triumph and tragedy are interwoven in the fabric of this work. To the former, the successive victories from Ramadi to Sharqat bear eloquent testimony. The sudden death of our great Commander; the loss of Baku; the pitiable fate of a gallant little nation, the Assyrians, whom we encouraged to withstand the Turk, but could not save when attacked in force and overwhelmed, are episodes that strike a deep note of tragedy.

Before the Great War there were many who prophesied that the day of cavalry was over. The fine work of Holland-Pryor's Sixth Cavalry Brigade at Ramadi, the brilliant achievements of Cassel's and Norton's horsemen (with their invaluable auxiliary the armoured car) at the battles of Khan Baghdadi and Sharqat completely refute this suggestion. Moreover, in the neighbouring theatre of Palestine what would Allenby's operations have been without his cavalry?

An instance of fine marching and endurance by an infantry unit must be mentioned. When Cassel's weak force of cavalry was holding the entire enemy force at Sharqat and was in desperate need of support on October 28, 1918, the 1/39 Garhwalis, each man carrying 170 rounds of rifle ammunition and a bomb, reached General Sanders's position at 9 p.m., after a fine march of thirty-four miles. They were sent on to the ferry, which they reached at 11 p.m., ready to cross and join Cassels early next morning.

An official war history lacking, as it must, the personal note is commonly regarded as somewhat dry and wearisome reading; but of this work it may safely be said that the meticulous student of military history and the casual reader alike may derive both profit and pleasure from a perusal of its glowing pages.

M. E. Willoughby.

Moscou et la Georgie Martyre. Par Raymond Duguet. Préface du Colonel C. B. Stokes: Jules Tellandier. 13 francs.

Late in the fifth century B.C. the first historical traces of the Kingdom of Georgia are to be found. We read that Greek colonists were scattered along the coast of the Black Sea and carried on active trade with the natives of the hinterland. Georgia is mentioned in Greek writings under the name of Colchis, though the Colchians were black immigrants from Egypt, according to

Herodotus, but according to modern authorities they more probably came from India, living in the midst of the white, native population, the true natives of Georgia. It was to the coast of Georgia that Jason sailed in the *Argo* and went in search of the Golden Fleece; even now the two rivers, the Ingour and the Rion, contain auriferous sands, and the peasants still wash the sand according to the manner of their ancestors, by taking a shaggy sheepskin and shaking it in running water, the heavy grains of gold being left in the folds of the skin. The Greeks also refer to Georgia as Eastern Iberia, and praise these Iberians as people well versed in forging steel, from whom arrowheads and all steel weapons may be procured. It may be noted that metal-work is today one of the industries of Georgia, especially in the province of Koutais. Classical reference to Georgia could be multiplied, but it is sufficient to indicate the ancient heritage of which Georgians are justly proud.

In the fourth century of our own era Christianity was proclaimed the State religion of Georgia—that is to say, five centuries before the conversion of Europe.

The twelfth century was for the Kingdom of Georgia the golden age of her history, when Queen Tamara ruled the land from the Black Sea to the Caspian; the military power of Persia, her aggressive neighbour, was weakened, and the great Queen extended and consolidated her frontiers and gave to her country first a sense of security and then a period of peace. The reign of Tamara is also famous for the national epic by Roustaveli, "The Knight in the Panther's Skin." However, the next century witnessed Georgia's downfall, when Tamerlane swept through the country with his Mongols, and the gifts of learning were buried under the invader's pyramid of skulls. Indeed, its geographical position made the land a prey to the onslaughts of all these militaristic chieftains—Mongolian, Persian, or Turkish—and slowly Georgia began to lose both territory and prestige; she suffered several invasions and struggled in vain during the ensuing centuries to maintain her independence, but she was forced finally, in 1785, to make a treaty with Russia, by which she became an autonomous vassal state of that empire; in 1801, however, Russia refused to compromise any longer and formally annexed the country. But it was not Russian policy to develop Transcaucasia; she needed the territory as a military outpost to her own Empire, and as a constant threat to British designs, real or imagined, in Persia and Afghanistan. Moreover, she needed the oil in Baku. But if Russia did not develop Transcaucasia, neither did she destroy the deep-seated spirit of nationalism which was nurtured on the memories of a past history, and made its bid for an independent future in 1917. That bid failed.

Monsieur Duguet, in his careful study of post-war Georgia, gives the main facts of that disappointing attempt to achieve self-determination. Furthermore, Colonel Stokes, who has written the introduction with all the authority of first-hand knowledge, puts his finger on the weak factor in that political experiment: "En fait, le gouvernement géorgien fit passer l'interêt de son parti avant l'interêt national."

In 1917 the Bolsheviks seized the power in St. Petersburg and Moscow, and a state of chaos existed in the Russian Empire. The Transcaucasian States took their opportunity and declared themselves independent republics. Georgia was immediately threatened by Turkey, and appealed for protection to the Allies, who, however, had other irons in the fire. She turned to Germany, who came to her assistance and saved her from a Turkish invasion, intending to colonize the country at the end of the war. When the war ended it was Germany who had to withdraw, and under Allied occupation Transcaucasia had a breathing-space to set its house in order. And then the first great mistake was made. The one chance of independence was in the formation of a Confederated State, linking together Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the mountaineer tribes of Daghestan. But the leader was lacking. No one had the political vision to perceive it or the strength and personality to carry it through. International jealousies predominated, and three independent republics were created with the floating mountaineer tribes outside the circle. The strategical advantages of the geographical situation were therefore lost, and the inevitable attack from Russia had to be met with a disunited front. In 1920 the Soviet armies conquered the three republics piecemeal.

Nor does the history of the political independence of Georgia show a brighter picture. The Government that came into power at the end of 1918 was a Menchevik Government, whose leaders were linked by many ties with the rulers of Soviet Russia. The most elementary statesmanship must have perceived the imperative necessity of forming a Government of national union, if the young State was to develop and prosper. The Mencheviks, however, determined to experiment in socialistic reform. The application of those principles to the land problem is of historical interest.

Georgia is a nation of peasants ; it is estimated that 70 to 80 per cent. of its population make their living from agriculture ; and the methods employed are picturesquely antique. Riding across country or down the cart tracks, for there are only a very few good roads in Georgia, you come on the peasant ploughing his field, scratching the soil with what looks like a bit of tin fixed on to his plough. The bigger ploughs are drawn by teams of animals ; as many as twenty-four animals drawing one plough is a common sight. The wheat is threshed by a sledge with a flint fixed on the end of it. Artificial manuring is unknown ; and even such an elementary principle as the rotation of crops is not generally practised. The necessary rest is given the soil by allowing it to lie fallow, and it is then used as pasture until fit again for tillage.

The agrarian reform of 1918 was finally carried out on the basis of peasant proprietorship ; but this solution was not immediately reached. The first step of the new Government which came into power after the Russian revolution was to confiscate all land and declare it to be the property of the State ; the next step consisted in a decision to leave a maximum of about twenty-five acres to the dispossessed landowners, but not to give any indemnity for the land which had been confiscated ; the third and last step towards the solution was taken on January 23, 1919, when the Georgian Parliament voted a Bill by which all farming land held by the State was to be distributed amongst the peasant population on the basis of private ownership, but at the same time providing that any peasant-holding should not exceed the maximum of twenty-five acres allowed to former landowners. The process of distribution was being carried out at the time of the invasion of Georgia by the Soviet troops. While considering this evolution in the agrarian legislation of the Georgian Government, it is interesting to remember that the men in power had been brought up on collectivist principles, that they composed a revolutionary Government ; and yet they had the political sense to perceive that the agrarian problem, in their own country at least, could only be solved along lines opposed to the principles of their social creed, and they had the courage to admit at once the weakness of their theory when translated into practical politics. However, the evils of wholesale confiscation and State appropriation had already destroyed the chief element of stability in the country, and the agrarian compromise came too late.

Beyond farming proper, the peasant of Western Georgia grows successfully tea and tobacco ; and in several parts of the country the traveller meets with vineyards and large fruit farms. Gori is famous for its apples.

The mineral deposits of the country are still undeveloped, with the exception of the manganese mines, which are some of the finest in the world. Petrol, coal, and copper exist, but in unknown quantities.

Roughly midway between the Black Sea and the Caspian lies the city of Tiflis, a fine town where Oriental disorder and Western civilization meet and jostle in pleasant amity. Tiflis bears the imprint of the Russian occupation; it was the viceregal capital of Transcaucasia under the Czarist régime, and possesses a European quarter which boasts of all the modern paraphernalia of a Western city. After the Russian revolution it became the capital of Georgia. The main street is the Golovinsky Prospect, which is threaded by a tramway, and possesses a fine opera house where famous Russian singers have made their début. Excellent blocks of flats, chiefly owned by Armenians, are scattered up and down the highway. Here are the best restaurants, and here are the shops where merchandise, displayed in modern windows, costs twice or three times as much as the same wares bought in the Oriental market a few hundred yards away. The street is cobbled; cars, cabs, pedestrians, and the tramway hustle for a passage.

The Oriental quarter of Tiflis, or the old town, is wedged in the valley of the River Kura, built on either bank and linked up with several wooden bridges; these bridges are in varying conditions of decay, and have practically fallen into disuse, except for foot passengers. The hills on either side rise sheer above the clustered houses, and at the end of the valley there are the remains of two ancient fortresses. The buildings have been constructed on different levels in a haphazard fashion; the narrow streets, therefore, for the most part cobbled, are a series of precipitous inclines and declines. Eastern customs prevail; whole streets are given up to merchandise of a single denomination, and one street, for example, is thus naturally named Silver Street, inhabited by the silversmiths, etc It is to this quarter that the caravans of camels make their way, bearing the wares of the East; there is trade carried on between Tiflis and Tabriz. It is a common sight along the single street, which traverses this part of Tiflis, to see three or four supercilious camels eyeing with contempt the oily snorts of a Ford car. They will never understand each other.

In March, 1921, the Bolshevik troops burst in on this rich and pleasant country, and the Georgian army, after weeks of gallant fighting, was finally overcome, being driven back to the sea coast. As the Red troops reached Batoum the Government evacuated in Allied ships and made their way to Constantinople and Paris. The Soviets took over control and instituted a reign of terror. The horrible details of Bolshevik methods of repression are given and graphically described by Monsieur Duguet. The irony of that Menchevik Government trusting in the fair promises of their late associates is clearly underlined. In May, 1920, the Soviets recognized the independence of Georgia. During the succeeding months the Soviets prepared the campaign of occupation, reannexing first Azerbaijan and then Armenia, and carrying on at the same time intensive propaganda in Georgia behind the screen of their diplomatic representation. Yet the Georgian Government still hoped that the spiritual bond of socialistic ideals would strengthen the loyalty of Soviet Russia to her written engagements. When the moment came Russia reannexed this rebellious province, and the punitive expedition became a terrorist army of occupation.

Monsieur Duguet's book has a special interest at this moment, since there are many signs that the Bolshevik experiment in Russia is coming to an end; this will mean division in the empire, and undoubtedly the suppressed nationalism of the southern provinces will reawaken, and a second bid for freedom and political independence will be made. It seems that Georgia may well have, within the next year, her second chance, and her friends are waiting to see how the game will be played, and what lessons have been learnt from 1920.

The problem is not an easy one. Any Russian Government will consider Transcaucasia as a Russian province, and if they will not be prepared to fight for sentiment they will be obliged to fight in order to retain a guaranteed supply of Baku oil. On the other hand, ethnographically Transcaucasia has nothing in common with Russia; its inhabitants are not Slavonic and have no sympathy with the Slavonic mentality. The history of the nineteenth century has sown seeds of resentment, hatred, and distrust of Russian administration. No permanent or peaceful solution of this problem is possible as long as Russia occupies Transcaucasia. It will therefore be the task of politicians, when the Soviet Empire breaks up, to discover a *modus vivendi* under which Russia retains a first lien on the Baku oil supply and the Transcaucasian peoples retain political independence, if possible within a confederated union.

The British Government can ill afford to stand aside when this problem shall demand immediate consideration. The strip of land between the Black Sea and the Caspian is a natural buffer State between Russian imperialism and our Eastern Empire. If the frontiers of Turkey and Persia were protected by a friendly confederation of Transcaucasian States, and Russian activity restricted to her natural territorial limit—the Caucasus range—an important step would have been taken towards the reconstruction of British prestige in the Near East, if at the same time Downing Street seeks to develop that friendship, which should surely exist, between ourselves and all Moslem countries.

We have to thank Monsieur Duguet for calling our attention to a problem which at any moment may become a matter of international importance.

J. K. R.

NOTES

IRAQ AND SYRIA.

M. Pernot, writing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, concludes his series of articles on the "Unrest in the East." The paper on the Mandated Territories —Iraq and Syria is perhaps the most interesting of the series. M. Pernot was in Baghdad in 1912 and so is able to judge the progress made since the Turkish domination ended.

Coming through the Persian Gulf, he gives an admirable series of short sketches of the towns he visited—Abadan, but a few years ago an insignificant village but now a large commercial city, headquarters of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, with schools, hospitals, and large and imposing buildings furnished by them; Mohammerah, destined to be the rival of Baghdad and Basra once it becomes the terminus of the Trans-Persian Railway and is linked to Ispahan, Teheran, and the Caspian by rail; Basra, with its interminable quays and empty warehouses, a city of the dead, a corner of the earth into which for some years thousands of pounds were poured, but now going through a critical period of poverty and loss of trade.

A leisurely journey brought him in twenty-two hours to Baghdad, where he deplores the loss of "atmosphere," the transformation into an Anglo-Indian town. Here he had a long interview with Miss Bell, and discusses at some length the wisdom or non-wisdom of the British policy; he had, too, an audience with King Faisal, and gives a short summary of the difficulties of the King and of the British High Commissioner in passing the Treaty, and he gives, too, an amusing account of a luncheon to which Miss Bell invited him, when his fellow-guest, "a high official, a Mr. C.," rubbed in all the faults of the French administration in Syria but would hear nothing of the mistakes of the British in Iraq. After Baghdad he went on to Mosul, which he says the French should never have given up. In his general criticism he approves of the efforts which are being made to advance the education of the people—a great number of schools have been started, and over 50 per cent. of the revenue is devoted to education and to the Iraq army—but in other ways he finds the country less advanced. Mosul is run for the benefit of the oil. The Persian trade which had so much to do with the prosperity of the country has now been diverted to the north, owing to the great enmity between Persia and Iraq, an enmity which has benefited Russia while Mosul has suffered; and Sir William Willcocks's great irrigation schemes, which were to have done so much to bring prosperity to the country, have been shelved for better days—or in accordance with some change of policy.

Mosul itself had suffered from two years' drought and was importing instead of exporting cereals, and the introduction of the rupee and the fever for speculation had made matters worse, at any rate for the time being, in a country where so many of the smaller transactions were made in Turkish currency.

He had cherished a great affection for the slow method of crossing the desert with a caravan, and the quick run in a car has not for him the same attraction, while the terrible poverty of the Bedouin, whom he had known in better days, shocked him. He arrived in Syria while things were at their worst, and refuses to speak about it, but rests on the security of an ultimate good understanding.

On the whole he concludes that both in Iraq and in Syria there is much to be done before the Mandatory Powers can claim that they have well fulfilled their undertakings.

The following papers have been added to the Library: *Revue des Deux Mondes*, VI., noticed above; "A Picture of China," from June number of the *Round Table*, which gives an excellent account of the present state of affairs in that country.

BAFFIN'S GRAVE

A correspondent, writing from the Persian Gulf, says: "It may interest you to know that I have found what I feel certain is the grave of William Baffin, the explorer who gave his name to Baffin Bay. This grave is on Kishm Island, near the town. It has been kept in good repair by former Sheikhs of the island, and the last repairs were done about fifty years ago. It is known as the grave of 'Al Ferangi' or of 'Al Anglazi.' I found the sea was making encroachments on one side of this grave, and out of a feeling of pity for this lone Englishman I left sufficient money to have it built up from the sea. . . .

"As far as tradition goes amongst the older inhabitants of Kishm, this was the grave of an officer (the word used was *Hakim*) who had been killed fighting."

MEMBERS will look forward to the publication of the reports of Sir John Marshal's and Sir Aurel Stein's excavations in North India, the importance of which are known to be great; but to most of us, who have no special knowledge, the greater interest lies in the fact that these results when taken in conjunction with Mr. Woolley's latest finds at Ur give irrefutable proof of a widespread civilization earlier than any yet known, for although it cannot be dated, it is certainly earlier than the civilization which spread over the Mediterranean from the Nile Valley. Mr. Woolley's excavations will be continued next season if sufficient funds can be obtained. Any members who care to contribute even small sums should send them to the Director, British Museum, by whom they will be acknowledged. An exhibition of the principal finds of the last season is now on view in the Assyrian Gallery of the Museum.

LIBRARY NOTICES

THE Council wish to thank Colonel Grey for "A Literary History of the Arabs"; Colonel J. A. Stewart for Bellew's "Enquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan"; and Mr. H. C. Luke for "A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land," for all of which they are very grateful for the library.

The following books have been received for review:

"The Wilderness of Sinai," by H. J. Llewellyn Beadnall. 9″×6″. xii+174 pp. 2 maps and illustrations. (London: Messrs. Edwin Arnold. 1927. 10s. 6d.)

"A Pageant of India," by Adolf Waley. 9″×6″. 556 pp. (London: Messrs. Constable and Co. 1927. 15s.)

"Revolt in the Desert," by T. E. Lawrence. 9½″×6¾″. 446 pp. Maps and illustrations. (London: Messrs. Jonathan Cape. 1927. 21s.)

"A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land," translation by H. C. Luke. 8⅞"×5½". vii+83 pp. (London: Palestine Exploration Fund. 1927. 4s. cloth, 2s. 6d. paper.)

"The Northern Hegaz," by Alois Musil, American Geographical Society: Oriental Explorations, No. 1. 10¼"×7". vii+374 pp. Illustrations. (New York: Vols. I.-VI. $36.)

"The China of Today," by Stephen King-Hall. 7½"×5". 45 pp. (London: Hogarth Press. 1927. 2s. 6d.)

"China in Revolt: How a Civilization became a Nation," by Leang-Li T'Ang; preface by Dr. Tsai-Yuan Pei, Chancellor of the University of Peking. vii+176 pp. (London: Noel Douglas. 1927. 7s. 6d.)

"The Campaign in Mesopotamia, 1914-1918," Vol. IV., by Brigadier-General F. J. Moberly, C.B. 8¾"×5¾". 447 pp. Map. (London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1927. 15s.)

"Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization," by Sir William Ramsay. 10½"×7¾". x+303 pp. Illustrations. (London: John Murray. 1927. 12s.)

"China and her Political Entity," by Shuhsi H'sū, Ph.D. xxiv+438 pp. (New York: Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.)

"Prophets, Priests, and Patriarchs," by H. C. Luke. Sketches of the Sects of Palestine and Syria. 8⅝"×5¾. 129 pp. (London: Faith Press. 1927. 6s.)

"Tibet, Past and Present," by Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G. 8¼"×5½". 326 pp. Maps and illustrations. (Oxford: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1927. Cheap edition, 10s.)

"Le Congrès du Khalifat (Cairo, May 13-19, 1926); Le Congrès du Monde Musulmane Mecca (June 7 to July 5, 1926)," from the *Revue du Monde Musulmane.* 10"×6½". 219 pp. (Paris. 1926. 25 frs.)

"The British in China and Far Eastern Trade," by C. A. Middleton Smith. 9"×6". 295 pp. (London: Messrs. Constable and Co. 1927. 10s. 6d.)

MEMBERS ELECTED MARCH—JUNE.

Abramson, A., O.B.E.
Balfour, R. E.
Bosshard, W.
Bradshaw, Captain J. R. L., I.A., Indian Political Department.
Coffey, W. F. P.
Corkill, Norman Lace.
Coulton, W. T.
Darby, Miss Marion L.
Devlin, J. A. H.
Dias, Dr. A., M.B.
Dickson, Major H. R. P., 2/2 Punjab Regt., I.A.
Dix, J. W.
Every, Sir Edward O., Bart.
Forbes-Manson, W.
Fortescue, Lieut.-Colonel A. Irvine, D.S.O., R.A.M.C.
Fuad, Ali.

Gibb, H. A. R.
Gohir, Wali Mohammed.
Gull, E. Manico.
Gunter, E. E., C.M.G.
Hadow, Major K., M.C.
Haworth, Lieut.-Colonel, L. B. H.
Hearn, A. C.
Holmes, Major F.
Ives, G.
Kemball-Cook, Sir Basil, K.B.E.
Kensington, Colonel-Commandant E. C., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C.
Kirkbridge, Captain G.
Loys-Treytorrens, François de.
MacLeoud, Rev. Murdo, K.
Maconchy, Brig.-General E. W. Stuart King.
Midgley, E. H.
Page, Captain H. V. S.
Palmer, H. R., C.M.G., C.B.E.
Partow, Mirza Husain Khan.
Paul, Brig.-General E. M., R.E. (ret.).
Pitt, T. A.
Prior, Captain C. I., Secretary to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf.
Robertson, A. W. M.
Rodd, G. A.
Rolfe, H.
Sargon, Captain A. I., D.S.O., O.B.E.
Scott, Lieut.-General Sir Thomas, K.C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O.
Sharp, A.
Singh, Dr. Puran, M.B., B.S.
Spurgin, Captain A. R., 2/3 Sikh Pioneers.
Stables, Captain F. H. A.
Stitt, Lieutenant G. M. S., R.N.
Waley, Alfred.
Wolton, A. T. V.
Williams, Kenneth A.
Wills, C.
Yeatman, Lieut.-Commander M. J., R.N.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1927-1928

President:

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT PEEL, G.B.E.

Hon. Vice-Presidents:

THE RIGHT HON. LORD CARNOCK, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

Chairman of Council:

FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT ALLENBY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents:

EDWARD MOON, ESQ.
GENERAL SIR EDMUND BARROW, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
LIEUT.-COLONEL F. E. FREMANTLE, O.B.E., M.P., D.L.
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR NEILL MALCOLM, K.C.B., D.S.O.
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR WEBB GILLMAN, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O.
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.
VICE-ADMIRAL SIR HERBERT RICHMOND, K.C.B., R.N.

Hon. Treasurer:

SIR EDWARD PENTON, K.B.E.

Hon. Secretaries:

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM BEYNON, K.C.I.E., C.B., D.S.O.
H. CHARLES WOODS, ESQ.

Hon. Librarian:

A. C. WRATISLAW, ESQ., C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E.

Members of the Council:

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR RALEIGH EGERTON, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.
LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.
FIELD-MARSHAL SIR CLAUD JACOB, G.C.B., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G.
BRIG.-GENERAL SIR GILBERT CLAYTON, K.C.M.G., K.B.E.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR MAURICE DE BUNSEN, BART., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O
SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
G. STEPHENSON, ESQ.

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

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XIV.

1927

PART IV.

CONTENTS.

PAGE
NOTICES - - - - - - - 317
THE TATAR DOMINATION OF ASIA. By Lieut.-Gen. Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. 319
EDUCATION IN IRAQ. By Agnes Conway - - 334
RAILWAYS IN PERSIA. - - - - - 340
THE AMERICAN FINANCIAL MISSION TO PERSIA 344
A NOTE ON TRANSJORDANIA. By R. L. N. M. - 346
REPORT OF THE INDIAN SANDHURST COMMITTEE - - - - - - - 349
A STORY OF STRUGGLE AND INTRIGUE IN CENTRAL ASIA - - - - - - 359
THE STORY OF SYED AHMED, MOSS-TROOPER, FREEBOOTER, SAINT, AND CRESCENTADER - 369
ANNIVERSARY MEETING - - - - - 373
THE ANNUAL DINNER - - - - - 376
REVIEWS - - - - - - 385 to 408
Mother India. The Islamic World since the Peace Settlement. China in Turmoil. China in Revolt. Prophets, Priests, and Patriarchs. Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization. The Letters of Gertrude Bell. Suhaïl.
LIBRARY NOTICES - - - - - - 409
LIST OF NEW MEMBERS - - - - - 410
CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS - - 411

PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1927-1928

President:

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT PEEL, G.B.E.

Hon. Vice-Presidents:

THE RIGHT HON. LORD CARNOCK, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

Chairman of Council:

FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT ALLENBY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents:

EDWARD MOON, ESQ.
GENERAL SIR EDMUND BARROW, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
LIEUT.-COLONEL F. E. FREMANTLE, O.B.E., M.P., D.L.
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR NEILL MALCOLM, K.C.B., D.S.O.
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR WEBB GILLMAN, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O.
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.
VICE-ADMIRAL SIR HERBERT RICHMOND, K.C.B., R.N.

Hon. Treasurer:

SIR EDWARD PENTON, K.B.E.

Hon. Secretaries:

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM BEYNON, K.C.I.E., C.B., D.S.O.
H. CHARLES WOODS, ESQ.

Hon. Librarian:

A. C. WRATISLAW, ESQ., C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E.

Members of the Council:

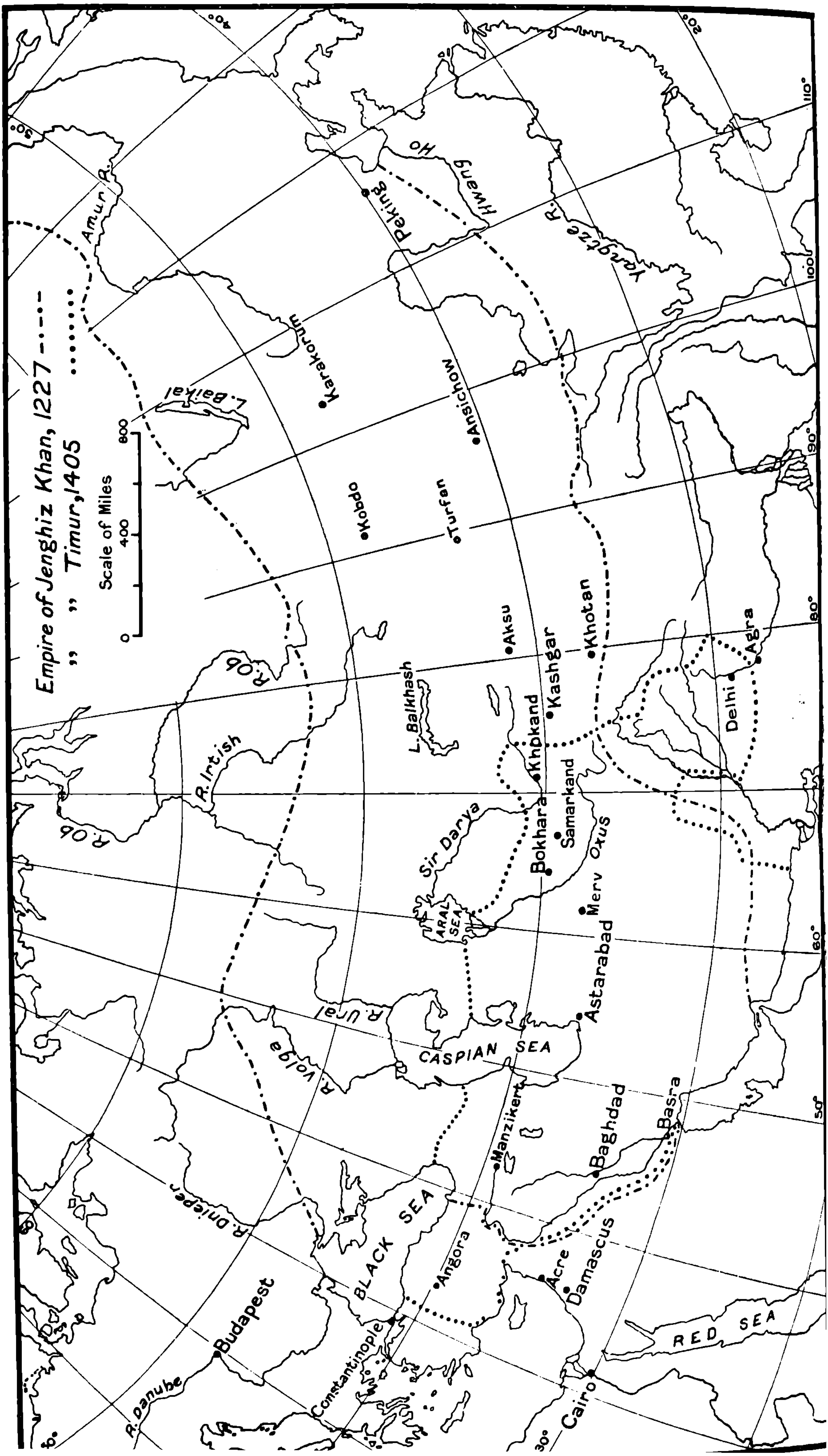
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR RALEIGH EGERTON, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.
LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.
FIELD-MARSHAL SIR CLAUD JACOB, G.C.B., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G.
BRIG.-GENERAL SIR GILBERT CLAYTON, K.C.M.G., K.B.E.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR MAURICE DE BUNSEN, BART., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.
SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
G. STEPHENSON, ESQ.

NOTICES

MEMBERS are asked to notify the office at once if they do not receive *Journals* and lecture cards.

Journals have been returned marked "unknown," addressed to Lieut.-Colonel Willoughby Wallace and Bassett Digby, Esq.

The Secretary would be glad if addresses for the above could be sent to the office.


Empire of Jenghiz Khan, 1227 -·-·-
" " Timur, 1405 ......
Scale of Miles
0
400
800
Amur R.
L. Baikal
Karakorum
Peking
Hwang Ho
Yangtze R.
Ansichow
Kobdo
Turfan
R. Ob
R. Irtish
R. Ob
L. Balkhash
Aksu
Kashgar
Khotan
Khokand
Samarkand
Bokhara
Sir Darya
Oxus
Merv
ARAL SEA
Astarabad
R. Ural
R. Volga
CASPIAN SEA
Manzikert
Baghdad
Basra
Delhi
Agra
R. Dnieper
BLACK SEA
Angora
Acre
Damascus
RED SEA
Cairo
Constantinople
Budapest
R. Danube
30°
40°
50°
60°
80°
90°
100°
110°
20°

THE TATAR DOMINATION OF ASIA.*

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN, K.C.B.

MANY who have some knowledge of Asia, whether personal or otherwise, but especially those who have been there, have been attracted at some time or other to the mystery of the almond-eyed man. A feeling is bound to arise in those who think of such things, that the whole of Asia is permeated or tainted with a people, or traces of a people, who seem different in every way from the rest of the world. The physiognomy, the language, the habits, and the humanities of these races are entirely apart from Aryan, Semite, or Hamite. The various nomenclatures in use to describe this great race are perplexing. We may call them Turanian, which is the term in more scientific use, which is but the Persian word for desert dwellers, used to describe the nomad Tatars who swept over Persia as over the rest of Asia. In the earlier days of Moslem domination we hear often of the eternal conflict between the lords of Iran and the lords of Turan. We may call them Tatar, which should be spelt without the *r* in the first syllable, and is apparently Chinese for "barbarian"; or we may call them Turk or Turki, which is said to be derived from "Tu-kuen," a helmet, the name given to a hill in China, near which the first Turkish settlement was founded in A.D. 420. But, on the other hand, early Europeans will speak of Turcæ and Tyrcæ earlier still. In Chinese history the Huns or early Tatars seem to have been called the "Hsiang-nu," and we have mention of them as early as 2300 B.C., and certainly by 1400 B.C. So we can realize what a long and terrible thing this domination has been. I propose to conform to the more modern custom and to use the name Tatar to describe the Ugro-Altaic, Tartar, Turkish or Mongol races; and Turanian to include both Tatar and the descended races such as Dravidian, wherever situated. The term Mongolo-Turkish is another all-embracing term which is used by scientific writers.

Now, I want to draw your attention to the fact that this strange people, in addition to overrunning a large part of Eastern Europe, actually ruled, dominated, and controlled the whole of Asia from the Bosphorus to the Pacific. Only last year did the last of the four great Tatar dynasties disappear—that of the Khajar Empire of Persia. The Sultan of Constantinople, the Shah of Persia, the Mogul Empire of Delhi, the Tatar Emperor at Peking, at one time divided Asia between them more or less intimately and completely, and now the last of these emperors or sultans has faded from off the screen of history. Three out of four have done so in the last twelve years, while the Mogul Empire itself nominally endured till 1857.

---

* The Anniversary Lecture, given on June 8, Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Chair.

I will now ask you to speculate with me on the origin of these Tatar peoples, so different from the rest of the world that they would seem to have sprung from some entirely different source. Those who probe further into the ape theories hold that the Tatar, or yellow man, comes from the ourang-outang, the Caucasian from the chimpanzee, and the negro from the gorilla, while searching yet for those who come from the baboon, the fourth of the anthropoid apes. I am not competent to take you far into that theory, but I may say, as of some interest, that the chimpanzee is apt to sit with legs and arms folded, as do the Mongoloids, and as the statues of the Buddha are shown, while the descendants of the chimpanzee *baito* on their hunkers, as does their putative ancestor, and place their hands on their knee like the statues of the Pharaohs. In dementia præcox the white race always sit thus, and the yellow race with folded feet and arms.

Leaving the anthropoids to those who have deeper knowledge, I would ask you to come back with me for a moment to that most wonderful of all histories and genealogies—in fact, the only extant history of early man—those remarkable opening chapters of the Book of Genesis, and I want to introduce you to a remarkable theory as to the origin of the Tatar peoples—those of the almond eye and the Mongol fold.

The opening chapters of Genesis go, as you know, at great length into the ethnological divisions, and it seems to me that we have read our chapters but carelessly. It is the fashion to say that Genesis claims to tell us the story of the beginning of man, and then to point out how futile such an account must be in view of the universally accepted modern doctrine of evolution from inferior species over countless æons of time. But there is something wrong to begin with in our conception, for Genesis distinctly tells us that there were other people in the land, whom the children of Adam and Eve married. My interest in the study of Genesis was very much heightened by the fact that for three years of the War I was Inspector-General of Communications in Mesopotamia, and travelled in my steamer 25,000 miles on the Tigris and Euphrates, and I was Commander-in-Chief for another year after the War. My spare time was devoted to studying everything I could lay hands on that dealt with ancient history and geography, and, egged on by Sir William Wilcocks to apply the facts of the theodolite to the story of Genesis, I visited innumerable sites. It is not suitable to develop these in my lecture tonight, but I want to point to one or two facts to emphasize the extraordinary accuracy of that narrative in those places where it can be checked, and to deduct from that the possibility that it may be as accurate in the portions that we cannot check, though I would admit we have not always understood them aright. That accuracy is germane to the point I am leading up to as to the origin of the Tatar or Mongoloid races. I like, myself, to think that the story of Eden is not the story of the first man, but possibly the story of the man who had been evolved, as were the beasts, through countless ages of development, at last arriving at that stage when the Creator judged that he might now receive a soul and become *homo sapiens.* If that were the story of Eden, and if the Creator had made an experiment in trying to make some of those beings a race apart, and failed, we have a story over which scientists and fundamentalists may lie down together, and one which immediately solves the puzzle of those other contemporaneous human beings Genesis tells of, and of the "daughters of men," and also all those people whom Cain feared should have a blood feud with him.

I will, if I may, just quote two instances to show how accurate Genesis can be in its details. Now, in our endeavour to settle revenue problems in Iraq during the days of the war, we soon came upon a curious condition of land tenure whereby a man who owns land does not necessarily own the trees thereon. And we see to this day that to own land and trees a man must have a *mirri sannad* as well as a *tapu sannad.* But this explains an apparently redundant account in Genesis, where we are told that Abraham, when he bought the field of Machpelah as his burial-place, sought not only the land thereof, but the *trees thereon as well.* This was in reality a most essential thing to do, and shows that the custom has remained unchanged to this day in those lands. The other point, as an accurate description of detail, is still more remarkable. In the account of the Deluge we are told that the "gates of heaven opened and the fountains of the deep came up." Now, the gates of heaven we can all accept as a picturesque description of heavy rain and melting snow. We have accepted that, and not probed deeper into the meaning of the "fountains of the deep." The fountains of the deep, however, is an expression often used in the Old Testament for the sea. Now, to this day, at the same time as the flood season, the south-west *shumal* blows the sea water of the Persian Gulf right up over the low desert flats that lie between the Shattal-Arab and the higher ground right and left of the river for sixty or seventy miles inland. And this wall of sea water coming up meets the flood waters coming down, and banks the latter up so that they cannot run off till the wind ceases to prevail. Now, what more accurate reference could be made to the spring conditions which so hampered us in trying to relieve Kut—that is to say, that the gates of heaven opened and the fountains of the deep came up?

It most accurately describes the physical situation today. I have given you these two instances to emphasize my point that everything told in Genesis refers to some historic happening, though we may not yet have got the inwardness of the story right. Now we come to the point regarding the Tatar races, to which I have been working up. Cain is a man that we hear a good deal of—the names of his children and descendants, and how they were nomads and tinkers, and would be so for all time; and we are given the name of the cities of his descendants, a mighty people. Then suddenly the story ends with Chapter IV. Never again is there any mention of Cain and his descendants. Chapter X. gives a remarkable account of the races of the world, accurate in many respects to this day, but never a word of the descendants of Cain. Never a word in the whole of Holy Writ (except, perhaps, an obscure allusion in Isaiah) to any descendants of Cain at one time so often referred to, and never a mention of the Tatar races or of China. Cain and the Mongoloid races are *taboo*, in spite of the fact that the early inhabitants of the Euphrates country, the Sumerians, were, from their carvings, obviously Mongoloids. Now, it has been suggested that the almond eye, this "Mongol fold," a twitch of the skin and not the shape of the skull, is the mark that God put on Cain for men to know him by, and that his descendants are those Mongoloid races who never are mentioned after Chapter IV. in this most wonderful early history of the rest of the races of the world. Out into the land of Nod and out of the recorded history went those races marked with the brand which was to give protection and also to carry a curse. I venture to give you this idea as a most romantic one, and one which, I think, the more you ponder over it, the more will appear to you to account for many queer things.

The Chinese, you know, have a tradition of Western origin which brought them to the Hoang-Ho, their putative matrix.

You will remember how Mr. Roy Chapman Andrews told us that when next he goes out it will be to study the human settlements in Southern Mongolia with an ethnographist and an anthropologist added to his otherwise complete staff. He may greatly add to our very scanty knowledge of Tatars, Turks, and Turanians.

EARLY TIMES

In early times—times which a little while ago we should have called prehistoric, but which research and discovery are bringing within the domain of recorded history—the Turanian peoples occupied a part of Northern and part of Eastern Asia, and had penetrated into Southern Tibet, Bengal, and had even mingled with Negritic races to form such people as the Dravidian and Kolarian races in India, the Bengali as well as the races of the inner Himalaya and the Tibetan plateaus. They are even to be found in the Valley of the Euphrates, where we find them as the Akkado-Sumerians of the earliest days of Ur. And we find them separated by the peculiar trait of the Mongol fold, and the high cheekbones, flat faces, lank hair, and earless faces, as well as by a language that is quite different in its type from the Aryan or Caucasian or white races, however we like to call them. I am not competent to talk to you of the curious monosyllabic and agglutinative languages, which all have a similarity, and which in the main are talked by all the true Turanians from the Bosphorus to the Pacific, and which is to be seen in its construction in Burmese, Shan, Kachin, Chinese, etc. There is no language which is so universally spoken as is Turki proper and its immediately allied varieties. An excellent example has been quoted of how this agglutinative built-up Turkish language is constructed. It is that such an expression as un-get-at-able-ness would be a typical Turki form. It is interesting to look at our maps of Asia and to see the same words in use for mountain and river in China, in Tibet, in Turkestan, and right up to the borders of Europe in Anatolia.

I but mention this curious language to emphasize the fact that these Turanians seem to be of a different order of beings from the rest of the world—these putative descendants of Cain, whatever the story of Cain may really stand for in historic value, a curious race, capable of great cruelty and the most implicit obedience, in many ways a slave people. If you took an ordinary Turkish battalion of pure Anatolian Turks, and said, "Here are two hundred Armenian babies, take care of them, be good to them," the grinning Turk would nurse and pet them ; but if you said, "Bayonet them," bayoneted heartily they would be. The great waves of Turkish and Tatar invasions have been the occasions all through history of the most devastating massacres. Those who know the jolly, grinning little Gurkhas of our Army know how horribly barbaric they would be if their officers did not restrain them sternly.

In studying the countries over which the Tatars spread, it is important to remember that Turkestan, as we now know it, the various more western Turkestans of which Bokhara and Samarkand are the centre, did not become Turkish till about A.D. 400. Before that the people were Iranians and the country was known as Iranistan, the country over which the Macedonian influence extended, and which Alexander conquered on his way to India, leaving behind him the province of Bactria. Now Græco-Bactrian control and influence lasted many centuries here as in the south of Western Asia ; indeed, one finds, 600 and 700 years after, the Persian dynasties using the Greek characters for many official purposes. Just as the Romans were longer in Britain than the British have been in India, so the Macedonian control existed in what we now call Turkestan before the Turks came there, and many of the ruins and influences are pre-Tatar in origin. With the civilizing of Afghanistan in progress, and should the Central Asian soviets encourage it, there is immense archæological research to be done in the Valley of the Oxus. But the knowledge we shall get will not be of the Tatar story.

One great fact stands out, that these curious Turanian races, impelled by various causes, one of which we know as the smothering of habitable areas by rotting sandhills, a phenomenon which we can see any day we like on British cornlands in the Indus Valley, and probably by great prolificness such as we have seen in Egypt in the last twenty years where the population has doubled, moved westwards, and swept into many parts of Western and Southern Asia and into the middle of France. And we know that these waves have continued up to quite modern times, and are historical facts from the days of Attila the Hun to those of Urtogrul and Othman in the fifteenth century. But it is most interesting to see how these hordes of Tatars have acted as it were for the chastisement of effete and degenerate Western races. Historians tell us that the appearance of the barbarian Tatar hordes, with their accompanying massacres and cruelties, have been the signal for a regeneration and a revival of their own better cults in the peoples over whom they swept, always supposing they left any, for in Seistan and in Babylonia the ruins that they left and the lands they laid waste have remained so to this day—nothing but the haunt of the dragon and the bittern.

Those of you who have marched or flown over the old brown battlefields of Mesopotamia know the long lines of deserted Babylonian canals and village mounds, mostly as yet unexplored, which mark the track of Hulagu and his Turks.

No doubt if we explored the prophecies to this end we should find many that alluded to the "Scourge of God," as Attila has been called. And there are some who think that the "horses of Togomar" are the Tatar hordes.

THE HUNS AND EARLY HISTORY

In the third century B.C. we find that a great Tatar or Turanian people, known to history as the Huns, dominated the whole of Northern Asia from the Volga to Korea, and conquered China so far back as 219 B.C. But they spread and conquered to the west as well as to the east, for they were in Hungary in A.D. 370 and for centuries made the Danube Valley their European centre, and under their great leader, Attila, overran the greater part of Europe, and were not stemmed till they got to the Marne, where they were defeated in A.D. 451 by Actius at Chalons-sur-Marne, as another enemy was stemmed in 1914 by Joffre and French. For this Tatar hand lay heavy in Europe. Half Russia is Tatar to this day, and the Letts and the Finns and the East Prussians show their Mongol origin very clearly. When the German Emperor claimed relationship with the Turks of yesterday he spoke for Prussia only too truly. We do not always realize that those Prussian characteristics so disliked by their German fellow-subjects are due to the presence in their blood of this savage, callous Tatar or Mongol blood, so essentially different from the Aryans of the true Germanic races.

Attila died in 453, and the Hun power in Europe waned, but for generations they remained in East Europe. Gradually the various Tatar divisions became more marked under the names and groups we now know them by, now one group, now another, gaining ascendancy, and for the time giving a new title to confederacies of the same old peoples.

It would be quite impossible in the space of an hour's talk to take through the history of the Tatar waves, but I can do no more than run through the more famous ones, with a few of the leading dates.

B.C. 250. The Great Wall or parts of it are built to keep the Tatars out of China, though they had, of course, in earlier days overrun it for hundreds of years and peopled it.

421—430 A.D. The settlement of the Tu-Kueh or Turks in Western China is recorded, and in 567 the Turks of China sent an embassy to the Emperor Justin. For the next few hundred years there are records of wars between the Chinese and the Turks.

400 A.D. The Tatars conquer and settle in Turkestan.

714 A.D. The Tatars of Turkestan abandon their somewhat indefinite paganism and adopt Islam, and under its influence become a more civilized and enduring power. A branch of the Tatars, the Urghurs, conquer territory to the north of Turkestan and embrace Islam in the year 1000 A.D.

1050 A.D. Another great section of Turks, the Seljuks, under Togrul, sweep into Persia and Iraq, restore the power of the Caliphate, which before long they usurp.

1206—1227 A.D. The Mongols as such come on the scene, and under Jhenghiz, or Chingiz Khan, not only conquer China, but spread far into both Russia and Central Europe, bringing more than the usual fire and sword.

Jagatai, son of Jhengis Khan, succeeded to the rule of those tribes and provinces who called themselves Turk as distinct from Mongol. Baber, who conquered India in the sixteenth century, was a Jagatai Turk, and the name Mogul was probably adopted for the prestige that it carried. He did, however, claim descent through his mother from Jhengiz Khan.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the eighteenth century we see the four great Tatar thrones controlling practically the whole of Asia—the Sultan of Turkey, the Shah of Persia at Teheran, the Mogul at Delhi, the Emperor of China at Peking. At the beginning of that century Russia had not begun her absorption of the Khanates. Great Britain was but the tenant of coastwise settlements of the Mogul. The Mogul Empire was still that astonishing mighty Empire which dazzled the imagination of the West. China was still China. Almost the whole of Asia, in one sense or another, definitely or indefinitely owned the sway of these four Tatar potentates. The seeds of decay, however, were already at work in the great empire of Akhbar; the component parts were too diverse, as we know so well today, for anything but a first-class rule to keep together. The Mogul Empire toppled by its own weight. The Great Mogul was a puppet when Maratha and Afghan fought for the body at Panipat, one of those recurring battles on that great field. This one, known as the "Battle by the Black Mango Tree," broke the rising Maratha power for many years, and the most interesting item about it now is that curious message which passed through the underground channels of the financiers, the first news of the disaster:

"Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold muhurs have been lost, and the silver and copper cannot be cast up."

The Mogul Emperor, you will remember, endured in name till the last flicker, when he was replaced on his puppet throne by the mutinous Bengal Army. Till then to many Eastern minds we ruled India under the *firman* of the Great Mogul. I won't dwell further on this story of Tatar dominion in India, except to tell you an interesting little story of the kind which so appeals to me. I was riding near Delhi, with an officer who had been on the Central Asian steppes. We passed some flocks of sheep, with their shepherds. All over the world shepherds retain the touch with long gone ways. I believe, in Sussex even, the sheep are still counted up on the downs with the British, viz., Celtic, numerals. The shepherds on Salisbury Plain link back with many a bygone tradition. As we passed the flocks the shepherds were gathering the sheep. "Hullo!" said my companion, "those men are calling with the Central Asian sheep call, the cry of the steppes." Accosting one who was near, a wild-looking creature, he said, "What tribe are you?" "Mogul," said the man, "Mogul." It was the remnant of more or less unadulterated Mogul settlements who had come in with the conquerors. For ever since Delhi was a kingdom it has been Tatar, with one short exception, as I have explained.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

First of the four Tatar dynasties to fade from the screen was that of the Mogul or more properly of the Jagatai Turks, which lost its last vestige of power in 1857. The other three tyrannies remained much longer, and the next to follow the Mogul was the Manchu, which disappeared in 1912. It has always interested me to notice, as evidence of the affinity of these two Tatar empires, when I look at those miniatures you get at Delhi copied from originals of the Mogul Empress Nur

Mahal, Mumtaz Mahal, and even that little cat of the Mutiny tragedy, that they wear headdresses and clothes of very definitely Tatar Pekinese type.

His Majesty of Peking was soon followed by his cousin of Rome, for the Sultan of Rome, of the City and Empire of Constantine, has now disappeared.* The fourth Turkish throne endured till last year in the shape of the Turkish Shah of Persia, the last, for the present at any rate, of the Dynasty of the Khajjar Turks. Reza Shah, as we know, is pure Aryan. So end the four great Turkish Dynasties which shared Asia from the Bosphorus to the Pacific, the descendants in one form or another of Attila, of Hulagu, of Ertagrul and Jhengiz Khan, of Timur the Lame, and of Babur. Mighty and relentless in their day beyond belief and now none so poor to do them reverence, I present this reflection to you as one of extreme interest, mingled as I like to mingle it with some memory of Cain and that mysterious brand that was to separate him and his descendants from the rest of mankind.

TURKISH CONDITIONS OF TODAY

It is interesting in endeavouring to see what the future of the Tatars may be, to turn to the Pan-Turk cult of the more theoretical Turks of Turkey in Asia or Turkey in Europe. One Tekin Alp, a pre-war writer, said to be Albert Cohen, a Jew, wrote vehemently on a Pan-Turk revival—*i.e.* political union of all the Turkish-speaking peoples, at any rate outside of China. Pan-Turk journals *Turkismus* and *Pan-Turkismus* were his platform. During the War the Young Turk party found that Islam had failed them. The *Jihad*, the Holy War which the Sultan had called on the Sheikh Ul Islam to proclaim, had failed to rally Islam to the cause of the Caliph. They deliberately let the Turkish Empire go so far as its non-Tatar elements went, and preached a union of the Tatar races. The League of the Grey Wolf from whom the original Turk is said to come was the platform. Prussia with her Tatar strain was behind it also, and the fear that it might take serious form involved Great Britain in far-flung operations in 1917-18. The costly expedition from Quetta to form the North Persian cordon was to stop the Pan-Turkish propaganda from penetrating to the Tatar districts on the Afghan side of the Oxus, and incidentally to give anti-Bolshevist elements in Transcaspia a chance and prevent the Tatars of Transcaspia and the Oxus being swept in. Further, our operations in North Persia and on the Caspian Sea, the enterprise known familiarly as the "Hush Hush Push," which eventually found us trying to organize Tatar elements at Baku, were all part of the same fear.

---

* The handsome Turks of Europe are but European Moslems. The real Turk of Anatolia is pure Mongolian.

Pan-Turkism or Pan-Turanianism failed then to save Turkey from defeat.

We now have before us the interesting racial side of the modern Turks' propaganda and policy, the Turk and nothing-but-the-Turk, just as old Paul Kruger used to murmur gruffly, "The Taal and nothing-but-the-Taal." Turkish policy or thought aims at letting the non-Turks go. The loss of the Arab countries is a good riddance. They have expelled their Greeks and other non-Turks, though the Greeks had been in the land when the Turks were on the Steppes. They aim, as did Tekin Alp, at bringing into their fold the other Turki and Tatar races. What is to be the future no one can tell. Mustapha Kemal has thrown Islam overboard, and as the Tatar races seem not to hold strongly by any religion it may serve their purpose to have done so. It has been said in many quarters that Mustapha Kemal is a Moslem of Jewish descent, and but another instance of the evil influence of the Jew. But I understand that that is not so. Mustapha is a Turk, though, like so many of the more educated and better-class Turks who have so long married with the non-Turkish women, he may have little of the Tatar in his veins. His name is good Turkish, for Naffar Mustapha is the Turkish equivalent of Thomas Atkins. Mustapha aims, too, no doubt at reviving a Turkish Empire of Tatar peoples.

Ten years ago it was estimated that there were only eight million real Turks speaking Turkish in the Turkish Empire, out of a total of 27 millions speaking Turki, exclusive of the Chinese Empire. They are situated somewhat as follows:

The Tatars of Kazan on the Volga (1,600,000) included some of the Great Russians on the west and the Finnish tribes.

Tatars of the Crimea, 200,000.

Tatars of Western Siberia, 50,000.

Tatars of the Caucasus, Baku, etc., 2,000,000.

The Turkish-speaking peoples of Persia, including Azerbaijan.

The Tatars of the Caucasus and the Turks of Azerbaijan were once united as Turkish subjects.

The Turkish Khanates of Afghanistan, Cis-Oxus, only annexed to that kingdom in 1850-59.

The Tatars of Central Asia, 13,000,000, of whom 12,000,000 were in Russia.

It is to bring the greater part of these within the Turkish Empire of the future that Pan-Turanianism dreams. You are aware how on the borders of Afghanistan Russia has formed on Trans-Oxus four small racial soviets, of which three are Tatar (Usbeg, Turcoman, and Kirghiz, etc.) and one is Persian. Similar peoples live under Afghan rule *Cis*-Oxus, and it is understood to be Russia's aim to make these folk demand union with their kinsmen Trans-Oxus. This offers the more immediate possibility of trouble.

In Mongolia there is a slightly Russianized soviet, and it is impossible to say with China in her insolvable travail what the Tatar future there may be. Outside China the question is easier to see some future for, though it is quite impossible to say what will be the future of the Tatar races or how they will respond to the more extended Western ideas which are permeating them. Old Imperial Russia, however much we might dislike her as neighbour, was a distinctly civilizing influence, and Russian Turkestan and the Trans-Oxus provinces were kept in admirable order. With Russia in her present condition, a Turkish Empire, republican or monarchical, might be preferable to a Russian soviet as a neighbour. The Tatar races are there if someone can organize and pull them together.

Now, that is the story of Tatar dominion in Asia and its future so far as I can present it you in the space of a short lecture, and if I have been able to picture to you the romantic and rather weird side as well as the historical and political side, I may have enabled you to watch events with the greater interest.

Mr. Gibb: I am afraid it would be rather presumptuous for a junior member of the Society to analyze Sir George MacMunn's lecture, especially in the presence of Sir Denison Ross, who has studied the whole problem more than I. The lecturer has pointed out that first of all this Tatar problem is one of the biggest problems in the history of the world, and a problem which almost certainly no one person can ever encompass: it touches the lives of so many people at so many different points. Consequently, practically no one is able to do more than fasten on one small corner, try to find out what happened in that little corner and then apply his knowledge, and realize by studying that one aspect the general aspect of the problem. In studying, as has been rather forced on me during the last four years, the influence and the methods of the Mongol branch of the Tatars during the first of the expansions, under Jenghiz Khan, one does find certain things which probably are true of all Mongol expansions. First of all that expansion began in a very small way. There was a great deal of military ability on the part of the leaders; no one can possibly call in question the strategic genius of Jenghiz Khan and his great generals. But the way was made easy for all that, because they came up against enemies who, in spite of at any rate an appearance of power, were really powerless to meet their attacks. This was certainly the case with Jenghiz Khan, when his Tatars invaded on the one hand China and on the other Turkestan. It was certainly the case with his successors, who carried the invasion of China a little deeper, and invaded Persia and Russia. In every case they found a state of internal anarchy, more or less camouflaged it may be by temporary unifications under temporary leaders. I cannot give from memory the exact facts about Russia, which was the most striking instance; but in the two hundred years before the Tatars there were about 243 states, all more or less ephemeral, and 293 princelets, who disputed the soil of Russia in something like eighty-three civil wars. It was obvious that in such a case the Mongols, who were united, and had a very strict military discipline and generals of extraordinary strategic genius, could sweep everything before them; and once a movement like that is started, then one may say without irreverence that it is only chance that stops it. It was certainly chance that stopped the Mongol irruption into Europe by the death of the then Great Khan. A very important point is the effect of these Mongol invasions on the countries which they conquered. There seems no doubt that they did find effete civilizations, and that those effete civilizations were unable to withstand them. They caused a break in the history of each of those countries—a break in the history of China, in that of Persia, and in that of Russia—and things after that were never the same. But they were unlike the Huns in Europe, who also caused a break in history. When the Huns' wave of invasion had passed away, it left a Europe split up into innumerable fragments, a condition from which it has never recovered to this day. The effect of the Mongol Empire was to restore something like unity to what had been previously split up into fragments. One finds after the Mongol period Persia is reunited under one central government; China is reunited, and has never been disunited since until our own day; and Russia is united as it never has been united before under the leadership of one dynasty. The question naturally arises, how much of this benefit is due to the Mongols? Was it something which they brought that resulted in unification, some element which they introduced? Or was it that they left behind them something much more resembling a desert, that the breach which they had made with the past was so violent that it left the population stunned, and so at the mercy of the first strong man? The Mongols, whatever they were, were not civilizers, and yet they seem to have done a great deal for civilization in Asia. That is the problem which the Mongol Empire and which the Tatar Empire everywhere raised. They adapted themselves to civilizations, but were not civilizers and never civilized. How was it done? What were the moral forces which these conquests managed to arouse amongst those they conquered? (Applause.)

Sir Denison Ross: I feel I cannot possibly add anything to Mr. Gibb's remarks. I should only like to make one point that bears out what he said. I think there was every chance of Islam *qua* Orthodox Islam going to pieces had it not been for the Seljuks. This tribe of Turks, when they came in contact with Islam, were converted, though not very quickly converted, and when they came across Asia they came as Mussulmans, and were always most strictly orthodox; that is a very curious point today. The Turk knows no half-measures, and he has but little imagination, so if he is a Mussulman he is an orthodox and thoroughgoing Mussulman, and when he abandons Islam he is just as thoroughgoing, as is shown by his adoption of the Swiss Code in place of the Koranic law. The fact which is more or less ignored is that the Islamic world might have gone to pieces but for the fact that these totally indifferent but highly orthodox Seljuks came and bolstered up the Khalifate. Thus we owe to a people who are neither artistic nor religious the fact that there was an Islam to oppose to the Crusaders and Christian influences. The Turks have been in recent times led to a very natural feeling, not of imperial unity, but of racial unity—a unity of all the tribes speaking Turkish from Lake Baikal down to Albania. It is a natural thing that where Pan-Islam failed, Pan-Turanianism should become the cry. It must be always remembered that the Turks were without any consciousness of this national or racial unity until the year 1897, when a French novelist, who merely meant to write a popular book, pointed out as the result of recent discoveries in Central Asia that the Turks were the same all through. He told of the decipherment of ancient Turkish inscriptions dating back to the seventh century, where the language was so little changed that you could, by the help of a modern dictionary, make out most of the inscription. Thus it was a Frenchman at the end of the nineteenth century who produced this racial consciousness amongst the Turks. The movement has had very little time to develop, but it is a consciousness they all enjoy, and it is getting now both a setback and an encouragement from the Russian policy. Those four Russian republics of which the lecturer has spoken are now developing, and in all of those republics a very curious thing is happening. These are Tatars of Central Asia ; they speak dialects that have never before been put into writing or literature; and now for the first time in history each province of those republics is cultivating its own dialect. I have in my possession little books of kindergarten, short stories for children, little rhymes, and so on, written down in those dialects, which hitherto no one except lunatic scholars like myself has ever thought of recording. It is for someone who knows more about politics than I do to judge whether that is going to lend cohesion to the Turkish tribes or keep them apart. Whether the Russians are doing it to encourage a Pan-Turkish movement, or to encourage each man to cultivate his own dialect so as to prevent any such movement, it is curious that, although they are not actually inventing languages, they are making current and publishing newspapers in languages that have never before been reduced to writing.

The CHAIRMAN : I might say just a word before I thank the lecturer on your behalf for the very interesting lecture he has given us. He has made the old Khans of Tartary and the various empires which the Tatars established all over Asia and over part of Europe living entities before us. The outstanding feature of it all was this: that the impact of the Tatar invasions was borne by Eastern Europe and particularly Russia, and now the reaction is proceeding from Russia back again to the Tatar countries. As Sir Denison Ross explained to us, it will be most interesting to see whether the movement which has taken place in these new republics, started or supported by Soviet Russia, will succeed in bringing together the various fragments of the great Tatar race or will split them up still further. It is very curious, but it is apparently as the result of a considered policy that Moscow has set itself to encourage this new language movement, and has sent out professors and savants into these republics to help to establish the dialects and prepare the dictionaries and other paraphernalia for linguistic progress. One thing that Sir Denison Ross said does not square with my own experience. He said the Turks were not imaginative, which is quite true, and that when they embraced Islam they embraced and adhered to it in its orthodox form. That is also true; not having the subtle mind of the Persians, they did not develop the various heresies which were associated with Islam in Persia. But what I want to say is that the Turks were orthodox, not so much from devotion to Islam, as from want of the imagination and intellectual subtlety which helped to develop the heretical views which were found in such profusion over Persia.

During the War a tremendous number of Mohammedans from Northern India went to fight the Turks in Mesopotamia and Palestine. I encouraged them to go. There had been some talk about a Jehad, but it fizzled out, and they went like men. When they came back I said to some of them: "What do you think of the Turk?" They replied: "As a soldier he is all right; he is not quite so good as we are, but still there is nothing wrong with him." I asked: "What do you think of him as a Mussulman?" Then they spat on the ground, and said: "Toba, toba. He is not a Mussulman at all. He does not go in for either prayer or fasting." (Laughter.) That rather accorded with my own experience. I remember coming across the Tatar Mohammedans of the Volga, Crimea, and Central Asia thirty years ago when Islam was really more potent and more orthodox than today. Coming from India and travelling down the Volga, at Nijni Novgorod and Kazan and in the Caucasus I was struck with the extraordinary laxity of the Tatar Mohammedans as compared with the Indians. In the refreshment cars, when they sat down to dinner, there was no hesitation in drinking any wine that was forthcoming. I remember seeing a big Tatar merchant in one evening between Samarkand and the Caspian put down at dinner four great bottles of beer. Apparently he considered that beer was not covered by the prohibition in the Koran.

One thing that struck me when Sir George was speaking was the extraordinary tenacity of ideas among the people of India. He told us of Jagatai, the youngest son of Jenghiz Khan. All over Northern India where the Moguls ruled, the Moguls are spoken of today not as Moguls, but as Jagatais. You ask about an old ruin or inscription: "What period does that date from?" and they say, "It belongs to the time of the Jagatais." Jagatai flourished apparently early in the thirteenth century, and today in the twentieth century these people in Northern India still speak of the Jagatai dynasty, associating the various Mohammedan invasions of India with Jagatai and his descendants. That helps to illustrate what Sir George has very happily told us of the characteristics of this Tatar race. They were conquerors rather than civilizers. They had very little culture, and I think their religion was very skin-deep. At the same time, they have left their mark on the world in more senses than one. One historian, I think, said that wherever the hoof of the Tatar horse fell the grass ceased to grow. That is a poetic exaggeration because, as Sir Denison Ross and Mr. Gibb told us, they also had the faculty, wherever they imposed their rule on people, of leaving the country rather better than they found it; to some extent they gave it cohesion, whether that cohesion was due to the resistance of those they attacked or, as in India, due to their own powers of organization. The Mogul Empire was certainly the first organized empire India ever knew. It did more to consolidate the country and establish an administrative system than anything that happened there before the British appeared upon the scene.

We are very much indebted to Sir George for the delightful lecture he has given to us. It is a worthy close to our year's activities, and I will ask you all to show by acclamation your approval of what he has said and told us this evening. (Applause.)

EDUCATION IN IRAQ, 1927

By AGNES CONWAY

In the words of the last Report on the Administration of Iraq, presented to the Council of the League of Nations for the year 1925, the task allotted to education in that country is to bridge the chasm between a backward and illiterate population on the one side and an advanced form of government on the other. How backward the conditions still are, according to any European standard, is shown by the fact that one Government secondary school in Baghdad, with a boarding section, is sufficient to meet the demand for secondary education for boys in the capital, and that the total attendance at the five Government secondary schools in the whole of Iraq is 562 pupils. The Turks, in spite of a comprehensive scheme on paper, made no provision whatsoever for secondary education in Iraq, and imposed teaching in Turkish in the primary schools with the object of de-Arabizing the population. As a result every mature educated Iraqi today has received his training in Turkey or Syria, and the tradition of the Constantinople military school is shown by the way the Arab boys in the Iraq schools still spring to attention and salute on the entrance of a visitor.

The various post-war régimes in Iraq have thus had to create an educational system from the beginning. This must be moulded to suit the needs of an Arab country with a large minority of Kurds, whose language is unwritten, as well as an important Jewish and Christian population, previously entirely catered for by voluntary community schools. Arabic has been made the official language of instruction, except in the Mosul, Kirkuk, and Suleimani areas, where there are four Assyrian, thirteen Turkish, and six Kurdish schools. In a country where every small boy has herded the sheep and goats, driven the donkeys, or done some small job in the bazaar from time immemorial, anything like universal compulsory education is unthinkable. Even with a system of free primary education, only the boys of well-to-do townsmen and villagers can be enticed to a Government school. Fifteen thousand boys attend the 300 Koran schools kept in the centres of population by the mullahs or Moslem priests, who take the children as young as they can get them, pick up what they can in fees, and teach them to read and recite different parts of the Koran. As they are all at different stages of proficiency, class teaching is impossible, and the share of individual attention that each pupil gets is necessarily small. There is no equipment whatever except copies of the Koran; the rooms in the private houses of the mullahs where the children are herded together on the floor are tiny, dark, and unventilated, and the rasping sound of the shrill voices of the whole school reciting different portions at the same time is deafening. Never shall I forget the pandemonium in one of these schools in the Shiah Holy City of Karbala, where the children are mostly Persian. Some of the Koran school infants may pass on to the Government schools, but the majority get no other teaching whatever. And even these schools do not exist for the Bedouin tribes in the desert, whose nomadic life prohibits any system of formal education.

It should therefore be a matter for congratulation that almost 40,000 children in Iraq are attending organized schools, and that these schools are becoming more efficient and better staffed year by year. The chief difficulty hitherto has lain in the dearth of adequately trained teachers. The one Teachers' Training College in Baghdad for primary and elementary schools throughout Iraq has 307 pupils, who are taught and boarded free of expense for two or three years, according as to whether they are to teach in a primary school of four or six classes, the latter being confined to the towns. They come from all parts of Iraq, where in theory they have completed a six years' course of primary education, which is planned to begin at seven years of age. The most striking fact about the college is the varying age of the pupils who share in the same classes. This was explained to me as due to the gradual improvement in the standard of the local schools since the war. The clever boy, who in 1920 at the age of seven was able to begin his education at a newly organized village school, is ready today at thirteen to enter the training college; whereas youths, who under the Turkish régime had had no chance of an Arab education, began to go to school after the war, and into the training college at the age of twenty or upwards. For the time being, therefore, the material in the training college is bound to improve, and the superiority in intelligence of the lowest class in the school is very marked indeed. Among the youngest training college boys some looked remarkably intelligent, although the curriculum at present is not such as to inspire enthusiasm. The need to turn out teachers quickly who are sufficiently equipped to teach in the primary schools, and supplant the 300 odd old-fashioned men who have had no training at all, is so great that the pupil is drilled and redrilled in the primary school curriculum to the exclusion of everything else. As he has had no secondary education, and his primary education may be scanty according to the varying quality of the local school, he probably leaves the training college able only to impart one definite, prescribed course of instruction. This deficiency will correct itself in time, as the boys are better prepared. At the moment considerable friction is caused by the arrogance of the young trained teacher, who thinks he knows everything when he leaves the college, and is obliged to serve in a village school under an old-fashioned headmaster of long service and no training. But these headmasters are being replaced as rapidly as circumstances will allow.

Until the standard of primary education throughout the country can be raised, the question of secondary education is of minor importance. At present the demand for it is comparatively small, and the teachers for the five schools have all to be imported from Syria or Egypt. This in a country which, in common with the rest of the East, is passing through a stage of exalted nationalist feeling causes much heart-burning. A class at the training college for the further teaching of primary school teachers will gradually furnish the necessary supply for the secondary schools. The American Mission School at Basrah in its upper classes gives an excellent secondary education, and is a force for good unique among the schools of the country. English is taught in the fifth and sixth years of the primary schools, and throughout the four years of the secondary school syllabus. In the secondary school at Baghdad the command of English idiom and synonyms possessed by the boys is astonishing. The school textbooks, however, leave much to be desired. It was curious to hear an Arab boy read an old-fashioned, prosy paragraph from his reader about Henry I. and the *White Ship*, a snippet which can have meant nothing whatever to him, as English history is not included in the curriculum. I was told that suitable English textbooks for the use of Mesopotamian Arabs have not yet been written. The oleographs of French country life which decorate the walls of all the Government schools in Baghdad also seemed to me singularly unsuitable, but had been bought up in large quantities when the French exchange was at its lowest.

Throughout all types of schools the class teaching I saw was oral, and removed to the uttermost extreme in method from the Dalton system. The boys do no preparation out of class, and there was no sign of any independent work. The Arab memory is said to be more retentive than the European, and this trait, combined with an entire absence of self-consciousness, made every boy show off extremely well. They gave specimen bits of lessons, acted dialogues, and transposed long paragraphs in English into their own wording on the spur of the moment with aplomb and facility. The youngest class of the primary school, just beginning to learn Arabic reading and writing, was full of eagerness and enthusiasm under the hands of a skilful and exuberant graduate of the training college. The active, wide-awake personalities of these young teachers contrasted favourably with the lifeless-looking mullahs brought in to teach religion in the generous space allotted to the subject in the Government school time-tables. The children were learning by rote the reasons for fasting in the month of Ramadan. One advantage was "to rest the intestines," ignoring the fact that they ate at night instead of by day. The Arabic language is taught thoroughly, and the Jewish and Christian schools, which have either become Government schools since the war or are State-aided, have been obliged to conform to the standard required in Arabic. Drawing and modelling are taught, and the pupils in the training college were turning out attractive painted pottery.

As yet there is no medical inspection in the schools; and it is to be hoped that the day may not be far distant when the ophthalmia so prevalent among the children of the country may be ameliorated by regular advice and attention from the school centre.

A large framed photograph of King Feisal in Boy Scout uniform hangs in every Government school. There should be a great sphere for the Boy Scout movement in Iraq, where as yet outdoor sports are almost non-existent. But the last report to the League of Nations states that the movement is lapsing into formalism, and might end altogether save for the momentum given by drums and a uniform. No tradition of discipline has yet been evolved among the boarders at the Government schools in Baghdad, and the boys consider themselves at liberty to appeal against the decisions of their Principal to the Minister of Education. The Iraq Minister has under him a Syrian Director-General, with whom he is not always on good terms; and there is an English Inspector-General with the power of an adviser. The Minister has generally been a member of the Shiah community, although there is a smaller field of choice of educated men among Shiahs than Sunnis. In the Government of Ja'far Pasha, the Minister of Education was the only member of the Cabinet who wore Arab dress—a trifle in itself, but sufficient to mark his comparatively conservative tendencies.

The beginning of Moslem female education in Iraq since the war may have even more far-reaching effects than the education of boys. About four thousand girls in the whole of Iraq are now attending primary schools, and there are girls' secondary schools in Baghdad, Mosul, Basrah, and Amarah. An American headmistress experienced in the Near East has been appointed to the school at Baghdad, and has already revolutionized the physical condition of the children. They are, at least, no longer verminous, as were those from the most well-to-do homes when they came; and the spectacle of the whole school drilling with a certain freedom of movement, in clean washing frocks made by the girls themselves in school hours, presented a normal healthy appearance that augurs well for their future. A beginning has even been made to introduce games, and the girls play basket-ball twice a week. The standard of book-learning is naturally enough extremely low, and it is still difficult to find a sufficient number of girls in Baghdad qualified to attend a secondary school at all. No male inspector can enter the school without notice long enough to enable all the girls to put on their abbas and veils, and until a female inspector is appointed it will be difficult to judge of the standard attained. The teachers at present are in the nature of things Syrian or Turkish, but the upper forms of the school are beginning to act as training classes for schoolmistresses; and a boarding section is in process of being built to enable the cleverest girls from the country to train for teaching. Night classes for mothers have been started at this school and in other centres in Baghdad, and the time may not be far distant when the staff in the girls' schools will be able to concentrate on teaching rather than on welfare work. At present a great deal of attention is paid to lessons in hygiene and the care of children, and also to kindergarten teaching, where the apparatus is supplied on a generous scale. Girls after their marriage sometimes continue to attend school. The essential incentive for their education is provided by the attitude of the Iraqi young man, who is no longer content with an illiterate and dirty wife chosen for him by his mother. At the American University of Beyrout, where there are nineteen women and over a thousand male students from different Oriental countries, the women experience none of the difficulties that confront them still at Cambridge, but are pushed forward on to committees by enthusiastic men anxious to encourage them in every possible way.

It is too soon to consider the prospects of an Iraq University. Even technical education is in its infancy, though there are over 200 boys in Government Technical Schools. The first Medical School in Iraq will probably be opened next year. A Law School, which existed under the Turkish régime, is confined to graduates from secondary schools, supports itself on fees and gives a four years' training in the law and kindred subjects. But Iraqis desiring higher education still for the most part turn to Beyrout, which has been brought within thirty hours of Baghdad by the cross-desert motor route. There are fourteen Government scholars at the University being trained as teachers.

The only institution in Iraq dignified by the name of a University is the Al el Bait, a Moslem foundation built by the Ministry of Awqaf (Pious Bequests) from its own funds. The first instalment of what is already by far the finest educational building in Iraq was opened by King Feisal, to whom the scheme is largely due, in 1924, and houses the Faculty of Religion in twenty-seven rooms and a great hall. The complete scheme contemplates the construction of a mosque and other buildings in which to house the various faculties of a Moslem University. The aim of the Theological School is to collect under one roof the higher religious classes at present conducted in the mosques and Medresahs of Baghdad, and introduce something of a corporate spirit among the students. The Faculty at present consists of fifty students and eighteen teachers, all specialists in some aspect of

Sunni theology. One of the large lecture rooms is used as a mosque, and as there is still a considerable amount of unoccupied space, the Government Engineering School has been allowed to lodge on the top floor. Here boys are prepared for posts under the Government in irrigation, surveys, and public works. The laboratories have as yet had no water laid on, but excellent work is being done in the Surveying Department. It is too early to prophesy the outcome of this University scheme, which has been conceived on grandiose lines.

The time can be envisaged when a sufficient number of boys will be educated to fill the clerical profession. The need of imparting some technical ability to a large portion of the remainder is imperative, and skill of hand is not natural to the Iraqi. The primary and technical schools are not as yet solving this problem, which is one of first-class importance. The tribesmen are untouched by formal education and live as in the days of Abraham. "How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks?" With this question the report of 1923-24 ends.

RAILWAYS IN PERSIA

TRANS-PERSIAN RAILWAY

THERE is no abatement in the deep interest which the Persian people, in following the known aspiration of His Majesty Reza Shah, have shown in the construction of railways in their country since his accession. At first little discussed and perhaps less understood by the general public, His Majesty's enthusiasm has proved infectious until now the subject is regarded as one of paramount national importance.

It is recalled that before the War a British syndicate, known as the Persian Railways Syndicate, obtained a concession to conduct surveys from the Persian Gulf, but had only completed them as far as Shustar and Dizful when the Great War stayed their activities. Little further was then heard of railways in Persia until, after the occupation of Baghdad by the British, a single line, with the object of assisting the British troops pressing through Persia to the Caspian Sea, was laid from Baghdad towards the Persian frontier and had its terminus at Kureta (near to Kasr-i-Shirin) within the borders of Persia.

In consequence of the disorderly state of Southern Persia, the ancient trade route from Bushire into the interior of the country had been abandoned by Persian merchants after the occupation of Baghdad, and merchandise for Western, Central, and Northern Persia followed the route taken by the Army.

No onerous transit conditions were imposed by the British authorities in Iraq, and, as soon as the railway was working to Kuretu, Persian merchants found it an expeditious route and had prominently brought before them in a practical manner the advantages of railways.

The construction of this piece of line, ending abruptly just within the frontier of Persia, seemed to many to decide the route of the first important railway in the country. The Persian Railways Syndicate then sent out its engineers to continue the survey towards Kermanshah and Hamadan, having Teheran as the objective, with possibly a branch to Enzeli (now Pehlevi) on the Caspian Sea.

The survey to Teheran was duly completed, and it is believed the results of the Syndicate's labours are in the hands of the Persian Government.

Shortly after the accession to power of Reza Shah it became increasingly clear that public opinion was opposed to a railway which would traverse another country before reaching its own, and an all-Persia route caught the fancy of Parliament, Press, and Public. Of the Persian Gulf ports, Bushire was unsuitable owing to its open roadstead, and the difficult passes to be negotiated before the plains, 4,000 feet above sea-level, were reached. Bandar Abbas also had an open roadstead, and the country between there and Teheran, through Kerman and Yezd, was largely desert and very sparsely populated. Mohammerah, at the mouth of the Karun River, had the advantage of being accessible to ocean-going ships and of offering a shorter land journey to the capital. The district through which it would pass on its way, either through Khuramabad or up the Diz Valley, to Sultanabad and Teheran, is amongst the most fertile of the country.

A large party of American engineers, headed by Mr. Poland, who reached Teheran in December last, has been engaged by the Persian Government to survey all possible routes, and the advantages of Mohammerah as the terminus of an all-Persia route were found to be strong. Unfortunately, it has two disadvantages which may, in the opinion of the Persian people, outweigh all that engineers have found in its favour. These are, firstly, its proximity to the Iraq frontier and, secondly, by reason of the water boundary between the two countries having, by an agreement concluded shortly before the War between Turkey and Persia, been fixed at low-water mark on the Persian shore. Search was then made, beyond the waters of the Shat-el-Arab, for a port where a near neighbour would have less opportunity of making the atmosphere oppressive should relations at any time become strained.

Bandar Dilam, almost opposite to Kuweit, with its open and wind-swept roadstead, is probably out of the question.

There is another inlet, however, which has received attention, though unknown to any not intimately acquainted with the Persian Gulf. Khor Musa, midway between Fao and Bushire, is referred to. It is guarded by extensive mud flats, and although the construction of a commercial harbour is said to be possible, the expense would be very considerable, perhaps prohibitive. Entrance to the Khor is said to be difficult owing to the low-lying coast line. There is a bar at the entrance, giving a clearance in the channel for four miles across of some 26 feet at high tide, which in itself is a lesser obstacle than existed at Fao before the Anglo-Persian Oil Company decided in favour of financing the dredging of the bar there. The width of deep water at the anchorage is, however, only 150 feet at low and 300 at high tide. This would not accommodate even the mail-boats.

Here, too, the southerly gales blow very strongly at times and inundate a considerable area of the low-lying lands surrounding the inlet. There is practically no population in the district and an absence of sweet water.

These few items will give some idea of the difficulties to be faced if Khor Musa is the final decision.

In the early part of the year it was stated that His Majesty the Shah was pressing for the survey work to advance more rapidly, and on August 1 the Teheran Press announced that surveys were proceeding in Mohammerah, Khor Musa, Bandar Gaz, Sabzavar, Nishapur, and Astarabad, and would take two years to complete; also that construction from the south on the one hand and from Bandar Gaz on the other was expected to commence on August 24. In the August 8 edition of the same paper, tenders were called for railway material, and it was mentioned that in due course the invitation would appear in European and American newspapers. It is understood that Khor Musa has practically been decided upon as the Gulf terminus, but there is still uncertainty whether Pehlevi or Bandar Gaz shall form the northern end of the railway. As political considerations would seem to have prevailed in the choice of Khor Musa, so Bandar Gaz may be selected rather than Pehlevi.

As regards the financial side, it is known that for many months the proceeds of the sugar and tea monopoly, estimated to produce some £1,400,000 per annum, have been placed on one side to meet initial expenditure. Should the Government decide to raise a foreign loan, it has this and its Anglo-Persian oil royalty, producing together perhaps two million sterling per annum, to offer as security.

It is at least questionable whether the sugar and tea monopolies will produce as much as seven million Tomans revenue during the second and following years. The natural tendency of extra taxation would be to decrease consumption for a period at any rate.

NORTH-WEST PERSIA

While national interest is centred in this Trans-Persian Railway it will be remembered that apart from the final section of the one from India (between Mirjawa and Duzdab) the only important railroad at present operating is one of some eighty miles in length, from Tabriz to Julfa on the Russian frontier, with a branch line from Sofian to Lake Urumiah, a distance of about thirty miles. The line is the property of the Persian Government.

EASTERN PERSIA

It may also be recalled that during the War the Indian Government extended the Quetta-Nushki Railway from Nushki to Duzdab, thirty miles within the Persian border.

Some two years ago Major Hall (American Provincial Director of Finances in Khorasan) drew up a report for the Persian Government dealing with the question of their extending this railway from Duzdab to Nasratabad (the capital of the province) a distance of some one hundred and thirty-five miles, where it would tap a corn-growing area. Instead of a standard or metre gauge line it was understood the Government proposed to put down a Decauville Railway, the estimated cost of construction being one million Tomans (£200,000). The lowest estimate for a standard gauge with light rails was said to be half a lac of rupees per mile, with anything up to two lacs over the difficult ground, or, say, not less than £600,000 for the one hundred and thirty-five miles. On this basis the above estimate for a light railway would appear too low.

No further action having been taken by the Persian Government, the North-Western Railway of India recently offered to build the extension themselves, but the Persian Government is said definitely to have refused the offer. This is in keeping with their known desire that railways in Persia should be Persian in every sense and free from any outside control.

If correctly reported, the decision of the Persian Government would seem to be short-sighted, as the benefits accruing to Persia from such an extension are obvious. Surely there should be means of so arranging the terms upon which the North-Western would construct the line, that Persia's ownership thereof would be unquestioned.

THE AMERICAN FINANCIAL MISSION TO PERSIA

IT is with feelings of regret untinged by any traces of *schadenfreude* that members of the Central Asian Society, and indeed a far wider public in this country, have learned of Dr. A. C. Millspaugh's resignation of his post of Administrator-General of Persian Finances and of his departure from Persia.

It is understood that the immediate cause of his resignation was his inability to accept a modification, rather than a reduction, of his powers.

The facts, as set forth by the Persian Minister in London in a communiqué, are as follows:

"Five years ago a law was passed appointing Dr. Millspaugh Administrator-General of the Finances of Persia, giving him full and complete power in every branch of Persia's financial administration. An anomalous situation, however, arose. The provisions of the law were found to embarrass the Persian Minister of Finance, who alone--not Dr. Millspaugh—is reponsible to Parliament.

"The new contract, which Dr. Millspaugh has rejected, does not really curtail his powers to any appreciable extent. Its aim is to make the position of the Minister of Finance, and indeed the collective responsibility of the whole Cabinet, in accordance with the law, more clear. Persia, of her own accord, without any outside pressure, gave his powers to Dr. Millspaugh.

"It is added that Persia's chief obligation—viz., the 5 per cent. sterling loan—was floated by the Imperial Bank of Persia in 1911, ten years before Dr. Millspaugh's appointment."

The correspondent of *The Times* adds, incorrectly and somewhat unworthily, that Dr. Millspaugh's recent refusal to increase the salary payable to members of the Majlis by £20 has not increased his popularity in that assembly.

Such a modification as that indicated in the Persian Minister's communiqué does not seem, at this distance, to be really vital—everything in such matters depends on the spirit animating the parties to the contract, and the personal factors involved, and we may safely assume that Doctor Millspaugh was forced by his knowledge of these factors to conclude that, whatever the form, the intention animating those who insisted on the modification was such as to make it useless for him to remain. It is reassuring to learn that his resignation does not involve the departure of the other members of his Mission, and that the departmental activities with which they have been so creditably associated since the end of 1922 will not be curtailed, but will be continued under the supervision of the Prime Minister, who has temporarily assumed charge of the functions of the Administrator-General. But the general impression created abroad by Dr. Millspaugh's resignation is bound to be unfavourable to Persia. In quarters hostile alike to Persia and Great Britain the idea is being sedulously fostered that Great Britain decided "not to support" Dr. Millspaugh, which, it is further assumed, was equivalent to opposing him. This idea is, of course, entirely wrong; so far as it has been possible for H.M.'s Representatives in Tehran to exercise their influence in a question so pre-eminently domestic, it has been uniformly exercised in support of Dr. Millspaugh and his assistants, as he and they have repeatedly testified both in public and in private.

But there were obvious limitations to the exercise of such influence, which, if generally known, would, and in fact sometimes did, lay open Dr. Millspaugh and his coadjutors to the charge of being mere puppets of the British Legation, as in fact Soviet newspapers frequently described them. Had such a charge been generally believed, it would have been fatal to his influence with the Majlis. But, apart from such charges and counter-charges, British interests will suffer from his departure, though perhaps less than from his retention, as the Persian Government appears to have desired, as a figure-head, rather than as a power and a reality, as has happened too often to European officials in high office in China of recent years. For responsibility without the authority necessary for its exercise is a bad form of administration at all times, and nowhere more so than in countries such as Persia, where the central is often the sole effective authority.

The Shah and the Cabinet have taken a bold and a perilous step in dispensing with the official head of a Mission on whom only five years ago the Majlis unanimously conferred such plenary powers. But all may yet be well if the Minister of Finance and the Cabinet as a whole can rise to a sense of the new responsibilities that they have assumed, and can make the fullest and wisest use of the remaining members of the American Mission. The opponents of Dr. Millspaugh in Persia include in their ranks powerful personages whose motives in seeking to limit his powers were not always identical with their country's good. They have scored a notable success in the first round and will not be slow to follow up the advantage they have gained. Public opinion and the influence of the Majlis alone can hold them in check, and for this, if for no other reason, students of current affairs in Persia will watch the events of the next few months in Tehran with more than usual interest.

A NOTE ON TRANSJORDANIA

WHEN the misguided Turks were routed in the Near East, and some projects of the ex-Kaiser were by implication frustrated, a new chapter of surprises was opened for these historic lands. The region east of the Jordan, now called Transjordania, attracts but little attention; but for those who knew it when nominally under the paternal government of the Turk its prospects are of considerable interest. Happily for itself it has come under the British Mandate, and its security and well-being are being established. It has naturally been a cause of surprise that two comparatively small regions, separated by the Jordan, should not be united under one Government, as an outcome of the redistribution of territories. The reasons need not be recapitulated here.

At a meeting of the Society in June, 1924, Mr. Philby gave an interesting and amusing account of the early years of Transjordania. He referred to the promises made to King Hussein in 1916, and to the Zionists in 1917, and showed how by a compromise—which may or may not be regarded as final—the problem that had been created had been solved by dividing off Transjordania from Palestine, as a sort of sub-mandate. He believed, by the way, that the advent of the Jews to Palestine would be advantageous to the Arabs, as well as to themselves, having regard to their record in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Yemen, it being advisable to encourage the Jews and Arabs to come to an agreement in their mutual interests. Few, if any, will not concur in this opinion, and this is what we have been sincerely trying to do. From 1918 to 1920, when Faisal, son of King Hussein, lost the throne of Syria, Transjordania was part of that country. Then for some months there was a sort of interregnum. In April, 1921, Abdallah was made ruler of the country, Palestine providing political officers. But very shortly unfortunate incidents occurred, which presented difficulties, and in the autumn of 1921 Colonel Lawrence was sent out by Mr. Churchill to investigate and report. Having arranged matters, Mr. Philby was, by his advice, sent out to assume the rôle of adviser to the Emir Abdallah. In October, 1922, the Emir was invited to London, with his Prime Minister, Ali Riza Rikabi Pasha, to discuss matters, the outcome being that in May, 1923, the Emir was informed through the High Commissioner in Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, that H.M. Government, subject to the approval of the League of Nations, recognized the independence of Abdallah, provided that the administration should be conducted "on democratic and constitutional lines." Transjordan's independence was thus conditionally confirmed, the administration being subject to the control of the High Commissioner of Palestine. Lord Plumer is therefore responsible for its good government. At the outset the experiment was not successful. Abdallah's rule was arbitrary and extravagant, and by no means in accordance with British principles of administration. Misgovernment led, in September, 1923, to a revolt of the Adwan tribe, which was repressed by the Royal Air Force. Finances fell into disorder, irregularities increased, and it became obvious that a radical change was called for. During a visit from King Hussein it was suggested that his eldest son, Ali, should take over the Emirate from Abdallah, but this Ali declined to do. During these early years of the régime Mr. Philby regarded Palestine as having aimed at bringing Transjordania more and more "into its orbit."

In 1924 Lieut.-Colonel Cox, C.M.G., D.S.O., R.F.A., was appointed to be Chief British Administrator. He was eminently qualified to undertake the duties of an onerous post, possessing, as he did, a thorough knowledge of Arabs, in addition to an acquaintance with Arabic, and having already successfully administered several districts in Palestine, in all of which he gained the confidence and esteem of all communities. The chaotic state into which matters had drifted has now been brought into order, and progress is proceeding in all departments of the administration. Cordial relations exist with the Emir. The prompt punishment or dismissal of officials and others who have been found guilty of misconduct has been a wholesome lesson, and the people have learnt that the pasha and the *fellah* have now equal rights before the law. Various useful measures have been enacted, including one for the protection of the *fellahin* from unfair dealings by merchants.

Foreign relations are of great importance. At a meeting of the Society, when Mr. Charles Woods read a paper on Syria, Sir Gilbert Clayton laid stress on the need of genuine co-operation between the two Mandatory Administrations in Syria and Palestine. They should, he said, keep in close touch. Obviously Syria is of great importance to Britain. Similarly, Major McCallum, in a paper on the French in Syria, in 1925, said, "Of one thing I am certain, and that is that 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 France and Britain work together loyally and frankly in those countries." Co-operation between Transjordania and Syria has been equally needed, and appears to have been fully maintained by tact and goodwill on both sides. There have been incidents from time to time within the frontiers — permanent or provisional—of both regions, which might have tended to cause unfriendly feeling. In Transjordania, as in Palestine, after 1920, feelings of hostility against the French were aroused, and the hostile element endeavoured as far as possible, especially after the bombardment of Damascus, to foster this hostility.

Having regard to the age-long habits of the Bedouin, it was inevitable that there should be occasional raids and acts of brigandage over the respective borders; but the various difficulties, as they arose, have been dealt with satisfactorily, and matters settled in a spirit of conciliation, either by payment of "blood-money" or otherwise. Possible causes of friction have thus been removed by prompt and judicious action. The Arab tribes, moreover, have been learning to their cost that camel looting is a dangerous game, and that brigandage and other irregularities will not be tolerated in the settled regions; and the desert tribes, for increasing distances into the desert, are being brought under control.

There has been no little trouble in connection with the Druse "revolt." Many Druses have by degrees come to settle in the Azrak oasis, situate to the east of Amman, where regions have had to be placed under martial law. Colonel Cox has evidently done all that was possible to control both the fighting and the refugee Druses, and to aid the French officers who have offered to deal quite fairly with them in the negotiation of conditions for return to their own country. They have now apparently been cleared out of the Azrak region, and have for the most part come to terms with the French, who must have appreciated the help given from Transjordania. It is to be hoped that, if good faith is kept in Syria, all trouble from that source should be at an end.

Then as regards the Wahabis, until recently serious trouble might at any moment have broken out, although in 1923 a Wahabi force which almost reached Amman was heavily defeated. For the present it would seem that hostilities are not to be feared, since Ibn Sa'ud and his followers have more serious matters to deal with. The future of the Wahabis is of course of much interest; and views differ much both in Moslem and non-Moslem countries. Some predict (as does Mr. Philby) that their increasing power will become permanent, and lead to the consolidation of a unified Arab Empire; while others doubt the ability of Ibn Sa'ud or his successors to accomplish the realization of such a dream. To those who seek to take a long view the future of all Middle East regions cannot but seem obscure.

As regards Transjordania in particular, the outlook appears to be a very hopeful one. Relations with the Emir Abdallah are all that could be desired. There are signs of progress in all directions, and the highest credit is due to Colonel Cox, whose guiding hand has brought about an abiding trust in British aims and policy. The people are keenly alive to a new feeling of public security, with all that it implies for the advancement of trade and prosperity.

R. L. N. M.

REPORT OF THE INDIAN SANDHURST COMMITTEE

"Better an army of asses led by a lion, than an army of lions led by an ass."
—*Old Persian Proverb.*

1. THE Committee was appointed in June, 1925, to enquire and report:

(*a*) By what means it may be possible to improve upon the present supply of Indian candidates for the King's Commission both in regard to number and quality.

(*b*) Whether it is desirable and practicable to establish a military college in India to train Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army.

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, how soon should the scheme be initiated, and what steps should be taken to carry it out.

(*d*) Whether, if a military college is established in India, it should supersede or be supplemented by Sandhurst and Woolwich so far as the training of Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army is concerned.

2. The Committee consisted of Lieut.-General Sir Andrew Skeen, Chief of the General Staff in India, as Chairman, one British member of the Indian Civil Service, twelve Indian gentlemen of position and authority, and as Secretary a Major in the Indian Army.

3. The Committee held their first meeting at Simla, on August 12, 1925.

A Sub-Committee visited educational institutions of all kinds in England, and toured France, Canada, and the United States. A second Sub-Committee visited the Indian Universities.

The final report was considered and passed early in 1926.

4. Before 1918 Indians were not eligible to hold the King's Commission—that is, the commission which is held by the British officer of the British and Indian Armies.

In 1905 a special form of King's Commission in His Majesty's native Indian land forces was instituted for those Indian gentlemen who passed successfully through the full course of the Imperial Cadet Corps, but this commission carried only the power of command over Indian troops, and the holders of it, as they could not rise above the position of company officers in a regimental unit, had no effective military career open to them.

In 1918 Indians were declared eligible on equal terms with British youths to receive the King's Commission in His Majesty's land forces, which carried with it the power of command over British as well as Indian troops.

At present ten vacancies yearly are allotted to Indians at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.

5. As a result of their deliberations the Committee recommended that:

"The scope of the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the Army in India should be greatly extended, and facilities should be provided in India to train them for the King's commissioned rank. A substantial and progressive scheme of Indianization should be adopted, and, subject to the present standard of efficiency being maintained, should be carried out.

Such a scheme should provide for

(*a*) Measures doubling the number of vacancies of Indians at Sandhurst until an Indian military college on the lines of Sandhurst is established.

(*b*) Indians should be eligible to be employed as King's commissioned officers in the artillery, engineers, signal, tank, and air arms of the Army in India.

(*c*) That in 1933 a military college with an establishment at the start of 100 cadets doing a three years' course should be created in India on the model of Sandhurst.

(*d*) That 20 vacancies should continue to be reserved for Indians at Sandhurst after the opening of the Indian Military College.

Under the scheme proposed half the total cadre of officers in the Indian Army should be Indians in 1952.,

6. These, put briefly, are the main recommendations of the Committee, and the means to obtain these ends, which are carefully thought out and elaborated, include subsidiary recommendations regarding education, age limits, publicity, methods of examination and selection, guardianship of Sandhurst cadets, and grant of commissions to certain classes who do not obtain commissions via Sandhurst or the Indian Military College.

7. Having decided that an Indian military college is necessary, the proposals for its inception are as follows:

(*a*) In 1928 the number of vacancies for Indians at Sandhurst be increased from 10 to 20.

(*b*) A further increase of 4 vacancies at Sandhurst per annum up to 1933, making the total number of vacancies in that year 38.

(*c*) The establishment in 1933 of an Indian Sandhurst with capacity for 100 cadets, to which in that year and each of the following years 33 cadets are admitted for a three years' course of training.

(*d*) When the Indian Sandhurst is established, Indian boys, who prefer it, continue to be eligible for admission to Sandhurst; but the number of vacancies at Sandhurst for Indians is then reduced to 20 per annum.

(e) The number of Indian boys admitted annually to the Indian Sandhurst increases by 12 every three years, and on the assumption that all cadets are successful, both at Sandhurst and the Indian Sandhurst, the number of Indians commissioned increase correspondingly until, in 1945, half the number of officers recruited annually for the Indian Army consists of Indians.

(f) By 1952 half the total cadre of officers in the Indian Army are Indians.

8. Shortly after follows a statement to which particular attention may be given. It runs: "We have not attempted to carry the scheme beyond the point at which 50 per cent. of the total cadre consists of Indians, and we make no recommendation as to what rates of recruitment of British and Indian officers respectively should be after that point has been reached. *Again, we do not attempt to forecast the time when it may be possible to dispense with the British element in the Indian Army. We also, for the present, assume, generally, the employment in India of a quota of British troops.*"

So now we know that the ultimate aim of the gentlemen composing the Indian Sandhurst Committee is the total elimination of British officers and men from the Imperial Army in India.

9. The Committee, having thus boldly stated their objective, then consider the details by which the objective may be obtained.

They begin by stating that the first term of reference—*i.e.*, "by what means it may be possible to improve upon the present supply of Indian candidates both in regard to number and quality"—implies that the number of Indian candidates who seek the King's Commission in the Indian Army, and possess the requisite qualifications for service in that capacity, is at present conspicuously small; the proposition so stated reflects a condition of affairs far from satisfactory, which might have been avoided, but which actually exists; that the profession opened to Indians by the decision of 1918 is unfamiliar and arduous; and that some special concessions will be necessary, at any rate in the first instance, to induce suitable candidates to come forward. The age limit has already been raised one year in order to compensate for the later educational development of the average Indian boy, due largely to his having to learn his lessons in a foreign language.

10. The present method of selecting candidates for Indian commissions is by selection, not by open competitive examination, special consideration being made for candidates from communities which furnish recruits—*i.e.*, from classes with a military tradition—these selected candidates being permitted to sit for the competitive entrance examination, which consists of a written test, a medical test, and an oral examination. On the combined results of the three tests the final selection is made by His Excellency the Viceroy for recommendation to the Secretary of State for India for admission to Sandhurst.

11. Since 1918, 83 vacancies at Sandhurst have been reserved for Indian cadets, and for these vacancies only 243 boys have competed in India, and 16 Indian boys educated in England have been admitted to Sandhurst. The percentage of failures passing out of Sandhurst is approximately 30 per cent., whilst that of British boys is approximately 3 per cent.

These figures speak for themselves, and the Committee consider that the system which exists today has resulted in failure. The system is defective and must be attacked.

The causes of failure are ascribed to the fact that until eight years ago Indians were wholly excluded from positions of high responsibility in the Army, that there is on the part of Indians great and widespread ignorance of the possibilities of a career in the higher ranks of the Army, and to this may be added defects in the educational system in India.

Whereas the British boy of seven or eight years of age proceeds to a preparatory school and thence to a public school where he receives an education in which a great deal of attention is paid to character training and assumption of authority, thereby developing the power of leadership and spirit of initiative, these advantages are not provided in the ordinary schools and colleges of India, and consequently the Indian boy is in present circumstances handicapped in a sphere where general aptitude for dealing with and controlling men are of equal importance with purely intellectual attainments.

To counteract these disabilities it is desirable that education should be commenced at an earlier age, and that methods of education should be reformed.

With which pious hope, knowing the product of Indian schools and colleges, cordial agreement can be given.

12. The Committee also advocate that the present method of selection should be radically altered, and recommend primarily, as a general principle, that the basis of selection should be wider, and the method of applying for permission to sit for the entrance examination should be as simple as possible. They propose to allow applicants to deal direct with a single authority at headquarters of the Government of India, which authority alone should have power to refuse permission to attend the examination. Any boy who has passed the matriculation or equivalent standard should be eligible to apply to sit for the entrance examination after forwarding a certificate from the headmaster of his school or college, or tutor, that he is educationally, socially, morally, and physically suitable to hold the King's Commission, the application to be backed by references to two gentlemen of position and standing who have known him for at least three years.

To anyone with any knowledge of India the value of this certificate can be accurately gauged.

The central authority would as a rule consult these two gentlemen or make such enquiries as it thinks fit. If the candidate be found *prima facie* suitable, he, after passing a military medical test in the vicinity of his home, is eligible to present himself for the entrance examination.

Before proceeding let us examine these tests—they boil down to a certificate that the applicant is educationally, socially, morally, and physically suitable to hold His Majesty's Commission as an officer and gentleman; and who is the judge of his suitability?—his schoolmaster, not necessarily the responsible head of a college of repute, but the headmaster of his school or even his tutor! The value of such a certificate is absurd; it is not worth discussion.

13. Having been permitted to attend, the entrance examination will consist of two parts: (*a*) a written test on the model of the existing entrance examination to Sandhurst; (*b*) an interview before a board consisting of two military officers of the Indian Army, one educationalist, one non-official member nominated by H.E. the Viceroy.

The final nomination to be made by H.E. the Viceroy on the combined result of these two tests.

The vacancies announced for competition should be allotted to the candidate standing highest in order of merit.

Though it is not stated clearly, it appears as if H.E. the Viceroy can disqualify such candidates as he may think unsuitable, although they may have passed the test of the written examination and of the interview. The reservation that the vacancies should be allotted to those standing highest seems unnecessary—to whom else should they be allotted?

14. Besides those candidates selected as above, a certain number of vacancies, not exceeding 20 per cent., should be reserved for candidates nominated by H.E. the Commander-in-Chief from amongst those who have qualified in the two tests but have not passed sufficiently high to secure one of the vacancies open to competition.

15. The Committee admit that under their proposals there is a possibility of the examination being swamped by obviously unsuitable competitors, and therefore they propose, as a preliminary, that the candidate should appear before a local advisory board in the vicinity of his own home, this board to consist of officials, non-officials, and military officers.

This board should have no power to reject a candidate, but should merely tell him and the central authority in writing whether they consider him suitable or unsuitable.

But even if the verdict of this preliminary board is adverse to the candidate he can ignore it and still pursue his application before the central authority; of what use, therefore, is this preliminary board? Any youth swelling with his own importance or urged on by the ambition of his parents will ignore the preliminary verdict, and the central examinations will be swamped with obviously undesirable candidates backed by a pundit's certificate that he is educationally, socially, morally, and physically suitable to hold His Majesty's Commission.

16. Now follows a recommendation full of class prejudice and an attempt to oust the sons of the one class which can produce the boys likely to make good officers. "In saying that the basis of selection should be wide, we mean *inter alia* that the *preference for soldiers' sons, as a class, which is the feature of the present system of selection, should in future become the exception rather than the rule.*"

And yet this very Committee, when discussing the reasons for the failure of the system existing today in regard to the recruitment of Indians as King's commissioned officers, acknowledge that "the root cause—plain to see—consists in the fact that until eight years ago Indians were wholly excluded from positions of high responsibility in the Army, and the potency of this cause will be at once appreciated when it is remembered that in the United Kingdom the great majority of Army officers are drawn from families with traditions of military service and military distinction extending through many generations."

They acknowledge that the majority of British officers are of the so-called military class, yet they would have the majority of the Indian officers drawn from the Indian classes which are not enlisted in the Indian Army at all. These have no tradition of military service of any kind, and yet this Committee propose that they should be given equal chances for commission in the Army with those who have natural and inherited martial instincts. And yet again in another place the Committee state: "It is not our purpose or design that the number of Indian King's commissioned officers in the Army should be increased without reference to considerations of efficiency; we recognize that there can be only one standard of efficiency—namely, the highest."

17. The Committee then consider the question of cost of education and training, and after comparing the expenses of a student at West Point, St. Cyr, and Kingston with that of a boy at Sandhurst, they recommend that the fees at an Indian military college should not exceed an amount which can be paid without hardships by parents of the class which will provide most of the cadets—the upper and middle classes. The rate fixed should include all expenses in connection with the college course.

Certain suggestions regarding scholarships are also put forward.

18. The Committee recommend the abolition of the "eight units system." They state that the main reason given them for the adoption of this scheme was a desire to provide a means of testing the worth of the Indian King's commissioned officers. In time of crisis, it is argued, it might be that if Indian officers were mixed with British officers any shortcomings they possessed might be concealed, whilst if

they were put to the test by themselves they would have to stand or fall by their own merits.

The Committee object to this system on the grounds that to confine Indian officers to these units is an invidious form of segregation, that Indians who now qualify have family connections with particular units, and it is natural and laudable that they should wish to continue the family traditions as in the case of British officers.

This last reason is one with which the British officer will readily agree, but the Committee continue and state that there are "objections of a more concrete character. In the first place the test as formulated by the authorities is, we think, an unfair one and too severe to impose upon the first generation of Indian King's commissioned officers who already have sufficient disadvantages of other kinds to overcome," which being put bluntly implies that the Committee do not think that the Indian officers should be put in a position where their capabilities may be properly tested. And this is the considered opinion of a body of Indian gentlemen of position and authority. It is to be hoped that they are unjust to their fellow-countrymen.

There is, however, another really practical reason why the "eight units system" cannot be continued, and that is, that when all the appointments of company officers in the eight units have been filled by Indians—and this at the present rate of progress will be the case in the next two years—no further Indian officers can be posted to these units except to replace an unexpected casualty, until the senior company officers qualify, by length of service and merit, for selection as company commanders. This will mean an interval of some years, during which even the present intake of Indian officers from Sandhurst would have to be posted to other Indian units.

19. *The Case for an Indian Sandhurst.*—It may be admitted that sufficient Indians cannot be educated at Sandhurst, as that institution cannot admit more than possibly 5 per cent. of Indians until the effect of these numbers on the personality of the institution has been tested by actual experience, and that being so it is clearly advisable that India should cease to rely solely on Sandhurst for the training of Indian officers, and therefore it is desirable that an Indian military college should be started now and be functioning fully rather than it should be improvised hastily when war makes the supply of trained officers in large numbers imperative.

This is a really sound and efficient reason for an Indian military college.

It is recommended that the course at the Indian military college should last three years, of which the first year should be devoted mainly to academic study and the last two years mainly to military training, in order to give the cadets who are drawn from the ordinary Indian schools a better opportunity of developing in character and physique, and also that the academic standard attainable at the end of the course should be so framed as to secure specific recognition from the universities, and to enable cadets, who for one reason or another are found unfit for commissions in the Army, to continue their education at a university without interruption and on a level with their contemporaries in age.

Thus a boy, who may have been granted a scholarship at the Military College, finding the "profession thus opened to him to be unfamiliar and arduous," may at the end of three years' training gracefully retire and continue his education in a state of life less exacting and strenuous. It will be interesting to see how many of "those Indians who do not belong to the so-called martial class" will accept a commission at the end of their three years' training. This scheme of training at the Indian Military College is allowed to be defective in one important point—it does not provide, save to a very limited extent, for that association between British and Indian boys who are preparing for a career in the Indian Army, which is a valuable feature of the present system—and it is therefore recommended that to complete their preparation the Indian cadets, having been commissioned, should be attached to a cavalry or infantry unit in the United Kingdom for a period of one year.

And so now we have the young Indian King's commissioned officer fully trained and launched on his career, and he must be, to have stood the test, a man, to quote Lord Gough, of "go and guts." We wish him good luck and success in the finest profession a man can enter.

20. Having examined the details of the report, it can be undoubtedly described as comprehensive, carefully thought out, and, in most of its deductions, perfectly sound. The scheme, applied to a homogeneous and united nation, could be accepted and tried with every hope of a brilliant success—but is India a homogeneous and united nation? It is not a nation, but a conglomeration of warring tribes—it cannot be called united, as is shown by the bitterness of its racial and religious quarrels. Above all, is this class for which this scheme is particularly framed, this class with no military traditions, and which so far has shown no particular wish to enter the arduous and exacting profession of a soldier, likely to produce efficient officers?

It may be that the middle-class youth may come forward in sufficient numbers and of proper social, moral, and physical qualities to enter the Military College, but will he "stick it"? After the first enthusiasm has worn off, and the dull monotony of arduous training, combined with a strict discipline to which the Indian boy is utterly unaccustomed, begins to pall, only those who are real soldiers at heart will carry on to the end of the college course. Even after he has obtained his commission he is not free, his desires must be subordinated to the will of his seniors, he must keep himself continually and adequately physically fit, and he will find himself handicapped socially. However popular he may be among his brother officers, and however equally they may treat him on the sports ground and in the mess, there will always be the social question. When one man's womenkind are debarred from social intercourse with the womenkind of his comrades, can there be equality of social intercourse? These difficulties may be overcome in time, but they are difficulties which will have to be faced by the first generation of King's Indian officers. Apart from these minor social inequalities, has the Indian the power to rule with just impartiality the intriguing and warring clans with which the Indian ranks are filled. During the War the writer was discussing this question of commissions to Indian officers with an Indian, the son of a distinguished Indian frontier soldier, who had himself attained high rank in the Civil Service, and who upheld that Indians should be given commissioned rank. He was asked "if, as the colonel of a battalion, he had to choose for promotion to non-commissioned rank between a man of his own clan and another tribesman who had a better claim what his selection would be." He replied unhesitatingly that his clansman would be selected—what other course was possible? otherwise he would lose the support of his clansmen. Until the Indian can learn that efficiency is the sole test for promotion he cannot hold the scales of justice equally.

The Indian may demand equal terms with British youths to secure the King's Commission, which carries with it the power of command over British as well as Indian troops. The power *of* command may be given, perhaps, but the power *to* command can only be obtained by character strengthened by training, and the Committee agrees that this power is wanting, that the Indian is handicapped especially in a sphere where physical consideration and genuine aptitude for dealing with and controlling men are of equal importance with purely intellectual considerations. The Committee themselves give as their objections to the present "eight units system" that the test of standing alone and being judged on their own merits is an unfair one, and too severe to impose upon the first generation of Indian officers. Will the second generation of the unmilitary classes be more efficient? And in the meantime is authority and power to command both British and Indian troops to be granted to inefficients? The Committee themselves recognize that in the Army there can only be one standard of efficiency—namely, the highest—and yet they propose that by 1952 half the total cadre of officers of the Indian Army shall be Indians, and these will be Indians of the first generation. The lives of soldiers cannot be jeopardized because an untried class of men think they may, in time, acquire the power to command and control men, even if not in the first generation, then perhaps in the second. The enemy will see to it that there is no second generation.

21. As stated, the scheme is good on paper, the only fault is that it is too hurried; the boys who will make good and efficient officers do not at present exist in sufficient numbers in the educated middle classes who do not belong to the so-called martial classes.

The Committee themselves acknowledge that in the United Kingdom the majority of officers are drawn from families with traditions of military service and military distinctions extending through many generations, and yet they propose to replace them with those who have no military traditions, who are handicapped from their earliest youth by the nature of their education, who have not had opportunities of acquiring training of character by means of games and the throwing of responsibility by school discipline on the shoulders of boys. This replacement is to be carried through so hurriedly, that within the next twenty-five years half the cadre of officers in the Indian Army will be Indians ; and though the Committee are modest enough to decline to prophesy the date by which the British officer can be eliminated entirely from the Indian Army, they even go further, and suggest that the time will come when even the use of British troops in India can be dispensed with. Have the proposers ever studied history? Have they pondered upon the result of the evacuation of Britain by the Roman legions and the disastrous result to the unwarlike British? What will be the position of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Sinnah as the last British soldier leaves Bombay. We know the opinion of a distinguished Rajput Maharajah, soldier and statesman. Will the Amir of Afghanistan restrain his clans because Captain K. K. Bannerjee, barrister-at-law, argues convincingly against the immorality of might versus right? Doubtless these gentlemen know that this disaster is unlikely to happen during their lives, and the scheme for "gold braid on the breeks" of their followers will secure them present votes which well outweigh future disasters.

You may tinker with the Civil Service and place inefficients in important posts. When they fail they only hurt their own reputations, and the result of their errors may in time be corrected or concealed. Not so with the Army : want of knowledge, lack of authority or stamina, and the resulting disaster cannot be concealed or evaded ; not only the commander is involved, but the lives of his men are sacrificed, and the country's freedom threatened.

Undoubtedly in India there are boys with military instincts and traditions who will make very fine officers after proper training, the sons of the fighting clans of the Punjab, or of the Rajput Thakurs: these are the classes from whom the future leaders of the Indian Army should be looked for, not from amongst the sons of successful barristers and merchants.

The time may come when the Indian youth of the middle class may come forward in sufficient numbers and be fit to command, but not now, and not for many years. The end of this century may see it, the next century should, but in the meantime the British Empire cannot be endangered to satisfy the political aspirations of the leaders of the National Indian Congress.

A STORY OF STRUGGLE AND INTRIGUE IN CENTRAL ASIA

A BOOK entitled "Sturm über Asien, Erlebnisse eines diplomatischen Geheimagenten" (Storm over Asia: Experiences of a Secret Diplomatic Agent), by one Wilhelm Filchner, was published in Berlin in 1924. It was briefly reviewed in the Central Asian Society JOURNAL the same year (Vol. xi., Part iv.).

The writer traces the course of political developments in Central Asia from the end of the last century until 1923, with special regard to the relations of Great Britain, Russia, and China with Tibet. While much has been written on this subject by British writers, the fact that the author of this book is a German, who takes the Russian standpoint, gives it a peculiar interest.

The author prefaces his story by observations on the political awakening of the peoples of Asia as a result of the War, and declares that, though the downfall of Czarist Russia has greatly strengthened England's position in Asia, the end of the War and the formation of the League of Nations has led to a renewal of Anglo-Russian rivalry, which will henceforth be centred in Tibet.

The secret diplomatic agent whose experiences form the theme of the narrative is a certain Zerempil, who, like his master, Aguan Dorji, was a Buriat of Urga. Aguan Dorji is well known to the Foreign Department of the Government of India as Dorjiev, an active agent of Russian policy in Asia. The history of this latter is reviewed by the writer. After education in Buddhist theology, he attained high rank as a Lama; was employed by the Russian Foreign Office and Intelligence Service as long ago as 1885; visited all the capitals of Europe, and became an accomplished diplomat. When the present Dalai Lama came into power at the age of eighteen, it was contrived that Aguan Dorji should become his tutor. He gained his pupil's entire confidence, and was made chief Minister at Lhasa in charge of foreign and financial affairs. In 1900, at the age of fifty-seven, he was received by the Czar at Livadia in the Crimea as emissary of the Dalai Lama. Again, in June, 1901, he visited Peterhof as head of a Tibetan Mission.

Zerempil, the hero of the story, came under the influence of Aguan Dorji at an early age, when serving his novitiate at the Gandan monastery near Urga, and some years later was recommended by his mentor to the Russian officials who were concerned with the political and military problems of Asia as a likely agent for their purposes. Hence it came about that Zerempil was taken to the Russian Foreign Office in St. Petersburg, then trained in the Indian Section of the General Staff for exploration and intelligence work. As he proved capable and trustworthy, he was sent on secret missions to remote parts of Asia, visiting Calcutta and Peshawar among other places. In January, 1900, at the age of thirty, he was again in Petersburg, and was put under the orders of Colonel Alexander Nikolaevitch Orlov for a special and important task. Indications are given of the elaborate precautions taken by the Russian General Staff to ensure the secrecy of their operations. Colonel Orlov took up residence in the Hotel Europa in the assumed character of a merchant named Bogdanovitch. Here Zerempil, who was ordered to avoid all open relations with military officials, would come secretly to obtain his instructions. In June he started on his mission, travelling disguised as an employee of a Chinese firm of tea merchants in Liang Chao Fu, under the assumed name of Trubchaninov. Zerempil's first destination was Tashkent, where he was to report himself to the Chief of the Staff of the Governor-General of Turkestan. He was informed that the general purport of his mission concerned the Anglo-Indian position along the frontier of Afghanistan, and he was ordered to proceed to Pamirski Post to receive detailed instructions. The account of the journey is given in the form of extracts from Zerempil's diary. He was fitted out with a riding horse, eight pack-horses with ten bales of pressed tea, and an escort of four Jigits.

From railhead at Andijan the party marched by Osh, crossed the Alai Mountains, over the Kizil Art Pass to Karakul Lake, and the Ak Baital Pass to Pamirski Post, which was reached on June 28, 1900. At Pamirski Post, which is described as the outpost for intelligence work to India and Afghanistan, Zerempil found two officers, Lieutenant Ivolgin in command of the post, and another, who was referred to as Professor Stungévitch, a short, keen-featured man, who was in reality the Chief of the Indian Section of the Russian General Staff, on a tour of inspection of the Russian outposts on the northern frontier of India.

While Zerempil is put to study the map of the frontier, this colonel is represented as giving to the commandant an appreciation of the political situation in Asia somewhat as follows:

Our General Staff and Foreign Office have certain aims in Manchuria which we hope to achieve all the sooner now that the Boxer rising has entered upon a phase that will probably lead to international concerted action against China. From this concerted action Russia as well as the United States of America will stand aloof. Nine days ago the German Ambassador in Peking was murdered by the insurgents. The European Powers and Japan are planning combined punitive action against the Boxers, who naturally oppose the annexation policy of the European and Japanese "parasites." Russia will make use of this opportunity to strengthen her position in Manchuria. In Central Asia the Indian question engages our closest attention, and our chief aim is to drive our old rival, England, out of her Indian possessions. Before we can attain this end we must occupy the outworks of India. India is like a fortress, protected by the sea on two sides, and by a mountain rampart on the third. Beyond this natural rampart stretches a glacis of varying extent: it comprises Siam, Tibet, Pamir, Afghanistan, Persia, and Baluchistan. We Russians must get a firm footing upon this glacis before we can advance to the attack on the main Indian position. England has long been aware of the menace of our advance, and takes every opportunity to thwart it by establishing friendly relations with the peoples of the glacis regions.

For our Turkestan troops the north and west parts of the glacis are, of course, the most important; and the strategic lines of approach, especially the railways. England knows the advantage that Russia has in the Trans-Caspian railway—Krasnovodsk-Merv-Bokhara-Samarkand-Tashkent-Kokand-Andijan—soon to be joined up to the Orenburg-Tashkent line. Two main lines of advance lead to the Afghan frontier from this railway.

First, the railway from Merv to Khushk, where railway material is ready for an extension to Herat, which can be done in three weeks.

Secondly, the railway now under construction from Katta Kurgan to Karshi, whence the Afghan frontier can be reached by four roads:

Kerki to Maimana;
Kilif to Mazari Sharif;
Kilif to Pattar Hissar;
Hissar to Faizabad.

The English are well aware of the strength of our position. They reckon with the fact that we can occupy Herat before they could occupy Kandahar. They know also that the seizure of Herat would lay open to us the way to Kandahar and Kabul. They also know that it would be very risky for an Anglo-Indian force of any considerable strength to oppose a united Russo-Afghan army with the difficult Suliman range in its rear. The tribes west of the Indus are in great measure hostile to the British, so that the Indian Government would first have to bring these tribes into subjection. The British, conscious of their unfavourable strategical situation, are striving to improve and broaden their base in the South Afghanistan and Persian frontier regions. To this end the Quetta-Nushki railway is to be begun in August, 1902, and work has already been begun upon the extension towards Kandahar of the strategic railway Ruk-Shikapur-Sibi-Quetta-

Chaman, one of the greatest mountain railways in the world. England would by these means be enabled to move large forces into Southern Afghanistan from her base on the Indus.

It must be remarked that Nushki is only 230 kilometres from the Persian frontier, and the most likely line for railway connection between India and Persia, by Quetta-Nushki-Seistan, might lead on to junction with the Baghdad railway; also to the English constructing without much difficulty a railway by Kerman, Yezd, Kashan, to Teheran. The Quetta-Nushki line would thus form the first part of a railway that would bring the English on to the flank of the Russian line of advance against India. Russia would have to overtrump such a move by a strategic railway through Persia to the Persian Gulf from Ashqabad, though its construction would be extremely difficult and costly, as the line would cross all the mountain ranges of Western Persia at right angles. England meanwhile is determined at all costs to maintain her supremacy in Southern Persia. As England is thus strategically superior in the South Afghanistan-Baluchistan zone, we must find means to get the upper hand in other parts, especially with regard to the main approaches from India to Afghanistan; from Peshawar by the Khyber Pass to Kabul, and from Thal by the Kurram to Kabul. Measures have already been taken against the line Peshawar-Chitral-Faizabad-Hissar. As regards the routes to Kashmir, by the Khorabohrt, Killik, and Mintaka Passes towards Gilgit, we will do nothing, partly because they are by nature impracticable for troops in any force, also because we want to keep them clear for our agents.

We have successfully hampered the Quetta railway construction project, and are now taking similar measures with regard to the Khyber and Kurram roads. Steps have also been taken to win over the tribes of Swat and Bajaur.

Operations against the Indian-Afghan frontier south of and including the Peshawar-Kabul line are assigned to the 2nd Army Corps in Ashqabad; all the north to the 1st Army Corps in Tashkent. From the latter place special instructions have been sent to Pamirski Post, and these are now supplemented by a charge from the General Staff to you as Commandant to facilitate for one of our best agents named Zerempil the crossing of the Indian frontier south of the Pamirs, and help him in every way to perform his task, which is in close relation to previous instructions.

On completion of this review of the situation Zerempil was called in and his special task explained to him, together with a statement of the general scheme of which it formed a part. The most secret details were omitted, not for lack of confidence in Zerempil, but lest by any chance through his capture the English might gain possession of them.

The task now given to Zerempil was to march via Kizil Rabat to the Russo-Afghan frontier, and along it to the Bijik Pass. To this point a Cossack escort would be provided. Then through Chinese territory to the Mintaka Pass, and by Misgar, Hunza, and Gilgit to Peshawar. From the last Russian outpost, Istik, a trusted guide would accompany him to the Indian frontier, where he would be met by other guides. He was warned to be cautious on the Karachukkur route, as there were Indian relay posts at Gilgit, Tashkurgan, and Kashgar. A certain Sher Mahomed was named as an agent in Gilgit who would help with transport to Peshawar. On arrival in Peshawar, Zerempil was to deliver at a given address explosives and pamphlets which were hidden in the bales of tea. The explosives were for use in the rising of the tribes of Swat and Bajaur. Further detailed instructions were to be obtained from one William Jones, agent of the Russian General Staff in Peshawar. All necessary papers for the journey in the assumed character were made out in the name of Li, in the service of the Chinese tea merchants Fei of Suchow. Zerempil's arrival in Peshawar was timed for the end of August, 1900, so that the rising in Bajaur and Swat could be brought about at the end of September, and would coincide with another Russian undertaking against Chitral by the Baroghil Pass, the Yarkand River, and Mastuj.

An account of the journey is then given, again in the form of extracts from Zerempil's diary. He describes crossing the Kizil Rabat and Bijik Passes, and being conducted by a friendly Hunza tribesman across the Indian frontier. The author then remarks that the courage and endurance that such a task involves remains necessarily unknown to the public in general, and only very few persons were aware that two short notices which appeared in *The Times* at the end of October, 1901, were closely connected with Zerempil's enterprise. One was from Bombay: "The rising of the tribes of Bajaur and Swat has been suppressed."

The other from Peshawar: "A magazine in the Chitral military area has blown up, probably from spontaneous combustion."

The writer now goes on to tell of very strained relations between England and Russia resulting from the capture by the British of certain secret agents of Russia who were concerned in the above-mentioned rising, one of them a man of Hunza who had long been wanted, and who admitted to being a Russian spy. The conflict was sharp in Parliament and in the Press. A note states that in the spring of 1901 Russia had 30,000 men at Khushk and 20,000 at Tashkent. Russia, of course, denied her agents, and, far from yielding anything, increased her activity and espionage. The Indian Government was compelled to take counter measures, sending " Pundits " on secret service to Russian and Chinese Turkestan, and taking other precautions.

It was now too that Russia began to actively concern herself with the Indo-Tibetan frontier as another vulnerable point, knowing through the Indian branch of the General Staff that relations between the British Government and Tibet were very strained. The problem was very different from that of India's north-western frontier with the Russians in touch on the Pamir. Tibet was separated from Russian Siberia by the Gobi desert, while India immediately bordered upon the populous part of Tibet with Lhasa the capital, though the great obstacle of the Himalayas stood between. The British, having developed trade routes over the passes, had means of access which gave them a great advantage over the Russians. Nevertheless the Operations Department of the Russian General Staff was not to be deterred from making trouble on this frontier too. It was decided to strengthen the Tibetan Government against the British by supplying them with arms. Again the energetic Colonel Orlov, of the Russian General Staff, was selected for the duty of transporting arms from Urga to Lhasa. Two caravans were organized; the larger, with 200 camel loads of rifles, was conducted by Colonel Orlov himself, with some officers of the espionage bureau of the General Staff. It was declared to be a scientific expedition, and marched from Urga through the Gobi, by Tsaidam and the Tong La to Lhasa.

Another caravan was entrusted to Zerempil, to proceed from Urga via Kuku Nor, Tosson Nor, and Oring Nor to Lhasa. His party numbered forty, including twenty Cossacks, and they had fifty-five horses and 200 yaks laden with rifles and ammunition and small mountain guns. Zerempil travelled under an assumed name as a Mongol merchant.

In his account of the difficulties and hardships of the long march the author evidently strays from the path of history into the region of romance. He describes a series of adventures with the sensationalism of a film producer. In all of these Zerempil is the hero, especially as a sportsman with the rifle, although an orthodox Buddhist of high-priestly rank! In the end he reaches Lhasa with a depleted caravan on November 12, 1902, where Orlov had arrived before him.

Here Zerempil found his old master Aguan Dorji as War Minister actively engaged in organizing for war with the British, and arranging for the transport of arms to Nepal. Under his orders Zerempil started a factory of Martini Henry rifles, jingals, etc. To the activities of these two men is ascribed the development of a situation which at length led to armed intervention by the Government of India to re-establish their waning influence in Tibet. It is recalled that the Indian Foreign Department had maintained almost unbroken touch since 1866 with affairs in Lhasa and Tibet by the sending of agents such as Pundits A. K. and Nain Singh, by Montgomery's reports, and other sources. Latterly the Government of India had been kept well informed about Russian aims, and knew that the agent of their active Tibetan policy, Aguan Dorji, was a formidable opponent. It was he who as adviser to the Dalai Lama had persuaded the Tibetan Government to refuse to recognize the agreement between Great Britain and China regulating commercial relations with Tibet, and he was chiefly instrumental in concluding a secret treaty between Russia and Tibet. In addition to all this, certain Englishmen who entered Tibet were held prisoners. Letters of protest from the Government of India to the Dalai Lama in 1900 and 1901 were at Aguan Dorji's instance returned unopened. The journeys of this latter to Livadia and Peterhof, together with his personal influence over the Dalai Lama, must be regarded as closely connected with the acquisition by Russia of complete ascendancy in Tibet to the exclusion of Great Britain. In 1902 England made strong representations to the Government of China, knowing that they would not willingly acquiesce in such interference with their authority over Tibet. This step, however, had no real effect. It became known that a secret treaty had been concluded between Russia and Tibet, and the Raja of Nepal informed the Government of India that the Dalai Lama had called upon him for armed support in action against them. Under such circumstances a declaration was made by the British Foreign Secretary in Parliament on February 18, 1903, as follows:

"Lhasa is situated close to the northern frontier of India, and more than 1,600 miles from the Asiatic dominions of Russia. The sudden interest of Russia in these regions immediately bordering on British territory cannot fail to exercise a disturbing influence upon the inhabitants of that territory, or to create the impression that British influence was giving way to the advance of Russian influence in regions where the latter had hitherto been unknown. Our Government has even been informed of the conclusion of an agreement by Russia for the establishment of a protectorate over Tibet."

This warning had no effect in checking the activity of Russia through Aguan Dorji, but to preserve an appearance of right the Russian Ambassador on April 8 made a communication to Lord Lansdowne denying the existence of any agreement about Tibet or any intention on the part of Russia of interfering with Tibet, but declaring that the Russian Government could not remain indifferent to a serious disturbance of the existing situation in that country, and in the event of such disturbance might be compelled to take such steps as they thought fit to defend her interests.

Lord Lansdowne replied to the effect that the proximity of Tibet to India made it unavoidable that the Government of India should exercise some influence in that country, and that while there was no thought of annexation, Great Britain would stand by her treaty rights. As a sequel to this declaration the British Mission under Colonel Younghusband crossed the frontier to Khamba Jong in July, 1903, for the purpose of coming to an understanding with the Dalai Lama. The story is told of the evasions and prevarications with which the

Mission was met by both Tibetans and Chinese, until in November, 1903, the Government of India decided that nothing could be effected otherwise than by a resort to force. The brigade under General Macdonald was therefore mobilized to occupy the Chumbi Valley, with Colonel Younghusband in political charge. The Russian Ambassador in London was notified of this decision by Lord Lansdowne on November 7, and at the same time informed that the action rendered inevitable by the attitude of the Tibetans was not to lead to a prolonged occupation of their territory or interference in their affairs.

The formal ground for the despatch of the expedition was the non-fulfilment of the treaty concluded between Great Britain and China in Calcutta in 1890, especially as regarded the clauses that required all fortifications between the Indian frontier and Gyantse to be demolished, and that forbade the transfer of any Tibetan territory to a foreign Power without the consent of Great Britain.

Russia, taken aback by the unexpected action of Great Britain, could only meet it by violent protests through her Ambassador in London. Lord Lansdowne's reply was prompt and to the effect that it was strange that such protests should come from a Power which had repeatedly annexed the territory of its neighbours on the lightest excuses, and that if Russia had a right to complain of England invading Tibetan territory to obtain satisfaction for flagrant breaches of good faith, how much more would England be justified in complaining of Russia's aggressions in Manchuria, Turkestan, and Persia!

The British Government was able to act with all the more confidence in the knowledge that the increasing acuteness of the Manchurian and Korean questions must soon involve Russia in conflict with Japan, and effectually divert the former from opposition to the British in Tibet.

The Russian Government, being unable to actively support the Tibetans herself, gave urgent instructions to Aguan Dorji to organize defensive measures against the British from Lhasa. He sent Zerempil to Phari with orders to arrange for getting information and to put any difficulties he could in the way of the British advance. On December 18, 1903, Zerempil reported that British forces had crossed the frontier by the Jelap La on the 11th and 12th and were advancing on Yatung. On the 19th Phari was evacuated under Zerempil's direction before the advancing enemy.

On January 8, 1904, the Tibetan advanced guard was driven back from Tuna. It was Zerempil who sent a deputation on January 23 to the British Commander at Phari demanding his withdrawal, and warning him of what awaited him if he ventured upon a further advance. His emissaries reported the British entrenched at Phari, awaiting reinforcements and more clement weather. The resumption of the British advance at the end of March was followed by the defeat of Zerempil's troops at Guru with a loss of 300 killed. Their failure is attributed to their being armed with muzzle-loaders, flintlocks, spears, swords and shields, bows and arrows; the troops armed with modern rifles being kept back at Gyantse Jong for the defence of the main position at Tsechen, covering the junction of roads to Shigatse on the one hand, and Lhasa on the other. Zerempil is now represented as preparing this main position for defence. It is described as a strong position on a ridge 600 yards long crowned by the Fort, with the village behind in the valley and the Tsechen monastery beyond. On April 11 the British Commander sent a demand to the Chinese General Ma in command of the troops to surrender. On his refusal, the English are said to have seized him as a hostage, whereupon, contrary to Zerempil's will, the position was surrendered.

The story goes on to relate that on May 3 two-thirds of the British force with all the guns and machine-guns marched away from Chang La, the British camp south of Tsechen, to seize the Kharo Pass on the road to Lhasa. Zerempil seized the opportunity to attack the weak remainder at Chang La on May 5, compelling them to retreat to the so-called "Citadel," where they resisted desperately "to escape threatened annihilation, falling into the hands of the Tibetans and being cut to pieces." While the British recalled some of their troops from the Kharo Pass, Zerempil received reinforcements from Shigatse. In response to his call to a holy war to defend the sacred city of Lhasa, supports poured in from all parts, especially from Kam, and Mongols from the north.

Thus strengthened Zerempil attacked Gyantse on May 3, and made attempts to raid the British communications. Although unsuccessful in these attempts, Zerempil is represented as defending the Jong with 7,000 Tibetans against Macdonald's attack on June 28.

After a sanguinary conflict Zerempil sued for an armistice till the 30th. A graphic account is given of the renewal of the attack, and the prolonged defence by the Tibetans, until on July 6 the explosion of the magazine in the Fort put an end to the defence.

Zerempil, gathering what troops he could, hastened to Lhasa to stand by the Dalai Lama and prevent his falling into the hands of the British. In the Po-ta-la, "the Vatican of the Dalai Lama," everything was ready for his flight via Tengri Nor to Urga. When General Macdonald at the head of the British troops entered Lhasa on August 3 the Dalai Lama had fled, accompanied by Aguan Dorji, the arch-enemy of the British, and Zerempil. Pursuit was useless, for elaborate precautions had been taken to ensure secrecy as to the direction taken. Any attempt would have to be made in considerable force owing to the hostility of the Lamas and the people.

As there was no one with whom to negotiate, the British Commander was in a dilemma. At length, on August 20, Tipa Rimpoche was induced to come from Kaldan and endeavour to set up a provisional Government.

The Tashi Lama was to be the head, with Tipa Rimpoche and the Chinese Amban as members.

The Tashi Lama, though a respected religious leader, was quite inexperienced in political matters. Tipa Rimpoche was a trusted Minister of the Dalai Lama, who had entrusted him with the great seal of State, but with strict injunctions that under no circumstances was he to use it. The Amban was a man without any great standing or influence. Macdonald (instead of Younghusband) is represented as negotiating with these three, and finding no difficulty in imposing his will upon them. The result was a new treaty entirely to the advantage of the British. The conditions need not be recapitulated here. The writer sarcastically remarks that the signing of this "Treaty of Peace and Friendship" made Tibet the vassal of England.

The Chinese Government protested, recalled the incapable Amban, declared the Dalai Lama dethroned, and transferred the direction of the mundane affairs of Tibet to the Tashi Lama and his officials. The British Expedition started on the return march to India on September 23, 1904. This chapter concludes with remarks upon the greatly enhanced prestige of Great Britain in the eyes of Asiatics as a result of the occupation of Lhasa, and upon the shifting of the political centre of Central Asia from the Pamir to Tibet.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTE AFTER GOING TO PRESS.—In connection with the foregoing story, special interest attaches to a message from the British Resident in Sikkim which appeared in *The Times* on August 30, and has now been confirmed in *The Times* of September 20. It reports the murder in June of this year by Lamas in Eastern Tibet of a party of missionaries who were within ten marches of Lhasa, on their way from Western Khansu to seek safety in India. The names are given as Mr. Mathewson, of the China Inland Mission, an American named Plymer, *and a German scientist named Filchner.* There seems to be no doubt that this last was the author of the story of Zerempil. Reference to the Berlin "Who's Who" shows Wilhelm Filchner to have been born in 1877; attached to the Great General Staff as a Captain; retired from the army and became a traveller and explorer; visited the Pamirs in 1900; led a German-Tibet expedition in 1903, an Antarctic expedition in 1910-12; was to have accompanied Amundsen on his North Polar Expedition, but was prevented by the outbreak of the war. The record begins again in 1920 with the enumeration of Filchner's works, including mapping of North-East Tibet and parts of China.

THE STORY OF SYED AHMED, MOSS-TROOPER, FREEBOOTER, SAINT, AND CRESCENTADER.

BORN in the district of Rai Bareh in the sacred month of Muharram 1201 A.H. or 1786 A.D., Syed Ahmed began life as a horse-soldier in the service of Amir Khan Pindari, afterwards Nawab of Tonk. Early in the nineteenth century the strong administration of Ranjit Singh made it difficult for bandits to pursue their trade, and about 1815 Syed Ahmed gave up a robber's life and went to study the sacred law under Shah Abdul Aziz, at Delhi. After three years' training he started forth as a preacher, and at Rampur he obtained an enthusiastic following among the descendants of those very Rohillas who "John Company" fifty years before had lent troops to destroy. Syed Ahmed boldly attacked the abuses which had crept into the Islamic faith, and preached a return to the pure and simple puritanical religion of Mohammed. In A.D. 1819 he returned to Delhi, where he met one Maulvi Ismail, a nephew of Shah Abdul Aziz, who was noted for his learning, knowledge of philosophy, mathematics, and the traditions, and who had written a treatise in Arabic on logic. The Maulvi came of a family well known for literary accomplishments and religious enlightenment, and which traced its descent from Omar, the second Khalif. Greatly troubled by the abuses and innovations which had crept into the doctrines of the true faith amongst his co-religionists in India, he started preaching in the grand mosque at Delhi on the unity of God, and against idolatry. At the same time he wrote the Takwiyat-al-Iman, a clever treatise. Syed Ahmed appears to have had a wonderful influence over Ismail, who with his cousin, Abdul Hai, became not only the devoted followers, but the trusted lieutenants and companions of the Syed during the remainder of a life full of adventure and incident.

On the advice of Shah Abdul Aziz, having made numerous proselytes at Delhi, the three friends decided to go on a preaching tour, and then to proceed on the pilgrimage to Mecca. They started in A.D. 1820, and journeyed slowly southwards, gathering a number of followers on the way, the Syed being treated with extraordinary reverence, and his spiritual dignity becoming firmly established. At Patna the movement assumed such large proportions that a long stay was necessary in order to develop some systematic form of government. Four Khalifs or vice-regents were appointed as well as a high priest, and having formed a permanent centre at Patna they moved on to Calcutta, making converts and appointing representatives at every place of importance. Success was immediate in the capital, and finding it was impossible to go through the ceremony of initiation by the separate laying on of hands, the Syed's turban was unrolled and everybody who even touched it became a disciple.

In 1882 the Syed with his most intimate companions embarked at Calcutta to proceed on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and having completed the necessary ceremonies visited Medina.

It was doubtless while on this pilgrimage that the religious fervour of the old moss-trooper, fanned by association with the burning zeal of the Wahabis, was turned into the fighting spirit of the Crescentader.

From 1811 to 1818 there was a bitter struggle between the Arab Puritans and Pasha Mahomet Ali of Egypt, and when the Wahabi leader had perforce to surrender under promise of honourable treatment for himself and followers, he was sent to Constantinople, where the Sultan had them beheaded after cruel torture and insults. There is no doubt that long before Syed Ahmed first went to Delhi there had been much heart-searching and questioning over the events in Arabia and the news of the great reform preached by Abdul Wahab.

It is not difficult to understand how profoundly a man of the Syed's temperament must have been affected by close association in Arabia and Turkey with the new movement, and his strong sympathies awakened with the endeavour to make the purged Faith triumphant. He evidently saw that it was only through the hardier and more martial races of the North that he could hope to resist the two heretical powers who were dividing up Hindustan, and so prevent the eclipse of the Mohammedan Empire.

It must have been a bitter blow to his hopes when he failed to get whole-hearted support from Afghanistan proper in his endeavour against the Sikhs, and from India only meagre subscriptions, with, for such a great project, only an infinitesimal number of recruits. Still, as will be shown, he was able to create an unprecedented religious enthusiasm amongst the wild border tribes, which, however, cooled down when he failed to recognize the difficulties of administration.

From Medina the Hajjis proceeded to Constantinople, where it appears they were very successful, being received with great distinction and adding not only largely to the number of their disciples, but accumulating presents worth some eight or nine lakhs of rupees. After four years' travel the party returned to India.

Again settling at Delhi, the Syed lodged in the Akbar-Abadi Masjid, while Maulvi Ismail used his great eloquence and learning in preaching. They made periodical tours throughout the country preaching Jihád (religious war) and finding many converts among the religious enthusiasts and bigots scattered over Hindustan, who were anxious for the preservation of their religion in its pristine integrity. Although many amongst the learned and influential accepted the Maulvi's teaching as well as amongst the poor and ignorant, still the principal opponents of the new movement were the regular orthodox Maulvis and the Khadims of the various tombs of the Mohammedan saints.

At last the local authorities got alarmed and prohibited public meetings, thus causing a decided check and preventing further progress in India for some time.

About 1827 the leaders proceeded to Peshawar via Jesalmir, Sind, and Kabul, receiving considerable pecuniary aid from the Chief of Tonk and other men of note, while many small parties moved up in disguise from India to join the standard, as well as numbers of Afghans.

The Syed with his host now settled in Yusufzai, published a manifesto under the seal of Amir-al-Muminin declaring war against the Sikhs, and while describing all their great cruelties, oppressions, and insulting tyranny to the Faith, called on all Muslims to join his standard. The proclamation was sent thoughout India and with a rousing call amongst all the frontier tribes. Ranjit Singh, the "Lion of the Punjab," was not unprepared, and his best generals were with an entrenched army at Attock. The Ghazis surrounded the Sikh force, and reduced it to such straitened circumstances that the leader, Budh Singh, determined to attack, but he first sent word to the Durani Sardars to keep aloof, warning them of the fate they might expect at the hands of Ranjit Singh, who was now approaching. The Duranis, with their usual treachery, deserted at the commencement of the battle, thus causing the Pathans to lose heart and put up a poor fight against the excited Sikh troops, who slew a large number.

The Prophet, with the remnant of his fanatics, retired into the mountains of Swat, from where he made continual raids; but the Pathans still believing in his miraculous power, he was enabled in a few months to return to Yusufzai. Yar Muhammed, Governor of Peshawar, supposedly at the instigation of the Sikh ruler, attempted to poison the Syed, and this so enraged the highlanders that they flocked again to his standard and enabled him to inflict a severe defeat on the Duranis at Zaida. In the attack Yar Muhammed, the Governor, was mortally wounded.

Peshawar was only saved by the presence of General Ventura with a large force, and the Syed therefore turned his attention to Amb, which on the flight of the Chief, he occupied and strengthened. His influence now spread far and wide, even to Kashmir, and the discontented from every State in Northern India flocked to join him. The Duranis, having received help from Kabul, again attacked him, but suffering a severe defeat at Hoti Mardan, fled to Peshawar, closing the ferries behind them. Following them up, the Syed entered into negotiations with the Sardars, and as a result Peshawar was handed over to him. Leaving a representative in the city he retired to Panjtar, and avoiding all stately pretensions outwardly lived the life of a religious recluse, devoted to prayer and fasting. Meanwhile he had himself proclaimed Khalif and minted coins with the inscription: "Ahmed the Just, Defender of the Faith; the glitter of whose sword destroys the infidels." It is at this point that the Syed, apparently intoxicated by his success, made his big mistake, which showed that though he was a great religious leader he had little political acumen. Like so many others of his countrymen he failed to understand the Pathan psychology, and not content with levying heavy taxes and having his spies and agents everywhere to see that the strict rules and codes of his puritanical reforms were obeyed, he, ignoring the Pathan code of honour, ordered them to cease taking a bride price for their daughters, and also to give damsels to his down-country Indian followers. This was more than the Pathans could stomach, and they determined to throw off the now burdensome yoke. A wonderful conspiracy was formed, and the word went round: "Let every man kill his sacrifice at the hour of prayer on . . . day." The plot was entirely successful, and at a given signal the bonfires were lighted in the hills, and all of the Syed agents, of whatever degree, to the number of several thousands, were murdered.

Assisted by a few faithful followers the Syed was able to escape to the Pakli Valley. His reign was over, and his wonderful ascendancy of a short duration ended as far as the Pathans were concerned, though Hindustanis still flocked to him in his new settlement. In 1831 a Sikh force attacked him and but few escaped. The Syed, Maulvi Ismail, and the survivors of the great massacre among his immediate following were all slain.

A small remnant under Mir Wali Mohal, the Syed's nephew, who had been away in Kashmir, settled at Sittanah on the Indus; sometimes they were decreased to a handful by disagreement and desertion, and at others swollen to large numbers by recruits from India in periods of unrest or political tension. With varying fortune this small colony has lasted to the present day, always seditious and a focus for trouble, joining in every frontier rising by furnishing a quota of fanatical swordsmen. Indeed, during and after the Mutiny, more especially in the Ambela campaign in 1863, the colony has been a distinct factor in every anti-British movement on the border.

ALIF SHABNAM.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Wednesday, June 8, Sir Michael O'Dwyer (Chairman of Council) presiding.

The annual report was read by Major-General Sir William Beynon, the HONORARY SECRETARY: Sir Michael, Ladies and Gentlemen—Under Rule 35 the yearly report has to be made at the Anniversary Meeting, and I propose to give you a very short résumé of the work that has been done during the last year. At the last meeting Sir Raleigh Egerton gave a valuable and succinct account of the origin and work of the Society from its inception up to last year, and I think I may truthfully say that the work of the last year has been carried on with equal success—and that now the Society has become virile, vigorous, and to a certain extent influential. We have at the present moment over 1,000 members. We have had our losses during the year. I am sorry to say we have lost five members by death—Field-Marshal Sir Arthur Barrett, Sir James Walker, General Beresford Lovet, Dr. Perry, and Mr. Waley—and apart from these losses there have been twenty-three members who have resigned.

Twelve papers have been read before the Society, covering practically the whole of Asia from Syria to China, and we have even overflowed our borders and crossed the Red Sea into the Italian Colonies. We have collected dinosaur eggs in Central Asia, we have hunted bugs and butterflies on the confines of Assam, and we have explored unknown passes in the Karakorum. We have searched for apes and peacocks in the lost lands of Ophir. We have studied the modern conditions of places like China, Iraq, and Syria, and we have had a discussion on the ferment in the world of Islam. I take it the Society would like to record its thanks to those gentlemen who have interested and instructed us with the results of their explorations and researches. (Hear, hear.)

The changes on the Council are as follows: Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who, under Rule 16, retires at the end of this session; his successor is elected by the Council, and Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby has been elected in place of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Two Vice-Presidents retire in rotation—General Sir Reginald Wingate and the Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen. In their places the Council have elected Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn and Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond. According to the regulations there ought to be eight Vice-Presidents; there is still one place to be filled, which the Council at present do not propose to fill, as there are certain names to be considered.

I regret to say that both the Honorary Secretaries, Major-General Sir William Thomson and Mr. Stephenson, retire. The Society is very much indebted to these gentlemen for all that they have done for it, and their loss is a serious one. They have kept a high standard for the lectures and the *Journal*, and have greatly strengthened the membership; Mr. Stephenson, in addition to the help he has given otherwise, has got us about 400 members off his own bat, and Sir William Thomson has worked with an untiring energy during his term of office, and has given much time and thought to the welfare of the Society. Luckily they are not retiring altogether, and have promised to give their assistance and advice to the new Honorary Secretaries. You are asked to elect today two new Honorary Secretaries to fill their places; the Council have nominated myself and Mr. H. Charles Woods.

I regret to say we are also losing our Honorary Librarian, Mrs. Frazer, who has been appointed Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, an appointment on which we must render her our heartiest congratulations. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking her for all that she has done for us. The post of Honorary Librarian entails a good deal of thoroughly uninteresting and unseen work, and the Council are very much indebted to her for the great help she has given to them.

Three members of the Council retire in rotation—Mr. Rose, Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, and Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond. Their places will be filled at this meeting by your election, but the Council propose for your consideration the Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and Mr. Stephenson. There is one further vacancy, caused by the retirement of Sir Arnold Wilson, which it is proposed to fill later on.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Honorary Secretary has given you such a very clear résumé of our work during the last year, and of the proposals which now await your consideration, that it is needless for me to add anything. We are fortunate in having secured for Chairman of Council the distinguished soldier Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, one who has done so much to place Western Asia on its present footing by clearing the Turks out of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. On behalf of the Society I entirely endorse what the Honorary Secretary has said with regard to the services of General Sir William Thomson and Mr. Stephenson, and Mrs. Frazer. General Thomson, during his period as Honorary Secretary, was indefatigable in every sphere of activity, and we are glad that Mr. Stephenson is now with your approval being appointed to our Council. Mrs. Frazer has done much for the library and in getting books for review in the *Journal*. We regret the retirement of Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson, which is due to pressure of other work. He has done a great deal to bring new members into our Society and assist in our discussions. He has assured us of his continued interest in our Society, and we hope at a future date perhaps to secure him on the Council again. The most satisfactory feature of all is that since the Anniversary Meeting last year the number of our members has risen from 892 to 1,041. Four or five years ago it seemed impossible we should attain the thousand limit and get into four figures: now we are well past it, and we are convinced that the progress which has taken place in the past year will be maintained in the coming year. On the whole, I think the Society has every reason to be proud of its progress and its success, and of the admirable series of lectures by which we have increased the knowledge of the world as regards Central Asia.

The Chairman then asked the meeting for its approval of the names brought before them—*i.e.*, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby as Chairman of the Council; Major-General Sir William Beynon and Mr. H. Charles Woods as Honorary Secretaries; Mr. Wratislaw as Honorary Librarian; the Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and Mr. Stephenson as members of the Council—all of which were elected unanimously.

The following alterations in the Rules were then proposed:

"That the last sentence of Rule 16 be omitted and the words 'as such' be omitted from the preceding sentence."

That a new Rule, in the place of Rule 5, be proposed:

"The Council may recommend for election at the Anniversary Meeting as Honorary Members persons distinguished for their services in, or their knowledge of, the countries in Asia in which the members of the Society are interested. Such Honorary Members shall never exceed ten in number, nor shall more than two be elected in any one year. Such members shall have all the privileges of ordinary members and shall be eligible for election to any of the Society's offices or as members of the Council."

That the following addition to Rule 8 be made:

"always provided that it shall be in the Council's power to remit arrears of subscription and/or to reinstate defaulters to membership should such remission or reinstatement appear to be an expedient or justifiable.

An objection was raised by Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob to the last sentence of the proposed new Rule (5), and it was finally passed as follows:

"The Council may recommend for election at the Anniversary Meeting as Honorary Members persons distinguished for their services in, or their knowledge of, the countries in Asia in which the members of the Society are interested. Such Honorary Members shall never exceed ten in number nor shall more than two be elected in any one year. Such members shall have all the privileges of ordinary members.'

The alterations and additions to the Rules as stated above were then put to the Meeting and passed *nem. con.*

THE ANNUAL DINNER

SPEECHES BY LORD PLUMER AND SIR F. AGLEN

THE Annual Dinner of the Society was held at the Hotel Cecil on July 6, 1927, under the chairmanship of the President, Viscount Peel. Over two hundred were present, and the toast list was contributed to by the President, Field-Marshal Lord Plumer, Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm, Sir Frances Aglen, and Lord Thomson.

Field-Marshal Lord PLUMER, proposing the toast of the Society, said he was glad to have the opportunity to express appreciation of the work it was doing in making people better acquainted with what was happening in the countries coming within its circle—and that circle he understood was very wide. A speaker holding the responsible position he had the honour to occupy was naturally expected to say something of Palestine and Transjordania; but, honestly, he did not think he could tell them more than they all knew—namely, that both countries had made satisfactory progress under British administration. But he would like to pay his tribute to the admirable way in which the administration had been conducted by British officials since the time Great Britain took over the responsibilities of the mandate. In Palestine progress had been very rapid, and in the last few years abnormally so. We had now come to one of those periods when it was necessary to take stock of the situation, to review what had been done, and to consolidate the progress made as a means to further advance in the future. In Transjordania the progress had been necessarily somewhat slower, but it had been steady, and he hoped it would be continuous. Certainly it would be continuous provided it was firmly established on the basis of public security.

But because he could speak quite freely of the progress that had been made it did not follow that those who were connected with the administration were so unseeing or so self-satisfied as to imagine that they did not desire or need help. They did need help, of a kind he was going to ask the Society to give—namely, to support the younger members of the administration. He was sure that all who had reached his time of life, or were approaching it, would agree with him when he said that the best way in which they could serve the country was by endeavouring to train the younger men not merely to follow their footsteps but to do better work than they had ever been able to do. In his opinion the best method of getting the best out of these young men was not by criticism, but by encouragement. Criticism was quite good for all who were at the top, or at the head of departments: it was always stimulating and was frequently helpful. Most of them at the top drew salaries which were apparently rather liberal, and must expect that the taxpayer would feel at liberty to express doubts whether he was getting value for his money; and they must not complain if at times they were called upon to play the part of the image in the game known as Aunt Sally; they must regard liability to such knocks as attached to their salaries. (Laughter.) But the younger men did not draw salaries which could be called excessive, and they had no entertainment allowance. He knew that at times they were apt to be discouraged. They were young men, and not infrequently they had very young wives. He had no hesitation in saying that this was a great advantage, not only to the officials themselves, but also to the country they served. No one knew better than he did what an asset an English lady could be in Eastern countries. These young men and women naturally looked to enjoy the society of their contemporaries, and to have the recreations and amusements suitable to their age; but many of them were living in localities where there were few, if any, opportunities of so doing and very little chance for the amusements they wished to take. When they saw that the older men and some of their contemporaries were having a good time under more favourable conditions they were apt to feel doubts whether they had chosen wisely in adopting careers which kept them in so much isolation.

He hoped the members of the Society would help in this matter. He spoke in the presence of men whose names were household words in the East, whose utterances were read with respect and attention—men who generally counted. Some of them visited countries such as Palestine and Transjordania, and the more of them who went there the better pleased he and his colleagues would be. They would naturally discuss the situation, the problems of the country, and the conditions of life with those who were at the head of the administration. He would ask them, however, to go further afield and to make a point of becoming acquainted with the younger officials, especially those who were in outlying districts away from the seat of government. He would ask the visitors to discuss with these young officers their problems and conditions of life, to show that they realized the difficulties with which they were faced and the discomforts they were bearing, and to make them feel that they were doing work for Government of real importance. (Cheers.)

He would ask further, that when these young people came on leave, members of the Society would endeavour to show them some hospitality. He did not mean public functions, but private entertainments, such as week-ends in the country, joining shooting and fishing parties, and dinners in London with a play to follow. They would feel that some of those to whose opinions they attached great weight were interested in them and saw that they were doing their part in sustaining the Empire. (Cheers.) He hoped the members would not think that in making this appeal he was abusing his privilege in being asked to propose the toast of this Society. He felt that they all ought to realize at this juncture of our history that it was of the utmost importance that they should leave no stone unturned to attract to the Government service, especially to service overseas, young men of high character and ability, and that when we had got them we should do our utmost to retain them. With Lord Peel as President and with Lord Allenby as their new Chairman, the Society, he was confident, would continue to do well. They were particularly grateful to Lord Peel for the successful efforts he had made to bring into closer touch members of both Houses of Parliament with those who were working for the Empire overseas. His service in this respect was invaluable. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with loud cheers, said that their interest in Lord Plumer was not so much in him as a great soldier and leader of victorious armies, not so much even as a Governor of Malta, but it arose from the great task which he was now discharging as Governor-General and High Commissioner for Palestine. He was there endeavouring to bring together and unite, as they had never been united in the past, two great branches of the Semitic races—the Arab and the Jew. The effort was one which would have attracted and delighted Lord Beaconsfield, and he would have made it the opportunity to write a new chapter in the varied history of Tancred. There was one aim which Lord Plumer had not yet succeeded in reaching, though he would no doubt do so, and that was to bring Arab and Jew together in a friendly test at cricket.

As Lord Plumer had most justly observed, they did not confine their attention to Central Asia, but surveyed practically all the countries of that Continent. If they would excuse the arrogance of the phrase, he would claim that the Society was the Light of Asia. (Laughter and cheers.) He had sometimes regretted that there was no corresponding Society to theirs established in Asia for the purpose of studying the affairs and people of Europe. There would be some advantages in having an opposite member to theirs with whom to exchange information and intelligence. They were a clearing house for all information that came from Asia, and it was gleaned from the most various sources—from soldiers, administrators, travellers, officials and men of business, who studied in the conduct of their affairs the social, economic, religious and political aspects of the various countries of Asia, and came and poured out before them with profuse generosity the knowledge and information they had acquired. They were non-party, for it was more easy to be non-party or non-political in the affairs of other countries than to be non-political in the discussion of the problems of their own land. By way of illustrating the wide range of the work of the Society, Lord Peel mentioned the titles of the papers read in recent months.

The English people were sometimes charged by foreign publicists with being insular. He had never understood how that charge had been brought against them unless it was by way of paradox, because we had the largest commitments outside these Islands and were most interested in the affairs of other countries. But if they had covered a wide field in the quarter of a century of their existence he felt that the demands of the future upon them would be greater still. They had all heard the ancient and discredited phrase about the" unchanging East." No one believed in that doctrine any longer. Indeed, one distinguished member of the Society, Mr. Spender, travelled through the East a year or two ago and wrote a book under the title of "The Changing East." He (Lord Peel) submitted to them that there was nothing so dangerous in practical affairs as a man with very strong opinions and wholly obsolete information (cheers and laughter). The Society steadily sought to give further information upon the changing East. It studied the question of the grafting of Western ideas and institutions upon the East, and watched with interest the extent to which the political institutions to which we had been accustomed for centuries were adapted to the use of the countries of Asia.

They welcomed the presence that evening of Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate, who had rendered so much and so many services to the Society through a great number of years in the past as Honorary Secretary. He also wished to convey the thanks of the Society to Mr. Stephenson, who was retiring from the Honorary Secretaryship after six years of valuable work. He had performed the remarkable feat of bringing in by his own efforts one hundred new members in a single year.

The first response for the guests, a toast he had the pleasure to propose, would come from Sir Francis Aglen, whose knowledge of Chinese affairs was unrivalled. As far back as thirty years ago he was Commissioner of Tientsin, and for many years past he had had charge of the Maritime Customs as Inspector-General. He noticed that the honours bestowed upon Sir Francis included the Imperial Order of the Double Dragon, which struck him as entitling Sir Francis to veneration, not only as head of the Customs but as obviously a great Chinese mandarin (laughter). It was to be hoped that in the leisure Sir Francis now had he would write a book on the Chinese problem. It would be the more valuable if it gave clues to names and identities. It was unfortunate for those who tried to master the names of the Generals who were leading large armies that very often when once they had mastered a name as that of the general directing a particular army they found the same name appearing as that of a general of some opposing force. Whether it was a case of rapid conversion to the other side or of the generals wearing the same name, he could not always say. The other guest to reply to the toast was Lord Thomson, who spoke as a guest although he was a member of the Society. He would couple those names with the toast. (Cheers.)

Major-General Sir NEILL MALCOLM said that at short notice he had been asked to take the place of Lord Allenby in recommending the toast to the acceptance of the company. He desired to say something on the position of Chinese in the British Empire, since they were to have a speech from a distinguished guest so intimately acquainted with affairs in China itself. There was now sitting at Honolulu a Commission on Pacific Relations, organized by Americans, which for the first time was attended by a British delegation to represent the British point of view on the various political and other subjects which were brought forward. The delegation was headed by Sir Frederick Whyte, and it was some satisfaction to feel that for the first time the British point of view would be duly presented. We had many relations with the Chinese, and the consideration of our point of view could scarcely fail to affect the attitude of the American and other delegates at the Conference. He was thinking of our relations not with the Chinese in their own country, but with those who left China and went to live under the British flag. Many were settled in British Malaya and many in a country with which he had the honour to be more closely associated, Borneo. He had returned from Borneo only ten days ago. He found that the Chinese were flocking there in vast numbers, the immigration including the settlement of many of them in British North Borneo. The native population in the neutral territories both of Malaya and Borneo was small in numbers; there was plenty of room for immigration, and the adequate supply of labour would largely depend upon the immigrants from Java or from China. There was no doubt that the prosperity of those countries would largely hinge upon Chinese labour and Chinese enterprise. He was happy to find that British officials were dealing with the problem in a way which officials of no other nation could equal. In handling the manifold problems of Asia there was no nation in the world which could deal so successfully with the Asiatic as the British, and he hoped that past success in this respect would be repeated in the matter of the assimilation in Borneo of the Chinese immigrant. There were not educated natives to fall back upon, and for the supply of subordinate officials it was necessary to employ the Chinese. There were Chinese district officers and assistants working in the closest co-operation with British officials in the administration and development of the country. The bringing together under the British flag of so many Chinese was one of the subjects which the Society might profitably study.

Sir FRANCIS AGLEN said that when some two months ago he accepted the invitation of the Chairman and the Council to attend the annual dinner, an honour which he very highly appreciated, the date was still, comparatively speaking, so far distant that even the intimation he received that he would be entrusted with replying to the toast of the guests did not mar the pleasure of anticipation with which he looked forward to the entertainment. He reasoned that he would have time to study the affairs of Central Asia, a subject on which he was, and remained, profoundly ignorant, and to learn something about the activities of the Society; while to reply adequately on behalf of fellow guests for an evening's enjoyment of this kind would require only the full heart and the general sense of repletion and content which he was sure would be shared by all his fellow guests. (Cheers.) Since he received the invitation, however, certain things had happened. He was informed by some of his friends that he would be expected to say something about that part of Asia which was more particularly his own subject. At the time Chinese affairs were very prominently before the public, and as one of the latest arrivals from that troubled country he felt that it might be possible at least to say something that would be interesting to that assembly. But now China had receded into the background, and was struggling, not with complete success, to keep its place on the front page. There was an apparent lull out there; one of those periods so typical of recent civil wars in the country when regrouping was taking place, and personal gains and losses were being counted up. To all intents and purposes China was again off the slate. The man in the street probably thought that somehow or other we had muddled through again, and weary officials in the Foreign Office were no doubt heaving sighs of relief.

The Times correspondent in Peking, a worthy successor of the famous Dr. Morrison, in one of his recent dispatches expressed the opinion that it would take an astrologer to determine what was going to happen in China, and that was true. If he had been asked one question more than another since arriving in this country it was whether or not China was going to settle down and things become normal again. It was difficult to answer this question; but his opinion was that the troubles in China had only just begun. China, as they knew, had a very long history, and there had been many changes of government in the course of two thousand years. Practically with every change there had been a period of chaos and upheaval in the country, and it had taken thirty, forty, or even fifty years before China had settled down to a new period of peace. He did not wish to suggest that we had fifty years of chaos ahead, but he thought it would be a mistake for anyone in this country to withdraw attention from Chinese affairs merely because they had receded into the background. The Press gave the public what it wanted, and it was left to societies such as the Central Asian Society and kindred bodies to focus opinion on what was still an unsolved problem.

To all well-wishers of that great country and its vast population of patient, industrious, and inarticulate toilers, who in certain areas had suffered all the horrors of civil war, it must be deeply deplorable that at present there seemed to be no prospect of any definite cessation of armed strife. The lull that was now taking place could hardly fail to be the prelude of further events in which this country would be deeply involved. Meanwhile, if stock were taken of the position, there were some gleams of light on an otherwise dark and lowering horizon. In the first place the Nationalist movement could be said to have followed very faithfully the course predicted by himself and others as the result of conversations with intelligent and well-informed Chinese many months ago. Telegraphing to his secretary in London towards the close of last year, before any of the more recent and startling events had taken place, he stated that Chinese opinion in close touch with the Southern movement was convinced that Shanghai would be occupied in spite of what appeared to be an overwhelming array of force for its defence; that the movement would not be stayed then, and that the advance of troops would go on until the Yellow River was reached. There would then be a period of apparent inaction before the final goal, Peking, was reached.

In China itself certain facts had asserted themselves with dominant force over theories which in so intricate a problem had naturally taken on many complications. One fact was that Chinese nationalism, which in its reaction on foreign interests was merely the expression of the sometimes latent, but always permanent, anti-foreign sentiment of the Chinese people, had some driving force behind it which enabled it to progress in spite of errors which seemed to be catastrophic in their consequence. Another fact was that a considerable section of intelligent Chinese was awakening with alarm to the result of allowing Chinese foreign policy to be directed by aliens, who had entirely misunderstood and abused the confidence which the Chinese had always reposed in their foreign employees, so long as they did not overstep the mark by endeavouring to wrest the control of policy from hands where it properly belonged. The reaction against Communist activity in China did not necessarily mean any rupture with Soviet Russia, nor any abatement of the virulent campaign against this country. It merely meant that tools had turned in the hands of those who thought they could use them with safety to their own immediate interests, and this action had produced far-reaching consequences, quite sufficiently obvious to alarm a people so intelligent as the Chinese.

Another fact was that in the present stage of upheaval in China the pronouncement of policies on the part of this country was premature and did nothing to restore British prestige, or protect British interests The patience and courage displayed by our countrymen in China were worthy of the greatest admiration and support. (Loud cheers.) The negative policy of patience and conciliation, coupled with the imperative duty of protecting British lives, had led to armed intervention, of which the end was not yet in sight. Another fact obtruding with ever greater force on people in this country was that a policy of complete surrender of all the British enterprises created in China would have the most disastrous effect on even larger interests in other parts of Asia and would be opposed to the best interests of the Chinese people themselves. (Cheers.) Further, the drive of the Southern Nationalist movement to the north was bringing China face to face with problems vitally affecting the interests of her great neighbour in the Far East.

He did not take a pessimistic view of the situation. He thought that if the Government were kept up to the mark by public opinion (an opinion which the Society could do much to influence) it would be able to deal with the situation adequately and sooner or later we should win through. (Cheers.) It was to be hoped that the Society would continue to educate public opinion on the subject by the publication of papers by various authorities containing the full and useful information to which they were accustomed in its publications.

Lord THOMSON said that he knew little of Central Asia, but ironically added that it was a terrible mistake, as he had discovered, to know too much of a thing, as it made one cautious in the expression of opinions. He could only bring to bear upon the subjects with which the Society dealt a general knowledge of affairs and some observation and reading. He had been reading recently a book which set forth the view that the white man had lost his domination in the East largely by having taken there Western education, conducted mainly on religious and philanthropic lines. The young men of Asia, reading Burke, Mill, Voltaire, and Tolstoi, asked how it was that we of the West preached equality and paid lower wages to the Asiatic labourer. It was also suggested in the book to which he referred that another cause of the loss of domination was that we had given the Asiatic the benefits of modern science and mechanical inventions, from the spindle to the machine-gun, and with the aeroplane to follow. Another factor in the change was the wider range of Asian influence. Central Asia might be their special pigeon in that Society, but Asia now extended from Moscow to Canton, from Tokio to Constantinople. On Asia's fringes there were warlike people with recently acquired independence, whose ideas would permeate in time the whole Continent.

In many ways this was a tragedy. Probably the Cantonese had never been ruled so well and justly as by Sir Harry Parkes between 1858 and 1860. He said this by way of illustration of what had been accomplished by the European in Asia. But it was no good crying over spilt milk. On the other hand, apathy in these new conditions would be fatal. To say, as one friend of his did, "God always provides a way for the British Empire," would not do as a slogan. It was merely an excuse for laziness and inefficiency, an expression of that false kind of faith which made a person profess to believe what he or she really doubted. God had been good to us in the past, but He only helped those who helped themselves. It seemed to him that they had to recognize that a new era was dawning, however slowly, in Central Asia, an era in which competition would be keen, in which trade could not depend on political advantages, in which industries sluggishly administered must inevitably disappear. But if in this new era we displayed the qualities which built up our Empire—enterprise, courage, love of justice—there was, he was convinced, something in the British which so appealed to Orientals that it would enable us to substitute for political domination an enlightened Imperialism, to turn vassals into affiliated nations and suspicious neighbours in the East into allies, bound to us with the steel hoops of friendship and respect. That was the ideal which he submitted they should keep before them, if they were to show that they were inspired by the example of those who had built up the Empire in the past. (Cheers.)

REVIEWS

MOTHER INDIA. By Katherine Mayo. London: Jonathan Cape, 30, Bedford Square. 10s. 6d.

No book on India in recent years has aroused wider interest or excited more bitter controversy than "Mother India." The writer, an American lady, tells us that it was dissatisfaction with the average American's ignorance of things Indian—their only knowledge being "that Mr. Gandhi lives there, also tigers"—that sent her to India to see what a volunteer could observe of common things in daily human life. "I should like it to be accepted," she says, "that I am neither an idle busybody nor a political agent, but merely an ordinary American citizen seeking test facts to lay before my own people."

Whatever view one may take of her conclusions—and some of them are indignantly rejected by Indian political leaders, who regard them as a serious obstacle to their political pretensions—no one can deny that her investigations have been wide, at least in Hindu India, and that she has set herself with characteristic American thoroughness to get down to bed-rock facts. The result is a formidable indictment of the Hindu social system: the child marriages, leading to unmentionable brutalities; the childbirths carried out by dirty, ignorant *dhais*, without any precautions against septic poisoning or puerperal fever, and causing appalling infant mortality; the ban on remarriage of widows, even child-widows, that condemns over twenty million women to a miserable existence; the shocking neglect of female children; the domestic tyranny of the husband, whom the wife is taught to regard as her god; the arrogance of the Brahmins and their claim to the monopoly of knowledge; the grievous lot of the sixty million "untouchables"; the barriers to the spread of primary education, due to the absence of female teachers because, in the words of the Indian head of the Y.M.C.A., "the social conditions are such that no single woman can undertake the task of teaching"; the callous disregard of the conventions of decency and elementary sanitary rules, which makes India the home of epidemics that kill off or enfeeble her own peoples and make her a menace to the rest of the world—these are some of the main charges in the indictment, and they are supported by a mass of evidence, oral and documentary, chiefly from Indian sources. Miss Mayo, however, claims that her object is not to give pain to sensitive Indians, but to point out the evils and thereby encourage the Indian peoples themselves—for the initiative must come from them—to devise the remedies, and fit themselves for the place in the civilised world which they claim. So far, however, her book has aroused in India not a recognition of the evils but a passionate repudiation of their existence.

An Indian Member of the Legislative Assembly has given notice of a resolution recommending the Government to prevent the circulation of the book in India; the Mayor of Calcutta on September 4 presided at a protest meeting in the Town Hall at which heated speeches were made against the author; and, most significant of all, several prominent Hindus in London—including the High Commissioner, the Members of the India Council, ex-Members of the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments—in August addressed a long letter to *The Times*, attacking Miss Mayo's generalizations as "wild and mischievous," and "warning the British public against what strikes us as being a singularly mischievous book." *The Times* having refused to publish this letter, it was cabled to India, and appeared in the *Leader* of Allahabad, from which it is quoted in the *Pioneer Mail* of August 26. One would attach more weight to this protest if the signatories had not stated: "It has never been our lot to read the book which indulges in such wholesale and indiscriminate vilification of Indian civilization and Indian character."

The author is no doubt quite capable of defending her own position, and the attacks on the book will ensure for it a wider circulation. In the course of her Indian enquiries she was not so much striking new ground as extending the investigations she had recently made of similar conditions in the Philippines, the result of which are embodied in that remarkable book, "The Isles of Fear."

Indeed, in Chapter XIV. she gives an instructive comparison of how the United States and Great Britain have respectively handled the educational and other problems in the Philippines and in India. Her conclusion (p. 181), under the heading "We both meant well," is as follows:

> "Schools and Universities in the Philippines and in India have continued to pour the phrases of Western political-social history into Asiatic minds. Asiatic memories have caught and held the phrases, supplying strange meanings from their alien inheritance. The result in each case has been identical. 'All the teaching we have received has made us clerks or platform orators,' said Mr. Gandhi."

Doubtless her Philippine experience gave Miss Mayo an invaluable start in her study of Indian conditions. But as her generalizations have been attacked by Indians of weight and influence, it is perhaps only fair to hear how she arrived at them:

> "I made long sorties in the open country from the North-West Frontier to Madras, sometimes accompanying a District Commissioner on his tours of chequered duty, sometimes 'sitting in' at a village council of peasants, or at Indian Municipal Board meetings, or at Court Sessions. . . . Everywhere I talked with health officers, both Indian

and British, going out with them, to observe their tasks and their ways of handling them. I visited hospitals of many sorts and localities. . . . I went with English nurses in bazars and courtyards and inner chambers and over city roofs. I saw as well the homes of the rich. I studied the handling of confinements, the care of children and of the sick, the care and protection of food, and the values placed upon cleanliness. . . . I visited agricultural stations and cattle-farms, and looked into the general management of cattle and crops. . . . I saw the schools, and discussed with teachers and pupils their aims and experience. The sittings of the various legislatures, all-India and provincial, repaid attendance by the light they shed upon the mind-quality of the elements represented. I sought and found private opportunity to question eminent Indians—princes, politicians, administrators, religious leaders; and the frankness of their talk, as to the physical and mental status and conditions of the peoples of India, thrown out upon the background of my personal observation, proved an asset of the first value."

The book shows what an immense amount of information on all those topics she accumulated, and how clearly she has summarized and presented it. It is perhaps open to the criticism that she has dwelt too exclusively on the evil side of the Hindu social system (she exempts Islamic India from her adverse criticisms) and has not given prominence to its brighter aspects : the placid—if sometimes pathetic—contentment of the home-life ; the mutual attachment and support of the members of the Hindu joint family ; the simple pleasures of the pilgrimage, and of the gatherings at the sacred tank, or temple ; the generous, if undiscriminating, almsgiving. Her impressions of Hinduism were, naturally enough, coloured by the lurid first experience of Kali's temple at Calcutta—a sight which causes a sense of loathing even to the hardened and callous Anglo-Indian that it takes years to efface.

But no one can read this book carefully without realizing that the writer is faithfully describing things as she saw them, and is moved throughout by a lively hatred of cruelty and oppression—whether to man or beast—and a sincere desire to alleviate them—to help the under-dog. Nor is she slow to recognize the good work which Indians—but, alas ! too few—are doing in this direction. Her quick insight has singled out the most prominent—*e.g.*, in the Panjab she shows us the Sirdar of Kot (p. 196) as the model landlord, who takes no interest in Swaraj politics, but devotes himself to the betterment of his people ; also Sir Ganga Ram (now, alas ! dead), who has done so much splendid practical work for social reform (p. 88), and who, in a vigorous pamphlet published last year, went quite as far as Miss Mayo in denouncing child marriage and the ban on widow marriage, and in holding that social and economic reform must come *before* and not after political reform.

What a humorous but instructive contrast to these two is afforded by the wealthy Calcutta lawyer (p. 195) who said to the author :

"Take my own village (four hours by rail from Calcutta), where for centuries the head of my family has been chief. When I, who am now head, left it seventeen years ago, it contained some 1,800 inhabitants. When I revisited it, *which I did for the first time a few weeks since,* I found that the population had dwindled to fewer than 600 persons. I was horrified. My question therefore is plain: *What have the British been doing in the last hundred years that my village should be like this ?*"

Miss Mayo's caustic comment is: "He could see no one to blame but a Government which has 500,000 such villages to care for, and which can but work through human hands and human intelligence."

On another occasion (p. 267) Miss Mayo took up the subject of vilification of the British Government with one of the most notable Indian Members of the Legislative Assembly, saying: "Your fellow legislators of the Opposition impugn the honesty of the Government; they accuse it of trying to set Hindus and Muhammadans by the ears on the principle of 'divide and rule'; they allege that it tramples Indian interests underfoot, that it treats Indians themselves with disrespect, and that it sucks or cripples the resources of the country for its own selfish interests."

"Yes," he replied, "they say all that and more."

"Do they mean it?" I asked.

"How could they?" he said. "Not a man in the House believes anything of the sort."

Anyone who has an acquaintance with Indian politicians will readily recognize the two types described above. They stand for what is at the root of most of India's difficulties, whether social, economic, or political: intellectual dishonesty, self-deception, and the tendency to blame others for what they themselves are responsible.

That brings us back to the main argument of this notable book:

"What this country (India) suffers from is want of initiative, want of enterprise, and want of hard, sustained work," mourns Sir Chunantal Jetalvad.

"We rightly charge the English rulers for our helplessness and lack of initiative and originality," says Mr. Gandhi.

Miss Mayo (p. 24) replies:

"Now it is precisely at this point and in a spirit of hearty sympathy with the suffering peoples that I venture my main generality. It is this: The British administration of India, be it good, bad, or indifferent, has nothing whatever to do with the conditions above indicated. Inertia, helplessness, lack of initiative and originality, lack of staying power and of sustained loyalty, weakness of life-vigour itself—all are traits that truly characterize the Indian not only of today but of long-past history. All, furthermore, will continue to characterize him, in increasing degree, until he admits their causes and with his own two hands uproots them. His soul and body are indeed chained in slavery. But he himself wields and hugs his chains, and with violence defends them. No agency but a new spirit within his own breast can set him free. And his arraignments of outside elements, past, present, or to come, serve only to deceive his own mind, and to put off the day of his deliverance."

None of us enjoys having his, or her, defects pointed out. But the process is a salutary and even a helpful one when those criticized have shut their eyes to their defects, and if the object is to indicate a remedy. Let us hope that, instead of arraigning Miss Mayo as a mischievous and hostile critic, her Indian readers will realize that her book is an honest and valuable survey of existing evils, which it is for them to grapple with and eradicate. One hopeful sign is that Mrs. Naidu, one of the most prominent women in Indian public life, and President of the National Congress last year, has publicly testified that much of the indictment is true, and that those who have the interests of India at heart should set themselves to reform the abuses. Moreover within the last few weeks an influential Brahman of Madras, that stronghold of Social Die-hards, has publicly announced his conversion to the policy of raising the age of consent, while the Maharaja of Kashmir has just enacted a law prohibiting the marriage of girls under fourteen and of boys under eighteen. Miss Mayo's work is already bearing fruit.

M. F. O'Dwyer.

The Islamic World since the Peace Settlement. By A. J. Toynbee, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1925-26.

This book constitutes the first volume of the Survey of International Affairs for 1925, but deals in point of fact with events up to the end of 1926, and has been prepared on the same lines as previous volumes of the same series by Professor Toynbee. If the Royal Institute of International Affairs had no other achievement to its credit than the endowment, through the generosity of Sir Daniel Stevenson, of the Directorship of Studies, which carries with it the post of author of this annual "Survey," it would have amply justified its existence. Professor Toynbee has succeeded, where others, particularly in the U.S.A., have failed, in writing a history of current events which is not only a supremely good précis, and, as such, valuable alike to officials, to the business community, and to students, but is also, as intended by Sir Daniel Stevenson, an excellent example of "the teaching of history internationally, and, as far as practicable, without bias."

"Ranke," said Lord Acton, "taught historians to be critical, to be colourless, to be new," and he concluded a fine declaration of belief with the statement that we could be more impersonal, disinterested, and just than the historians of former ages, and that it was in our power "to learn from undisguised and genuine records to look with remorse upon the past, and to the future with the assured hope of better things, bearing this in mind, that, if we lower our standard in history, we cannot uphold it in Church or State."

Lord Acton would surely have hailed Professor Toynbee's "Survey" as a landmark in the writing of contemporary history ; to this expression of belief the present reviewer can only add his conviction that the "Survey," and especially this volume, should be placed, at the public expense, in every British Consulate and Legation abroad, and that banks and commercial firms with connections abroad would do well to ensure that it finds a place on the shelves and in the hands of those responsible for reaching decisions from time to time on matters of policy.

A few criticisms naturally suggest themselves from a careful perusal of this masterly summary. In the first place, the absence of bias, or rather its conscientious elimination, inevitably tends to make the author's style somewhat pedestrian. "It is a matter of common knowledge," said Mr. Baldwin, in the early months of the present year, in the House of Commons, in connection with Mr. Churchill's "World Crisis,' "that if there be a certain amount of bias in a history it is far better reading." "Bias," argues Professor J. L. Morison, "is natural: let the historian be honest about it and seek to express rather than repress his natural inclinations."*

A comparison between Professor Toynbee's book, written in conjunction with Mr. Kirkwood, on "Turkey," in 1926, and the present work, shows that, making due allowance for the disadvantages attaching to the dual authorship of the former work, he has followed the advice of the Psalmist, and in the volume under review has "kept his mouth with a bridle," doubtless with the assistance of those collaborators to whom he pays generous tribute in the preface. His earlier work on Turkey, written after a brief visit to the country, was (like other works in the "Modern World Series," edited by the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher) marred by special pleading and by a tendency to ignore or to gloss over discreditable aspects of Turkish polity—a defect from which the present volume is notably free, though one could wish that greater emphasis had been laid on the deep racial and cultural differences between the Kurdish and Turkish races, differences which the militant régime of Mustafa Kemal, the unwisdom of which Professor Toynbee rightly stresses, have suppressed for the moment, as did Cromwell in Ireland, with, in all probability, the same ultimate results.

The section on Persia is perhaps the least satisfactory in the volume, owing, no doubt, to the difficulty of obtaining reliable first-hand information as to the trend of events. It should, for example, have been stated that the United States Senate have refused to ratify the announcement of the United States Government that the monetary reparation paid by Persia to cover the cost of conveying Major Imbrie's body home on a warship would be held as a trust fund, of which the income would be devoted to the education in the U.S.A. of Persian students. The economic and financial services of the American Financial Mission, under Dr. A. C. Millspaugh, would probably not be considered by most Persians or Europeans in a position to form a judgment to merit Professor Toynbee's unstinted laudation, and there is a notable omission of any reference to the continued tension between Persia, and Russia during the period under review, for which the foreign and economic policies of the U.S.S.R. are wholly responsible.

---

* "History," October, 1926. *Bulletin of Institute of Historical Research* for November, 1926. *Times Literary Supplement*, April 28, 1927.

Finally, for the sake of completeness, some reference should surely have been made to the intrinsically important and very interesting political developments of the last seven years in the Principality of Oman, where the Sultan, with the assistance of a British financial adviser, with the rank and authority of a Wazir or Minister, has succeeded in restoring more than a semblance of authority, and in pacifying the violent disorders which characterized the war period. Bahrain, too, deserves, in a work of this comprehensive character, more than the single sentence devoted to its affairs, and the outposts of the Islamic world generally scarcely receive the recognition which is their due. For information regarding them the best authority is still that of Professor L. Massignon, whose "Annuaire du Monde Musulmane" deserves, not less than Dr. Nallino's "Oriente Moderno," a place on Professor Toynbee's table.

The system of transliteration employed is serviceable, and has been used consistently and with scholarly accuracy, but surely the predominant sect in Persia (and for that matter in Iraq) is more correctly written "Shī'ah," not "Shī'ī."

A. T. W.

CHINA IN TURMOIL. By Louis Magrath King (H.M. Consular Service, China, retired). London: Messrs. Heath, Cranton. 10s. 6d.

I commend everything that Mr. King writes about China, and particularly this series of studies in Chinese personality, to that not inconsiderable number of Europeans who have interests in China, but little more than an extra-territorial interest in "things Chinese." One is not so much impressed with Mr. King's heroes possessing specially Chinese characteristics as with the fact that his Tupans, Generals, or bandit chiefs and politicians, and "Europe returned" Nationalists differ little, if at all, from their prototypes in character, ambitions, greed, or ignoble or gallant qualities which one might find in any age in China or anywhere else in Asia, or for that matter, in medieval times in Europe. Mr. King's book should be presented to every young British official or non-official to read on his first voyage out to China or anywhere else in the Far East.

General Sir Neill Malcolm, at the Central Asian Society's dinner, held on July 6, most appropriately stressed the need for understanding that the Chinese with whom we work, whether as merchants or officials, have as many good points—if we will only take the trouble, as indeed it is our duty, to find out—as the obvious weaknesses too frequently and loosely ascribed to him by writers of fiction, cinema stunters, and that inevitable proportion of intolerant foreigners whose "Eastern experiences" are so largely and lightly concentrated on club bar lounging and a gay life.

Mr. King's special pleadings—and his delightfully sympathetic insight and knowledge of the friends he writes about surely justify the means—show in a hearty manner that his characters are just men first and Chinese afterwards. This sort of knowledge, with no illusions, comes at first hand to our Consuls in China and to British officials in the Customs and Salt Departments, but even here one finds too many who join in with their merchant contemporaries in particular praise of their *own* compredore, or "writer," or "No. 1 Boy," as someone exceptional; just as perhaps in India we are still too often told that "my Subadar Major," or "my Head Baboo" is exceptional—is a white man.

Of recent years two or three of our largest and leading British business organizations are operating in China—north, south, east, and west—on entirely novel lines, and judging from results one would wish that all British business had realized the value of, and need for, this new business policy forty years ago. This new policy, so eminently suited to the requirements of an ever expanding market and changed conditions, is direct dealing, as far as possible without that picturesque and expensive, and too often intriguing intermediary, the "old style" Compradore. Not only this, but many British firms are now learning to "deal direct" with the local Chinese official. This again relieves the Consul from being referred to on all possible and often petty occasions, and being damned for a pro-Chinese if he does not entirely concur with the "rights" claimed by his aggrieved national. This "new policy" emphasizes and demands the need for a real working knowledge of the vernacular, and it is good to know of many young business men who have gone out to China since the war, who, *encouraged by their employers*, have attained a linguistic proficiency unheard of in the days when the "old hands" were young. How many of the "old hands" of the China ports can speak or read any sort of Chinese correctly, even grammatically, leaving aside any question of pronunciation? And yet they have spent all their lives in China no longer and with no less incentive than any of our Consular officials, who undoubtedly speak and read Chinese very much more efficiently than the average working soldier or civilian in India speaks or writes Hindustani. Mr. King's cameos are of real men, and the vigour and felicity of his style indicate that in China, as in other parts of the world, we still have men working as officials who have the will to make the best of things and the best of their own abilities, and of the abilities and characters of those they work with. The pleasingly naive way in which Mr. King almost invariably confounded his Chinese friends, were they soldiers or scholars, with counter-quotations from their own masters, provides just the right appeal to the young students of "things Chinese," and the necessary stimulus and encouragement to "get there," as Mr. King does every time.

And yet there is nothing humdrum or even conventional about any of Mr. King's types. They "belong to all types save one—the weak." "They are," writes Mr. King with characteristic enthusiasm, "themselves part of the upheaval in the midst of which they are working out their own and their country's destinies," or in some cases, as Mr. King a little grudgingly admits, "wolves preying upon the herd." Mr. King's book embodies in a most presentable form his impressions and experiences during a long and varied career. He was Acting Consul at Chungking, was twice Acting Consul-General at Chengtu, and was five years as H.M.'s Consul at Tachienlu, on the Chinese frontier of Tibet.

W. K.

CHINA IN REVOLT. By T'ang Leang-li. London: Noel Douglas. 7s. 6d.

Mr. T'ang Leang-li, a graduate of London University, presents an indictment of Western policy in China in his book entitled "China in Revolt." His indictment is full of force and energy, often immoderate, but the author makes no pretence at being impartial, or proclaiming "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." He adopts the rôle of an ardent advocate for China, and he claims that his aim is to "present to the West the attitude which the Chinese intelligentsia adopts towards certain aspects of Western civilization as seen in China." The author is quite frank in declaring that his book is of the nature of propaganda, and there is no doubt that it is written from the point of view of one who has the welfare of his own country earnestly at heart. The book is written in easy style and in excellent English, and provides a handy and exhaustive textbook of Chinese grievances against Western civilization. It is well worth perusal and study, even if it be only to show us what a Chinese gentleman thinks of us. It is, however, more than that and represents largely the views —misguided and erroneous in many respects, if you like—which occupy the minds of Young China today.

The book is divided into four parts: China in Peace; China in Chains; China in Revolt; China a Nation. The author sums up in a conclusion—China as a Great Power.

The first part gives an outline of China as she was before contact with the West, and is intended by the author to convey the essence of

Chinese civilization rather than the actual state of ancient China. In his concise narrative, Mr. T'ang points out that the family is the most important social institution, and that it is the family and not the individual which is the political and social unit in China. The family is based upon the cult of the ancestors, and in this way a link is established with the supernatural. The Chinese are perhaps the most tolerant of all peoples in the matter of religions, and the experience of the reviewer is that the ordinary man in the street will neither persecute nor vilify one of an alien creed unless the latter should transgress or attempt to upset existing social customs. It would be difficult for even the most devoted admirer of the Chinese to describe them as a religious people—although they may be roused at times to an extreme pitch of fanaticism. In actual life the ordinary native does not concern himself about Heaven and a hereafter, although he does not deny the existence of either. He is a busy and industrious man, and he interprets religion as a way of looking at life; he expects that his neighbour will do his duty towards him in the same way as he does his to his neighbour. He is a striking contrast to the native of India, in whose daily life religion and ceremonial observances play so dominant a part. Politically, the Chinese individual is a true democrat, and there can be no doubt that the governing classes were—and even still are—checked by the gentry who were the spokesmen of the inarticulate masses. The Chinese Government, within these limits, was a nominal autocracy based upon conquest, but an autocracy limited by the right of the people to rebellion.

In Part II. Mr. T'ang traces China's contact with the West from a date as remote as 2697 B.C., and he discusses the iniquities of the foreign trader and missionary in the sixteenth century and onwards. He has nothing good to relate of them except a well-merited tribute to the secular work of the Jesuits. From the foreign trader it is but a step to an attack upon England for the "opium" war in 1840. There is no critic more dispassionate or more accurate in his statement of the international relations of the Chinese Empire than Mr. Morse, and he says at the close of Chapter IX. of his work: "The war came when it did because the Chinese had precipitated a crisis by a vigorous campaign against opium, but it was not fought to uphold the trade in opium, and it was only the beginning of a struggle which lasted for twenty years, and which was to decide the national and commercial relations which were to exist between the East and West."

In the second chapter Mr. T'ang makes a fierce onslaught against the International Settlement at Shanghai and its "foreign oligarchy." The author appears to have overlooked the circumstances which contributed to the original growth and development of the Settlement—that is to say, the disordered state of the country during the Taiping rebellion. In 1853 the Taiping rebels devastated the country for hundreds of miles around Shanghai, and many thousands of refugees found there under the foreign flag the protection denied them under their own flag. The rebel soldiers menaced the Settlement also, and were driven back by the foreign naval forces which were safeguarding foreign lives and property and, incidentally, those also of the Chinese refugees in the foreign Settlement. It became necessary to devise some method for the supervision of these refugees, and this was found in the Mixed Court which was originally established with Chinese consent and assistance. Mr. T'ang complains that when the Republican Revolution took place in 1911 the consular body of Shanghai took over the Mixed Court, and, *in direct violation oj China's treaty rights*, appointed their own judges. He omits to mention, however, that conditions in the native city of Shanghai were chaotic at the time of the revolution, and that it was force of circumstances arising from events in China, over which foreigners had no control, which compelled an extension of foreign control over the Mixed Court; this question has, however, been recently adjusted by joint consent of the Chinese and foreign authorities. Again, the reference to the Maritime Customs is most misleading. As a matter of fact, the Custom House at Shanghai had been closed by *force majeure* of the Taiping rebellion, and, in order to enable trade to continue, a temporary expedient was tried whereby duties were paid into the Consulates of the foreign Powers concerned (at that time France, America, and England). The expedient was irksome and did not work satisfactorily, and the three Consuls came to an agreement with the Chinese taotai, under which a Board of three inspectors was nominated (one of each nationality). The Rules of Trade drawn up four years later by foreign and Chinese representatives laid down a uniform Customs system under the Chinese Government, with liberty to the latter to utilize foreign assistance by the employment of foreign employees independently of foreign suggestion or nomination. It may fairly be said that the foreign Customs, generally known as the Chinese Maritime Customs, dated its birth from July, 1854. The origin of the establishment was not due to any treaty stipulation made between China and the foreign Powers, but to circumstances over which neither China nor the foreign Powers had any control—viz., the Taiping rebellion, which raged over the country for a decade, brought the Chinese Government to the brink of destruction, and cost China twenty million lives. The Service, as Mr. T'ang will admit, is a very efficient machine, and, without doubt, a big asset for China as regards national prestige and credit both at home and abroad.

The references to the police of the International Settlement are both unfair and incorrect. Mr. T'ang delares that a local tradition has grown up and the very term "police" has become one of contempt. It would be more correct to ascribe any feeling of contempt in the

Chinese mind for the term "police" to the traditional suspicion and fear the Chinese have had for their own police in past ages. "The rats under the altar," as the district police were nicknamed, were a byword among the people for all that was bad in the shape of extortion and blackmail.

Mr. T'ang gives us his views on the missionary problem in Chapter 3, and he is unsparing in his denunciations of them as political agents and misinterpreters of the spirit of China. It is probable that many of the obstacles which have lain in the missionary path have been due to the fact that their presence and work in China have been authorized by treaty, and it is probable that they would have met with far less suspicion if they had stood on their own feet without the support of treaties and consuls. There are few foreigners living in China today who will assert that the convert is superior in the conduct of his life to the so-called "heathen," and there are many who prefer to have dealings with the latter rather than with the former. Whatever may be the opinion as to the human products of missionary teaching, there can be no question that the medical missions have relieved countless thousands from pain, suffering, and disease, in a civilized land which is strangely destitute of dispensaries, hospitals, and surgeons.

Chapter 4 deals with international loans as "an instrument of subjugation." The author states that the international loans concluded by China had a political origin. As a matter of fact, the origin was not political but financial. It may justly be said that national loans—as distinct from international loans—did not exist in China before the end of the nineteenth century. This was not in any way due to sentiment, but to the fact that the Emperors of China had found that the State treasury, of which the Emperor was custodian, was adequate for all ordinary requirements and that the revenue for extraordinary expenditure could be readily raised either by additional taxes on trade, or by means of a forced levy, or by the sales of titles and dignities ; in earlier days, expenditure was also met by the issue of enormous amounts of irredeemable Government paper. The first attempt to raise a national loan dates from 1894 in the shape of the "merchants'" loan, in order to meet the extraordinary war expenses of the Sino-Japanese war. The loan partook more of the nature of a forced levy than a voluntary ubscription, and the flotation had to be stopped when only a fraction of the amount required had been subscribed. The next attempt was made in 1898 when the first instalment of the war indemnity to Japan had to be paid. The result was again a bitter disappointment, in spite of the fact that titles were offered to subscribers of 10,000 taels (say £2,000) and upwards. The whole history of these and subsequent attempts at floating national loans reveals the fact that only those managed and paid by the foreign (British) Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs have met with success. It seems clear, therefore, that the Chinese Government had recourse to international loans solely for the financial reason that it could not raise them in China itself. It is, of course, regrettable that foreign politics entered largely into the flotation of some of the international loans, but a large share of the blame in this respect is attributable to the vacillation and cupidity of the Chinese Court and Government officials. Let us glance for a moment at the nature of the British loans to China. It will be found that, speaking generally, they are secured on the Maritime Customs and the Salt Gabelle, railway loans being secured in general on the earnings of the railways. But the fact that these securities were given does not mean that either the British Government or the British financiers concerned entertained for a single moment the extravagant idea that the securities would be seized and administered for their benefit in case of default in payment. The securities were required and given because they were considered to be then the best available, and this procedure was an ordinary business precaution. The amount of China's foreign indebtedness today is probably not less than 160 million sterling; the amount would be much larger had not China exhausted her available securities and her credit. The will to borrow abroad exists, but nobody will lend. Although China has defaulted on nearly every loan which is not secured on the Maritime Customs or the Salt Gabelle, it is safe to say that, given a tolerably stable central Government and a comparatively honest financial administration, the total indebtedness both as regards native and foreign creditors (the former amount is also very large) could be successfully carried without serious inconvenience to the Chinese people.

Mr. T'ang opens Part III. of his book by declaring that "extra-territoriality is a standing disgrace to Chinese pride and a symbol of China's national humiliation and degradation in the family of nations." If we trace the causes which led to extra-territoriality, we shall find them in the contemptuous refusal of China to accord to foreign Powers equality of commercial and diplomatic treatment. Mr. T'ang quotes from an early Chinese writer as follows: "These barbarians are like wild beasts and ought not to be treated as civilized men. To try to apply to them the great principles of reason would only lead to confusion. The ancient kings well understood this, and accordingly ruled barbarians only by craft or violence. And this is the right way of ruling them." He declares that this is the view of the European traditionally held in China, and he naïvely adds that in this background it is, therefore, quite natural that China imposed rigid restrictions on foreign intercourse. Mr. T'ang has omitted a reference to the imperial "mandate" sent by the Emperor Kienlung in reply to the friendly letter from King George, which was presented to him by the King's Envoy, Lord Macartney, at the close of the eighteenth century. The reply refuses the King's request for an exchange of accredited Ministers, and begins as follows:

"You, O King, live beyond the confines of many seas; nevertheless, impelled by your humble desire to partake of the benefits of civilization, you have despatched a mission respectfully bearing your memorial. . . . I have perused your memorial: the earnest terms in which it is couched reveal a respectful humility on your part, which is highly praiseworthy.

"In consideration of the fact that your Ambassador and his deputy have come a long way with your memorial and tribute, I have shown them high favour and have allowed them to be introduced into my presence. To manifest my indulgence, I have entertained them at a banquet and made them numerous gifts.

"Swaying the wide world, I have but one aim in view, namely, to maintain a perfect governance and to fulfil the duties of the State. Strange and costly objects do not interest me. If I have commanded that the tribute offerings sent by you, O King, are to be accepted, this was solely in consideration for the spirit which prompted you to despatch them from afar. Our dynasty's majestic virtue has penetrated into every country under heaven, and kings of all nations have offered their costly tribute by land and sea. As your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious and have no use for your country's manufactures."

The reply is in the form of a superior addressing an inferior, from the lord of the Middle Kingdom, which is fringed in the dim distance by small islands inhabited by barbarians. The tone of arrogance and self-complacency displayed by the Emperor is reflected throughout the relations of Chinese officials with foreigners in the early days. Is it surprising, then, that, when the inevitable trial of strength came and China was worsted, foreign Powers found it necessary to provide safeguards in the shape of extraterritoriality? British policy towards China has followed the general line of trade and not political aggrandizement or territorial acquisition. Trade on fair and equal terms coupled with security for life and property—these sum up in their entirety British policy and aims in China. It is a simple point to grasp, and it would save the Chinese innumerable difficulties if they would only realize the truth of it and act accordingly. Let us glance for a moment at the position of foreign merchants who were permitted to trade at Canton early in the nineteenth century. They were forbidden to buy and sell goods in the open market, but were compelled to trade through the medium of the Cohong, an officially rocognized monopoly. They were only allowed to reside in the Factory district, a confined space on the river front. They were not permitted to engage Chinese servants (but this rule was generally relaxed), to bring women or arms into the factories, to use sedan-chairs, or to enter into any direct relations with local Chinese officials. They might not row for pleasure on the river, nor could they enter the city, and only on three days in the month were they permitted, under the escort of an interpreter, to take the air at the flower-gardens across the river. They were held collectively responsible for the misdeeds of individuals. The local Chinese officials would not recognize, or have any dealings with, foreign officials entrusted with the protection of their interests.

The fact is that China was ignorant of the international canons accepted by the West, and, moreover, had no desire whatsoever to come into the family of nations. Should China, therefore, be required to accord such equality of commercial and diplomatic treatment as was generally accepted in Europe? The question was not debated in a school of philosophy, and was answered in the affirmative by the foreign Governments concerned. The reviewer has full sympathy with the desire for the abolition of extraterritoriality, and he would point out that the British Government as long ago as 1902 agreed to relinquish the privilege of extraterritoriality if and when China put her house in order. Young China of today must realize that the clock cannot be put back; the foreigner has come to China for trade and has come to stay. Face this fact, put the house in order, and extraterritoriality will disappear. The house is not in order yet, and the task before China is a heavy one; but constructive work begun in this direction will certainly gain British sympathy in a very practical form.

The reviewer has not the space to deal with the large number of the author's assertions with which he is unable to agree, but he takes the opportunity to admit that, in his opinion, China was hardly treated at Versailles in the matter of Shantung. England's hands had been fettered in this respect by the turn of events at a most critical moment in the Great War. Nevertheless, an injustice was done to China which required reparation. It was through English initiative that the scope of the Washington Conference was widened so that political questions as regards the Pacific might be entered upon. The breadth of the Conference was thus enlarged beyond the original plan, with the result that a satisfactory agreement was arrived at between China and Japan regarding the rendition of Shantung. Although the negotiation of this agreement was confined to the two Powers concerned, nevertheless America and England stood by in readiness to serve either party if occasion should have required it.

Mr. T'ang is an ardent member of the Kuomin Tang or Nationalist Party, and defines their programme as based upon the three principles of Nationality, Democracy, and Socialism. The elaboration of these three principles shows that they are intended to stir Chinese society to its very depths, to say nothing of their influence upon international relations of China. Mr. T'ang assumes the ultimate triumph of his party. If his assumption should be correct, then the task before them is indeed immense. The reviewer, however, does not doubt that responsibility will bring with it a fuller realization of the difficulties to be overcome, and will be followed by moderation and a modification of the details of the programme. The primary need for China is a central Government, and the first task of that Government should be to establish order as far as it can throughout the land. Public financial corruption strikes at the root of all permanent authority in China—even-handed justice. It is remarkable that public corruption should be universal in China, inasmuch as the Chinese individual in his private dealings is perfectly honest in money matters. Perhaps the explanation may be found in the inheritance from many centuries when the Court set the example of regarding public money as fair prize for anyone to pocket who might have the opportunity. The Chinese Republic is still young, a mere stripling of sixteen years, and it may be too harsh a judgment to pass upon it at this stage that official corruption under the Republic is not a whit less than under its predecessor, the Manchu dynasty. The latter was rotten, and the Republic was proclaimed at a time when there were no Republicans in China. The reviewer is a sincere well-wisher of the Chinese people, and has enjoyed an experience of many years in China, during which time he has been in friendly relations with all classes of the Chinese. His opinion, which is shared by many others of greater knowledge and understanding, is that the Chinese people are sober and industrious as a race, and are highly endowed with judgment, good sense, and tenacity of purpose. Moreover, the ideals of their intellectual life are not inferior to those in the Western world, and he would indeed be sorry to see a replacement of the one for the other. It is also very noticeable that the private and community life of the Chinese is conducted with tact and consideration. These do not exhaust the Chinese good qualities by any means, but if we reverse the picture it must be owned that the Chinese in common with other peoples have their national shortcomings.

Mr. T'ang and his friends are not always in the right, and while they may, if they wish to do so, throw stones at Englishmen with a certain amount of reason, they should also remember that much bigger stones could be thrown back at them with equal justice.

As regards the assistance given to the Nationalist Party by the Soviets, the time has already arrived when the Chinese intelligentsia, irrespective of party, have discovered for themselves that the seeds of Bolshevism planted by Soviet hands produce only tares, and are poisoning the land. The discovery has been made in good time, and is a credit to Chinese common sense; but the eradication of the mischief already accomplished will add yet another to the heavy tasks which lie before any Government which establishes itself in China.

E. C. W.

PROPHETS, PRIESTS, AND PATRIARCHS. By H. C. Luke. The Faith Press, Ltd.

Mr. Luke's latest book consists of a series of articles in which he deals with the various sects of Palestine and Syria. In a prologue entitled "A Jerusalem Miscellany" the author depicts in a humorous vein the wranglings and rivalries of the inhabitants of the Holy City, which appear to form such a prominent part of their existence. It is gratifying to read, however, of the moderating influence exercised by the Church of England in Jerusalem among these emulous communities. An interesting account is given of the Easter and Christmas festivals, which are celebrated with such zeal that the Government find it difficult to keep the peace. It is, perhaps, fitting that the Orthodox Church, the "aged tree beneath whose shade the rest of Christendom has sprung," to quote Dean Stanley, should hold a prominent position in the land which saw the birth of Christianity; but it is rather surprising to find Holy Week associated with a Moslem festival. The writer of Deuteronomy, in describing the death of Moses, stated that "no man knoweth his sepulchre to this day"; but the Moslems appear to have discovered its whereabouts at a spot near Jericho, and the author gives an entertaining account of their pilgrimage to the shrine of Nebi Musa. This annual festival in honour of the Jewish Lawgiver is doubtless due more to political than religious motives, as Mr. Luke suggests. A learned chapter on the Christian Communities of the Holy Sepulchre is followed by an account of the Samaritans, that last remnant of an obscure Jewish sect, which for centuries has looked upon Mount Gerizem as the one lawful place appointed for the worship of God.

In Chapter V. the author discusses the influence of Palestine and Syria on the world of Islam, though he does not bring out the effect on the Arabs of contact with a civilization superior to their own, and through which they became acquainted with Greek and Byzantine thought and culture. In his chapter on "The Old Man of the Mountains," the author writes of the Arab invaders' "determination to convert the world to Islam"; but the impelling motive was much more conquest and the spoils of war. The story of Hasan Sabah and the assassins, that strange sect that combined the cult of piety and murder, is well told. Assassination for political ends was not, however, a new phenomenon in Islam.

An epilogue, which does not seem very appropriate to the rest of the work, deals with the relations between the Moslems and the rayahs of the Ottoman Empire. It seems rather premature to assume that the Turkish Republic is "divorced from the faith and hierarchy of Islam," and "seeking its inspiration in the Kremlin rather than the Koran." Although the Turks have adopted a European code—the Code Suisse—as the basis of their law, the Government has decreed that Islam is still the State religion of Turkey, but an Islam brought more into keeping with the evolution of ideas. Also the Turks and Russians are hereditary foes, and it is unlikely that the present rapprochement will last long or become very intimate. It is probably true that the lot of the Christian rayahs was not so bad as it was painted, nor so much worse than that of the Anatolian peasantry. Aubrey Herbert said of the Armenians that they " were seduced by Europe and flattered to suicide." We may not go as far as that, but it is undoubtedly true that Western sympathizers, by raising false hopes, helped towards the ruin of these unfortunate people. Mr. Luke's scholarly and entertaining volume should find many readers. F. F. R.

ASIANIC ELEMENTS IN GREEK CIVILIZATION. Gifford Lectures, Edinburgh, 1915-16. By Sir William Ramsay, D.C.L., etc. (John Murray and Co.) 12s. 6d.

It is one of the penalties of a great reputation that the reader comes to expect very much of the author, and the title of this book suggests that we may find in it what perhaps only Sir William Ramsay could give us, a real treatise on the effect of Anatolian influence on the Greek stock there, and through it, on Hellenism at large and on the civilization that has been taught by it. The scholar who has made Anatolia his own particular field, and who, after half a century on the spot (in the course of which he has done work on the Pauline problem that has made Christendom his permanent debtor), has now a detailed knowledge of the land and people that no other man has, might give us such a book—but he has not done it yet.

In this work, which consists of two courses of lectures remodelled till the lectures seem to have evaporated out of them, we have, as it were, Sir William Ramsay in his armchair discoursing " of shoes and ships and sealing-wax " (and if only one read " carriages " instead of " cabbages," one might continue the quotation without serious injustice) and of many things Asianic and Greek that do not seem to have much connection with one another.

Constantly, he throws out, as it were, remarks that are interesting and suggestive—as one would naturally expect from him—about things Greek and Anatolian. Thus, " the Anatolian mind," he says, " is today what it has been from the beginning," a remark that at once shows his experience of his subject and his sense of the continuity of history. The old blood is still there, and though there has been much immigration, yet—as in Hellas over the water—physical descent is only one of the factors that go to make a national type. The land makes the character of its sons, and the descendant of the immigrant becomes a child of the soil.

Sir William Ramsay is clear that the Ionian Greek of Anatolia (the Yavan of the Old Testament) is kin to the " Hellen " of Greece, but not the same as him. Of one stock, each has been affected by incomers from a different hinterland, and though the ambition of the Hellen through the centuries has always been to control the Anatolian Greek, his attempts have always brought disaster, and now at last, destruction, on his kinsman. The Greek is a trader, not a ruler; unable at times to govern himself, he fails to govern others. Yet the Anatolian, from Homer down, has always influenced the Greek of Greece, and in pointing out instances of that influence, Sir William Murray discourses at large, *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, but always with interest. We read of Epimenides and his Athenian reforms; of the symbolism (surely rather far-fetched) which saw Nemesis in one mountain and the scales of Justice in the twin peaks of another. Then, *via* the two vultures that were not vultures that sate on the trees by Troy, we are led by Troy itself to the question whether Diana of the Ephesians, that Anatolian Great Mother, was not really depicted as a queen bee; and so to Smyrna and Hipponax, who appears, not as a writer of savage satires, but as the compiler of a prosaic and accurate road-book! The position of women, the wheat trade, the local cart, the "Kabiri," all come in. There is a deal of fine confused feeling in the lectures, but it is something short of the treatise that the name of Ramsay led us to hope for.

W. A. W.

THE LETTERS OF GERTRUDE BELL. London: Messrs. Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1927. Price £2 2s.

> "In the days of labour and nights of rest
> May the love of Allah make you blest."

The rising of the Arab star and the methods of its followers are fair subject for controversy; a review of the intimate letters of the remarkable English lady who followed the rising should deal with the enthusiasms aroused. Never before had our amazing ventures in the East thrown up such a character. Just a slip of an English lass, and a Yorkshire lass at that, who gets bitten of the East for the first time in Judæa nearly thirty years ago. Seized all of a sudden by the romance and mystery of the present and past, by the glory of the desert and the beauty of the spoken word, Miss Bell sets herself to learn Arabic and to travel in the Levant and in the desert.

Her personal letters through the years are chiefly written to her father—delightful, affectionate, intimate letters—and they extend from those days of Eastern yearnings, happily for her, to the day of her death in the little palm-girt rose-garden on the banks of the Tigris, whence in June, 1926, the spirit in the quiet of night returned to the God who gave it. And to many that little garden and the eager, sympathetic soul who lived there is a very precious memory.

Those letters which deal with her many journeys before the War show her gradually gaining knowledge of people, countries, and language, and the grip of the East fastening on her. The journeys into the desert were many and with varied purpose—travel for travel's sake, the desert for the joy of it, travel for antiquarian study, travel to gain knowledge of tribes and customs and the language of the Bedouin, which is so different from the elaborate grammarian's language of the learned in the cities. Here is travel:

"I have three soldiers—Ali, Musa, Muhammad . . . one Ahmed white-robed and perched on a camel" is provided for a night ride in the hot season. "Ahmed said, 'Oh, lady, the light rises.' I looked, and the east was beginning to pale; I felt as if I had been sitting on my camel a lifetime. The light came quickly across the furrows, and we rode on till five."

The years of preparation were to be put to unthought-of uses when the War broke out and Turkey cast her bread on the waters. The non-Turkish subjects of Turkey had been in unrest for years. If the Arabs sided with their masters the Red Sea would be unfit for Allied shipping, and mines would come by rail to within an easy camel or even lorry drive of the Imperial ways. Now was the time to develop that ancient British sympathy with Arab aspirations and detach the Arab interests from those of Turkey. The Arab Bureau was formed in Cairo to deal with the subject as a whole. By the nature of things Arab matters were dealt with piecemeal by those departments and Governments who had touch with Arab countries—India for the Persian Gulf and Aden hinterland, the Red Sea littoral divided between India and the Foreign Office. The Colonial Office and the Foreign Office also had a hand in other parts. If Arab national feeling as a whole was to be stimulated, it must be treated as a whole and by one Government and one department. This was the aim and object among those enthusiastic believers in the rather uncertain Arab character and race, the noble Arab in the desert, and the like. Who more suitable than Gertrude Bell to join this Bureau? And to Cairo she took her knowledge and her enthusiasms. Very soon she was sent on to Sir Percy Lake's force in Mesopotamia, to which Sir Percy Cox was chief political officer, to arrange for the co-ordination of policy and explain what the Bureau was aiming at.

But Mesopotamia, especially the desert, the chiefs of Hail and Rhiadh, Ibn Rashid and Ibn Saud, Baghdad and Mosul, was especially her own province, in which her detailed knowledge could be of most use, and she found herself retained and acting in the military intelligence office and also in the political office. It was not perhaps always an easy time, for it was well known that she was an intimate friend of many prominent people; and it was also known that British statesmen were far more likely to take their ideas from informal correspondents rather than the responsible officials on the spot, and Miss Bell got the credit of much for which she was not responsible. As an enthusiastic believer in a policy, however, which no one had yet adopted for their own, she no doubt, when opportunity offered, did impress her own views on some of her privileged correspondents. The letters of this period to her friends and to her father being ordinary wartime correspondence are reticent, and have no comments on the earlier situation in Mesopotamia. She arrived there just before the fall of Kut. Her knowledge was amply employed in both offices, but especially in that power of getting inside the feelings of influential and high-grade inhabitants on the situation generally. Thus she writes in these early days:

> "I've been doing very interesting work for Sir Percy (Cox). Today there strolled in a whole bank of Sheikhs from the Euphrates to present their respects to him, and, incidentally, they always call on me."

And again:

> "I drove straight into our camp, picked up General Tidswell, who is in command, and made him take me round the town; and there we met the Sheikh of Khamisiyeh, who is a friend of mine, and on a pressing invitation went to his house. . . . He had a guest, Sheikh Hamunod, of the Dhafir, one of our friendly Bedouin, and we sat for a while listening to the latest desert news, which I translated for the General."

But when Sir Stanley Maude had captured Baghdad, Gertrude was sent for to join Sir Percy Cox, and it was then that the real value of her sympathetic attitude and knowledge came, and she was able to get into touch with points of view which no political officer could have acquired. For we were in a very difficult position *vis-à-vis* the people. Turkish administration had disappeared, and all machinery which in an occupied country is usually available to control it. We had to carry on, and we had to prepare for whatever policy—a liberal one we knew—would eventually come to pass. These were difficulties that came to a head soon after the War, during the long peace wrangle, which entirely spoilt the atmosphere in the Levant and Syria, ending in a widespread and entirely unnecessary tribal revolt.

The most interesting part of the letters comes when the *Khatun*, free of the trammels of wartime secrecy, can write much more freely, and does so with the enthusiasm which was such a feature of her work. Writing in '22 to her father we have it all:

> "Today I rode through the dairy farm . . . and back by the gardens bordering on the Tigris. Man and beast were rejoicing in the abundance of green. 'By God, I've never seen the like!' I stopped to say to the shepherds; and they, 'It is the mercy of God and your presence, *Khatun*.' How I love their darling phrases! You know, father, it's shocking how the East has wound itself round my heart, till I don't know which is me and which is it. I never lose the charm of it. . . . I'm more a citizen of Bagdad than many a Bagdadi born."

There are many sidelights on the difficulty of deciding how to rule the country and the eventual declaration for and election of Sharif Feisal:

> "It's not all smooth yet. . . . We get reports about the Lower Euphrates tribes preparing monster petitions in favour of a republic, and of the Shiah Alim Mujtahids being all against Faisal."

Among the troubles of the time was the bitter hostility of the Shiahs, for it must be remembered that the country south of Baghdad is almost all Shiah, while the north and Faisal are Sunnis, and the great Shiah religious centres and shrines are all in Iraq. At the present moment the acute enmity and the difficulty, not only of balancing parties, but getting the two to work together for the good of the whole, is very great. The letters are full of the difficulties, and Miss Bell tells of a dramatic visit to some of the religious swells of Shiahdom at Kadhimain, close to Baghdad. It will be remembered that eventually it was necessary to deport some of them.

With Sharif Faisal crowned and on his throne the troubles were by no means over, and from 1922 to 1926 it is one long intrigue, and the prolonged discussion and doubt over Mosul did not make it easier. She is an enthusiastic admirer of the kingly Faisal, and writes:

> " Faisal has hitched his waggon to the stars. . . . At the bottom of his mind he trusts us, and believes that one or two of us would go to the stakes for him. . . . I feel as if I and all of us were playing the most magical tunes on their heart strings, drawn taut by the desperate case in which they find themselves. Can they succeed in setting up reasonable government? Can they save themselves from chaos? Their one cry is, 'Help us!' "

And this is the woman whom those who knew little of her called unwomanly. Why, she is the most supersensitive enthusiast that ever was! But many months have rolled by since 1922, and slowly what she longed for and helped to strive for has come to pass. A Government in being has held its own for four years and more, childish at times, grave and earnest at others, but always an anxiety itself, not only by reason of the two bitter religious factions of which Miss Bell tells so much, but of that uncertainty of the Arab character which, as the old Sheikh said, " keeps us from staying in Eden." Every year the devoted advance and assistance of High Commissioners and advisers see, however, a more complete personnel being evolved to carry on the Government. How it all has been done is told in what is a valuable portion of the " Letters "—viz., two retrospects by Sir Percy Cox and Sir Henry Dobbs of their own tenure. To these retrospects the letters themselves contribute charmingly the appropriate atmosphere.

The last year or so, when much of her original work and help was over, Miss Bell threw herself delightedly into her position as Honorary Director of Antiquities, and the forming of a museum which would prevent the best finds leaving the country, and the drafting of the necessary laws to control excavation. She was herself no mean authority.

* * * * *

And then in the hot weather of last year it rang to evensong, and the brave soul passed about the time, perhaps, that the *Muezzin* in the mosque hard by called to early prayer.

Bismillah ul rahman o ul rahim.

G. F. M.

Suhaïl. By Coleridge Kennard. London: The Richards Press, 1927. 10s. 6d.

This is a remarkable book, embodying the spirit of Persia better than any writer since Professor Browne, who would have read it with intense enjoyment. The author, a member of the Diplomatic Service, spent five years in Iran and was taken captive by the country. He studied deeply, learned the Persian point of view, and became so deeply permeated with the atmosphere and feeling of Persia that what he writes rings true.

In this book he gives an account of a journey that he made across Persia, passing through Isfahan, Yezd, and Kerman to the Lut, the great desert of Persia, which derives its name from the Patriarch Lot. This great waste he crossed to British Baluchistan, travelling with a camel caravan. Here he is at his best, and I have never read such admirable descriptions of the primitive tribesmen, of the scenery, of their bitter, hard life and of its reaction on their outlook and mentality. Moreover, he collected and translated some of the poems which were recited during the long night marches or during the cool evenings. To take an example, I would invite the attention of the reader to the poem beginning: "O thou that knowest naught of Love—sleep on." Of quite another stamp is the dialogue between a Baluch and a maiden of the desert:

"O child of springtime, linger a moment!"
"No, I cannot linger here."

. . . .

"I will be a hare in the fields and hide in a hollow."
"Then I will be a hunting falcon and pick you up in my claws."

. . . .

"I will be an unconscious child sleeping in a cradle."
"Then I will be death and enfold you in my arms."

The author's love for the weird music of the desert is shown in his description of a man who played in an inspired manner and said: "We should die here without music."

Upon reaching law and order on the British side of the frontier, Kennard feels stifled and sneers at the hospitality he received from British officers, who hardly merited this treatment. Apart from this defect, the book will deeply appeal to men who have lived, as I have done, among these primitive people, sharing their hardships and enjoyments. It will also, unless I am mistaken, appeal to a much wider audience.

P. M. SYKES.

The review *Syria* for 1927 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 13, Rue Jacob VI^e^) contains an interesting article by the Rev. Père Poidebard entitled "Les Routes Anciennes en Haute-Djezireh," summarizing observations made by the writer on foot and from the air regarding ancient trade routes between the Tigris and Euphrates, particularly along the Khabur.

He has succeeded in identifying, by the position of mounds, wells, and ruined bridge heads, thirteen ancient caravan tracks, and three cross-roads or trivials, as they were once called even in England. Seen from the air, the regular lines of mounds placed at fairly regular intervals along the routes were most impressive, and in what appeared, on the ground, to be a meaningless distribution of deserted tépés was at once shown, from the air, to be a carefully constructed series of road posts.

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

BOOK NOTICES

THE attention of members of the Central Asian Society is drawn to the leaflet circulated herewith regarding the "Survey of Iraq Fauna," made by members of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force between 1915 and 1919. The book, which is being sold at a reduced price of Rs. 5, consists of a collection of reprints of articles printed in the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society* between 1920 and 1922, dealing successively with: "Mammals," by Major Cheesman; "Snakes," by Mr. Boulanger; "Orthoptera," by Messrs. Buxton, Evans, and Uvarov; "Hymenoptera," by Mr. Morice; "Fresh-Water Crustacea," by Mr. Gurney; "Butterflies," by Mr. Peile; "Myriapods" by Mr. Brolemann; "Birds," by Messrs. Ticehurst, Buxton, and Cheesman; "Isopoda," by Mr. Omer-Cooper.

There is probably no country in the Middle East for which so complete a natural history handbook has been published at such a low price within the compass of a single volume. Publication collectively was made possible by a financial guarantee given to the Bombay Natural History Society by one or two public-spirited individuals, and it is in order to reduce the amount of their liability, which is considerable, that members of the Society are urged to purchase copies if they have not already done so. The book is published by the Times of Mesopotamia Printing and Publishing Company (Mesopotamia), Ltd., Basrah, and is obtainable from them or from Messrs. Dulau and Company, Ltd., Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, W. 1.

The following books have been received for review:

"Antiquities of Indian Tibet," by A. H. Francke, Ph.D. Part (Volume) II. The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles. 12″ × 9¼″. 310 pp. Texts and translations with notes and maps. Edited with Foreword by F. W. Thomas. (Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, India. 1926. Rs. 30, or 45s.)

"Ur Excavations," by H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley. Vol. I., Al-'Ubaid. 13¼″ × 9¾″. 244 pp. lxviii plates. (Oxford University Press. 1927.)

"Mother India," by Katherine Mayo. 392 pp. 8¼″ × 5½″. (London: Jonathan Cape. 1927. 7s. 6d., paper; 10s. 6d., cloth.)

"Suháil," by Coleridge Kennard. 8″ × 6″. 231 pp. (London: The Richmond Press. 1927. 10s. 6d.)

"The Islamic World since the Peace Settlement," by A. J. Toynbee 9¾″ × 6½″. 611 pp. Map. (Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. £1 1s.)

"Arabia before Muhammad," by de L. O'Leary. Trübner's Oriental Series. 8¼″ × 5¾″. 234 pp. 3 maps. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner. 1927. 10s. 6d.)

"Indian States and the Government of India," by Pannikkar. 8¾″ × 5¾″. 169 pp. (London: Martin Hopkinson. 10s. 6d.)

"Letters of Gertrude Bell," edited by Lady Bell. 2 volumes. 791 pp. (London: Ernest Benn. 1927. £2 2s.)

HON. MEMBERS.

Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Professor of Arabic, Oxford University.
Dr. Nicholson, Litt.D., Cambridge.

MEMBERS ELECTED IN JULY AND AWAITING ELECTION.

Abdul Majid Khan Badi.
Barnes, Captain A. H., Indian Political Department.
Beamish, Captain R. P., 3/14 Punjab Regt., I.A.
Bosshard, W.
Bradshaw, Captain J. L. R., Indian Political Department.
Brown, Robert, Anglo-Persian Oil Co., Ltd.
Brunt, R. N. B.
Cooke, Sir Basil Kemball.
Corkill, Norman, Civil Surgeon, Nasiriyeh, Iraq.
Crichton, G. C. L., Indian Political Department.
Dowling, W. H., Anglo-Persian Oil Co., Ltd.
Durand, Captain A. A. M., M.C., R.H.A.
Gidney, C. H., I.C.S.
Goodland, Major S., M.C.
Hadow, Major K., M.C.
Hall, Major Melvin, D.S.O., Member of U.S. Mission in Persia.
Hardy, Mrs.
Heaney, Major G. F., R.E., Survey of India.
Kensington, Colonel-Commandant E. C., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C.
Langdale, H. A.
Meek, Major A. S., C.M.G., Indian Political Department.
Palmer, Commander I. M., R.N.
Rooke, H. G. D., Agricultural Department, Iraq.
Seager, W. G.
Stafford, Lieut.-Colonel R. S., D.S.O., M.C.
Stephenson, J. W., Commissioner, Chinese Customs Service and Representative in London of the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs.
Taylor, G. W. R.
Toomer, S. E., Flight-Lieut., D.F.C.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

CERTIFICATE OF RECOMMENDATION.

____

____

(Rank and Appointment or Occupation.)

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 ______________________________

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1926

Receipts.				£	s.	d.
To *Subscriptions*				891	0	0
,, *Journal*: Subscriptions, sales, etc.				31	17	7
,, *Annual Dinner* receipts				122	12	4
,, *Dinner Club* receipts				28	4	6
,, *Lectures*: From Royal Asiatic Society				3	14	10
,, ,, Persia Society				3	14	10
,, *Sundries*				2	6	6
,, *Interest* on Deposit	£10	19	0			
,, ,, War Loan	5	0	0			
				15	19	0
,, *Balance* at bank, January 1, 1926				75	14	10
,, of petty cash, January 1, 1926						10
				£1,175	5	3

Expenditure.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By *Office Expenses*: Rent	50	0	0			
Rates	13	4	5			
Salary	165	13	4			
Income tax on War Loan and deposit	2	0	0			
Office furniture	17	10	0			
Telephone	6	8	5			
Clerical help, duplicating, etc.	24	12	11			
Reference books, etc.	1	7	0			
Cleaning and heating	2	12	8			
Stationery	11	11	0			
Postage	44	19	1			
Sundries	9	13	2			
Fire insurance		8	0			
				350	0	0
,, *Journal*: Printing	348	7	5			
Postages	30	4	3			
Map plates, etc.	13	4	2			
Reporting	36	6	7			
				428	2	5
,, *Lectures*: Rent of hall	28	7	0			
Lantern slides	18	8	9			
Lantern operator	14	11	0			
Printing and sundry expenses	32	0	3			
Expenses of joint lecture	11	4	6			
				104	11	6
,, Cost of *Annual Dinner*				148	13	10
,, *Library*				6	6	4
,, *Dinner Club*: Guests' dinners	15	6	0			
Postages, notices, etc.	8	11	5			
				23	17	5
,, *Donations*: Curzon Memorial Fund	20	0	0			
New York Natural History Museum's Central Asiatic Expeditions	10	10	0			
Permanent Committee on Spelling Geographical Names	1	1	0			
				31	11	0
,, *Bank charges*, cheque book, etc.				5	10	10
,, *Balance* at bank, December 31, 1927				76	11	11
				£1,175	5	3

The Society's holdings are :

5 per cent. War Loan	£100
National Savings Certificates	£150 (nominal value)

We have examined the above statement with the books and vouchers, and certify it to be in accordance therewith.

(*Signed*) CLAUD W. JACOB
(*Field-Marshal*).
R. G. EGERTON
(*Lieut-General*).

1927.

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