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NOTICES

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Journals have been returned addressed to: H. R. Lewis, Esq., Mohammerah; Captain A. C. Trott, 5th Devon Regt., c/o Lloyd's Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.; P. B. Haig, Esq., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.; C. G. Brasher, Esq., 23, Victoria Square, Clifton, Bristol; Captain S. G. Bennett, c/o Lloyd's Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.

The Secretary would be very glad if fresh addresses for the above could be sent in.

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

SINAI*

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. PARKER, D.S.O.

FIRST of all I must thank the Central Asian Society for having done me the honour of asking me to address you this evening.

Before the war it would have been a somewhat simpler undertaking. Then few people knew anything about Sinai except what they had read in the Bible, and still fewer had visited it. That has been changed, and great numbers of men passed through the northern part on their way to Palestine under Lord Allenby.

Travelling by ship down the Gulf of Suez previous to the war, a lady pointed out to me the mountains of Sinai, and enquired if she was correct in thinking that it was part of Persia. As a contrast, in 1925, passing through the Suez Canal, a gentleman, who confessed he had never himself been in Sinai, told me more about it in ten minutes than I had learnt in fifteen years of residence there.

Sinai is about 150 miles across from east to west, and well over **Area.** 200 miles from the Mediterranean to the southernmost point, Ras Mohammed. Roughly, therefore, it covers an area of more than 20,000 square miles. The population, including the towns of El Arish **Population.** (7,000) and Tor (1,200), is probably not much more than 20,000 or 25,000.

The country can be divided into two main areas: the southern triangle between the Gulfs of Suez and Akaba, composed almost entirely of lofty granite mountains of wonderful colours and shapes, of a maximum height of 8,500 feet, separated by gravelly, dry water-courses; and the northern rectangle, about 120 miles deep from north to south, of limestone plains sloping down to the Mediterranean, and draining almost entirely into the Wadi El Arish (the "river of Egypt" of the Bible). Isolated blocks of hills rise from it, and on the west along the Suez Canal, and on the north along the Mediterranean, lie belts of sand.

The tribes are divided in the same way in these two areas into two distinct groups.

I first made acquaintance with the peninsula in 1906 at the time of

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on November 2, 1927, at the Royal Society's Rooms, Burlington House, W., Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the chair.

The Akaba Incident.

what is called "The Akaba Incident." Disagreements had arisen as to the boundary between Sinai, as part of Egypt, and Turkey, there being no delimited line. It was then reported that the only definite boundary mark, two old pillars under a tree at Rafah on the Mediterranean, were being removed by the Turks. The Governor of El Arish, an Egyptian official, was by descent a Turk, and on that account it was thought best to move him elsewhere. I was sent to El Arish. A few pictures showing the road to El Arish give an idea of the country. In many of the depressions among the sand-hills water can be found at the depth of a few feet, and wherever this occurs palm-trees are planted. The area contains from 80,000 to 100,000 palms.

King Baldwin.

Nearer to the sea are salt-flats, sometimes flooded in winter, and looking exactly like shallow ice-covered lakes. Close to the sea, and divided from it by a narrow spit of sand, is the lagoon of Bardawill called after Baldwin, who died in this neighbourhood in 1117. The Arabs still have stories of Baldwin and the invisible cap he possessed, stolen from him by his daughter and given to her Arab lover, who with its aid vanquished Baldwin in single combat. The groove of his trailing spear and the marks of his horse's hoofs were shown to me as evidence of the story.

El Arish.

Before Mohammedan times El Arish, or Rhinoculura, as it was then called, was the See of a Bishop, but no traces remain of any old buildings except for an occasional marble pillar or cut stone arch. The inhabitants have a variety of means of livelihood. They cultivate barley, fig-trees, date palms, and small gardens of vegetables. At the period of the southern migration of quail they make good money by netting them. They move to Egypt to pick cotton, and to Palestine to the harvest there when the crops are good.

They are ready for any kind of trade. For several months after the opening up of Palestine by the army of Lord Allenby the El Arish Post Office showed an average of £20,000 a month sent to Egyptian towns, no doubt in payment for trade goods, cotton stuffs, sugar, etc., of which Palestine was badly in need.

They are of very mixed race. El Arish has been the pathway of many conquering armies. One curious section of these people, the "Araishiet El Sahel" (Arishians of the plain), is gradually dropping its somewhat more civilized state, and is adopting a purely Arab mode of life.

My next visit to Sinai was to a very different scene. The Akaba Incident was pursuing its course of diplomatic discussion, and to strengthen the Egyptian arguments H.M.S. *Diana* was sent to Akaba, and a detachment of Egyptian infantry to Faroun Island, near the head of the gulf.

On the way down the Gulf of Suez we passed by the town of Tor. In early Christian times it appears to have been called Elim, and

many hermits dwelt in the neighbourhood. Later it gained importance as a port for Indian merchandise, but lost it again at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese opened up the sea route to India via the Cape.

In recent times the Egyptian Government decided on Tor as the best site for a quarantine station for pilgrims returning from Mecca, and there developed a most up-to-date quarantine station, capable of dealing with many thousands at a time. This was against the advice of Sir Richard Burton, who strongly advocated the advantages of El Wejh in the Hejaz. The Tor quarantine station was built before there was a thought of the Hejaz Railway, and was ideally placed for dealing with all pilgrims returning by sea.

Leaving Tor, we proceeded up the Gulf of Akaba, and anchored off **Faroun Island.** The fortifications on the island are attributed to Renaud de Chatillon in Crusader times—about 1170—but the Franks lost their hold in 1184, defeated by Malek El Adel, brother of Salah El Din. The point which strikes one most is the difficulty it must have been to keep such a place provisioned with water, since none exists on the island, the nearest being at Wadi Taba, a few miles north or across the head of the Gulf at Akaba.

An agreement was eventually come to with the Turks, and arrangements made for a delimitation Commission, which later on moved over the country between Akaba and Rafah, and fixed on a line. It fell to my lot to arrange the building of the pillars (150, I think) marking the line—not a very easy matter, since water was generally a difficulty. Of sand there was sometimes not enough, and sometimes too much.

By this time I was in charge of the whole peninsula, with headquarters at Nekhl, eighty miles east of Suez, my duty to keep the Arabs in some sort of order.

Nekhl Fort, with its well and masonry cisterns, is one of the chain of pilgrim stations established by Sultan Selim to guard pilgrims from Egypt on their way to and from Mecca. The fort was actually completed by Sultan Murad in 1571.

The Arabs had in the past been left to look more or less after themselves. The ancient Egyptians from the First Dynasty onwards went to Southern Sinai for what they could get in the shape of turquoises, **Sinai in History.** in the mining of which they used captives with military guards. Later on the Romans developed the northern part along the Mediterranean, but took no interest in the country south of a line from Suez to the edge of the coastal belt south of Rafah. With the rise of Arab power this southern area became part of Midian. In the sixteenth century Sultan Selim established the pilgrim road across Sinai, with forts at intervals and water facilities, but no attempt was made to do more than to protect the pilgrims by these measures.

In 1892, owing to friction with Turkey over the boundary, a senior

**Relations
with Egypt.**

Egyptian officer was sent as Commandant to Sinai, and he and his successors until 1906 did good work in settling Arab disputes and keeping things quiet. They were hampered by having a negligible number of police and no judicial authority.

Sinai Law.

The latter drawback remained a stumbling-block until July, 1911, when the "Sinai Law" was brought into force by Khedivial decree regularizing tribunals with definite powers in all criminal and civil cases, and with authority to "give judgment in accordance with well-established local usage and custom, save in so far as the same should be contrary to equity or good conscience."

Until the law made things good there was always a feeling of being on rather thin ice.

As a matter of fact, Arab courts are generally, to all intents and purposes, merely courts of arbitration, with assessors chosen by consent of both parties, to assess damage for one side or the other—where recent murder or crime is to be dealt with, they do not meet the case.

In general, the murderer or criminal vanishes for a period of many years to a far country, and here it is that under Arab custom it is possible to protect his innocent relations by allowing them to pay compensation. To prevent such reprisals and to await the criminal's return may sound more correct to European ideas, but it may not be feasible. The claims, first of all for the adoption, and now for the retention of the law allowing recognition to such Arab methods and customs as are not inequitable, are that it can be simply and cheaply administered. Also, more important, that it successfully enlists the co-operation of all Arabs.

The procedure at an Arab court is interesting. After agreement has been reached between both parties as to the three judges, the complainant places himself before the first judge, and, after depositing with him some pledge that he will pay his fee, states his case, if possible in verse; the defendant does likewise; the judge sums up in verse, and after a pause gives judgment. The parties may proceed to the second and then to the third judge, if still dissatisfied.

Each stage is accompanied by the decorating of the proceedings with the seals of all the principals and of any other important persons present.

The evidence of a woman is accepted as incontestable in any case in which she claims that she has been wronged. This may seem strange, but in such a lonely country it gives her a very necessary protection. Nor is the privilege abused.

Certain Arab customs it was impossible to countenance. For the entertainment of a guest it was permissible to seize and slaughter the sheep of a neighbour, returning to him a similar animal within fourteen days. This custom had nothing to recommend it (except to the guest), and was a source of quarrelling and bloodshed.

If unable to obtain recognition to a claim, it was permissible to seize camels and deposit them with a neutral person, thus forcing the owner to discuss matters.

It could be demanded of a person denying guilt of a serious crime that he should prove his innocence by swearing an oath, and at the same time licking three times a red-hot iron unscathed. The office of judge for this ordeal is hereditary, held by a family generally to be found east of Ismailia. The practice still goes on, though unrecognized. The implement is the ordinary iron ladle in which the coffee is roasted. The fees are heavy—about £10 from each party before the iron ladle is heated—and this has the effect of ending some disputes where the accused prefers to settle rather than pay a heavy fee, and in addition risk a burnt tongue and lose his case.

In August, 1882, Professor Palmer, called by the Arabs Sheikh Abdulla, and his companions, Captain Gill and Lieut. Charrington, were murdered in the Wadi Sudr. Professor Palmer, a great Arabic scholar, and possessing the most intimate knowledge of the Arabs, was proceeding from Suez up Wadi Sudr to purchase camels, and to allay the excitement amongst the Arabs of Sinai produced by the Arabi revolt. He and his companions were thrown down one of the deep chasms of limestone in the Wadi Sudr, the Arabs firing into them and killing them as they lay at the bottom.

The sheikh whom Professor Palmer had selected at Suez to accompany him had refused to undertake the responsibility, and the camel-men were a mixed lot from various tribes. Under these circumstances and with the countryside unsettled by the Arabi rebellion, it was dangerous to proceed. But it is probable that Professor Palmer, with his knowledge, realized and accepted the risk.

Sir Charles Warren hunted down the murderers, but rumour had it that until a few years ago the £3,000 taken by Professor Palmer's false guide was still holding out, a secret store in possession of his son Salem. Salem is now dead.

When I visited the place, the Arab showing me the spot refused to come near the brink, afraid that I should push him over and so take revenge.

At the head of Wadi Sudr, on an isolated, lofty, waterworn hill, lie the ruins of an old fort or castle built by Salah El Din in 1187, according to the late Naum Bey Shoucair, who visited it and found an inscription. It has the usual underground chambers for the storage of corn and water.

One of the great needs in 1906 was for a more adequate force of local police, together with measures on the frontier to put a stop to the frequent raiding parties, who came over, collected camels, and retired quickly.

Frontier Pre-
cautionar
Measures.

A fort of recent construction existed at Nueiba on the Gulf of Akaba, but it served no purpose and was more or less abandoned.

Frontier posts were erected at Kuntilla, Kossaima, and Rafah, and by degrees police were drafted into them under warrant officers, their duty, if possible, to stop raids, and, at any rate, to give warning to Nekhl. The best material for the police came from Nekhl itself, with the addition of a few Arabs and men from El Arish, Tor, and Akaba.

The total population of Nekhl was at that time only a little over 300, most of them descendants of Moors who had drifted there on their way back from the pilgrimage and settled down. They had a certain prestige among the Arabs, knew the country well, and were mostly camel owners, and so could mount themselves. In a year or two, from the original nucleus of 20 or 30, the police had grown in numbers to about 100 mounted and 20 dismounted men. It does not sound a large number for the size of the country, but they did the work most efficiently. Also they were cheap. Times have changed, and their pay is considerably higher now, but at that time the mounted man, finding his own camel, saddlery and forage, and his own food, received only £2 10s. a month; the dismounted man, £1 10s.

To assist police work generally, and particularly with regard to raids, telephone lines were built from Nekhl to the frontier posts of Kuntilla and Kossaima, and telephone communication arranged on the existing telegraph line between El Arish and Rafah.

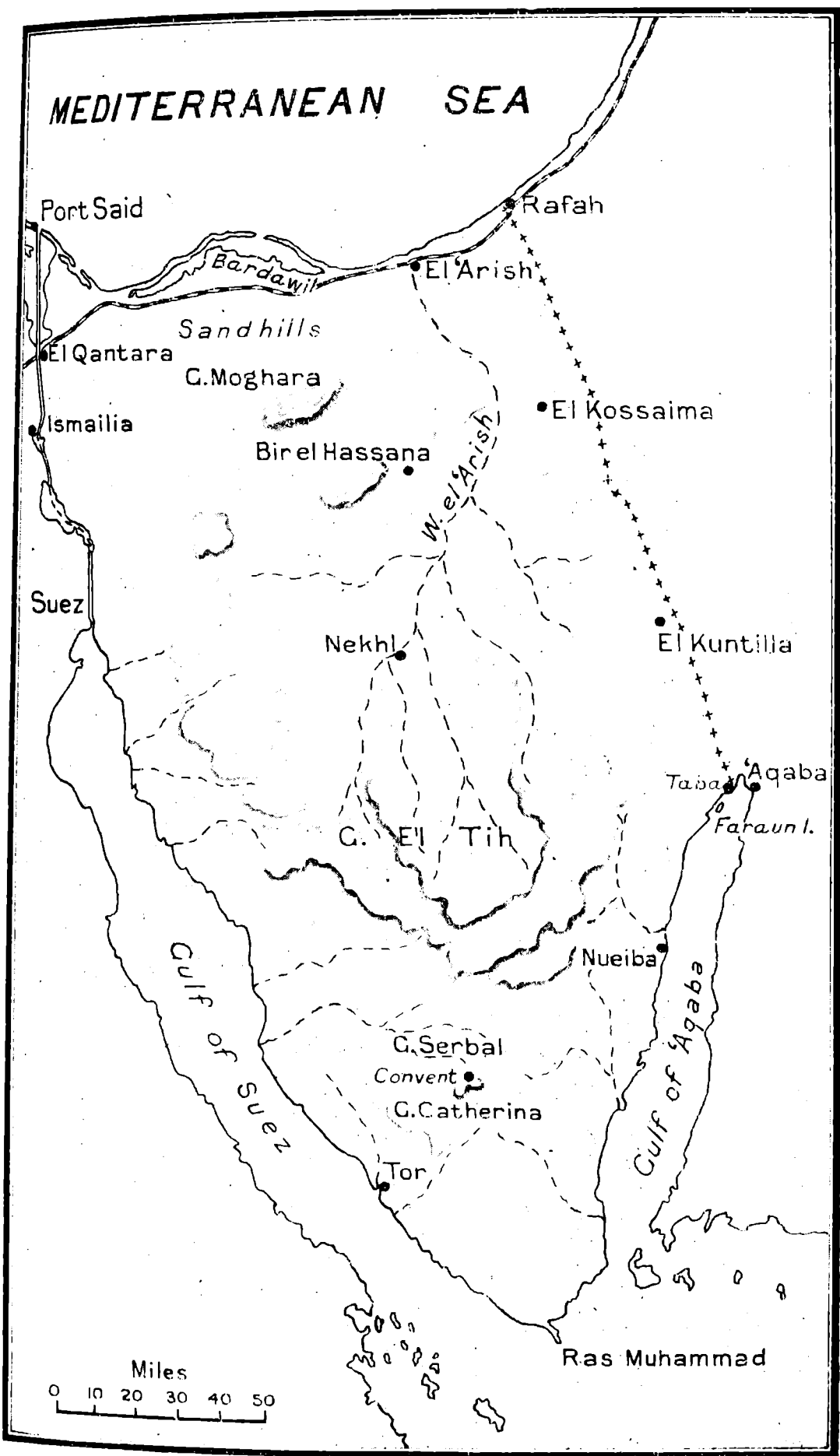
All these measures succeeded to a great extent in discouraging raiding parties and improving public security. With regard to the latter, a strict adherence to the principle of recognizing and of upholding the authority of the sheikh in his tribal area, while at the same time claiming responsibility from him for that area, had probably as much, if not more, effect than the purely police measures.

In addition to the ordinary administrative and police functions, various other duties had to be undertaken—among others, that of dispensing medicine. For anything internal a mixture of *asafœtida*, quinine, Epsom salts, and castor oil beaten up in warm water was the usual drug, and generally effected a cure—at least, the patient seldom came back for more.

On one occasion 150 Moors arrived from the pilgrimage at Nekhl *en route* for Egypt. The authorities in Cairo, being duly informed, gave instructions that they should be properly disinfected before being allowed to proceed. From a consultation of the medical handbook it appeared that corrosive sublimate was the strongest disinfectant; therefore, a large amount of solution was made of this. The pilgrims were made to sit down in rows, and they were watered with the garden watering-can. It was luckily a warm day, and they took it very well, and the result was excellent, as they developed no disease.

No talk of Sinai can be complete without mention of the convent.

MEDITERRANEAN SEA



THE SINAI PENINSULA.

To face p. 8.

Established by Justinian early in the sixth century, it has a continuous history since that time. Prior to its building there are said to have been hermits living in the neighbourhood and near Tor numbering up to six thousand. Their mode of life was intentional continuous starvation—certainly the district could give them little except a few dates. Jebel Katharine.

The Arabs frequently raided and slaughtered them, and it was to give them protection from Arab attacks, and also possibly as an outpost to guard the Empire against the growing Arab menace, that Justinian built the convent.

To return to more recent times : at the beginning of the war, Sinai, with the exception of Tor, was evacuated, and the defence of Egypt concentrated on the Canal. Recent History.

With the occupation of Sinai by the Turks, numbers of Arabs were enrolled by them as scouts and issued with rifles. They were no doubt useful as guides, but otherwise were not of much value.

But when the Turks were driven out of Sinai it became a problem as to how best to reassert authority. Fortunately, Turkish pay-lists were available, showing the name of every Arab employed. A system was adopted of demanding from the sheikhs the rifles of all men who had taken service with the Turks, or, in default, a fine of so much per rifle. The rifles were handed in or the fines paid, permission being given from Cairo to expend the money thus obtained in useful local works, such as well-digging.

Another problem was to find means to stop raids by Arabs from across the border. The arming of the Arab armies under the Emir Feisal consisted in handing a rifle and ammunition to any Arab who came and asked for it. Consequently, all the Arabs east of the frontier were excellently armed, and raids by determined parties of sixty or seventy men began to be common. And since the Sinai Arabs had been made to hand in their arms, it became necessary to protect them.

A company of Sudanese Camel Corps was raised in Egypt for the purpose, and after the raiders had run up against them on one or two occasions the raids ceased.

Before coming to an end I should like to say a few words about the inhabitants of the country, the Arabs. Sinai Arabs. There appear to be two distinct views of what Arabs are : one that they are all "sheikhs" wearing gorgeous clothes and riding blood horses on which they carry off white ladies ; the other that they are all low-down, cut-throat scoundrels. In Sinai neither view is correct.

There a great proportion of the Arabs live in a state of almost perpetual want—a hard life in a hard country. Utterly uneducated and ignorant, they have no respect for truth, and bribery is no shame to them. Generosity and honesty they invariably honour, even if they feel they cannot themselves afford either.

Some of them are extremely simple. On the occasion that H.M. the present ruler of Egypt assumed the title of King—I happened to be at one of the frontier posts—instructions had been given that proclamations of the event should be widely made. After collecting all the available Arabs of the neighbourhood, therefore, and with all the ceremony possible, the proclamation was read out. One old man looked extremely puzzled until the ceremony was over, when he came forward and congratulated me warmly. He thought I was being made King!

They are, of course, all Mohammedans, but are often unorthodox in their customs. For instance, in marriage the father of the bride, after receipt of the dowry, hands to the bridegroom a green twig, on which the latter takes his oath to cherish and keep his bride, and the ceremony is complete.

Their love or hatred of a man they perpetuate for generations. On the road between Nekhl and Akaba is the grave of a person execrated by all. What his crime or failing was I have never discovered. But whenever passing the place an Arab will cast a stone on a still growing heap, spit, and utter a curse. The story goes that an old Arab lady expressed pity for the man and refused to conform to the custom, with the result that next day, while herding goats, she fell down and broke her leg.

Arabs are not all simple, and the best of them are really fine characters.

Sheikh Mussa Abu Nessir was head sheikh of all the Arabs in Southern Sinai in 1906. A man of great fineness and strength of character, he ruled his district with much firmness and skill.

The story is told of him that when Professor Palmer was murdered he was sent for to Suez. Incidentally, on his way there he met a band of Arabs going to attack and loot the town of Tor. By his personal influence he turned them back, not indeed by his arguments, which failed to impress them, but by his finally drawing his sword and daring them to pass him.

At Suez, the story goes, he was taken before a Captain of the Royal Navy, who was making the enquiry, and interrogated about the murder through an interpreter. He did not like the accusatory tone of the interpreter, and remained silent. The officer asked what was the matter. He replied that he objected to being questioned as if he had had a hand in the murder, whereas he was doing all he could to find the murderers. If he were offered a chair and a cup of coffee he would discuss matters. The chair and the coffee were provided, and the enquiry proceeded.

I have only attempted to tell you tonight what I have actually seen and heard in Sinai. If you would study the antiquities, or the history, or the geology, many excellent books are available. A wilder-

ness of wonderful variety and charm, wide views of mountains, hills, and plains, a somewhat primitive people—it has been a pleasure to me to talk about them ; still more so if I have succeeded in interesting you.

Dr. W. RUSHTON PARKER: I would like to ask one question. Could the lecturer tell us whether he saw any evidence of the ancient Egyptians having worked any considerable amount of copper there? Professor Petrie, in his book on Sinai, gives one the impression that they got large quantities of copper from there. On the other hand, J. De Morgan, in his "Prehistoric Man," says this is absolutely untrue, that no copper ore was ever found in Sinai except small quantities of malachite, that anybody who knew anything about geology would know it could not exist there, and he goes on to state that Lepsius was the author of the mistake. He says that Lepsius found a lot of manganese there, and being ignorant of geology, took this as evidence of the Egyptians working large quantities of copper. I called Professor Petrie's attention to this, and he shrugged his shoulders and said there was no accounting for what people would say. He was in Sinai some twenty years ago, wrote a book on it, and there was considerable evidence of large amounts of copper having been worked in Sinai by the ancient Egyptians.

The LECTURER: If I am asked to decide between Professor Petrie and Lepsius and other authorities, I can only say I certainly think there is copper of some kind and some quantity. How much I cannot say, but one sees the colour of it. Whether the Egyptians mined it or went purely for the turquoises, which they certainly did extract, I am afraid I cannot tell you.

General Sir GILBERT CLAYTON: I do not pose as an expert on Sinai; perhaps I ought to be ashamed of myself on that account, for I have lived for many years all round it. But I know enough to be able to assure you that Colonel Parker this evening has given a very comprehensive résumé of an extremely interesting subject—historically, geographically, botanically, and geologically. It may be of some interest to recall the fact that Sinai has always been regarded in Egypt as the buffer against invasion from the direction of Palestine and Syria; so much so that Mehemet Ali granted certain privileges to the frontier Arabs in return for various military obligations. So far as I know, they still possess the privileges, though I am not quite so sure that they have continued to discharge the corresponding obligations. In any case, up to the beginning of the war, the administration of Sinai was vested in the Intelligence Department of the Egyptian War Office in Cairo, and was not under the Ministry of the Interior; and it was under that department Colonel Parker worked when he first went to Sinai. It was also to that department that fell the somewhat inglorious task

of extracting the then Governor from Sinai when the Turks attacked Egypt. It was successfully accomplished, as I can easily prove to you by producing the man himself, for he is in this room this evening.

The CHAIRMAN: As no one else seems to wish to say anything, I have the pleasant task of asking you to join with me in a vote of thanks to Colonel Parker. As I said when I introduced him, I have known him for a good many years. I met him at his headquarters at El Arish early in the Palestinian campaign, and saw him then among what I will call his subjects of Mount Sinai. I saw the respect, almost amounting to veneration, which he commanded. Personally I have not travelled much in the peninsula. I have been across the north of it from Egypt to Palestine a good many times, and I once paid a visit to the convent on Mount Sinai of which you saw the picture. You probably all know that tradition says that the body of Saint Katharine, after her martyrdom, was transported by the angels to the top of Jebel Katharine, which is opposite Jebel Mussa, the mount on which tradition says Moses received the tables of the commandments. I went as the guest of Porphyrios, the Archbishop of Mount Sinai, a very noble and dignified character and patriarch. I was received with great respect, and spent two or three days in that old convent, which the lecturer has told us was a post of Justinian's in Roman days. It was really an old fort, a magnificent old building. I climbed to the top of Jebel Mussa and found it stiff enough, and I did not try Jebel Katharine. It was a very interesting place, and those granite mountains that have been shown in the photographs are magnificent. The convent is several thousand feet above sea-level; it lies in a deep valley between mountains which rise round it to a little over eight thousand feet. As the lecturer said, occasionally the narrow gorges are washed by tremendous floods, and I think it is a fact that a great many fatal accidents happen even to the Bedouin in consequence of those great cloud-bursts. Imagine a cloud-burst coming down into one of those narrow gorges only three or four feet wide, with precipitous sides running up thousands of feet, and rocks polished to a height of two or three hundred feet in some places. But I will not delay you by saying anything further; I will ask you to join with me, and I am sure you will all join heartily, in thanking the lecturer for his most interesting lecture. (Applause.)

The Lecturer wishes to thank Lieut.-Colonel A. Jennings Bramly, D.S.O., and Major R. Greenwood for their kind help in lending films for slides.

THE TWO SIDES OF THE CASE IN CHINA*

BY G. E. HUBBARD

I AM afraid that my topic tonight—namely, the mutual grievances **Introduction.** between Great Britain and China—is not a particularly cheerful subject for a lecture. I intend to make it as little gloomy as possible, but I feel that it needs some apology. I have chosen it because in all the turmoil and confusion of the present situation in China it is the one thing about which discussion may lead to some use. The rest is mostly, as we say, China's own pidgin, and beyond our influence or control.

The bald fact is that the Chinese have a whole series of grievances, real or imaginary, against us, and we have a long list of indictments against them. The tension has eased a great deal since the fierce anti-British outburst of 1925, but one can only take a hopeful view of the future if one can see a definite movement on both sides towards clearing up the underlying causes of friction. A first step to this is, so it seems to me, a better comprehension of the case which each has against the other. I have therefore tried, for the purpose of this lecture, to visualize the two sides of the case as clearly and impartially as possible.

Before going further I must ask you not to take my remarks for more than they are worth. They are the impressions of quite a casual and unauthoritative observer. Your invitation to me to speak is my only warrant for speaking. Compared with the other Chinese residents who have spoken to this Society in the last year or two, I must class myself as a griffin. That is to say, I have known China for only seven years, the whole of which I have spent in Peking. In China one's views are particularly apt to be coloured by the local angle of vision, and this differs greatly in the various centres. If, for instance, a Treaty port resident is asked his opinion on the outlook and

* Lecture by Mr. G. E. Hubbard, Representative of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, given on November 9, 1927, Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond in the chair.

In introducing the lecturer the Chairman said: "Mr. Hubbard entered the public service as a member of the Levant Consular Service, in which capacity he acted as Secretary to the International Commission for the delimitation of the Trans-Persian frontier. He was later transferred to H.M. Diplomatic Service, and served for three years in Peking as First Secretary to the British Legation. After resigning from the Diplomatic Service, he joined the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Association, and has been their representative in Peking since 1924."

mentality of the average Peking resident, his remarks on the subject are quite likely to be strong and salutary. If, unconsciously, I am too much under the influence of the Peking angle, I can only plead that it is, or ought to be, a fairly wide one. Although the Pekingese are no longer so firmly convinced as they once were that the navel of the universe lies in the Altar of Heaven, still Peking remains a gathering point for Chinese of every province and foreigners of every country, and serves as a political and intellectual clearing house for the greater part of China. One's outlook is coloured by contact with a greater variety of opinion, both Chinese and foreign, than you are likely to get in any other part of the country.

For convenience' sake I am dividing my lecture roughly into two parts, treating the Chinese and the British cases separately, although they centre more often than not round the same set of facts. It is indeed sometimes difficult to know which side to treat as plaintiff and which as defendant. I am reminded of a little incident which happened some fifteen years ago, when I was serving under a distinguished member of your Society, Sir Arnold Wilson, on an international Commission to delimitate the frontier between Turkey and Persia. Our proceedings were being seriously delayed by the intransigent attitude of the Turkish and Persian representatives, who never could be got to agree on even the smallest section of the boundary. When the British Commissioner took one of his colleagues gently to task and asked him whether they could not get ahead without disputing every inch of the frontier, the latter, who usually came to the meetings with his own map bearing his own version of the frontier line well marked in red, replied in a hurt tone, "But I do not know what you mean. I never dispute at all; it is the other side that does all the disputing." This is the attitude which it is rather easy to fall into, and I find myself tending to put the onus of the dispute on to the Chinese side more often perhaps than might be done by a complete outsider. But from the very nature of things the initiative does lie more with the Chinese than with us, for the simple reason that in so many cases we hold the position of, I will not say *beati possidentes*, but at any rate of *possidentes*. It is therefore easier to lead off with the Chinese case, which I shall try to state without bias and to examine with sympathy. Otherwise I feel the subject is better left entirely alone.

THE CASE FOR CHINA.

A very large proportion of the grievances levied against us by China are really grievances against the Treaty nations as a whole. We are made the whipping boy, partly because for 200 years we have played the leading part in the history of China's relations with the West, and partly because Bolshevist propaganda in China has aimed at concentrating popular indignation against Great Britain. This is

especially true of what I may call the traditional part of the Chinese case. There is no time to trace the history of China's anti-foreignism in its early stages. I need only refer to the fact that the methods of the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch adventurers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in dealing with the Oriental peoples with whom they came in contact was, of course, hardly calculated to create a liking for the foreigner. I may also add, by way of a footnote, that the East India Company, when they came on the scene in the last phases of the struggle between the Mings and the newly arrived Manchus, did not improve matters by backing the wrong horse and giving assistance in arms and ships to the losing party. During the first century of British trade with Canton, the British merchant community established at that port seem to have made singularly little effort to adapt themselves to local conditions, and till the time of Robert Morrison there were, I think I am right in saying, no Englishmen with sufficient knowledge of Chinese to have direct dealings. The blame was hardly theirs, since it was the deliberate policy of the Chinese authorities to segregate foreigners, and they imposed a heavy penalty on any Chinese who gave lessons in his language. But however that may be, I have no doubt that the watertight existence of this first foreign settlement in China laid the seeds of the feeling which has now grown so strong against the foreign administered areas on Chinese soil.

China's complaints against Great Britain generally begin with what the writers call the "Opium Wars"—the wars, that is, of 1839 and 1856. The last thing that you can expect from any two countries is that they should agree on the real causes of a war in which they have fought against each other, and I need only remark that recent books by foreign as well as British authors show an increasing recognition of the inappropriateness of the term "Opium Wars." But whatever ambiguity there may be about the causes of the war, there is little doubt about the main result. This was a complete alteration of the relative positions of Great Britain and China. We, and the other foreign nations sheltering in our wake, were from 1860 on a totally changed footing. From being very much under-dog we became for a time at least decidedly top-dog. In one of the most recently published books on China, the author, Mr. R. O. Hall, traces the origin of China's protest against "unequal treatment" to this reversal of status brought about by the wars. "Plainly," he remarks, speaking of the Treaty of Tientsin, "the question of equality was still not settled. Britain is no longer dictated to, but dictating. There is no real agreement." This is true in so far as the Treaty was signed by the Chinese under duress. The Treaty itself, however, did little more than provide guarantees for the reasonable conduct of trade—reasonable, that is, from a European standpoint. Here we come to the crux of the whole matter: everything depends on the standpoint. The author quoted

Wars of 1839
and 1856.

Consequent
Treaties.

The Two
Points of
View.

abovegoes on to say, "Relations between us—that is, Great Britain and China—have always been, and are still, on an uneven keel. We are interested primarily in the commercial aspect of these relations; China primarily in the political aspect. Our main concern has been to develop and protect our trade; China's to retain her national sovereignty." To China we are one of the Powers; to us China is a market. This fundamental difference in outlook explains a great deal in the present situation. It may or may not be to our credit that we have stuck to a straightforward, matter-of-fact *trade* policy and that we have an instinctive dislike for the sort of organized cultural penetration that some nations indulge in. But I am sure that our relations with China would profit if we could occasionally relax our strictly practical outlook and try to see how certain questions at issue are likely to appear to the Chinese mind, coloured as it is with racial and national sentiment; and if the Young Chinese on their side could be brought more often to regard the same questions in terms of simple economics and clear their minds for a time of phrase-bound ideas about such things as national sovereignty.

We who live in China are becoming very tired, not to say exasperated, by the endless repetition of the words "imperialism" and "exploitation" in connection with our country. We know so well the utter absurdity of calling the present British policy in China imperialist—you might as well call black white—and it seems a sorry joke that a British merchant who is actually faced with ruin, thanks to the internal situation in China, should be solemnly accused of exploiting that country. But before disposing of these charges as meaningless, we must remember that in political affairs there is often a long gap between cause and effect. It would be as absurd to judge the Irish rising of 1918 without any regard to the history of Ireland in the second half of the eighteenth century, or to judge the Russian Revolution without considering the state of Russia under Alexander III., as to judge the present anti-foreign agitation in China without reference to China's history in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth. This is the time which Mr. H. B. Morse in his classic work describes as the Periods of Submission and Subjugation, and which Sir Frederick Whyte, in his recent Memorandum on China's foreign relations, issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, calls the period of European Aggression. During these thirty or thirty-five years the Powers did very much as they liked with China, and one can hardly refuse the Chinese the right to speak of the treatment they then received as foreign exploitation. The period includes the "Battle of the Concessions," and it is not to be wondered at that Young Chinese of today react strongly to the record of those years when their defenceless country was treated very much like a big plum cake. Let us try to see the picture through their eyes. China saw the loss of Kowloon,

China's Case,
A.D. 1862-
1913.

Port Arthur, Dalny, Kiachow, Weihaiwei, and Kwangchowwan; saw the foreign Powers implanting themselves in Manchuria and Shantung, and threatening to do likewise in some of the Southern provinces; saw the foreign Concessions and Settlements growing from despised stretches of foreshore on the outskirts of great Chinese cities into huge centres of shipping and trade entirely overshadowing their Chinese neighbours; saw foreign consular jurisdiction spreading further and further afield as more and more places were opened to foreign residence; saw the Chinese Custom service pass under the administration of a foreign staff, and foreign engineers and managers controlling the operation of most of the Chinese railways; and saw, finally, the Imperial Government parcelling out concession after concession under diplomatic pressure sometimes amounting to little short of an actual ultimatum.

There is another side to this picture with which I shall deal presently, but for the moment I wish you to see it in the aspect it generally wears to Chinese eyes. One must remember that the actions of the Powers of thirty, forty, and fifty years ago are being judged by the present generation of Chinese according to the international standards of our present League of Nations era, and that very many of them have not a wide enough historical background to realize the moral changes which have taken place in the course of half a century. The treatment received by China at the close of last century gave rise to scruples even at that period, and a great deal of it would certainly not pass the test of public opinion today. Because of this the more extreme Chinese demand repudiation. They do not realize the fact that among the Western nations the development of a new standard does not imply the abrogation of all that is gone before, and they are very hard to convince when the British Government announce their willingness to adjust treaty relations to present conditions as and when possible. They are singularly impervious to such patent facts as that they have only their own rulers to thank for not being already in re-possession of the leased territory of Weihaiwei.

Alteration in
Standards of
Judgment.

One of the chief war-cries of the present anti-foreign agitation is for the abolition of unequal treaties. I have found great difficulty in discovering from my Chinese friends what exactly this means. But I am inclined to think that they apply the term to the whole of the treaties between China and the Powers up to, say, the Mackay Treaty of 1902. In a sense, of course, all these treaties are unequal. Treaties can only be equal when the parties stand on an equal footing; and this, as I have already tried to bring out, has never been the case. In the first place, the treaties were mostly signed under pressure in some degree or other; and, in the second place, they are not mutual pacts like the common treaties of amity and commerce signed between Western nations, but are much more in the nature of charters of rights and liberties. These rights and liberties had to be won piecemeal from

a State which began by denying to aliens nearly all the privileges usually given by European countries. The position is well summed up by the following words in an American book on China which appeared a month or two ago, "China and the Powers," by Mr. Norton: "The unique conditions which prevailed in China and the impossibility of applying the ordinary procedure of international relations has made it necessary for other nations to devise various means by which they might secure protection for their nationals, their property, and their commerce through some action of their own. The right to exercise this unusual authority has in most cases been granted by the Chinese in treaties, some of which have been made willingly, some have been the result of defeat in war, and some purchased by the bribery of officials."

The Treaties.

The treaties are, in fact, the milestones in the century-long struggle to open trade with China. As such they are of necessity unilateral. Read by themselves, without reference to the peculiar obstructions which they were designed to overcome, they are one-sided pacts placing China in a position of distinct inferiority. Herein lies the rub. The Chinese, as we all know, are intensely sensitive on this question of relative status. "Face"—that is, the keeping up of appearances—plays a part in Chinese life which to us often seems quite disproportionate. Mr. Norton, the American author whom I quoted above, speaks of the conceptions of equality, independence and sovereignty as being worshipped as fetishes in China, regardless of what they imply in the way of political consolidation and administrative organization. Whether or not you call it a fetish, this idea of international equality undoubtedly does obsess the Young Chinese who feel the existence of the old treaties, putting China on a lower footing than the Powers, as a perpetual humiliation. I believe that the anti-treaty agitation arises as much from this general sense of humiliation as from resentment against the actual provisions of the treaties. Some of these are, of course, avowedly out of date, and it is only the disrupted state of China and the absence of a central body able to deal with the Powers on behalf of China as a whole which has prevented their being already revised or being under revision. Other of the so-called treaty rights are in point of fact not treaty rights at all, but are based merely on custom dating from the days when China was less jealous of sovereignty, or else are traceable to more or less haphazard arrangements made with old-time officials. The Chinese complaint is particularly, and perhaps justifiably, bitter about these foreign "encroachments," as he calls them. One of the commonest grounds of complaint is in connection with the various privileges claimed for foreign shipping on the Chinese inland waterways, particularly on the Yangtze, where native junk traffic suffers severely from the competition of foreign steamers, and where, in the swirls and eddies of the difficult gorges and swift upper reaches of the river, many

casualties are unhappily caused every year among the junkmen by the wash of the new high-powered vessels. It is unnecessary to point out that, on the other side of the book, the people of Western China reap the benefit of getting goods imported in far greater quantities and much lower price.

Closely related to the treaty agitation is the agitation against extra-territoriality—that is, primarily, the jurisdiction of foreign courts in China. Modifications of the existing system have been contemplated for the last quarter of a century, and at Washington the Powers resolved to overhaul the situation by means of an international Commission. The Commission met in 1926 and made a report which showed that a serious endeavour is being made in China to modernize and raise the standard of Chinese justice, but that the effect is largely nullified by the lack of reliable judges and by their susceptibility to outside interference, particularly from the military. The report made it clear that conditions in China are far from warranting the abolition of the judicial safeguards under which foreigners live, but the Commissioners suggested various changes which might be undertaken in order to pave the way. The British Government have since announced the steps which they contemplate taking in this direction—notably, the administration of Chinese law, when and where possible, by the British Consular Courts. Extraterritoriality.

Looking at the Commission's Report, at the excellent record of our courts in China, and at the British Government's sympathetic attitude, one may find it difficult to see any adequate reason for the Chinese agitation. There are, however, certain points not quite so obvious at first sight which need to be taken into account. Ours are not the only foreign courts in China, and it is important to remember that all the others have not by any means the same reputation as the British. Downright scandals in matters of foreign jurisdiction are unfortunately fairly common, especially in connection with the granting of foreign protection to Chinese citizens. Inevitably the Chinese are apt to judge extraterritoriality by its worst examples, just as we are tempted to judge it by its best. We must also remember the natural predilection which people have for their own institutions, good, bad, or indifferent, and we must not suppose that the Chinese see British ideas of justice, or we theirs, through the same lenses. There is probably a good deal of truth in the remark of Professor Willoughby, the well-known American writer on China, that while in theory the Chinese may always have a redress against an alien in the latter's court, there are so many difficulties in the way of language, difference in court procedure and the complexities of Western law, that a Chinese will frequently prefer to swallow a grievance against a foreigner than have recourse to the law. It goes without saying, moreover, that only a small number of Westernized Chinese have any definite idea of what English justice

means. A friend of mine in the Chinese consular service once had to make a three months' journey into a remote province to fetch a British Indian subject accused of murdering a fellow-countryman. Native witnesses, in the persons of local farmers, had also to be brought to give evidence at the trial. The prisoner turned out a sporting old Pathan who had killed his man in the course of an ancient family feud. He gave his parole not to escape, and the story goes that he and my friend returned to civilization walking side by side, swopping stories of shikar on the best possible terms, while a string of reluctant Chinese witnesses clanked behind them in chains. Perhaps the yarn has in the course of time been improved on, for I hardly think that the most imperialistic of British representatives would carry persuasion quite to these lengths; doubtless, also, the said witnesses eventually returned to their homes with completely revised feelings about British courts of law, but the story illustrates my point that we must not presuppose a true appreciation of our peculiar legal system among the mass of the Chinese. One must try to see the appearance that extraterritoriality has to the other side, however convinced one may be that foreign trade and residence in China need the continued protection of special safeguards in the present state of the country.

**Customs
Tariff.** The last important item on the list of what I may call the stock Chinese grievances is foreign control of the Chinese Customs tariff. The question is too involved to go into in detail, and I need only remind you that when China originally bound herself to keep to a fixed 5 per cent. *ad valorem* tariff, what the Powers had in their mind was to put a stop to the hopelessly arbitrary taxation of imports which prevailed at the different ports, and by its variations made foreign trade a huge gamble. The rate of 5 per cent. was taken as being a fair average, and was, at the time, acceptable to the Chinese Government, who did not look to the Customs for any large part of their revenue. Modern fiscal developments have altogether altered the case from the Chinese side. The Customs is now the chief source of national revenue, and naturally the limitation of duty rate is felt very hardly. At the same time the Chinese are very sensitive of the fact that theirs is the only autonomous country which is in the peculiar position of being unable to alter its own tariff arrangements. Resentment at this and at the continuance of the old "unscientific" flat rate has shown itself strongly for many years past. A quarter of a century ago Great Britain agreed in the Mackay Treaty to an increase of the 5 per cent. tariff if the Chinese would remove the illegal internal taxes which hampered foreign trade. The illegal taxes continued, however, and things remained as they were till the United Powers at Washington repeated the offer in 1922, and decided to hold a conference to bring it into effect. The Conference met in 1925, only to find that it had come together too late, as China was already splitting up and had no longer a responsible central

government. After the Conference had sat for some four months, the Chinese delegates were found to have faded away like the grin of the Cheshire cat, leaving their foreign colleagues facing a row of empty chairs. There was nothing to be done but pack up and go, and the Powers, who had in the interval recognized the principle of Chinese tariff autonomy, were left with the gift on their hands. Thus, by no fault of ours, the tariff question still remains an unsettled grievance and one of the leading items in the Chinese case.

I must pass over the outcry against the foreign element of control in the public administrations, though I should like to express my belief that the agitation against foreign supervision of the Customs is confined to matters of detail among the more moderate Nationalists, who cannot but realize that their country had no better friends or champions of her international rights than the two great English heads of the service, Sir Robert Hart and Sir Francis Aglen. I must mention, however, in connection with China's general anti-foreign grievances, the effect of her experiences in the Great War, and especially at the Peace Conference. There is no doubt that her feeling against the Powers as a whole was a good deal hardened, first by the attack on her independence which she detected in Japan's Twenty-one Demands, and secondly by the slighting of her claims at Versailles for the recovery of Tsingtao and the other benefits which she had hoped to obtain as one of the Allied nations. I cannot go into the diplomatic history of the case, but one is bound to feel, in the light of subsequent developments, that the Powers' delay in turning their attention to China's chapter of grievances has been very disastrous. If the same attitude towards Chinese "aspirations" had been taken up in Paris in 1919 as was taken up at Washington in 1922, and if the implementing of the Washington resolutions had been taken in hand at once, instead of four years later, the grievances would, I am sure, have lost very much of their edge. The delay in calling the Tariff Conference, due to a dispute between France and China only remotely connected with the question of tariffs, convinced many Chinese that the offers made at Washington were insincere, and undid much of the good of the Conference. There is a certain grim humour in the fact that the move was eventually taken by the Powers at the identical moment when the storm of anti-foreignism broke loose in China, and when China itself fell into hopeless disunion, putting all chances of an amicable settlement of differences for the time being out of the question.

I have finished with the more general grievances of which we share the odium in greater or lesser degree with other foreign Powers; there remain the various "incidents" of the last two years, for which in Chinese eyes we stand alone in the dock—that is to say, the Shanghai affair of May 30, 1925, the Shameen affray later in the same year, and the Wanhsien bombardment (to use the Chinese phrase) of the summer

China at the
Peace Con-
ference.

China's Case
against
Great Britain.

of 1926. The facts are by now sufficiently well known, and I want only to bring out the differences of aspect which they present to the two sides. In regard to the Shanghai incident *we* naturally concentrate on the police aspect. *We* see it primarily as a mob riot which threatened the public safety, and had to be suppressed by the police—by firing, if everything else failed. If we have followed the evidence in the case, we are probably convinced that the police officer in charge held his hand till the latest possible moment, and only resorted to firing as the last means of saving his station from being broken into and looted of its arms. The Chinese mind flies to the political aspect, and concentrates on the picture of a crowd of eager young students demonstrating in the recognized Chinese way over a case of the violent death of a Chinese worker in a Japanese mill. The students clash with the police and several die, killed with foreign bullets on Chinese soil. The typical Chinese view ignores the problem of the English police inspector defending his station, and, potentially at least, the lives of hundreds of peaceable citizens, just as the typical foreign view ignores the state of mind of the students and pays little attention to the natural feelings evoked by their death. You can easily see what a huge margin for misunderstandings lies between the two extremes.

The gap was unfortunately broadened, rather than narrowed, by the subsequent handling of the case. The Chinese, to put it mildly, "went off the deep end," and for some months there was a raging campaign against the British in which we had every sort of insult and vilification poured out on us. I happen to have a cottage not far from the Agricultural College a little way outside Peking, and my early morning rides habitually take me past the famous wall with its white-paint inscription, "Goddam all Britishers get out of this road." A certain originality of spelling on the part of the artist who wielded the brush fortunately lends it the touch of humour which it might otherwise lack. On the foreign side there was a delay of nearly four months—largely due to international bickerings—in holding the open enquiry which the affair so obviously and urgently called for, and it is hardly to be wondered at that this apparent inactivity produced on the Chinese an impression of indifference and even callousness. Everything conspired to exacerbate feeling on both sides, and a wound which with proper handling might have healed cleanly has left a deep and lasting scar.

There is the same divergence of angle in the Shameen and Wanhsien affairs. The latter particularly is wrapped in a fog of controversy, and is still the cause of a virulent anti-British movement on that part of the Yangtze. Here again one sees each side treating as incidental what the other side views as the main feature of the case. *We* concentrate on the rescue of the British captains and engineers imprisoned

and threatened with violence, if not death, on board the impounded vessel; *the Chinese* concentrate on the bombardment of the town which took place in the course of the cutting-out operations. As is so liable to happen in China, the distortion of facts has passed all limits and the shelling of selected points in order to silence the fire on our own ships has been magnified into the destruction of a great city and the taking of thousands, or even tens of thousands, of lives. The circulation of such reports, received perhaps in perfectly good faith by countless Chinese in distant parts of the country, is one of the most constant threats to Sino-British relations, and one which it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to counter.

One of the most damaging is the widespread belief that we are supporting the Northern faction against the South. It is quite unnecessary to say that the British Government have kept the strictest neutrality, and that the charge of Great Britain supplying money and munitions of war is an absurd invention. Inevitably, however, colour is lent to the charge by the fact that the Northern militarists have received free-lance assistance from individual Englishmen who have found it possible to give valuable expert help without exceeding the limits laid down in the Order-in-Council. It is also true that British opinion in China as a whole, and the English Press in particular, favours the North—as being the party who show the greater respect for international obligations, and have the clearer record as regards acts of violence against foreign lives and property. One may perhaps express a regret that the English newspapers in China, while dealing so fully with political matters, where honest, outspoken criticism is unfortunately bound to hurt Chinese feelings, handle so sparingly non-political matters of more purely Chinese concern, in regard to which they could take a far more friendly tone. There are movements afoot in China which show plenty of hard endeavour and a fair measure of achievement, but where they do not affect the foreigner they are apt to be passed by. My friend Mr. Rodney Gilbert prefaces his recent book "What's Wrong With China," by saying that he could without difficulty write several volumes on "what is right." I could wish he had done so. The latter subject is too much left to the pens of people who in the public mind rank as professional apologists. It is not altogether without reason that modern Chinese turn against the average Englishman in China the very same charge of exclusiveness that our early merchants voiced so loudly against the Chinese in the Mandarin era.

I have now closed the Chinese side of the case. It has been painfully long, though I have no doubt that some of my Chinese friends would have no trouble in making it considerably longer, and I fear that it consists of little more than a dry catalogue of grievances. I wish I could analyze them better and offer more useful deductions.

Distortion of
Facts.

Being too little of an historian and a philosopher to do either, I can only hope that someone better equipped will undertake the task when I have finished my paper. In the meantime I go on to the British side of the case, which for lack of time I shall have to compress into slightly shorter space.

THE CASE FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

As I have just intimated, our early complaints against China bear a curious resemblance to China's present complaints against us. British merchants in China of a hundred years ago were in continual protest against their unequal footing and the humiliations and impositions put upon them by the Chinese. Foreigners at Canton endured many of the same disabilities as the mediæval Jew, being forbidden, for instance, to use a palanquin; our first ambassadors were made to approach the Emperor in the guise of tribute bearers, and the Emperor himself writing to King George III. acknowledges the latter's "respectful humility," but firmly refuses to accept an ambassador to the Celestial Court on the grounds that it would hardly be possible for an English envoy to acquire even the rudiments of Chinese civilization, for which purpose alone the Emperor conceived it possible that we should want to send one. And with all this the foreigner on Chinese soil enjoyed what, by his own customs and standards, might be called a minimum of protection and a maximum of extortion.

Treaties
necessary for
Foreign
Trade.

I mention this ancient history only to lead up to the point that the foreigner, being denied so much of the common everyday privileges which an alien ordinarily gets in a civilized foreign country, had, if he wanted to trade on a large scale, to secure special rights by other means—namely, by *treaties*. The point is important, as so many of our grievances against China revolve round the treaties. To raise the question whether we and the other foreign nations were morally justified in forcing China to open herself to international trade and intercourse is to beg the whole question, and may therefore be left out of discussion. What is, of course, debatable is how far the early treaties overshot the mark of securing just what was requisite and reasonable for the sake of trade. I confess that the Palmerstonian attitude at the time of the China wars as presented in Mr. Philip Guedalla's life of that statesman, which I have just been reading, has not lessened my doubts. But whatever may be thought of the past, the British Government of today have given a lead in clearly intimating to China that they are ready to modify the treaties so as to get rid of provisions which are definitely out of keeping with modern conditions, and have shown that they ask for nothing better than that the Chinese should find the means of starting negotiations for this purpose on a national basis. In the meantime our Government are very patently refraining from pressing any but the most unquestionable of our treaty rights and

privileges. One may add in parenthesis that this decidedly liberal attitude has received very inadequate acknowledgment from the Chinese side.

In practice, therefore, we need consider only the most essential, and perhaps I may say the most completely tenable of the treaty provisions. Of these there are two things to be said: firstly, that the present internal state of China is such that the special safeguards for foreign trade and residence are almost, if not quite, as necessary now as they were ever before; and, secondly, that the whole edifice of foreign life and trade in China, involving nowadays thousands of Englishmen, millions of pounds' worth of British property, and a quite important percentage of British exports, has developed under these safeguards *in full faith that they would continue until replaced by the normal safeguards of a modern administration*. There is a large body of responsible, and may I say unprejudiced, opinion in China which holds that the edifice will crumble if the safeguards go.

An essential part of the British case against China is the gradual undermining, followed of recent years by a downright disregard for the foreign rights accorded by the treaties. The Nationalists in a great many cases have frankly ignored them. One of the main treaty safeguards is the fixing of the taxation on foreign imports. The import duty is set at 5 per cent., and internal taxes are compounded for by a further 2½ per cent. In addition, foreign goods entering Shanghai and the Southern ports have for some time past been paying the extra 2½ per cent. which the Powers were preparing to concede as a first step towards a general revision of the tariff when the Tariff Conference dissolved. While this is the position in theory, in practice the Chinese authorities have been taxing foreign goods so mercilessly in the interior that big businesses have had to close down altogether; while only recently the Nanking Government, snapping their fingers at the 5 per cent. tariff, imposed heavy surtaxes on imports which, according to the newspaper reports, were only removed under very strong hints from the country chiefly affected—namely, Japan.

Chinese are very ready to discount this grievance of the foreign merchant by referring to the servitude imposed on China by the tariff limitation. On the surface and at first sight an inhibition to alter the tariff on foreign goods does seem an intolerable restriction on a nation's freedom. But let us come down to the facts. I have already pointed out that the fundamental object of the tariff clauses is to protect foreign trade from the hopelessly unregulated and arbitrary taxation which goes on all over China. Chinese bred to the game may be able to cope with the rapacious military tax collector and survive; foreign trade, which depends above all things on a certain degree of fixity in the matter of charges, would simply shrivel up before the untempered blast. Protection from irregular and uncontrolled taxation is

Arbitrary
Taxation.

a vital matter, which must be treated independently of the question of tariff rates. We have already proved to the Chinese our willingness to rectify the latter, and to pave the road to eventual tariff autonomy; in the meantime we have every right to demand that they should not, as the Nationalists have threatened to do, scrap the treaties, and leave our trade with China exposed to the arbitrary exactions of local officials as it was in the old days of the East India Company.

Disregard of
Public Debt.

Worse than the interference with trade, inasmuch as it is more deliberately aimed at foreign interests alone, is the growing practice of dishonouring the foreign loans. If our merchants and manufacturers have a well-founded grievance over China's disregard of her commercial treaties, the public generally have an equally strong grievance over her disregard of her public debts. As a country we have lent China some fifty millions of pounds on fair terms and for useful purposes. The fact that she may have suffered from exploitation at other hands gives no excuse for her cavalier treatment of the British bondholder. Her debts to us fall into three main categories—firstly, loans raised at the end of last century to liquidate her war debt to Japan, secured on the Customs; secondly, loans raised to carry out administrative re-organization after the 1911 Revolution, secured on the revenues of the Salt Gabelle; thirdly, loans raised for building railways, secured on the revenues of the railways themselves. By the terms of the loans contracts, the collection of the Salt revenue was systematized and re-organized under semi-foreign supervision; while in the case of the railways the Chinese Government undertook to employ foreigners in certain key positions, such as chief engineers and chief accountants, where they could see to the proper working and keep an eye on the finances.

Thanks to the existence of the Chinese Maritime Customs Administration the loans secured on Customs revenue are still intact. Those secured on the Salt revenue are on the point of going into wholesale default, the portion of the revenue which China—in this case the Government at Peking—is reserving for the bondholders being only a fraction of the necessary amount. Actually the revenue collections throughout the country have, through the reforms effected by the foreign Associate Inspectors-General in the past, Sir Richard Dane, Sir Reginald Gamble, and Sir Ernest Wilton, been built up till their total is some four or five times the amount required for the foreign loans. Of this nearly the whole—some nine-tenths at a reasonable estimate—is being forcibly “appropriated” (to use the polite term) by Chinese authorities all over China who are utterly regardless of China's public loan contracts. The Nationalist provinces have ceased to contribute anything, while even the Northern Government allows its military subordinates to seize the revenues within ninety miles of the capital.

The case of the railway loans is equally bad. Unlike many other

newly developing countries, such as the South American Republics and even the United States in its early days, China was permitted to build and own her own railways. The earnings, after paying the fixed loan charges, have gone not to foreign shareholders, but to the Chinese Government, who have drawn many millions from this source. The only important exceptions to this are the South Manchurian Railway, which belongs to the Japanese, and the Yunnan Railway, which belongs to a French company. Out of the money borrowed from foreign nations, chiefly ourselves, China has provided herself with a network of first-class railways, built with foreign technical assistance, and so well built that their survival of the gross neglect and misuse which they are now enduring from the militarists causes amazement even to professional railwaymen. The loans were made virtually on trust, for although in some cases China gave the bondholders the right to foreclose on the lines in case of default, the right is, in the nature of things, almost useless unless backed up by physical force. The money was lent at rates of interest and discount which average under 6 per cent. and are repayable by amortization in the usual way. One may say, in short, that China, like Mr. Drage's customers, has furnished on the instalment system and furnished cheaply and well. Now, having the furniture in the house, she is refusing to pay up and the unfortunate British public has to bear the brunt. If this seems an unfair way of putting it, in view of the fact that the railways in default are largely removed from the authority of the proper departments, and have fallen under the regional control of military commanders, I can only say that one looks in vain for the slightest sign that Chinese public opinion is in any way exercised over the resulting defaults. Not only does the taking of the bondholder's money remain unchallenged, but Chinese journalists and writers often speak of the railway loans as if they provided a grievance not to the unpaid lender, but to the unpaying borrower, so that even a responsible American writer at the present time is led to write of China having "borrowed at ruinous discounts and usually for wholly unconstructive purposes vast sums of money for which she has bargained away railway and other concessions of enormous value."

The tragic record of the last year or so has provided us, as well as China, with more specific grievances than all the years before. First there is Hankow. Our concession there was taken from us last year by mob violence. Our Government having offered to negotiate for its return under joint Sino-British control, the Chinese Nationalist authorities demanded, and got, terms which gave them a heavy preponderance in the future management of the area. The result has been that a remarkably prosperous, clean, orderly, and well-governed township has degenerated into one with disordered finances, a hopelessly undisciplined police, and such a breakdown in sanitation that the

Deterioration
in Hankow.

foreigner residents are dreading the prospect of terrible epidemics in the next hot season. From all accounts the Chinese have treated the chief administrative posts simply as political plums. The last incumbent is reported to have fled, taking with him a wad of public funds. It is a little hard to distinguish the effects of Chinese control in the concession from the effects of other actions by the Nationalist Government, in particular their embargo on the use of silver and their forcing on the public their own currency notes. Between the two, however, our Hankow trade has been largely ruined and our people there reduced to wretched conditions. When the Chinese appeal against the existence of foreign-controlled areas on Chinese soil, it is impossible not to sympathize with their feelings in the matter. From their point of view the contrast in cleanness, freedom, and good management inside and outside the concessions only makes it worse. But you cannot unwrite history. Foreigners—mainly ourselves—have developed the despised stretches of foreshore given, in early days, as a sort of foreigners' ghetto. By generations of enterprise, a great expenditure of industry, and the investment of millions of pounds of capital they have converted what have been fitly called mudflats into model ports of which the makers are justly proud. For the government of these ports they have created public-spirited bodies under whose beneficent wing the Chinese have flocked by thousands into the areas to live in security and peace. One asks nothing better than that China should elaborate the art of municipal government sufficiently to be able to absorb these areas without at the same time ruining the machinery. The process ought, in my humble opinion, to be helped forward by admitting Chinese to a growing share in the administration. (Shanghai, by the way, has offered three places on the Municipal Council to Chinese citizens, and the offer has been rejected.) But for China at the present stage to take over the dominant control of our concessions would simply mean the collapse of the structure which has been so carefully built up and the almost certain loss of a large part of the invested capital. Inevitably the Municipal Government would be dragged down to the level of Chinese standards, as has happened already in the case of Tingtao, once perhaps the best kept port in China. A sudden change of this sort would be the grossest injustice to the local British residents and a serious blow to British interests in general. Furthermore, when Chinese demand a controlling voice for Chinese ratepayers in the foreign concessions, they are demanding a power which Chinese residents do not possess in their own cities, and which they have never yet been taught how to use in anything dimly resembling our Western democratic methods. Political elections in China before Parliament was finally dissolved reached a point of open corruption which is almost unbelievable, and much education is needed

before Chinese ideas of representative Government can even begin to come into line with our own.

I have left to the end the most general and comprehensive of our grievances against China—namely, the Anti-British movement in all its varied forms: boycotts, strikes, vilification in speech and press; insults and physical injuries from the looting of schools and godowns to the murders at Nanking. In regard to these events, facts speak for themselves, and I have no need to elaborate. While recognizing the causes which exist for anti-British feeling, one cannot but stand aghast at the shape which it has taken during the last two years—the insensate fury of the students, the intransigency of the officials, and the utter rejection of common sense and reason by the educated people at large. Precisely how much of this one must put down to Bolshevik instigation it is very hard to know, but that Russia has played a very large part indeed is patent to every resident in China.

**Anti-British
Agitation.**

I have no time to branch off on to Bolshevism in China, and there is nothing to be gained by merely railing at China for displays of national anglophobia. But one word I want to say about the literary element. The Chinese Nationalists accuse our local papers of lacking sympathy for their ideals and of sneering at them whatever they do, but they cannot honestly deny that our editors, whatever their political bias, endeavour to serve out the truth when dealing with facts. Chinese writers, on the other hand, are exceedingly prone to throw truth to the winds, and if not to write what they actually know to be false, at least to make no effort to find out the facts of the case. Through them a vast amount of misinformation about China has been spread throughout the world. To take a concrete example, I have lately read in a journal published in England by highly educated Chinese the statement that the Chinese Customs revenues have been devoted, under the foreign "autocrat," Sir Francis Aglen, entirely to the foreigners' interests. The writer undoubtedly knew that, as the agent of the Chinese Government, Sir Francis has for years past been paying out millions from the revenue for Chinese domestic loans, while the same Government was allowing its foreign obligations to fall rapidly into default. This sort of deliberate misstatement is all too painfully common, and is one of the worst obstacles to a better mutual understanding.

**The Chinese
Press.**

This completes the British side of the case, which, for lack of time, I have had to make rather sketchy. I have tried to draw a dispassionate picture of China's failings as we see them, and of our failings as China sees them. I doubt if it has done much to clarify the issues, but I hope to have brought the parts into slightly better perspective than they usually seem to occupy in the eyes of both sides. There is a big river to cross before British and Chinese can get on to even reasonably good terms. In the past each side has shown a decided tendency to hug its own bank. For the last eighteen months, however, we have

been doing our share, if not a good deal more than our share, to bridge the stream. The British Government have declared a conciliation policy, which they have clung to even when it has meant submitting without resistance to wholesale violations of our treaties, and leaving British subjects in the interior, and at the lesser Treaty ports, to be insulted, pillaged, and evicted from their property with impunity. The response from the Chinese side has been disappointing, though the results are not surprising to those who know how difficult it is for the Chinese mind to conceive of a voluntary surrender of rights being dictated by any other motives than weakness and fear. It is a painful fact, but true of China, that, without evidence of a reserve of strength in the background, conciliation generally invites less gratitude than contempt. We who live in China know, too, how little impression is made by solemn declarations and assurances on the part of a foreign Government. Declarations of exactly the same sort are the regular stock-in-trade of every military leader in China, and are hardly even intended to be taken seriously. Consequently one must not expect the Chinese to be influenced very much by such pronouncements as the British Government's memorandum of December last year. What has no doubt had a good deal more effect has been the proof of strength given by the sending of the troops, and the proof of good faith given by the observance of the promise (which at the time hardly any Chinese believed) that the troops would be used only for protecting Shanghai.

CONCLUSION.

But even if there is nothing that one can call a positive rapprochement, there is a distinct easing off of the antagonism of two years ago. A Chinese paper at Shanghai has recently, for instance, begun to challenge the stereotyped Chinese view of England, and to question whether the Chinese are right in treating us as inimical and as being at the bottom of all their troubles. The paper referred to Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech of last January, and admitted that we have given proof of our intention to help China. British opinion, on its side, seems more and more concerned to winnow out the good elements in Chinese nationalism from the overlying mass of tyranny, corruption, and anti-foreign fanaticism. Sir Frederick Whyte, who headed the British delegation to the Pan-Pacific Conference at Honolulu, is giving valuable help, too, as an interpreter of our case to China and of the Chinese case to us. To re-establish our relations on a really good footing will certainly be a slow and painful business—unless, that is, we cut the knot by simply throwing over our whole position in China and sacrificing the work of the five or six generations of Englishmen who built it up—but the process will be materially speeded up by a better comprehension on both sides of the real causes of friction and discontent and of what we are each aiming at. A move in this direction is

evidently being made in India, where the Viceroy has just spoken of the greater disposition to deal with the actual facts of the situation. One can only hope for the same in China.

Mr. E. MANICO GULL: Ladies and Gentlemen,—With one statement in Mr. Hubbard's lecture I absolutely and entirely disagree—I entirely and absolutely disagree that he has not clarified the situation. (Laughter and applause.) It seems to me that is precisely what he has done, because he has given you a dispassionate and absolutely fair statement of both sides of the case; and he must have suggested to your minds what to my mind at all events appears to be a really crucial point in the whole position—he must have suggested to your minds this consideration: How is it that they have not administered justice on reasonable and decent lines? How is it that they squeeze and extort money in every possible way? To what extent can their case against us be genuine if they so signally fail to administer by any sort of reasonable standard? I think that Mr. Hubbard has given you both sides of the picture fairly, and in so far as his statement leaves the consideration to which I have just referred paramount and obvious, I think he has done a very great deal to clarify the situation. I personally am extremely grateful to him. (Applause.)

Sir CHARLES ADDIS: Mr. Hubbard has presented one aspect of a wide and complicated subject with moderation and lucidity. It is misunderstanding and misrepresentation—and, as we have heard, there is plenty of both—which keep nations apart. Mr. Hubbard has rendered an international service in helping to remove the first and correct the second by a balanced and dispassionate statement of the alleged grievances of both parties to the dispute. It is not a contest, as is commonly supposed, between the North and the South. The Nationalist movement is common to all parties in China, even to the military despots in the North, that group of bandits who move like fantastic figures across the stage, form and re-form, finish and vanish. Contrast this with the Kuo-min-tang or Nationalist party, which originated in the South, has survived the death of its leader, Sun Yat-sen, has advanced to the Yangtze, and for a dozen years has continued its political propaganda with unabated force. It may be—my object in these remarks is to elicit the opinion of Mr. Hubbard—that what we are witnessing in China is not a war against the foreigner, still less a war against this country, but a contest in which a party, the Kuo-min-tang, is trying to purge the country of a military despotism which, although subdued in the South, still maintains its control in the North. If that is so, the solution of the China problem—I put this tentatively and interrogatively—may lie in the gradual consolidation of the Kuo-min-tang as the nucleus of an ultimate Central Government with which we can deal. Mr. Hubbard has shown, I think conclu-

sively, that the questions between us and the Chinese are perfectly susceptible of solution. The main difficulty is that there is no Central Government, no adequate authority, with which we can deal. The Powers cannot take sides until the time comes when the consolidation of one political party may be sufficiently advanced to justify foreign assistance. Until then China must be left to work out her own salvation. Our main object is to trade with the Chinese, and we can only do so by winning their good-will. It is absurd to suppose that friendship can be cemented by force, and without force it is impossible to impose a government upon any free people, however better, cleaner, and more just such a government may appear to us. The British Government has, Mr. Hubbard has told us, formed a policy and consistently adhered to it. It is important to bear in mind the statement, the deliberate statement, of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that that policy is designed not merely to redress the immediate grievances from which our countrymen at present suffer, but also to regulate the relations in which for a hundred years to come the great country of China and our own will have to live together.

Mr. MAYERS : I would like to associate myself with the expressions of appreciation that you have heard from Mr. Gull and Sir Charles Addis regarding the lecturer's very able presentation, and may I say compression, of a very wide subject. The question has been raised by Sir Charles Addis's remarks as to the lecturer's opinion regarding the Nationalists, and before the lecturer replies I would like, as an old resident in China, to give expression to some views on the subject. I would like—I do so without any fear of contradiction—I would like to interpret the foreign view regarding Chinese Nationalism as I have seen it grow throughout the past thirty years. I can safely say that no well-informed foreign resident in China, whose lot is cast there, and whose lot is bound up with the prosperity of the country—no foreigner whose opinion one would respect—can have anything but admiration for the decent national feeling on the part of the Chinese, or can be under any allusion as to whether this Chinese or that Chinese is a Nationalist. All the four hundred million of them are Nationalists. Their very anti-foreign feeling, which all who are in relationship with them have evidence of—all that anti-foreign feeling, after all, if you analyze it, shows a strong nationalistic spirit. The militarist of the North—that figure alluded to just now by Sir Charles Addis as appearing on the stage and fading away—he is just as nationalistic as the young fellow straight from an American or Japanese University. He is just as anxious to see his country in a better international position. He cannot give expression to those views in the same glib manner as the foreign trained students and youths, but in spirit he is, if I may use the expression, just as good a Chinese as his American educated or Japanese educated son or nephew. The spirit of national-

ism is there, and all students of the country and its problems fully recognize it. They fully recognize its reasonableness when kept within reasonable bounds, and their only complaint against the Chinese nationalism which has been most visible during the past twenty months is that it has been deflected from its reasonable course into an unreasonable hatred of the foreigner in general and of the British in particular. Whether Sir Charles Addis is quite right in somewhat idealizing the Kuo-min-tang, the Nationalist party, I feel doubtful. The Nationalist party is also made up largely, as I suppose all parties are, of individual leaders. The rank and file of the party does not count for very much, and it is a very fertile party, shall I say? It breeds new leaders very rapidly. They are always breaking into a right wing, a left wing, and a centre; and then those component parts split off again, and you get the Hankow party, the Canton party, the Peking party, and the Shanghai party. Those are at the present moment the four main parties of the Nationalist movement. The Peking party remain very quiet because the militarists there do not approve of them; but in the other three centres, Hankow, Shanghai, and Canton—and in recent months Nanking—you have four divergent parties of the Kuo-min-tang; and their leaders come and go and fade away just as the militarists do. I very much doubt whether the development of affairs will lead to that conclusion when we shall find something that may be called the Kuo-min-tang as the element which will eventually control the Chinese people. But once one gets into the realm of prophecy one view may be just as right as the other. I personally express great doubts. My doubts are based upon this—that the Kuo-min-tang has taken so much politically which is entirely alien to the Chinese civilization that I cannot see why they should have a more favourable chance of winning out and dominating than the more moderate progressive Chinese party, that which is found more chiefly in the North, which is based on Chinese thought and Chinese civilization, and which is the natural outgrowth of it. However, I feel I have encroached a little upon the answer that is expected really from our lecturer, so I will conclude by congratulating my friend Mr. Hubbard on the able way he has treated his subject. (Applause.)

A VISITOR: Is it permissible for a visitor to ask a question? The speaker referred to the failure of Chinese public opinion to protest against the seizure of railways by the military and seizure of revenues. Can he tell us whether there is among that four hundred million any way of public opinion in China to express itself? Is there, for instance, a Chinese Press that can be said in any way to represent public opinion?

The LECTURER: Yes, I think that the Chinese press can be said to represent Chinese vocal, educated opinion. There are an enormous number of Chinese newspapers, although their total circulation is

essentially small judged by our standards. But there they are. They are written by Chinese of various shades of opinion. It is true that a great many of them are subsidized, very many are subsidized by one military leader or another ; but taken together you get a fair reflection of Chinese opinion in the press. I was not thinking only of newspapers when I said that. I do not pretend I read Chinese newspapers, but I know enough about them to know that my statement is correct so far as that is concerned—that they have never taken up the cudgels on behalf of China's unfortunate unpaid creditors. Living in China, and being in fairly close contact with Chinese, one can speak from experience, and if there was any strong opinion about a matter of that sort one would come across it. I regret to say one does not.

As to Sir Charles Addis's question, the answer would require another paper quite as long as the one I have already inflicted on you, and one I should be very sorry indeed to attempt. I may say to start with that I am in substantial agreement with what Mr. Mayers said. I think the Kuo-min-tang is about the only thing that promises any solution of the present situation, but I think we must be extremely careful how we look at it. Particularly for this reason, that one of the great difficulties about the whole of the Chinese situation lies in the terms applied to different bodies of opinion. The members of the Kuo-min-tang choose to call themselves Nationalists. It is only a word, and what it means to a Chinese may be something very different from what it means to us. In any case I am afraid it is a fact that Chinese, like other people, not infrequently adopt words and expressions with a deliberate view to the effect they will produce. It is very natural they should do so, but I think it is very easy to be misled by names and labels being given to Chinese things, which really have no name in our language, but have to be called something. The idea that all the Southerners are Nationalists and all the Northerners anti-Nationalists would be a very wrong one indeed. I think the people who may be called Nationalists are distributed all over China. I would not go so far as to say that the Northern leaders are in the general sense of the word quite as Nationalist as the Southerners. Using that word with all the connotations we give to it—Indian Nationalists and so forth—I do not think it is the case ; but the Nationalism of the Southerners is very much tempered with a good many of the same qualities as we object to in the Northerners. Of the individual leaders, a great many, in my opinion, are out entirely for their own ends. There are exceptions, but it is true of a very large number ; and one has to bear that in mind all the time. I have got a newspaper cutting here which gives the last manifesto by the Nationalist Government which officially represents Nationalism at the present time. I will quote one sentence to show how terribly they evade facts. This is it : "The terror of militarism, the corruption of the

mandarinate, the bankruptcy of our national finance, the resulting poverty of our people, the loss of our sovereignty, and the injustice suffered by our nationals abroad, may all be traced to the unequal treaties." Do the Nationalist Government solemnly believe that? I do not know whether they do, but that is their public manifesto. They are obviously not facing the facts at all, and they will not do very much good until they begin to face the facts. However, I must say I entirely agree with Sir Charles Addis, that there is no other general course open to us but to leave China to work out her own salvation; because even if we wish to interfere I do not think we have any means or power to do it. I agree that one has to take a very long view, and if you take a sufficiently long view it probably is the best policy for the European Powers to adopt at the present time. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have listened to Mr. Hubbard with the very greatest interest; he has straightened the situation in his eminently fair picture of the two sides of the case. It would do infinite good if the case could always be put in that good-tempered manner, and if we could avoid those intemperate expressions of opinion we hear in other directions. We thank Mr. Hubbard sincerely for a paper worthy in every way of the Society. (Applause.)

DR. D. G. HOGARTH, C.M.G.

Before the commencement of the lecture the Chairman asked the audience to stand while he read the resolution of sympathy and regret sent by the Council in the name of the Society to Mrs. Hogarth on the loss of Dr. D. G. Hogarth.

THE MOTOR ROUTE FROM INDIA*

By COLONEL T. NISBET, C.M.G.

THERE are no great difficulties and no dreadful discomforts on this trip at the present time. Any ordinary motor driver who has sufficient mechanical knowledge to change a spring and perhaps replace a crown wheel and pinion need have no qualms, nor need any woman who is fit, provided she does not mind sleeping on the ground in the open and has had some small experience of travelling.

The car should be of medium or fairly high horse-power, well sprung, with plenty of carrying capacity and capable of running at least 600 miles over rough tracks without replenishing either petrol, water, or oil. I carried my reserves of these three essentials in metal tanks strapped along the full length of both running boards. Tyres should be as freshly manufactured as it is possible to obtain them. I suggest two outer covers and four inner tubes as spares. You should also take a main leaf for both front and back springs, a few bolts, nuts, and washers, a tyre repair outfit (though going out I only had to have one tyre pumped up once), spare spokes if you use wire wheels, a shovel, and a canvas water bucket, which also serves as a washing basin for the party.

As regards clothes, take as few as you possibly can; about half the absolute minimum you think you are sure to require. An old dinner jacket suit is useful at Meshed, Teheran, and Baghdad. Women should have one uncrushable frock good enough to wear while dining out at these places, and I am told they will find it advisable to wear "plus fours" or riding breeches. Both men and women must take a couple of "woollies." Three blankets each is sufficient bedding, with a small cushion or pillow.

Take a two days' reserve of both eats and drinks, and replenish anything consumed whenever opportunity offers. Soup such as the excellent French "Kub" bouillon, solidified heat such as "Meta," a petrol hurricane lamp, candles, and a couple of bottles of mineral water, in addition to filled water bottles, with a few tabloid medicines—quinine, aspirin, etc., are essential.

Get a letter of credit from a recognized bank, of which the Imperial Bank of Persia is an accredited correspondent, and take with you a few rupees, which are accepted everywhere up to and including Baghdad,

* Lecture given on November 23, 1927, Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn in the Chair.

and some sterling notes for Syria, but do not carry more cash than you require. Get about 200 tomans in one, two, and five kran pieces from the Imperial Bank of Persia at Duzdab. This will cost about Rs. 500, according to the rate of exchange. Do not accept Persian notes, which are difficult to cash outside the area served by the branch of the Imperial Bank of Persia which issues them.

Before leaving India have your passports visaed for both Persia and Iraq, and get either a *triptyque* or *carnet de passage* for your car from one of the motoring organizations authorized to issue them, such as the Automobile Associations of Bengal and of Bombay. I do not think these *triptyques* or *carnets* are yet valid in either Persia, Iraq, or Syria; they certainly were not so when we came over in April and May of this year. You must therefore obtain a *passé avant* for your car from the Provincial Director of Persian Customs at Duzdab, who, like all his other confrères of the Belgian Ministry of Finance, will do all in his power to help you. It may be necessary to pay a small deposit, which will be refunded when the *passé avant* is handed in at the Customs post of exit at Kasr Rui. Do not take any sort of firearms with you; they are not necessary and are a nuisance.

Hindustani will get you through up to and including Baghdad. If you do not know Persian I strongly advise you to pick up at Duzdab a Persian boy who is a motor cleaner and knows the roads; you can get one for about twenty rupees as far as Teheran, after which he would be of little use. He can sit on the front wings of the car, and is most useful, though he is not likely to be an enthusiastic worker.

Rail the car from Quetta or Mastung Road to Duzdab. This is far preferable to driving, and although fares are 50 per cent. above normal from Nushki westwards, it is cheaper to go by rail. Trains run each way twice weekly, and the journey from Quetta takes thirty hours.

There is not even an apology for a hotel at Duzdab, but the Vice-Consul can usually let you have accommodation in the rest-house, for which purpose a portion of the British war-time barracks is now used. You must stay at least one night to fix up passports, Persian Customs, change money, and fill up with enough petrol to take you to Meshed.

Four hints to those who have not had much experience of cross-country driving:

1. Do not press.
2. Do not let yourself get too sleepy at the wheel. When you feel like doing either, it is best to stop for ten minutes or so and go on slowly later.
3. Do not drive in the dark unless absolutely necessary.
4. Try and start off by sunrise every morning. You will not do so, but the earlier you get going the easier it will be for both driver and passengers.

DUZDAB TO HURMUKH.

First Day.—Three hours for an interesting thirty-six miles, about five of which are along a dry river-bed with one or two sharp turns. Going is on the whole good. Leave Duzdab so as to arrive just before dark, as Hurmukh looks less dismal in a fading light. When you reach some broken-down mud huts, the remains of British war-time barracks which nestle close into some small hills, you have arrived. If you have asked the Indo-European Telegraph representative at Duzdab for the use of their quarters, a khaki-clad Persian will meet you on the road, and will produce chickens and eggs, should you require them. The accommodation is far from luxurious, but not bad, and it is a good start, for if you are quite satisfied you need have no worries for the rest of your journey.

HURMUKH TO SHUSP.

Second Day.—Twelve hours driving 148 miles over a bad road to start with which improves after the first fifty miles, except for a very bad sand patch on the eastern edge of the "Lut" near Safidava. At Shusp the Indian Political Department have had one of our war-time mud huts kept in repair and furnished with some rough beds, chairs, and tables, as they use it as a half-way house between Seistan and Birjand. The Persian in charge is most obliging, and produced chickens, eggs, and milk for us. Total, 184 miles from Duzdab.

SHUSP TO BIRJAND.

Third Day.—One hundred and two miles, taking eight hours' easy driving, except for the first fifty miles, which were bumpy. At Birjand accommodation is difficult unless one puts up with friends. There are several Khans, and the Vice-Consul, an Indian, will always help one. We had our first puncture by a chappli nail just as we reached the town. Mileage from Duzdab, 286.

BIRJAND TO MAINA.

Fourth Day.—Ten hours' difficult driving over 177 miles. At first the going is good, but becomes bumpy and bad, and there are one or two nasty corners among the small hills and a very difficult sandy patch some twenty-five miles south of Maina. We had a thoroughly bad sandstorm from fifty to within ten miles of Maina, but the rain burst which accompanied it helped us through the sand patch. Mileage from Duzdab, 463.

At Maina do not use the Khan, but get one of the villagers to let you use their house for the night—turn the owners into one room or outside altogether and you will be quite comfortable; the houses are not nearly so dirty and uninviting as they appear to be from the outside. If you have brought a Persian boy with you from Duzdab let him fix up everything except the cost of hiring the house, which it is best to arrange one's self.

MAINA TO MESHED.

Fifth day.—One hundred and twenty miles in a very easy seven hours. The fruit blossom at Turbat-i-Haidari was awfully pretty, and the country more interesting than further south. The road is very good at first, but deteriorates later, and is much worn by traffic about ten miles from Meshed over the low pass, on which there are one or two sharp turns and a good deal of motor traffic, mostly Bolshie driven. The road guards will stop you on entering the town and will ask for passports, but as soon as one explains one is going to the British Consulate, no difficulties are raised. There are several so-called "hotels" mostly run by Russians which are said to be quite comfortable, and will probably seem luxurious after the last four nights. In addition to Russians, both of the "White" and "Red" varieties, there are quite a number of Europeans in Meshed, our Consulate, Imperial Bank of Persia, Indo-European Telegraphs, Belgian Customs officials, French carpet experts, and a large American Mission.

After the country we had just driven over, the really English garden at the Consulate was an absolute joy to us. The bazaars are interesting, and if you travel by this route within the next couple of years be sure to get to know the carpet "king" and persuade him to let you see the Shah's rugs being made; they are really wonderful. No "unbeliever" is allowed even in the vicinity of the Sacred Shrine, and chains are stretched across the bazaars to ensure that only the "faithful" may approach. From a distance it looks much the same as any other Muhammadan shrine.

Only Russian petrol was obtainable at krans $11\frac{1}{2}$ or Rs. 2.14 per gallon, but the A.P.O.C. were arranging to open an agency. Total mileage from Duzdab, 657; we used fifty gallons of petrol, about a pint of oil, and no water, had three punctures and broke two spokes in one of the back wheels.

The Meshed-Teheran section is much less uncivilized, and each day one feels one's surroundings becoming more European. There is more traffic on the roads. Mail motor-cars run all the year round, but passenger cars shut down except on special occasions during the winter, when the passes are often blocked with snow for days on end. The climate is much colder; north winds on the high hills are bitter. The road is not so good as that between Duzdab and Meshed, but the accommodation for travellers along the road looks better.

MESHED TO SABZAWAR.

Sixth Day.—One hundred and forty-eight miles of difficult driving taking ten to twelve hours. Take the Turbat-i-Haidari road along which you came into Meshed for about twenty miles then turn westwards (right-handed), following car tracks. The road is bumpy at first,

and if there has been any rain there are some nasty mud patches and sticky stream beds round Nishapur, where Omar Khaiyam's tomb is. Russian petrol obtainable from Sikh merchants, same price as at Meshed. We were most hospitably treated by the Governor. Total mileage, 731.

SABZAWAR TO SHAHRUD.

Seventh Day.—One hundred and fifty-nine miles of much better going—an easy twelve hours driving even in three hours' pouring rain and including finding the way into Shahrud in the dark, which was none too easy. 890 miles from Duzdab.

SHAHRUD TO SAMNAN.

Eighth Day.—Eleven hours and 121 miles of the most difficult going we had yet experienced on this trip, except for the first twelve miles out of Shahrud when the road was excellent. After this as far as Damghan the going was really bad, it was pouring wet, and had been raining continuously for two days—we stuck three times, but managed to dig ourselves out with the help of some villagers. There are several sharp curves coming over the pass about ten miles before Samnan. Petrol at Damghan and Samnan same price as at Meshed. Total mileage, 1,011.

SAMNAN TO TEHERAN.

Ninth Day.—Ten hours' interesting driving over 154 miles. The road is fair to good, but there are innumerable water channels and a few sand patches. Drive carefully over the Damarvand Pass, which was perishingly cold even on April 25.

Teheran looked perfectly delightful from the top of the hills about five miles off, though like most of the East it did not improve on closer acquaintance. Passports must be produced and the usual details regarding oneself, one's father and one's mother given at the police post at the gateway before entering the city. Unless Teheran is known to one of your party or the Persian boy pick another one up at this gateway and make him guide you to the Consulate which stands at the main entrance to the Legation grounds. Mileage from Duzdab, 1,165.

We enjoyed caviare more than anything else in Teheran; it was fresh and moderately cheap—two virtues which most other commodities obtainable in that town do not possess. The bazaars are very interesting and well worth visiting.

The Grand Hotel is said to be the best, but the Armenian manager's ideas of cleanliness and comfort differed so much from ours that we would just as soon have had our usual roadside accommodation. Living costs about tomans 5 or Rs. 12.8 per head per day. In this connection, unless you are prepared to pay, do not drink beer, try the country wine instead; it is not at all bad. Before leaving, have your

passports again visaed at the Consulate and borrow a consular "Farash" to take you round to the Persian Ministry of the Interior, where it is now necessary to attend in person to obtain a pass to leave the city. British petrol is obtainable through the A.P.O.C. agency, and costs 9 krans or Rs. 2.6 per gallon.

The Teheran-Baghdad section gets us out of India and its ways, and seems, when compared with the country we have passed through, almost European. Cars are numerous, parts of the country are really pretty, and the Persian Government are now getting on with the upkeep of the metalled road. There is also an efficient service of Junker passenger planes twice weekly between Teheran and Kirmanshah. There will be no difficulties at the Persian Customs post of exit at Kasr Rui if you have asked the Director of Customs at Teheran, or any of his Belgian colleagues, for assistance; similarly, it is wise to wire or write the Director of Customs, Baghdad, for permission to go through all the necessary formalities as regards Iraq on your arrival in Baghdad, and not in Khaniqin—this will ensure your being pushed through without delay on the road.

TEHERAN TO HAMADAN.

Tenth Day.—Twelve hours' driving over metalled roads, which is extremely refreshing after the tracks one has by this time almost grown accustomed to. In the 243 miles there are some bad patches under repair and several steep and difficult turns on the Aveh Pass, where we ran into a heavy sleet storm and a freezingly cold wind. Hôtel de France at Hamadan was the best we had yet struck on this trip, but it is difficult to find, and it is advisable to pick up a Persian boy to show you the way as you enter the town. Cost, tomans 5 or Rs. 12.8 per head including drinks, but was worth it. Petrol, krans 9 or Rs. 2.4 per gallon; 1,408 miles from Duzdab. If you have a day to spare and want to see the Caspian, bear to the right at Kazvin, about ninety miles from Teheran, and go the same distance to Resht, whence Pahlevi, as Enzeli is now called, can be visited. You can then get straight back to Hamadan the next day.

HAMADAN TO KIRMANSHAH.

Eleventh Day.—Six and a half hours of interesting driving over 123 miles of very good going, except on the Asadabad Pass, which is steep and has some nasty bends; if there is slushy snow on the road be careful of skidding. Bisitun, twenty miles from Kirmanshah, celebrated for its rock carvings, which date from Darius, is worth stopping at for a quarter of an hour. The Bristol is the least objectionable hotel in Kirmanshah, and is cheap—tomans 2½ or Rs. 6.4 per head. Petrol, krans 6½ or Rs. 1.10 per gallon. Total mileage from Duzdab, 1,531.

KIRMANSHAH TO BAGHDAD.

Twelfth Day.—Two hundred and thirty-five miles, taking thirteen hours' driving including stops, the first of which is at the road barrier opposite the entrance to Kasr-i-Shirin, where there is no delay; the next is at the Persian Customs post of exit, where, if you paid a deposit at Duzdab, it is refunded when your *passee avant* is received by the Persian Customs official in charge. About a mile further on, over an abominable piece of going, one arrives at the Iraq Police frontier post, where the inspector-in-charge will help and can telephone to the Customs clearing post and Medical Officer of Health at Khaniqin to warn them you are arriving, and so save delay. A metalled road was being constructed between the police post and Khaniqin when we passed through, and should be in use by now: the old track was in a disgraceful state of disrepair. The Customs and Health offices are at the Khaniqin railway station, where there is also an excellent refreshment-room, and quite a comfortable waiting-room, in which one could spend the night in the event of arriving too late in the afternoon to reach Baghdad before dark. It took us $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours from the time we arrived at the Persian Customs post till we left Khaniqin. From Khaniqin to Baquba the track runs over the Jebel Hamrin and is difficult, with one or two deep stream beds and a few nasty turns. It is closely guarded by police posts and should not be driven over in the dark. At Baquba, the rail and road bridge over the Diala has a police guard on it, and one must pull up and explain who the party are; after that the thirty-seven miles over hard desert "putt" to Baghdad are delightful going, but should not be driven after dark. Total mileage from Duzdab, 1,766.

Arrived at Baghdad, which I expect all of you know as well, or better, than I do, the following hints may help those who do not know existing conditions:

Get your passports visaed for Syria at the French Consulate, and if you intend landing in Egypt, by the British Consul. Obtain a transit pass for your car for both Iraq and Syria from the D.G. Customs—unless, of course, your *triptyque* or *carnet* is now valid—but this I doubt. The pass costs Rs. 40. Have your car "vetted" as fit to cross the desert by the official concerned, who happens to be chief of the fire brigade. If you have not driven across the desert before, get your car attached to one of the regular convoys which generally leave Baghdad twice a week—preferably Nairn's, whose drivers are really stout fellows and will get you out of almost any difficulty.

BAGHDAD TO RUTBA WELLS.

Thirteenth Day.—Three hours to Ramadi, where we filled up with petrol at Rs. 1.10 per gallon, and stayed an hour for breakfast, fixing

up passports and transit passes ; a further seven hours to Rutba Wells, 275 miles, where we stayed the night in the new police post, in which Nairns have a very good refreshment-room. Baghdad to Feluja, where there is a boat bridge over the Euphrates, is excellent going, but onwards to Ramadi is rough and cut up by traffic. After Ramadi the going is bad for fifty miles with some patches of sand, but improves till within thirty miles of Rutba, where it is bumpy till the police post. 2,041 miles from Duzdab.

RUTBA WELLS TO DAMASCUS.

Fourteenth Day.—Fourteen hours for 344 miles, including stops. After leaving Rutba, be careful to take the right track after crossing the Wadi Hauran. Going is rough for the first few miles, then excellent till within about fifteen miles of Palmyra, where there are some sand patches. At Palmyra, go to one of the Syrian restaurants near the passport office, where passports must be produced, and do not patronize the so-called hotel in the Ruins unless it has improved within the last few months. If you enter the enclosed area, either to snapshot or to look at the Ruins, you will have to pay a tax of from twenty to twenty-five Syrian francs. The first thirty miles after Palmyra are very bumpy, but later the going gets better and fast. Be careful of blind water channels in all the dips right up to Damascus town itself. The easiest hotel to get at, and probably the best to stay at, is the Victoria in the Station Square. 2,385 miles from Duzdab. Stay the morning in Damascus, which is interesting, but remember before leaving to clear the Syrian Customs, whose office is at the railway station—the formalities take no time.

DAMASCUS TO BEYROUTH.

Fifteenth Day.—Two and a half hours for eighty miles of excellent going over both ranges of the Lebanon, with a stiff descent from Ain Sofar to Beyrouth. The scenery in spring and early summer is beautiful, and the road, though none too easy driving, is refreshing after two days in the desert. The Hôtel d'Orient, the basement of which is occupied by Messrs. Thomas Cook and Sons, is probably the most convenient hotel to stay in at Beyrouth. Be careful in your choice of a garage, and lock up the tool-boxes of your car. Total mileage from Duzdab, 2,465.

Presumably anyone taking this route home will either have fixed up their sea-passages from Beyrouth to Europe before leaving India or at latest before leaving Baghdad. Such passages are none too easy to obtain in the spring and autumn, especially if one wants to take a car. Both the Lloyd Triestino for Italian ports and the Messageries Maritimes for France and Italy will ship one's car on deck at very moderate rates, and are very comfortable boats to travel by. Beyrouth itself you

will find expensive, but refreshing after India ; easy trips can be made to Baalbek and the Dog River, both of which are very well worth seeing.

THE ROUTE THROUGH AMMAN.

Motoring out to Quetta in 1925, owing to the Druse trouble in Syria, we had to disembark at Haifa and proceed via Jerusalem, Jericho and Amman, which was much more trying than the present route.

From Baghdad we followed the same road to Hamadan, where we cut off south-east to Sultanabad, 100 miles of good going, then a difficult drive over a little known track to Ispahan, 204 miles. The next driving day was another 100 miles to Nain over an abominable road, on which we broke a back spring. Next day we tried to make Yezd, but stripped the crown wheel and pinion in a sand drift eighty miles from Nain and twenty-seven from Yezd, while trying to press in the dark. As a result, we spent two extremely cold nights in the desert, and had the humiliation and discomfort of being towed into Yezd by camels. There we had to wait no less than seven weeks for replacements.

From Yezd to Anar was ninety-five miles of fairly good going. From Anar to Kirman the going was also good, but there was difficulty in finding the way through the bazaars of the large villages which crossed one's path. From Kirman the route to Duzdab is fully described in Part II. of Volume XIV. of the Society's journal.

Colonel SKELTON : Sir George MacMunn, Ladies and Gentlemen,— We have to thank Colonel Nisbet very much for his very comprehensive survey of motoring conditions in Persia, and in the circumstances I feel that he has left me very little to say. Colonel Nisbet has covered an enormous tract of country, as you see. He does not tell us the approximate mileage he travelled over in Persia, but it must have been about four thousand miles. Under these conditions I have small right to speak at all, because my mileage in Persia was only about two thousand, and although I went over part of the route over which he travelled, yet I think that the conditions of the roads between Baghdad, Teheran, Ispahan, and down to Shiraz are not anything like so arduous as those he met with. The great value of his lecture has been to show us that Persia is a country in which we can spend our leave with a great deal of interest and some degree of comfort. At the same time, I think he has glossed over a great many of the difficulties that he had to face. He has made light of his difficulties. I heard dreadful stories when I was in Ispahan of how he had had to push his car and all that sort of thing. In other days, I have seen him helping to push an A.T. cart out of the mud, and I know he can do that very well. In regard to accommodation in Persia, Colonel Nisbet says the hotel accommodation is beyond words bad. I agree. My companion and I,

a member of this Society, Mr. Wallace, preferred to spend the nights by the roadside. We used to pull up whenever we could do so at a chaikhana and police post. There is always a chaikhana where there is a police post, and we found the Persian road police pleasant people to deal with. They are particularly fond of gin. At the chaikhanas they do all the cooking for you, and in the morning you can get your eggs and tea and get away, as Colonel Nisbet advises, before sunrise. The hotel or khan accommodation is very bad, but Colonel Nisbet will be interested to know that at Hamadan the hotel has moved again and gone into better quarters. If anyone should wish to go on to Enzeli he will find a good road and a destination that will well repay a visit. It is beautiful country once you get through the mountains; when you come out on to the north side of the Elburz, where you get all the moisture from the Caspian, there is a good deal of vegetation, and the country is very beautiful indeed. A very important question for officers visiting Persia on leave is the matter of expense. Colonel Nisbet, I think, advises about a hundred pounds a head India to London. My experience was that, including all in, it seemed to cost about thirty pounds a week, doing things on the cheap as much as one could, living on the roadside and all that sort of thing, and largely living at the chaikhanas in preference to hotels. The price of petrol is ridiculously expensive—four or five tomans for a four-gallon tin. This is about one pound sterling. I do not know what it is in Yezd, but it must be more than that. Even in Ispahan and Teheran it cost about a sovereign for four gallons. You buy it by weight if you are wise. I have nothing more to say, for Colonel Nisbet has covered the whole ground as far as touring in Persia is concerned. I agree with him that anyone who finds an opportunity of going to Persia will never regret it. There is no great difficulty in getting in or out. There may be difficulties when you are there, but they will chiefly be in the camp.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I ask you to thank the lecturer I perhaps may make a few remarks on the subject that may interest you, because Persia is a country I have had a good deal to do with. First of all I would like to say that the whole of that part of Asia is going to be a motor-country. The Persian takes to motors. He loves old motors. He will tinker them up, mend them with bits of string, and drive rickety old motors that no one else could make good. As to petrol, not only does Russian petrol come into Enzeli and up to Hamadan pretty cheaply—we were supplying ourselves during the war with Russian petrol without much difficulty—but the Anglo-Persian have their own oil-fields. They are opening up in Persia itself, and the price of petrol is bound to become quite reasonable. I dare say you noticed one interesting thing in the journey Colonel Nisbet has made: it is that he travelled from east to west and from west to east; and that is the natural course of roads in Persia. I do not know if any of you

know the orographical map of Persia. The outline map that we saw on the screen just now shows you a barren plain; the orographical map of Persia, which I had in my own room for a long time, was generally known to us as the "drunkard's liver." Persia is a mass of mountains running east to west, and in between the valleys run the trade routes. Colonel Nisbet's northern route from Meshed to Teheran was the ancient Silk Way, through which from time immemorial silk from China came to Europe. When going the other way he was travelling by the old imperial route of the Persian emperors. I dare say you read the other day that Shah Riza Khan has cut the first sod of a railway which is going from Bandar Gaz, in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian, from north to due south *across* Persia to the Persian Gulf—right across all the mountain ranges. It is estimated to cost twelve and a half million pounds. I should imagine it will easily cost double that, and it is impossible at the present moment for anybody to who knows Persia to imagine there will be enough traffic to pay anything like the cost of making. I think most of us who know anything about Persia would think that the Persian Government would do much better if they put their money into motor roads. For this reason: they have got probably, to finance out of State finance the rolling stock of the railways, but the Persian merchants themselves will finance any amount of motor transport and motor lorries; and the trade of Persia will probably be much better facilitated by motor roads along the east and west, the natural routes—and if possible across the mountains—than by any possible transverse railway. We shall see, however. His Majesty has cut the first sod, and it will be interesting to see how the finances of the country will bear it. Colonel Nisbet mentioned his pleasure in getting fresh caviare in the bazaars of Teheran. There is a large caviare factory at Enzeli on the Caspian Sea: the Russian village there makes very high-grade caviare. At Enzeli you not only get caviare but fresh salmon from the Caspian.

As you have had a serious lecture I will strike a lighter note by telling you of an experience at Enzeli. During the last part of the war and for a year or so after, north Persia from Baghdad to the sea was in the occupation of British troops. At Enzeli we had a garrison consisting of an Indian regiment, a mountain battery, a certain amount of European troops, with motor transport. Near where the troops came was a favourite sandy bay on which the Russians of the fishing village bathed. The factory employed a lot of young women. Everybody bathed in a state of nature. The Commandant was horrified and put up great notices: "Indian Troops Bathing," "British Troops Bathing," "Russian Ladies Bathing"; but he found nobody observed these things. He rode there one day to find Russian ladies and British soldiers bathing together. The British were amused, but the Indian soldiers were horrified. He and his officers dashed on to the sand flats

and tried to persuade the Russian girls to leave, but they rolled over in the waves and shook with laughter at them. He gave it up after a bit, but did not see the humour of it for a long time. That is the lighter side of things in Persia. But there is the magnificent motor road made before the war, which comes up from Enzeli and goes to Kazvin and Hamadan. There is the British motor road coming up from the Baghdad side over the Patoki and up to Kermanshah and to Hamadan. I had the good fortune to go over it in a Vauxhall motor with a couple of armoured cars with me. One more important point I might refer to. Colonel Nisbet referred to that, to my mind, most interesting spot of all in the Levant, the great rocks which are cut at the Darab mal Kelb, the River of Dogs, between Beirout and Tripoli. There, on this great face of rock, are carved in cuneiform the inscription of Sennacherib, or one of the Assyrian kings, recording his invasion of Syria and Egypt. Then comes Darius, the Persian conqueror, on a similar invasion; the conqueror of Egypt records his passage. I think I am right in saying there is also a Roman inscription. Coming down to more modern times you have an inscription of Napoleon the First, and then Napoleon the Third during the period in Syria just before or after the time of the Crimea. Then you come to today, a very modest little inscription by Lord Allenby—quite trivial, although he had a big force in Syria—and then an enormous one by the French and allies, who had ten men and a boy there. All are recorded on this great mass of stone—a remarkable pageant of history. I will now call on you to give a very hearty vote of thanks for this very interesting lecture on the most important subject of the opening up of the Eastern world to motor driving. (Applause.)

VISIT TO THE RED SEA LITTORAL AND THE YAMAN

By CHARLES R. CRANE*

THERE were various reasons for setting aside last winter for a serious visit to the Red Sea. I had previously gained some idea of its charm and interest on a journey to Jiddah several years ago. Its waters are of the deepest blue, edged with jade-green shallows at the shores, backed by rose-coloured mountains which become violet with the setting sun, while the nights have a glory quite their own, in the lower part presided over by the Southern Cross.

Life in the little ports is much the same as it has been for thousands of years, undisturbed by the great steamers which plough the centre of the sea on their way from Suez to Aden. As most of the business of these little ports is connected with the Haj, they retain their simple orthodox character.

I enjoyed the old Moslem life as it was in Cairo, Damascus, and Constantinople when I first arrived in that part of the world nearly fifty years ago, but now this has much faded away and these great Moslem cities have lost their cachet. They say that even Bukhara, the most delightful of them all, has been touched by this blight of modernity, and that the old beautiful bazaars under the Bolsheviki are quite as dead as the Nevsky Prospect. So, four years ago, I was glad to find Jiddah unchanged and quite Moslem in the old-time way, with its unending procession of orthodox pilgrims and citizens, its principal means of transportation still the camel, the donkey, and the horse, its crooked little bazaars full of the old-time merchants sitting, walking, and dealing mainly in simple necessities and hand-made articles precious to the pilgrim as souvenirs or bought from him in payment for services.

The peninsula of Arabia is the home and natural habitat of prophets, and I wanted to get as near as possible to the conditions of life out of which it developed, now and then a great one. Certainly one does not expect a prophet to grow out of the complicated machinery of the modern state.

Another thing I wanted to get close to was the Wahabi movement, for it seems to be as nearly as possible a return to the austere simple way of life of Mohammed's time. In the West we say history does not repeat itself, but this is not entirely true, for certainly in the

* Mr. Charles R. Crane lectured to the Central Asian Society on November 29, 1927, at the Royal United Service Institution, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the chair.

desert life is always repeating itself. Here was a reassertion of the ancient desert doctrine of the Unity. Here prayer was the chief business of life, perhaps the only on earth today.

The common story of the development of religion is that there arises, like a central light, a great personality, such as Buddha, Christ, Mohammed, who lives his life and preaches his doctrines. When he disappears he is interpreted by those who have been nearest him, his disciples. As the Light passes through these interpreters, it is dimmed, and, later, ecclesiastical organizations grow up, and as they attempt to carry on the tradition the Light is still further obscured.

Mohammed, who understood something of this process of deterioration which had been going on so long with the older religions, made his own record and gave his own interpretation of a simple and direct relationship between the Moslem and Allah, free from the intervention of ecclesiastical machinery, ritual or distracting elaborate temples. But even his religion, as it grew away from the desert and met in competition other religions and civilizations in the Mediterranean, in Persia, in China, also became warped and lost much of its earlier simplicity.

As life in the Nejd was not subject to this strain and continued through the centuries free from modern complexities, it is a great reservoir for the pure doctrines taught by Abraham and Mohammed.

Buddha and Christ, while leading their inspiring lives, were not administrators, nor did they try in any way to organize religious life. Mohammed, on the other hand, was not only a great prophet but a great administrator as well, and lived long enough to organize the social life of his time on a religious basis. Ibn Sa'ud, following in the footsteps of the Prophet, is applying not only religious doctrines and practices to the daily life of his people, but is adjusting their social life to primitive Islamic conditions.

Of course, the fire behind such a movement as the Wahabi one occasionally breaks through reasonable bounds, and the fanatical Ikhwan, in their passion to obliterate everything between the Moslem and Allah, have destroyed many things, the memory of which gave much comfort and happiness to the pilgrims.

In Asiatic history it has not been unusual after a besieged city has surrendered for the Commander-in-Chief to relax more or less its discipline and allow the conquering army a good deal of latitude toward the persons and property of the city. I doubt whether ever before, however, a conquering army has had so unique an idea of expressing their feelings as the Ikhwan when they took Mekka. Doing little killing or robbing, but expressing in the most convincing way their abhorrence of anything like a monument or memorial place even when dedicated to the foremost men and women of their faith, they destroyed the birth-place of Mohammed, the birth-place of Fatima, the house of Arkam Makzoomy—the secret hiding-place and place of prayer of Mohammed

The Wahabi
in Mekka.

and his earlier followers—and in the Almala the graves of Kadija, the wife of the Prophet, his mother Amena, his cousin Abu Talib, and his grandfather Abdel Matleb, practically all the places closest to the heart of all the pilgrims.

At the time of the first Haj after this destruction the pilgrims were full of consternation and grief, and bitterly upbraided Ibn Sa'ud for permitting this destruction. Their feelings were particularly voiced by the two Ali brothers of India at the time of the assembling of the first All Moslem Congress which Ibn Sa'ud had convened to take over the affairs of the Hejaz. Ibn Sa'ud's defence expressed, in a clear and definite way, the heart of the Wahabi doctrine. He said: "We are concerned only with the Koran and the Traditions as interpreted by El Bokhari and Ibn Teymeyya. If you can show us that we have done anything in conflict with any of these authorities we shall repent and mend our ways; if not, your threats do not touch us, for we believe only in Allah and prayer. Though one may pass the whole month of Ramazan fasting in the most austere way year by year, if he does not pray, he is no Moslem. Though one may make the pilgrimage to Mekka and follow through all the ceremonies of becoming a Hajji, but does not pray, he is no Moslem. Though one may distribute his entire fortune among the poor, but does not pray, he is no Moslem."

The Wahabi are always watchful that Mohammed should not be put out of his place as Razul or Messenger, and are particular not to use the expression "Allah and Mohammed," but "Allah," and *then* "Mohammed," when quoting authority.

While the rare old exiled Sheikh Achmed es Senussi was hospitably received by Ibn Sa'ud when he appeared in Arabia and treated with great consideration, and although his sect is close to the Wahabi's in most important things, they disagree sharply in the matter of holy places, and Achmed was knocked down by an Ikhwan who found him praying by the ruins of the house of Mohammed. I had had a priceless interview with Sidi Achmed at Brussa in 1919, and had hoped to find him again on this journey, but unfortunately as I came along he was deep in Asir, and I was unable to reach him. Later in Cairo I found two sons of his who had just emerged from the Libyan Desert hoping to find the father whom they had not seen for sixteen years.

I was also unfortunate in not seeing Ibn Sa'ud. He had started on a journey to the Nejd, where he had not been for three years, and where his Ikhwan had been getting out of hand. However, I had a cordial telegram of welcome from him, and his son, Emir Feisul, came from Mekka with messages from his father giving assurance that everything would be done to make my visit a fruitful one. He said that if I had anyone in mind in Mekka that I wanted to see, he would be sent down to Jiddah. He remained in Jiddah several days, and we had frequent friendly interviews.

At both Yenbo and Jiddah I found many of the same officials functioning who had been there at the time of Hussein. Here, as elsewhere in the world, although the bureaucracy is very modest, it continues to function under changing Governments, only a few men at the top being changed to follow the ceremonial of the new administration.

At Jiddah I was most comfortably installed at the house of Mohammed Nassif, the centre of the Moslem life there. He is a distinguished gentleman, his house contains the principal library of the Hejaz, and is general headquarters for the *elite*, not only of Jiddah but of people passing to and from Mekka. There I had interviews with many fine old-fashioned Moslems.

Of course, in the Hejaz are fragments of humanity from all over the Moslem world ; some of them have difficulty in getting away, others are traders, but the most interesting ones are those who find comfort in spending their days on holy soil. Pilgrims of this last class were among my most prized visitors. I especially recall a fine old Indian doctor, only recently arrived, who had come to spend his last days at Medina.

My evenings were usually given to various forms of singing. Two rare old blind Sheikhs, almost members of the household and always there, who chant the Koran in the perfect way, chanted a chapter for me every evening. This is the only kind of music tolerated by the Wahabi, who are particularly severe about instrumental music, forbidding Egyptian pilgrims bringing the Holy Carpet to be accompanied by their usual band, which had always been part of the old caravan. However, they were more lenient with me, and I was allowed to invite Bedouins who happened to be in town to come to the house and sing old desert songs. There was also one caravan driver who sang for me some of the fine songs of the caravan when they are under way.

I spent both Christmas and New Year in Jiddah in the hospitable little European community, mostly made up of Dutch and British elements, who let me take part in their very successful efforts to give a note of cheer to these days so far away from home.

One day my host, Mohammed Nassif, took me to his country house out on the desert some three miles from Jiddah. His son organized a football game carried on with a great deal of spirit, but it was amusing to see the Arabs chasing the ball in their long skirts and kicking it with their bare feet. The great expansion of football in its wide popularity all over the world is one of the interesting social phenomena of our time.

The business of the Hejaz is carried on by men from all over the Moslem world, who have drifted there and found opportunities. The natives, especially members of the Sherefian family, make their way by

having charge of the holy places, piloting pilgrims around and seeing them through the various ceremonies. Of course, they have been very seriously damaged by the destruction of many of these places and the general attitude of the Wahabi towards monuments and luxury of all kinds.

Ibn Sa'ud is in a very difficult position, trying to satisfy the iron orthodoxy of his political followers of the Nejd, who do not at all approve of the compromises he is obliged to make in order to satisfy the pilgrims from all over the world making their Haj, who are not at all Wahabi, and whose business is so important on the side of revenue.

As much of the prosperity of the Nejd comes from taking care of pilgrims of these various sects, using its caravan routes, and all of the prosperity of the Hejaz is derived from the pilgrims who come not only to make the Haj, but also to visit and exalt their spirits at all the houses, monuments, and spots associated with their adored Prophet Mohammed, Ibn Sa'ud has a problem—political, religious, and economic—requiring the highest statesmanship to manage.

By the strict administration of all Moslem law, his great care in selecting Kadis, his sharp watch over their work, has resulted in almost abolishing crime; pilgrims and merchants everywhere within his territory are much safer than they had been for centuries.

Safety of
Pilgrims.

He has also set and has maintained a low rate of charges for all kinds of services to the pilgrims which protects them as they have never been protected before; nevertheless, there is no doubt that the atmosphere is unsympathetic, and pilgrims who have dreamed for years of making the Haj and had pictures of the various things they would do and the places they could visit, suffer much spiritual disappointment.

The taking of pilgrims to shrines and other holy places was not a matter of invention of Mr. Cook. Indeed, it is the oldest organized business of the world. Some of these movements are on so large a scale as to require the active supervision of the Governments interested. Perhaps the oldest of all is the one up Tai Shan, the great holy mountain in the centre of China. The Buddhists and Lamaists also have their vast caravans of pilgrims. The Hindus, however, have much the largest body, sometimes moving by the million to the union of the waters of the Ganges and the Jumna and the imaginary holy stream supposed to pour in at the same point. Before the War and the Revolution one of the most picturesque and inspiring spectacles was the great bodies of Russian pilgrims singing and praying, constantly moving towards the shrines in Russia itself, or else on the supreme pilgrimage to Palestine and Mount Athos. The Bolsheviki, however, disapprove of all kinds of religious processions, and especially the making of pilgrimages, and with the disappearance of these happy pilgrims the Near East has lost much of its colour. I have seen something of these

other pilgrim movements, but hardly hoped to have the good fortune of seeing anything of the Moslem pilgrims making their Haj, for I was in Jiddah a long time before the holy months. However, the Javanese pilgrims occupy much the same relationship to the other pilgrims making their Haj that the Russian pilgrims did at Jerusalem. They plan the journey years ahead as the extreme life experience. They come with all of their family prepared for a long stay, and have a great holiday, moving around in a leisurely kind of way, and visiting all of the holy places and listening eagerly to all the stories associated with them.

Word came from Aden that some ten thousand Javanese pilgrims had arrived there on their way to Jiddah. It was interesting to see how rapidly the town woke up; although it was full of excitement, it was of the orderly, efficient kind, and showed excellent management. Rooms were cleaned up, the shops were all set in order, both to buy and to sell, for the Haj is very largely a trading matter. The merchants also had to arrange their credits. The soundouks were gotten out of their garages, put in order, and ranged along the sides of the streets, so that the poor pilgrims could occupy them as soon as they came ashore. The little square in front of my house was the centre of these activities. The day before the pilgrims arrived the camels began to stream in.

Arrival of
Javanese
Pilgrims.

The reception of the Javanese was a pretty ceremony. As the first and most popular pilgrims of the season they were given a warm welcome. The steamers bringing them had to lay out in the roads beyond the coral reefs, and the sail boats brought them to the shore. The sail boats themselves and the Javanese pilgrims with their note of taste and of art, the women and children particularly with their bright, attractive clothes, and the colourful merchandise, made a very picturesque scene.

The preparations for the journey to Mekka went on night and day. The pilgrims slept very largely in their soundouks or in their charpoys, waiting until the hour of departure, which was usually at midnight. The Jiddah merchants were busy among the pilgrims with their trays full of attractive things and lighted by candles; they moved up and down among them all night long. I followed one division, very much like a pilgrim, as far as Baktry, the midway station between Jiddah and Mekka, and there could study the simple machinery that exists at caravan stations everywhere in Arabia. Of course, there was a well and a mosque and some very simple machinery providing enclosures for the camels and light refreshment and places to rest. On the way we were told the first story that pilgrims hear on entering holy territory—the story of Kanafany and Zalahny. This story is told in front of the mounds marking the place where the two men died. A pilgrim is told that these two men met on the way from Jiddah to Mekka,

going in reverse directions. One of them said to the other that he was going to Mekka to set up his pastry business for the pilgrim trade, but he did not say "In sh'allah," and he died on the way. The other one boasted that he was going to Jiddah to prepare a great banquet for an important person, but also neglected to say "In sh'allah," and he died on the way. The two mounds in memory of these men are piles of stone, and every pilgrim is supposed to throw a stone on to the pile in disapproval of the acts of the two men so wanting in piety.

Visit to the
Imam Yahya
of the
Yaman.

The next part of Arabia I had hoped to visit was the Yaman, to make the acquaintance of Imam Yahya, so much esteemed throughout the whole Moslem world, whose country so many centuries ago and through so long a period of time held the key position between the East and the West, and provided a home for early Arab culture.

The political problems of the old Sabeian State were largely transportation problems and the protection of commerce. At the dawn of history, in the third millennium B.C., the Yaman, known as Melukha and Magan, maintained almost uninterrupted commercial connections with Babylonia. The Eastern merchants, whether from the South African coast, or from India or China, did not allow their sailors to pass Babel-Mandeb, Gate of Mourning for the Dead, and deposited their goods at Aden. Most of these goods went by caravan along one of the three routes north—one route following the coast line, a comparatively level one; the second route, well to the east, fringing the desert, also comparatively level and suitable to camel work; and a third route, very difficult with heavy grades, going up through the middle of the Yaman, but much better protected than either of the other two routes from raids. At Saada one of the routes branched off to the north-east, crossing the Nejd to the Persian Gulf. The Phœnicians, who were born navigators, developing their art in the Mediterranean, decided to make a try at the Red Sea, where on account of the great number of reefs and rocks navigation was most difficult and dangerous, and so their ships, while learning the sea, proceeded cautiously from port to port by daylight, but in the course of time succeeded in building up a business in heavy merchandise between Aden and Akaba. Of course it has been only comparatively recently that these two ancient arts of transportation have been superseded and that not entirely. One can still see the sail-boats working in the Red Sea and the caravans going along the ancient routes. I wanted to get a closer view of both of these processes.

Red Sea
Ships.

Boat-building and boat-sailing have interested me all my life, and wherever I go in the world they are the first subjects of study. In China the high square sail was invented ages ago to aid river transportation, the sail reaching very high, so as to catch the wind over the river banks. This type of boat with a duck-like hull was afterwards developed into a successful deep-water craft provided with lee boards

to prevent drifting, flat sails keeping the boat close to the wind, a very quick method of reefing, and a good sea anchor to hold the stern—not the bow—up to the seas in bad weather. This is the kind of ship that brought the goods of the East to Aden. The ship of the Phœnicians was of an entirely different type, probably evolved from boats on the Nile with a lateen sail, the ancestor of the fore and the after, which became adapted to deep-water sailing through the use of a hull having the fish form. This ship the Arabs still further developed and refined, perfecting also the art of navigation, and with it and the Moslem faith made fast conquests in the Far East. I have sailed it many times, both on a former visit and the one last year, in the heavy winds and seas, coming up every day around Jiddah. It is staunch and dry, sails very close to the wind, also going well before it and handles beautifully. As a sailing craft it apparently reached a high state of perfection a long time ago. The Arab was a master of both of the ancient arts of transportation.

The journey into the Yaman had been arranged by the American Consul at Aden, Mr. J. Loder Park, whom the Imam holds in high esteem. I entered the Yaman by Hodeida. In the Yaman coffee-houses are frequently kept by women. There was a celebrated one kept by a woman by the name of Hodeida. A little community grew **Hodeida.** up around the coffee-house and made the present port, which kept the woman's name. I was formally received there by the local officials in a quaint ceremonial, both at sea and on land. Ashore soldiers were lined up and a band played Turkish military music, for the officers of the Imam's army are Turks. Probably the soldiers looked much as they did two thousand years ago, except that they carried guns instead of lances. There I heard for the first time the piercing National Hymn sung with great spirit by the soldiers. They said that the hymn was of ancient origin, but the words changed from time to time and were now in form to honour the Imam and his family. In the scene, in the way of dressing, and in the architecture one got the impression that the Yamanite did not have the artistic sense of the Hejazi.

Although Hodeida is far south, a refreshing air blows most of the time, and one does not feel so pressed there as at Jiddah. It is celebrated for its boat-building, and I found an active yard with several boats under construction. The method of proceeding is very simple and direct. The master ship-builder makes the contract, gets the materials together, and practically everything is done right on the ground. He instructs his group to build, for example, a one-hundred ton boat, and the construction begins at once without any plan or model, each one understanding his part. The master in the meantime, who is a skilled carpenter, does odd jobs around Hodeida, returning to the yard only occasionally to see if anything is wanting. The work is very solidly done, the planking fastened to the frames by very strong

iron bolting, driven through and swedged back on the inside. The bolts are made on the place, and also the rope for the sheets and the halyards. I was rather surprised to find sails there and on other boats in the Red Sea that had come from Maine.

While going through the streets of Hodeida one day, I heard a curious noise next to the beating of a drum, and on following up the sound found a little knot of people moving through the bazaar. In the centre of the group was a man with a drum on his back which was being beaten very lustily by an official, while the man was being jeered by the crowd as well as by the merchants whom they passed. This was a form of punishment, for the man had been caught drinking. In America, where we are new to prohibition, we do not yet resort on Fifth Avenue to such extreme forms of punishment.

On the first formal visit to the Governor of Hodeida he tried to make clear to me the position of the Imam, what his ideas were both about internal and foreign affairs. He said that although the Imam was doing everything possible to advance the prosperity of his little State, they much distrusted foreigners because they did not want any colonizing. All through the Near East one hears this note of apprehension about colonizing. Recently some experiments had been made in coffee-growing and with tobacco, and some machinery had been bought for working cotton; also some elementary school work had been started, but these were of rather a military nature.

As there are high mountains between Hodeida and Sana, it was decided that I should proceed mainly by unshod mule, for the roads were much too steep and too rough for either a horse or camel. One time speaking with the Imam about the fearful condition of the roads in the Yaman, he said that that was part of the natural defence of the country against invasion.

After a day or two we began to see the quaint architecture of the Yaman, entirely different from that of the Hejaz, and came into wonderfully terraced valleys where coffee is grown and where the art of agriculture has been developed to a high degree. In Jiddah, Mekka, and Medina the architecture expresses hospitality and a more settled peaceful life, for the windows and doors are large, open easily, and are quite accessible. In the Yaman the architecture expresses the greatest distrust, for the houses and villages are placed in the highest and most inaccessible places, the first two storeys have practically no openings, the first floor given over to the animals, and the second to storage, but even higher up where the family lives the windows are very minute, giving practically no light or air and arranged like a fortress, built much more for defence than for comfort.

Of course, the two countries, the Yaman and the Hejaz, are in marked geographical contrast, the Hejaz flat and wide-open and the Yaman a succession of high mountains and deep valleys. The social

The Yaman
and the
Hejaz con-
trasted.

life is equally in contrast, the Hejaz containing the holy cities open to the millions of the Moslem world that are coming and going, and to whom it is the chief business of the inhabitants to minister and to make as comfortable and happy as possible. The Yaman, on the other hand, is absolutely shut in—no part of the world is more so—has practically no visitors and because of the bitter experience of centuries of treachery and aggression, the organizations of their towns and villages and of their houses and all the processes of their lives are made to meet the hostility of their covetous neighbours.

Although the Imam had arranged for me to travel in the greatest possible comfort and I usually arrived by nightfall in some town where a room was prepared for me, it was sometimes necessary to put up at one of the ancient inns. These inns, which were typical of the accommodation along the caravan route from Aden to Jerusalem, usually have doorways but no windows, and a family or group will take a room giving on the central passage court, the mules or donkeys occupying one side of the room and the family the other. Undoubtedly in such rooms many children have been born, and one gets a picture of the kind of place, a "manger," in which Christ was probably born.

Going from Hodeida to Sana the scenery is magnificent. We went over many high mountain passes, one of 9,000 feet, and descended into deep hot valleys. Arriving at Sana after dark and not being expected at that hour, as there were no street lights, we made our way with a great deal of difficulty. However, the soldiers with the aid of a lantern found the house that had been assigned to us, a comfortable two-storey affair, well built, adjoining which was about an acre of ground, a vegetable garden, and a one-storey building for ceremonial purposes. The whole property had been bought a few months before for one hundred and fifty dollars, so it was evident that one of the Western institutions excluded from the Yaman was the high cost of living. The soldiers who accompanied us all the way told us that the regular soldier's wage was two dollars and fifty cents per month and their rations two pounds of bread per day. They eat practically nothing but the bread, though usually once a week they make up a group and buy some mutton. It is astonishing to see the magnificent condition in which these men keep on their very modest ration. There seemed to be no end to their endurance, for they walked and ran all day in the most good-natured way, carrying a rifle, and a belt round their waists entirely full of cartridges.

The next day we were called upon by one of the Imam's secretaries, Mohammed Rageb, a Constantinople Turk, who had grown up on the Bosphorus near the American schools with which I have been associated for so long, and which he was familiar with, as members of his family had studied there. This was very fortunate for me, because it immediately put me in sympathetic relation with the Imam, as the secretary

Journey to
Sana.

was able to interpret in a rational way the things about which we talked.

Sana : the
Imam.

On the second day the Imam received us quite alone and most cordially. He said I was at liberty to go perfectly freely anywhere I wanted to, and to take pictures of anything or anyone except of himself, as he was the Caliph. Also on any subject I was studying he would have men sent to me familiar with it.

The Imam is a man in the early fifties, very vigorous and alert. Having a small State, he was not only willing but determined to keep all of its management, down to the smallest details, in his own hands. Every morning he had an audience to which anyone could go, ask any question, and submit any complaints. In addition to this he sits out daily for an hour in some public place without escort or soldiers, perhaps in the sun with an attendant holding an umbrella over him, where he hears all complaints, and considers any petition presented to him. He is at once Sultan and Caliph, and derives a great deal of his prestige from the fact that he is, as a descendant of Ali, a duly authenticated Caliph. When he goes to the mosque on Friday it is a fine ceremony, in which all of the people take part, and is the great drama of the week. As he drives through the town after the service, the Imam, at the slightest sign from any of his people, stops to receive petition or to consider any communication which they may desire to submit.

There is a large regular army as well as many volunteers. Both of these frequently break into song, a kind of national hymn, harsh, penetrating, and high-pitched, which contains many verses, which they sing with the greatest possible vim. The tune is said to be an ancient one.

While the Imam was cordial to me when I saw him and we talked in the frankest manner, he could not give me too much public attention, as it is necessary for him to maintain a pose of great independence and even contempt for foreigners for the benefit of the fighting fanatical tribes on the eastern frontier of his country. His fundamental hold on the State, like that of Ibn Sa'ud, comes through the religious side, and has a fanatical note. In a way he pretends to have more or less of a coalition Government, for although he is a Zeidist and his political machinery is based on that fact, one-third of his people on the Red Sea side are orthodox Sunnis, and are given a certain number of minor positions in the Government.

The people are very poor, but as they have no contact with the outside world they do not know it, and one has great difficulty in understanding how it is possible to tax these people to the extent necessary to maintain a central Government and especially its relatively large army. That, of course, is the genius of the Imam. The revenue seems to be mainly derived from a 10 per cent. tax on production of all

kinds, but the people told us that the collectors frequently squeezed it up to 25 per cent., and they were resentful.

There are few buildings in Sana less than six storeys high. The ~~The~~ City. architecture is ugly, and I saw little that indicated taste of any kind in architecture, material, clothing, or music. There was an exception, however, in the matter of the mosques, of which there were a number beautiful in proportion, although simple in design, in quite marked contrast to the domestic architecture. Some of these mosques were several centuries old, and I thought at first that their architects must have come from Constantinople to design and build them, but I was assured that both architects and builders were local.

As soon as I had settled down various groups of people came to visit me, and whenever I wanted to study any aspect of the Yaman life there would be a consultation, and any particular man or group of men familiar with the matter was brought to see me. I met the principal architects, the principal merchants, the military men, and especially the learned men, including the Grand Kadi, a fine type of old Moslem. We got along well, and he came to see me several times. The title "kadi" in the Yaman has a special significance, and is applied generally to distinguished scholars of all kinds, much as the word "sheikh" is used farther north.

I was anxious to make a pilgrimage to Saba, the ancient Sheba, and especially to see the old dam which had been the basis of its prosperity. The Imam was disappointed to have to refuse me anything, but he said such an expedition was impossible. Although it was only seventy-five miles east of Sana, he himself could go there only after taking the greatest precautions, as the tribes were intensely fanatical; they felt themselves the guardians of a great and sacred treasure in the remains of the old capital, and would not permit a foreigner to go anywhere near it. Before the War he said an expedition of Germans went to explore this region, but were all killed by the local Bedouins.

After I had been in Sana for several days I received word that the Crown Prince was coming the next day. For three years he had been with the soldiers at a military post in the northern part of the State Saada, where the roads fork, one going to Mekka and the other into the Nejd. Of course, his return was an important event. I was taken out of town about five miles, where most of the population, especially the army, had assembled to greet him. It was an interesting function, and there was much enthusiasm. It was evident that the young man was popular. The present Imam came into power by a process of election at a meeting of the great sheikhs of the country which he easily dominated, and it is evident that when his successor comes to be elected, the son, if alive, will also dominate the gathering.

A few days afterwards I had a visit with the young prince. He

seemed to be a serious, hard-working young man, with an attractive personality, but of milder type than his father.

One of the curious institutions of Sana is a walled division of the town, in which are kept as hostages several hundred people, more or less prisoners, to guarantee the loyalty of certain important leaders. Also in the town of Yarim one whole floor of the building in which we spent the night was occupied by boys who were also hostages guaranteeing the good conduct of their fathers. Ibn Sa'ud, too, has the system of hostages, but I have the impression that these hostages are given much more freedom and better treatment than those of the Imam.

**Jewish
Colony.**

An interesting part of the community at Sana was the Jews, who have a separate quarter. They said that up to two centuries ago they had been allowed to live anywhere in Sana, but that at that time the Governor demanded their segregation. While they were allowed to circulate freely and to do business anywhere, they were permitted to ride only a donkey, never a horse or camel.

I visited the Jewish quarter a number of times, their synagogues and their Rabbis. Like everyone else, the Jews were poor but had the control of certain handicrafts which caused them to be at least tolerated by the Government, although there was something of a strain between themselves and the Moslem folk. It would often be difficult to distinguish a Jew from the local Arabs if it were not for the forelock which they are obliged to wear.

There was a question about the history, and especially about the first appearance of the Jew in the Yaman. The Imam and the learned sheikhs said they had been in the Yaman from the dawn of history, and there is a tradition that Yaareb, a king who reigned about 2000 B.C., made the first separation of the Hebrew from the Arabic language in the old Semitic races. However, the Rabbis insisted that the Jews came down into the Yaman from Jerusalem at the time of the flight, about 200 B.C.

Wherever I went in the Yaman, right down to the southern frontier, I found Jews even in the smallest and poorest villages. I was quite surprised to find a Jew in one very poor straw village who had been there for three years, making a tolerable living as a goldsmith. It was very hard to understand where there was much of a market in that part of the world for a goldsmith's productions, but it seems that the Yamanites indulge in one luxury, their short curved knives, the handles and sheaths of which are richly ornamented.

The Army.

It was evident that the Imam's great interest was in his army, although he pretended to be giving a certain amount of attention to education—certainly in a most limited way—and to the improvement of roadways. He said he had commanded the Governor of every town to do a certain amount of work every year towards improving the

roadways in his district, and a few of the Governors seemed to have made some progress in road and bridge building. On the way towards Aden, from time to time we would run into stretches of old roadway which must have been seriously built—about a thousand years before Mohammed, they said. In travelling towards the south, one of the oldest caravan routes of the world, the one from Aden to Jerusalem, we were surprised at the amount of traffic. Often we would run across some little group, sometimes camels, sometimes mules, sometimes donkeys, who moved with the greatest difficulty on account of the miserable state of the roads, and their movement became especially painful and difficult going over the high passes, which were mostly of broken stone. Apparently bad roads were also a part of the plan for making it difficult for foreigners to penetrate into the Yaman.

In my last talk with the Imam before going away, we went over various things connected with the State, trying to find something in which I could be helpful to him. He felt there was a lot of valuable mineral in the Yaman and would like to have a thoroughly trained mineralogist make a study of it.

It was very hard for these poor people to add much in the way of personal adornment, and their desperate efforts in this direction were rather pitiable. The soldiers, however, were quite fond of putting a sprig of green in their headdress, but the men and women, in their desire to enhance their beauty, frequently resorted to indigo on their faces and hands, which was not entirely successful.

A former Turkish Governor of Saada, now associated with the Imam at Sana, told us that in and around Saada for centuries they had had two dances in which both men and women took a part, one much like the Western waltz and the other much like the Western quadrille.

Aside from the Jews, there are evidently two distinct races in the Yaman. One, who were said to be descended from Yoktan, an ancient king of Saba, a race of the purest type, finely built, strong folk, beardless and of medium height, having rather wide faces and a skin with more or less copper in it, who persistently wore very little clothes, even the leading sheikhs, who sometimes are obliged to have some additions made when they present themselves in British territory. The other race was taller, quite handsome, frequently having full beards, and wore much clothes. As the temperature was the same for both races, a principle of Herbert Spencer was clearly brought out—that “decoration precedes dress.” The second race is said to be descended from Ishmael, to have come in from the North, and to have Jewish blood in their composition.

The Two Races.

The Yamanite, with such machinery as he has at his command, may possibly double his own efficiency by very hard work, which is, of course, from sunrise to sunset, whereas in America with its machinery

it is estimated that every man has his capacity multiplied by forty horse power, or about 250 times.

To one accustomed to the ease of Western life, it is hard to understand how people living in a State like the Yaman, where conditions of life for men and animals are only slightly differentiated, survive its hardships, but we see that they do survive. For centuries they have existed on the meagrest possible margin beyond the bare necessities of existence, and like the animals that belong to them, knowing nothing of any other kind of existence, are fairly content and guard in the most jealous way a State and Government which provides even these things. In a Western State, with vastly more comforts, not to say luxuries, the people are perpetually complaining, and wherever possible break out into revolution.

Mountaineers are known the world over to prize above all things their independence, and hard as the life is I found two men in the Yaman, one a Jew and the other a Moslem, who had been in America for several years, but who could not get over the longing for their native mountains, and finally returned to spend the rest of their days there.

There is no such thing as medicine known in the Yaman. Even the common herbs that sometimes take the place of medicine in uncultivated countries are unknown here. If you are in pain, you just suffer, and when a serious malady overtakes you, you die. There is one herb, however, in almost universal use—khat. This was brought to the Yaman from Abyssinia at the same time as coffee, and there is a town near Moka, known as the town of the two trees which were first planted there, one the khat and the other coffee. The Yamanites have a habit as inveterate as the British afternoon tea habit. About four o'clock in the afternoon all settle down to as heavy a course of khat as the host can provide. It is a very stimulating drug, and conversation brightens up with its use. It is, however, disastrous to the nervous system; but everyone, down to the common soldier with his poor little income, tries to save a bit for khat. It reminds one very much of the cocaine habit of the West.

The process of bringing children into the world is very hard, the only artificial aid being for some kind friend to dance on the stomach of the poor woman during the process. Although they have many children their losses are very heavy. The Governor of one of the leading towns told me that he personally had lost twenty-two sons, a number that would be noticed even in the ordinary American family. He, however, had eight left and was doing fairly well.

In the Nejd, and I believe occasionally in the Yaman, for certain maladies they use the hot iron for both man and beast, but that is all. I was reminded of a remark of a distinguished American surgeon, a time after he had had a chance to see something of the War. He said: "As a surgeon, I thought I knew something about the limits for

the capacity for human suffering and punishment, but my war experience shows me that this capacity of the human body is greater than I had ever realized before." I had much the same feeling when I saw the desolate conditions in which human beings are brought into the world, grow up, and go through life in the Yaman.

Early in February we started south over the middle one of the three caravan routes that go from Aden to Jerusalem. As these routes are very old, they are organized for a normal day's journey. There are little stations from time to time, where there is a well, usually a mosque, and often an inn. I was rather surprised at the activity of this route, for we were constantly passing little caravans coming up from the south. The Jews we passed, like those in Bukhara, are not allowed to ride a horse or camel, but are allowed to ride a donkey. From time to time on the way to Zamar we passed large buildings, and were told that they were erected in the time of Himyar. From time to time on the plains we passed farmers drawing water from wells so shallow that they did not use animals for their work, saying that the water was only from five to ten feet from the surface.

Zamar is an important town, the largest one that we passed after leaving Sana. There are some fine Mosques in the town, and the oldest inhabitant showed us a stone, built in the minaret of one of the mosques, covered with writings, which they said were Himyar. We saw a number of stones of that kind there. At one of the synagogues there was a parchment Bible, which the Rabbi said was brought with them from Jerusalem 2,000 years ago. The Rabbi Yehia Sayed was the most learned Rabbi that I found in the Yaman. He said that the Jews came to the Yaman before the destruction of the Temple, and that they lived first in Barouss to the east of Sana; that Sana was called after Sam, the son of Noah, and that Saada and Zamar were named after the two sons of Sam. The Rabbi was quite definite about there being no native Jews in the Yaman before the Flight. He said that they were in touch with the Jews in Palestine and Egypt, and knew something of the Zionist movement. He also said the Jews extended in the Yaman to Bihan to the east of Zamar, about eight days' caravan journey. Of America he knew nothing. The Jews were separated from the Moslems; the Imam did not allow any abuses.

The Journey
back to Aden.

Wherever we went in this part of the Yaman, I asked to see the man most familiar with its history. Men of this kind are rare, as their interest is not keen about anything before the Moslem period.

Yarim is a small town of about four thousand people and not more than six hundred years old, but it is right in the centre of old Himyarite activities. Nearby are the ruins of the ancient capital of Maryama. At Yarim there was only a very dim tradition of the death of Niebuhr's companion. With the orthodox Moslem feeling of the

perishability of graves, there was no trace of the burial-place. At Yarim we were installed in a large room, but on the floor beneath us were about a hundred boys, hostages for various Government officials.

Ibb The journey from Yarim to Makadar covers two deep valleys, with magnificent views from the divide between, reminding one much of the arid Grand Cañon of the Colorado. This roadway along here was especially bad, because some ancient king had built a really good one of stone, of which we passed stretches from time to time, but which now, after centuries of neglect, makes travelling more difficult than if no road had ever been there. On the way from Makadar to Ibb we passed many fine big trees, and also cacti, and some wells for the caravan folk. Ibb, like so many other towns in the Yaman, is perched high on a hill, and has the quaintest architectures that we saw in the Yaman.

We are now out of Zeidist territory, and the Governor of Ibb was a Suni and much esteemed by the Imam, who did not require any hostage of him. He was a man of a good deal of distinction and of property, and had excellent quarters, and apparently was at the head of a prosperous district. The prosperity of Ibb is founded on agriculture, but in the town the Jews do weaving and other handicrafts. The Governor said that the old caravan route that once existed between the Hadramut and the Yaman ran from the Hadramut through El Baida, Rada, Zamar, and Sana, and the road from Lahej to Sana through Yafeh, Daleh, Kataba, Suda, Yarim, Zamar. This latter road lies to the east of Ibb and runs mostly in plains where the camels can walk easily, and it is the road the pilgrims follow. There were only about a hundred Jews at Ibb, but they were not happy, and longed to be sent to Jerusalem.

Taiz. Still further south between Sayaney and Maya was the territory of the Governor of Taiz, who seems to be an energetic man, had built the best roadway that we had seen in the Yaman, and also some excellent, although small, bridges at the village of Nahklan; on the frontier of the Protectorate was a fine old mosque of a style similar to the one my secretary had seen at Arafat, and entirely different from anything else we had seen before. They said that it had been built at the time of the Prophet. It covered a large area, was without ornament, entirely in white, and designed for out-of-door services.

From Mowya south we began to enter the country of the Sultans of the British Protectorate, and they refused to allow the little Yaman officer, who had accompanied us, to go further, saying that they would take charge of our little caravan the rest of the journey to Aden. I was rather surprised at one of the straw villages just inside the Protectorate to find a Jew apparently a part of the community. It was a very poor, wretched village, but he said there were three of them living there. My surprise was increased when I asked him how he

was getting along and what he was doing. He said he was getting along well, and that he was a goldsmith. He, too, worked on the handles of the knives ; everything possible is done to have as ornate a knife as possible, and great sacrifices are made to have a little gold or silver in the handle.

At the house of one of the Sultans, where we spent the night under the care of a hospitable young prince, he was so efficiently aided by a handsome young man who attracted my attention, that I asked about him. The young prince responded very quickly and shortly, " Oh, that's my slave !"

The two monarchs, Ibn Sa'ud and Imam Yahya, are men of about the same age, and run their dominions in much the same way. They are both very vigorous and devoted to their people, and their methods are those of orthodox Islam. As their dominions are both small they can, and desire, to supervise everything very closely themselves without important aids. The advisers, such as they are, of Ibn Sa'ud, are mostly Syrians. The advisers of Imam Yahya in foreign and military affairs are Turkish. They are both very careful in the selection of their Kadis and in supervising their work, following all Moslem law. As there are no large cities in which criminals can hide, they are so quickly caught, and punishment is so inevitable and stern, that there is no encouragement to commit crime even among these turbulent people, with the result that there is probably no other area in the world where life and property are more secure. Following the Prophet, both monarchs use perfume freely. Using no alcohol, they take substantial but simple meals. Ibn Sa'ud is said to take two meals a day, the morning one composed of milk and dates, and the afternoon one of rice and mutton, and from these he rarely varies. Of course, rice and mutton is an ancient desert dish, and everywhere they know how to prepare it wonderfully well. For small parties a kid is cooked and a beehive of rice ; for larger parties a whole sheep may be cooked stuffed with rice. The Imam's fare is more varied, but equally substantial. Both monarchs use hostages to guarantee the loyalty of the men under them with whom they place power. The Imam's political problems are much simpler than those of Ibn Sa'ud. The Yaman is comparatively a homogeneous State. The religious differences between the Zeidists and the Sunis do not make a serious political problem. As, however, all kinds of people have for centuries coveted the Yaman on account of its strategical position, both Imam Yahya and his people are most suspicious, and they feel obliged to spend a large proportion of what little revenue they can raise on their army. Of course, this keeps the State wretchedly poor. Ibn Sa'ud's problems are much more complex and difficult, and require statesmanship of the highest quality; as the spear-point of the Wahabi movement he cannot get far away from Ikhwan, who will follow him to extreme limits of sacrifice as

Two Great Rulers.

long as he is loyal to their ideals, but who have nothing but abhorrence for all the processes of the Hejaz and for the ideals which the rest of the Moslem world bring there. It would seem to be all but impossible to anything like satisfy both responsibilities, for in a sense Ibn Sa'ud has a great empire to manage.

Sir GILBERT CLAYTON: Lord Allenby, Mr. Lecturer, ladies and gentlemen,—I feel that I am practically forced to take up my position here. Two people have refused, and it is generally known that I have had the pleasure and privilege of visiting the portions of Arabia that Mr. Crane has been telling us about. I do not propose to add anything to his description of his visit, which brings back to me very vividly my own journeys there. There are only just one or two general observations I might make. Mr. Crane mentioned in telling us of his journey towards the Yamen that he had visited Jiddah, and it is possible something he may have said may have induced you to believe that Jiddah is a rather more savage place, and the Wahabi administration more brutal, than I found it. It is quite true they have a great aversion to tombs and such things as that. But I think that on the whole Ibn Sa'ud kept his zealots, who after all were the spear-point of his military forces, in very fair order. Last May I spent three weeks in Jiddah at the very height of the pilgrimage, and I am bound to confess that the arrangements which had been made for the pilgrims and the security which they enjoyed during their journey to Mecca and back and during their stay there were far in advance of anything I, who have spent a great many years in fairly close connection with pilgrims and pilgrimages, have ever heard of before. I think that a good sign. Ibn Sa'ud it is true has a difficult task, but I know him pretty well, have been with him for some time on two occasions and had close personal contact, and if there is any man who can bring together the Wahabi of Central Arabia and the more civilized Arab who has been in touch with Western culture—I am bound to say I think Ibn Sa'ud is that man. If he only lives long enough I think he very likely will make a success of it. As regards the Yamen one or two points strike one there. One is that after climbing the precipitous paths of the great escarpment, on arrival at the plateau where Sana is situated and the main Yamen towns are, one is struck by the extraordinary remoteness of the place. It is almost impossible to believe when you are staying there that within perhaps eighty or ninety miles of you as the crow flies is the great highway between East and West—great ships with all the most modern inventions passing to and fro. There you are apparently miles away from anywhere. It is an entirely aloof civilization. Another thing that strikes one if one studies the country at all—I was there for about a month living at Sana with very little to do except think—is the stability of the place. That is to say, it is small, and its civilization is peculiar to itself and perhaps not entirely what we should call civilization. At the

same time, there it has been not only for hundreds but for thousands of years—the Queen of Sheba, who has been mentioned, is quite one of the later monarchs of the Yamen. I think that stability is probably largely due to the inaccessible position, which has rendered it immune from any very serious conquests, but secondly to the fact that the people of the Yemen are not nomad Arabs like most of the Arabs of Central Arabia, but essentially a peasantry who live in their own villages, cultivate their own lands, and are at the same time of a hardy and warlike disposition with a natural aptitude to arms. They are trained to arms, and are very ready to take up arms in defence of their homes and country. For that reason, although a difficult country to go to and gain the sympathy of, bearing in mind that it is in the immediate neighbourhood of Aden, it is, I think, well worthy of the study of Britishers who are likely to work in that part of the world. I am sure if people can get leave to go there, and travel there in the kindly and sympathetic spirit in which Mr. Crane conducts his voyages, nothing but good can arise in cultivating confidence and dissipating the suspicion of foreigners which at present exists in the Yamen. I am sure that the Imam himself, although very jealous, as Mr. Crane has said, of the independence of the country—which after all has been their main preoccupation for many hundreds of years—is a man who would respond to kindly and sympathetic help and advice. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—It is my pleasant duty now to ask you to join me in a vote of thanks to the Lecturer, who has given us a most instructive and interesting discourse. I think Sir Gilbert Clayton said the right thing when he said nothing but good could come to these countries by such sympathetic travellers as the Lecturer of tonight. I ask you to join in a hearty vote of thanks. (Applause.)

THE TURKISH RAILWAYS*

By COLONEL W. H. GRIBBON, C.M.G., C.B.E.

THE LECTURER: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I was asked to lecture on the subject, so I make no apology for it, though I think it may be rather a dull one, but I feel some diffidence in talking about such a subject before an audience which must contain people who know more about it than I, especially on the technical side. I am not a railway or economic expert, and hope to be put right by people who have greater knowledge than I on these matters. I hope that anybody who can amplify my information will do so afterwards, but what I am going to do is to trace the actual development now going on of Turkish railways.

There have been various contradictory reports in the Press at one time and another, and I have been given recent information by various people, to whom I am very grateful. I think it is probably correct, and I hope to be able to show you the trend of development in this matter. As an Empire we must always be interested in the development of communications in a country such as Turkey, which lies right across what might be called the waist of our Empire, particularly when those communications are out of reach of the sea and compete with the sea commercially. I do not think we have by any means got to the day when the air can compete with railways for long or heavy movement, and I do not think we are likely to get to that day before the programme which I shall hope to indicate to you will be practically complete.

One wants to realize the position of Turkey always, and its very great importance. Turkey serves as a bridge both north and south and east and west. It has a double function which cannot be gainsaid, but is a fact which we must realize. I think, with regard to this question of railways, the interest is heightened by the recent Turkish census returns; I expect you have all seen the figures returned at something like fourteen millions. I must confess that figure surprised me, for personally I should have put it much less; but I have been thinking it out since, and I am not sure whether it is right or wrong. I think all we can do is to wait for further confirmation and try and avoid preconceived ideas. It is of some interest to make comparisons. Great Britain has about forty-three million population on 90,000 square miles, which gives us roughly 470 to the square mile. If you accept

* Lecture given on December 7, 1927. Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the chair.

the Turkish census figures, Turkey has 500,000 square miles* and a population of fourteen millions, which gives about 28 to the square mile. Travellers in Turkey are nearly always impressed by the sense of a human void. They all say they meet no population at all, but if you consider those figures and the numbers collected in Constantinople and the other towns, I think 28 to the square mile might give a sense of void to people accustomed to 470, or even 200, to the square mile. I do not think we ought to dismiss the figures too lightly. Comparisons are of no great value, but Bulgaria works out at 45 to the square mile. Quite apart from this, I may say that some time ago, in 1922, the Turkish Minister of Health gave a tentative estimate of population at over thirteen millions. It affects the railway question, because if the bridge is more thickly populated than we supposed it becomes more important.

At the commencement of the last war there was a tendency to exaggerate the capability of Turkish railways. I remember quite well figures which were by no means lived up to in reality. If we had had accurate figures it would have helped us a great deal in making plans during the early part of the war. During the war we discovered the limitations of the system gradually. Of a system such as this in particular one wants to get a correct perspective. We do not want to exaggerate or minimize facts, but to get at them, and that can only be done by keeping an open mind, watching developments, and accepting proper evidence.

I do not want to bore you with a lot of statistics, but the following figures may be some indication, again, of the state of railways in Turkey. At the beginning of 1926, allowing for what Turkey lost in the war—the Baghdad at least, partly, and the whole of the Hejaz system—Turkey had still left 2,500 miles of railway. If you accept that census figure again, that represents about one mile of railway for about 5,500 people. That compares with about one mile to 2,000 in Great Britain, one to 2,250 in Canada, one to 4,000 in Egypt, and one to 7,500 in India. Those figures only give a rough indication of the state of railway development. But Turkey has now, either constructed or under construction, 1,350 miles approximately of railways, so that when she has finished her present programme she will not be in a bad state of railway development in comparison with other countries. Examining the railways from the commercial aspect, I have only been able to make one figure of any use. The total trade, import and export, in 1926 was about £20,000,000. That would work out at about £8,000 per rail mile. But then, again, probably nothing like the whole of those exports and imports were handled by the railways. Some would go direct by sea, and I cannot give you anything worth having in that respect. I have only tried to find some indication of the commercial importance of the railways.

* *Statesman's Year Book*, 1926, gives 494,538 square miles for the Republic of Turkey.

Recent Census.

Railway Systems and their Development.

Now, before going on to examine these railways in detail, I want you to realize—perhaps you may not agree, but I think I am correct—that, since the period of consolidation of the Nationalist movement, the whole focus has shifted, and we want to examine the railways, if we are to get any idea of what is underlying them, from Angora outwards, and not from the point of view of through communications, as we used to do. We can take the through communication point of view afterwards, but first follow me in looking at them from the present Turkish capital.

First of all I will mention a small railway, the Mudania-Brussa line, twenty-two miles in length. It taps the prosperous Brussa district and pays its way. It used to do a considerable amount of tourist traffic, and it transports minerals, silk, and a small amount of tobacco. It is not important and is not connected with any other railway. Turning to the main Anatolian system, first of all there is the Anatolian railway, which connects Angora with Haidar Pasha by Eski Shehr and with Konia down to the south. That is one system, and that system connects up at Afium Kara Hissar with the Smyrna-Kassaba railway, the French railway which runs through Smyrna and has an important branch to Panderma. This branch taps the Bali Kesr mining district, and is, I believe, a commercially prosperous concern. Recently the Turks have put in hand a railway from Kutaya; there was a little existing branch connecting this place with the main Anatolian line—through to Bali Kesr. This taps the intermediate mining district round Tavshanli, of which chrome ore is the most important output, and this work has been given to the German firm of Julius Berger. It is altogether about 200 kilometres long, and is to be completed by August 13, 1930. That is a new piece of line for which the contract has absolutely been given. To turn now to the remaining section of what I am going to call the western section of the Turkish railway system. This is the Smyrna-Aidin-Brussa railway, which runs from Smyrna up the Meander valley. It taps a rich olive district, which also produces grain and a certain amount of mineral. This railway is doing much better; its traffic receipts have gone up considerably of late. The Turkish Government are empowered to buy the line back in 1950. Whether they will do so or not I do not know, but at present, although it is a British concern, the railway personnel is 98 per cent. Turkish, and I am told it is all running very smoothly and satisfactorily. There is a certain strategic importance attached to this line by a recent Turkish proposal to make a line leading from the Anatolian railway down to the port of Adalia. The actual point is Chai on the Anatolian railway, and it goes through Dineir and then through Egerdir to Adalia. The harbour is not a promising one, and the branch will serve no commercial purpose, I believe; it looks a purely defensive line on the part of the Turks. The company have suggested they should be given

a kilometric guarantee if they have to build it, but I do not think that they would be likely to get this.

Western System.

Looking again at the western section taken from Angora, the strategic lay-out is quite apparent. You have a railway serving the right wing on the Bosphorus and the Kassaba line protecting Smyrna, and they are now putting a new line through the middle leading towards the Dardanelles. If this goes through—and you can quite see the Turkish desire to get it through—they will have a pretty strong defensive lay-out on the west and south-west. Also it is by far the richest commercially.

Black Sea Sections.

The next section I have to take is the northern or Black Sea section. Before the war Russian political pressure prevented any Turkish railway development in that part of the world. It was not encouraged by the Russians, and the Turks did not undertake to carry it on. The two most important points are the harbour of Samsun, a potentially good harbour, and the coal basin of Heraclea, which provides all the indigenous coal. A contract has been given to a Belgian firm to improve the harbour of Samsun; and as regards the coal, a railway is intended to be constructed from Heraclea to a point east of Angora, Yaghche Khan, where a new Turkish arsenal is being constructed, the idea being to facilitate the transport of coal over the whole Turkish system via the Angora railway. But we shall come to another point about that when we consider Samsun. This railway has been given to a Swedish group. It is about 580 kilometres altogether from Eregli to Yaghche Khan. The gauge will be metre gauge to start with, probably, owing to the difficulty of getting over the mountain range which separates the sea from the interior. Metre gauge will cost about half as much as Turkish standard gauge. I should have mentioned that this is 4 feet 8½ inches. That is not at all universal, but it is the standard, and it would be expensive to put a standard gauge railway through that bit of country. The coal output is, I think, under a million tons annually, and can be tackled by a metre gauge railway. This railway is due to be finished on June 1, 1932. Now, as to Samsun, I have mentioned that a Belgian group has secured the contract for improving this port, the most important Turkish port in the Black Sea, and the Turkish Government themselves have begun to build a railway from Samsun to Sivas which follows the Yeshil Irmak valley. You probably noticed in the paper the other day that Behij Bey, the Turkish Minister of Works, had actually opened a line as far as Amasia. They are going to carry that on as far as Turhal, and from there are giving the work to the same Belgian company as has got the contract for improving the harbour. This work is to be completed by March 1, 1930, and it is the first in priority of all the new construction. It is probable that this railway will bring a good deal of the coal from Heraclea. Naturally, for coal destined for the east, or south-east, it

Samsun.

will be cheaper to go through Samsun and down this railway than to be brought by railway the whole way from Heraclea, with break of gauge at Yagheche Khan. An extension of that line is being carried out by a Turkish firm, Nemli Zade Fils, to tap the tobacco between Samsun, Charshembe, and Thermæ. That may also have some connection with the protection of Samsun harbour.

We have got these two Black Sea branches, Heraclea to Yagheche Khan and from Samsun to Sivas. We saw, looking westwards from Angora, how it was all connected up, and we have got to see how they will connect those two branches with the main system. Certain maps persist in showing a trace of railway running due east from Angora ; it may have been started, but it certainly has not been carried through, and to find a trace the Turks have been forced by the terrain to drop southwards as far as Cæsarea. The Turks have already built a new line from Angora to Cæsarea out of revenue (this line twice crosses the Deliji branch of the Kizil Irmak). The same Belgian company is going to connect up from Sivas to Cæsarea via the Kizil Irmak valley, so that Cæsarea will come in the centre of the Black Sea system, although it is so far to the south. The Cæsarea-Sivas section has also to be completed by March 1, 1930, the same date as the Samsun railway.

Black Sea
Sections and
Angora.

Now there is another and, I think, entirely commercial line which has been projected from Ada Bazaar through Kastamuni to a place called Harsa on the line from Samsun to Sivas, and it is proposed to have a branch line to Ineboli. I do not think it has got very far, it is still in the proposition stage ; it is being considered by a Swiss firm.

Ada Bazaar—
Kastamuni
—Harsa.

That completes the northern lines ; we have completed now the western and northern sectors, and we come to the southern sector. This includes the harbour of Mersina and the bay of Alexandretta, as well as the rich grain and cotton district of Adana. This section is very badly situated, strategically, for the Turks. It is the weak spot of the whole of their system. It runs parallel with the coast, and has no main communication at right angles to the coast. It follows the coast, and is assailable from the coast for a considerable length. It contains two important tunnel systems, the Taurus and the Amanus ; the completion of those tunnels, you may remember, practically coincided with the Armistice. There is no connection with the main system except by a continuation of the Anatolian railway southward from Konia, and this is a prolongation of the other system, instead of being a branch at an angle to it. This situation will be greatly relieved by the completion of another line, for which the contract has been placed with a German group, Julius Berger, between Cæsarea and Ulu Kishla. It is to be completed in February, 1931. The work is actually in hand, so that by 1931, when the railway is complete, through communication will have been established between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean by land, and Cæsarea will also become a centre

Southern
Section.

Cæsarea—
Ulu Kishla.

for the southern section as well as the north. Cæsarea is obviously destined to become a very important railway centre. It is a town of great historical importance which has dwindled for centuries past, but looks like becoming important again. The present population is about fifty thousand.

**Baghdad
Railway.**

Before turning to the eastern section it is necessary to consider the old Baghdad railway. The Turks have lost control of the Baghdad railway. Now they have got this frontier altered by agreement with the French. Originally the Franco-Syrian frontier came very close to the Cilician section of the railway, but now the Turks have got a depth of about thirty miles there which gives a right-angle approach to the frontier instead of the railway running along the frontier. South of this from Meidan Ekbas to Choban Bey the railway is in French mandated territory, and from here on forms the frontier. The Turks have certain rights for transporting troops along the Baghdad railway still, but it is quite unsatisfactory to have a railway practically forming the frontier, and they have taken other measures, which I will explain, to circumvent that. By the way, the old Anatolian railway system ended at Konia and the old Baghdad railway started at Konia. Now it is run by a French concern from Yenidje to Nisibin, including the tunnels, and the Taurus-Mersina branch is also exploited by a French company. The old Baghdad railway never functioned very efficiently during the war. It had a tremendous reputation, and one heard a lot about it, but I think it must have been a great disappointment to General Falkenhayn when he embarked on his campaign. The French have been doing a bit of work to it lately, so that they can run a few trains along, but I think it is only for upkeep and maintenance of their posts in north-east Syria. Of course, that is all French mandate.

**Eastern
Section:
(a) North-
East.**

Let us turn now to what I will call the eastern section. The eastern section wants dividing into two; we have to consider it as north-east and south-east, north-eastern where it leads towards Russia and south-eastern leading towards Iraq. The Turks received a couple of war legacies in the north from the Russians; during the war the Russians built a light 2-foot-6-inch gauge railway from Maden Yeni Keni to Sarikamish (230 kilometres). The Turks got that line at the end of the war and keep it running. It gives them a connection with the main Russian railway system to Baku up to Russia. Of course, it is not connected up westwards between Erzerum and Sivas; there is a very serious and very difficult gap. Although it looks attractive on the map it is not, I think, of great value. They also got a section (124 kilometres) of standard gauge railway from Sarikamish leading up to the frontier at the Arpa Chai.

There is the project shown on the map connecting Erzerum and Trebizond, but that is problematical. It would be an extraordinarily difficult line to build, as it would have to go over the Kop Dagh.

The Turks got another legacy in the line (170 kilometres) connecting with the Russian railway to Julfa and Tabriz. It goes through Maku, Bayazid, and Kara Geuz, with a branch to Bayazid Agha. It is a metre gauge line in a derelict condition, and nothing has been done, I think, to improve it lately. It was built by the Russians between February, 1916, and February, 1918, after they took Erzerum. I do not know if one can connect the ideas, but that railway has some slight interest in view of the recent frontier disputes between Turks and Persians. They seem to have settled them amicably, but at one time the situation seemed threatening. It was due to the Kurdish trouble; you may remember that some Turkish officers were captured by the Persians and carried off. I think it ought to be watched, but I do not anticipate that you will see those north-eastern railways linked up for some time to come.

The south-eastern section is the section leading towards Iraq, and of particular importance to the Turks on account of their Kurdish troubles. In today's paper it is said they have removed martial law from Kurdistan, and it may be the Kurds are going to settle down. The Government have been considering for some time means for establishing railway communication between south-eastern Anatolia and western Turkey to open up Kurdistan. They have now decided on a trace of 500 kilometres, leaving the Baghdad station at Keller, which is suitable as being as far as possible from the French frontier, whence they can run independently up to Diarbekr via Malatia and Kharput. At Diarbekr the railway will strike the Tigris. From there small killiks can go to Mosul and beyond. Such a railway would have been of extraordinary value to the Turks in 1916. After they had lost Erzerum, we having evacuated the Dardanelles, the Turks reconstructed a second army under Vehib Pasha which they wanted to send up to out-flank the Russians. They actually despatched about 60,000 men, and it took them from February until August to get those men deployed from railhead roughly on a line from Kighi and Oghnat to Mush. It took nearly eight months to move 60,000 men in thirteen divisions; that shows the state of their communications and the value of a railway such as they are contemplating. As well as passing through Malatia and Kharput it will tap the Arghana copper mines; I have never been quite sure what those mines are really worth. Its construction has been entrusted to the same Swedish group as are undertaking the Heraclea-Yaghche Khan railway, and is to be finished by December, 1932. Of course, this line shares the weakness of the tunnel section, Taurus-Amanus, but it is difficult to see how that can be avoided. The Taurus range prevents cross communication, and always in history has forced the "royal road" where the railway is now. They cannot get away from it, and so they have got this line hanging on the same link, and it is very weak. Another project follows the Murad Su branch of

(b) South-
Eastern
Section.

the Upper Euphrates to Lake Van. It does not look on the map as though it would be difficult, but it is impossible to tell from here, as it is a winding river defile and almost certainly very broken. If they could build that it would be a useful line, but I do not think it is more than a proposal. Of course, it looks from a first glance at the map as if it were reaching out to the Russian system across Lake Van. It gives that impression, but I think that is more an idea than anything else.

**Orient Rail-
way.**

I have stuck to my principle of examining the question from Angora outwards, and I have left the Orient railway through Thrace to the last. It is a link with Europe that could easily be severed, and if the Turks wanted to come out of Thrace they could do so. You have probably noticed an incident on that line, an amusing one. The other day, when some Turkish delegates were going to Adrianople to celebrate the recovery of Adrianople, they were prevented by the Greeks, who adopted a novel form of signalling by putting a live bomb on the line. I believe they do that every day. By the last treaty Adrianople is Turkish, but the line connecting it with Constantinople and following the right bank of the Maritza is in Greece. The actual railway station at Kara Aghaj is Turkish, but the line connecting runs through Greek territory, and they are always liable to have incidents.

This line suffers from having been built on the kilometric guarantee system, for the 148 miles between Constantinople and Adrianople has been spun out to over 200. It is exploited by a Franco-Turkish company, and there is a threat to take it over by the Turkish Government unless a debt of three million gold francs is paid. Including branches, this railway is 337 kilometres in length. There is a branch to Kirk Killissa, and maps show branches to Keshan and Rodosto, about the present state of which confirmation is needed.

One other railway built by the Turks during the war runs up the west bank of the Bosphorus and connects the Black Sea with the Golden Horn. It is a little decanville railway for providing wood to Constantinople during the war. It was still running when I saw it last and was quite useful.

That is the end of the review of the Turkish railway system old and new. I am afraid it has been rather sketchy, but I think one of the main points to notice is the Taurus range, which forces the railway construction to take a certain shape.

Finance

As regards the financing of the new railways, I understand there is no idea of a kilometric guarantee or granting a concession. The railways are built really on the hire-purchase system. A company builds the line, the Turkish Government exploits it, and with the money it receives it pays for the section of line that has been completed.

**Rolling Stock
and Perform-
ance**

It is a platitude to say that railways are no good without rolling stock or fuel. As regards rolling stock, I remember that during the

war the Turks received a considerable amount of Belgian rolling stock, which was quite good stuff, and recently fairly important orders have been placed in Sweden. I do not think any great performance can be expected for some time to come; I should think the maximum would be four or five trains a day. The ruling grades prohibit heavy trains, and the average train is, I should think, not more than forty axles. As regards fuel, I remember the Turks had great difficulty in circulating coal during the war. The blockade resulting from the war made things tighter and tighter for them. They took to wood on the Syrian system, and coal will probably be a difficulty until the Eregli-Yaghche Khan railway is ready. What effect that will have I cannot tell you. I notice that the Aidin railway burns more English coal than country coal, though English coal costs one shilling a ton more in Smyrna.

You may have seen some recent notices about the quickening up of the through express from Angora to Haidar Pasha connecting with the Orient express to Europe. It is now scheduled to do the journey in less than fourteen hours, but that is not a very exciting thing for 360 miles. It is about half the speed of our best express trains. I believe the Turkish railway personnel is quite efficient; they make good railway servants. Through services.

You may have also noticed that there has been a certain amount in the Press lately about through connection from Calais to Cairo. The announcement was that this would be put through and that you would go in five days, with sleeping cars and other luxuries, crossing by ferry to Haidar Pasha, and all you would have to do would be to cross the Canal. But you would have to motor from Tripoli to Haifa, presumably to overcome the break of gauge. In Syria there is a break of gauge at Rayak, where you transfer from the broad gauge to the metre gauge, and there is a long detour by metre railway via Damascus and the Yarmuk valley. I think it is rather an ideal at present; I do not think you could book a ticket that way, but you might be able to get through in seven or eight days if you really tried.

Another point which may have some interest is the pilgrimage traffic. Whether, when all the system has been completed, pilgrims will be encouraged to go down to the Hejaz from the north I do not know; it is rather an interesting point. I notice the Soviet Government the other day announced their intention of competing with Indian trade in Hejaz ports, and are sending a special steamer down with sugar and tea. It is interesting to see they have got their eye on this sort of thing, but I do not think the Hejaz railway will ever compete with the sea in this respect. Even putting canal dues on top of sea transport it does not seem possible.

It remains to be seen whether the Turks can finish the programme Summary. by 1932, but, from what I have heard of Behij Bey, serious work is in

hand; it is no bunkum, and they mean to get on with it. Let us take the dates once more: The first line is the Samsun-Sivas, to be finished by March 1, 1930, and the same line is to be carried on from Sivas to Cæsarea by the same date. The next one is the line from Kutaya towards the Dardanelles at Bali Kesr, to be finished on August 13, 1930. Next is the Cæsarea to Ulu Kishla, and connecting by that railway with the Mediterranean, by February, 1931. There is the coal railway from Eregli to Yaghche Khan, to be finished by June 1, 1932; and the Keller-Diarbekr line, also to be finished in 1932, but not till December. That is the last line. Contracts have gone for the Samsun-Sivas and Sivas-Cæsarea to the Belgians. The Kutaya-Bali Kesr and the Cæsarea-Ulu Kishla have gone to German firms, and the Eregli-Yaghche Khan and the Keller-Diarbekr have gone to Swedish firms. The rolling stock has been ordered in Sweden. I must say that to my mind it is regrettable there is no outlet for British energy in this new development, but there may be reasons that I do not understand. (Applause.)

Mr. H. CHARLES WOODS: My Lord Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—After the most interesting lecture we have heard from Colonel Gribbon it seems to me there is very little to say. But I would like, if I may, first of all to remind you of a very important thing which you may not realize—namely, how extraordinarily difficult it must have been even for Colonel Gribbon to provide all the details we have had this afternoon. I have tried to work the details of these railways at various periods myself, and I have found it always a very slow and very heavy task. Therefore I am sure you are all most grateful for this information—information which, I venture to think, will be quite as valuable when we see it in print as in the way we have heard it this afternoon.

There are one or two little points I might comment upon. First of all about the census. I think Colonel Gribbon is probably entirely right in saying that we had better wait and see, but the figures given rather remind me of the story you have heard of the little boy who was asked by his father how many sheep had passed through a gap. The boy replied that there were 1,004. The father asked: "Why do you say 1,004?" The boy answered: "I counted four and I thought the rest looked like a thousand." It may be the Turks have done something like that. The numbers are greatly higher than anyone anticipated.

Coming to the question of the railways themselves, Colonel Gribbon talked about the lack of lines in north-eastern Asia Minor, and referred to the difficulties with Russia in pre-war days. I think I am right in saying there was a definite convention that only Russia should build such railways. It was one of the early conventions between Russia and Turkey, and explains the entire lack of railways. As to the

importance of the railways of Asiatic Turkey in the war, in the presence of such authorities as our chairman, Lord Allenby, and others, it would not be for me to make any detailed comment. But, unimportant as these lines, particularly the Baghdad line, may have been to the Turks, it seems to me the Turks would probably never have been able to carry out those two big campaigns in Iraq and in Palestine at all unless they had even these inefficient railways. I could not hear very well from where I was, but I understood Colonel Gribbon to speak of the eastern part of the Baghdad railway as now being French. I may have omitted to see some document, but surely that railway is now a frontier railway, the territorial ownership being Turkish——

The LECTURER: It has been altered.

Mr. WOODS: Then it is quite recent, but Colonel Gribbon's information is, perhaps, better than mine. It was a Turkish railway when I was there two and a half years ago. There was a slight modification of frontier near Killis after this, but it did not, I think, involve the eastern section of the Baghdad line.

With regard to some of the other points raised I would like to say that for many years, and especially two years ago, there has been and there was talk of connecting the Baghdad railway and the Smyrna-Dineir railway—that is, the German and British systems. As to the rolling stock, Colonel Gribbon said it was good; it certainly was reasonably good when I went to Angora two and a half years ago. Of course I agree that fourteen hours is not a particularly quick trip from Constantinople to Angora; but still it is something like ten or eleven hours quicker than it was in 1925, and shows an even greater time-saving than that when compared with pre-war days. At that time one was compelled to spend the night at Eski Shehr, whereas now you keep travelling continuously. Coming to the through railway from Calais to Cairo, we were told that it would be necessary to drive from Tripoli to Haifa. But as many of you know, so far as Palestine is concerned there is a very great desire to connect up Tripoli and Haifa. Any railway built in that area would be partly English, but more largely French. If that were done, you would be able to travel from Calais to Cairo with only the breaks at the Bosphorus and the Suez Canal.

With regard to European Turkey, I gather that any railways running towards the Marmora and the Ægean are only metre lines, but I am not sure whether a normal gauge line to Rodosto is open or not. Referring to this area, too, Colonel Gribbon made a very interesting point about that little passage through Greek country. Although the Customs formalities are not severe, it is extraordinarily annoying to the ordinary traveller boring in and out of Turkish and Greek territory, and it proves some of the problems raised by the Peace Treaties. I must thank Colonel Gribbon for the information he has given us. (Applause.)

Mr. E. H. SKRINE : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to say a few words with regard to my own experience of Turkish railways. First of all let me state that I share the scepticism of the lecturer and the last speaker about the figures of the recent Turkish census. It seems to me that they are preposterously exaggerated, and knowing what I do of Turkish methods, I can well believe the exaggeration has had a political object. We do not find any country thickly peopled unless it is an industrial country, containing a large number of great towns. England and Belgium are instances. I have been in Turkey several times, but I do not know much about the interior. I understand, however, that there are no great towns there with the exceptions of Constantinople, which has been depleted since the war, and Smyrna, which suffered so cruelly in the Greek campaign. Anatolia (and Turkey generally) is a purely agricultural country, and agricultural countries are always thinly peopled. I question whether the population of Turkey is more than eight millions.

I had something to do with Indian censuses while I was in the Indian Civil Service, and I remember how intense was the anxiety on the part of the population in the second census. Everyone to whom I spoke thought it was preliminary to a poll-tax. I think that must have been the case in Turkey, so that the people would considerably under-state their numbers. With regard to the present railway system, the lecturer mentioned the "Kilometric Guarantee," and I should like to say a few words about that. When railways were built under Sultan Abdul Hamid he got in touch with an astute financier of whom you must have heard. By dint of much bakshish that financier obtained from the Sultan a decree guaranteeing so many Turkish pounds per kilometre, without regard to the length of the line, so that it became the constructors' interest to make those lines as crooked as they could be. It reminds me of Mark Twain in "Innocents Abroad," where he said "that the Street that is *called* Straight at Joppa was a little straighter than a corkscrew, but not quite so straight as a rainbow." In travelling from Adana to Brussa I could have shaken hands with the engine-driver! This line is twenty-two miles in length, but the distance as the crow flies is not more than eight. I am very pleased to hear that Kemal Bey's Government has abandoned that abominable and cruel system. Another point regarding railways is that they require roads linking stations with the interior. Is the construction and upkeep of roads in Turkey being carried out in the same degree as that of railways? It is astonishing to hear that all these lines are being started when everybody knows that in a few years' time the air will carry all the light goods and passenger traffic, while motor-cars and lorries will deal with the rest. It is astonishing that the Turks should suddenly undertake these expensive railways, and I should like to know, especially with regard to roads, whether their

construction is being proceeded with *pari passu* with the construction of railways. May I add that we have all enjoyed the lecture and learned a good deal we did not know before. (Applause.)

Mr. E. H. KEELING: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Mr. Woods raised the point whether the eastern section of the Baghdad railway belongs to the Turks or to the French. When I came that way not long ago it was being operated by the French. Whether the German and other shareholders have lost all their rights I do not know, and I should be glad to hear whether Colonel Gribbon knows. Colonel Gribbon pointed out the great advantage of the French being in control of the difficult tunnels. The French section includes the Amanus tunnels, but the Taurus tunnels are under Turkish management. When I travelled from Aleppo to Constantinople we had to change trains when we got to Yenidje, at the foot of the Taurus, and the Turkish engine-driver refused to go on because it had been raining and he thought there might have been a landslip in the tunnel. We were held up for twenty-four hours until they got another driver.

The Germans put up the names of stations in Turkey in Roman characters, and it is interesting to see that the Turks have carefully painted out the Roman names and left only the names in Turkish characters—which I should think a good many passengers cannot read. In some cases the Turkish paint has worn away and it is possible to read the names put up by the Germans.

I have two questions. Can Colonel Gribbon say whether the great Jerablus bridge over the Euphrates, destroyed about 1920, has been repaired, to enable trains to run through to Nisibin from Aleppo? Secondly, can he say how the new railways built by various foreign companies are to be operated, whether by the Turks or by foreign companies?

Mr. MONTAGUE BELL: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—With regard to the Hejaz Railway, about which a question has been asked, it was originally built for pilgrim traffic, and presumably it will revert to that purpose to a still greater extent when the connecting links with northern Anatolia are completed. As to the Baghdad Railway, regarding which conflicting statements have been made, is not the position this, that the Turks have taken over the railway for themselves, the French are managing the Nisibin section, and in the meantime the question of the settlement as far as the shareholders are concerned is under discussion or left *in statu quo*? I think that represents the actual position, but I should be glad if Colonel Gribbon will let us know. A point to bear in mind is that this railway construction is creditable to the Turks, as it shows their determination to open up the country. They are certainly taking it very seriously. What I am not sure about are the financial arrangements. One imagines that all these foreign contracts for the building of railways carry with them

cash down to some unknown extent. I do not know whether Colonel Gribbon can tell us anything about that, or about the bearing which the agreements with the companies have on the capacity of the Turks to carry on without direct loans.

The LECTURER: First with regard to roads, I am afraid I have no very up-to-date information; but I gather that certain main trunk roads are being improved because people can now motor over them. But I think, very much as in India, very often you will get a railway and no road. Sometimes it is a question of railway or road, and a policy has to be definitely settled whether railway or road, and in some cases it is decided to have a railway and stick to it. For instance, I do not think there is any important road along the railway trace to Diarbekr; it would be a railway and nothing more. It is a question of policy as to which would be most economic and satisfactory to go for.

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: Might I interpolate? The line from Aleppo to Yenidje, where the speaker spoke about having to change, right on to Nisibin, is run by a French company with offices in Paris. What the service is at present I do not know, because, like another speaker, I am very curious about that great bridge which was blown up during the war. We have never been able to find any information as to whether that bridge has been constructed properly—it may have been mended or girders run across to allow trains to run temporarily. Whether reconstructed I have never been able to find out. While I am speaking, may I be allowed to say how very much I have enjoyed the lecture, and that I consider the railways are all of great importance with regard to communication with Egypt. There is a point I am curious on—it has been mentioned about railhead. Can Colonel Gribbon give us any information as to whether any construction is going on from Nisibin across country or down south towards Mosul?

The LECTURER: With regard to the Baghdad railway we must find out. My understanding was that the railway practically did form the frontier, and that it was under French administration, if not in French mandated territory. I think the French have run girders over the bridge at Jerablus, and put certain piers for the transport of troops. Somebody asked about the trains on it. I think I said in the lecture that it was only worked by motor trolleys lately, but the French are doing a certain amount of work on it to run light trains there to support posts in north-east Syrian mandated territory. There was at one time a French project to bring the Baghdad railway out by a much shorter trace to the Tigris than that adopted, but it has never been carried through. With regard to the Taurus being under Turkish management, of course, if the French control begins at Yenidje the Taurus must be under French management.

With regard to Jerablus bridge, I think you are correct. It probably has not been completely repaired, but repaired sufficiently for

light trains to run over it. About the financial arrangement, my information is that the railways as completed are operated by the Turks. The line from Samsun to Amasia was, I believe, built out of Turkish revenue. As soon as a section is completed by a contractor, that section is handed over to the Turks, who exploit it and pay for the construction out of proceeds. I do not know if anybody knows any more about it than that. As to the Baghdad railway shareholders and the financial arrangement, I cannot tell you how that matter stands. There was some doubt about this line (Chai-Adalia). It is only a project, but it seems to me a very likely desire. The Turks are bringing pressure on to the Aidin railway company to make those two lines, but the railway company do not regard it as a commercial proposition.

The CHAIRMAN : I think we have had a very interesting lecture, and I can say nothing that will throw more light on it. I took a very keen interest in these railways some years ago when I was conducting the campaign in Palestine and Syria, and it was a great satisfaction to us then that the tunnels were not made until the time of the Armistice. Six months earlier would have given us a good deal of trouble. I went through the tunnel in the last days of 1918, and I take it that the line is better now than then. If not, I can understand the reluctance of the Turkish engine-driver. When we went through, the roofs of the tunnels were not riveted, nor the sides. The sides of the cuttings often drop masses of rock as big as this room on to the line. When we came back we found a rock blocking one of the cuttings, and it took some time to clear away. A large number of Armenian refugees, deserters, disbanded Turks, and others were going back, and these people used to crowd on to the tops of the trains. Many were knocked off by projecting points of rock in the tunnel. I do not think there was a great deal of fighting in those parts after we withdrew our troops and handed over to French control, but the Turks recaptured a good deal of Cilicia, and the last of our retirement was the big bridge over the Euphrates—900 yards long—was blown up, and that you think is probably not well repaired yet. However, I presume that the line is in fairly good working order now, because the day before yesterday, when I saw King Faisal off—he was going back from Victoria Station to Mesopotamia—he told me he was going straight through to Aleppo without change, crossing the Bosphorus, I suppose, by train ferry. So I presume the line is in pretty good order now. You will join me, I am sure, in a very hearty vote of thanks to our lecturer for his very interesting and instructive discourse this afternoon. May I ask you to signify your approval in the ordinary way. (Applause.)

AFFAIRS IN PERSIA

TEHERAN,

November 23, 1927.

THE past nine months have produced two notable developments in the conclusion of the negotiations with Russia and the departure of the American financial advisers. The Russo-Persian treaty of friendship and neutrality, which Persia has signed without prejudice to her obligations as a member of the League of Nations, is a blameless document. The trade and customs conventions which followed on the treaty are rich in possibilities of dispute and controversy, and the Mejlis has designedly been deprived of an opportunity to discuss their terms. The stipulations and provisions of the agreement for the exchange of commodities bear evidence of much bureaucratic manipulation in Moscow, and they leave a clear field for all sorts of chicanery and backhandedness in the treatment of Persian merchants. The merits of this trade agreement, therefore, are only demonstrable in practice over a year's working. The new Persian customs tariff appears to be definitely advantageous to Persia as compared with the 1902 tariff, from which Russia has hitherto benefited, but in comparison with the 1920 tariff at present applied to other countries there is still considerable discrimination in favour of Russia. As a basis for Persia's claim to tariff autonomy, therefore, it is somewhat weak. In the case of petroleum products the import duty is reduced, to the advantage of Baku, and to the disadvantage of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, whose sales in Persia are already duty-free. The dispute over the Caspian fisheries on the Persian littoral has been simultaneously settled, on paper, by provision for joint exploitation by the two Governments in the form of a company with equal shares and equal rights, but employing only Persian workers. This fisheries agreement can hardly be expected to work well in Persia's interests, but the compromise is considered better than letting the Russians have the fish for nothing. The Russian gunboat stationed at the port of Pehlevi has now departed, and it is left to the Persian municipality there to maintain, if they can, the creditable work of upkeep and development of the port itself.

The conclusion of these arrangements is the result of representations and negotiations lasting several years. Not only is Persia the weaker

party, but she has been the suitor throughout, and it is only by the Shah's express urging, aided by Russia's weakened standing in the West, that a settlement has been reached. To call this settlement, as Moscow has done, a blow to British imperialism is as far from common sense as to ascribe it to Russian machinations, intrigue, sinister designs, peaceful penetration, and the like. One might perhaps be tempted to use the last-mentioned phrase to find a motive for certain of Russia's trading activities in the southern provinces of Persia, where transport costs make profits more than doubtful. Of such may be her present interest in the cotton-growing possibilities of Seistan.

Persia's relations with Turkey were seriously troubled this autumn by the time-worn pranks of Kurdish chiefs on the north-west border. Recriminations were cut short by a sharp note from the redoubtable Ghazi, which drew a very statesmanlike reply from Persia. The tension relaxed immediately, and the sweet reasonableness of Furūghī, the amiable Persian representative at Angora, may have done much to soften the temper of the Turks.

The Shah's decree of the abolition of the capitulations, to take effect on May 10, 1928, has not been received by the foreign powers in quite the manner that some of his politicians expected. It is a little perplexing to Smith minor to find that Uncle continues to smile benevolently when a small bomb is burst under his chair, and the politicians, having been themselves somewhat startled by the explosion, are apprehensively wondering what the legations propose to do about it. There seems no particular reason, however, why the foreign powers should do anything. Persia has but followed the example of Turkey and Afghanistan, and she is making heroic if somewhat lumbering efforts to reform her judiciary. Capitulatory privileges in Persia were voluntarily renounced by Soviet Russia, whose citizens are none the less amply protected, by other means if need be. Consular interference may be less vexatious than diplomatic pressure, and it is obvious that a modification of *locus standi* does not affect relative values. Persians, however, are traditionally a hospitable race to foreigners who do not abuse their welcome, and in this case the good sense of the nation and the statecraft of its ruler may be trusted to avoid stony ground.

No advance has been made towards an improvement in relations with Iraq, unfortunately for both countries. The Persian pilgrim traffic to the Shi'eh holy places has been stopped as a result of alleged unfair treatment of the large Persian element in the population of Iraq. The immediate result of this action is a large increase in the pilgrimages to Meshed and to Qum, and the consequent retention within Persian borders of the large amount of money which normally goes to Iraq in the pockets of pilgrims. The trade of the two countries, unlike the trade with Russia, is not interfered with and suffers little from diplomatic restraint, but it is deplorable that one should have to telegraph via

Karachi from Qasr-i-Shirin to Khaniqin, and that between Mohammerah and Basra, which are similarly twenty miles apart, there is no telephonic or direct telegraphic communication. There is also no northern parcel post between Iraq and Persia, though its establishment would be profitable to both Governments and highly serviceable to trade.

The internal peace of the country has not been broken by any significant occasion for military action. The predatory Lurs on the Dizful-Khurramabad line have not yet been quelled, but the necessities of road and railway construction will lead to an early attempt to bring them finally to order. The political atmosphere is clouded by the ill-will of the clergy, which has centred on the method of enforcement of the conscription law, notably in Shiraz and Isfahan. The religious leaders are also demanding the equivalent of a bench of bishops in the Mejlis, where their voices are already frequently raised in protest against arbitrary rule or derogation of their prerogatives. Cabinet dissensions in October led to rumours of an early change, but the only outcome so far is the appointment of Abdullah Khan Tahmāsebi, a military leader and one-time Minister of War, to be Minister of Public Works. This relieves the overburdened shoulders of the elderly Prime Minister, whose duties still include those of the Administrator-General of Finance, passed to him for nominal purposes on the return of Dr. Millspaugh to America in July.

Prince Firūz Mirza (the well-known son of the Farman Farma), whose brilliantly vindictive passage-of-arms with Dr. Millspaugh ended in the latter's withdrawal, is still the star performer in the *götterdämmerung* of the American Financial Mission. The three senior members of the Mission have left on the expiry of their contracts, and the vigorously autocratic methods of the Minister of Finance are not conducive to the comfort of those who remain. Dr. Millspaugh, within whose aura of ruminative simplicity lay the shrewdly tempered idealism conspicuous in the best Americans, has served his day, and served it well. The wind of popularity now blows from other quarters, but though much of his work may be obliterated he will be gratefully remembered by the steady-going and sober-minded elements in the country whose financial affairs he controlled for nearly five years.

The work of the American engineers on road construction and railway surveys, plans, and specifications, which entails no power of appointment or veto or budgetary control, has been spared criticism so far. Road-work on the projected line between the Caspian coast and Khur Mūsā (where the channel runs up an inlet to what is said to be ample harbour space near Māshūr) has already commenced at several points, and invitations to tender for construction material have been published abroad. Bandar Gez, the Caspian port selected, is not favoured by the American engineers, who consider that a better choice might have been made. The line will run from the Gulf terminus via

Ahwaz, Dizful, Khurramabad, and Burujird; whether it will go to Kazvin from Hamadan on its way to Teheran is not yet decided. The cost of the standard gauge line from sea to sea is estimated provisionally at £12,000,000. The acceptance of tenders may be a delicate matter, with preliminary or contingent obligations not strictly scientific. In spite of the Shah's personal impulsion, it will take anything over three years to build the line. Provision for its cost is being steadily made at the rate of one million sterling yearly by means of the special tax on sugar and tea imports instituted in May, 1925. It will be less difficult to raise the money required by a foreign loan than to see the thing through under Persian control, and to ensure efficient working and maintenance thereafter. The proposal to construct a Persian extension of the Nushki-Duzdáb line to Garrāqū, Seistan, or Neh has been turned down. It is to be hoped that in the interests of Indo-Persian trade the existing line may at least be maintained, and the Seistan cotton and wheat-growing area developed. No advance has been made in the consideration of projects for utilizing the water-power of the Jājerūd river to light the capital, or for providing an adequate water-supply for the streets, gardens, and houses. Our gardens require irrigation at least once in ten days during the almost unbroken drought of July, August, and September, but only a few fortunate ones have obtained supplies at an interval of less than a fortnight, and many have gone without garden water for a month. This autumn the drought has continued through October and November, with only two light falls of rain; many of our fruit trees have succumbed, and with the ever-increasing motor traffic of the streets the town is blanketed with dust. The curse of England's summer would be a blessing in this parched country. The autumn bloom of roses, chrysanthemums, and dahlias is kept fresh with daily watering from the garden tanks where the goldfish do their best to save us from the prospective attacks of mosquitoes.

The use of motor transport for travellers and merchandise continues to increase rapidly, though we are still a long way from saturation point. Animal transport will always have its uses, and the slowly padding camel of the north is as valuable on the snowy passes in winter as his southern cousin on the stony or sandy plains. The air service conducted by Junkers between Teheran and the north, north-west, and west is to be extended to the east and to the south, and an arrangement is at last announced for linking up Pehlevi and Baku with the Russian air-mail to Europe. The military wireless, which is nominally a going concern for public use at a number of stations in Persia, promises to establish communication with Afghanistan.

The Ministry of Education created consternation among the foreign schools during the summer by decreeing that they must in future con-

form to its curriculum. The blow at their religious foundations was met by threats of withdrawal from Persia, which sobered the Ministry somewhat in its zeal for conformity. The schools—in particular the prosperous American college in Teheran and the English Church Missionary Society school in Isfahan—are generally admitted to be a factor of high moral and practical value in the country's welfare.

The recrudescence of jealous nationalism is fostered by the Shah in conjunction with the ardent desire for material progress on Western lines. Concessions to foreigners are anathema, but foreign experts are introduced as paid servants of the State. The conjunction extends to dress, with happier results than in Turkey. The pleated skirt has vanished, and jacket suits are commonly worn. The turban is being relegated to the priestly garb, and the peak to the round cap, introduced some years ago in the army, is now the correct civilian wear. At the same time the ban on men's clothing made of imported material is maintained and enforced as far as practicable, and fines are perfunctorily imposed on Government servants who ignore it. No visible advance, unfortunately, has been made in the sartorial emancipation of women. The town ladies are still shrouded in black or dark blue, though their feet may be shod like a Frenchwoman's, and their shopping bills for indoor dress may enrage their husbands.

A STORY OF STRUGGLE AND INTRIGUE IN CENTRAL ASIA

(Continued)

II

THE narrative now follows the Dalai Lama on his flight to Urga. News of the battle of Liao Yang met him in Kuku Nor, and, greatly perturbed by the course of the Russo-Japanese War, he hastened to Urga to consult his old adviser, Aguan Dorji, under whose guidance he had followed the pro-Russian policy which had now led to the occupation of Lhasa by the British, while the Russians were suffering humiliating defeats at the hands of the Japanese.

The Dalai Lama was further informed that the Peking Government was about to send Tang Chao Ki, the Taotai of Tientsin, on a special mission to Lhasa. Though this able man was a sworn foe of the British, the Dalai Lama well knew that the news boded ill for the supremacy of his hierarchy in Tibet, and that China meant to take full advantage of the situation which his mistaken policy had brought about. He must watch closely further developments in Peking. The Gandan monastery near Urga seemed the most favourable retreat from which to observe in security and secrecy. The caravan route to Peking on the one hand went thence via Kaldan; on the other hand, the Siberian railway was within reach via Kiakhta. The telegraph at the last-named place would give him the news from the Russian side, while he could count upon the Japanese keeping him informed of the situation from their point of view.

As the Dalai Lama's caravan traversed Central Asia, the faithful came in crowds to do him fervent homage. They were loud in expressions of anger against the British for their profanation of holy Lhasa, and of contempt for the Chinese.

Zerempil, who had accompanied his master, was now sent to Kumbum monastery in order from that centre to prepare the ground in Eastern Tibet for active resistance to Chinese designs. The Dalai Lama issued a secret decree to the monasteries, Kumbum, Labrang, Litang, Batang, and others, calling upon all to oppose Chinese invasion.

Meanwhile, he continued the journey through the Gobi desert. The news of his approach spread like wildfire, and pilgrims of every

degree flocked into Urga to worship the incarnation of Buddha and to receive his blessing. The arrival at Gandan monastery on November 27, 1904, was an occasion for great rejoicing. Aguan Dorji was the first to welcome his former pupil.

In the spring of 1905, about the time when the Russians were finally defeated at Mukden, the first results of Zerempil's activities on the borderland between Kuku Nor and Yunnan became apparent. The Dalai Lama had been formally deposed by the Chinese, but this fact troubled him not at all, for he felt confident of the success of the revolt which Zerempil was preparing.

Aguan Dorji had obtained a large supply of Russian and Japanese arms, and had sent them through the Gobi to Eastern Tsaidam. He had also contrived to divert to Tsaidam Russian deserters and others capable of employment as military instructors. Zerempil, in the guise of a devout "Geslong" Lama, had been intriguing in Siningfu unsuspected by the Chinese authorities. The Amban maintained intimate relations with Kumbum monastery, and even passed on to them all news received from the Russo-Japanese theatre of war through the telegraph office at Lan Chow Fu. Zerempil was thus kept well informed. Kumbum was an excellent centre for his activities. The sanctity of the monastery attracted vast numbers of pilgrims from all parts. It is also a centre of caravan routes from Kashgar, Urga, and Peking, as well as from Szechuen, Lhasa, and Tsaidam.

Under Aguan Dorji's instructions, Zerempil co-operated secretly with the Abbot of the monastery in the working out of his plans, while making his intimate relations with his brother Lamas a cloak for his political activities.

A digression from the story is here made to give an interesting description of life in the great Kumbum monastery, and of Zerempil's share in it as a Lama of high dignity. An account is given of the training of a Lama from his novitiate through the various grades; the rules and restrictions and the duties of each grade; the administration and discipline of the monastery and the daily routine; the practice of medicine and the various industries in which the monks are employed; their food; the asceticism of some and the loose living of others; method of disposal of the dead; and, lastly, the chief festivals of the year.

Aguan Dorji regarded as of primary importance for the success of the revolt, first to secure the support of the Muhammadan population; and, secondly, to keep the Chinese in ignorance of the plans till the last moment.

After the suppression of the Muhammadan revolt of 1861-73 many thousands of Muhammadans had fled to Tibet and Turkestan; they, and others of their faith who had migrated from China, and from Russian Turkestan, had been well received; some had married Tibetan

wives, and been admitted into Tibetan communities. Many Muhammadan merchants trade between Kuku Nor, Tsaidam, Szechuen, and Eastern Tibet. Aguan Dorji hoped now to win over such men to help with the transport of arms, for intelligence work, or even actively to co-operate in the revolt. Zerempil worked to effect a reconciliation between the Muhammadans and the Lama priesthood. It was not an easy task, for the Muhammadan attack on Kumbum monastery in 1860 was still remembered; an attack made in revenge for armed assistance given by the Lamas to the Chinese in the suppression of the Muhammadan revolt. The Muhammadans, too, remembered the alliance between the Chinese and the Lamas of Kumbum against them in 1895. Still Zerempil succeeded after many vain attempts in allaying their hostility, persuading them that the help given by Kumbum to the Chinese was against the will of the Abbot, and that the real sympathies of Lhasa and of Tibet had been on the side of the Muhammadans. Zerempil was also able to cement good relations between the Tibetan frontier tribes and the monasteries, frustrating Chinese policy which aimed at promoting discord between these tribes and the Lamas. He established communication with all the great Lamaserais, especially those of Labrang and Quetta, and secured their adherence to the movement of revolt.

It was important that there should be no open action until the transport of arms into the region north of Yunnan had been completed; the arms caravans from Urga should, if all went well, reach the neighbourhood of Batang in the early autumn. There was ground for anxiety in this respect, for Zerempil had so worked up the hatred of his Lama brethren for the Chinese, that it was doubtful whether they would restrain themselves till the time was ripe. China, too, after the Russian debacle in Manchuria, had come into closer relations with the British, and might well be expected to make use of the changed circumstances to strengthen her position in Central Asia by tightening her hold upon Tibet. It was even rumoured that a special Chinese envoy was on his way from Peking to Lhasa. Zerempil was further disquieted by news from Urga of an Anglo-Japanese rapprochement which eventually led to the conclusion on August 12, 1905, of a defensive alliance, which was primarily directed against Russia. There had been many Japanese travellers in Central Asia of late, and Zerempil knew that their influence would be all against Russia, and probably against anti-Chinese agitation in Eastern Tibet. Many Japanese had visited Kumbum itself in the guise of traders, explorers, and Lamas, and it was now reported that a Japanese Lama of special distinction was about to make a prolonged visit to the monastery. It was thought advisable that Urga and Kumbum should conduct their relations with China through the Amban at Siningfu, rather than through the Amban at Lhasa, as the latter was liable to be influenced by the British.

The Chinese claimed authority over the tribes of North-Eastern Tibet, and made a point of maintaining friendly relations with Kumbum monastery.

The Amban of Siningfu, on paying his annual visit of ceremony to the monastery, was received with all due honour, and departed free from suspicion of the plot that was being hatched against his country. Outwardly all seemed well, but under the surface there was mistrust and suspicion. In April (1905) Zerempil was startled by news of the hasty execution of a Lama and two Muhammadan merchants by the Chinese in Siningfu. He immediately connected the incident with discovery of his plans, but, to his relief, it proved to be an outcome of long-standing strife between the Chinese officials and the monastery of Quetta, in the course of which eight Lamas of high rank had been treacherously murdered by a brutal Chinese Governor, and the monks had retaliated. Still, disquieting rumours came in of movements of Chinese troops which might well betoken preparations to forestall the Dalai Lama's plot, and Zerempil did all he could to hasten the transport of arms to Batang. Into this highly charged atmosphere came like a bolt from the blue the news, in May, 1905, that the Chinese special envoy, Feng by name, had been shot near Batang by men of that place, led by monks of "the black monastery." Feng had travelled quietly and rapidly from Peking to Chungking, and had started thence to reach Lhasa by forced marches, via Tatsienlu, Batang, and Tsiampo. Zerempil knew that this event would be the signal for a general rising of the Eastern Tibetans against the Chinese. This premature outbreak threatened the success of all his plans, but nothing could be done to control it, and he could only hope for the best. For the Chinese, too, the assassination of one of their highest dignitaries could only mean war on Eastern Tibet. Zerempil, in consultation with the Abbot of Kumbum, decided to restrain the monasteries in Amdo and on the upper Ma Chu-Hoang Ho from participating in the rising till fuller news was received, and a report in this sense was sent to Dorji in Urga.

The revolt spread rapidly from Batang towards Litang and Tsiampo: the mountain tribes in the south had joined, and a general massacre of Chinese had begun. Activity prevailed in the Chinese frontier towns, Tatsienlu, Siningfu, and Lanchowfu, but Zerempil well knew that the great difficulties of the country prohibited any rapid advance of Chinese forces.

The Chinese Government entrusted to an energetic general named Chao the task of suppressing the revolt and exacting retribution for the murder of their envoy. They ordered the extermination of men, women, and children in the Batang district. Chao collected two brigades in Szechuen, and advanced by Tatsienlu upon Litang, defeated the insurgents, and marched on to Batang, capturing and destroying the monasteries of the district. In order to create a secure base for

further operations, he settled Chinese colonists in the depopulated lands of Batang and Litang, and instituted Chinese administration. He aimed, by gradual annexation, to secure command of the Szechuen-Lhasa road, and by driving a wedge into the insurgent country, to deal in turn with the districts to north and south. Few of the tribal population and of the Lamas escaped west towards Lhasa, or to inaccessible valleys among the mountains; most succumbed to hunger or to wild beasts. Only in the south, near the Yunnan border, between the Yangtse and the Yalung, did a few brave men offer prolonged resistance to Chao's relentless pursuit, defending remote monasteries among the precipitous mountains. The last of such monasteries to fall was Sang Pi Ling. Zerempil warned the monasteries, Kumbum, Quetta, Labrang, and the rest, to hold aloof and to show an outwardly friendly and submissive attitude to the Chinese until preparations were complete. The arms caravans had now reached Western Tsaidam, and been entrusted to the ruler of Haidshar.

In June, 1905, news had reached Kumbum of the Japanese naval victory of Tsushima. The Russian Empire was compelled to enter into the negotiations which led to the peace of Portsmouth on September 5, 1905. At the same time the Abbot of Kumbum underwent the humiliation of visiting Siningfu to pay his respects to the Amban as the representative of China, and as administrator of North-Eastern Tibet.

The record is here interrupted by a graphic account of the defence of the monastery of Sang Pi Ling. The place is described as an inaccessible spot in the wild mountain region between the upper Yangtse and the Yalung, a sort of eagle's nest perched upon a precipitous height in the fork of two tributary streams which rush down parallel rocky ravines to join the Yangtse; the only approach by a narrow, dangerous track along the crest of the lofty range between the two ravines. The chapter opens with a description of the flight of the last survivors of Batang late in July, 1905, to this refuge, mercilessly pursued by Chao's troops up to the entrance of the perilous defile which led to the monastery gate. All through the winter, and into the spring of 1906, the Lamas maintained an heroic defence. Though they were reduced to terrible straits by famine and disease, their Chinese besiegers also suffered the greatest hardships from the difficulties of supply and the severity of the climate in the lofty, inhospitable mountains. The defence was ably conducted by the valiant Prior, who knew the methods of modern warfare, having taken part in the defence of Gyantse against the English. In the end it was only by stratagem that the Chinese gained an entrance, having disguised themselves as a relief column expected by the defenders from another Lamaserai. After a final desperate struggle within the walls, the inmates were all put to death.

After the fall of Sang Pi Ling, General Chao extinguished all remain-

ing embers of revolt, and the Dalai Lama saw that it was hopeless at present to pursue his policy in Eastern Tibet. Russia, on whose support he so much relied, was out of the field; the Anglo-Japanese treaty made a combination which dominated Central Asia; and now followed the treaty between China and Japan of December 22, 1905.

China had hitherto refused to recognize the Treaty concluded between England and Tibet in Lhasa in 1904, but as a sequel to the Anglo-Japanese alliance, China and England had been so far drawn together that by April 27, 1906, it was found possible to come to a definite agreement. China recognized the Anglo-Tibetan Treaty of 1904, while Great Britain bound herself not to annex any Tibetan territory, nor to interfere in any way in the administration of Tibet. The Chinese Government on their part bound themselves not to allow any interference by other foreign powers, granted the right of establishing telegraphic communication between India and Tibet, and concurred in the opening of trade marts at Gyantse, Yatung and Gartok. China also confirmed the undertaking that no concessions should be granted to any foreign powers so long as Great Britain was not in enjoyment of similar privileges. The Peking Government did not hesitate to make use of the free hand given to them by this treaty. They extended the powers of the Amban in Lhasa, strengthened their garrisons in Tibet, and settled hundreds of thousands of Chinese in the newly annexed province of Eastern Tibet. At the same time they decided to restore the Dalai Lama and permit his return to Lhasa. The Dalai Lama judged it best to take the proffered hand, but not to return to Lhasa until he had first visited Peking to ask for full restoration of his independence, which China was now doing so much to curtail. He thought it advisable ostensibly to break off relations with Russia, and for the time being to part with Aguan Dorji. At the end of 1907 he left his place of residence near the Russo-Mongolian frontier and moved to neutral ground at Kumbum, in order to go from there to Peking when the right time should come, provided that in the meantime Zerempil could assure him that his intrigues had remained undiscovered.

The Chinese Government took the opportunity of the Dalai Lama's journey to Kumbum to treat him with every honour and distinction. His great influence over the peoples of Central Asia as head of the Buddhist faith made it necessary for them to conciliate him. A special official was sent all the way from Peking to organize a welcome at Siningfu, and an escort to conduct the Dalai Lama to Kumbum. When the Chinese officials took up their residence in Kumbum, and continued their attentions to him there, the Dalai Lama no longer attempted to conceal his resentment at the supervision and espionage which these attentions implied. He was more than ever resolved to free himself from the hated Chinese yoke. In the meantime he approved Zerempil's action in keeping the mona-

steries in check, and maintaining outward semblance of friendship to China until the time should be ripe. The Dalai Lama reckoned upon the support of Japan in thwarting China's attempt to dominate Tibet. He knew that Japan aimed at hegemony in Asia, and would oppose any strengthening of China's position. In view of the close relations between Japan and Great Britain, he believed that he could count upon the tacit support of the latter also. By the Anglo-Russian agreement, concluded on August 30, 1907, the supremacy of China over Tibet was again recognized. He believed that this fact would encourage the Peking Government to order General Chao to press on to Lhasa, and knew that the latter in his advance would have an ever-lengthening vulnerable line of communication through difficult country, and that therein would be Tibet's opportunity to inflict a crushing defeat upon him.

There is here a footnote by the German author on the Anglo-Russian agreement. It is to the effect that the treaty marked a turning-point in the history of nations, bringing to an end the long-standing rivalry between England and Russia, and setting both nations free to deal with the common threat of Germany's competition. France, too, was interested in this agreement, linking up in her political outlook the question of Tibet, Persia, and Afghanistan with that of Alsace-Lorraine. In fact, this treaty was a prelude to the Great War, and a first step in the encirclement of Germany, the next step being the Anglo-Franco-Russian entente concluded in June, 1908.

The Japanese Lama before-mentioned was now at Labrang monastery, and the Dalai Lama seems to have learnt that he was a personage of such influence that arrangements might be made through him for Japanese support of his plans against China; he hoped, too, to secure English support through the mediation of Japan. Zerempil was accordingly entrusted with the mission of seeking out the Lama and establishing confidential relations with him. Mixing with the pilgrim caravans from foreign parts, he overheard talk of a distinguished Lama from distant Japan who had recently arrived to do homage to the head of his faith, and learnt that he had left Labrang for Kumbum to be in time for the Dalai Lama's entry there. Throughout the day Zerempil watched the stream of pilgrims entering the great gate of Kumbum, but without finding the object of his search. He then joined the pilgrim throng and went in with them to the Golden Roof Temple, the innermost sanctuary of Kumbum, the chief shrine of Eastern Tibet and the ultimate destination of all the pilgrims. Here, too, he failed to find the object of his search, and giving up the quest for the day, passed on at nightfall to his quarters in the Dalai Lama's palace. In the crowd that stood before the house Zerempil was addressed by a foreign Lama asking him if he knew at what time the Dalai

Lama would show himself to pilgrims next day. Zerempil instinctively recognized in this man the object of his search. Courteously greeting him, he offered to arrange for him to see the incarnation of Buddha next day. The stranger expressed his thanks, gave his name as Teramoto, and agreed to meet Zerempil next morning. Zerempil entered and reported his success to his master. Next morning the two met at the holy tree in the monastery, and Zerempil was greatly impressed by the knowledge and culture of his new acquaintance. He had visited all the great Tibetan monasteries and was deeply versed in Buddhist lore. He related the history of Tsong Kapa, the Buddhist reformer so deeply revered in Tibet. Tradition relates that Tsong Kapa derived inspiration from "a long-nosed teacher from the far West." As Tibetans call Europeans in general "long-nosed," it is suggested that this teacher was one of the early Catholic missionaries, and that his teaching has influenced the religious forms of Buddhism in Tibet ever since—*e.g.*, the hierarchical organization, the ceremonial of worship, the sacred implements, holy water, incense, rosaries and candles.

Zerempil arranged that the meeting with the Dalai Lama should be in the library of the monastery. He accordingly took Teramoto there, drawing his attention to a book which set forth the political interests which China had in the maintenance of the office of the Dalai Lama. Over the perusal of this book they were revealing to one another their political concerns, when the Dalai Lama entered. Both prostrated themselves, and received his blessing. The Dalai Lama, seeing the open book, renewed the interrupted discussion, found that Teramoto besides being an exemplary Lama had a profound knowledge of Central Asian politics, had received a thorough diplomatic training, and was naturally tactful and honourable. He could read and write Chinese, English and French. He was a man of great influence with the Government of Japan in Tokio, and had himself been instrumental in effecting the restitution of the Dalai Lama by the Chinese Government who had deposed him in 1904. He had also had a hand in bringing about better relations between the Government of India and Tibet. From February, 1908, he became the Dalai Lama's confidential adviser.

In the meantime General Chao had been consolidating his position in Eastern Tibet, and continued to do so in spite of the revolt which broke out in Yunnan in April, 1908. Instead of pushing forward to Lhasa, and so exposing his troops to counter attack as the Dalai Lama hoped, he acted with the greatest caution, only advancing a step at a time, constructing roads, bridges, and telegraphs, making fortified camps, developing the country, and carefully organizing his line of communications. The Dalai Lama thus had no opportunity for successful military action against the Chinese invaders, but diplomatically his position was so much improved (not least as a result of

Teramoto's skill) that he ventured to carry out his long contemplated visit to Peking to reassert his claims there.

Travelling in company with the Abbot of Kumbum, he reached Peking in October, 1908, was received with great honour, and was allotted the "Yellow Temple" as a residence. His demands from the Government of China included aid for the exclusion of foreign interference in Tibet, reference of the frontier question between India and Tibet to the Hague Conference, and that no important step should be taken by the Chinese Resident in Lhasa in negotiation with foreign powers without his consent. All was going well, and the Dalai Lama was about to negotiate for recognition of complete autonomy in Lhasa, when all was brought to a stop by the sudden death of the Emperor and the Empress Mother. Under the altered circumstances it was useless for the Dalai Lama to remain in Peking, and, acting on Teramoto's advice, he started in December, 1908, to return to Lhasa, there to take the government into his own hands, and so to meet Chinese objections with the *fait accompli*. He reached Kumbum in February, 1909, met Kozloff there, and remained some time, taking the opportunity to re-establish relations with Russia. A summons arrived from the new Government of China for the Dalai Lama to return to Peking; but he ignored it, and continued his journey to Lhasa, where he arrived in December, 1909. He found Chinese influence strongly established there; the attitude of the Chinese Resident was hostile and arrogant, suggesting that China resented the Dalai Lama's presence in his own capital. News then arrived that General Chao was advancing on Lhasa. Zerempil ascertained that Chao had accused the Dalai Lama to Peking of treason, and of having concluded a secret treaty with Russia. He warned the Dalai Lama that he was in danger, and advised him to withdraw before the advancing Chinese troops. The Dalai Lama immediately asked the Amban for an explanation of these reports, but, only receiving evasive replies, he realized his danger, and determined to escape to neutral ground, where he would be free to carry on his plans. While preparations were being made, a Chinese mounted infantry detachment burst into Lhasa and endeavoured to capture the Tibetan ministers; they received warning in time to hide themselves. The Dalai Lama, accompanied by Teramoto, left Lhasa the same night with his immediate following and an escort, to make for the Indian frontier, and place himself under British protection. As immediate pursuit by Chao was to be feared, the greatest secrecy and haste was necessary. To throw the Chinese off the scent, Teramoto had organized the flight in two groups. The larger group, avoiding all concealment, marched north from Lhasa, taking a sedan chair in which was a high Lama; all was arranged to give the impression that the Dalai Lama was making for Kumbum. Meanwhile the second group, with the Dalai Lama well

mounted, went south with all secrecy, across the Tsangpo, avoided Gyantse, which was occupied by Chinese troops, and marched by Yamdok lake, Kangmar, and Phari to the Jelep Pass on the Indian frontier.

As soon as Chao received the news he took steps to intercept the flight. He could not arrest the Dalai Lama until authority was received from Peking. After the first day's march of the party that had gone north from Lhasa, a strong Chinese force came up with it, and on the next day the Chinese commander stopped the caravan, and ordered an immediate return to Lhasa, declaring the supposed Dalai Lama and his companions to be prisoners. The caravan obeyed without resistance, and only in the evening did the Chinese discover that they had been duped. The pursuit of the real Dalai Lama was then taken up by a force of 2,000 men. Parties were despatched by three separate roads—by the Karkhang Pass to Tashigong, by Lhakang to Lingtsi, and finally by Phari on Siliguri, the road used by the English in their march on Lhasa. The pursuers were met by armed resistance at the Kharo Pass and at the Tsangpo ferry, and found every obstacle put in their path. The rear of the Dalai Lama's party was covered by his bodyguard. Phari was reached on February 17, 1910, and the Jelep Pass crossed soon after. The Chinese in hot pursuit reached the frontier while the party was still in sight, and in spite of warning shots fired by the Indian frontier post, made a dash to capture the Dalai Lama. They were, however, driven back by the bodyguard and the British frontier guards, and the Dalai Lama reached the British fort in safety. The baffled Chinese took cruel vengeance on the Tibetans who had aided the escape. The Dalai Lama, under the protection of the British Government, reached Darjiling on February 27, 1910. The Chinese Government declared him to be deposed. Teramoto organized propaganda among all Buddhists against the Chinese for the humiliation and injury done by them to the head of the Buddhist faith. The British Government treated the Dalai Lama with the greatest consideration and, while remaining neutral, made strong representations to China about their action. The Russian Government formally protested against the deposition of the Dalai Lama, and threatened to occupy Kuldja. The Chinese Government were also in great anxiety lest Japan should take the opportunity to bring pressure to bear upon them for her political ends. Thus China's action recoiled on her own head, and the Dalai Lama, though in exile, was in a by no means unfavourable situation. The Government of China even went so far as to address to him on June 2, 1910, a conciliatory note inviting him to return to Lhasa. He refused, however, to accept their vague assurances. He thought it more politic to play the rôle of an injured potentate who, though compulsorily exiled from his country, was humbly content with his present lot.

After the occupation of Lhasa, Chao installed a Chinese administration, and was occupied in settling Chinese time-expired soldiers on the land with money appropriated from the Tibetan treasury, when the revolution broke out in China. The news spread fast. The Dalai Lama, Zerempil and Aguan Dorji realized with joy that at last the opportunity had come for their long planned coup. While the Dalai Lama was kept informed by the English Government and Press about the progress of the revolution, and its reflex action on Tibet, Zerempil gave the signal for revolt in Eastern Tibet, and, changing his quarters from Kumbum to Labrang monastery on the upper Yangtse kiang, directed operations from there. The arms and munitions deposited in Eastern Tsaidam were distributed.

In Lhasa Chao took vigorous measures to nip the revolt in the bud, but monks and people rose and forced him upon the defensive. The Amban was killed: the Chinese garrisons of Gyantse, Shigatse, and Tingri were overpowered, and the rest of the Chinese fled eastwards in panic. The line of retreat of Chao's army was cut, the fortified camps on his communications surprised, and the garrisons annihilated. There was panic and despair among the Chinese colonists settled by Chao. The Tashi Lama had declared war on China. By the middle of October, 1911, the Tibetans had driven the Chinese out of the country south of the Tang La Mountains, while from Litang the rising progressed in concert with the revolution in China itself, where the Republic was proclaimed on October 15. Zerempil moved his headquarters from Labrang to near Tatsienlu to co-operate with the Chinese revolutionaries. By December Szechuen was in the hands of the Kuomintang party, and General Chao had been killed in the streets of Chengtu. The Dalai Lama had in the meantime moved from Calcutta to Kalimpong to be in close touch with Tibet, and to be ready to return to Lhasa at the right moment. Time worked in his favour, and eventually the Chinese Government in a solemn decree restored him to his former rights and dignities. Although Lhasa was now free from the Chinese, the Dalai Lama wished to await important news from Urga before returning to his capital. He had sent Aguan Dorji there to effect a reconciliation with the Hutuktu, his Mongolian rival. Aguan Dorji had worked for a year with Russian help to bring about an agreement which was signed in January, 1913, regulating the relations between Mongolia and Tibet. An Anglo-Russian agreement followed in February, by which Mongolia was recognized as being under Russian influence, and Tibet under British. The way being now clear, the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa amid great rejoicings. Aguan Dorji joined him there, replacing Teramoto as his chief adviser, and restoring Russian influence to his counsels. Negotiations conducted between England, China, and Tibet resulted in an agreement signed in Simla in July, 1914, to the effect that while China is nominal suzerain

of Tibet, the latter has the right to her own autonomous administrations. Chinese powers of interference in Tibet were strictly limited. At the same time an abortive attempt was made to define the eastern boundary of Tibet.

The Dalai Lama under English influence reorganized the administration, making many reforms, setting the finances in order, laying telegraph lines, and encouraging scientific development of the resources of the country by foreign help. His progressive attitude aroused strong opposition from the conservative elements of the country, especially the monasteries. When the Dalai Lama had just re-established himself as master in Tibet, and Central Asian problems were approaching solution, the Great War broke out. Russia, in accordance with an agreement concluded with Japan two years before, withdrew her troops from Siberia. China seized the opportunity which the embarrassments of Russia, England and Japan gave her to strengthen her position in Mongolia, and in Central Asia generally. The attention of the Government of India was fully occupied elsewhere; Afghanistan concluded a treaty with Turkey; risings in Northern India and on the north-west frontier, as well as internal conspiracies, had to be suppressed by force of arms.

At the end of 1915 China offered the Imperial Crown to Yuan shi Kai, but that far-seeing statesman was too wise to accept it with so much trouble in view. He knew that the revolt in Tibet was encouraged by Great Britain and Japan, and that China had to reckon upon British hostility to her policy in Central Asia. Rebellion then broke out in Southern China, and the country was torn by civil war, in the course of which Yuan shi Kai died.

In 1917 came the Russian revolution; and China joined the Allies against Germany.

Zerempil, meanwhile, was still engaged against the Chinese in Eastern Tibet with success that was in some measure due to the co-operation of the British agent. Welcome as this help was, Zerempil was puzzled that it should be given just at the time when China had joined the Allies in the World War. Coupling this fact with reports that hundreds of thousands of Asiatics were being sent to Europe to take part in a war in which they had no real concern, he inferred that Europeans would not scruple to use Asiatics as pawns in their rivalry against one another, and his former respect for European integrity suffered great disillusionment.

The Great War was approaching its end. The empire of the Czar crumbled. Kerenski's renewed offensive failed, and in November, 1917, Lenin and Trotsky proclaimed the Soviet Republic. In March, 1918, the treaty of Brest Litovsk was concluded. Russia seceded from the Allies, and to Zerempil in Eastern Tibet it seemed that the Allies' cause was at a low ebb. News soon followed of disaster to the Central

Powers; the Macedonian front broken; the falling away of Bulgaria; Turkey forced to surrender; the failure of the U-boat campaign; and the final collapse.

In the meantime, the Soviet system established in Russia had spread eastwards into Asia. Soviet Republics were founded in Turkestan in May, 1918, and at Omsk in Western Siberia in June.

News of the movement reached Zerempil in the Tibetan borderland. He did not know what to make of it, and was surprised at seeing how it was welcomed by Asiatic peoples under European rule. On the other hand, he heard from the British Agent that from all parts help was coming to the adherents of Czarist Russia in their fight against Bolshevism. He was bewildered and uneasy. He longed to be free to return to Lhasa and consult with Dorji. He vowed to remain true to his old Russian home, and to devote his strength to fighting her new enemy.

He had not long to wait; Tsiamdo, the last stronghold of the Chinese in further Tibet, fell; China had neither men nor money to prosecute the struggle.

Zerempil returned to Lhasa and was given a triumphal reception, as the liberator of the country. Under pressure from England and Japan, China was induced to modify the existing Anglo-Chinese Treaty in favour of Tibetan independence. The Dalai Lama wished to make Zerempil Commander-in-Chief and Foreign Minister, but he found existing conditions in Lhasa distasteful, regarding the prevalence of British influence as a danger to the country and a setback to his Russian friends. He refused the honours offered to him, in favour of his old friend Tsarong.

Aguan Dorji and Zerempil were in a dilemma. The fact that Great Britain opposed Bolshevism inclined them to favour it, but at the same time this same Bolshevism had brought Czarist Russia, England's old opponent, to the ground. On the one hand Bolshevism promised freedom to the oppressed peoples of Asia; on the other hand, it ridiculed their treasured religion as "an opiate for the people."

Zerempil was glad when the Dalai Lama ordered him on a mission to Urga. Aguan Dorji told him that he might expect to see there Colonel Ignatieff, former head of the Intelligence Branch of the General Staff in St. Petersburg. In November, 1918, Zerempil reached Urga and met Ignatieff. The old Czarist officer, in intimate conversation, explained to him the shame of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, making Russia a traitor to her Allies; told him that the old Russia refused to recognize it, and was determined to mobilize Asiatic nations against the enemy; that envoys had been sent to Turkestan, Tibet, and Mongolia, and that in Siberia a strong army of old Czarist Russians had been formed. Ignatieff invited Zerempil to join the Intelligence Service of this army, of which he himself was the chief. Zerempil gladly consented.

Ignatieff confided to him the plan for a great offensive against Moscow in the spring of 1919, in which armies under Denikin, Yudenitch, and Koltchak were to co-operate. Throughout the winter Zerempil helped in the organization of Koltchak's army.

In May, 1919, Koltchak, full of confidence, commenced the advance towards Moscow without waiting for the co-operation of Denikin's army. In the meantime the Soviet Red army had been organized and trained with vigour and enthusiasm. Koltchak realized too late that he had underestimated their strength. Kameneff, a distinguished old Czarist officer, was appointed to command the Red army. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon Koltchak. Zerempil was taken prisoner and interned at Moscow. A conflict arose in the camp between the old Czarist officers and the rank and file. It resulted in the officers being led out to execution, while the men, Zerempil among them, were liberated. He met old friends serving on the Staff of the Red army whom he had known in old days on the Staff in St. Petersburg, and learnt with astonishment of the efficiency of the Red army. A former acquaintance, now a Soviet officer, introduced him to a man plainly dressed in workman's costume, who asked him whether he would serve Russia under its new circumstances against her old enemy, the British, in Central Asia. He agreed, and found that the enquirer was none other than Trotsky himself.

Under the influence of Bolshevik propaganda, Zerempil became enthusiastic for the cause, and bitterly reproached himself that, in ignorance of the real facts, he had served Koltchak, who was supported by Entente money and armed by England and France against the real Russian people. He vowed that in future he would serve the new Russia against her old adversary, England. On the Staff of the Red army he found many old colleagues with whom he had worked upon Central Asian problems in days long past, especially Trubchaninoff and Kollossoff. He was first employed with the Red cavalry against the communications of Denikin's army that was now threatening Moscow from the south. When the Red army under Kameneff had disposed of Koltchak and Denikin, Zerempil willingly gave his services for employment in Central Asia for the furtherance of the Bolshevik policy of freeing the oppressed peoples from the yoke of Imperialist Powers and stimulating their newly awakened national consciousness. At the end of 1921 he left Moscow for Lhasa with material for propaganda, presents for the Dalai Lama, and letters for Aguan Dorji.

At the border of the Lhasa district he was surprised at being stopped by a Tibetan outpost, who, while permitting him, as a brother Buddhist, to pass unmolested, warned him that entrance to Tibet was forbidden "by the Great Ruler of India." So in Lhasa he found that the Dalai Lama was no longer the real ruler, but the British Agent with a military camarilla, while the English General Pereira was

installed in a house in the western suburb. The Tibetan commander, an octogenarian general, could do nothing without first getting the approval of the British Agent. The Dalai Lama himself was entirely submissive to the British, and Aguan Dorji had, under British pressure, been sent away to Mongolia. Tsarong, who had not been previously compromised with Russia, was the most influential Tibetan personality, and Teramoto was at his side. Zerempil took the place of Dorji in the Dalai Lama's councils, and tactfully acquiesced in the existing order. He even cultivated relations with the British officials, who won his respect in spite of his prejudices in favour of their Russian rival. The Dalai Lama, by his intimacy with the British, had come to realize that progress and culture could only be acquired by opening Tibet to foreign influences. His modern ideas, however, brought him into conflict with the conservative and reactionary priesthood. These divisions weakened the administration, and caused discontent, which even led to revolt in some parts of the country. Zerempil felt that disaster was impending, and sought means to free his master from British influence. The British had warned the Dalai Lama against Soviet Russia, and Zerempil felt that he alone was helpless to plead the cause of the latter. Finding that he could do no good, he returned in 1923 to Moscow, and there made a report of his impressions in Lhasa. He felt bitterly his estrangement from the Dalai Lama, and the English domination of Lhasa to the exclusion of his beloved Russia; on the other hand, attracted as he was by the Soviet dreams of freedom, he could not associate himself with a system that involved contempt and suppression of the religion which ruled his life.

Politics and religion, he concluded, were incompatible, and with a heavy heart he resolved to abandon all political activity and devote himself to his religion. Thus at least he could remain true to the great Head of his Faith. While a few weeks later Eastern Tibet was in a welter of internecine strife, and lawlessness and unrest prevailed in all Tibet, a small monastery in Mongolia received Zerempil within its doors, there to await, in service to his great Protector, the hour of universal deliverance.

REVIEWS

THE GARDEN OF ADONIS. Al. Carhill. Blackwood. 15s.

INDIA TOMORROW. Khub Dekhta Age. Oxford University Press.
3s. 6d.

These two recent books, each admirable in its way, approach the great problem of India's political future from different angles. Both display a knowledge of and insight into the administration and political conditions of India that could only be acquired by long residence and close observation; and it is singular that while they should have so much common ground, they arrive at widely different conclusions.

In "The Lost Dominion" (1925) Al. Carhill described how the new policy inaugurated by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms must inevitably lead to the severance of India from the Empire, as, in his view, Great Britain had for so-called moral reasons determined to abdicate her trust. In "The Garden of Adonis," under a fanciful title, which tends to obscure the author's serious purpose, he shows how the drama works up to its tragic conclusion. India under Dominion status, which he thinks the next inevitable step, will relapse into anarchy, and become again, as in the eighteenth century, the cockpit of Asia; like Samson in the mills of Gaza, bringing down in her fall the British Empire. It is a gloomy picture (though the author repeatedly professes his optimism). But, *if his premises are accepted*, the consequences, which he describes with an inner knowledge that is almost uncanny and a logic in which no flaw can be detected, follow with the inevitableness of a Greek drama, Al. Carhill filling the rôle of Chorus.

He begins by telling us that his book is not a history of the Indian autocracy—India under British rule—but an obituary notice; for the British people, though not mentioned in the will of the deceased, have a sentimental interest in the devolution of the estate and may find themselves involved in its liabilities.

On the surface one sees in India today much material prosperity. He asks the question: "Is it durable, or merely like the greenness of the Garden of Adonis that was grown from seed to foliage in one day, and the next day was cast into the running waters?" For prosperity rests on security, and for the India of the future there are, as the result

of England's abandonment of her trust, domestic and external dangers, which will either slowly sap the foundations of that security, or bring the whole edifice down with a sudden crash. In a brilliant historical retrospect he shows how the autocracy welded together hostile and heterogeneous forces, and thus encouraged the growth of what had never before been known in the world's history, the idea of an all-India nationality; how the wealth of India had under an intelligent and broad-minded—if over-cautious—administration increased by tenfold in the last hundred years, and is today increasing more rapidly than ever; how all that England will bequeath to posterity is the fleeting memory of a brilliant but transitory adventure!

He emphasizes the axiom that power is never lost by those who are fit to retain it. He then explains that Britain became unfit to hold India, owing to (1) changes in the conditions of India itself—the growth of political aspirations among a small but very vocal section, of consequent political discontent, of political unrest which the British Government had neither the faith nor the resolution to repress; (2) changes in the institutions and ideals of the British people, who, because of the growth of sentimentalism and of India becoming a pawn in the party game, lost their capacity for arriving at any common and definite policy; (3) changes due to the pressure of external forces, especially as a result of the Great War, which shook England's faith in herself and her sense of responsibility for the well-being of the Indian peoples—"if we cannot keep ourselves, how can we claim to be the keepers of others?" Each of these three influences is analyzed with pitiless logic, and illustrated by a lively wit and a knowledge of Indian conditions and British mentality that almost force conviction upon the reader against his better judgment. But the most potent factor in the process of dissolution is the combination of the second and third. This is admirably summed up in the final chapter: "The idea which has brought down the British Empire, and will in turn dissolve the British Kingdom, is that all rule is in its nature sinful (unjustifiable) unless it be the rule by a majority of a minority situated in the same local area. . . . If to rule, however justly, is a sin, then we are well advised to abdicate."

Thus we return to the thesis of "The Lost Dominion": "*Many are the lost possessions of England. From some she has been driven in battle; others she has abandoned through negligence; others she has surrendered as useless and noxious; some have been bartered. The case of India is, up to the present, the first and only example of the abandonment of a valuable possession on moral grounds.*"

But, as Al. Carhill makes clear, no outsider, much less our Indian fellow-subjects, will give us credit for the "moral grounds." Both will agree in thinking that no one gives up dominion unless he is obliged to, and that it is only the hypocrite who alleges "moral grounds" for an abdication forced on him by his own cowardice and incapacity.

As regards our abdication in India, he ends with a sentence which in its bitter irony recalls Swift :

"We have been deaf so often, that if in India there is any wailing or cursing of the betrayed or oppressed that will not trouble our beautiful calm."

From this tragic picture one turns with relief to "India Tomorrow," which the author tells us is written in a perfect faith that the so-called "Lost Dominion" can be regained on the more certain and lasting foundation of a common understanding and a common purpose. . But for the moment the petty jealousies and wounded vanity of many Indian politicians—aroused by their exclusion from the Statutory Commission—appear to bar the way to this common understanding, and to support Al. Carhill's gloomy vaticinations.

His conclusions are based on the assumption—certainly disputable, if not entirely groundless—that the British people and British Parliament will remain permanently obsessed by the specious but spurious doctrines of "Self-determination" and "Nationalism," which came into favour during and after the Great War, and which Mr. Montagu eagerly seized on as the sure means of rescuing a (to him) down-trodden India from the iron grasp of an alien bureaucracy and placing her on the path to freedom, nationhood, and self-expression. But the immediate result of weakening British control was an outburst of lawlessness and sanguinary agitation directed at the start against the enfeebled British Government, but which rapidly took the form of civil and sectarian strife between those who aspired to succeed to the power which the British were believed to be abdicating. Fortunately for India, that phase of the struggle began before the abdication was complete and has opened the eyes of thinking people in India and England to what the results of such an abdication would be. Whatever politicians may say publicly, everyone who knows the facts must in his heart admit today that Mr. Montagu's grandiose but hastily conceived scheme, forced through a compliant Coalition Parliament in the teeth of the warnings and opposition of the few who knew and had the courage to speak out, has lamentably failed in its main objects of establishing the principle of responsible Government in India and of arousing in Indian politicians that sense of responsibility for the welfare of the peoples of India which would lead them to co-operate with one another and with the British Government. Of such co-operation there has so far been little indication on the part of those who claim to be the political leaders of *India*, a rôle which not one of them is capable of filling, though when their activities are limited to the *provincial* sphere some have done and are doing solid work.

But for India as a whole, in the words of Sir Abdul Rahim, one of the Bengal Moslim leaders, "the British panacea of nationality has brought not more unity, but worse divisions." Even Mr. Montagu had

realized this years ago, and the failure of the all-India politicians, whose capacity and co-operation he had counted upon, to show either of these qualities saddened his last years. Unfortunately, that failure is no less marked today.

As Al. Carhill puts it, one cannot but have a feeling of vexation to see that the Indian politicians, having such a good hand, have played it so badly. Had they played the part assigned to and expected of them in Mr. Montagu's scheme in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, which was then only too anxious to get rid of its responsibilities, the whole substance of power would have passed to them already or in the near future as the result of the Statutory Commission's recommendations. It is probably the consciousness of their failure that has led the majority of them to attack the Commission on a side issue, thereby reviving the futile and discredited tactics of non-co-operation. If you have a weak case or no case, an easy way of hiding the fact is to attack your opponent's attorney or the competence of the tribunal which is to hear your case.

All this is now common knowledge. How is the situation to be faced? Al. Carhill says "some change is urgently called for. What will that be? Not *reaction* certainly. No politician would recommend that." Here he shows himself in the rôle, new to him, of being the slave of formulæ—the vice for which he has elsewhere lashed Liberal politicians. If reaction means retracing your steps when you find you have taken the wrong road, then why should a sensible politician shy off it?

After all, Parliament has expressly stated that it is responsible "for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples." It is, therefore, bound to take the action that in its opinion will promote those objects, whether such action be deemed by some critics reactionary or not. Al. Carhill, however, looking to the weakness of English politicians and the present position of parties, thinks that the decision will be "very much to accelerate the grant of full self-government."

He anticipates the early grant of Dominion status, which will entail, as in the self-governing Dominions since last year's Imperial Conference, complete autonomy, the rapid disappearance (except in name) of British control, of British officials, and of the British army in India. Even that stage, he thinks, will be only a step to Swaraj, an India quite free of British influence, which may in time, if internal peace can be maintained and foreign aggression prevented by a purely Indian Government and a purely Indian army, evolve something more suited to India's needs and aspirations. Here again he is falling into the common error, against which he has warned us in his preface, of writing as if the Indian sub-continent was, or could if left to itself become, a single political unit animated by common national ideas and aspirations. One has only to look at India today to see that such a dream is further

than ever from realization, and that as British control—the only unifying and centralizing influence—is relaxed, the rifts between the various nations become wider, the Indian “nation” becomes more and more remote. However, he pursues the progress (1) of the Indian peoples through the transition period—say a generation—in a series of chapters which portray with prophetic vision the gradual deterioration of the administrative machine in the hands of its new masters.

Taking the peasant, who, with his dependents, composes 90 per cent. of the population, as the *corpus vile* of the experiment—the toad beneath the harrow—he shows us how his fortunes will be affected, and always for the worse, by the policy or administration of the new Indian Government—made up of lawyers, landlords, manufacturers and journalists—in regard to him. Whether the new Government be good or bad the peasant will have little to say to it. Even if he has the franchise, he will never make a good and prudent elector; he will vote at the dictation of his landlord or priest, or, failing these, of the agitator with the most attractive slogan, and having thus given the semblance of a mandate to those in authority, will receive in return contemptuous neglect. A rapid but brilliant survey takes us over the fields of agricultural development (however grandiose the policy, “there will not be one more sheaf on the threshing floor, one more hamlet in the waste”), emigration, industrialism, currency, landlordism, usury and co-operative credit, the all-important land revenue system, the general administration, the criminal administration.

His final conclusion is this: “There will certainly be a general letting down of the efficiency of the administration, already not over efficient (every candid observer admits that the deterioration in the last eight years has been general and rapid). There will be a few cases of gross oppression. Some castes and religions may be grievously affected. But there is no reason—*assuming the executive power of the Governments to be unaffected*—to anticipate any very sudden or catastrophic breakdown of the administration in the districts *in quiet times*. It is violence that might be the end of the régime, and violence may come from within or without.”

This forecast may be accepted subject to the very large assumptions in the words in italics. Many people will be of opinion that the *quiet times* would be of short duration, and that the violence from within and without would bring about the inevitable crash long before the new Indian Government had a chance of establishing itself.

Indeed, no one can read the subsequent chapters on Defence, Religion (Communal Strife), the Princes, Foreign Affairs, Bolshevism, and Imperial Relations without realizing that an Indian Government would find it almost impossible to handle any one of these problems, and must inevitably collapse when faced, as would certainly be the case, by them all simultaneously.

The limits of this review do not allow even of an attempt to summarize Al. Carhill's powerful but faithful presentation.

Take only one—the vital question of defence. For generations British power alone has checked internal disorder and foreign aggression. That power being withdrawn, India will have to depend for security on herself. She will have to set about creating a very large army, officered only by Indians—except for a few European mercenaries or adventurers.

The obvious course would be a short-term army resting on conscription. The war showed that most of the so-called military material is valueless—the races of fighting value being less than one-tenth of the population. But if, in consequence, partial conscription is enforced, that will be regarded as an intolerable grievance, and would probably lead, as in Persia today, to serious resistance and even to rebellion.

The alternative is a long-service professional army, manned from the fighting castes and foreign mercenaries, and partly officered by foreign adventurers—as from Paniput to Sobraon in the armies of Haidar and Tippu, the Maratha chiefs, and of the Sikhs. Such an army might prove an efficient weapon in the hands of a capable autocrat or military chief—a Ranjitsingh or a Madhaji Scindia—but not of a cabinet of lawyers, such as would control the future Indian Government. If it remained efficient it would, as has always happened and is today happening in the East, dominate the weak civil Government and establish a militarist empire, or more likely dissolve into rival and contending groups, each under its own Tuchun as in China today, where nationalism has given way to militarism. But a weak civil Government might prefer to have an inefficient army. That would inevitably invite foreign aggression. Moreover, as China today shows, an army is never so inefficient that it cannot rebel; its very inefficiency, indeed, is the temptation to a daring military commander to create a force which will enable him to carve out a dominion for himself.

Thus Free India would be the prey to internal disorders, which it cannot repress, or to foreign aggression which she could not repel. Have Swarajist politicians ever reflected *that up to the time British rule was established no invasion of India by sea or land ever failed?* Remove British power and what is there to stay the invader?

Al. Carhill's reasoning throughout is of practical value as showing the inevitable results of the withdrawal of effective British control. Where he errs is in assuming that such a withdrawal, if not actually decided upon, is inevitable. No doubt the Montagu-Chelmsford policy set the ball rolling in that direction, and stimulated the small but dangerous sections in India working for complete severance with Britain. But

that experiment—as it admittedly is—cannot be regarded as something sacrosanct and eternal. Our knowledge of the varying and often conflicting interests of the Indian peoples, and of the limitations of those who pose as their political leaders, is infinitely greater today than it was ten years ago.

The smoke-screen created by high-sounding but empty political formulas such as “self-determination” has been dispelled, and the state of Europe today shows how acute are the problems created even in advanced countries by slavish adherence to the doctrines of nationalism and majority-rule over peoples differing in race, religion and culture. Thus in spite of the threatened boycott by certain Indian politicians, who fear the exposure of their own incapacity, the Statutory Commission will be in a position to survey the results to the peoples of India of the Montagu-Chelmsford experiment. The writer of “India Tomorrow” in a few brief but masterly chapters indicates how the investigation should be pursued in regard to the Hindu-Muhammadan antagonism, the efficiency of the public services, the working of the provincial and central legislatures and the delicate problem of the Native States. While he disclaims any attempt at constructive work, his suggestions, based on an intimate knowledge of the subjects under discussion, are practical and valuable.

Is it credible that such an impartial body will be influenced by any consideration other than that of the welfare of the Indian peoples, which depends less on forms of government than on a just, efficient, and clean-handed system of administration? Even if it were possible to hoodwink the Commission, is it likely that men of the calibre of Lord Irwin and Lord Birkenhead would be false to the great trust which both have so far discharged with such ability and courage? And, in the last resort of all, is it conceivable that the British people, press, and Parliament, who were taken unawares in 1918-19, when the more urgent war problems claimed their attention, will in the light of fuller knowledge again shut their eyes to realities and be led into an abandonment of their responsibility? One asks, Who would be the better for such a desertion? No one in India or England, and certainly not the hundreds of millions of the Indian masses who take no interest in political systems but look to the British Government as their bulwark against injustice and insecurity.

If we betray them, we are exposing them to the virus of Bolshevism, today so potent among the masses in Southern China, and we must be prepared to hear them say what has recently been said by some of the South African tribesmen: “Formerly we followed the British flag. The British have deserted us. Now we follow the Red flag.” But if that responsibility to the peoples of India is to be properly discharged, there must be a strong central Government to enforce these British principles of impartiality, integrity, and orderly progress which

all Indians appreciate, and, in order to carry out these principles, a strong British element in the great services on which the security and development of India depend. Given these conditions, the central Government will be in a position to interfere effectively in the provinces to protect the various minorities against flagrant injustice, and also to command the loyal allegiance of the Indian Princes, who would resent any control by a cabinet of Indian politicians. The central Government being thus strengthened to meet emergencies, the provincial Governments could be allotted wider powers in regard to all provincial matters, and given a freer hand to develop along their own lines instead of being forced into the Procrustean bed of diarchy. One or two at least would progress rapidly, others would steadily deteriorate, but in that event the Central Government would intervene.

That is the direction towards which "India Tomorrow" points. It would, as the author points out, mean the recasting and limitation of the powers of the present central legislature, which, for obvious reasons, compares very badly with some of the provincial legislatures. But that problem must be faced; for, as he writes: "If by reason of circumstances beyond our present control certain powers cannot at the moment be given to a large legislative body, elected on a popular franchise and constantly swayed by the gusts of party passion, they may perhaps be reserved to a smaller and less widely representative body, modelled on the lines of the present Council of State." One cardinal error in the present reform scheme is that it began at the top—the upper storeys were constructed before any lower foundation was laid. Hence the topsy-turveydom and instability in the upper storeys.

Surely the proposition is incontestable that Indian politicians should prove their capacity under British guidance to administer a province before aspiring to the governance of an Empire.

M. F. O'DWYER.

ARABIA BEFORE MUHAMMAD. By De Lacy O'Leary, D.D. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, three maps, pp. 234. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd. 1927. 10s. 6d.

Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde in Verbindung mit Geheimrat Fr. Hommel und Prof. Nik. Rhodokanakis herausgegeben von Dr. Ditlef Nielsen, I. Band. Kopenhagen, Paris, und Leipzig. 1927.

It might at first sight seem that Dr. O'Leary had chosen an unfortunate time for the appearance of his work on pre-Islamic Arabia. Almost simultaneously with it there appears a treatise by four of the most authoritative experts on ostensibly the same subject, for to the names mentioned on the title-page of the *Handbuch* that of A. Groh-

mann should be added. The German work is likely to serve as the basis for all future study of the subject. Examination of the two books shows that the extent to which they overlap is slight. The Continental savants treat a few subjects—the history of exploration, the history of South Arabia, the public economy of the South Arabian States, their archæology, and their religion—as exhaustively as the material at their disposal permits. The Irish scholar sketches in twelve short chapters the history and institutions of the whole peninsula from the earliest times to the end of the Prophet's career. Many of his pages are occupied with references to authorities, and his treatise will be found exceedingly useful as a summary of information about his rather vast subject. If the limits which he has allowed himself be taken into consideration, it is probable that he has omitted to mention no fact or theory of importance. His printer has occasionally served him badly, but most of us have the same experience.

His work is difficult to criticize owing to its width; one shrinks from criticizing the masterly essays of the *Handbuch* by reason of their depth. Probably those of Professors Rhodokanakis and Grohmann will be found most fascinating because of the freshness of the material which they contain. What appears from both is that the South Arabian states—we might almost say republics—attained a degree of civilization to which the dreary history of tribal and dynastic struggles, which constitute the chronicles of the same region in Moslem times, offers no analogy. As in ancient Hellas, there were frequent wars and a succession of hegemonies; but, as in ancient Hellas, there were constitutional history, limited monarchies, senates and public assemblies, law based on experience, plastic art, and majestic architecture. It is difficult to believe that these states, whose dialects varied somewhat as those of the Greek states varied, had not also some writing material less cumbrous than stone and copper, rendering possible the production of literature with classics. Now that we have monuments in varieties of the Himyari script from (practically) all parts of the Arabian peninsula, some of them of very high antiquity, the probability that there was also literature in our sense of the word seems very great. The enucleation by Dr. Rhodokanakis of constitutional history and that by Dr. Hommel of political history from isolated and partly unintelligible inscriptions must be regarded as marvellous achievements.

The two books approach each other most nearly in the treatment of the pre-Islamic religion of Arabia. Dr. O'Leary makes the interesting suggestion that the Second Commandment is directed not against the worship of stone, but against the carving of images out of it. It is clear that in South Arabia there was no objection to carving images, although hitherto no representations of deities in human form have been discovered. Dr. Nielsen's essay, which is profoundly learned, is

devoted to the maintenance of a theory which he has formulated and developed in earlier works—viz., that with the Arabs the chief deity was the moon, a male being, whose consort was the sun, with the planet Venus for their chief offspring. The three constituted a Trinity, which he traces in later developments of religion. The great multitude of divine names which are furnished by the inscriptions and the tradition are to be treated as synonyms for these three.

It is difficult in religious speculation to free oneself from preconceived ideas. The earlier stages of religion are ordinarily as obscure as those of language; cults are well established before anything is recorded about them. Names both for gods and God are in familiar use before there is reflection on their import. I am unable to accept the doctrine of Dr. Nielsen that "there must have been an organic connection between the divine names or groups of divine names which are apparently wholly unconnected, since it is clear that such chaotic disorder cannot correspond with the primitive and actual conditions." Greek theology, as taken over by the Romans, appears to exhibit an original chaos, into which order was introduced by speculation. Thus the Latins seem to have had a divine name, *Venus*, which appears to be identical with Sanskrit *vanas*, meaning "love" or "charm." Speculative theology identified this deity with Aphrodite, and in consequence changed the word from neuter to feminine. There is no reason for supposing that the two cults had any original connection. Nor can we accept the canon that where divine names are abstract, they should be interpreted as concrete: that "the god Phobos in Homer is not flight, but the Scarer." This appears to me to be an almost grotesque misunderstanding of the poet. The true sequence is surely this: Ares is a divine name, which by etymology became connected with slaying, whence Ares became a god of war; like other deities his function was obtained by theologians from his name. War has for its consequences flight and fright; war is akin to strife. Hence when a poet calls Strife the sister and Flight and Fright the sons of War he is speaking a language which differs very slightly from that which is in ordinary use. It may be a matter of surprise that such abstractions should be worshipped, and even (as was the case with the Athenian Persuasion) receive sacrifice; but theory must give way to fact.

Further, it has rightly been observed by Wellhausen that just as *father* and *mother*, though common nouns, become proper names in particular families, so *god*, while remaining a common noun, becomes a proper name in individual communities. "God" meant Athene in Athens, probably Artemis in Ephesus. Where the word used for "god" clearly means "master"—e.g., Adon, Baal, Rabb—except among monotheists it would have local or tribal value. Those who were not familiar with the word might well suppose it to be a proper name.

The matter collected by Dr. Nielsen to show that the Arabs worshipped sun, moon, and the planet Venus is of great interest, but some of it is what commentators on the classics would call *cupide arreptum*. In Surah lxxxvi. 1 Allah swears by *al-târiq*, apparently an obscure phrase, as it is explained in the text by *al-najm al-thâqib*, "the piercing star." Tabari, our earliest commentator, says this means either the stars in general, or the Pleiads, or Saturn. Dr. Nielsen asserts that it means Venus. Surah liii. 1 reads, *By the star when it falls*. Tabari says this means the Pleiads; there is another view that the reference is to shooting stars. The tradition is not in favour of its meaning Venus. The Qur'an forbids worship of the sun and moon in Surah xli. 37. "We see from the context," says Dr. Nielsen, "that the chief pagan deities are meant." The context scarcely suggests "chief."

Lettish poetry is cited for the myth of a marriage between sun and moon with stars for offspring, but is there any evidence that the Arabs possessed a similar myth? There does not appear to be any. Hence the preparation for the proposition that "everywhere in ancient Arabia the moon-god was chief deity" seems to be inadequate. The first argument is that in Arabic sun and moon are designated for brevity *The two moons*, whence it follows that the moon is the more important. If we argued similarly from Abu Bakr and Omar being designated *The two Omars*, we should arrive at the very erroneous conclusion that Omar is the more revered of the two. From the argument which follows, which is to prove the thesis that "the whole mythology, the entire language of religious metaphor is referable to the phases, colours, motions, and effects of the moon," we must eliminate all that is concerned with the fixing of festivals. These were fixed by the phases of the moon; not because men worshipped the moon, but because there was no other way of fixing them. That the Arabs worshipped the moon is attested, but these witnesses do not attest that the moon was the chief god; they rather suggest that if there was a chief god, this was the sun.

There remains the evidence which is to identify Il and various individual deities with the moon. The god Wadd or Wudd in certain inscriptions is called *Shahran*. This is supposed by Nielsen to mean "the moon"; but in CIH. 32, where the word is used not as an epithet, but as a divine name, it has the *mim*, not the *nun*, whence Nielsen's rendering seems hazardous. Further, it seems improbable that the chief god would be called "their *shayyam*" (patron), a title which is associated with inferior objects of worship. Indeed, the language of the inscriptions indicates that these objects of adoration were divided into classes which are unintelligible without a theological handbook. In CIH. 41 we read, *by the help of Athtar Sharqan and their Il, Athtar dhu Gaufat*. Clearly, then, whereas one form of

Athtar was an *Il* (god), another was not of that class. Other beings are called *their sons* (plural, CIH. 46; singular, CIH. 106 and often). The word *Il* is found in the dual and the plural, whence it is difficult to see how Nielsen can deny that the word is a common noun; even if the word originally meant the moon, it must have come to be used as the name of a class.

The archæological evidence, which consists in the occurrence of the symbol of a crescent embracing a disc on altars, gems, and other works of art, is somewhat stronger; but since it is found over some object dedicated to four deities, we really need a theological handbook to ascertain its import. Nielsen is fortunately too good a scholar to speak of Mohammed spreading the religion of the crescent, though he comes nearer this proposition than is desirable; but his supposition that the lunar year which the Prophet introduced was with the view of favouring the moon against the sun appears to be gratuitous. The Prophet's genius favoured the cutting of knots. Just as he settled the question of the nature of Christ in a sentence, so he settled the difficult problem of harmonizing the seasons with the lunations by leaving the seasons out of account. Somewhat similarly Napoleon, when in difficulty about retaining his prisoners and removing his wounded, resorted to expedients of extreme simplicity.

It must not be inferred that the value of Nielsen's essay is seriously impaired by the fact that his working hypothesis does not seem to work. No student of this subject will peruse it without deriving great profit from it.

D. S. M.

ANTIQUITIES OF INDIAN TIBET. By A. H. Franke, Ph.D. Part I., Personal Narrative. Edited by J. Ph. Vogel, 1914. Part II., The Chronicles of Ladak and Minor Chronicles. Edited by F. W. Thomas, 1926. Published by the Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vols. XXXVIII. and L., Calcutta.

Dr. Franke is the last of a small group of scholars in Tibetan philology and archæology who were members of the Moravian Mission established in Western Tibet in the middle of last century. His predecessors were Dr. H. A. Jäschke, author of the first Tibetan-English dictionary and the most competent European of his day in modern Tibetan and its dialects, and Dr. K. Marx, the first translator of the Book of the Ladak Kings. Dr. Franke has a long list of pioneer researches to his credit regarding the dialects, ethnology, folklore, and the epigraphy and archæology of Ladak. His "History of Western Tibet" (Partridge, London, 1917) is well known. The two volumes under review are his latest and most important contribution to the documentary evidence of Ladak's history.

Part I. contains the narrative of an archæological survey undertaken

by the author in Western Tibet at the request of the Government of India between June and October, 1909. This country had never yet been systematically explored by a scholar thoroughly acquainted with the language and a good knowledge of its topography, earned by many years' previous residence in it. Even allowing for such a preparation, the amount of documentary information collected in a little over four months, as illustrated in this report, is truly remarkable. And it had to be accumulated in the course of a journey through a very rough and difficult country, where the traveller is obliged to rely entirely on the scanty comforts and supplies which he is able to carry along with him. The observations were not limited to archæology, but included ethnology, religious and social customs, folklore, styles of religious and lay architecture, historical traditions, survivals and interrelations of the ancient Bon-po and Brahminical creeds with the present Lamaist and Buddhist cult and its various sects.

Starting from Simla, Dr. Franke, accompanied only by Babu Pindi Lal, a photographer of the Archæological Survey, a couple of servants, and an educated Tibetan, to help him in the reading and copying of inscriptions and documents, travelled north to the Sutlej river, and followed it uphill in its course through the district of Bashahr, where, according to rumour, human sacrifices to the goddess Kali were still performed.

As one reaches higher ground one passes gradually from Hinduism to Buddhism and its typical symbols, such as mani-walls and chortens, and finally lamaseries, while the Kanawari language is replaced by Tibetan. From Poo was made a short excursion to Shipke, in Tibetan territory, not far from Tsaparang, where the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio de Andrade resided in 1626.

He then proceeded up the Spiti river, across the Spiti district; inspecting and describing all along the itinerary the castles in various stages of decay and ruin and the principal monasteries belonging to three different sects of Lamaism, with their temples, statues, bas-reliefs, carvings, frescoes, inscriptions, books and manuscripts, chortens, votive tablets; collecting verbal traditions, and in fact investigating everything with a possible bearing on history. He then ascended the Pharang La or Pass, 18,300 feet high, with an equipment totally inadequate to the severe climate of such altitudes, and reached the high plateau of Rukshu (Rubshu) and the lake Tso-Morari. Though he had only just recovered from an attack of malaria, Dr. Franke seems to have withstood the hardships of this part of the journey far better than his companions. On the plateau he came in contact with the scanty nomad population, truly Tibetan in character, and he also noted the fauna of the high desert, mainly kyangs (wild ass), hares, and marmots, and the habits of the half-wild yaks, the beasts of burden of the small caravan, which are urged forward by the herdsmen

hammering their hindquarters with oblong stones. A descent was made from the plateau to Raldrong on the Indus river, for the purpose of visiting Nyoma (Nimu, or Nima) and Staglung, places of historical interest. They then climbed again to the tableland with its lakes, at last leaving it by way of the Thaglang Pass (17,500 feet) and the valley of Gya.

In the Indus valley Dr. Franke examined in detail the series of monasteries above and below Leh. In Leh, besides a careful exploration of the monuments of the city and its surroundings, he took up again the exploration of some old Dard graves, on which he had already done some work with Dr. Shawe in 1903. These graves yielded a good harvest of skulls, pottery, bronze and iron implements, ornaments, etc. All along this portion of the route, from Gya onwards, Dr. Franke identified the scattered vestiges of the old Bon religion, about the interpretation of which, however, Professor Dainelli differs from him.*

Another very interesting ethnological question—that of the ancient Dard colonies in the upper Indus valley—had already attracted Dr. Franke's attention on former occasions; he now added further evidence of their past history. It is to be regretted that he was not able to push down the valley below Kalatse, where dwell some Dard settlers (Machnopa) who have preserved the most interesting ethnical characters, owing to their isolation. The wild gorges among which these settlements lie are in fact impassable in any other season except winter, when ice-bridges span the Indus. Very few Europeans have ever visited them, the last being Professor Dainelli of Dr. De Filippi's 1913-14 expedition.

After passing Khalatse Dr. Franke followed the ordinary caravan route to Kargil and Dras, which gave him the opportunity of making interesting observations in the monasteries of Lamayuru and Kharbu, and in the picturesque castle of Chigtan, the seat of the ancient Purig Sultans. At Dras Dr. Franke finally identified the well-known stone sculptures lying by the path near the edge of the plateau as Buddhist monuments representing Bodhisattvas.

Throughout the book Dr. Franke compares his own observations with those of his predecessors, and he gives an extensive bibliography. There are a number of fine illustrations from the photographs taken by Babu Pindi Lal, and a good map.

Two appendices contain the list of the antiquities collected by the author, which are now deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta and in the Kashmir State Collection at Srinagar.

The volume forming Part II., which has appeared after an interval of twelve years, is of an entirely different nature from Volume I. It

* See "Spedizione Italiana De Filippi, Relazioni Scientifiche," Series II., Vol. IX., pp. 69-71. Bologna: R. Biasutti e G. Dainelli: I Tipi Umani. 1926.

contains the first complete text and translation of the Chronicles of Ladak (La-dvags-rgyal-rabs), which consist of various works, covering different periods.

The oldest contains the history of the Kings up to Sen-ge-rnam-gyal (1620). The existence of this manuscript at Leh was first heard of by Csoma de Körös. A copy of it, made by three lamas, was first brought to Europe by Herman von Schlagintweit, and was published, together with a German translation, by his brother Emil. Subsequently, Dr. K. Marx discovered two manuscripts in Leh, one containing the period above mentioned, the other the sequel after 1620, up to the Dogra wars. He was only able to publish the first before his death; the translation of the second was edited by K. Marx's brother, the manuscript having disappeared. Dr. Marx had also induced Munshi Dpal-rgyas, a Ladaki, to write a history of the Dogra wars, thus completing the history of Ladak to 1842; and this part was translated by Mrs. Franke (Dr. Marx's sister-in-law), and published together with the text.

Dr. Franke succeeded in retracing the missing manuscript, and he also obtained a photographic reproduction of a copy of the Ladvags in the British Museum, and procured three separate accounts of the Dogra wars and later. In all these researches, sorting, reading, and interpreting the manuscripts, he was assisted by the Ladaki Christian Tsche-brtan (who has since become the Rev. Joseph Gergan, in charge of the Kulu branch of the Moravian mission at Kyelang).

The result is this volume, in which Dr. Franke gives a definite and complete edition of the text of the La-dvags-rgyal-rabs, based on five manuscripts, and also a translation of it, the old partial translation being thoroughly revised, with the addition of new material. In the words of the author: "The aim of the present publication is, not to bring out a critical edition of a Tibetan work on history, but to present in a connected text all the historical facts contained in the various MSS. of the West Tibetan Chronicles."

The reviewer has no competence to judge of the text and its interpretation, and is only able to give an outline of the contents from the excellent introduction of Dr. Franke. The first part contains a list of the Kings of Great Tibet; the earliest of which really belong to the Bon-po mythology, the first historical personage being Sron-btsam-sgam-po (A.D. 600-650). Then follows the pedigree of the Kings of Leh, meant to prove their descent from the ancient Kings of Lhasa (A.D. 900 to 1400). After 1400 the account becomes fuller; though, the writers being lamas, the military events are given a subordinate importance in comparison with the royal gifts and grants to lamas and monasteries and the building of chortens and mani-walls.

Dr. Franke seeks evidence for the chronicled events in their correspondence with the inscriptions on stone and rock scattered all

over the country, and with traditions surviving in folklore, which go far to prove that the Ladaki Kings of the Rnam-gyal dynasty and their succession are historical realities, though there are difficulties about the dates, especially those previous to the introduction of Chinese calendar cycles into Ladak.

Each chapter of the chronicle is supplemented by notes, several of which are reproduced from Dr. Marx, mentioning other documentary evidence, ethnological comments, topographical identification of places, etc.

The second part of the book contains the text and translation of minor local chronicles of various districts, the genealogies of local chiefs, two further narratives of the Dogra wars, and some accounts of the deeds of Ladaki generals in the Balti and Mughal wars.

Five sectional maps of the country and twenty-eight pages of closely printed glossary of persons and places, titles, and technical terms complete this scholarly work.

F. DE F.

RULERS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN. By Admiral G. A. Ballard, C.B. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$; pp. xv + 319; with sixteen illustrations and a map. London: Duckworth. 1927. 21s. net.

The naval side of Asiatic history has been strangely neglected, though everyone knows that European conquests in Asia have, except in the case of Russia, depended entirely upon sea power. Admiral Ballard, therefore, has found a comparatively unexplored historical mine, and he has worked it with considerable success. If we must notice some rather serious flaws in his book, it is only fair at the outset to say that he gives a clearly drawn and vigorous description of the story of the Indian Ocean from the earliest times. He considers that these were the first salt waters on which the human race embarked, and he has garnered the scanty remains left by ancient records, from the Egyptian expedition despatched by Queen Hatshepsu to Punt, some thirty-three centuries ago, to the well-known but much debated voyage of Alexander's Admiral Nearchus. But it is with the advent of the Portuguese in Eastern waters that the main interest of the story begins. Before Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape, Arabs dominated the northern and western shores of the Indian Ocean, having made Indian waters too hot for the Chinese junks which once visited Hindustan, and pressed their success so far as to make their own way to China. It was, therefore, upon seas regarded as a monopoly of Islam that the great Portuguese sailors broke, animated by zeal for spreading the Christian faith, as well as by desire for the riches of Asia. The value of the earlier chapters of the book lies very largely in the discussion by a competent naval authority of the reasons for which the Arabs had not, during the centuries in which they had the field to themselves, succeeded in establishing a maritime power strong enough to withstand intruders who came all round Africa from the Tagus in a few small sailing ships, had to establish bases for themselves on the shores of Asiatic states possessing overwhelming man-power, and could look for only scanty and spasmodic reinforcement. The more the achievement of Portugal is considered, the more marvellous it must seem. Admiral Ballard shows how the monsoons conditioned all maritime activity until sails were replaced by steam. While the description of Portuguese enterprise strikes us as

the most notable part of the book, our author does excellent work in tracing the rise of the Dutch power at the expense of the original pioneers, describes the conflicts between Dutch and British, and gives a more succinct account of the naval struggle between ourselves and the French, who were the first European nation to send regular battleships into the Indian Ocean. History looks very simple when it is explained, but how many of us have understood that, while the life and death struggle between Dutch and Portuguese depended for its issue on local naval strength in the Indian Ocean itself, our Eastern successes over first the Dutch and then the French were due to our establishing such naval supremacy in Atlantic waters that our enemies in Asia were cut off from their home bases?

There is so much virtue in the book that it is perhaps ungracious to ask for more, and yet to be honest we must note some surprising deficiencies. In the first place, a book of 300 pages, dealing closely with four (and cursorily with thirty) centuries, contains no single detailed reference to any authority, a fact that leaves the reader not only uninformed of the extent of the author's original work, but uncertain as to the accuracy of statements on disputed points. There is no index, a consideration that greatly impairs the value of the book as a work of reference. The illustrations are of interest, but the map ought not to label Celebes as the "Molucca Islands." The author seems to us to pay too little attention to the African shores of his ocean. South Africa as a great European colony owes its existence to the desire of the Dutch for a half-way house to the East. Further, while Admiral Ballard cannot be expected to add the story of the Pacific to his theme, he leaves unnoticed the extent to which the Indian Ocean came to be a corridor towards China, as well as the waterway to India and the Spice Islands. Tea, in fact, has played a far greater part in the history of the world than this book would suggest, and the policy of our own and the Dutch East India Companies was very greatly influenced by the China trade. As a close narrative of events the book practically ceases with the recall by France of her great Admiral Suffren in 1783, with the result that the author does not dwell upon the transformation of the whole position of the Indian Ocean in world politics effected by the opening of the Suez Canal; and the final chapter, while very much to the point on the question of the Singapore naval base, is scrappy and superficial. But, since to British readers India is the centre of this story, we have further to note a remarkable omission, which must be due to carelessness, but has a somewhat ungenerous air. Admiral Ballard devotes precisely two sentences—apropos of the Angria pirates—to the Bombay Marine, subsequently the Indian Navy, "never more than a small organization at any time, but with a fine record of service." (We have found no mention of its successor, the Royal Indian Marine, now being transformed into the Royal Indian Navy.) Yet an historian of the Indian Ocean must know that this small organization fought side by side with the Royal Navy, not only against Indian and Arab pirates, but against the French and the Dutch; that it took a worthy part in the expeditions that conquered Mauritius and Java, and was actively engaged in the China War of 1840, the Burmese War of 1852, and the Persian War of 1856. It went so far afield as to fight the Maoris in New Zealand in 1845. And if it has escaped Admiral Ballard's notice that the Bombay Marine conducted the first systematic survey of the coast of Tasmania in 1793, as well as surveying the Pelew Islands and part of New Guinea, he must be aware of the excellent survey work done by its officers not only in Indian waters, but in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

M. C. S.

THROUGH TIBET TO EVEREST. By Captain J. B. Noel. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6$. Pp. 302. London: Messrs. Edwin Arnold. 10s. 6d.

The author of this book, Captain Noel, the official photographer of the 1922 and 1924 expeditions to Mount Everest, should require no introduction to the members of the Central Asian Society. His photographs and films of the expeditions have rendered his name familiar to all interested in travel, even to those who have not seen his work. His book, however, does not deal solely with the attempts to climb the mountain, as the first part relates the early history of the exploration of Tibet, which is followed by an account of the journey made by the author in 1913, when he tried to approach Everest as near as he could, with a long chapter on Tibet, its peoples, their religion, customs, arts, etc.

The very short sentences which the author adopts and the abruptness with which he introduces different subjects make this portion of the book trying to read, while the absence of a map makes the following of the 1913 expedition a matter of difficulty. He did not apparently advance very far into Tibet before he met the usual fate of unauthorized travellers in that land—a guard of Tibetans, who forced him to return. The remaining two-thirds of the book relates the adventures of the exploring expedition of 1921 and the two climbing expeditions of 1922 and 1924. The account is written, as expressed by the author in a foreword, primarily for those who are not ordinarily interested in mountaineering and Himalayan exploration; but though this would rather exclude the members of this Society, the book need not be put on one side by them. A concise description of the work, the difficulties, and the trials of the various journeys, interlarded with many personal anecdotes, makes a readable volume, while the accounts of the tragedy at the end of each of the climbing attempts are vividly described by the author, who might almost be called an eye-witness of both.

In an appendix Captain Noel, who disclaims expert knowledge of mountaineering, but has very strong views all the same, develops his ideas of how a future expedition to climb the mountain should be conducted. These are interesting, though this review is not the place to discuss them, but he raises one very controversial point—viz., the best season of the year in which an attempt to climb Everest should be made. He is a strong advocate for the autumn, and is evidently of the opinion that the failures to reach the top are largely due to the selection of the spring season for the attempts. Undoubtedly long spells of fine weather are normal in the autumn, but at high altitudes this period is not established before late in October; it is equally undoubted that the wind blows just as strongly, if not more so, than in the spring, while the temperature is much colder. It is a moot point if the gain obtainable by the more settled weather would not be more than lost by the shorter days and greater cold.

H. W.

INDIA BY AIR. By the Right Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, Bt. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. xix + 156. London: Messrs. Longmans. 6s. 6d.

The idea of a Cabinet Minister spending his Christmas vacation in India, paying visits *en route* to France, Italy, Malta, Egypt, and Iraq was definitely impossible a few years ago. Today, however, we find that the Secretary of State for Air, accompanied by Lady Maud Hoare, was enabled to do this and the journey does bring home to us the greatly increased efficiency which quick travel has made possible in the general administration of our Empire.

Only a few years ago the Royal Air Force—as was told to us in a most inter-

esting paper by Air Vice-Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham—surveyed and laid the first foundations of aerial communication between Egypt and Iraq. The Royal Air Force maintained a mail service with military aircraft which has been of the greatest use. The next stage was described to us by Colonel Burchall last year, when he outlined the general organization which was being set up by Imperial Airways, Limited, who had been charged with the first opening of a commercial air route from Cairo to Karachi. It was to inaugurate this line and to inspect the various Air Force units that Sir Samuel Hoare undertook his trip in the first machine. That the trip was an unqualified technical success, and was according to plan—except for the unprecedented storm at Jask—reflects the greatest credit on the organizers, Imperial Airways, Limited. The material used was specially designed for the service, and the makers are to be congratulated in having delivered to time aircraft ready and able to do all that was required. In a new industry this is by no means always the case!

Today, whatever may be our occupation, travel facilities are becoming more and more important. Particularly is this true where the great affairs of State are concerned. Great prominence was given to this Imperial fact at the last Conference. It may well be that, whereas slow communications were a contributory cause of the breakdown of the great Roman Empire, perhaps, in our case, the Empire may be kept together by the close contact which quick transport alone can make possible. It is the spoken word that counts. This is very well demonstrated by Sir Samuel Hoare in "India by Air." Not only was he enabled to see with his eyes many units of the Royal Air Force operating in various spheres, to maintain contact with officers and men, and to inspect the material furnished by his Department, but also to discuss questions of the higher policy with many Governments. It is this contact which is undoubtedly making of the Royal Air Force the wonderfully keen, efficient, and loyal body that it is—and it is this fact alone which will make possible, through practical demonstration, that "air-mindedness" without which aerial communication cannot be developed.

These lessons are very attractively set out for us to read. The book is a matter-of-fact account of a thoroughly enjoyed trip. The foreword by Lady Maud Hoare is of interest to ladies who may hesitate to make use of this form of travel and answers in the frankest language many of the questions so often asked. There are many amusing episodes, written in a vein of quiet humour—in fact, a thoroughly readable book, illustrated by a number of excellent photographs, a full log of the journey and description of the material used.

P. D. ACLAND.

THROUGH JADE GATE AND CENTRAL ASIA. By Mildred Cable and Francesca French. 8½ × 5½. Pp. ix + 304, map and illustrations.

This delightfully written book may be divided into two parts. The one treats of a venture of faith and the other describes a remarkable journey.

The three women, who enlist the warm admiration of the reader, had worked for twenty-one years in the China Inland Mission in the province of Shansi, and were no longer young; but when the call came to leave their home, their work and friends, and go to far-off Kansu to some destination at first unknown, they obeyed without hesitation. They set off in June, 1923, their way leading through the province of Honan, then in a state of chaos, and one of their early adventures was falling in with a regiment of Moslem soldiers. Their guards disappeared for the time, and the ladies learnt afterwards that the men who let them pass

unmolested had been guilty of terrible excesses. At first they travelled in litters, putting up at native inns on the road between the different mission stations, and wherever they went they distributed Christian literature and spoke to the people, whom they won in a remarkable manner.

Such incidents as the litter containing one member of the party falling heavily to the ground owing to the unruly behaviour of the mules, or a so-called "inn" being merely a cave with no window and only a small mud "kang," or platform, on which to sleep for all, are described as if hardly worthy of mention. They apply the same treatment to sleepless nights owing to the abundance of vermin during the season of "excited insects," or to the fatigue of long stages—one was sixty miles—or to the meagreness of their food—on one occasion cold dough cakes which had been fried in linseed oil were their only sustenance for eighteen hours—and, indeed, their fare when on the march was usually merely boiled rice, or macaroni. Each discomfort was met with smiling indifference.

At Pingliang they learnt that the heathen city of Suchow was to be the goal of their enterprise, but they stayed for some time at Kanchow, at which point they had accomplished a journey of 1,200 miles from their starting-point. Here Dr. Kao, a Chinese missionary, welcomed them warmly, said that their arrival was a direct answer to the prayers of his flock, and arranged for a pioneer band of his students to accompany the ladies to Suchow, and aid them on their visits to the surrounding villages.

No Christian influence had, until now, reached Suchow, but the missionaries were received kindly and were soon offered suitable quarters.

Early during their stay of some two years the son of their landlord was convicted of robbing his father's house, and was condemned to be buried alive by his unnatural parent. Dr. Kao saved him from this horrible fate, and also rescued a little slave-girl who had been brutally treated by the Governor of Suchow gaol. For this he suffered a term of imprisonment later, on the false charge of leading an armed mob to break open the prison.

The cultivated authors of this book were keenly interested in everything, and give excellent descriptions of the scenery, the temples, the remains of ancient cities, of visits to the Caves of a Thousand Buddhas, or to the lovely Crescent Lake. They point out the ravages caused by the opium habit, give many a humorous anecdote of the people, and there are fascinating glimpses of the psychology of mules and camels, the intelligent mule Molly figuring frequently in the book. In fact, they seem to miss nothing of interest, and it was little wonder that their remarkable power of sympathy earned them the title of "the holy women."

In June, 1926, the three missionaries received news which recalled them to England, and they decided to travel by a route which Mr. Skrine describes as: "Urumchi commands the vital Kansu-Shensi corridor leading from Central Asia into the heart of Inner China. Cut off from the rest of China except for this one long trail, by the vast extent of the Mongolian Desert, the New Dominion. . . ."*

The party, numbering eleven, travelled in mule carts at three miles an hour, making frequent halts to preach, as this was a missionary journey. On the map the road seems crowded with towns and villages, but the stages were long between these oases in the Black Gobi. The carts were sometimes forced to cross rivers of uncertain depth, or got embedded in the thick sand, and water was another difficulty, being scanty and often brackish or medicinal, in many cases turning the tea into an undrinkable mixture.

* "Chinese Central Asia," by C. Skrine.

Before they reached Hsinghsinghsia, the military frontier station of Turkistan, they were obliged to send back the young students of the party lest they should be forced to serve in the Governor of Sinkiang's army. Here the missionaries were held up for some days in spite of their passports, but at once began to hold services, and the whole garrison lamented when they were at last allowed to proceed. Throughout the long trek to Lake Zaisan and the Irtish River the party kept in good health, save on one occasion, when they partook of toadstools and one of their members became seriously ill. At Hami they were met by Mr. Hunter, the veteran missionary of Urumchi, and they give vivid descriptions of the town, the Camul of Marco Polo, and, later on, of Urumchi itself and of the tribes that congregate there. They had come fifteen hundred miles from Suchow, and seven hundred lay before them to Chuguchak on the Russian frontier, "Through Flyland in a Tarantass" is the heading of the chapter describing their journey in August to the frontier, and the title speaks for itself. When they reached Toplielmus on Lake Zaisan they had to spend some most uncomfortable days in a crowded Russian cottage, half-starved, as nothing could be bought without ration papers. At last the river steamer arrived, and they travelled on it to Omsk, then by rail to Moscow, and so home—a notable journey of over six thousand miles, the part which lay across the Gobi having never been attempted by any Western woman.

ELLA C. SYKES.

BAGHDAD, THE CITY OF PEACE. By Richard Coke. 9×6. Pp. 343. London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. 1927. Price 21s.

Comparatively recently, in a leading article, the *Baghdad Times* commented on the fact that there was not available any work which presented succinctly a history of the city made famous by Harun ar Raschid; and, more especially, it was pointed out that considerable search, amounting almost to research, was necessary, if it was desired to obtain accounts of the earlier visits by European travellers. With a view to trying to throw a little light on an otherwise dark corner in descriptive history, a correspondent came forward, who furnished a series of extremely interesting and informative articles on the early history of the city of Baghdad, as well as an account of the experiences of travellers, such as John Newberry, who visited it in 1581; John Eldred, who came in 1583; Thevenot, who spent a week there in 1664; Buckingham, in 1813, and others.

A perusal of Mr. Coke's work makes it not impossible to hazard a guess as to who was the author of the articles in question.

At the outset, it may be said that Mr. Coke's work has great value and is of sustained interest to all who are in any way connected with the Middle East. It bears evidence of being the result of a great deal of careful research work, and Mr. Coke must, as indeed the tabulated bibliography shows, have read widely in that already considerable literature in English, French, German, Arabic, and Persian, in which the story of Baghdad is to be found.

And yet Mr. Coke modestly disclaims his intention of writing for the historian, but purposes his book to be chiefly for the general reader. We are prepared to say that he has accomplished both aims. It is true that he follows more or less closely certain sections of Huart's "Histoire de Bagdad dans le Temps Moderne," as well as Longrigg's "Four Centuries of Modern Iraq," but, at the same time, he has the faculty of retelling dry-as-dust facts and converting them into an interesting story. In this respect he is following the excellent example set by Guedalla and the school of modern historians.

His story is complete—from the foundation of the city by Mansur in 762 to the death of Miss Gertrude Bell in July, 1926.

Concisely we are introduced to Baghdad (it is to be noted that the author spells the word as Baghdad, and not as Bagdad, though he gives no reason for this) :—

“In a life of under twelve hundred years she has served as the heart of a world civilization, the Pontifical seat of a universal religion, a provincial capital of the Mongols, a bone of contention between Turkoman tribes, a Persian possession, a Turkish colonial town, an outpost of the British Empire, and the metropolis of a youthful Arab state. The city has moved her site twice, and been besieged, captured, and lost innumerable times. . . .”

Mr. Coke seems to agree with a recent American visitor, who arrived on a July day in Baghdad, on his way by air to Batavia, when, in an interview, the latter declared that his happiness would not be complete until he had left the town; but, as a matter of fact, being delayed a day or two owing to engine trouble, he announced in a second interview that the charm of the city was growing on him.

“The newcomer begins by hating Baghdad and wondering how anybody can possibly bear to remain there for longer than the minimum time required for the prosecution of the business in hand; he ends by loving Baghdad, and finding in her narrow, halting lanes, her endless bazaars, her shady gardens, her cheerful, scurrilous, affectionate, and aggravating people, a fascination which few other cities in the world can offer.”

It was Mansur who officially gave the title of *Medinat-as-Salaam* to his new city; then, as now, as little like a city of peace as it well could be. Today it is “the dirty, sandy, feverishly active capital of King Feisal of Iraq, where they pull down a row of buildings in a day and re-erect them in a month; where you may send your mail by aeroplane and travel yourself on an ass . . . such today is Baghdad, the City of Peace, the fabled capital of the great Caliphs, the wonder town of the ‘Arabian Nights,’ a place known to the dreams of every Western child.”

The new city was also popularly known as *az-Zawrah*—the Crooked—and this descriptive name holds good in these days, as may be judged from an air photograph which serves as one of the illustrations to the book.

And so Baghdad came into being; and, looking at its story down an avenue of a thousand years and more, one sees that the stages of its history group themselves roughly as follows:

1. Rise to power under Mansur and Harun.
2. A period of halcyon days, ending about with the Caliph Mamun.
3. A slow decline, practically to ruin, under the later Abassids, culminating in the massacre of its inhabitants, firstly by Hulagu in 1256, and again by Timur Leng in 1393.
4. A long period of Turkish dominance, with all the results of Turkish misrule and apathy, succeeded by what all well-wishers of modern Iraq desire:
5. A period of regeneration and the right, once more, to assume the title *Medinat-as-Salaam*.

The proclamation promulgated by General Maude, as soon as he entered the city, seems to have epitomized, in a way, its history:

“Since the days of Hulagu your city and your lands have been subject to the tyranny of strangers; your palaces have fallen into ruins, your gardens have sunk in desolation, and your forefathers and yourselves have groaned in bondage. Your sons have been carried off to wars not of your seeking, your wealth has been stripped from you by unjust men and squandered in distant places. Since the days of Midhat the Turks have talked of reforms, yet do not the ruins and wastes of today testify to the vanity of these promises?”

So Mr. Coke skilfully brings his story up to the days when a large proportion

of the British people came to have a direct and personal interest in the City of Fable. He tells the story of the part Baghdad took in the War, shortly, but sufficiently, following closely here the Official History. He tells the story of the death of General Maude, and, to your reviewer's knowledge, gives the true one. General Maude lies at rest, as he says, at the North Gate, and Gertrude Bell near the South Gate of that city with the history of which they both, in their several spheres, had so much to do.

"Baghdad, the City of Peace," is a book which, without doubt, will find its way to the bookshelf of all who are in any way concerned with the present or future of Iraq, whether they reside in the Capital, in the Delta, or in the mountains of the North; whether they have learned to appreciate the City of the Crooked Streets, or whether they look upon it, and so avoid it, as being a city, not of romance, but as one with a life made up of idlement in Arab cafés, of imitation cabarets, and of high prices. Whatever the viewpoint of the city as it is today, yet it has a history; and, for the first time, the reader will find most of it between the covers of one volume.

D. S.

Haji Rikkan: MARSH ARAB. By Fulanain. 9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. x + 288. Illustrations. Chatto and Windus. 10s. 6d. net.

A list of the books and articles that have been written about Arabia, including Iraq, its history and peoples, during the past twenty years in the principal languages of Europe would itself constitute a portly volume. Comparatively few books have been written about Arabs and their women, their ideas, and their outlook on life, but such books have usually been of a high standard, which is well maintained by this charming volume. The author, to whom we refer in the singular, as the volume is prettily dedicated to his wife, though his pseudonym suggests the dual personality of the happily-married man, has earned the gratitude of all those who feel, with the reviewer, that an increase of understanding amongst Englishmen of the mentality and outlook of Eastern races is of greater importance today than any access of technical knowledge of Eastern problems. In its literary charm this book of short stories challenges comparison with Marmaduke Pickthall at his best, and he would be the first to admit that, in knowledge of his subject, the author has the advantage in insight and understanding of the philosophy of life that underlies tribal conventions, which, though seemingly so harsh, are clearly firmly rooted in the Arab temperament, seeing that they have endured for thousands of years amongst this virile, enduring race. This book deserves to rank with Harrison's "The Arab at Home," and will be enjoyed most by lovers of Doughty, for this too is, *in petto*, a masterpiece, devoid of the sentimentalism and political or personal obsessions with which books on the East, and, in particular, of recent years on Arabia, have been plentifully seasoned.

The stories in the book are delightfully told; every page bears the impress of truth and of close observation; all who know Mesopotamia will recognize in its pages the prototypes of men they have known or with whom they have contended. The only comment that the reviewer would venture to offer on the picture of Arab life presented by the author refers to the harsh treatment of women taken in marriage in settlement of a blood feud. Just across the border, in Persia, where the same system holds good, such women are not without honour in the tribe into which they marry; for, as the author shows, the powerful influence they exercise over their husband and his relations is widely recognized as making for peace, and such peacemakers are not without their value.

To conclude : this is a book which any man who cares for the East should buy, and which he may give to his friend Everyman at Christmas, for it will be welcome not only to him, but, as the reviewer can testify, to Everywoman his wife.

A. T. W.

IN A PERSIAN OIL FIELD. A Study in Scientific and Industrial Development.
By J. W. Williamson, B.Sc. (Ernest Benn.) Price 7s. 6d.

After reading the introduction to this little book one might be tempted perhaps, at first, though only for a moment, to think that it is just a bit of oil propaganda, for Mr. Williamson makes it quite clear that he was invited to visit the Persian oil fields by the chairman of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Such an admission is, at once, liable to arouse suspicion. But one has only to read a little further to realize that such a view is a mistaken one.

The tale Mr. Williamson has to tell is a supremely interesting one, and the method of his telling leads to very complicated processes being so well explained that the non-technical reader cannot fail, readily, to understand the principles underlying highly scientific methods. He refers to his book as being a "study," and his main object, he says, has been

"to show, in broad outline only, the extent to which the Anglo-Persian Oil Company has applied and is applying, especially in Persia, scientific knowledge and scientific methods in the oil industry; and also to describe as integral parts of the same story . . . some of the industrial, educational, and social developments that have arisen, and have been sedulously cultivated, as natural outgrowths of the Company's work."

The Central Asian Society has already had the advantage of listening to a lecture by Squadron-Leader Cooper, R.A.F., in February, 1926, "On a Visit to the Anglo-Persian Oil Fields," so that members have had, to some extent, an opportunity of becoming familiar with the terrain. It may be recalled that Squadron-Leader Cooper concluded his lecture by remarking "that the romance of the fields has yet to be written." It seems that Mr. Williamson very largely has accomplished what the lecturer was anticipating. He gives us the romance of it all, for science can be romance; and he further shows us that, so far as the A.P.O.C. is concerned, applied science is not content solely with looking after the materialistic side of its venture, but, in its larger application, forms a very close alliance with ethical endeavour. And so here—in Persia—on the Anglo-Persian oil fields.

The author leads us rapidly through the geography of the fields, and then proceeds to relate in outline some of the methods employed by geologists to determine the presence of oil-bearing strata. He explains the geological, geophysical, electric, magnetic, and seismic methods used by experts in their survey of a suspected field. This alone is almost a sufficient romance. Let it be conceded that it is no easy task to write for a lay public about, for instance, the little intricacies of the Eötvös Torsion Balance or other gravimetric methods of oil finding. But all through this technical part of his book, Mr. Williamson manages to keep clearly in his mind that he is writing here for an uninstructed public, and yet, with this factor for a handicap, he contrives to make it all very interesting and very clear. We are next taken through the drilling processes, the problem of the gas, the path of the oil from the fields to the refinery at Abadan, and we are shown something of the efforts at co-ordinated research work between the laboratories at Fields and those at Sunbury-on-Thames.

And then there is the human element that comes into this great organization. To make a success, materially as well as ethically, it was necessary to begin

with and remains so still, as the author says, "to secure the willing co-operation of the Persians, in whose country the operations were to be conducted." The inhabitants of the oil areas of Khuzistan were hardy, pastoral nomads, wandering about according to season after "grass." It was from amongst these that labour had to be recruited and maintained.

"The character and habits of these tribesmen presented human and sociological problems as peculiar and as complex in their own ways as the physical and chemical problems raised by the nature of the crude oil obtained from below; . . . it is significant that one of the earliest administrators sent out by the Company was a medical man . . . and it is not less significant that he did not confine his interest to the purely medical sphere, but pushed out into a sympathetic study of this ancient people, of their language, history, customs, habits, and ways of thinking."

So the romance continues, and the narrative shows us what every visitor to the fields cannot fail to have seen, and that is, evidence on every hand of the care the Company takes of its employees, so far as concerns the medical and health services, housing, and education. Those of us who have had an opportunity of visiting these oil fields can confirm, in these respects, every detail that Mr. Williamson claims. A further good word must be said on behalf of the illustrations to the book, which add considerably to the interest of the letterpress. Lord Balfour, in a prefatory letter, describes the book as "an admirable work," and all who read it will agree with him. Mr. Williamson has given us something that really is a story of a romance of industry, as well as a very careful study of industrial development.

D. S.

LIBRARY NOTICES

THE Council wish to thank Mr. H. Charles Woods for a copy of his book "The Cradle of the War," and Mr. Mackenzie for a copy of Sir Mark Sykes's "The Caliph's Last Heritage." They also wish to thank a member for sending the *Messenger de Teheran* weekly; it is much appreciated.

The following books have been received for review :

- "Rulers of the Indian Ocean," by Admiral C. A. Ballard, C.B. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". xv+319 pp. Illustrations. (London: Duckworth. 1927. 21s.)
- "Through Tibet to Everest," by Captain J. B. Noel. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6". 302 pp. Map and illustrations. (London: Arnold. 1927. 10s. 6d.)
- "India by Air," by the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, Bart., G.B.E., C.M.G., with an Introduction by Lady Maud Hoare, D.B.E. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". xix+156 pp. Illustrations. (London: Longmans. 1927. 6s. 6d.)
- "India of Tomorrow," by Khub Dekta Age. 8" x 5" 87 pp. (Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1927. 3s. 6d.)
- "Through Jade Gate and Central Asia," by Mildred Cable and Francesca French. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". xiii+302 pp. 12 illustrations and map. (London: Constable. 1927. 10s.)
- "Baghdad, the City of Peace," by Richard Coke. 9" x 6". 343 pp. Illustrations. (Thornton Butterworth. 1927. 21s.)
- "Arabic Sentences," by Major Sheringham.
- "Buddhism," by Paul Dahlke. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 254 pp. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1927. 10s. 6d.)
- "Fifty Years in a Changing World," by Sir Valentine Chirol. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". 351 pp. (London: Jonathan Cape. 1927. 16s.)
- "Haji Rikkan," by "Fulanain." 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". x+288 pp. Illustrations. (London: Chatto and Windus. 1927. 10s. 6d.)
- "In a Persian Oil Field," by J. W. Williamson, B.Sc. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 189 pp. Illustrations. (London: Benn. 1927. 7s. 6d.)
- "Arabia Deserta," by Professor Alois Musil. American Geographical Society: Oriental Explorations and Studies, No. 2. Edited by J. K. Wright. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 7". xvii+631 pp. Maps and illustrations. (New York. 1927. \$36.)

Papers recently added to the pamphlet library :

From the *Geographical Journal*: Sir Aurel Stein's account of Alexander's campaign on the North-West Frontier, which his recent work has done so much to make clear.

From *Der Islam*: The account of the Conference at Baku of the Turki-speaking people, where spoken dialects were co-ordinated and given a literary form. This Conference was very remarkable and the accounts of it worthy of study.

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The Council regret the resignations of Mr. H. Charles Woods from the Hon. Secretaryship and of Mr. A. C. Wratislaw from the Hon. Librarianship, and wish to thank them for their valuable help during their short terms of office.

THE INVASIONS AND IMMIGRATIONS OF THE TATARS*

By SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E.

BEFORE I tell you anything about these Tatar migrations, I wish to say something of the construction of the Great Wall of China in the third century B.C., which is so intimately connected with their history. This wall, which extends from the south-west edge of the Gobi Desert to the Pacific Ocean, was 1,250 miles in length in its most complete state. It is formed of two strong retaining walls of brick rising from the granite foundations. The breadth at the base is about twenty-five feet, and at the top about fifteen. The height varies from fifteen to thirty feet.

Introduction :
The Great
Wall.

It must be remembered that this wall was built as a defence against the Tatar hordes, which were composed exclusively of horsemen. It was not the work of one man, but the result of various defensive measures taken by frontier barons against the inroads of the nomads of the north, who, mounted on swift ponies and carrying all they required at their saddle-bow, were in the habit of making sudden inroads into the rich provinces of Northern China. The ultimate completion of this wall was the direct cause of the western movement of the Tatars. It may even be asserted that the construction of the Great Wall of China contributed very largely to the fall of the Roman Empire. It also had a great influence on China itself, for, by the relative security thus gained, she was enabled to develop her arts and letters and her peculiar national individuality. If I may, I would like to read you a curious passage about this from the travels of the Abbé Huc, the great Jesuit missionary of the middle of the last century. He says: "Mr. Barrow, who in 1793 accompanied Lord Macartney to China as historiographer to the British Embassy, made this calculation: he supposed there were in England and Scotland 1,800,000 houses, and, estimating the masonry work of each to be 2,000 cubic feet, he propounded that the aggregate did not contain as much material as the Great Wall of China, which, in his opinion, was enough for the construction of a wall to go twice round the world. It is evident that Mr. Barrow adopted as the basis of his calculations the Great Wall as he saw it north of Peking, where the construction is really grand and imposing. But it is not to be supposed that this barrier raised against the irruptions of the barbarians is throughout its

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extent equally high, wide, and solid. We have crossed it at fifteen different points, and on several occasions travelled for whole days parallel with it, and never once losing sight of it, and often, instead of the great double turreted rampart which exists towards Peking, we have found a very low wall of brickwork, or even work in some places reduced to its simplest expression, and composed merely of flint stones roughly picked up."

**Turks in the
Sixth Cen-
tury A.D.**

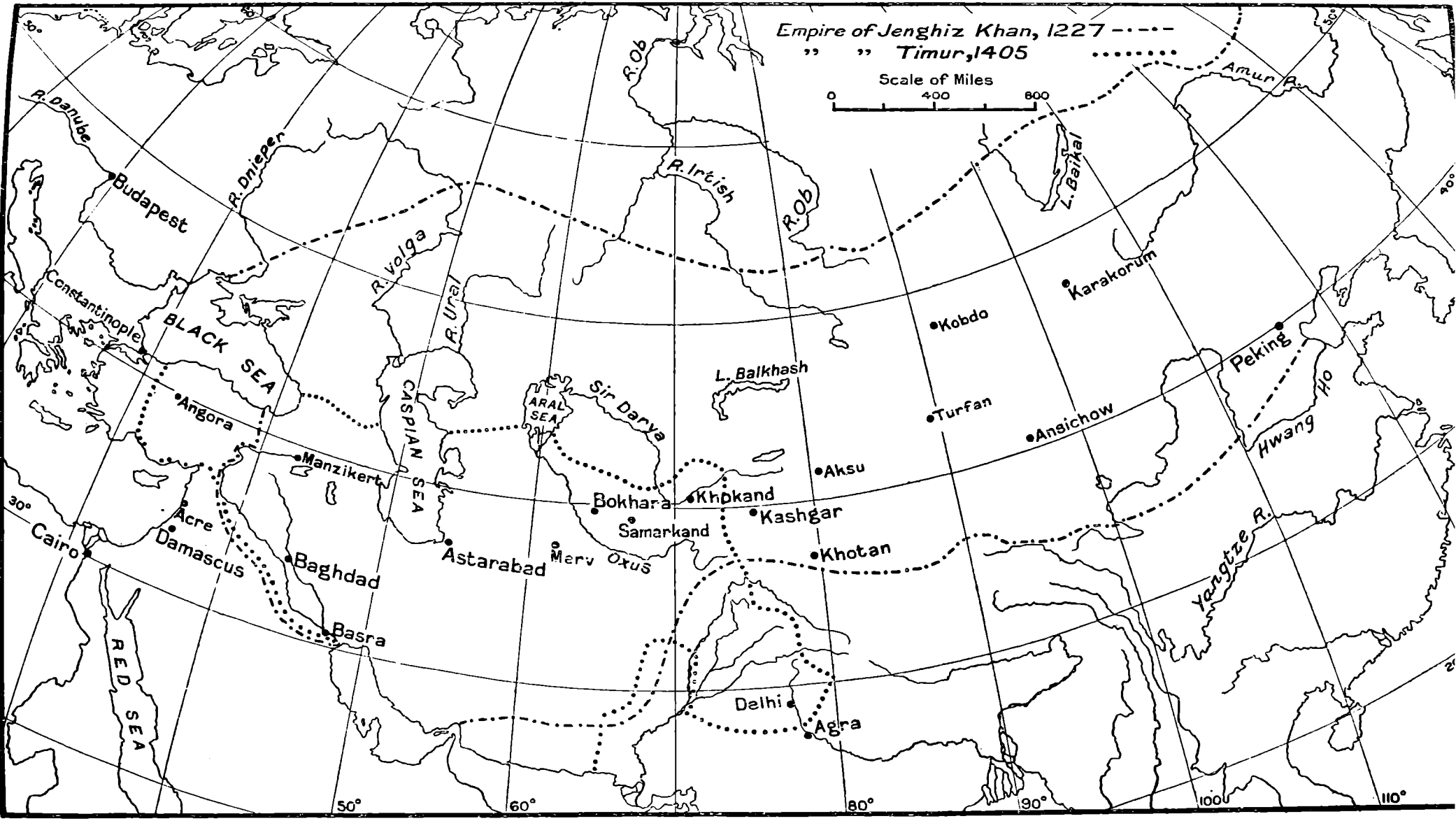
I do not intend to dwell upon the invasion of Europe by the Huns under Attila, but shall pass at once to the history of the Turks, of whom we first hear in the Chinese annals in the sixth century. Of these Turks we fortunately know a great deal, thanks not only to the Chinese annals, but also to inscriptions on monuments they had themselves erected. According to the Chinese annals the Turks formed a small kingdom in the south-west of the Altai Mountains. In the middle of the fifth century they had settled in the neighbourhood of Lake Kokonor, and had so firmly established themselves that in A.D. 545 the Wei Emperor sent an Embassy to them and their chief married the Emperor's daughter. Shortly after these Turks migrated into Turkistan and eventually reached the Oxus. I cannot, I fear, enter into the details regarding the predecessors of these Turks in the Oxus country; suffice it to say that they had been preceded first by the Kushans (Yüeh-chi), who were driven out of that country southwards into Northern India, where they founded the Indo-Scythian Empire, and their place was taken by a people known as the White Huns, or Ephthalites, who established themselves in Transoxiana in the fifth century. These White Huns were constantly engaged in warfare with the Persians, and it was their preoccupation in the west which, no doubt, tempted the Khan of the Turks to attack them on the east; and in 555 the Turkish Khan, having utterly routed the White Huns near Bukhara, became possessed of all Transoxiana.

**Emigration
Westward.**

The westward and subsequent south-westerly movements of the Kushans had, by the middle of the sixth century, resulted in a numerous influx of Turks into Transoxiana and Afghanistan. In the light of recent researches we may assume that the staple population of what we today call Chinese Turkistan and Russian Turkistan was Iranian, and that the high state of culture which prevailed all along the Tarim valley and in Khotan, down to the middle of the ninth century, was due to the substratum of Iranian culture which already existed there at the time of the first Tatar invasions. The most highly civilized of the Tatars were undoubtedly a branch of the Turks known as Uighurs who, in the eighth and ninth centuries, attained a level of artistic and literary culture second only to that of their contemporaries in China under the T'angs. These Uighurs, no doubt, derived most of their culture from the local Iranian intelligenzia.

Uighurs.

Recent explorations in Central Asia have shown that the Uighurs



Empire of Jenghiz Khan, 1227 -----
" " Timur, 1405

Scale of Miles
0 400 800

Uighur
Kingdom.

were not only highly cultivated, but exceedingly tolerant and enlightened. In their capital were to be found in close proximity Buddhist temples, Manichæan chapels, and Christian churches, while scholars were engaged in translating and transcribing the Scriptures of those religions in Turkish, Sanscrit, and Chinese. It is important to understand that the nomad Tatars, like the Ghuzz and the Mongols, in their passage through this country, encountered a high state of culture, of which the Mongols were at any rate quick to avail themselves, taking from the Uighurs their alphabet and laying the foundations of a national literature.

The main topic of my lecture will be the invasions of Central Asia, first by the Seljuks in the eleventh century, and secondly by the Mongols in the thirteenth. In spite of the many famous Turkish chieftains who have led armies across Persia, these two are the only invasions which deserve the name of world migrations. Mahmud of Ghazna, the first Turk to behold the waters of the great ocean (at Somnat), was only a conqueror at the head of his armies, as was also Tamerlaine ; neither of these insatiable generals was responsible for a great immigration of people. The conquest of Upper India by the Emperor Babur no doubt introduced large numbers of Turks into that country, and for a long time Turki was the language of the Delhi Court. But we hear of no Turkish colonies in India, such as undoubtedly were to be found in Afghanistan, as the result of earlier immigrations.

If we consider the rôle played by the Tatar in the history of the Middle East and of India, it is a very remarkable fact that practically every dynasty which has ruled has been of Tatar origin ever since the downfall of the Persian dynasty of the tenth century. Let us merely recall Mahmud of Ghazna, the Seljuks, Tamerlaine, the Mongols, the Mamelukes, and the Ottoman Turks. It is true that in Persia we have the Safavi dynasty, founded by Shah Ismail, which is regarded as a Persian national dynasty, though they claimed Arab descent, and they relied entirely on the local Turkman tribes in Persia for their position on the throne. The Kajars were pure Turks, and in India, with the sole exception of the Afghans, every Muhammadan dynasty was Tatar.

Derivation of
the word
Tatar.

Before, however, passing to the Seljuks and the Mongols, I should like to say a few words regarding the terms Tatar and Mongol. The word Tatar is probably derived from the Chinese word Ta-ta or Ta-tse (corresponding more or less to the Greek term *barbaros*), which was applied by the Chinese to the people on their northern frontier, just as in the East all Europeans were known by the general name of Franks. The name Tatar is now only used by and applied to the Turks of the Volga and the Caucasus, the descendants of those Tatars who for several centuries ruled over Russia. The name Mongol, with its Indian

Mongol.

variant Moghul, only became general in the days of Chingiz Khan: in the fifteenth century Russian Turkistan was known to the Muhammadan historians as Moghulistan. The Delhi Emperors, who called themselves Moghuls, were as much Turks as their predecessors, the slave kings, who ruled over Northern India during the thirteenth century. They probably chose to call themselves Moghuls rather than Turks in order to claim descent from the great Chingiz Khan and not merely from their actual ancestor Tamerlaine.

I must now give you some idea of the political conditions prevailing in Transoxiana at the end of the tenth century. You all know that the Arabs on emerging from their desert home under instructions from the first Caliphs spread with lightning rapidity westwards into Egypt and North Africa and eastwards into Persia and Transoxiana. The Arabs reached the Oxus country at a comparatively early date, but they did not get into the country of the five cities in the Tarim valley. A halt was called to their progress by the Sir Darya, and in the ninth century the local Iranian family of Samanids set up a dynasty of their own in Bukhara, which, while owing allegiance to the Caliph, was actually a national revival in opposition to the Arabs. No attempt was made by the rulers of this house, who were Persians, to extend the conquests of Islam further East. At the end of the tenth century when this Hindenburg line of the Syr Darya had been in existence for nearly three hundred years there came suddenly a counter-push from the Turkistan side. The Turks who now for the first time began to encroach on the dominions of Islam were the Ilak Khans. The then representative of the Persian house of Sāmān had in his service a redoubtable Turkish chieftain named Sebuktegin who enjoyed semi-independence as Governor of Ghazna and the country between the Indus and the Oxus. The Persian Samanid now called upon Sebuktegin to help him against the invaders, thus pitting Turk against Turk. In the year 999 A.D. two events of outstanding importance occurred: the Ilak Khan entered Bukhara as a conqueror, and Sebuktegin died and was succeeded by his son the great Mahmud of Ghazna. Mahmud and the Ilak Khan shortly after came to terms and divided between themselves the eastern provinces of Islam. Such was the actual beginning of Turkish domination over the territories conquered by the Arabs.

During the rule of the Samanids, and very likely prior to that period, Turks had no doubt been peacefully penetrating into the Oxus country and beyond. And we find frequent references to the presence in Persia of a branch of the Turks known as the Ghuzz. The Seljuks themselves belonged to this branch. The important province of Khorasan, which in those days extended as far as Merv and Balkh and Herat, had proved a tempting pasturage for the Ghuzz Turks who had immigrated there in large numbers. Mahmud of Ghazna was so busily

**Clash of
Persians and
Turks.**

**Turks take
Bukhara.**

The Seljuks.

**Seljuks push
down under
Tughril Bey
to Baghdad.**

engaged in extending his Persian possessions beyond Khorasan and in his repeated expeditions into India that he failed to realize how the Ghuzz were increasing in numbers and importance. Only a capable leader was required for these Ghuzz to rise and defy the Sultan's power. Such a man did not, however, appear till after Mahmud's death. During the reign of his son Mas'ud there suddenly rose to prominence two brothers, the grandsons of a petty chieftain named Seljuk. In 1035 the brothers seized the principal towns of Khorasan and, having there established their authority, one brother remained to govern Khorasan, while the other, the famous Tughril Bey, set out in an unchecked career of conquest. Persia was at this time split into a number of petty states and kingdoms, while the Caliph of Baghdad was a mere puppet in the hands of a local Persian king who was a Shi'a. We cannot imagine that the force with which Tughril Bey first set out was very numerous, but it is more than likely that he attracted to his array the numerous bands of Ghuzz and other Turks who had preceded him into Persia. In the year 1055 Tughril entered Baghdad, and was treated with all honour by the Caliph. Now the Turks, when they embraced Islam, were all strict orthodox Sunnis; thus it came about that the entry of the Turks into Baghdad as conquerors really gave a new lease of life to the tottering Caliphate, which survived for another 200 years, when it was finally overwhelmed by the Mongols, who had not yet embraced Islam, and cared nothing for Caliphs.

**Seljuk
Dynasty.**

The Seljuks also played a very important part in bringing something like unity into the Islamic states at the time of the Great Crusades. One of the most remarkable circumstances in connection with the Seljuks is the number of distinguished men they produced in successive generations. Tughril himself had no children, but among the descendants of his brother Chaqri were such great soldiers and rulers as Alp Arslan, Melik Shah, and Sanjar. The same inheritance of genius is to be found in the descendants of Chingiz Khan and of the Emperor Babur.

**Chingiz
Khan.**

We must now pass to the beginning of the thirteenth century and introduce Chingiz Khan, the scourge of God, who died exactly seven hundred years ago. Chingiz Khan began his active career at the age of thirteen, and for the first twenty years was engaged in unifying the Mongols. He next devoted his energies to the conquest of North China. He first turned his attention to the eastern provinces of Islam in 1213, and it was in that year that he sent an embassy to Muhammad Khwarazm Shah, who, had by conquest brought under his sway almost the whole of the former kingdom of the Great Seljuks, proposing that a commercial treaty should be entered into for their mutual benefit. The Khwarazm Shah was in possession of the silk route. There were two silk routes, known as the Pei-lu and the Nan-lu, one on the north and the other on the south of the Thian Shan Mountains. The main

silk route went through Persia, and those who wished to export silk and import other things had to keep on friendly terms with whomsoever was in power in Turkistan and Khorasan. Muhammad Khwarazm Shah was so elated by his many successes that he had begun to form plans for conquering the Tarim valley. Therefore, when Chingiz Khan invited him to conclude a commercial treaty, this Moslem ruler, failing to recognize the kind of man he had to deal with, treated this and a subsequent embassy with disrespect and even with cruelty, and it may be averred that it was the lack of judgment on the part of the Khwarazm Shah which led to the subsequent eruption of the Mongols into Persia. It is interesting to note that the Mongols are the only Tatars who, having conquered North China, ever extended their conquests to the West. Several dynasties which have ruled in China were Tatars, such as the Wei and Liao; none of these, however, advanced into Turkistan. In 1220 Chingiz Khan laid the fairest towns in Transoxiana and Khorasan in ruins. In 1221 he reached the banks of the Indus, and there defeated Jalal ud-Din, the valiant son of Muhammad Khwarazm Shah. He did not cross the Indus, but, being recalled by disturbing news from the north in 1224, he returned to Central Asia, and never again set his face westwards.

And now for a period of thirty years Central Asia was spared the horrors of a Mongol invasion. It was during the reign of Chingiz Khan's son Ogoday that the invasion of Central Europe took place, and it was only the death of this prince in 1241 that saved Europe from being entirely overrun by the Mongol hordes. In 1248 another grandson of Chingiz Khan, named Mangu Khan, succeeded to the overlordship of the Mongols, and it was he who again set in motion western campaigns, and for the special subjection of the western lands of Islam he appointed his brother Hulagu, who crossed the Oxus in 1253 at the head of some fifty or sixty thousand men. Such had been and still was the state of disorder and anarchy in Persia since the last Mongol invasion that Hulagu was actually met and welcomed on Persian soil by a number of local princes and governors, and his response to this invitation offers another example of that extraordinary mixture of desolation and good government which characterized Mongol rule. Chingiz Khan probably cared nothing for human life, but he cared a great deal about law and order; and in coming in contact with the Turks he was very quick to appreciate the quality of the Uighurs, who, as we have seen, were highly cultivated. He got them to draw up his *yasa*, or code of laws. He carried his Mongols into the lands he won from the Iranians, and established an absolutely efficient military organization, with commands and divisional commands, and for all his love of conquest he certainly had a well-ordered kingdom. If this had not been so he could not have consolidated his conquests, and the Mongol Empire in various parts of the world could not have endured so long. One of Hulagu's first acts

Hulagu in-
vades Persia,
1253.

**Hulagu
destroys the
Stronghold
of the
Assassins.**

**Sacks
Baghdad.**

was the destruction of the great stronghold of the assassins, Alamut. Marching through Persia by slow but sure degrees, he finally reached Baghdad on January 18, 1258. Many descriptions have come down to us of the terrors of the sack of Baghdad and the destruction of her buildings, the slaughter of her inhabitants, and the murder of the Caliph. Without quoting any of these I would like to mention two anecdotes which illustrate the terror which the Mongols inspired. These men rode about on little ponies, their toes almost dragging on the ground, armed only with bows and arrows. It was said that a single Mongol would enter a village, wherein were many people, and would continue to slay them one after another, none of them daring to raise a hand against this horseman. Another Mongol, having taken a man captive, but having no weapon wherewith to kill him, said: "Lay your head upon the ground and do not dare to move," and he did so, and the Tatar went and fetched a sword and returned and killed him.

**Tatars and
Persians.**

A Persian relates the following: "I was going with seventeen others along a road and there met us a Tatar horseman, who bade us bind one another's arms. My companions began to do as he bade them, but I said, 'He is but one man, why should we not kill him and flee?' They replied, 'We are afraid,' and not one of them dared to move, so I took a knife and killed him."

Persia and Iraq have practically lain in ruins ever since the Mongol invasion. Nishapur, Tus, and other great cities of Khorasan have never revived. The monuments of Samarkand were built after she had been ruined more than once, thanks to the special efforts of the great Tamerlaine. The successors of Hulagu continued to rule over Persia down to the middle of the fourteenth century, but in Russia Mongol domination endured till the close of the fifteenth century.

**Tamerlaine's
Invasion.**

So much for the two first invasions by the Tatars; the third invasion under Tamerlaine was of far less importance. Tamerlaine, like Mahmud of Ghazna, overran half Asia; but their armies were more or less organized, and they brought them back with them. The Seljuks and the Mongols, on the other hand, settled in the country they conquered. Only by a chance was a great deal of Europe saved from the Mongols. We know they reached the middle of Silesia in 1241, and the only thing that prevented Europe from being entirely Mongolian was the fact that their overlord happened to die in Karakorum, and they had to go back and elect a new Khan. Nothing else turned them back. They were irresistible. Europe was saved from the Arabs and Berbers in 724 by Charles Martel, and saved again in 1241 from the Mongols. The first time we were saved by our own prowess; on the second occasion by luck. Whether it would have been better for Europe to have been some thing other than it is, it is of course impossible to say.

I would like to refer again to the difference between Turks and Tatars. I feel that there is no end to the discussion from the point of

view of ethnography, and I am neither an ethnographer nor an anthropologist. But I do feel there is one great thing that distinguishes the Mongol from the Turk, and that is religion. It is a curious thing that the pronounced Mongoloid type have always turned to Buddhism or Shamanism, while the people who are less Mongoloid in type are all Moslems. So that when the ethnographer and anthropologist tell you it is hard to distinguish between the two, it is some help to realize that so far as concerns the last five hundred years, you have the rough and ready distinction to guide you. The Muhammadan is a Turk, and the Buddhist is a Mongol, Kalmuk, Buriat, and so forth. Though I have not time to tell you about Tamerlaine, I want to show you one or two pictures of Bukhara and Samarkand. Tamerlaine, like Chingiz, started his career when quite a boy, having inherited a small province in Ferghana. He marched all over the Middle and Near East. He went down to Delhi and slaughtered 250,000 prisoners because they were rather embarrassing to carry about. His was not a world migration, but rather a world extinction. Nevertheless he is one of the most picturesque figures in Oriental history. We know a great deal about him because European travellers met him, and he had capable Persian biographers. His tomb at Samarkand is one of the most beautiful monuments of the world.

I want to tell you something of what has happened in more recent times to Turkistan. In about 1808 the Russians began to occupy this country, and before the war the whole of this country west of the Caspian—Astrabad, Merv, Samarkand, Bukhara, right up to the borders of Chinese Turkistan, was Russian Turkistan. Within this territory were two native rulers, the Amir of Bukhara, and the Amir of Khiva, who enjoyed semi-independence. When the Revolution of 1917 took place, in fact before that, Russia being occupied with her internal troubles, there were local risings in which Austrian and Hungarian prisoners of war also took part. About 1920 an organized revolt occurred in Bukhara, which was called the "Basmachi Revolt"—"Basmachi" corresponds to "Boxer"—and a capable leader was found in Enver Pasha, who, disgruntled at the success of Mustapha Kemal, went to Bukhara in November, 1921, and there organized an anti-Soviet pan-Turanian movement, by which he meant to organize the Turks from Angora eastwards (and including Afghanistan) into one huge Islamic State. That was the idea of Enver, and he sent an ultimatum to Moscow in January, 1922, demanding a total abandonment of Turkistan by the Soviet Government. The Red Army was despatched to Bukhara, and in August the movement was definitely broken by the death of Enver Pasha in a rearguard action. After this the two Amirates were turned into independent Soviet Republics; but things had come very near to the creation of another big Empire, where so many big empires have been set up in the past. At the

**Modern
History.**

present time this country is divided into various small sections called after the principal tribes : thus there is Turkmanistan, so-called because the Turkmans live there ; Uzbekistan, where the chief inhabitants are Uzbeks, with a sub-province of Tajikistan, created for that section of the inhabitants who speak Iranian languages. There is also Qazaqistan, inhabited by the Kirghiz and Qazaqs. These separate ethnic republics enjoy a certain degree of autonomy. They have all their own schools and school books, and a vast literature of educational works is being produced in various Turkish dialects, some of which had not hitherto been reduced to writing.

DISCUSSION.

Miss CABLE said she had recently made a journey across the Gobi Desert and through Chinese Turkistan into Qazaqistan and home by Moscow. She had passed on the way many ruined cities buried in the sand, the result of the invasions and of desert encroachments. They had met many of the tribes which Sir Denison Ross had spoken of ; the most interesting were the Qazaqs, who had struck them as a virile, wide-awake people, rapidly advancing in education. It was from them that they heard of the hitch in the negotiations of the coal-strike, and they discussed with them the character of Mr. Macdonald and the labour leaders. The Qazaqs are well supplied with wireless, and get their news from the Moscow radios. They had just become the latest member of the U.S.S.R., and number about seven million souls.

Mr. GIBB said that among the very many interesting hints thrown out in the lecture, there was one which struck him particularly. Sir Denison Ross had differentiated very clearly between the Tatar invasions and the Tatar migrations, between the raids of Mahmud of Ghazna and Tamerlaine, and the movements of the Seljuks. The great conquerors, who made such a great stir while they were alive, and inspired such terror, left little to show for it after they died ; whereas the Seljuks displaced the inhabitants of the country and established themselves in their place. Thus we look on Anatolia as wholly Turk, although eight centuries ago there was not a Turk in the country.

Professor Barthold, the great champion of the Mongols, maintained that tradition had exaggerated the amount of the damage done by the Tatars, and he (Mr. Gibb) was inclined to agree with him. They found a country in a bad state of disintegration, and did a certain amount of sheer destruction, but fifty years later the same country was apparently in a high state of commercial and agricultural prosperity. There were two things which we were inclined to forget, the two great plagues. One came over to Europe in 1381, but did far more damage in Asia than in Europe, and it was the second in Asia, for there was an earlier one in 1348. These plagues swept away ten times as many victims as the Mongol invasions, and though Europe was able to recover because it

was young, vigorous, and growing, the Black Death almost finished Asia. Tamerlaine swept in after it and completed the damage. Nothing could be done until a new people came and turned their hands to the task of building up, and for that Asia has had to wait till the present day.

In summing up the CHAIRMAN said he could perhaps dot the i's and cross the t's of the lecture in one of two of the points the Lecturer had made. One point was that ancient province of Khorasan, now so diminished from its former greatness. The Indian soldier going up even today to Quetta refers to it as Khurasan; Zhob and the country around are all included.

"Sir Denison was speaking of the Seljuks. When I was in the town of Kirkuk in the mountains of Southern Kurdistan, I found there was a settlement of Seljuk Turks on the old road between Anatolia and Persia; they are the only people I know of who still wear the real bluebeard pugaree; they have, too, very remarkable little pointed towers protecting their water-wheels.

"I have seen myself an instance of the terror with which the Mongol physiognomy inspired the people of Persia and Kurdistan. In 1919 it pleased one Mahmud of Sulaimaniya in Southern Kurdistan to engineer a *coup d'état* against a British political officer and the Levies who were helping him to develop the country. It was necessary to send troops, and we moved a battalion with about six hundred Kachins in it, which distinguished itself very much by taking the Barzan Pass. This battalion afterwards marched into Sulaimaniya, and kept it for some time. The people were terrified when they saw them. They have still the same fear of the little stunted Mongol.

"I must ask you now to give Sir Denison a very hearty vote of thanks for the most extraordinarily fascinating lecture." (Applause.)

CENTRAL ASIAN ORIGINS OF THE ARMIES OF INDIA*

By MAJOR L. V. S. BLACKER, O.B.E.

THIS paper might well be entitled the Genealogy of the Armies of India, but it will be observed that there is no reference to an "Indian" Army, for reasons which will appear later. The principal of these reasons lies in the fact that by no researches can one discover any body which may sanely be so designated.

Introduction. I always feel that those who use the appellation should receive kind treatment for the rest of their lives in a quiet, cosy, and nicely padded apartment, with bars to its windows.

The oddness of Anglo-Hindustani terminology accounts for "Bengal Cavalry" (and Infantry) with no Bengalis in them, "Baluch" Regiments with no Baluchis, Sikh Regiments with a small minority of Sikhs, and Disbursing Officers who would do anything you like rather than disburse. So one must not be surprised at an Indian Army with no Indians in its ranks. It is necessary to go back into history in order to see how a country inhabited by Indians comes to have an army of non-Indian nationalities exclusively.

The genealogy of the various races which have conquered the valley of the Indus and the Gangetic plains is interesting from its connection with that of the yeomanry and squirearchy of Western Europe.

The great racial movements are roughly illustrated in the sketch map. As far as the Caspian (or so-called Nordic) peoples are concerned, one may group the moves generally into three great waves, as follows:

<i>First</i> , Kelt and Rajput	...	...	2000 to 1800 B.C.
<i>Second</i> , Scythian-Gothic-Jut	...	...	A.D. 100 to A.D. 450.
<i>Third</i> , Scandinavian-Ghaznavide	...	...	A.D. 600 to A.D. 1066.

When the first Keltic wave started its long trek from the Oxus into what we now call Europe, that continent was inhabited by Mediterraneans—that is, really Africans—or, as regards its northern portion, by Mongol Finns.

Rajputs. Central Asia was full of mystery as it always has been throughout the ages, and the Kelts, or, as they are called in Asia, the Rajputs, were the first great surprise which came out of the conjuror's hat.

The Minoan civilization had already spread over the basin of the Mediterranean, but Eastern Europe and Russia were wholly barbarous and overgrown with primeval jungle.

* Lecture given by Major L. V. S. Blacker, O.B.E., Q.V.O. Corps of Guides, on January 19, 1928, General Sir George MacMunn in the Chair.

India was Dravidian—that is to say, inhabited by small, broad-nosed, thick-lipped, low-skulled people ranging from what has been termed the “good monkey spoilt” to the quasi-culture of Mohenjo-Daro.

The army has not kept wholly free from this element even in the present day.

Sanitary personnel are almost wholly Dravidian, so are accounts and other administrative offices, whilst the half-breed with Dravidian blood in him tends to infiltrate into fighting units as tradition and morale deteriorate. He accelerates the deterioration.

The history of the Kelto-Rajputs is very little known. The relationship of the various elements—that is to say, Kurds, Dana, Trinobantines, Bretons, Gauls, Milesian, Irish, Scots, Albanians, Afridis, and Rajputs—can best be arrived at by a study of the analogies in their customs and psychologies.

Amongst them, for instance, trouser wearing is not yet an accomplished fact, whilst they all make music on the pipes. Tartans are found to be indigenous amongst the Eastern Kurds of Khorasan, whilst Keltic loquacity and mysticism can be traced throughout.

The Kelts and Rajputs have survived subsequent invasions with the assistance of favouring geographical factors as in Ireland, Western Scotland and Wales, Brittany, in the mountains of the Punjab and Garhwal, and in the deserts of Rajputana. They have maintained themselves almost everywhere more as a squirearchy than as yeomen or peasants, and one may deduce that astute diplomacy and a certain mental equipment has helped them to keep this position during the last three thousand years.

In the fourth century B.C. the remote barbarous regions now called England, France, Spain, and Western Germany were inhabited by primitive tribes dressed in skins, addicted to such savage rites as human sacrifices, but ruled over by a small aristocracy possessing a very appreciable degree of culture. The aborigines were what are now known in the jargon as Mediterraneans or Iberians, but to sum them up in a word they were really Africans.

The aristocracy, unlike the short, brown-eyed subject race, were tall, blue-eyed Kelts, of the type which one associates with Boadicea, and their standard of civilization was sufficiently high to include such items as chariots and gold armour, besides the construction of, for instance, Stonehenge. This Keltic ruling class is also the ruling class of Ireland and Scotland, and appears, as we have already seen, to have been of Asiatic origin and to have found its way into Western Europe through North Persia, the Caucasus, and Asia Minor. There is much reason to suspect that the Trojans were of this stock, as well as the Macedonians, whilst the Danae and their descendants, the Hellenes, are interesting offshoots. May one go so far as to suggest that in the Irish Civil Wars comparatively few leading families of

Keltic origin have had to leave the Irish Free State, in contrast to those of Saxon or Norman origin?

The track of the Kelto-Rajput waves is little if at all known, though we may deduce it approximately from the better-known routes of its successor.

Alexander probably came of this race, which must certainly have had the physical characteristics of the Kelt, as distinct from the Iberian. Cleopatra was a descendant of Alexander's house, and we know that she was tall, with fair hair and blue eyes.

To continue eastwards, Eastern Germany and Russia were inhabited by Finnish people of an early Mongol incursion, who must on no account be confused with the Kelts or the Slavs, the cousins of the Goths, who do not appear in the scene until several hundred years later.

The Caucasus even at that early period was probably a medley of races, but to the south of the Caspian we find Medes and Persians, both of stock not very different from that of the Kelts, Greeks and Macedonians; on those eastern shores were the Parthians' ancestors, the Turkoman of today, and in the Oxus Valley the Scythians and Sogdians whose capitals were Merv and Herat, whilst the countries of Kabul, Peshawar and the North Punjab, and probably Kandahar were occupied by Bactrians.

Here again the main racial stock is exemplified, and it is interesting to realize that the bulk of Alexander's army was composed not of Macedonian armoured regular troops, but of light irregulars drawn from those same Bactrians, Sogdians, Scythians and Parthians. When Alexander came through the hills of the Khyber, Bajour and Swat into the plains of Rawalpindi to fight his Indian adversary Porus, he met there his ally the Raja of Taxila, the Bactrian king of that country. This point is by no means one to be surprised at, as the Bactrians were very closely connected in race with the Hellenes and the Macedonians, and were totally different from the great mass of Indians who lived at that time west of the Jhelum and of the Indus in its lower reaches, from which fact the Indus derives its present Greek name.

Dravidians.

East of this line we find a country peopled by a great mass of small, black, thick-lipped, broad-nosed Dravidians, much the same as those who constitute the great mass of the three hundred millions of India proper today. Whether these peoples are a branch of the Hamitic or negro race, or of independent origin, or Australoids, is not of much moment.

The situation, however, is quite parallel to that existing in Britain at that time, for in the South Punjab and India proper the mass of small, dark aborigines were ruled by a small aristocracy of thin-featured, fair, and probably tall Rajputs, who, I beg leave to suggest, were not very distant relatives of the Kelts of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Gauls.

A point that lends support to this idea is, in the first case, the composition of Porus' army which confronted Alexander, and which comprised a highly developed armoured nucleus of war elephants and chariots manned and fought by the Rajputs, and huge hordes of Dravidian "cannon fodder," or shall we say phalanx fodder. After Alexander's victory on the banks of the Jhelum, he brushed aside the Dravidians but hospitably entertained the captive Porus, in whom he must have recognized a man of superior race and distinction.

The effect of Alexander's invasion was undoubtedly to push the Indians back further eastward and to extend the area of the country ruled over by Bactrians and Scythians who were his allies.

In a word, we find various groups of peoples called Nordic held together by a Macedonian frame-work, thrusting back the Dravidians and semi-Dravidians—that is to say, the Indians proper. By this means Alexander paved the way for subsequent invasions by Scythians and others several hundred years later. Here we can see what Alexander meant by his "brotherhood of East and West." *

Alexander's empire, as far as we know, broke up in confusion. By the second century B.C. there was probably little outward difference in the face of the world from that which had existed before his arrival.

In about the first century A.D., or possibly somewhat earlier, events of the most tremendous importance were taking place in Central Asia; not the Central Asia of the Oxus Valley, but the completely different Central Asia of Central Mongolia and the basin of Lake Baikal.

The Mongols were beginning to get on the move. They were undergoing one of their periodic upheavals.†

Stimulated by some cause at which we can only guess, armies of swiftly moving horsemen began to move over those remote steppes. At the same time the country of Kashgar, "Scythia Extra Imaos," was beginning to be dried up and desiccated and the sand of the desert was pushing into the towns and cities of that once fertile land. This tended to make existence precarious for the Bactrians who inhabited the basin of the Tarim, and even for the Scythians, who at that time held the valley of the Jaxartes, which we nowadays call the Sir Darya. These Scythians, it must be remembered, had, in the shape of the tribe of the Ussuni, barred Alexander's progress to the north. Alexander, like many other commanders, explained that transport difficulties impeded his advance. Then there took place one of the greatest events in the world's history—namely, the completion of the

Mongol
Immigration.
Desert
Encroach-
ments.

* One can trace the same idea in Kipling: "East is East, and West is West . . . but here there is neither East nor West. . . ."

† There had been an earlier Mongol wave, so early as to be prehistoric. This established the bulk of the Gurkhas within Indian limits. The Gurkha may thus, by virtue of his longer residence south of the Himalaya, almost claim to be an Indian, should he feel disposed to make such a claim.

Great Wall of China. This constituted a definite and positive obstacle to the incursions of the Mongol horsemen into the Middle Kingdom, and one which their resources did not permit them to surmount.

Thwarted from there and deprived of their existence by means of raids into China, they turned their attention to the south-west, to Kashgaria, Semirechia, and to Ferghana.

The prosperous civilization of Kashgaria soon became what Sir Aurel Stein calls "the sand-buried ruins of Cathay," and it is more than probable that Bactrian inhabitants, having become soft and ease-loving, were almost exterminated by the Mongol invaders, who converted that Nordic or Iranian country into a Mongol or Turanian.

Their more sturdy Scythian neighbours, who, though much of the same stock, had not become effete by living in towns, themselves got on the move, probably much in the fashion of the Mongols. There is reason to suspect, in fact, that they copied the Mongols in many ways, even including their custom of wearing trousers, a fashion which the Greeks, for instance, thought barbarous in the extreme.

Kashgaria was lost to the white race in about 100 A.D., whilst the Mongols, pressing westward in their lightning fashion, and it may be assumed passing through the "Gap of Sergiopol" and along the north bank of the Oxus, which they presumably could not cross in their large numbers, skirted the north coasts of the Caspian, laid the foundations of the Empire of Kazan, and eventually in 328 A.D. came into collision on the Marne, with an army of which the nucleus were Roman Legions, but the bulk Goths, commanded by the Consul Ætius and Roderick, King of the Goths. Rome survived the Mongols to fall to the Scythian Goths.

More or less simultaneously with this westward movement of the Mongols, there was a similar movement of the Scythians, which started long the south bank of the Oxus and travelled by the southern coasts of the Caspian, around the Black Sea and along the Carpathians. German scientists have called this movement the "Völker Wanderung."

This is the greatest movement in history of the last two or three thousand years, and has changed the face of the Old World, and it is by virtue of this that one is able to say that the building of the Great Wall of China was the greatest event in English history.

Scythians. This second great move, that of the *Scythians* or *Goths*, can be plotted fairly accurately when the difficulties and possibilities of the ground have been taken into account, especially as regards mountains, impassable rivers, and forests too dense to be traversed by the Scythian ox-cart.

Imagine them starting from Merv, Herat, or Balkh northwards. The Oxus constituted a decisive obstacle. In those days it flowed into the Caspian, round whose southern shores the migrating peoples had to skirt.

Once in North Persia the mountains of the West and gorges such as that of Karind prohibited progress westwards and south-westwards.

A passage was possible through the defile of Derbend in the Caucasus on to the steppes of Kuban. Here we may trace them in Herodotus' day and check his description of them.

In the Caucasus *chaque race à laissé son témoin*, and no doubt the Scythians here overtook stragglers of the Kelts. It is not too much to surmise also that they even swept up some elements of the lost ten tribes (or rather eight and a half tribes) in their passage through the Tabriz area.

One suggests eight and a half tribes because there is evidence to show that Gad and half Manasseh became assimilated into the later wave of Afghans or Pathans, or at least into the Durrani section.

The Scythians conquered North Persia; they founded the kingdom of Afghanistan, and as the Juts they swept over the Punjab. They have left their traces in the Caucasus and even in Asia Minor, whilst branches of them, under the name of Slav, founded the kingdoms of Kiev, Poland and Lithuania. As they went westward they began to be called Goths, Visigoths, Teutons, Franks, Angles, Saxons and Jutes. They conquered Rome, where the Mongols had failed.

The Jutes, it will be observed, landed at Pegwell Bay, near Margate, in 450 A.D., in almost exactly the year in which the "Juts," at the other end of the chain, conquered the Punjab.

Some of the Jutes settled on the western side of Hampshire, from which country some of them embarked in the *Mayflower* to found the colony of New Hampshire, whose people, like the rest of the New Englanders, have a well-known tendency to talk through their noses, a phenomenon which is not unknown to those who have to deal with the Juts and Jut Sikhs of the Central and South Punjab.

The Anglo-Saxons and Juts conquered England and France, whilst the Juts, whether Sikh, Musalman, or Hindu, form a big stratum in the Army of India today.

The psychological characteristics of both are quite different from those of their predecessors, the Kelts and the Rajputs, on the one hand, and their successors, the Normans and Scandinavians, on the other.

Stubbornness and obstinacy combined to make their good points as well as their bad, whilst those who have had to deal with this race in the present Army of "India" will understand the Normans' action at the Battle of Hastings. Duke William is reported to have said to his archers: "Shoot where the English are thickest." The Norman archers, taking him literally, directed their arrows up in the air, so that they fell vertically on to the heads of the Saxons. Thus Harold met his end.

Here as regards the armies of India, we have an important contribution; the direct descendants of this race are certainly not Indian.

They have, in fact, lived barely 1,500 years in the country, for Asia a very short space of time. There is probably at the present day as much difference between, shall we say, the Sikh of Ferozepore or Jullundur and the aboriginal majority of that district as there is between the Boer and the Kaffir in the Transvaal.

Composition
of the Armies
of India.

In contrast with the Rajputs and Kelts, the people of this wave show a tendency to exist as yeomen rather than as a nobility or aristocracy. This phenomenon is to be observed in every country which they inhabit.

Furthermore, they are essentially wearers of trousers, a habit which they may have learnt from the Mongols or the Chinese.

The invasions of these Scythians (whom some call Ephthalites and who now call themselves Jats or Juts) left the Punjab and Northern India definitely in a state of chaos.

Their descendants survive most strongly in the shape of the Sikh, Musalman, and Hindu Jats of the Central and Southern Punjab. They exist in considerable numbers in the Frontier Province as the next layer, socially speaking, below the Pathan. In very many cases they enlist under the pseudonym of Pathan—in fact, many so-called Yusafzai companies and squadrons have a majority of Jats and a minority of Yusafzais. They often make good average soldiers, but cannot be promoted because no Pathan will serve under them.

To the petty states of the Scythians and to the survivors of the Bactrians there burst in the year A.D. 1001 an irruption of people whom we may call the Ghaznavides—that is to say, Pathan and certain North Punjab fighting tribes such as the Awans and Tanaolis.

This forms our third wave, forming a close parallel to those constituted in the west by the "Danes" and then by the Normans. Pathan and Dane have, and always have had, much in common, and we may regard the Norman as an offshoot of the Dane. The description of Norman psychology in the article on "Normans" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" is too long to quote here, but to those who know the Pathan a perusal of it will be of great interest.

Interesting analogies between the Dane and the Pathan are the matters of "Danegeld" and "tribal allowances," and the fact that several score, if not hundreds, of primitive word forms in both languages are identical.

Many other similarities will occur when both races are studied closely; compare, for instance, the "Ghazi" and the "Baerserker" as well as the roving and adventuring proclivities of both races.

We have seen how the Rajput-Kelt survives as a nobility and the Scythian-Goth-Jut as a yeomanry, so the Dane-Norman-Pathan constitutes a series of patrician oligarchies. An appreciation of this fact concerning the Pathan is essential to the enlistment of good fighting men.

The Ghaznavide irruptions into India were led, strangely enough,

by a Turk, Mahmud of Ghazna, the grandson of Sebuktegin, and they penetrated down even as far as Madras and lower Bengal.

The Pathan, or, as he was called in Hindustan, the Rohilla, intermarries somewhat copiously when he gets into lower latitudes. This fact accounts for the degeneracy of certain peoples who were, in the eighteenth century, fighting Pathans, such as, for instance, the Musalman of Madras, Bengal, and Hindustan.

The few notable exceptions which prove the rule are found in ruling families, which have kept themselves distinct from the Indian, such as Rampur and Bhopal, who are Yusafzais and Orakzais respectively.

Interneine fighting and other causes produced another state of chaotic degeneracy of which the Mongol or "Moghal" leaders—Tamerlane, Chingiz, and Babur—availed themselves.

The Moghal dynasty lasted for something like 300 years. Apart from its close analogies with the Manchu dynasties there are some points about it which should interest us.

In the first case we have the rebellion of a section of the Nordic Juts of the Central Punjab against the Mongol or semi-Mongol overlords of Hindustan. These Juts purged themselves of the now debased Hindu religion and made for themselves a puritan fighting creed—that is to say, Sikhism. This was monotheistic as well as militant, and became the standard under which they fought, and fought successfully, against the Moghal dynasty.

In the second case we find, somewhat later, Nordic adventurers, such as Clive and Stringer Lawrence, collecting to themselves bands of other Nordic adventurers—that is to say, Rohillas or Pathans, Juts, Rajputs and others—wherewith to fight and defeat the Satraps of the Moghal dynasties in Southern India and in Bengal.

Our early native troops were not composed of Madrassis till much later—in fact, till 1780—when local political pressure demanded it. Until Plassey (1757) the nominal rolls show a complete predominance of fighting men from the north, and it is not till about 1799 that we find southerners percolating into the commissioned ranks.

In a word, the Madras Army, in its fighting days, certainly down to Seringapatam, did not consist of Madrassis—that is to say, "Indians." In the good old "irregular" days, when the foundations of British rule were laid, the chief instruments were battalions, such as fought at Plassey, of Rohillas, under their own tribal chiefs, such as Sher Ahmad Khan. It should not be forgotten that the Company's regiments were not put into scarlet until 1759, the very year of Plassey.

The scarlet coat, the shako, and the pipeclayed cross belt seem to have brought with them the very odour of Prussia and the aura of Frederick William.

Year by year the Pathan adventurer class melted away from the army as "regularization" and the goose-step crept in. It was replaced

by black-faced, broad-nosed Indians, and this sounded the death knell of the fighting days of the Madras Army. The stages downward from the spacious irregular days of Plassey were rapid: 1780 first saw Madrassis in the ranks, by 1799 the proportion of them was considerable, but not definitely detrimental. By 1800 the ranks were filled with them and they crept into the serrefiles. In 1824 the process had progressed so far that the Madras troops could not face the Burmese. In 1926 the last Madras infantry battalion was disbanded.

Meanwhile in Hindustan a similar process had been taking place. The so-called "Bengal Army" was led in its early days by freelances of the type of the Skinners, the Harseys, and the Gardners.

"Army forms" and the intricacies of "Q" did not enter into their make-up, whilst the men they led were no less of the Northern adventurer breed than those who had, forty years earlier, been the corner-stone of the armies of the Deccan.

So long as they remained un-uniform, unstandardized, so long as they were not pulled down to the mediocrity of the average nor squeezed into the humdrum mould which delights the soul of the departmentalist, so long were they victorious in war. A long succession of victories, won with quite inadequate means against heavy odds, marked their progress. Not the least landmarks were the Mahratha wars, where they responded to all Wellesley's high demands, and the storming of Bhurtpore against the stubborn Jats.

After 1816, however, the rot crept in. The "red-coat spirit," accompanied by the brass-hat brain, well clogged by Flanders' mud, made its way out to Hindustan. History repeated itself; the Bengal Army sepoy who had been Wellesley's prop and reliance was squeezed into a tight scrubby serge jacket, and his head crammed into a leather monstrosity. Initiative and individuality became cardinal sins, and tactics resolved themselves into the formation of a scarlet square with the drums and colours in the centre.

In 1839 just such an army went with Ranjit Singh's kind permission and safe conduct to Kabul. Of forty thousand souls one, Dr. Brydon, returned. The scene is depicted by Lady Butler in "The Remnant of an Army."

The Ghilzais had omitted to read the "Infantry Training" of the day, and did not realize that, like d'Erlon's cuirassiers, they were expected to charge and shatter themselves against the scarlet squares. On the contrary, they were so unsporting as to sit well out of range and shoot up the square from a discreet distance with their slow-loading, but straight-shooting, long-barrelled matchlocks. This sounded the death knell of the Bengal Army and of its spirit.

This loss of able-bodied man-power was too great to permit the small Nordic population of Hindustan to survive as such. The Rohillas, many Jats, and Rajputs of Oudh intermarried with the aborigine and became

mongrels. The Sikh Wars did little to restore the credit of the Bengal army, and by 1857 it had become completely hybridized. The mutiny was the result, as one might expect from such mongrelization, and the effete "Wheeler" type showed up in its true colours, in strong contrast to the still vigorous Hearsey. Regularization, standardization, and centralization, the gods of "Q," all crashed down together in a welter of blood and massacre. The situation was saved by the Punjab Irregular Force, which was irregular to a startling degree. Its first regiments were raised in 1846 in the rear of the enemy, to wit, the Sikhs, by a handful of logically minded officers, who believed that ten thousand men behind the enemy are worth a hundred thousand in front of him.

This army came vigorously and suddenly of age in 1857, and went on from strength to strength in many subsequent wars, notably in 1879, where the commander of the Punjab Irregular Force, Roberts, saved the situation and won the war which had gone very far towards complete disaster under the management of the regular army at Maiwand.

So we have it down through all the ages since Alexander. In Asia, quality in the human factor always beats quantity, lightness and mobility beat weight and ponderosity in material, whilst standardization, centralization, formalism, love of uniformity, and lack of individualism mean the infiltration of the Indian into the ranks and so spell inevitable disaster.

Field-Marshal Sir CLAUD JACOB: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not know that I can tell you very much, because the lecture has been such an interesting one, but it was especially interesting to me because I had the honour to raise and command for seven years a regiment of Hazaras, who, as the lecturer told you, come from that little yellow circle you saw on the map in the centre of Afghanistan. I have never really been able to find out the origin of these people. Tradition says they were a remnant of the Mongol horde that poured into India under Chingiz Khan. The Hazaras are most delightful men to have any dealings with. They live in that tract of very hilly country south of Kabul and north of Kandahar at an altitude of from 8,000 to 11,000 feet. Owing to their living at this height we find that the Hazaras cannot serve in the plains of India during the hot weather, so the regiment is permanently quartered at Quetta. The Hazaras are Shiah Mohammedans; their language is Persian, and they are surrounded by Afghans and others who are Sunni Mohammedans and whose language is Pushtu. How they have managed to exist where they are in the centre of Afghanistan I do not know, but I fancy that it is due to their being very fine rifle shots and first-class workers with the pick and shovel that has enabled them to hold their own. As long as they live in these high altitudes the race will not deteriorate. I have

noticed during my long experience of over forty years in the Indian Army how the people of the plains in India have gradually become less martial than they used to be when I first went to India. This is due to the peace and quiet which has been reigning in India for so long, but it also shows that we shall have to look further afield if we want to keep up the fighting qualities of our Indian Army.

I will not say any more except that I am delighted with what the lecturer has said. It has been extremely interesting.

The CHAIRMAN (General Sir George MacMunn): Before I ask you to thank the lecturer, I would like to dot a few of the i's and cross a few of the t's that may interest you. First of all I would like to draw your attention to what to my mind is the most remarkable fact or statement which the lecturer brought to our attention—the fact that when Alexander of Macedon came to Bactria he allied himself with a people of practically his own race; and I make no doubt that a great many of the troops of Alexander were Bactrians raised and officered by Macedonians, in exactly the same way as the Aryans and Jats of India are officered and led today by British people really of the same race. It is much more natural and human that the Indians of today should be governed, led, and developed by British and Celtic people than, as for a thousand years, by Turks. Before the British rule, since the days of Mahmud of Ghazna, almost every dynasty at Delhi had been Turkish in some sort or other; and in spite of what some may feel today, it is far more natural and normal that the leadership of Indians should be in the hands of people of their own race, which is what it comes to, rather than that they should be under the Turkish domination which they suffered until the day when the Moghal Empire collapsed. I think that a remarkable reflection. Another point: as you know, Alexander's dominion on the north disappeared in a few months. He left what we should now call his C3 men in the Punjab—men, in fact, not fit to march back to Babylon, where he was going. They were very soon destroyed or absorbed. Certainly all dominion disappeared; and it was not until some hundred years later that the Bactrian Macedonian rule was extended again to the Punjab. The rule of the Greeks in the Punjab was not the direct descent of that of Alexander, but was due to the second coming from Bactria in the succeeding centuries. I would illustrate the same point of the continuity and similarity of Aryan races by my experience when I was a subaltern. I was sent to Kashmir to raise two mountain batteries for the Kashmir Durbar for service on the Pamir frontier, and I spent five years in Jammu and Kashmir, training the batteries which were recruited from Dogras. The Dogras are a hill Rajput race, and many people call them the greatest gentlemen we have in India. Most of the Dogras are rather tall, thin gentlemen, who live near the plains, but the best of them live in the hills, especially in the hills behind Jammu. When

I was raising these batteries I used to wander about in these hills where Europeans were unknown, where, in fact, I was often the first European ever seen, to help the native commandants to get the right type of men, for in those days many good men were afraid to go to the Gilgit Frontier. The men we got were the Dogra Rajputs from the hills; short, squat men, very powerful; and I think the Punjab Force regiments got them besides ourselves. They were often blue-eyed, with fair or reddish hair, rosy-cheeked men as often as not.

Another experience that bears upon this matter was that when I was in Jammu I lived in the bungalow of Colonel James Gardner, whose life was written by Colonel Pearce. He was a descendant of a British-American, and he entered India not through India itself, but through Central Asia; having spent many years amongst these various Nordic races, as well as the Mongol ones, had joined Ranjit Singh, and after the destruction of the Sikh armies he entered Jammu and took service under the Raja. For a time I lived in the house he had occupied. His fame remained long in Jammu, and the old officers of the Army, the Adjutant and Quartermaster-General, had known him. They told me that when he lived in this house he had a long table on which were a large number of Central Asian headdresses, and when he was in the right temper and mood he would put on those various headdresses in succession, and make himself into various types of Central Asian races. Whatever headdress he put on he looked like one of that people. This interested me so much that when I had these fair-haired hill Dogras on the frontier, remembering the story of Gardner, I used to make two or three of these boys put on a Pathan puggaree and look exactly like a Pathan, while if they put on a helmet they looked like Atkins, and I used to puzzle officers by making them guess their race. The point is the extraordinary resemblance of the Nordic races when dressed alike.

With one small point in the lecture I venture to disagree. We were told about the Bengal Army in Kabul, a campaign that always interested me immensely. The old Bengal sepoy of 1840, when his tail was up, was a very different creature from what he was when his tail was down. If you read the whole of the story of the first Afghan War and the "avenging army" you will see that under the leadership of British officers they would chase the Ghilzai over the hilltops. The Hindustan sepoy, with the right type of Colonel and British officer, was often in his red shako and red coatee just as good a man on the hillside as the Ghilzai; where the latter had him was with their long-range muskets. But the Sepoy Regiment when its tail was down was a very different matter. Another point on the question of the red-coated sepoys: I believe the Madras Army was first put into red because there was a large stock of surplus red cloth in Madras. That was about 1756. Then they found it put the fear of God into those

armies of Hyderabad and Seringapatam, for a long line of troops in red deployed in front of them looked like British troops, and they did not know whereabouts in that line was the only one British battalion that perhaps was there. It was thus found that the moral effect of putting the Indian troops in red, in the conditions of those days, was so good that it was continued. Afterwards, when the army had been so successful in the whole of Europe, and especially after Waterloo, that model was thought to be the last word in military efficiency. I believe that is the fact, that the existence of that spare red cloth explains how the Indian Army came to be put into red. Well, gentlemen, I am sure you will agree with me that we have had a most interesting lecture covering a remarkable area of ground, and we are sincerely indebted to the lecturer. One little point I want to put to you—it came up after Sir Denison Ross's lecture—and that is to suggest you read a book called "The Mongol in our Midst." It gives remarkable ideas on ethnology and other things. With that I will call upon you to give a hearty vote of thanks for the most extraordinarily interesting lecture we have had tonight. (Applause.)

NOTES ON A LECTURE, "FROM THE END OF CHINA'S GREAT WALL TO MOSCOW"*

BY MISS MILDRED CABLE

MISS MILDRED CABLE began her lecture with a rapid survey of the ancient trade and travel routes of Central Asia, drawing attention to the political importance attendant on the linking up of Russia and China, Mongolia and India, Constantinople and Urumchi, by motor roads, such as might easily come into existence in the near future.

Proceeding to a graphic account of the various towns and localities of Kansu and Sin-Kiang in which she had resided for longer or shorter periods, the lecturer illustrated her talk with slides made from photographs taken by herself.

In 1926 she and her two companions started on a long journey which took them through the fortress of Kia-u-Kwan, which is the barrier of China's Great Wall, past Jade Gate, to the desolate reaches of Black Gobi.

From one oasis to another they journeyed, through Hami to Urumchi, Manas, Chuguchak, and over the Russian border at Kuswun.

The whole journey occupied four months. Being undertaken at the hottest season of the year, the stages were taken by night, when the silence of the desert, the beauty of the starlit skies, the flicker of magnetic lights, and the dimly discerned strings of camels shuffling past in the darkness, left an indelible impression on the mind.

Sometimes rest was taken in the mud rooms of indescribably filthy inns, lying on a mud bed heated with smouldering stable manure, sometimes in the open country, and at other times in the tents of the nomad tribes.

The latter part of the lecture was occupied with interesting portraits of men and women, types of the various tribes and nations which inhabit the land traversed. In all the larger towns it had been found necessary to supply Christian literature in seven different languages—Chinese, Turki, Arabic, Qazaq, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Russian. In particular the Qazaq people had impressed Miss Cable with a sense of mental power and virility, in addition to great physical strength.

This tribe, now numbering seven million souls, is only just emerging from nomad conditions, but has already joined the U.S.S.R. Its people are keenly interested in British political movements, the reports of

* "From the End of China's Great Wall to Moscow." Lecture given to a joint meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Central Asian Society, on February 15, 1928.

which are reaching them through the wireless. The whole journey was undertaken as a missionary adventure, and at each stage a personal relationship with the people of the country was sought. The Chinese language was found to be an effectual medium of intercourse right on to the Russian border, as large numbers of Turki, Tibetans and Mongolians speak this language in addition to their own.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, —I have always noticed that travellers are divided into two classes ; one class spend all their time when they come back in describing difficulties they have had with coolies, and mules, and muleteers, and carters, and what they have suffered from insect pests and every sort of trouble. They leave themselves very little time to describe the country they have gone through, much less the people. If they say anything about the people it is very often to abuse them. The other class—the class to which our lecturer belongs—is one that says very little indeed about the troubles they have suffered, or the difficulties they have had to surmount, and what they say about the people is all in kindly fashion. We have had from Miss Cable a most delightful and graphic and vivid description both of the people and of the country through which she passed. (Applause.) Nevertheless, those who have been in China can appreciate to a small extent what she and her two companions must have gone through. I was fortunate enough to go through China in the old days of the Emperor and Empress, when all was settled, and the prestige of the European stood high, and I had no difficulty whatever except having occasional mud thrown at me, and being addressed as a foreign devil. But it was a very different thing with Miss Cable and her companions. They had to go through China in this time of civil war and famine following an earthquake, and what she has gone through we can to some extent gather not from her lecture this evening, but from her most delightful book, "Through Jade Gate to Central Asia." Even then you must add to it a considerable amount from your own imagination. I crossed Miss Cable's route travelling from east to west, from Peking to India, at that spot—Hami—which she crossed in her journey from more or less south to north. I was seventy days in the Gobi desert, and I can corroborate everything she said both as to the horror of it and also as to its beauty. I think as the years go by the horrors are forgotten, but the beauties are never forgotten. At any rate, they have lasted with me forty-one years. Hami, I remember particularly, because when I left Peking, four days before I left, Colonel Bell—then head of the Intelligence Department in Simla—travelling from Peking to India through the inhabited parts of China, came along through very much the same route as that followed by Miss Cable. I was to go by the desert route across the Gobi desert, a route which had not

been followed by Europeans before, and which has not, I think, been followed by Europeans since. But, anyhow, it was agreed between us that we should meet in Hami on, I think, July 1. Members of the Legation at Peking, judging by the character of Colonel Bell, his impetuosity of travelling, said to me that he probably would not wait for me more than three-quarters of an hour. As a matter of fact, he waited for me half a day. I arrived at this place. I think he must have travelled over two thousand miles and I must have travelled something not very far short. He arrived exactly on the date, and when I met him afterwards in India he said that he had waited half a day for me; but as I had not then arrived, he proceeded on his journey. I arrived a week late, and then went on to India. I should like to congratulate Miss Cable both on her lecture, in which she so very vividly described the country and the people, and also on her book, which I certainly consider about the best book of travels which has appeared of recent years. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Does anybody else wish to add to the discussion? From the silence which prevails and the absence of response to my appeal, the conclusion we must gather is that all present feel that the subject has been so thoroughly and vividly discussed by Miss Cable, and further elucidated by Sir Francis Younghusband, that nothing more remains to be said. (Applause.) I am sure we all agree that we have rarely listened to a more fascinating lecture, one so full of humour, so full of vivid description, and so informative in every way. Miss Cable has made light, as Sir Francis Younghusband told us, of the difficulties of that appalling journey through the desert of Gobi. She has said nothing about the extremes of heat and cold and the other terrible privations she must have gone through, including drinking tea made with water tasting of Epsom salts and other things even worse. These things do not appear to have affected her geniality or sense of humour in any way. One instructive lesson we derive is the extreme kindness and courtesy shown to her and her companions not only by the Chinese, to whom courtesy is a second nature, but also by those various rough tribes—Cossacks, Kalmucks, Mongols, Kirghis, and others whose names I hesitate to pronounce—whom she came across in the course of her travels. From that we may derive two conclusions: in the first place, if we want representatives of our country among these wild races who are now in a state of ferment, we cannot do better than send missionaries like Miss Cable and her companions. The second lesson we may gather is this: that these people are now, as she has told us in her very eloquent summing up, instinct with the desire for knowledge, with the desire to know what is going on in the rest of the world, with comparisons between different nations; and that on the whole, considering that at the time she travelled there, when every effort was being made to

antagonize against England the peoples of Central Asia from China to Siberia—it is most satisfactory that she met with no opposition or antagonism; in fact, the general desire seemed to be to come into closer relations with Great Britain. That, I think, proves that the malignant rumours and slanders spread about British imperialism have not had a permanent effect in damaging the good name which has always been associated, and I hope always will be associated, with the British in Asia. (Hear, hear.) I have listened to many lectures of this Society during the last seven years, but I believe you will agree with me that we have rarely listened to a lecture from which we have derived so much information and instruction. The coloured slides we must particularly congratulate Miss Cable on. There is no better way of bringing home to the audience the different races and countries she has passed, and the extraordinary amount of interesting information—geographical, historical, and ethnographical—which her journey enabled her to accumulate. You will all, I know, wish me to offer her on your behalf a most cordial vote of thanks, and to say that we hope she will be able to complete her work by returning to China, further cultivating those relations with Chinese and other peoples which have enabled her to accomplish this romantic journey, and perhaps at some future date giving our Society the pleasure of again hearing her. (Applause.)

NOTE ON THE MAP OF CENTRAL ASIA

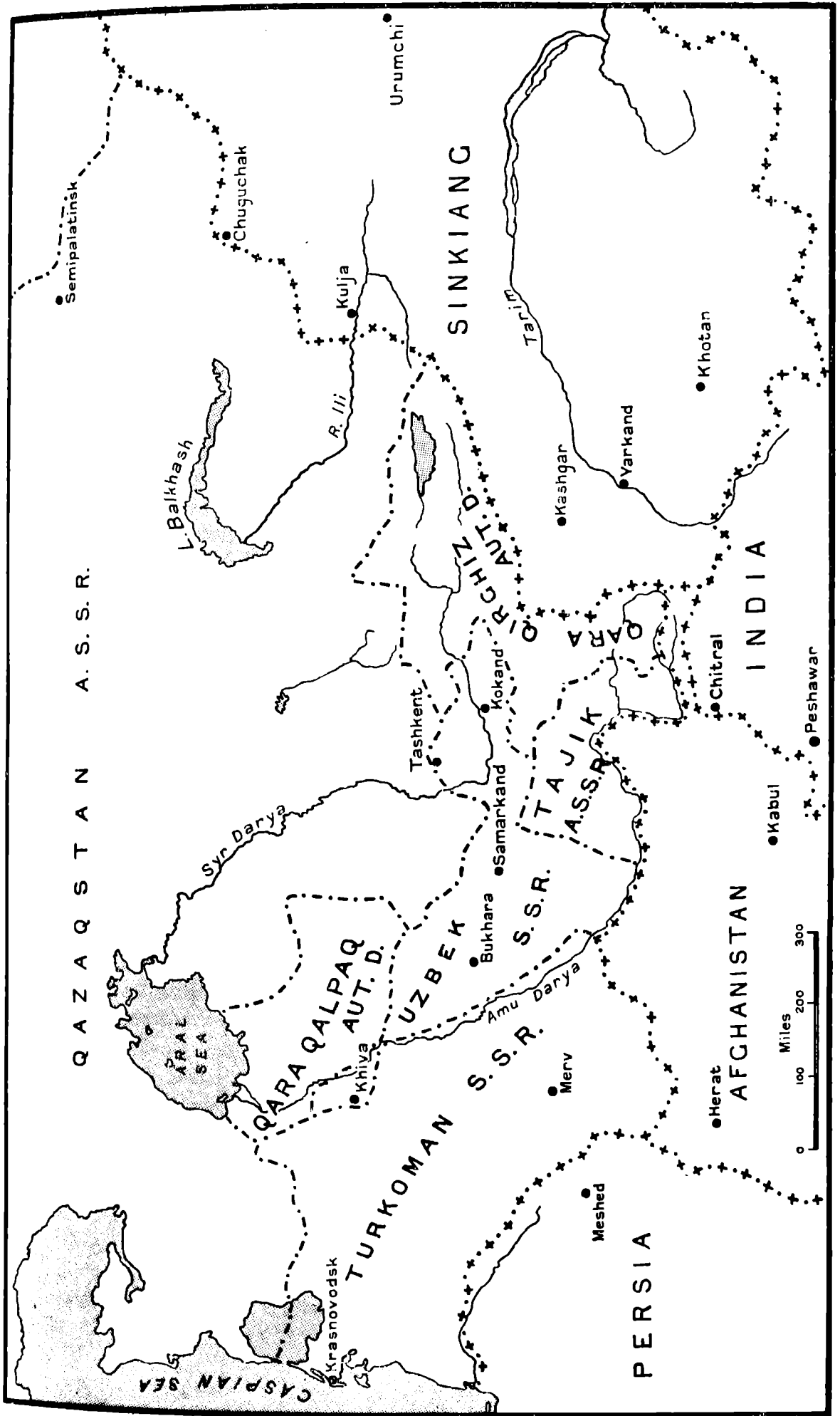
IN connection with the foregoing lectures, more especially with Sir Denison Ross's lecture in this Journal and with Sir George MacMunn's "Tatar Domination of Asia" (Vol. XIV., 4), it will be worth while to study the map of modern Central Asia. Since the Russian revolution this country has been broken into separate republics, each of which is now a member of the U.S.S.R. The division, Sir Denison Ross tells us, has been made ethnographically, so that each republic represents a separate tribe; the various dialects spoken by them have lately been co-ordinated, many of them reduced for the first time to writing, and in them they are being taught in their schools and universities. The importance of the Baku conference of 1926 has not perhaps been sufficiently realized.

The main policy of these Moslem republics lies in the hands of Moscow, but they are able to some extent to manage their home affairs. There is no doubt that there are great changes taking place in this part of the world, and that for the most part they have become far more aware of Europe than Europe is aware of them.

Though passport difficulties make tourist travelling impossible, the quickening of the means of transport has brought much of Central Asia within easy reach of Europe; the goods sent out by the Czecho-Slovak factories can be sold in Tashkent in under a week.

There have been periods of great vitality among the Tatars which have left their mark on the history of Asia, and it is possible that we are again facing such a period. If this is so, their history gives four precedents, all or each of which it may follow, though the direction will come from Moscow. Will the modern Tatars spread into the neighbouring states, into Chinese Turkistan, Northern Tibet, and the northern provinces of Afghanistan and Persia, and, ousting the present governments, create new states in their place? Or will they throw up another military genius, another Genghis Khan, Tamerlaine, or Mahmud of Ghazna, who will give them the leadership they need to combine and bring them down on India, or through Persia into Iraq, the spear-point of a Communist attack? The oilfields offer as rich a prize as the flourishing Iraq of the Middle Ages.

Will their energy, on the other hand, die down so that they become outlying Russianized provinces of the Russian Empire, or will the national feeling strengthen the Pan-Turk movement? Members of our Society cannot but watch with great interest the history of Central Asia during the next few decades.



THE ROUTES BETWEEN ASIATIC RUSSIA AND KASHGARIA

THE routes that unite the fertile provinces of Ferghana and Semirechia in Russian Turkistan with the almost equally fertile regions of Kashgaria in Southern Chinese Turkistan or Sin-Kiang are of great importance and interest.

The passes between Russian territory and the Chinese Pamirs are numerous and easy, but are of less value commercially than those that connect the richer areas of Kashgaria and the well-developed regions of Andijan and Vyerny.

The main artery of trade between Andijan and Kashgar has always been via Irkeshtam, and now that conditions in Bolshevist territory are more stable, caravans come and go between the two trading centres with great frequency. The cotton, skins, and wool of Turkistan are exported to Russia. That cotton should be required is a damning commentary on the results of Bolshevist economic policy and muddle. In return, quantities of Russian-made chintz and other printed goods flood the Turkistan bazaars. The quality is miserable, the most wretched rubbish conceivable. Beet sugar, sweets, biscuits, cigarettes, gaudy bottles of scent, inferior chocolate, toilet soap, bad candles, and a mass of shoddy Russian goods may also be found in the bazaars. The price is by no means cheap, but the printed stuff suits the pockets and taste of the Turki for the very excellent reason that he can get no other.

The Irkeshtam route has become the feeder for the whole of the area south of the Thian Shan.

Taking the passes in order, going north and east from Irkeshtam, the Tugart Pass is of importance. Fifteen years ago there was a good road up the Chinese border from the Russian side, and the Petersburg Government continued it through Chinese territory. The idea was to link Narin (Naryn) with Kashgar. Tarantass stations were established, and an excellent rapid means of access to Semirechia was thus formed. The Chinese Government, however, managed to kill all trade by this route, through the heavy tolls. To this day, the remnants of the old Russian posting road may be seen in Chinese territory, melancholy pieces of good track clinging desperately to the hillside. On the Russian side it appears as good as ever, but between Kashgar and the frontier the broad stony bed of the Artush River is all the road there is. There used even to be, in the much-lamented days of Czarist Russia, a post of Cossacks on the Chinese side. All is gone now.

Next to this is the Terek Pass. This is not of great importance at present. A tree, very similar to the Chenar of Kashmir, and known as the Ak Terek or white poplar, grows near the pass and has given its name to it.

The next pass is first of a group of five. These passes are, in order, going northwards, the Bedal, Gugurdlik, Kainchi, Zindan, and Yangart (Janart). They all converge on the town of Uch Turfan and, more remotely, the larger town of Aksu.

The first named, the Bedal Pass, is the furthest of all from Uch Turfan and is now not much used. The Russian goods in the local bazaar all come from Kashgar. Presumably it is more profitable to take goods from railhead at Andijan to Kashgar, and then send them to Uch Turfan, than to import direct through Vyerny. Russian goods in Uch Turfan are considerably dearer than in Kashgar.

The two passes most used between Russian and Chinese Turkistan, in this part, are the Gugurdlik (or "Matches") Pass and the Kainchi (or "Scissors") Pass. These are at the head of two parallel nalas, the mouths of which are eight miles apart.

The Gugurdlik is not a difficult pass. The track, quite suitable for pack animals, winds up to a false crest; it then dips slightly, passes over a small ridge, and rises by a wide sweep to the actual pass. The chief danger is the steep shaly sides, which are very treacherous for animals. The Issik Kul is said to be only three marches away from the summit. There is a well-built Chinese "Karaul" or post on the way to this pass. The nala leading up to it is stony, but not very difficult. There are high conglomerate cliffs on both sides. In summer there are excellent grazing grounds, much frequented by the Kirghiz.

The Kainchi Pass, immediately north-west of the Gugurdlik, is much more unpleasant. The approach to where it leaves the valley is probably less easy, as the stream in the valley is deeper and the going rougher. There is a squalid post of Chinese soldiers before reaching the pass. The strength is supposed to be forty, but the actual numbers appear much less. The track to the pass is trying, as it zigzags up the side of the valley, which rises to a cliff. The name "Scissors" appears not unappropriate.

The next two passes are, at present, closed by the Russian Kirghiz to all travellers other than Kirghiz. They are the Zindan and Yangart (Janart). They are two valleys, side by side, immediately beyond the Kainchi Pass.

All these five passes are at the head of five valleys which are at right angles to the Tushkan (Taushkan) or Hare River. None of the passes are very high, and all are open throughout the year for travellers on foot. For animals local conditions have to be considered.

The Chinese have posts even at the foot of the Zindan and Yangart

Passes. The danger of smuggling, chiefly opium, is always present, and under exciting circumstances the entry of undesirables from Russian territory has to be guarded against.

Beyond the Yangart Pass rises the great mass of the Central Thian Shan. There is, on the south-west or Kashgarian side of this range, a pass known as the Aqokuzor Koh-i-Kaf. Why it should bear the latter name, which means the Caucasian Mountains, is not known. Immediately beyond this pass, on the Russian side, is a flourishing settlement of eighty Kirghiz families. For long they resisted all the advances of the Bolshevist Government, but it is said they have now succumbed to its cajolery.

It is reported that towards the end of 1927 the attitude of the Bolshevists towards the Kirghiz in general underwent a change. Everything possible was done to win over the nomads. However, most reports about happenings in Asiatic Bolshevia have to be taken with reserve.

As to distance, the frontier via the Gugurdlik or Kainchi Passes is not more than twenty-five or thirty miles from Uch Turfan, so that Russian territory can easily be reached in one day. The other passes are further away, as they lie more obliquely, whereas the mouths of the valleys giving access to the two mentioned are nearly opposite the town.

PALESTINE UNDER THE MANDATE

BY SIR THOMAS W. HAYCRAFT

Late Chief Justice in Palestine

OUR late war with Turkey began by a declaration of war on November 5, 1914. The disaster of Kut, which culminated in the capitulation of April, 1916, was retrieved in March, 1917, by the capture of Bagdad by General Maude. Military operations in Upper Mesopotamia continued till the armistice. About the end of the same month that Bagdad was taken, another British Army, which had built itself a railway across the desert of Sinai, was attacking Gaza in the south of Palestine. That attack was at first a failure, but after some seven months General Allenby, who had then taken command, outflanked the enemy by way of Beersheba, drove them steadily northward, and after severe fighting manœuvred the Turks out of Jerusalem without firing a shot against the Holy City, which surrendered on December 9. During that time Arab tribes in revolt against the Ottoman Government had moved north under the leadership of Faisal, a son of the Sheriff of Mecca, and the inspiration of Lawrence. They advanced by way of Acaba and Maan and followed the Hejaz railway, co-operating with our forces. They finally entered Damascus about the same time as the British troops. In the September following the occupation of Jerusalem General Allenby inflicted a severe defeat on the Turks in Samaria, advanced into Syria, and by the time that the armistice was declared Palestine and Syria were freed of the enemy.

By the end of the war the King found himself in possession of the greater part of the old Arab empire. He had in his hands Egypt, Palestine, Trans Jordan, Syria, and Iraq. After the war there was a royal distribution of territory. Syria was handed over to the French, who had an admitted claim there. In Iraq, an Arab kingdom was set up under Faisal. To Abdullah, another son of the Sheriff of Mecca was given the sovereignty of Trans-Jordan, a limited sovereignty under the general supervision of the High Commissioner of Palestine. There remained for us Palestine, a little country surrounded by the Arab world.

Now to go back to the entry of General Allenby into Jerusalem on December 11, 1917. As the chief of a victorious army he would have been fully justified in entering Jerusalem with the ordinary pomp and circumstance of war. It was a great historic occasion. Had he done so the populace would have very much enjoyed the spectacle, and nobody would have had a word to say, but Allenby chose to do otherwise. He was the deliverer of the Holy City, and he preferred to enter on foot, as he did, by the Jaffa Gate, with his staff in ordinary service kit. Upon the steps of the citadel, just inside the Jaffa Gate,

where there is an open space, the Proclamation was read in Arabic, Hebrew, English, French, Italian, Greek, and Russian, and posted up on the walls: "To the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Blessed and the People dwelling in its vicinity. The defeat inflicted on the Turks by the troops under my command has resulted in the occupation of your city by my forces. I therefore here and now proclaim it to be under Martial Law, under which form of administration it will remain so long as military considerations make it necessary. However, lest any of you should be alarmed by reason of your experience at the hands of the enemy who has retired, I hereby inform you that it is my desire that every person should pursue his lawful business without fear of interruption. Furthermore, since your city is regarded with affection by the adherents of three of the great religions of mankind, and its soil has been consecrated by the prayers and pilgrimages of multitudes of devout people of these three religions for many centuries, therefore do I make known to you that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest or customary place of prayer, of whatsoever form of the three religions, will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faiths they are sacred."

Palestine was then occupied enemy territory, and was for two and a half years under military government. What was that Palestine which had been described by a great statesman as a land without a people? Palestine, west of the Jordan, which is the part within our occupation, contains from 9,000 to 10,000 square miles, of which a great part is uncultivable. Its population was something nearer 700,000 than 600,000. According to the computation of Sir Herbert Samuel, in his report for 1925, the Jews in Palestine numbered about 55,000 at the time of the armistice. The majority of the Christian Arabs belonged to the Jerusalem branch of the Eastern Orthodox Church, with its centre of worship at the Holy Sepulchre and many churches and monasteries in Palestine. Next came the Roman Catholic Church under the jurisdiction of the Latin Patriarch, with the organization known as the Custody of the Holy Land, considerable houses of monastic orders, and many churches. There were Armenians, with their Patriarch in Jerusalem; Melchites, with a Bishop at Haifa; Syrians, Copts, and others. The Protestants were represented by a Bishop of the English Church, with a cathedral outside the City not far from the Damascus Gate on the Damascus Road; also the Church Missionary Society, Scottish and German missions, and others. The mass of the population was Moslem of the Sunni following, with mosques and shrines all over Palestine. They were in possession of the ancient Temple area, where stood the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Aksa, and at Hebron the Mosque of Abraham, which covers the reputed site of the Cave of

Machpelah. The Jews were mainly of the strict orthodox faith, to be mostly found in Jerusalem, where they had their place of wailing against a part of the wall of the Temple area. There were several Jewish agricultural settlements, said to number about sixty at that time. All the above-mentioned religious bodies had an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except the Protestants. Agriculture was the most important occupation, and had suffered severely during the war. Other industries were many, but not of great importance. The most considerable was the wine industry of the Jewish colony of Richon le Zion, and others attached to monasteries. The orange cultivation and exportation at Jaffa was also important.

That was Palestine at the time of the occupation. It was a very little country. Trans-Jordan is about twice, Syria about six times, and Iraq about fifteen times, as large as Palestine. But Palestine had a religious importance for all the Christian world, and for all the Moslem world, and for the Jews. It had a political importance, because it was, and had always been, the highway between Egypt and the western part of Asia. It had another importance, for we had not got rid of our responsibilities in the other Arab countries.

In order to realize what Palestine is, one must not forget that she is part of the Arab world, and that what happens in Palestine is, to a great extent known and has a certain effect in Syria, in Trans-Jordan, in Iraq, and in Egypt. We shall be judged, and our claim to be treated with respect and confidence will to a great extent depend, upon the way that we govern Palestine. The government of that little country is not easy, because it not only has its internal difficulties, but it has to keep up our reputation in those Arab regions in which we are still deeply involved.

When the Army undertook the administration of Palestine, government and the law courts had been abandoned. The Turkish officials had left in the wake of their retreating armies. The country was placed under a Military Administrator, assisted by his Chief of Staff, a financial adviser, and an official called the Senior Judicial Officer, who was a sort of Minister of Justice, and with whose assistance the civil courts were re-constituted in much the same form as they have at the present time. The law administered was the Ottoman Law, and continues to be so. The Government has passed a great many laws for practical purposes, but very little touching the fundamental laws which govern these people. The Ottoman Law is good enough. We quarrel with it sometimes because it seems peculiar, but there is always an argument for it. We have reconstructed the Criminal practice of the Courts.

The Military Government improved transport. There was already a railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and a branch of the Hejaz railway from Haifa to Deraa in Syria with extensions to Acre and Nablus. The military railway was continued as far as Haifa. There were already a

good many main roads and those were improved and extended. A pipe line was laid to bring water from a system of wells at some distance on the far side of Bethlehem to Jerusalem.

Agriculture had suffered much. The war had impoverished the farmers. Most of the draught animals had gone, and the farmers were in great distress. Loans amounting to about £600,000 were raised from banks and advanced to these people on security.

The Turkish police had mostly disappeared, but in 1919 a Chief of Police with Indian experience was appointed, and he set to work to organize a police force. There were already many schools under the control of the various religious bodies, and the Government created a Department of Education and established many elementary schools in Palestine.

When Sir Herbert Samuel arrived and inaugurated a Civil Administration on July 1, 1920, the foundation had already been laid, but there remained much to do. He arrived with the title of His Majesty's High Commissioner for Palestine, and had for his official staff a Civil Secretary, a Legal Secretary, formerly styled Senior Judicial Officer, and a Financial Secretary. The Government Departments were developed. Although the Government was in form a civil one, Palestine was still held by the power of the sword. There had been no cession of the territory by Treaty. That state of things went on until September 11, 1922, when Sir Herbert took the Oaths of Office and Allegiance at a ceremony of some historical interest, when the King's Proclamation was read and His Majesty assumed control, not as conqueror of Palestine, but as having accepted authority under the Mandate. The conquest was a fact. His acceptance of authority under the Mandate was the realization in formal terms of a political idea. The Mandate was a sort of constitution, conferring limited powers of government; but under the shadow of the sword the King had already set up a government in civil form in July, 1920. The Civil Secretary became Chief Secretary, the Legal Secretary became Attorney-General, and the Financial Secretary was called the Treasurer. Originally there had been thirteen districts under Military Government. These were reduced at first to seven and afterwards to four. In 1926 they were reduced to two. Under Civil Government the military forces were reduced to 5,000 men of fighting rank, costing the British Exchequer first of all about four million pounds a year; but that was further reduced, and at the present time the British military contribution for the defence of Palestine and Trans-Jordan consists of an Air Force only under a Group Commander at Amman in Trans-Jordan. The defence was materially strengthened by the creation of a local force in addition to the armed police. That force was raised in 1921, and consisted of a gendarmerie—300 mounted and 200 on foot. In the following year a force of 762 British gendarmerie was raised in England for service in Palestine.

Those two forces of gendarmerie were intended for the protection of the frontiers, for dealing with raids, and for other purposes of emergency.

In 1926 the gendarmerie, together with a body known as the Arab Legion in Trans-Jordan, were disbanded, and a frontier force, recruited mainly from the old units, was substituted for the defence of both Palestine and Trans-Jordan. The new frontier force is commanded mostly by British officers. The police force, which now numbers about 1,600, has improved in efficiency and discipline beyond expectation. The administration of the prisons has much improved, and special arrangements have been made for the custody of women and children. So far as possible, the Magistrates avoid sending children to prison. An English lady, who is a Government Official, undertakes the supervision of cases where the custody of women is concerned. She looks after women in prison, and has a home for the custody of young women, convicts, and others who require some form of custody and protection. She also concerns herself with cases where the Criminal Law for the moral protection of women is concerned. There is a reformatory for boys.

The Law Courts were at first under the general management of the Legal Secretary. In 1922 when the Mandate came into force, the Legal Secretary became the King's Attorney-General, and the general judicial arrangements passed into the hands of a Chief Justice. There are four District Courts of First Instance with full jurisdiction, each with a British President and two Palestinian members. Their seats are in Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Nablus. There are two Land Courts—in Jerusalem and Jaffa—each with a British President and one Palestinian member. They occupy themselves entirely with land cases. Land cases in the north of Palestine are judged in District Courts, but the President sits with one Judge only. The Magisterial arrangements are very much the same as they were under the military administration, which set up about twenty Courts, the Magistrates being Palestinians. The Court of Appeal sitting in Jerusalem has four Palestinian Judges—two Moslems, one Christian and one Jew. This Court sits in two chambers—two Palestinians, each presided over either by the Chief Justice or by his colleague, who is called the Senior British Judge. There is an Assize Court established for the trial of murder cases, in which the Chief Justice sits with the British President of the district and the two Palestinian Judges. There is another Court, called the High Court, which is for most purposes a Court of First Instance, which tries cases where the liberty of the subject is concerned, and also cases where orders are asked against Public Officials requiring them to do or not to do certain things. It generally consists of the Chief Justice sitting with the Senior British Judge. There is no appeal, except to the Privy Council. Special Courts are provided to try cases of conflict of jurisdiction between two religious Courts, or between a civil and a

religious Court. The religious Courts of the communities have jurisdiction in cases involving personal status, such as marriage and divorce, also inheritance, and the control of charitable institutions.

When the King accepted sovereignty under the Mandate the question of Palestinian citizenship had to be decided ; but it was not until 1925 that an Ordinance was passed dealing with that very important matter. Firstly, Turkish subjects habitually resident in Palestine in August, 1925, were regarded as Palestinian subjects, but the option was given, if exercised within a limited time, to those who so desired, to declare their intention to retain Turkish nationality. A second head dealt with Turkish subjects born in Palestine, but not coming within the first category. On proving residence in Palestine for as much as six months previous to application, which must be made with two years from the date of the Ordinance, they may obtain Palestinian citizenship. The third head is of general application, but chiefly affects immigrants. The High Commissioner may, in his discretion, grant citizenship to any person who has resided in Palestine for two years out of the three years preceding application, is of good character, and has an adequate knowledge of English, Arabic, or Hebrew, and declares his intention to reside in Palestine. The High Commissioner may annul a certificate of naturalization if he finds that the application has been made under false pretences.

In accordance with a provision in the Mandate His Majesty's Government in 1922, by Order in Council, provided for the creation of a Legislative Council. It was to be composed of ten officials and twelve elected members. The twelve elected members were to be eight Moslems, two Christians, and two Jews. That meant practically ten Arabs and two Jews, because the Moslems and Christians usually act together in general politics. The Arabs, as a body, refused to participate in the elections unless all members were to be elected, or the Arabs were to have the majority over the official members and Jews. They were afraid that when questions arose about the National Home there would be a majority of official members and Jews against them. In fact, they were unwilling to co-operate in any arrangement which involved the recognition of the Balfour Declaration. The High Commissioner then obtained power by Order in Council to nominate an Advisory Council. Up to that time there had been a nominated Council. The High Commissioner had invited a certain number of persons—Moslems, Jews, and Christians—to assist him in his deliberations. That had not been altogether a bad form of government—perhaps the best under the circumstances. It had no power of legislation, but was very useful for purposes of discussion. Under the new Order the High Commissioner had power to nominate an Advisory Council, in which the Palestine members would be in the same proportion as in the former Order—that is to say, there would

be ten official members, ten Arabs, and two Jews. At first the ten Arab members who were nominated consented to act, but subsequently, in obedience to popular pressure, seven of them declined. That scheme had to be abandoned. Then there was this question: One of the grievances of the people of Palestine is that there is an Executive Committee of the Zionist Association, which has, under the Mandate, a certain recognized relation to Government. It has a right to advise and co-operate with the Government in matters affecting the National Home and the interests of the Jewish population, and that may be considered to include most of the matters with which legislation has to do. This the Arabs deeply resented. So the Government proposed to create an Arab agency to act as a counter-balance to the Zionist Executive. At that time the Arabs had a body which was called the Moslem-Christian Association. It was a sort of opposition, but it had no official standing. This offer of an agency was refused by the Arabs. They objected to the principle of an agency altogether. They could not see why they, the people of Palestine, should require an agency. Moreover, they believed that no Arab agency would have the same intimate relation to Government as the Zionist Executive.

There appeared to be no course for the Government to pursue but to obtain further powers, and an official Advisory Council was set up and still continues. This was composed of the High Commissioner and his three principal officers of government, five heads of departments, and a District Commissioner. The number has since been somewhat extended.

Although the attempt to create a Legislative Council had failed, there remained a constitutional measure of, perhaps, greater practical importance to be proceeded with, and that was the restoration to the Municipal Councils of the Ottoman practice of the popular election of members. Since the occupation the Government had nominated them. The right of electing their own members was restored to the Municipalities by ordinance, the High Commissioner retaining to himself the power of nominating the Mayor from among their number. Elected District Councils were established in some of the larger villages.

While administration was being organized, the material conditions of the country were changing a good deal. The Jewish township of Tel Aviv, which had sprung from the sands to the north of Jaffa, became a considerable town with wide streets and large buildings, and contains today the best hotel in Palestine. New Jewish colonies were springing up in many places. There were considerable building operations. Main roads were improved, and village roads made all over the country with the voluntary labour of the villagers. With the improvement of the roads the place became full of motor cars—so many that the tax on petrol has been sufficient to pay for the maintenance of the roads.

There are two roadsteads, Jaffa and Haifa. A harbour is to be constructed in Haifa. The plans are in process of completion, and it is expected that operations will begin before very long.

Government has shown great interest in the improvement of agriculture by the introduction of improved types of seed grain, the introduction of profitable crops of many kinds, and the encouragement of fruit and vegetable cultivation. The planting and curing of tobacco has become an important industry. Efforts have been made for the improvement of stock and the raising of fodder crops, while the exclusion and segregation of infected animals, and the treatment of animal and plant diseases, have received particular attention. Government forests have been protected, and the planting of trees assisted and encouraged. The tithe has been reduced from 12 to 10 per cent., and an ordinance has lately been enacted providing that in areas specified by the High Commissioner tithes shall be collected on a fixed assessment instead of in one varying from year to year. Agricultural shows are held, and these are a great success.

The Ottoman system of land registration had been very imperfectly worked, and a reorganization of the Land Registry is being carried out. A cadastral survey is in operation and, when completed and accompanied by a systematic demarcation of boundaries, will in future bring the system into a state of greater practical utility. The Jews have a system of tying up the land of agricultural colonies so as to prevent any part falling into the hands of strangers. Arab villages have to some extent a similar protection in their communal holdings, which are cultivated by the villagers according to a customary rotation. These are inalienable and not subject to partitions. This may not be a good system for the most profitable use of the land, but it prevents these lands passing away from the villagers by sale and the growth of a large number of landless Arabs liable to drift into a proletarian population likely to become an element of social and political instability.

By Clause 8 of the Mandate the administration of Palestine is required to encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish Agency, close settlement by Jews on the land, including state lands and waste lands not required for public purposes, provided that the rights of the non-Jewish population are not prejudiced. We find in the report for July, 1920, to December, 1921, that a grant of about 5,000 of sand dunes to the inhabitants of Rishon le Zion made by the local council during the war has been confirmed; that a lease for fifty years has been granted to Putach Tikvah, another of the old colonies, of adjoining swamps; and that a large area, mostly swamps and sand dunes, on the sea coast some miles south of Haifa has been granted to the Jewish Colonization Association on a lease of 100 years, with the obligation to drain and cultivate or afforest the swamps and reclaim the sand dunes within limited periods. In the Report for 1926 it is stated that negotiations

were then pending for long leases to Jewish agencies of areas of government lands in Acre, Gaza, Joricho, and Haifa districts, of something over 10,000 acres in all.

Public health has not been neglected. Additional water has been brought to Jerusalem from some ancient tanks on the Hebron road, and other water from a stream known as the Ain Farah. Hospitals have been established in the towns, and medical officers placed in various districts looking after the health of the people. The medical department has particularly turned its attention to the question of malaria, and has been helped in that matter by certain foreign bodies, such as the Survey Section of the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation and the malarial unit of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee of America. Eye diseases are particularly prevalent in Palestine, and require persistent attention. The Hospital of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem is the centre for treatment and instruction, and has an excellent staff and equipment. There are other valuable non-Government hospitals, British and Foreign, and also those of the Zionist Organization.

In the report for 1926 it appears that the Government schools at that time numbered 314, including two training schools. There are other educational institutions, such as technical and agricultural schools. There is a law school under the general direction of the Attorney-General, which is almost too popular. The non-Government schools are given in the report of 1926 as follows: Moslem, 45, with 3,445 pupils; Jewish, 255, with 26,481 pupils; Christian, of all kinds, 188, with 16,145 pupils. British schools for all religions are most valuable, and work earnestly to lay the foundations of sound learning and good citizenship, as do the schools of the American Friends at Ramallah.

No mention has as yet been made of what is generally known as the Huttenberg concession for the electrification of the Jordan, although the Palestine Electric Corporation, to which the concession is actually given, has made considerable progress in the construction of its works. It would be futile for one who has no experience of business to express an opinion as to whether the purchasing power of Palestine will be able to absorb the electric power of the corporation at a remunerative price.

Apart from politics, the people, as communities, are mostly concerned with their charitable endowments, their religious jurisdictions, and other religious affairs.

Among the Moslems the jurisdiction of the Kadis was originally not only religious but extended to all branches of the law. In more modern times their jurisdiction has been confined to matters of personal status, such as marriage and divorce, inheritance, and questions as to the constitution and administration of the Moslem religious and

charitable endowments which are numerous. The separation of Palestine from the rest of the Ottoman Empire rendered it necessary to provide for the control of the religious Law Courts and endowments, and shortly after the establishment of Civil Government a body was set up by Government authority, called the Supreme Moslem Council, for the appointment and dismissal of the Kadis, or religious Judges, and the general administration of the religious and charitable institutions. It is an elected body of five members, whose President is now the Grand Mufti.

The Orthodox Church had fallen on evil days. It had lost most of its property outside Palestine during the upheaval that accompanied and followed the war. The flow of pilgrims from Russia had ceased, and the Church found herself with a revenue insufficient for her current expenses, and with debts vastly exceeding the value of her property. There was, moreover, in 1920, a bitter dispute between the Patriarch and the members of his Synod, which rendered it necessary for the Government to intervene. Sir Anton Bertram, then Chief Justice of Ceylon, was appointed to examine and report, and the upshot of his report was that the Synod was brought into obedience to the Patriarch, and a commission set up to administer and control the revenues and property of the Patriarchate. Meanwhile a moratorium granted by the Military Government had prevented the Patriarchate from being overwhelmed by her creditors.

These have not been the only questions requiring the attention of Government in relation to the Orthodox Church. There was an old grievance of the Arab Christian population against the fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre which has been for centuries in the hands of Greek-speaking Bishops and Archimandrites.

The Arabs claimed that this had been in past times an Arab institution, and it does appear that at one time in the distant past that had been the case for a period, although for the last 400 years the Hellenic element had been almost exclusively in possession. After an explosion which broke out some years before the war, the quarrel had been composed by the Turks, but became again acute shortly after the publication of Sir Anton's report on the other matters, but from an occasion entirely disconnected with them. Sir Anton was again called upon to examine and report on the Arab claims. They demanded the admission of the local clergy to the fraternity, and the establishment of a Council, clerical and lay, for the control of education and other communal matters. The report from which the above-mentioned facts have been taken, while admitting the historical position of the Patriarchate, recommended that a right of the Arabs to admission to the fraternity should be legally recognized, and that the mixed Council which had, in fact, been established by the Ottoman Government but had fallen into disuse, should be revived. How these proposals will be carried out in practice will probably be determined

when the parties have been brought into a more amicable relation, and the publication of the report drawn up by a person of recognized learning and impartiality may materially conduce to this result.

Other Christian communities have not required the interference of Government, except that it has been necessary to place the Palestine property of the Russian Orthodox Church under the control of a commission owing to the difficulty of deciding how those properties ought to be dealt with in the present state of affairs.

It may be here mentioned that laws have been enacted defining the jurisdictions of the religious Courts and their relation to Courts of Civil Jurisdiction.

The authority given to certain special Courts for the purpose of deciding questions of conflict of jurisdiction has worked well, the religious authorities having co-operated cordially with the civil Judges in these matters.

We now turn to matters relating to the Jewish community which have complicated the conduct of Government because of the policy of the National Home, which has been the subject of much local controversy.

The Balfour Declaration is dated November 2, 1917, when the British Army was pushing successfully through Palestine, and some six weeks before the capture of Jerusalem. It runs thus: "H.M. Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I have no information as to when Jewish immigration actually began, but it was in operation in 1919. When a Palestine census was taken in October, 1922, the number of Jewish inhabitants was estimated at about 84,000, which, after deducting 55,000, would show about 29,000 new arrivals at that time.

The Balfour Declaration had been freely discussed and Zionist activity had become generally prominent, when, in April, 1920, the state of feeling between Arabs and Jews became such that an ordinarily unimportant incident resulted in a riot in Jerusalem, during which Jews were killed and wounded. During that year the Arabs became seriously alarmed and excited, and on May 1, 1921, riots occurred in Jaffa, and afterwards in the district, during which 88 persons were killed and 238 wounded. The state of feeling in Palestine was so acute that practically the whole non-Jewish population was strongly hostile, not so much against the old settlers, but against the immigrants.

It is not a matter for surprise that the immigrant Jews should have arrived full of national enthusiasm, that the vision of a restoration of a

Jewish dominion, or a Jewish predominance, at some time, and in some manner, should have possessed their imagination, and that they should have regarded themselves as the heirs of Palestine. That state of mind was often expressed in their attitude towards the Arabs, and was to be seen printed in newspapers and other documents. Hebrew had been already introduced as an official language together with English and Arabic. Arab resentment against the Zionist agency and its apparent influence has been already mentioned. Arab labourers regarded the immigrants as formidable and favoured competitors.

Sir Herbert Samuel had arrived in July, 1920, and had neither done nor said anything to encourage the exaggerated expectations of the Jews, but it was not remarkable that they should have held them. One of their principal leaders admitted about that time that in his opinion there would be no room for an Arab National Home by the side of a Jewish National Home.

Many religious Christians outside Palestine regarded the return of the Jews as an event of the greatest religious significance, as being perhaps a sign of the approach of some new spiritual revelation.

A large number of the immigrants, perhaps the majority, regarded their return, after so many centuries of exile, as a triumphal entry into Palestine.

The Arabs, who were after all the people of Palestine and who also had a great history behind them, were greatly incensed at the coming of a people who expressed such pretensions. The Arabs were not a barbarous people with no written language and no national traditions, but a lively people fully conscious of their national and religious claims. Provocative passages in Jewish publications were frequently translated into Arabic in local newspapers and read in Arab cafés, not only in towns but also in villages. The most exaggerated rumours spread among them. In some villages they believed in a threatened invasion of armed Jews. They feared the loss of their lands and their holy places which they believed might be given to or taken by the Jews. Some even feared the expulsion of their race. Even the more reasonable were alarmed lest the invasion of their country by the immigrants would end in the subjection of the population to Jewish domination.

In this state of things a provocative procession of Bolshevist Jews on May Day, 1921, was the occasion of the Jaffa riots previously mentioned, followed by attacks on Jewish colonies in other parts of that district. In the heat of excitement all Jews, even their old friends of the pre-war Orthodox Jews, were for the moment objects of Arab resentment.

The disturbances were suppressed by the military, but not before many lives had been lost and much damage done.

A body known then as the Arab Congress, and afterwards as the Moslem-Christian Association, was formed for the purpose of attacking the whole question of the Balfour Declaration and the immigration of

the Jews, and a Delegation was sent to London to present their views to the British Government. It was made clear to them that, although the Jews must be allowed to increase their numbers by immigration for the establishment of a National Home in Palestine by rights and not by sufferance, that policy would not be allowed to prejudice the Arabs, and that immigration would not be permitted to exceed the capacity of the country to absorb the new arrivals. But nothing would at that time satisfy the Delegation short of a reversal of the whole National Home policy. The correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Delegation appears in a Command Paper, No. 1,700, of 1922, which is interesting reading.

Although the peace was kept for a few months racial animosity continued acute, and on November 2 of the same year, the fourth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, a fresh outbreak occurred in Jerusalem and Jews were killed.

Since then no outbreak of violence occurred, and a more reasonable spirit gradually prevailed, greatly owing to Sir Herbert Samuel, who had lost no opportunity of persuading the Arabs that they had nothing to fear from the newcomers, and that all their civil and religious rights would be safeguarded. His influence no doubt served to curb the exuberant attitude of the Jews.

There appears to be no reason for present anxiety, but it should be kept in mind that in the Near East racial and religious passions are elemental. Although quiet may have prevailed for a month or a year or for many years, it should not be presumed that the apparently peaceful ashes may not suddenly open into flame and that the morrow may not offer a surprise.

After carrying out a task of exceptional difficulty with exceptional ability for five years, Sir Herbert Samuel left Palestine on July 1, 1925. He was succeeded on August 25, by Field-Marshal Lord Plumer who commands respect and confidence at all times and in all places.

The Jews have shown great activity in all directions. In 1927 the Zionist Organization presented to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations for the information of the Permanent Mandates Commission a memorandum that sets forth the state of their affairs in Palestine up to the end of 1926, and that document contains interesting information. It shows that the number of their agricultural settlements had then exceeded 120, with a population of 4,628 persons, occupying an area of 25,000 acres. These settlements included seventeen co-operative farms, four girls' training farms, sixteen smallholders' villages, and four middle-class settlements. The foundation of new settlements was contemplated. The Palestine Foundation Fund was in possession of 3,000 head of cattle. There was in addition to cereal cultivation considerable plantation of vines and tobacco, and an area under orange groves of about 4,000 acres. In the way of industry they claim

592 Jewish factories, employing 5,711 persons, and twenty-three Hebrew printing presses. The number of working men and women in 1926 is put at 32,000. They claim four Hadassah hospitals in towns, also colony hospitals, clinics, infant welfare centres, and other medical activities.

By way of education they claim, in 1926, 283 schools of all kinds, and, including Orthodox schools, 22,760 pupils ; and, including children in non-Jewish schools, 40·24 per cent. of the school children in Palestine. There is the Hebrew University, which may become an important institution. It devotes itself mainly to scientific studies and research, but does not neglect Jewish and Oriental subjects.

The Jewish population for 1926 is put at 158,000, or 17·6 per cent. of a total population of 887,000. Deducting 55,000, that would leave 103,000 as the total number of immigrants. But further on the Memorandum puts the net immigration since the war (excluding pre-war residents returning to their homes in Palestine) at approximately 73,000. The latest published report, that of 1926, on the Department of Health gives the population of Palestine on July 1, 1926, as 865,227, of whom 147,398 were Jews. In that year there was an emigration of over 7,000, and during the first eleven months of 1927 the number of Jewish emigrants exceeded the immigrants by over 2,000.

The grave financial depression in Tel Aviv and in the Colonies may partly account for this emigration and the present state of unemployment among the Jews, and it may be that Palestine is not able to employ a large number of workmen who are more expensive and less amenable than Arab labour. Only a small proportion of the immigrants have been settled on the land, and the amount of immigration has been out of all relation to the capacity of the Zionist Organization to establish agricultural settlements which are costly enterprises.

It may be that a proletarian population largely communistic or with extreme political and social notions is not the most useful element for the building up of a permanent and stable community in a poor country. The communist labourer is a difficulty, because he does not believe in the rightness of his relations to his employer.

On the other hand constructive communism is another matter, and efforts are made in this direction in certain settlements where the colonists attempt to carry out that social system. If they can by their own industry and devotion succeed in such an enterprise it may be a valuable element in the National Home, as the monastic communities were a valuable element in the construction of society in the Middle Ages. But it is a matter of common knowledge that the system requires special qualities of discipline and self-subordination in those who undertake to carry it out, and that experiments in constructive communism have not in the past been permanently successful.

Even where the system is not communistic the agricultural colonies

have not been very successful economically. The Zionist Organization has shown remarkable activity in the improvement of agriculture in all directions, and has built a large number of villages and established useful institutions for the benefit of the colonists, although the number of persons actually placed on the land is small. The ultimate success of the colonial experiment would seem to depend on the physique and temperament of the colonists, than ability to maintain with patience a persistent industry, for a remuneration small in relation to the requirements of European habits of life, in a climate which, except in the hill country, does not encourage persistent physical activity. In Palestine the lands most favourable for cultivation on a large scale are found in low-lying localities where the climate is enervating for people who come from colder countries, and the majority of the immigrants come from Russia, Poland, and Roumania. In addition to physique and temperament the situation requires a willingness to submit to difficult conditions for the sake of the National Home, while the colonists are aware that in other countries the same amount of effort would probably afford an existence of greater comfort and prosperity.

But the Jews are a great people and notably persistent, and it would be rash at the present time to predict what Zionist enterprise may not achieve in any direction if directed by shrewd and practical leadership, notwithstanding the apparent difficulty of the present situation. Moreover, I have been assuming that in Palestine agriculture is the only industry of permanent value, except for a comparatively small number of industrialists and traders. It may be objected that this is not at all the case, that ultimate success will depend more substantially on those very activities that I appear to disregard. We shall await with much interest the report, if we are allowed to see it, of a commission which has been appointed to investigate the condition of Zionist affairs in Palestine and to make recommendations.

For the purpose of giving their community a legal entity and internal authority, many Jews, perhaps the majority of the immigrants, were anxious to have a legal constitution. It was to be of the nature of a national organization of Palestine Jews, with legal powers of administration and taxation for purposes of communal intent.

In 1926 a law was enacted, entitled a "Religious Communities Ordinance," enabling the High Commissioner to make regulations for the above purposes.

In order that no distinction should be made between different communities the law was made applicable to all, but probably the Government had in mind that, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, it was the Jewish and no other community that would be likely to avail itself of the law, and in fact the Jews alone have made application and obtained the Regulations that we shall now consider.

The idea of various nations and languages existing within the same territory and under the same general Government, each having its own peculiar institutions, was already familiar in the Ottoman Empire. They were not separated by lines of territorial demarcation, although they might segregate in groups, but were separate by religion and to a great extent by race. It was not therefore contrary to general practice that such a law as the " Religious Communities Ordinance " should be made.

In the case of the Jews a difficulty lay in determining who were the members of the community to be brought within the operation of the law. To have included all Jews, orthodox and liberal, religious and non-religious, and even anti-religious, not to mention those who object to any sort of communal or any other interference, under the same set of Regulations with compulsory powers, would have been to invite violent opposition from many quarters.

The Regulations drawn up and approved by the High Commissioner on December 30 last have avoided that difficulty by establishing the legally recognized community on a basis of voluntary inclusion. We shall see when the scheme works out whether it results in the foundation of a religious community properly so-called, or in a community with a certain religious element, but mainly racial and political. However that may be, the scheme shows a considerable practical wisdom in its adaptation to the circumstances.

The community is based on a Register. The Register is to be drawn up by a body known as the General Council, and posted up in all places inhabited by Jews. Any person who desires to be excluded may apply to have his name struck out, and such application is sufficient to operate his exclusion from the community. On the other hand, persons who have a right to be included and whose names have been omitted may require their inclusion in the Register.

Before the Regulations were made there were in existence Rabbinical courts of justice with judicial powers in certain classes of cases considered to be the proper subjects of ecclesiastical jurisdiction as in the case of other religious communities.

There were already certain Jewish popular bodies—an Elected Assembly, a General Council, and local committees—without legal authority, but to some extent recognized by Government in practice.

These bodies are declared to be the organs of the community: Rabbinical Council, Local Rabbinical Offices, Elected Assembly, General Council, Committees of Local Communities.

The Rabbinical Council will consist of two chief Rabbis, of whom one will be a Sephardi and one an Ashkenazi, and six members, of whom there will be three of each congregation, and this proportion will not be altered. In other respects the constitution may be varied and the election will be carried out by a special assembly for which provision is made. The Council will be a Court of Appeal from the

decisions of Local Rabbinical Offices, may draw wills according to Jewish law, control charitable endowments that accept such control, and may sit as a Court of Arbitration.

The Local Rabbinical Office will be a Court of First Instance and try cases within the religious jurisdiction. It will share with the Council the right to draw wills, the same control over charitable endowments, and the right to sit as a Court of Arbitration. It may in consultation with the Local Committee appoint guardians of the property of minor orphans or absent persons. The number of members will be decided by the Local Committee, but where there is a Sephardic congregation it will have a right of proportional representation.

It would appear to be the intention of the Regulations to limit the jurisdiction of the Rabbinical courts to cases where the parties are registered members of the community, but this is not clear.

Now as to the political organization. The Parliament, so to speak, of the community will be the Elected Assembly, which will itself appoint yearly from among its own members, and subject to guidance by its own resolutions, the General Council, which will be the central governing body of the community.

The constitution of, and the system of election to, the Assembly will be defined by regulations to be made by the now existing General Council and approved by the High Commissioner, and will have a life of three years.

Although general executive powers will be exercised by the Council, the Assembly will retain a general control over expenditure and taxation. The estimates prepared each year by the Council are to be presented to the Assembly and approved by way of a budget. The budget when passed by the Assembly will then go to the High Commissioner for approval.

The Assembly will require and authorize rates to be levied by local committees for limited purposes set out in the Regulations and in accordance with local budgets. It will also make rules providing for a system of rate collection and fix maximum rates, such rules to be subject to the approval of the High Commissioner.

The general direction of communal affairs will be in the hands of the General Council, and it will represent the community in its relation to Government.

It will convene the Assembly at least once a year.

It will be a legal person, and hold property on behalf of the community.

It will supervise the local committees in the administration of their communal property and institutions.

It will exercise financial and administrative control over charitable endowments of the community where the managers or trustees invite or accept control, excluding those institutions that come under the

jurisdiction of the civil courts. This power it shares with the Rabbinical Council and Offices.

Local government is placed in the hands of local committees elected by local communities. The committee will be also a legal person and hold property on behalf of the local community, and represent the local community in its relation to the local administration. It will supervise the property of the local community subject to the control of the General Council. It will levy rates for communal purposes subject to the approval of the Assembly. It will appoint a Board to regulate the affairs of ritual slaughter of animals for food, issue slaughterer's licenses, butcher's licenses, and fees. On this Board, Sephardic members of the community have a right of proportional representation. Congregations who wish to appoint and inspect their own slaughtering may do so. It will also appoint burial boards.

The question of ritual slaughter is very important. The Rabbinical courts obtain a substantial part of their revenue from these licenses and fees which are held by the executive bodies on account of the Rabbinical budget. Also the freedom of particular congregations to appoint their own slaughterers is necessary because some of them prefer to make their own arrangements for ritual killing.

The constitution, as set forth in general and in detail in these Regulations seem to have been well thought out, although here and there perhaps admitting of some difficulty of construction. It is to be hoped that this organization will keep itself to strictly communal affairs and not become an instrument of other political activities.

The chief objection lies in the possibility of its further dividing the general community of the Jews.

During the discussion following the lecture, questions were asked as to the number of immigrants and emigrants during the past two years, and also as to the question of Palestine Arabs resident in other countries.

Miss FARQUHARSON asked whether Arab interests were fully protected in working out the concessions.

With regard to the emigration, Mrs. EDER said: Our last wave of immigration was from Poland; middle-class elements came to Palestine with certain small sums of money, leaving the bulk of their property in Poland, to be gradually realized and sent out to them. Directly afterwards Poland suffered an economic slump and this money was lost. In Palestine the immigrants used up the small sums of money they had brought with them in building, which became for the time being the most important industry, but which collapsed with the cessation of both money and further immigrants. In the early years the Jews who came to Palestine were nearly all of them young men apt for agricultural and other manual labour, and it was not difficult to find work for them in the agricultural

colonies, or on railways and roads made by the British Administration. But these middle-class people, bereft of their capital, many of them no longer very young, found it extremely difficult to get work themselves, whilst the loss of their capital, and the consequent collapse in the building trade threw many other workers out of employment. I would like to add a word about the population figures: the Jewish population is now 160,000, an increase of 88 per cent. over that of 1922, when it was under 84,000. I feel I must take exception to the use of the word "foreigner" as applied to the Jews who go to Palestine. They are not British-born Jews, perfectly true; but the Jew who goes to Palestine from whatever part of the world expects to take up Palestinian nationality, and is glad to regard himself as a citizen of Palestine under the British Mandate. I think it is unfortunate to regard people who go from the East of Europe as foreigners, and to make any sort of distinction between Jews who come from England and Jews from other parts of the world. We Jews regard the establishment of the Jewish National Home under the British Mandate as an extraordinarily magnanimous, far-sighted, statesmanlike move to the Jews of the whole world. There is no point in the whole Jewish movement unless we Jews are one people. If we are English of the Jewish persuasion, or German of the Jewish persuasion, and so on, there is no point in the whole thing. But as a Jew I beg you to believe that that is not our view. We accepted the Mandate to Palestine with the utmost gratitude, because we Jews look upon ourselves as a nation, scattered throughout the centuries, but one nation. The Holy Land has been even more a magnet to us than Sir Thomas Haycraft indicated. It is true the attraction to Palestine has been a religious one, but to the Jew his religion should embrace the whole of Jewish life. We have prayed every year, "Next year in Jerusalem"; and to get back to Palestine under the British Mandate means more to us than it is possible to convey.

You cannot understand what is happening in Palestine unless you know the life of our Jewish people in our agricultural settlements there. It is in these settlements you see the rebirth of the Jewish people, for which we owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to Lord Balfour, first and foremost, and then to the British people. We also deeply regret that our agricultural settlements include only about one-sixth of our total Jewish population, but that is because we have not yet had sufficient money. Agricultural colonisation is extremely costly. We have collected our subscriptions voluntarily from all over the world, we have had no help so far from Government; and that is the one and only reason we have not had more rural colonization. We have thousands of people in Eastern Europe, and some in the West, who are longing to get on to the land in Palestine. One last word. There is a suggestion that the Jews going into Palestine is an injustice to the

Arabs. No responsible Zionist desires anything save to live in amity and good-will with his Arab neighbours. I do not pretend the Arab politicians want us there. But although Palestine is such a small country, there is much land waiting to be developed; there is room for both peoples. We have improved the conditions and status of the Arabs already; you have only to observe how the Arab plantations adjacent to Jewish settlements have improved. It is possible for Jews and Arabs to live side by side, aiding in each other's civilization and cultivation as they did in the great old days in Spain. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN reminded the audience that there were more Jews in Whitechapel than in Palestine, and that there was a bigger population in one single division of the Metropolitan Police than the whole population of Palestine, including Jews, Arabs, and every other nationality. The Lecturer had said that during the first two years of the British Administration the shadow of the sword hung over Palestine; he personally felt that there was now a danger of the shadow of false sentimentality, which was likely to do more damage than the sword.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on February 28 1928, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson in the chair. Part of this paper was given by Sir Thomas Haycraft, who afterwards showed slides of Palestine.

AN EXTEMPORE GOVERNMENT IN SYRIA.

BY H. GROSE-HODGE.

THIS story begins on the first Armistice night—though it seemed a far cry from the somewhat effervescent jollity which one has come to associate with that date to the small tug in Tripoli harbour of which I found myself the sole commissioned occupant. I had left my regiment only the night before; and all my regrets at having to say good-bye to the men with whom I had shared a tent or a hole in the ground in many of the curious places marked on the map—or not marked as the case may be—between Peshawar and Cairo came crowding upon me as I watched every available Verey light and flare going up from their camp a few miles up the coast. But it would be a poor heart indeed that could not rejoice on such a night; so we did our best—my Pathan orderly and I—to the extent of mounting the bridge and firing revolvers into the night: I lent my German Mauser to Dilbar, the orderly, for the occasion, greatly to that worthy's delight and, doubtless, to the danger of surrounding shipping. But it was somehow pleasing to see his relish in shooting it off—it seemed a little bit like hoisting the Hun with his own petard. When ammunition became exhausted, we assisted in sending up the ship's rockets; and then, finding little exhilaration in watching the signs of merry-making on shore, I went below and watched the crew come solemnly up into the saloon in single file, solemnly drink a wine-glassful of neat whisky at a single draught and, as solemnly, return whence they came.

Morning found us well out to sea on our way down the coast to Beyrouth, the first stage of the journey to Haifa, where I had been ordered to report with reference to my new duties under the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, to which I had just been seconded. On arrival there, I found that no boat was expected to leave for Haifa for a day or two, and so, not very reluctantly, decided to go by the overland route which, though it might (and, indeed, did) take somewhat longer, would give me an opportunity of seeing Damascus. Moreover, I was in no mood to wait any time in Beyrouth, where I had already spent some days on the march up; for though I had enjoyed to the full the comfortably appointed "Cercle de Beyrouth" and the well-cooked meals served on the balcony, with its view across the bay and the fruit gardens to the peaks of the Lebanon, it was a horrible contrast, on leaving the Club, to see children lying dead or dying of starvation in the corners of the public square, while a regimental band played popular airs in the middle of it. But one heard—and had actually seen—far

worse things in the country districts, where, according to general testimony, nearly a quarter of a million people in the Lebanon district alone had died of starvation.

Accordingly I joined forces with an Australian officer and his batman bound for the same destination as myself, and we took our seats on the rack-and-pinion railway that crosses the Lebanon to Damascus. To this day I have never heard my companion's name, but I derived from his company both of profit and of pleasure not a little; for he was the old soldier personified, having been fighting not only in the Great War from the beginning and in most of its theatres, but also right through the South African War, as well as any in which other nations may have been engaged between whiles. He had certainly fought for the Germans during a rebellion in German East, and taken a part in various South American episodes, as well as having lent his services, more or less indiscriminately, to the contending Balkan States. If I have mis-stated any of his campaigns, he will forgive me; but, at any rate, he was a genuine soldier of fortune, who, after fighting his way over most of the earth's surface, had just sheathed his sword and settled down in Australia, when he had to draw it again for "one fight more—the last and the best." Wherever he may be—back in his home, as I trust—I wish him well; for what he did not know about shifting for himself on a journey was not worth knowing; and his knowledge—as everything else that he had—was at a comrade's disposal.

It was truly a wonderful journey: starting from sea-level, amid the almost tropical verdure of innumerable gardens, we climbed up to 4,800 feet, whence amid the snow that crowned the higher peaks of Lebanon we could look down on Beyrouth seeming to rest on the intense blue of the Mediterranean like an emerald set in sapphires. But at the same time it became bitterly cold; and as my only coat had been stolen from the Hôtel d'Orient before we left, I think I should nearly have perished had not my resourceful friend produced a spare garment of sorts and a bottle of "*arak*."

At Damascus we had twenty-four hours to wait; so put up at the Victoria Hotel and set out to explore the town, interesting enough with all its associations as the oldest city in the East, its tortuous bazaars and its famous rivers, whose waters, not content with more ordinary courses, are visible through almost any of the numerous holes in the roadway; but almost more so in the motley crowds that thronged it—at all events in personnel I suppose the Street that is still called Straight has changed but little since the day when St. Paul lodged there. The Sherifian troops were particularly in evidence—very smartly and even gorgeously turned out—with their flowing headdresses and fine Arab ponies, adorned with plumes and otherwise gaily caparisoned: it was quite sad, from an artistic point of view, to see them on the barrack square learning to do right and left turn by numbers. Nearly every one (though whether connected with the Army or not, it was hard to

say) was simply bristling with arms like the stage bandit, and shots could occasionally be heard, as these weapons were discharged in a light-hearted sort of way. It is currently reported, and may well be true, that one bravo, seeing an R.A.M.C. sergeant in the street without a rifle, offered to supply what he regarded as a deficiency; and promptly did so by shooting the nearest passer by, who happened to be some one he did not like!

None the less, order, at all events by the time I was there, was well maintained in Damascus, and I spent an interesting morning in the bazaar, my chief purchase being a sheepskin jacket, such as most of the poorer people seemed to be wearing, as a precaution against the cold. The miscellaneous crowd seemed well disposed to an Englishman and assembled in great numbers to assist—for such I am sure was their intention—in making bargains. In any case they preferred the British to the Germans, and small wonder. A widow woman in whose house a British officer was billeted, told him that her husband had been a carpenter who, for a long time after the Germans came to the town, had been in the habit of going daily from his house to his work; but one morning he met a German officer in the street and, as he failed to get out of his path with sufficient alacrity, the German drew his sword and lopped off his head. Thus, not even in Damascus had the Hun succeeded in endearing himself to the population.

The remainder of our journey was again by train and took us, by slow and irregular stages, via Deraa round the east side of the Sea of Galilee and so to Haifa. The train would go ambling on for an hour or two and then stop, perhaps for the night; in which case we turned out, collected some wood to boil tea, and slept in our blankets by the track until the train should see fit to announce, by a series of rousing shrieks, its intention to go on again. But it was well worth while to travel slowly, if only that one might have a good look at the country, always historic and often beautiful; and on one occasion at least I was glad of a long wait. For at al Hammah, a sulphur spring comes boiling and bubbling out of the ground within a few hundred yards of the railway and forms a series of little lakes as it flows into the Jordan. So that we were able to choose the one of these that was of just the right temperature and bathe therein both ourselves and our clothes. It was interesting to see in all directions the remains of Roman Baths and to wonder how long it would be before people once again travelled long distances and paid large sums to take the cure at the Hydros of al Hammah.

Arrived at Haifa, I found that no orders had been yet received for me, and so was particularly fortunate in finding a friend who put me up, pending their arrival, in his billet, a comfortable and scrupulously clean house occupied by a respectable German family. Haifa, indeed, seemed quite like a corner of the Fatherland; and it was curious to see such pious sentiments as "God bless our home" inscribed in

German on most of the better class houses. After dinner that night our landlady's eldest child, a stolid and typical *Backfisch*, who spoke a little French, was persuaded to come into our sitting-room, and played and sang German songs for us. I could not help thinking how odd it was to find three British officers and a German girl, barely a week after the Armistice, singing the famous "Deutschland ueber alles" together at the top of their voices; and reflecting a little bitterly on the very different conduct which German officers have habitually shown when billeted in "Occupied Enemy Territory."

At last—and rather to my regret, for I was tired of journeying—orders arrived for me to report at Jenin, which meant retracing my steps for yet another two days; and when I arrived there, I confess that my first thoughts were of a possible leave to Cairo before embarking on my new duties; for my outfit included no thick clothing (the sheep-skin having been stolen at Haifa!) and very little thin; all that I had having accompanied me during our march of nearly 300 miles from Jaffa to Tripoli which began on September 19, since which date I had not been able to renew it. But the officials at Jenin, though they received me most kindly and fired my enthusiasm with a glowing account of my new work as assistant to the Military Governor at Beisan, none the less put from me all hopes of leave, partly by supplying from their own store the more outstanding of my deficiencies, and partly by telling me how urgently I was needed at Beisan; though quite how urgently I did not discover till I arrived there.

This I did the next day, mounted on an Arab pony and escorted by half a dozen Egyptian troopers; though for a twenty-five mile journey commend me neither to the horses nor to the saddles of the East! But the ride, if uncomfortable, did not lack interest, our road, where there was one, being liberally strewed with the wreckage left by the Turkish army in retreat, in every form from an aeroplane to broken wagons, and corpses both of men and horses—those of the former a witness not only to the efficiency of our bombing squadrons, but to the terrible vengeance taken by the Arabs for the outrages the Turks had perpetrated upon them; though when a beaten army is in flight, I doubt if the Arab needs any previous provocation to butcher its stragglers.

To my great pleasure I found on arrival that the Military Governor was none other than Captain Grieve of the Black Watch, whom I had known when he held similar office in Samarra. The unhappy man, temporarily and most inadequately housed in the station buildings, was at the moment confined to his bed with about his fourth attack of malaria during the month or so he had been in the place, and I spent the evening sitting by his bedside discussing Beisan, its peoples and its problems. As we talked immense mosquitoes filled the air with their high-pitched drone; and it was a sad story he had to tell me of the havoc wrought by them. Not only had he suffered continuously from

malaria ever since his arrival, but the whole town was rotten with it ; and I heard afterwards that every unit, whether British or Indian, that had halted there for any time during the September advance had had its ranks decimated through the same cause, the Ghurka detachment first posted there having had to be recalled when both its officers and half its men went sick. As far as I could see, this was sufficiently accounted for by the great quantity of water which found its way through the town by a hundred fortuitous channels from the uplands on our west to the Jordan on our east, and might easily be checked by a proper system of drainage.

Our district stretched very roughly from the Sea of Galilee in the north to a few miles beyond Beisan on the Nablus road on the south, and from the mountains of Gilboa on the west across the Jordan to those of Moab in the east : its inhabitants were clearly divided between the town and the country populations ; and its problems differed accordingly. In Beisan itself we had the usual elements of a Palestine village, with some semblance of organized life—the Mussulman population, much the largest, centred round a dilapidated mosque ; a few Jews with their synagogue, and fewer Christians, under a priest of the Greek Church, who held service in his own house. With his white beard and dignified robes he was rather an imposing old gentleman ; moreover, he was almost the only person with any education, being able to speak quite a little excruciating French. But being, if possible, a bigger scoundrel than his less talented fellow-citizens, we had to be careful to prevent his advantages giving him the appearance of undue influence with the Government. The town contained a very fair number of shops, which provided most of the necessaries of life to the inhabitants, chief among these being the opportunity to meet and gossip, while an open bazaar disposed of the country produce brought in every day on droves of small donkeys, or the merchandise that came down from Damascus on long strings of camels. Trade had already revived a good deal since Turkish days, and it might fairly be said that by this time most of the inhabitants of Beisan made their living by taking each other in.

In the town, then, our problem was primarily to develop those forces tending towards civilized life which were already latent if repressed. Trade had begun again, but we had to regulate the currency and control prices. There were the dry bones of municipal organization, and we had to bring their different elements together, clothe them with authority and power, and, hardest of all, infuse into them life and energy. Law Courts existed, but they had to be made impartial and efficient ; education had practically to be started, and sanitation entirely so, while the native officials and police, our chief executive, had to be taught that they were armed with the majesty of the law as a weapon to protect those who needed it and not to extort profit for themselves.

It cannot be said that we had the whole-hearted support of the population in these schemes ; but at the same time we had little active opposition. I think there is small doubt that Musulman, Jew, and Christian alike welcomed the British as successors to the Turk, and were glad enough of our protection from the despoiler and our encouragement of trade ; and if the extortioner resented interference on behalf of his victims, the victims were the more numerous. But when it came to reforms and innovations in municipal life, we found ourselves up against the dead weight of Oriental conservatism—an indifference and a resentment almost more difficult to combat and more destructive to progress than open hostility and opposition.

Outside the town the population was almost entirely Arab, our district including three large and distinct tribes of Bedouins, living in movable encampments, but so far settled as to possess the right to cultivate certain defined lands to which they were supposed to confine both their residence and their activities. This land formed one, and it should have been the chief, of their means of livelihood ; for it was extremely fertile, for which reason it had been seized some time back by the Turkish Sultan and made Crown property ; and while I was there we had numerous requests for grants from such different applicants as rich Jews from Beyrouth and Australian soldiers. But the local Bedouins preferred the sword to the ploughshare ; and while the townspeople swindled each other and the Arabs, the Arabs pillaged each other and the townspeople. At the moment they had unprecedented scope to indulge their passion for unlawful gain by converting to their own use the abandoned Turkish material which littered the countryside, to say nothing of the loot, and particularly the arms, which they had acquired from the miserable Turks whom they had cut off as they fled.

Unfortunately—for there is much that appeals to the Britisher about the Arab—it was the painful duty of Government officials to repress most of these tendencies ; murder could no longer be encouraged as a pastime, and Turkish Government property belonging now to the British Government must no longer be retained. This was a real grievance, for though captured guns and such motor cars as would run had been removed to Jenin, immeasurable loot still littered the roads waiting to be picked up ; arms and animals had not long been wanting owners ; but much else, from lorries to clothing, was still available with no one to gainsay him who felt himself entitled to it. And so our chief problems with the Arab were, negatively, to deprive him of his ill-gotten but highly prized loot, and, positively, to turn his attention to peaceful agriculture—tasks equally displeasing to the Arab and onerous to the Government. So that whereas the townspeople began by regarding us with indifference and a sort of negative resentment, the Arabs, who looked on agriculture as a necessary evil and on robbery and murder as the only vocation for a gentleman, regarded

with positive hostility those who strove to turn them, freebooters and free-lances by tradition and instinct, to the raising of tardy and uninspiring crops.

Our task was not rendered easier by the state of affairs that had existed under Turkish rule. Corruption and weakness had gone hand in hand, and the Arab, at all events, treated authority with the contempt it deserved. Much interesting information on this score came from an Armenian doctor, a nice, incompetent little fellow, who had been in medical charge of the district since the beginning of the war, and who gladly enough gave us the benefit of his services, which was slight, and of his experience, which was often valuable. He told us that the price of a man's life on the mile and a half of heath between the station where we lived and our offices in the town was 20 piastres (4 shillings); and how frequently this fee was earned was witnessed by the fact that during the last four years he had, in his professional capacity, investigated 1,500 cases of murder in the district! He added that, when reproached, the Arab Sheikhs used to swagger into the Turkish Governor's office and, banging their swords on his table, proclaim their defiance. But already we had changed all that, and by the time I arrived, the folk used to stand up in the market-place as we rode to office and the Sheikhs kissed our hands when they came, unarmed, into our presence. However, things were far from being settled: stray shots were constantly heard at night, and it was unsafe to go outside the town without an escort: we made a point of carrying no arms ourselves, at all events openly, though I am bound to confess that I kept a loaded revolver in my saddle holster always. But worst of all, the evil odour of Turkish methods clung to the very name of Government; so little, indeed, was thought of corruption, that a clerk whose scandalous conduct had caused him to be dismissed even by the Turks came before us and petitioned, with an air of injured innocence, to be reinstated in possession of the property which he had bought for himself out of embezzled public funds.

To meet this situation our personnel consisted of Captain Grieve and myself (I entirely inexperienced and he worn out with fever), and neither of us with more Arabic at our disposal than we had contrived to remember from Mesopotamia; Lieutenant Grant commanded our military forces, a company of Imperial Service infantry, excellent fellows under a fine old Baluch Subadar, and a squadron of Egyptian cavalry under a Bimbashi; we had also a small force of locally raised police—a most amiable crew of ruffians, still half in mufti and half in old Turkish or Austrian uniforms, armed to the teeth, and some of them mounted on little country ponies. I had real affection and respect for these men. We were not supposed to recruit from the Turkish Army, but I believe most of them had been in it; in any case they lived up to its best traditions, being brave, loyal, and very efficient in the execution of duties which were often both difficult and dangerous—and they were

moreover, cheery souls to deal with. In the office we had as both clerks and interpreters two raw Jewish youths from Jaffa ; the Courts of Justice were presided over by a native Qazi, who was the sole authority on native law, both civil and religious, as apart from British law which we administered ourselves ; a Turkish official called the *ma'mur el amlak*, dealt with problems arising in connection with land ; and a *reis belediyah*, or Town Clerk, concerted with the Armenian doctor to promote the well-being of the town. These officials, together with ourselves, representatives of the three religious communities, and the elected headmen of the outlying villages, formed the Municipal Council, and dealt with matters affecting the urban population, while rural problems came before us in council with the eight Sheikhs of the district.

Our laws and constitution were delightfully simple. We had a growing file of instructions from Jerusalem which decided any case with which they dealt. But in the vast majority of cases the principle laid down for us was to uphold existing law and institutions, except where definitely contrary to British justice.

Such were the problems of government at Beisan and such the machinery with which we had to deal with them. Accordingly the first thing we did when Grieve was once more able to leave his bed was to summon the Council of Sheikhs, in order that we might arrive at a clearer understanding of what we expected from them and what they might expect from us in the event of transgression. They presented a most striking appearance as they entered the doorway and advanced one by one to kiss our hands before being bidden to sit, replying with the invariable formula of "Praise be to Allah" to our enquiries after their health ; the coffee and cigarettes of ceremony were then produced, and we had time to notice the dignity and natural grace of their manners and bearing as they drank and smoked. Every now and then one caught a malignant glance from the single and shifty eye of old Deeb ("the wolf"), Sheikh of the Ghazzawiyah, a sworn foe to law and order—and indeed to everything and everybody except his own tribe—and a great thorn in the flesh of Governors, whether Turkish or British. But that did not prevent one from admiring his exquisite hands, with their long tapering fingers and carefully kept, filbert nails. Most of them looked, and all of them were by our standards, scoundrels, but they were none the less men for that ; and their fine, aristocratic features, as well as the glance of their dark and brilliant eyes, seemed to mark them out as too good to end their days as mere pillagers, or, as far as that was concerned, mere farmers either.

The introductory remarks having exhausted our store of Arabic, the interpreter was called in and we settled down to business, beginning with the matter which we felt, perhaps from selfish prejudice, to be the most important—the security of our own lives. Grieve did the

talking, and, as I thought, did it remarkably well, contriving so to dominate the interpreter as to draw to himself the gaze and the attention of his listeners. After a few introductory remarks and a short disquisition on the sacrosanctity of all things under British protection, he rose from his seat and conducted old Deeb, scowling and reluctant, to a window looking out over the mountains of Gilboa, towards which the sun was then declining. "Do you see those hills, honoured Sheikh? Do you believe that the sun will set behind them tonight? Then be it known to you all, honoured Sheikhs"—and here he turned to the others—"that if hurt befall so much as the hair on the head of the least of our King's servants, even so surely shall there fall on your heads," etc., and he finished by outlining what they would in such circumstances have to expect beyond either delay or doubt.

This melancholy topic being dismissed—did I detect a gloomier look in the dark eyes?—he passed on to the question of Government property, defined it, and added that he was well aware how much of it they still retained (faint murmurs of dissent). They should be given a week to surrender it—a thousand rifles, so many sheep, mules, etc. After that day—and here followed another brief exposition of the alternative. Then in more general terms he proceeded to outline Government policy towards them—each tribe was to be held responsible for every offence committed against the Government on territory in the occupation of that tribe; and he showed how greatly in their interest it was to prevent such offences. Finally, to end on a more cheerful note, he briefly explained how that we neither wished nor expected to have to use severity towards them; that the Government was there to help them; and, to put it shortly, that they were jolly good fellows and we loved them dearly. At all events later I think they came to believe the last part of the speech not less than the first. But for the moment, we bade them go in peace; and gathering their dark cloaks about them, they rose with impassive faces, kissed our hands, and went out one by one.

But there remained one matter that could not so easily be dismissed. Shortly before, shots had been fired by night at a troop train passing through the territory of the Bashattwi—unfortunately by far the most peaceable and best disposed tribe in the district, and presided over by a particularly amiable young Sheikh called Bakkar, whose frank, boyish manners were alone sufficient to commend him, and with whom we subsequently became great friends. But there was nothing for it: the case was carefully investigated; his responsibility, if not his guilt, firmly established; and we received orders to fine the tribe £200. Accordingly a notice was served on him, and a date was fixed by which the money must be paid: failing payment, he would be arrested forthwith. Two days before the last day for payment, he entered my office; and after

the usual salutations and coffee drinking, he produced a bag and said that he had come to lay before me all he could raise—£150. I expressed my regret that he must still find another £50. He protested that he had been to every tent in the tribe and extracted the last piastre. I expressed further regret, but advised him to have another try. So he went away, and came back next day, this time offering £170, assuring me that it represented the last coin or note in the tribe, and begging me to remit the remainder. I deeply sympathized, but reminded him that I was myself under orders in the matter and could do nothing, adding that I was sure his people would not see him put in jail on the morrow for the matter of a paltry £30. So he again went away, and returned early next morning with the information, that by parting with all that he had not yet sold he had brought the total up to £190. He could do no more; the law must take its course. So I took a pen, and before his eyes wrote the order for his arrest, called in a gendarme and ordered him to ride forth to the Bashattwi and serve it at the tent of the Sheikh. Then turning to Bakkar I drew his attention to what I had so reluctantly been compelled to do; but was he not better mounted than the gendarme? Let him then arrive first at his tent and meet the summons with the £200. So once more he went away exceeding sorrowful; and I was sorry too, for I really began to think that this was more than bluff. So it was a real pleasure when he came in again later in the morning and laid £200 on my office desk. His must indeed have been a noble mare, had she carried him to and from his village in the interval, but perhaps he had foreseen the necessity and spared her the journey! One more detail of the incident calls for record. The sum was in the gold and notes of several countries, including more British sovereigns than I had seen for years; and among the other coins which he tried to pass off on me as such was a French 20-franc piece in perfect preservation, bearing the date 1810 and the head of Napoleon the Great. It is still in my possession, and serves to remind me of yet another European administration of Palestine.

As a matter of fact there was any amount of money in the district, and one was often surprised to find it in the possession of those whom one would have supposed from their appearance to have been the poorest of the people. I remember one ragged rascal who was brought up before me, charged with being in unlawful possession of Government property—to wit, a goat. His offence and very aggravating circumstances having been proved, I decided that he had better meditate upon his sin for a season in the jail, so condemned him to one month's imprisonment with option of a fine of £5, whereupon he somewhat disconcerted me by laying five sovereigns upon the table! Incidentally his defence was rather *naïf*: it appeared that in addition to being in possession of a goat, clearly marked with a Government brand, he had killed and eaten a sheep similarly distinguished, despite unofficial warnings that he had better surrender them. He admitted the sub-

stance of the charge; but stated that he had found these poor beasts left to die by the cruel Government upon the roadside. Being a merciful man, he had taken them to his house and nursed them back to life. But the sheep, alas! fell sick and was like to die, so, lest it should perish unprofitably, he cut its throat like a good Musulman and ate it. The goat, when he thought it fat enough, he had always intended to return to Government!

The payment of their fine by the Bashattwi tribe gave me a much desired opportunity of visiting their encampment. To show that there was no ill-feeling, at all events on my part, and on the day fixed, I rode out on one of the Egyptian cavalry ponies, accompanied by the interpreter, the sergeant of gendarmes to show the way, and an escort of two Egyptian troopers. The road took us towards the north, with the valley of Jezreel on our right and Jordan on our left; in front of us behind the lake we could see the fine snow-capped summit of Mount Hermon (the Arabs call it the *Jebel el Thelj*—the snow mountain), while the view to our left front was blocked by the hills of Nazareth. But it was not only the country which was Biblical: the people might have stepped straight out of the New Testament. By the shores of Tiberias one could see the apostles mending their nets and, in the fields, the ox "unequally yoked together" with the ass like the Christian in St. Paul's epistles: on one occasion I think I actually saw a woman and a mule drawing the plough together. As we went on our way, I saw a group of three coming round a bend in the road which revived memories I could not at first define. On they came, a man riding on a donkey, and walking beside him a mother carrying a child; and then I remembered the picture that hung in my home in England—Doré's "Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt." Only in this picture, being in the East, it was the man who rode and the mother and child who walked: one could not but wonder which picture was the truer.

A mile or two from the Bashattwi's encampment, the Sheikh's uncle met us with some of his followers to conduct us to his tribe. Others joined our procession, until we had quite a following as we entered a narrow gorge filled with the long black tents. Children and dogs set up a tremendous clamour as we unsaddled our horses and advanced to the big tent of audience whence young Bakkar advanced to meet us. His dignified but cordial greeting made it hard to remember the last time I saw him, and I was glad to see that a good number of camels and horses were still left to him. He was handsomely dressed in a dark cloak over his white robes, his flowing headdress bound with a double cord of gold, and over his shoulder the thick crimson girdle adorned with large tassels which supported his ancestral sword. This was a superb weapon—a long and heavy scimitar with the curiously small Oriental hilt, which would cramp any Western hand but a woman's; its scabbard was entirely covered with beaten silver, and its blade, from hilt to point, exquisitely inlaid with texts from the Koran

in damascened gold. I coveted it inexpressibly—and dared not even show too lively an appreciation.

The tent itself—as far as I could see a large edition of all the others—was made of camel's hair coarsely woven, reminding one in appearance of a dark Donegal tweed ; it was open on one side, with a fantastic contrivance of ropes and pulleys, such as Heath-Robinson might draw, whereby a second fly was adapted to the course of the sun, and was divided by a simple curtain behind which the women and children proclaimed their presence. In the man's part cushions were arranged round two sides, and on these I was invited to sit, while the elders of the tribe were presented to me. At the other end of the tent preparations were at once made for coffee : the nuts were first ground in a curious mortar of dark, carved wood with a waist in it, which the coffee-maker held between his knees, beating a rhythmical tattoo on its sides with the pestle as he pounded. The coffee was boiled over a fire inside the tent, and served in a quaint brass pot, with long downward curving spout, from which it was poured into quite nice little china cups.

This served to pass the time until there appeared the midday meal, whose advent had been heralded long since by appetizing odours from behind the curtain. It consisted of an immense pile of beautifully cooked rice on a circular brass dish, and three smaller but similar dishes bearing meat cooked in different styles, garnished with eggs and various odd but pleasant spices, though the whole was rather spoiled by a too copious use of olive oil. There was also a great pile of fine white chapatties, of pieces of which one could make a scoop to convey the food to one's mouth. I flattered myself that practice in India had made me rather an adept at this, and so was particularly annoyed when the interpreter, doubtless with a view of showing my superiority, and, by inference, his own, insisted that a spoon and fork be produced for me. I noticed that the oldest man of the tribe first dipped into the dishes, which were then offered to me, next to the Sheikh, and last to the company in general. I suppose that the aged man was a polite guarantee of their intention not to poison me, combined with economy in case of accident. Tea was produced after the meal, drunk without milk and most curiously flavoured with what looked to me like the dried pods of some flower, which gave it the scent and flavour of oranges. While cigarettes were being consumed, I made a sort of after-dinner speech, beginning with my gratitude for the entertainment, and expressing my great personal friendliness to them all ; then, after a tactful reference to the regrettable incident now closed, assuring them of the goodwill of Government, and finally asking for any suggestion as to how we could serve the tribe. I confess I was a little taken aback when the Sheikh's uncle replied by asking that they be given certain of the lands of a neighbouring tribe which they coveted !

Bakkar now suggested our riding over to visit another tribe about

ten miles off, doubtless with a view of impressing upon them the prior importance which Government attached to his own tribe. So the whole cavalcade set off at what looked like being literally a breakneck speed over the steep and rock-strewn hillside. Every now and then we paused for a display of horsemanship, and I have seldom seen riders with a more graceful seat or more perfect control over their horses, though I hated to see them spurring their willing beasts with the sharp corners of their large oblong stirrup irons, as they galloped in and out with fearful yells, waving their swords, and with their long robes streaming behind them. Arrived on the level and stoneless valley of the Jordan we had some races (which the comparative freshness of my charger enabled me to win), and played a most exciting game of touch on horseback: one man would gallop after another and touch him with his sword or whip and then gallop off again calling out *Taala hona* ("Come here"), which gave some colour to the theory that the hunting cry of "Tally-ho!" accompanied the Crusaders from Palestine.

This brought us to the encampment of the other tribe, upon which we swooped down at full gallop and with blood-curdling yells. In the intervals I could hear a shrill wailing sound coming from the women-folk in the tents, which I supposed to be an expression of their very natural alarm. But I was told that, on the contrary, it was a sign of joyous welcome to the village! Here we had an almost exact repetition of the scene in the Bashattwi's encampment; but feeling myself quite incapable of devouring another such meal, I made my adieus and left, accompanied by representatives of both tribes for some miles on our way back to Beisan, which we reached, a cavalcade of rather weary men and horses; though I felt that the journey had not been ill-made, if only as a diplomatic mission.

Our relations with the Arabs of the district having been thus adjusted, the next thing was to call a meeting of the Municipal Council. There was some humour in sitting down to discuss education and sanitation with that dirty and villainous-looking crew, of whom few, I suppose, could sign their own names, and still fewer ever took a bath. The outlook was not encouraging. The schoolroom was so filthy and dilapidated as hardly to admit of restoration; there were practically no books, and no teacher save the Greek priest; while the local problems of sectarianism would have puzzled the framers of a British Education Bill. And yet we had orders to start primary and secondary schools, and an infant school as well; to arrange a detailed schedule of subjects, and to compile a complicated estimate of the cost of repairs to buildings, of desks, books, teachers' salaries, etc., as well as to compute the number of probable scholars.

Still gloomier was the outlook for sanitation, though the need for it was even more pressing. Indescribable odours assailed one's nose as

one walked the streets ; nor was the cause far to seek. Most people merely emptied their refuse into the streets or the streams that flowed through them ; others, more refined, preferred to use their own courtyards, while a few really enlightened families kept one of their cellars exclusively for the purpose. The result was filth, breeding smells, flies, and disease everywhere. It was sad to enter a courtyard and see refuse in every corner, the middle only being kept clear where the carved capital of some old stone pillar was used for a grinding-stone. One found these and other relics of Græco-Roman civilization in nearly every house. In that occupied by the Municipal Offices there were several inscriptions, and a few busts of rather inferior style and workmanship, while a little outside the town one could trace the site of an amphitheatre. But it was long since civilization looked her last on Beisan, and the town was now one vast muck-heap.

To clean these Augean stables would need a Hercules indeed ; but something must be done, and done quickly, if only for our own sakes. Accordingly we informed the reluctant councillors that they must employ a municipal scavenger ; the generous Government would provide him with a Government mule and a cart. Then every house must be provided with two petrol tins as soon as they could be collected from the countryside, into which they must put their refuse. The scavenger would call once a day at every house, collect the said refuse, take it to the communal incinerator, which must be constructed on a spot approved, and there burn it. The scheme sounds primitive to Western ears, and sadly deficient as we well knew ; but it was still far indeed from accomplishment. The municipality, after raising every possible and impossible form of objection, finally took refuge in passive resistance. Accordingly ultimatums had to be issued for the accomplishment of each separate item of our programme ; and one can only say that some of them, under close personal supervision, were finally carried out. At all events, the thick green smoke of the incinerator rose daily to heaven as of a peace offering made on the altar of Eastern conservatism to the gods of Western prejudice—I hope they liked its sweet savour.

Until we had put into approximately running order some of the institutions which I have been describing, it will be readily understood that we had little time to spare on attention to our own quarters. The three of us—that is, Grieve, Grant, and myself—lived in three rooms above the station, which served, so long as it did not rain, to protect us from the weather, and that is about all. The bottom storey was occupied by the station staff, and a large lean-to, which gave forth an unutterable aroma, was found to contain immense heaps of mildewed grain and a collection of ancient hides. In the circumstances we were particularly anxious to move into the Palace Hotel which, if not quite living up to its name, was yet a large building in the town itself, distant from the station about one and a half miles, and already used

by us in part for offices. However, we could not possibly go there until the interior of the rooms had been thoroughly cleaned and white-washed, and the courtyard freed from the mingled refuse and carcasses for which the Oriental seems to regard courtyards as especially designed by Providence, if not actually by architects. Meanwhile we made shift in the station. We had no cook, but Grieve's batman was a Mons man, and knew how to shift for himself and us, while the two Pathan orderlies made very passable *khitmatgars*. Our sanitary work (which no Indian soldier, of course, would touch) was done by Egyptians.

One great day, however, we moved in, with the assistance of a box Ford which had by this time been added to our *ménage*, and the clean whitewashed walls and tiled floors seemed like home itself after our previous cramped and dirty quarters. Our orderlies had affixed to the walls any weapons they could lay their hands on; and an evil moment having disclosed to Dilbar—where, I cannot think!—some *serpentins* of coloured paper, he had adorned our rooms with festoons more fantastic than, to our eyes, beautiful. However, our first dinner at the Palace Hotel, Beisan, was a very cheerful one. We felt that we had made a real start on the problems of the district; Grieve had had no fever for at least three days, and here we were in nice clean quarters at last—everything in the garden lovely!

But the disillusionment of the morning after was more than usually bitter. Grieve woke with a return of fever, and worse, far worse, on the top of his mosquito-net were seen about a dozen large bugs! The mere sight of them routed us utterly. We fled before them in confusion to the station, and would fain have gone back to the discomfort of our old quarters there. But that very day urgently needed additions to the station staff had arrived, making it impossible for us to occupy more than two of our previous three rooms. So I put Grieve to bed in one of them, and started to send off piteous wires in all directions. These bore fruit next day in the arrival of a British doctor from Nazareth, who started condemning everything and everybody as insanitary; we must immediately abandon the town and live in tents (incidentally we had no tents); the clothes of all troops must be disinfected once weekly (we had no disinfectant); all inhabitants must be compelled to take a bath once a week (there was not a bath in Beisan); and so on and so forth. He finally went away, taking with him Grieve, and worse still, his batman, our cook; our car went with them to carry his effects; and the driver, finding himself in a spot comparatively so pleasant as Haifa, wisely took the opportunity to go sick there as well, leaving the car to await his recovery. That night a telephone message from headquarters bade me carry on by myself for the present.

This I was, in a sense, only too glad to have the chance to do, though I could have wished for happier circumstances in which to make the experiment. For quite apart from the problems of the district,

that of how to live in it was now a fairly engrossing one. We had no cook, and, having no car, could get little in the way of stores. Rations were very scanty and irregular in arrival, but these, supplemented with eggs from the town, constituted our sole sustenance, slightly altered in appearance—I cannot say cooked—by the well-meaning, but primitive Pathans, Dilbar and Isa Khan. But a morning or two afterwards they returned empty handed from the market-place, saying that the people would no longer sell their eggs at the controlled rate, as they were sending them to Haifa, where the presence of a considerable British force had sent up prices above those fixed by their own municipal authorities for the Beisan market. But I felt that this was beyond a joke, and, taking as precedent the unmuzzled ox, I sent to cater for us a gendarme, who started out with a fixed sum in his pocket, a fixed bayonet on his rifle, and orders to bring back a fixed total of eggs.

But fate had worse things in store for us; and I in my turn was smitten with a fever of unusual severity. For some days I did my best to run the district from my bedside—and on the evening of the first, the long expected rain came upon us in torrents. We were now reduced to a positively comic state of discomfort. The rain poured through the roof till we were hard put to it to find positions in which our heads—let alone the rest of us—were not directly under a cascade; and families of rats, flooded out like ourselves, combined with the voices of innumerable rejoicing frogs to make night tuneful. At last, the defects of our cuisine combined with other minor troubles to revive the dysentery which I had brought from Mesopotamia. I shall not soon forget the kindness of Grant in the midst of these difficulties—there was nothing that he was not ready to do for me, and almost nothing that he did not have to do, from practically running the district to performing menial tasks which were beneath the dignity of a Pathan or the capacity of an Egyptian.

At the end of five days I followed Grieve to hospital and a month or two saw us both on our way to England in the same ship. Any one who should pretend to regret circumstances which, however otherwise lamentable, gave him leave to his home which he had not seen for four years, and did not expect to see for another four, may be written down a hypocrite at once. None the less, Grieve and I, in the intervals of thinking of the joys of leave, regretted Beisan not a little. As long as we were fit, the life was singularly congenial; the work was interesting and important; and, above all, we had practically a free hand. Moreover, we believed in the place: the fever could be overcome as it had been in the vale of Sharon by drainage and sanitation, and the prejudice against these and other activities of Government by proving to the people that British rule pays. And so it was with a genuine regret that we heard of the final abandonment of the district as a residence for a white man; though I doubt not that the Municipal Council heaved a sigh of relief, and that grass now grows upon the incinerator.

TRANSPORT ROUTES IN PERSIA

PRESENT CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

By A. S. SVENTITSKI

(Translated from the "Novi Rostok")

I.

GREAT changes have been introduced in the Persian transport routes within the last twenty-five years, and these changes have had an even more marked effect on the direction of the routes over which the bulk of the trade is now carried; the cause of this lies not only in political and economic conditions, but the development of means of transport in neighbouring countries, the railway systems of India, Turkey, and Russia are not only in proximity to the Persian frontier, but have penetrated into the country, and this fact has led to the repair of old and the construction of new lines in Persia. Motor transport, which was introduced a little later, appears to be superseding the schemes for the construction of railways, and camel caravans are being replaced by the "Ford" and "Benz"; and air lines connecting the main centres of the country (Tehran, Bushire, India) followed on their heels.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Persia was mainly a land of pack transport; the type of goods—both imported and exported—and their destination were the main factors in determining the routes used. Persian trade with Russia was much more extensive than with any other country, and the most populated and wealthy trade centres of Northern Persia were dependent on the exchange of goods across the Russo-Persian frontier. These areas, with a population of $7\frac{1}{2}$ million, great natural wealth, and geographical proximity to Russia, were almost monopolized by Russian trade. The geographical proximity was intensified by the shortness, cheapness, and comparative facilities of the northern routes.

The routes leading into Northern and Central Persia from the South were considerably longer, more expensive, and more difficult. This circumstance, together with the well-known agreement of 1907 relating to the "spheres of influence," created favourable conditions for Russian monopoly on the markets of Northern and Central Persia. The routes for pack animals from Trebizond to Tabriz (about 1,000 versts and sometimes occupying sixty-five days); from the frontier of Indian Baluchistan to Meshed (over 1,000 versts); the waterway from Mohammerah to Baghdad—or to Akhvaza by water and then either by

pack animals to Khaniken to Kirmanshah to Tehran, or by the "Bakhtiar" path to Isfahan and to Tehran—and the route for pack animals from Bushire across the chain of southern mountains to Isfahan to Tehran (over 1,100 versts) were all excessively long and in parts extremely difficult to traverse.

From 1901-02 to 1913-14 the total of Russian goods imported into Persia rose from 20 million roubles to 64 million, and the total of Persian goods exported from 16 to 54 million; in 1901 imports of Russian goods into Persia constituted 38 per cent. of all Persian imports, and exports of Persian goods Russia 58.7 per cent. of all Persian exports; in 1912-13 the figures rose to 58 per cent. and 69 per cent. respectively.

"The success was brilliant," remarked an author, "but it rested on an unstable foundation—the absence of roads and the great distances of the ports (at which the goods of foreign countries were delivered)—from the central provinces."*

Referring to the struggle between Russia and "other countries" for the Persian markets, it is only necessary to speak of Russia and England (together with India), for between 1901 to 1913 these two countries were responsible for 80 to 88 per cent. of Persian imports and 68 to 82 per cent. of Persian exports. The nature of trade between the two competitors was widely different; England was primarily interested in exporting goods into Persia and took little interest in Persian raw material. The balance of Anglo-Persian trade was, therefore, practically "passive" for Persia, and England was merely anxious to import silver currency, draining the resources of the country to the utmost (prohibitions of the Persian Government to export currency were of little avail).

The balance of trade with Russia, on the contrary, was almost continually "active" for Persia; England imported more into Persia than she exported; this may partly be explained by the fact that the greater part of Persian export goods belong to a cheap, but bulky kind, which could not stand the transport by pack animals over long distances. England, therefore, only purchased expensive, easily transportable goods: opium, gum, pistachio-nuts, almonds, dates, oil, and pearls (from the south of Persia). The principal articles of British import were: cotton goods, tea, silver (in bars), cotton, and sugar. These five commodities constituted about 70 per cent. of British imports into Persia during 1913-14.

Before the war of 1914, the improvement of Persian transport routes was very gradual; some of the most primitive routes were "improved" and first-class roads were constructed in certain localities.

* P.A.T., "Railways in Persia and the Great India Route." M., 1912.

In 1915, however, the following reports on the condition of Persian roads could be read: "The road, known as a first-class road (Astara to Ardebil) is in a deplorable condition . . . unfit for vehicular traffic."*

"The first-class road Enzeli to Tehran . . . is in a state of perpetual disrepair . . . as a road for vehicular traffic it is very primitive . . . in truth it is a gigantic ditch full of mud."†

In his book on Persia, Rhuma writes:‡ "The roads for vehicular traffic are merely tracks, metalled in places, difficult for wheels . . . wide ditches (often without the most primitive bridges across them) intersect the roads. . . ."

Roads in Northern Persia were, with few exceptions, constructed by Russians; those in Southern Persia by British.

The following are the main roads leading from our frontiers into Persia: Djulfa to Tabriz—first-class road; the French and the Russians participated in the construction of a railway line, parallel to this road from Djulfa to Tabriz, with a branch to the Urmia Lake (191 versts, 140 to Tabriz). The railway was opened in February, 1917, with a rolling stock of thirty locomotives and over 400 goods-trucks. The carrying capacity of the railway was estimated at 6 million poods. It suffered heavily during the war, was seized by the Turks, who abandoned it with three old locomotives and about seventy trucks, and it has remained in this deplorable condition up till the present. For a long time it was unrepaired, trains were run only twice a week, and the tariff was so high that the pack and motor transport routes, which ran parallel to it, were able to compete.§ In 1925 the position of the railway was somewhat improved by the despatch of four locomotives and sixty trucks from the U.S.S.R.

By the agreement of 1921 the U.S.S.R. gave up its rights on the railway to Persia.

The road from Djulfa to Tabriz and further to the Urmia Lake (in pre-war days shipping was conducted on the lake, the carrying capacity of the flotilla being about 60,000 poods) is of vital importance to the trade of the U.S.S.R. and Persia; it is at present the only link between our railway lines and Persia—*i.e.*, its most populated and rich centre (Azerbaijan), which is not only a large consuming but the chief producing centre of Persian high-class dried fruit (Maragin, Sabza). Communication between the U.S.S.R. and Azerbaijan will be greatly facilitated by the opening of the railway Baku to Alyat to Bermanli to Djulfa, which is already partially constructed. (The railway

* Consular report from Ardebil, end of 1915.

† *Novoye Vremya* of March 30, 1915.

‡ "Sabotsinsk, Persia," 1912.

§ The tariff of the railway at the present time is considerably higher than the normal 2½ cranes per pood, while that of the high road is only 1 crane = 20 san.

journey from Djulfa to Baku will then be 388 versts, instead of the 945 versts today.)

Trade between Azerbaijan and the U.S.S.R. is not only due to the comparative shortness and convenience of routes but to the fact that the U.S.S.R. is the chief consumer of dried fruit—the main wealth of the province. Owing to the present-day technical means of drying and cleaning, Persian fruits cannot compete with Turkish, Australian, and South African products (raisins) on the European markets; only almonds and pistachio-nuts are exported to countries other than the U.S.S.R. For Azerbaijan goods the transit route to the U.S.S.R. is the shortest and, owing to the present-day reduction of the cost of loading and unloading operations via Batum, will no doubt soon also be the cheapest.

Though the import of goods from the U.S.S.R. into Azerbaijan exceeds that from other countries, foreign products may, nevertheless, be found on the Azerbaijan market, owing chiefly to the unsatisfactory condition of the northern transport routes and the high cost price of our goods (this enables foreign goods coming from the South to compete with ours).

The second route used for the import of our goods into Persia is: Baku to Pahlevi by sea and thence to Tehran via Kazvin along the first-class road (382 versts), a former Russian concession handed over to Persia in accordance with the agreement of 1921. This route is used primarily for goods destined for the interior of the country.

The transport is effected by camels, carts, and motors, a special Soviet Motor Company "Autoiran" running on the route. A first-class road runs from Kazvin to Hamadan.

Pahlevi is the largest port on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea (former Russian concession, handed over to Persia in 1921). Pahlevi (formerly Enzeli) has a moderately well-equipped pier, but unfortunately also a bar and narrow entrance, which necessitates the reloading of goods on to "Kirdjims" (type of sloop), etc. In bad weather ships cannot come into the harbour and are obliged to anchor in the roadstead or seek shelter in other ports; the landing-stages have not been repaired for many years, and the Customs warehouses are too small to house the quantity of goods arriving at the port at the present day.

Astara, Meshedisser, and Bendar-i-Gaz (with a natural but inadequately equipped harbour) should be mentioned as other ports on the Caspian Sea.

The traffic of the Caspian ports is as follows: 1913-14—3,658 vessels, including 1,907 steamships, total tonnage 798,000 tons; 1924-25—2,928 vessels, including 888 steamships, total tonnage 462,000 tons.

The quantities transported in 1924-25 were as follows: 108,000 tons exported from Persia and 81,000 tons imported. (It is interesting to compare data referring to the Mercantile Service in the Persian Gulf:

in 1924-25—10,118 vessels, including 1,832 steamships, total tonnage 6,240,000 tons, were carrying trade.) Routes connecting Bender-i-Gaz and Meshedisser with Tehran are frequently merely tracks, only fit for pack animals.

The district of Gilan is the principal producer of rice: almost 100 per cent. of its surplus was exported to Russia via Enzeli (up to 40 million poods). Enzeli also served as the export port for other goods—carpets, fruit, gum, cotton, etc.—sent to Russia from the Central and Coastal Persian provinces. Bender-i-Gaz and Meshedisser were principally used for the export of cotton from the Mazandaran and Astrabad provinces.

The following three routes connect Turkmenistan with Khorasan. Routes from two stations on the Trans-Caspian Railway lead to Meshed, one from Poltoratsk to Haudan to Meshed (294 kilometres), the other from Dushak to Meshed (185 kilometres); the third route leads from Artik to Kuchan to Meshed. The first two are the most convenient, the route from Poltoratsk to Haudan to Kuchan to Meshed is suitable for vehicular traffic. A plan to organize regular motor transport—and also construct a railway to the Persian frontier—has been proposed, but not so far executed. The Khorasan province is thus connected by comparatively short routes with the U.S.S.R. and the Trans-Caspian Railway. The construction of a branch line to the Persian frontier and the improvement of routes running over Persian territory to Meshed would greatly improve the transport conditions of the province.

Poltoratsk and Dushak were the centres through which the Russian goods (which had no competitors in pre-war days) passed via Meshed into the interior of Persia and Persian goods (wool, carpets, cotton, leather, hides, morocco-leather, etc.) passed into Russia.

The transit of European goods into Persia via Russia ceased from 1883 at the instigation of Russian commercial circles; these goods, destined for Central and Northern Persia, were therefore, transported along long and bad roads, often only suited for pack animals, leading from the South, from the Persian Gulf, and from the North (through Turkish territory); among these routes the following should be mentioned: caravan routes from Bushire to Isfahan to Tehran, from Bander Abbas to Khorasan, from Trebizond to Erzerum and on to Tabriz. By degrees changes in the transport conditions of Persia were effected: the route from Trebizond to Tabriz, in its Turkish section, was paved; the Baghdad railway, which approached the Persian frontier near Khaniken (Kasr-i-Shirin) and formed a new transport route, was built; the network of Indian railways passed by the Persian frontier near Mirjawa and penetrated into the country for a distance of fifty versts to Duzdab (goods were soon transported along this route to and from Khorasan).

The condition of the Baghdad railway—the southern section of which was handed over to the British as one of the results of the Great

War—was greatly improved as a result of its employment for the Persian market. It is essential to note that while the routes leading into Persia from the South were continually being improved, those leading from Central and Northern Persia to the Russian frontiers were not developed any further or, more often, fell into disrepair.

The war and the post-war period caused great changes in the foreign goods exchange of Persia and seriously affected the economic condition of the country. Trade with Russia fell, and by 1917 was practically non-existent. The cost of goods imported along the long and expensive southern routes rose enormously; raw material, formerly sold to Russia, became a dead loss to the country, the harvests rotted, the cultivation of cotton declined, fruit and mulberry trees were used for firewood, and trade in general faced a serious crisis. Bad harvests and famine completed the distress of the country.

Owing to the rise of prices of imported goods and the fall of prices of exported raw material the volume of trade was greatly reduced. Russia's place was taken by other countries, principally by England. The nature and scale of Persian trade with these two countries at the beginning of the World War is seen from the following figures (in millions of krans).*

YEAR.	RUSSIA.		ENGLAND.		OTHER COUNTRIES.	
	<i>Import.</i>	<i>Export.</i>	<i>Import.</i>	<i>Export.</i>	<i>Import.</i>	<i>Export.</i>
1913-14 ...	355	302	177	57	647	437
1914-15 ...	280	262	148	62	489	362
1917-18 ...	107	162	313	42	468	222
1920-21 ...	20	8	325	58	481	137
1921-22 ...	41	26	402	56	609	179
1922-23 ...	73	62	419	104	619	305
1923-24 ...	105	118†	437	86	681	385
1924-25 ...	125	194†	445	86	771	485

The table shows us a considerable decline in trade with Russia—which reached its lowest point in 1920-21—and an increase in that with England. In 1913-14, trade with Russia constituted 55 per cent. of all Persian imports and 66·2 per cent. of exports; in 1924-25, 16·2 per cent. imports and 40 per cent. exports. In 1913-14, trade with England constituted 27 per cent. of exports and 12·5 per cent. imports;

* The data referring to the export of Persian goods have been given by us, with the exception of South-Persian oil products, the export of which—being British—merely introduces confusion.

† Excepting opium—incorrectly included in the Customs reports—which was exported to China. A kran is approximately equal to 15·5 cop.

in 1924-25, 57·7 per cent. imports and 17·7 per cent. exports.* It is interesting to note that though the import of British goods during the years 1923-24 to 1924-25 was relatively low, in actual figures it continued to increase.

England has lately developed an interest towards Persian raw materials—wool, cotton, etc.—the export of which has increased. Having replaced Russia as a producer, England could not replace Russia as a consumer, and in this respect the markets of Northern Persia remain dependent on the requirements of Russia (now the U.S.S.R.) for rice, morocco leather, oranges, lemons, cotton, wool, etc.

The transport routes of Persia changed greatly during the war and post-war periods. Their improvement was necessitated by attempts to alleviate the difficult conditions of the market (both as a producer and consumer), and partly by the desire of England to improve the transport conditions for the purpose of obtaining supremacy on the market.

We see that the scheme of roads—which may be likened to a hand, with Central Persia as the palm, and the five transport routes leading from Europe into Persia as the fingers—provides for their construction towards Tehran, the centre of the country.

The railway from Karachi, on the Indian Ocean, via Quetta and Nushki, not only approaches the frontiers of Persia and Indian Baluchistan at Mirjawa, but penetrates into the interior of Persia to Duzdab. Notices in the Press state that this section has been handed over by England to the Persian Government on lease . . . ; other notices refer to it as purchased by Persia. A first-class road, suited to motor traffic, runs from Duzdab to Meshed.

The southern routes are being cleared of brigands, and the rate of insurance is rapidly falling. With a view to encouraging Persian trade, England is reducing the railway tariff to a minimum on the section Duzdab to Karachi (about 1,460 versts), and is refunding to Persian merchants—who travel to India with goods—the cost of their travelling expenses.

The duration of the journey from Duzdab to Meshed and the cost of transport of goods vary considerably. During the period from June 1, 1925, to December 1, 1926, freight varied between 10 to 27·5 krs. per pood on the route from Duzdab to Meshed, and from 7 to 15 krs. on the route from Meshed to Duzdab (export). The duration of the journey is shortest in winter (fifty to fifty-one days) and longest in summer (up to seventy-five days).

The fluctuations of the "import" freight are considerable, and

* The percentages here given do not include the export of oil products from Southern Persia.

governed chiefly by the relation between the quantity of goods requiring transport and the available means of transport (mules, camels, carts).*

Anglo-Indian goods—textiles, sugar, tea, metalware, etc.—are transported along the route Karachi to Duzdab to Meshed to Khorasan; carpets, cotton, and wool are transported from Persia to India along this route when these goods cannot, for various reasons, be sold to the U.S.S.R. The voyage from Karachi to Europe is twenty-five to thirty days. Freight from Europe (London, Hamburg) to Karachi is seen from the following approximate figures: cotton goods, 1 kr. 35 c.; sugar, 1 kr. 12 c.; porcelain and crockery, 1 kr. 12 c.; glassware, 1 kr. 20 c. per pood. At the end of January, 1926, the paper *Iran* reported that the Persian Government has entered into negotiations with the British Government relating to the purchase of fifty miles of railway (at “reduced price”), built during the Great War, from the Persian frontier to Duzdab. The purchase is contemplated in connection with the project of the construction of a railway from Duzdab to Seistan (in the direction of Meshed), and the repair of the route Seistan to Meshed.

The plan of the above-mentioned road to Seistan (to the town of Hyderabad) was first put forward at the end of 1925 by Major Hall, an American adviser, entrusted with the finances of Seistan and Khorasan. The main object of the planned railway is to encourage agriculture in Seistan, and afford an outlet of locally grown grain (this district is known as “Persian Egypt” for the fertility of its soil). There are plans to construct either a narrow gauge (60 cm.) or a normal gauge line, similar to the route to Duzdab (68 cm.). The projected line will run to Hyderabad with branch lines from Karakei to Nusretabad, to Seistan and Kirman. The length of the future line from Duzdab to Nusretabad (the centre of Seistan) is 365 kilometres; the proposed tariff, 2·8 krs. per pood, as compared to the 5 krs. by pack transport. The length of the line Duzdab to Karakei to Hyderabad is 216 kilometres, with an extension to Nekha, 273 kilometres.† The construction of the branch line to Nusretabad would certainly be in the interests of Seistan, but the construction of the line Duzdab to Nekh has undoubtedly a wider task in view—namely, the reduction of the distance between the market of Khorasan and Anglo-Indian goods; the reduction of the distance (by 20 per cent.) would certainly affect the area of Khorasan, into which goods now penetrate from the North. The railway would also cover the most difficult traversable section of the route

* On December 1, 1926, the freight Mashed to Duzdab was 8 krs. per pood, and Duzdab to Meshed, 13 krs. per pood. Goods were generally transported on camels; only five drivers with six carts, each carrying 100 poods per cart, were available. There is no regular motor transport on this route.

† The total length of the two routes is about 400 kilometres.

from Duzdab to Meshed, thus facilitating transport along the other parts of the route not covered by railway. The cost of transport of goods along the new route would at first, according to the project, amount to 0.4 kr. for 100 kilometres. In the event of approval of the plan, construction would begin from Duzdab.

The second route along which goods are transported from the South is from Basra to Baghdad via Iraq (by waterway or railway), to Khanikin (Persian frontier) by railway, constructed during the war, thence by pack, cart, or motor transport via Kirmanshah and Hamadan to Tehran. This route is extensively used for the transport of European goods into Central and Northern Persia. Foreign manufactures penetrate by this route even to Azerbaijan and Tabriz, competing with our goods. The agreement of 1910 concluded between Russia and Germany in Potsdam bound Russia to the obligation of constructing a branch railway from Khanikin to Tehran; the war annulled this agreement, and simultaneously deprived Germany of the section of the railway running through present Iraq territory. The idea of constructing the line Khanikin to Tehran is, however, not forgotten, and plans are now put forward by the English and Americans.

The cost of transport of goods along the route Basra to Khanikin to Tehran is as follows :

- Basra to Baghdad by water, 810 versts, 9 days, from 0.50 to 1.50 kr. per pood.
- Baghdad to Khanikin by railway, 135 versts, 1 day, from 2.5 to 3 krs. per pood.
- Khanikin to Kirmanshah, pack, 21 days, from 24 to 27 krs. per pood ; or—
- Kirmanshah to Hamadan, cart or motor, 21 days, from 24 to 27 krs. per pood ; or—
- Hamadan to Tehran, 21 days, from 24 to 27 krs. per pood.
- Total, 31 days, from 27 to 31 krs. per pood.

The third of the new routes is from the Port Mohammerah on the River Karun on the Persian Gulf up the Karun to Ahwaz (Nasseri), and thence to Dizful, Khurramabad, Burujird, and via Sultanabad to Tehran. This route, which was only fit for pack animals, is now being reconstructed into a first-class road (the reconstruction, with the exception of the sector between Khurramabad and Dizful, is completed). The route covers 200 versts by water to Ahwaz (1 to 2 days), then 875 to 900 versts (30 to 35 days) by pack transport (in future by cart or motor). The average cost of transport is 25 krs. per pood.

Another old route, Mohammerah to Ahwaz to Isfahan to Tehran, leading almost in the same direction, is closely associated with the one above mentioned. From Ahwaz the old route turns into the "Bakhtiar track" for pack animals, then on to Isfahan and Tehran. This route (Ahwaz to Isfahan to Tehran) covers a distance of over 1,000

versts, takes 35 to 46 days, and costs approximately 33 to 35 krs. per pood for the transport of goods.

The route Dizful to Khurramabad is shorter by one-fifth, and cheaper by one-fourth, than the older route to Isfahan, and better than two other routes leading to Tehran—(1) via Iraq (Basra to Khanikin); (2) via Bushire to Shiraz to Isfahan to Tehran (a route of great importance in the past).

Goods can be sent along the new route direct to Tehran without being held up at Shiraz. The route via Bushire is closed during a part of the year owing to excessive cold. In addition to the route via Iraq being longer, goods are often detained for a considerable time at intermediary stations. The route via Ahwaz is more convenient in that the goods are handed to a *sharvadar* (driver) for the entire journey to Tehran, where it is easier to find the culprit in case of damage, loss, etc.

The route via Khurramabad, after the completion of the first-class road, will become the most convenient and the cheapest; its importance will increase with the establishment of motor transport, and it will be invaluable in the event of damage to the railway.

The above-mentioned route from Bushire (on the Persian Gulf) to Tehran via Shiraz to Isfahan is one of the oldest routes used for the transport of goods from the South to Tehran. The length of the route is about 1,200 kilometres, the time 61 to 75 days, and cost 30 to 36 krs. per pood. Fluctuations in prices and duration of the journey (generally longer in summer) are considerable. This route, which at one time lost its importance, has recently been used to an appreciable extent; German goods despatched to Central and Southern Persia were brought into the country along this route. According to reports in the German papers, a concession has been granted to a German firm for the dredging and deepening of Bushire; costs will be covered by special harbour dues. It is interesting to note that papers report the drafting of a plan of a new variation of the route Bushire to Shiraz, leading through the valleys instead of along the hills, and straightening the former winding route. At the present time the new route is merely a path, but on expending 600,000 tumans (1 tuman = 2 roubles) it may be turned into a vehicular road, which will have an undoubted influence on southern trade and the prices of imported goods in Persia.*

* Another vehicular route, Ahwaz to Deh Mulla to Hindian to Henave to Borazjun to Shiraz, has appeared recently, and has evidently been formed for the express purpose of bringing up oil products from the South. Six motor lorries (per 10 tons) are already plying along this route. Each motor can make fifteen journeys per month. The length of the journey Ahwaz to Isfahan via Shiraz, is six days by caravan. It is proposed to acquire motor-tanks for the route, which may in future grow into one of great importance.

Freight from Europe to Bushire and Basra (same as to Mohammerah) is as follows :

		<i>Europe to Basra.</i>	<i>Europe to Bushire.</i>
Cotton goods	... ..	2 krs. 58 c. per pd.	2 krs. 27 c. per pd.
Sugar	... ..	2 krs. „	1 kr. 82 c. „
Porcelain, crockery	... ..	1 kr. 93 c. „	1 kr. 70 c. „
Glass...	... ..	2 krs. 35 c. „	2 krs. 10 c. „

The fourth route (an old route which lost its importance during the war) is Trebizond to Erzerum to Tabriz, through Turkish territory. The Turkish portion of the route (to Erzerum and further) has been reconstructed into a first-class road; the remaining section is but a pack-animal track. The great majority of goods are transported by pack animals. The length of the route is about 1,000 kilometres (the trace of the railway is 980 kilometres), and duration of journey about thirty-five days in winter and sixty-five in summer (owing to the heat the camels can only travel at night). The freight fluctuates and depends on the type of goods, the number of camels available, the condition of the road, epizootic, national disturbances in Turkey, Persia, etc. The route is, comparatively speaking, safe, and goods from which 6 per cent. insurance tax was collected until recent times, are now despatched free of insurance. Freight (January 15, 1927) was 20 krs. from Trebizond to Tabriz, and 14 krs. on the return journey; cases of lower "return" freight have been known. Many plans for the construction of a railway over this district have been proposed; the starting-points have been either Trebizond or Ineboli or other ports on the Black Sea. The *Vatan* reports the importance attributed to this railway by the Turkish Government, and states that a Turko-Persian company has been formed to carry out its construction.

There existed an American plan of the "Woollen" (?) Company for the construction of a first-class road from Erzerum to the Persian frontier and from Tabriz to Tehran with the subsequent construction of a railway along the entire route Trebizond to Tehran. Proposals of the Polish-French and Polish-English Companies were proposed later. At the beginning of 1926 the Great National Assembly of Turkey voted credit for research work in connection with the road Trebizond to Erzerum (the credit had previously been included in the budget). Surveys were to be begun without delay, but construction can hardly be expected in the near future (doubts are expressed of the possibility of even constructing the said line).

The route Tabriz to Trebizond even in its present condition plays an important part in supplying Persian Azerbaijan with European goods—textiles, sugar, crockery, etc.—and in exporting carpets, almonds, etc., to Europe and America (the export of goods along this route has slightly decreased recently owing to the reduction of cost of transport on the Batum to Djulfa route).

If the railway were to be constructed according to the present plan (980 kilometres), it would be seventy versts shorter than the line Batum to Djulfa to Tabriz. This would undoubtedly affect the goods exchange between Persian Azerbaijan and Russia and the transport significance of the Tabriz to Djulfa to Batum line.*

Finally, the fifth route—the most recent—runs from London and Paris (via Marseilles) to Beirut and Damascus, via the Syrian desert along the old route via Palmira to Abu to Kemal and Baghdad and thence to Khanikin and Tehran. The soil of this route is such that it forms, as it were, a natural high-class road, and is used for motor transport. Regular transport passenger motors leaving three times per week was established in March, 1925. The journey from London to Tehran occupies about twelve days. According to newspaper reports (*Setare-in-Iran* and others) a Franco-British "Eastern Transport Co.," with a capital of £44,000 sterling has been formed in London for the purpose of developing heavy traffic (goods) communication on this route. The line Beirut to Tehran is already equipped with thirty-five one-ton lorries, and it is proposed to add another 300 two-ton ones to this number (this shows the serious intentions of the company). It is difficult at present to estimate the cost of transport of goods in the future; the cost of transport by motor from Baghdad to Tehran is approximately 30 krs. per pood, and the journey takes six days; there is an express service, taking three to four days and costing 55 krs. This route via Syria and Iraq will undoubtedly be exclusively used for light parcels. Soon after the route was opened the cost of sending a parcel (generally 3 kilos in weight) from Beirut to Tehran was two to three shillings per kilo—*i.e.*, about 60 krs. per pood. Owing to the high cost, this route was principally used for the despatch of valuable, portable goods. The cost will, of course, fall with the development of transport facilities. The same papers report the proposed organization of motor transport communication between Baghdad and Tehran by a company formed with the help of German capital. It is proposed to equip the route with 200 three-ton motor lorries with trailers and twelve passenger motor buses accommodating twenty-three persons. The motor vehicles will be provided by Germany at advantageous terms.

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Such are the principal trade routes of modern Persia.

With the assistance of the following table let us now consider the main routes used for the transport of goods into and out of Persia :

<i>Customs.</i>	<i>Import into Persia.</i>		<i>Export from Persia.</i>	
	1913-14.	1924-25.	1913-14.	1924-25.
<i>Through Northern Customs :</i>				
Astara	41,440	9,739	15,516	9,384
Gilan (Pahlevi)	137,170	62,534	115,769	57,693
Mazanderan	29,206	7,760	28,178	18,103
Asterabad	19,444	3,192	24,896	13,478
Khorasan	60,936	37,921	65,358	88,522
Azerbaijan to Djulfa	*	7,790	*	12,416
Totals for the North ...	288,196 (47 %)	128,936 (16 %)	249,717 (63 %)	199,596 (41 %)
Azerbaijan to Tabriz ...	123,556 (20 %)	57,119 (7 %)	56,454 (63 %)	36,791 (8 %)
<i>Through Southern Customs :</i>				
Tehran	—	16,618	—	6,183
Seistan (Duzdab)	4,147	70,066	919	29,547
Bushire	45,418	90,887	33,097	102,052
Mohammerah	43,590	133,432	16,477	18,325
B.-Abbas, Linge, Kishm ...	34,533	69,752	22,790	28,393
Kermanshah	70,727	203,000	12,980	60,420
Totals for the South ...	198,420 (33 %)	583,755 (77 %)	86,263† (23 %)	244,920† (51 %)
General total	610,172	769,810	392,434	481,307

Some difference between the totals of the given table and those given in the general totals for the turnover of Persia for the same years is explained by the fact that we have omitted the last three figures (up to 1,000). The turnover for 1913, between Tabriz and Russia, should be added to the totals for the "North"; in 1924-25 the turnover for Tabriz was no longer dependent on the U.S.S.R. ("Djulfa" has been

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dealt with separately.) Thus in 1924-25 not 47 per cent. (including Djulfa 55 per cent.), but only 10 per cent. of the total imports, and not 63 per cent. (including Djulfa 69 per cent.), but only 41 per cent. of the total exports, passed through the northern frontier (the trade of Tabriz is also on the decline). On the other hand, the quantity of goods passed along the southern routes rose from 33 to 77 per cent. for imported goods and from 23 to 51 per cent. for exported goods.

These routes were principally used for the transport of British goods and foreign goods imported by British agents.

Cotton goods, yarn, tea, and the greater part of metal goods are imported from England; about 50 per cent. of all the iron required, almost all the kerosene, and one-third of the sugar are imported from the U.S.S.R. During the last year, the turnover of which has not yet been included into the Persian Customs report, the import of sugar from Russia constituted half the quantity of sugar imported into Persia and the import of cotton goods—10 to 11 per cent. of all such goods imported.

Export presents a different aspect; although carpets, which were principally exported into Russia in former days, are now despatched to the U.S.A., Turkey and England, the greater part of the wool, cotton, and fruit and all the rice is still consumed by the Russian market. The dependence of Persian exports on the markets of the U.S.S.R. is quite natural. Should the cost of transport on the southern routes fall, cotton and wool would probably be exported to other countries, but rice, fruit, and morocco leather (specially prepared leather) would hardly find other markets. Sabsa (dried grapes) would only find an export to European markets if the processes of drying and cleaning were greatly improved.

The imports of Persian goods into the U.S.S.R. have not only reached pre-war figures, but in 1924-25 exceeded them (50 million roubles instead of 45 million pre-war). Exports are developing much more slowly. The reason lies not only in the inferior quality of Eastern goods, but in the difference between the quality and price of pre-war days and in certain transport conditions.

The greater success of Russia, as compared with England, in the Persian market in pre-war days was due, as a writer once correctly remarked, "exclusively to her geographical position, but in no case to the quality and price of her goods or a higher organization of her commercial agencies. The impossibility of delivering goods by pack transport over long distances and the unwillingness of England to trade at a loss gave Russia the possibility of dominating the Persian market."

II.

We have already dealt with the changes which were effected in Persian transport within the past few years; let us now examine the existing plans for railway construction in Persia.

The question of constructing railways in Persia is almost a century old. Soon after the appearance of the first locomotive, Chesnei proposed the construction of a line to India, along the Euphrates. Rawlinson contemplated the joining of the Persian Gulf with the Black and Mediterranean Seas; Lesseps was the first to propose the construction of a route to India via Russia and Afghanistan (Moscow to Tashkent to Kabul to Peshawar). The opening of the Suez Canal temporarily checked these plans, but we see them reappear in the seventies of the last century. Pressel proposed a grand plan of construction of roads, passing through Turkey and terminating on the Persian Gulf.

The eighties of last century witnessed the formation of the German "Company of Anatolian Railways"—the "forerunner" of the future Baghdad and other lines. During the European war the railway was constructed as far as Baghdad and further on towards the Persian frontier.

Competition between England and Russia for the right of constructing railways in Persia began as far back as 1872, when an Englishman—Reuter—was granted a concession by Persia. The British Government, which had already conceived the idea of a Transpersian railway, was then acting under the cloak of a private individual. The concession (with advantages to the concessionaire) was granted on the understanding that a line would be constructed from Resht to the Persian Gulf. Russian diplomats succeeded in forcing Persia to withdraw the concession before any practical work had been done. Great Britain and Russia then continued to put forward alternate proposals, invariably opposed by each other and therefore never carried out. In 1885 Russia succeeded in obtaining a guarantee from Persia that no concessions would be granted within Persia for fifteen years; in 1889 this agreement was extended to 1910. The proposal of a railway to India, via Persia, was again discussed in 1908, and then first contemplated as a "counterbalance" to the future Baghdad route. An international "consortium" with the participation of Russia, France, and Great Britain was formed in 1911 with an original capital of 2½ million francs. The route was divided into two sections—the Russian (in accordance with the agreement of "spheres of influence" of 1907) from Alyat to Astara, Resht, Kazvin, and Tehran, and the British from Tehran to the frontiers of Indian Baluchistan. It was agreed that foreign capital (British, 15 per cent., French, 25 per cent.) would also be subscribed in construction on the Russian section.

Preliminary work on the Russian section—results of which were published—was completed in 1915; the cost of construction (over 530 versts) was estimated at 65 million roubles.

The outbreak of war inevitably postponed the construction, and the fate of the Baghdad line rendered the laying of a parallel line as a counterbalance to the Baghdad line, then in German hands) useless.

We shall not go into the various proposals for the construction of the Transpersian route, but shall merely point out that the expedience and advantages of the route was questioned and severely criticized in the Press; it was pointed out (perhaps not without reason) that the Transpersian route would not so much serve for the transit of goods from India to Europe and vice versa, as for the import of goods from India and Europe into Persia. It was pointed out by a group of opponents of the Transpersian route that the construction of routes via Persia to the South was not in the interests of Russia, but the construction of routes leading from the Russian frontier to the principal centres of Persia: Tehran (Djulfa to Tabriz to Kazvin to Tehran), Enzeli (Resht to Tehran), Tabriz (Astara to Alyat to Tabriz), Asterabad (Bander-i-Gaz to Shakhrud to Asterabad), Meshed (Askhabad to Meshed). An alternative for the Transpersian route not leading to the South, but to Alyat to Astara to Resht to Asterabad to Meshed and further along the coast of the Caspian Sea via Afghanistan (Herat) to India was also proposed. Proposals were simultaneously put forward by England not only with regard to the construction of the Transpersian route—avoiding Russia (Khanikin to Kermanshah to Tehran and to the South across Central Persia), but also with regard to the laying of routes leading from the southern ports into the interior of the country (Karachi to Duzdab to Meshed, etc.).

A contract according to which the Persian Government granted a British "Syndicate of Persian Railways" the right to construct the lines Mohammerah to Khurramabad (or Burudjird) and B.-Abbas to Mohammerah was made in 1912. Though the syndicate was granted various privileges, the contract was never carried out.

During the period 1912-26 the Djulfa to Tabriz line only was built by Russia, and the Persian frontier and Baluchistan to Duzdab (with a branch from Baghdad to Khanikin) by England. All other projects remained unrealized.

In 1925 the Persian Government proclaimed a "sugar and tea monopoly" (which was in reality nothing but an additional tax on these two commodities), and abolished the municipal, road, and other local taxes (collected from imported and exported goods), substituting them by a uniform "road tax" (which in reality proved to be an additional Custom duty).

Receipts from the monopoly and from the road tax were to be used for the construction of railways and the improvement of existing trans-

port routes, but proved insufficient for either project.* They will probably cover the interest by a loan which Persia will be forced to make either in Great Britain or America.

In the meantime new plans for the construction of railways were proposed. The paper *Settare-iei-Izan* of October 29, 1925, proposed the construction of the following routes :

(1) From Port Mohammerah, passing through Shushtar to Dizful to Kermanshah to Hamadan to Kazvin to Tehran to Resht to Pahlevi (Enzeli); (2) from Kermanshah to Khanikin; (3) from Tehran to Meshed; and (4) then via Seistan to Duzdab; (5) branch line of the Tehran to Bushire line from Isfahan via Yazd and Kerman to Duzdab.

The construction of two other "coastal" lines is also contemplated: (1) Mohammerah to Bushire to Bander-Abbas to Chakh to Bekhar, joining the southern ports of the Persian Gulf; and (2) Astara to Asterabad along the Caspian coast.

The Council of Ministers and a Commission of Public Services attached to the Majliss have proposed the construction of the following routes: Tehran to Bander-i-Gaz (362 kilometres), and Tehran to Kazvin to Hamadan to Burudjird to Mohammerah (1,087 kilometres); the two lines would intersect the whole of Persia from north to south, from sea to sea—Tehran to Gwadar, Tehran to Mirjawa (the Indian frontier), Tehran to Gwatar, Tehran to Bender to Linge, Tehran to Rowanduz, Tehran to Astara. The project, confirmed by the Cabinet Council, includes two other lines: Tehran to Khanikin and Tehran to Chakh to Bekhar.

Thus the route crossing Persia from south to north will begin at Bander-i-Gaz, not at Pahlevi; large sums will have to be spent on equipping this port. The plan for the construction of the route from Bander-i-Gaz to Mohammerah was finally confirmed by the Majliss at the end of February, 1927.

It was recently reported in the Persian papers that the construction of the route from Urmi to Rowanduz and further until it joins the Baghdad railway in Iraq territory will be begun in the near future. It is interesting to note that the original plan of the route via Rowanduz was proposed by France, who had the exit of the Transpersian route to the sea at Alexandretta in view.

If the plan of construction will be carried out Persia will be supplied with a network of railways which will facilitate the working of her natural resources, such as oil, coal, ores, etc., now unexploited, and promote industry—*i.e.*, the sale of cotton, wool, etc. Without foreign capital, however, Persia will be unable to carry out the proposed construction or to organize her industry.

* The revenue from the sugar and tea monopoly during the first seven months was 21.4 million krs. The amount collected from the "road tax" was less.

In his book "The Question of a Railway to India," published in 1872, Arteruni says: "Can Great Britain agree to lend Persia large sums of money for the construction of a railway across Arabistan and along the coast of the Persian Gulf without the hope of repayment and without obtaining special rights on the railway? . . .

"Persia should not forget the lessons of the past, and in spite of her desire to improve her present position, should not agree to any permanent restrictions of her freedom, of her industry and her trade by England in exchange for the construction of railways, of which she herself will see nothing but the smoke." The enslavement of Persia is certainly probable, especially if construction is carried out by companies granted privileges, rights, etc.

It should be mentioned that only a country politically interested in the construction of railways in Persia would be able to invest large sums of money in the enterprise. In one of his reports Millspaugh admitted that the railways would run at a deficit for many years after their construction. If England does not directly invest money in the scheme of railway construction in Persia, she still has sufficient power to force Persia to construct railways in directions in which she is interested. In any case, it is clear that sooner or later Tehran and Tabriz will be connected with: Iraq along the lines Rowanduz to Mosul, Kermanshah to Khanikin; the Persian Gulf via Mohammerah, Duzdab, and the Indian net of railways via Meshed (supposing that the proposed line from Duzdab to Nekh will be continued to Meshed or Kerman); the Mediterranean Sea via the Syrian and Palestine ports.

Here arises the very serious problem of the way in which the railways—taking even one line, Mohammerah to Tehran and Duzdab to Tehran, into consideration—will affect trade competition in the Persian market (among others the competition between the U.S.S.R. and England).

The following circumstances must be taken into consideration before this problem can be solved:

At the present time, while Persia is still primarily a country of "pack transport," and while motor routes are few and expensive, the cost of transport of goods along the routes from the South and the West is approximately 20 krs. on the route Trebizond to Tabriz, 27 to 31 krs. on the route Basra to Baghdad to Tehran, 25 krs. on the route Mohammerah to Dizful to Tehran, 30 to 36 krs. on the route Mohammerah to Isfahan to Tehran, and Bushire to Isfahan to Tehran, and 13 to 20 krs. on the route Duzdab to Meshed. The routes leading to Persia from the U.S.S.R. are considerably shorter and cheaper—about 1 kr. on the route Baku to Pekhlevi, and from 11 to 12 krs. to Tehran; 5 to 7 krs. from the station of the Transcaspien Railway to Meshed; 2 to 5 krs. from Djulfa, the terminus of our railway, to Tabriz. The considerable difference of cost is in our favour. We have, however,

here omitted to take a very important factor into consideration—namely, the transport of goods to the Persian frontier within the U.S.S.R. The cost of railway transport alone, for example—excluding the cost of transport by water and additional charges—for cotton goods, is 3 rb. 80 cop per pood (19 krs.) on the route Moscow to Baku to Pekhlevi, 4 rb. 65 cop per pood (23 krs.) to Moscow to Poltoratsk, and 4 rb. per pood (20 krs.) Moscow to Djulfa.

These expenses would raise the cost of transport from Moscow to Tehran to 30 krs. per pood, from Moscow to Meshed to 30 krs., and from Moscow to Tabriz to 23 krs. The cost of transport of foreign goods from London and Hamburg to the Persian frontiers is comparatively insignificant—*i.e.*, 1 kr. 35 c. Europe to Karachi, 2 krs. 50 c. Europe to Basra, and 2 krs. 30 c. Europe to Bushire.

Each improvement and reduction of cost of transport on the Persian routes will result in our goods being unable to compete with foreign goods, if our present tariffs are maintained or increased.

Let us assume that the Mohammerah to Tehran and Duzdab to Meshed railways are constructed. We can gain an approximate idea of the tariffs by comparing them with those existing on the Karachi to Duzdab route.

It is difficult to estimate the accurate charges existing on the Duzdab to Karachi line, owing to the operation of a complex system of special tariffs, exemptions, and privileges to certain companies, etc., but nevertheless possible to fix an average of 2 to 2·8 krs. per pood for the entire route (1,460 versts)—*i.e.*, 0·14 to 0·18 c. per pood per verst. The length of the Duzdab to Meshed railway route will be approximately 1,040 versts, the length of the Mohammerah to Tehran route 1,087 versts. Thus, if we regard the cost of transport Duzdab to Karachi as normal, the cost of transport of one pood along the railway line Duzdab to Meshed will amount to 1·87 krs., and along the railway line Mohammerah to Tehran, 2 krs.

The cost of transport per pood along the Duzdab to Meshed to Tehran railway, if it were constructed, would be about 2·5 to 3·25 krs. If this freight were double it would still reduce the cost of transport of foreign goods from the South of Persia, now approximately 18 krs. on the route Duzdab to Meshed, and 30 krs. on the route Mohammerah to Tehran and Bushire to Tehran. The length of the route would be reduced ten times, and would occupy approximately two to three days from the Persian Gulf. The cost of transport from the producing centres of the U.S.S.R. to Tehran is about 30 krs. per pood for textile goods, while the cost of transport for British materials, from London by sea to the Persian Gulf and thence by railway, would only be 4·5 krs., and that for Indian goods still lower. We take textile goods as an example only, but the lowering of freights will undoubtedly affect sugar, kerosene, etc., and facilitate the transport of kerosene and

benzene from the South. The construction of railways will also affect the export of Persian raw material, and the route by which these goods are transported, which were formerly despatched via the U.S.S.R.; the new routes will be used for the export of leather, guts, and carpets to America; cotton and wool, gum, almonds, and pistachio nuts, valuable timber from the North, and perhaps rice and dried fruit if the methods of preservation are improved.

It would be foolish to think that the above-mentioned railways can be constructed immediately—a few years will certainly elapse before they are partially laid; the first step has, however, been accomplished: the plans have been approved and the funds are being raised.

It is not our task to point out the ways which will enable our goods to compete more favourably with foreign goods: they are reduction of cost price, increase of selection, improved packing, the transfer of producing centres to the frontiers, etc.; but the introduction of special export tariffs, the construction of railways to Meshed from Poltoratsk via Kuchan or Serakhs, and to Tehran from the Caspian Sea; the lowering of the abnormally high tariffs, the repair of the line Tabriz to Djulfa, etc., would undoubtedly facilitate matters.

Our object in the present article has been merely to give an idea of the existing Persian transport routes and their part in the economic condition of the country and of the proposed construction of new lines. In addition to what has been said, it is essential to add that in the plan of work relating to the improvement of road transport, the Persian Government has decided to approve the following expenditures in 1926-27: For the repair and maintenance of existing roads, 3,370,000 krs.; for the construction of new first-class roads—(a) Meshed Disser to Firuz to Kukh to Tehran to Kum to Burudjird to Khorrem to Abad to Dizful to Shushtar to Mohammerah, 3,080,000 krs. (only 718 kilometres of this route of 1,218 kilometres are still uncompleted); (b) Tehran to Tabriz and further to the Turkish and Soviet Russian frontiers, 800,000 krs.; (c) Tehran to Isfahan to Bushire, 1,191 kilometres (still uncompleted 485 kilometres), 1,270,000 krs. for completing the road; (d) Shiraz to Lar to Bander-Abbas, 480 kilometres (still uncompleted 330 kilometres); (e) Firuz to Kuh to Semnan to Meshed, 746 kilometres (646 kilometres are not yet constructed), the expenditure of 800,000 krs. has been approved for the completion of the road; (f) Abbas to Duzdab, and Bander-Abbas to Isfahan, 1,260 kilometres (600,000 krs. have been assigned for this work, which has already begun; the width of the road will be 3 sa.j.); an additional 580,000 krs. has been assigned for the construction of three roads to connect Iraq to Melair, Iraq to Lahidjan, and Tehran to Veramin. It is evident that in the near future, when the construction of these roads is accomplished, the main routes for the transit of goods in Persia will be suitable at least for wheeled traffic.

A NOTE ON TRANSJORDAN

WHILE rumours respecting Wahábi movements during March have caused some anxiety to those who have friends and relations in Transjordan (as in Iraq), it is satisfactory to know that 'Ibn Saoud disclaims any thoughts of a Jehád or of encouraging attacks on that country, and that trouble from Arabia is not likely to interfere with its peaceful development under the Mandate.

The internal outlook is most encouraging. Our relations with the French appear to be excellent; the termination of the rebellion in Syria has been of great benefit. The Druze refugees, including many of the rebellious combatants, having mustered in thousands at Azrak, that oasis and its vicinity were placed under martial law; there over 700 refugees accepted the favourable French terms and returned to Syria, many went to Palestine, and a number, under the obstinate Sultan el Atrash, were expelled to the Nejd. The country was thus practically cleared of this troublesome element, and our Air Force and Frontier Force could be withdrawn. Although it cannot be expected that raids, the "sole industry" and sport of many tribes, should altogether cease, it is pleasing to know that they are being diminished, and that a large number of intertribal feuds have been settled, whereby general security is advanced.

There has been a temporary set-back from a few points of view, owing to the serious earthquakes, which caused loss of life and much damage to properties, public and private, which has to be made good. But a brief glance at the advance made in 1927 shows that a great deal has been done towards progress.

The country has been divided into four administrative divisions, and these into fifteen sub-districts. Agriculture in many respects progresses. Large areas of land, including vine-bearing regions, have been brought under cultivation. Cereal crops have increased. Locusts, unfortunately, invaded the country from Syria and Iraq in the summer, but prompt measures were taken, Palestine lending flame-throwers, and twenty tons, it is estimated, were destroyed. Lately fresh swarms have approached, of which many were blown into the deserts. Bedouins, whose lands they visited, were provided with a welcome change of diet, and sold locusts for food by measure (the *zoll*) at about twopence the pound. The contemplated establishment of an International Locust Bureau by the Governments of Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, and Egypt should do good service in future.

Over 6,000 *donums* (about 2,000 acres) have been sold to the Palestine Electric Corporation, which has compensated owners; to whom

also State lands have been allotted. The Government has wisely sold plots of cultivable State land situated in the midst of private properties, and by the development of large blocks has helped to increase production. A State survey is, of course, needed for revaluation and taxation purposes, and this has been started.

Revenue has increased. The Customs Department, under the present Director, has done much good work, additional posts having been established at important points. Smuggling has diminished, and two tobacco factories opened.

As regards public works, communications are being increased, many fair-weather roads having been made. The heavy cost of metalling cannot of course yet be undertaken, but the rainy season only lasts about three months, and they are but seldom impassable. The Department of Health does a vast amount of good. Great care is taken to increase and control the water supplies to deal with malarial regions, especially, *e.g.*, near the Dead Sea, and also with infectious diseases. Education is supported and advances as circumstances admit. An interesting feature as regards Moslem schools is that a number of teachers attached to nomadic tribes follow the movements of their tribes.

A large number of useful laws and regulations have been enacted, amongst which may be mentioned—a law for the reorganization of the Legal Department and of the Sherié (Ottoman religious) Courts; an Act to regulate dealings between merchants and farmers; for the prevention of crime, for extradition, and for woods and forests. The very interesting “antiquities” of which Transjordan can boast are not neglected. Happily they suffered but little from the earthquakes. Exploration is continued, applications for permission to excavate in fresh sites are pending, and a temporary museum has been established at Amman, as well as a gallery of inscriptions at Jerash.

R. L. N. M.

FROM THE YENI-TURKISTAN.

DECEMBER, 1927.

"CHOKAI MUSTAPHA OGBU" describes the events from 1917, regarding the formation of the Khokand autonomous State.

In December, 1917, the Turkistan Congress proclaimed the "Autonomy of Turkistan" amidst the greatest rejoicing of all sects.

In the following October the Bolsheviks took possession of Tashkend. From that time onward Turkistan has been the scene of many and various political meetings and congresses, which have passed many resolutions, but which have accomplished nothing towards freeing the country.

"SHAH KOOLU MUSTAPHA."

The census of Turkistan is set out, showing towns, area in square versts, population, percentage of inhabitants in town and country.

The provinces are :

Usbegistan	...	...	...	4,400,000 population.
Turkmenistan	...	...	...	940,000 "
Kirghizstan	...	...	...	990,000 "
Tadjikstan	...	...	..	740,000 "

In another category are the provinces which do not properly constitute "Turkistan," viz., those broadly shown as "Kirghizstan," or as shown in this publication as "Kasakstan."

The total population of this tract is shown as 12,600,000.

Since the Russian occupation there has been a great increase of town population owing to the fact that peasants cannot cultivate without animals, which they have lost.

Unemployment and Labour Burcaus have been started.

The figures shown are as follows :

Natives	...	...	...	7,000	} unemployed.
Russians	...	...	...	60,000	
Natives	...	...	...	10 %	} unemployed in receipt of relief.
Russians	...	...	...	86 %	

It is easy to see that the bankrupt conditions in Russia are causing an increase of poverty in Turkistan through Russian emigration and enforced relief from native revenues.

Last August the number of people receiving relief in the city of Tashkend was 2,130. Of these twenty-three were natives. The Russians candidly say they do not wish native workmen to supplant Russians in the factories.

A list of fourteen trades with their Russian and native members is given. The total number of trades unionists is in the proportion of 111 Russians to 27 natives.

NOTES FROM TURKISTAN.

The Co-operative Societies introduced by Russia mean loss to the native. The latter has to purchase certain articles of necessity, and the Societies make him take other goods as well.

When he sells produce to the Societies, the latter *never* credit him with full weight.

In Turkmenistan, the rebel leader Jenid Khan, after having made a treaty of peace with the Bolsheviks, was, as the result of the Cheka's action, discredited by his former associates, and forced to flee.

The Cheka does its best to sow discord between the States of Turkmenistan and Usbegistan, and uses the traditional causes of quarrel. The Russians' object is to settle Russians in these territories.

There is a certain amount of famine round Merv.

In Kasakstan native workmen have to work from sunrise to sunset; the Soviet Government's promises of an eight-hour and a seven-hour day in commemoration of the revolution count for nothing.

THE "AZERI TURK."

This new publication publishes its policy, which is as follows :

To follow all happenings in Azerbaijan and in other dependencies of the late Czarist Government, and to aid them in their endeavours to achieve their independence.

It will support all principles of the modern Turkish Republic, that is democratic Government, and will encourage popular movements in trade and the arts.

TURKISH NOTES.

Attention is drawn to the action of the Turkish Government in prosecuting Ihsan Bey (the former President of the Tribunal of Independence) for corrupt dealings regarding the repairs to the *Yawas* battleship, and says this is a noteworthy attempt to purify Government departments.

Action has been taken against the Turkish Communist Party, especially against one of the leaders, Dr. Shefiq Bey.

AZERBAIJAN NOTES.

In the Tenth General Congress of Russian Communists held in December, 1927, the Azerbaijan representative, Ali Haider Karaif, said that from the Communist point of view matters were not proceeding satisfactorily in Azerbaijan, and that Moscow promised to help the proletariat against the bourgeois classes.

At the meeting of Azerbaijan Communists at Baku in October, 1927, the Commissar of Azerbaijan, Moses Bekof, said that, owing to the delay in subdividing the land, the prosperity of the country was being retarded. But the division of the land was a slow process, and would take thirty years. According to the statistics available there are 300,000 peasants without land. Those peasants owning more land than others would have to give up some of it.

There was a growing opposition to the manner of dividing up the land, especially in the Malakan district, where, after the Revolution, the Russians took more than their share.

The Turks and Armenians have also to be considered, and trouble is to be expected in satisfying all nationalities that they are fairly treated. The Armenians are accustomed to mountainous tracts, and therefore special consideration will have to be given to their capabilities.

In Baku the local Communists, under the name of the "Mahmoud Khanbodaghof Group," find themselves in opposition to the Central Communist Party on the following points, and make the following demands :

1. The attempt of Moscow to appoint a President to rule both the right and left party (of the Communists) is a failure, and must cease.

2. The heads of the Co-operative Societies appointed by Moscow only work for their own ends, and relegate the local national Communists to the position of "Counsellors."

3. The local "National" Communists object to being called merely "local," as they are national.

4. Moscow centralizes everything there, and leaves no question to be decided by the local inhabitants. Moscow has done this by means of an intensive system of bureaucracy.

5. The *local* nationalization of institutions is demanded.

6. The economic development of the Trans-Caucasian Federated States is to be considered afresh, with a view to their betterment.

7. The immigration of Russians into Azerbaijan is to be considered afresh.

WAZIRISTAN NOTES

ROADS.—In North Waziristan work is being done on the Thal-Idak road, and a track has been constructed between Razani and Datta Khel via the Lowangai Narai.

In South Waziristan the road from Sarwakai to Wana has been sanctioned, and contractors have been nominated for the first two sections up to Dargai Obo. Work is now in full swing.

COLUMNS.—The Razmak Column visited Ladha in May and remained there four nights without a shot being fired.

The Manzai Column visited Wana in October and remained there four days. A few shots were fired by snipers at Karab Kot on the march back, and one sepoy was wounded. While the Manzai Column was at Wana, the Razmak Column moved out to Dargai Obo in support of it.

POWINDAHS.—Last cold weather there were several incidents between the Powindahs and the Wana Wazirs during the former's migrations, and the Wazir villages on Spin were burnt. This year the Sulaiman Khels passed down to British India without any trouble at all. The Dotannis started to graze on Spin and a party of scouts were sent out to deal with them, which it managed most successfully.

GENERAL.—The situation has been very quiet during the last year, only a few minor incidents having occurred. Meanwhile, the tribesmen are becoming more and more amenable. In September the Political Agent of South Waziristan, escorted by a number of Mahsud maliks and Khassadars, climbed Pir Ghal, the highest mountain in Waziristan. It is believed that this is the first time a European has reached the top.

Only two or three minor incidents occurred between the Wazirs and Mahsuds at Razmak during the hot weather, and both sides are beginning to regard last year's orders regarding the boundary as a final settlement of the dispute.

A telephone line has recently been constructed between Razmak and Sararogha, thus linking up Razmak with Dera Ismail Khan by the direct route via Tank.

REVIEWS

MARCO POLO: IL MILIONE. Prima edizione integrale, a cura di Luigi Foscolo Benedetto. Florence: Olschki. 600 lire.

Professor Benedetto, in the very first words of his preface, beautifully recalls the sentences with which Cristoforo Negri, the founder of the Italian Geographical Society, hailed the appearance of Sir Henry Yule's classical edition of "Marco Polo" in 1872: "The work that concludes the long bibliography of Italian and foreign researches on the great traveller, from Ramusio onwards. . . . Yule has taken the subject away from the Italians, he has conquered the field and will hold it." "This illusion," continues Benedetto, "had obscured through all these years the truth that every essential problem about Marco Polo was still unsolved; the first and fundamental being the problem of the text." And certainly this volume justifies the claim.

Professor Benedetto's sumptuous book marks a new epoch in the Polo studies; and with it before us we marvel that the obvious basis of further research in this field—namely, the reconstruction of the text—should have been neglected all these years. It could only be undertaken by a philologist, a Romanist and palæographer, whereas the Polo question had been monopolized by geographers, historians, and Orientalists. That Yule was aware of his limitations in this field is proved by the suppression in the second edition of his "Polo" of the list of MSS. known to him, which had been contained in the original edition. This list has been re-installed with many additions by Henri Cordier in the third edition of the book in 1903, and in the supplementary volume of 1920. It contains altogether ninety-two MSS.; merely indexed according to their languages or their distribution in various countries and libraries; but out of the seven items contained in the supplement only two concern really new texts; and from the eighty-five catalogued in the book, nine are shown by Benedetto to be duplicates, or non-existing, or to refer to printed copies. There remain seventy-eight texts, to which Benedetto has added sixty discovered by himself. His object was not to draw a mere statistic of the existing texts, however complete, but to submit the whole of this huge material to a thorough analysis and comparison, so as to ascertain the mutual relations of the texts and their derivation, in order to classify them into groups referable to their different archetypes.

All this would have been merely an erudite exercise, if the loss of the original text, or of a faithful and complete copy of it had not made it necessary to reconstruct it from those that have survived, all more or less incomplete and inaccurate. The prototypes from which the

various groups of texts originated are all lost, but they can be reconstructed from their derivatives, all of which, however mutilated, contain some particular item or detail belonging to each one in particular, which can be pieced together so as to restore the whole. These archetypes were copied from versions of the Genoese text earlier than the oldest MS. now existing. The labour entailed in the sorting and the comparison word by word of this vast array of materials scattered in every country of Europe and in fifty different libraries, and in the patient reconstruction, can easily be imagined.

In the course of his work Professor Benedetto has been able to solve some minor problems, such as the one regarding the correct name of Polo's chronicler, which is now proved by philological arguments to have been "Rustichello" and not "Rusticiano" ("Rusticiaus" instead "Rusticians"), and to dispose of the old legend that the said Rustichello took down *currente calamo* in his queer French the extemporized narrative of Marco Polo. Yule was not without doubts about this dictation, but the legend appealed to him too much, and he stuck to it. But the "Book of Ser Marco Polo" bears all along the signs of having been deliberately composed in the traditional style and lines of the *roman chevaleresque* upon notes either written by Marco Polo or jotted down and methodically ordered in the long intercourse between the romance writer and Polo in the Genoese prison. And it seems fit and proper that such an epic should have been clothed in the traditional garb of the *romans de gestes*, one of the rare cases in which one has been built about the feats of a living hero.

The principal and more complete surviving texts had been published with more or less accuracy; and in a few cases attempts had been made to restore them by introducing materials taken from other sources, but, lacking the knowledge of their relationships and their derivation, the resulting work had necessarily been haphazard and incomplete. Just a century ago, Baldelli-Boni had planned to publish all the texts known at the time, but the undertaking did not go beyond the first stages. The famous French MS. of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, known as the "Geographical Text," and believed to be a correct and complete reproduction of the Genoese text, was edited in 1824 by Roux de la Rochelle with many slips and errors. It is the foundation of H. Murray's translation (1844).

The reputation of this text was obscured for a while by the version in correct French due to a certain Grégoire (1308), of which many derivations are extant. The reason for the preference was a declaration reproduced in a few MSS. of this group, purporting that the original copy had been given by Marco Polo himself to the Chev. Thibault, lord of Cepoy, to be delivered to Charles de Valois. On the strength of this assertion, G. Pauthier, who edited this text in 1865, and various

others, believed it to be the definite version, approved by Polo himself. Yule, though aware that the "geographical text" was fuller and more correct, in spite of the corrupt language in which it is written, has based his translations on Grégoire's version. This text is contained in some of the most beautiful and artistic codices that we possess, such as the *Livre des Merveilles* of the Paris National Library, the Royal Manuscript of the British Museum, and MS. 264 of the Bodleian.

Equally ancient is the translation in Italian, the so-called Tuscan version, whose best-known representative is the *Codice della Crusca*, surnamed "the Best" (*l' Ottimo*), often reprinted (last edition by Dante Olivieri, 1912), notwithstanding its gross errors in transcription and interpretation. The ingenuity of Professor Benedetto's work is displayed at its best in the construction of the group of texts belonging to the Venetian version, also dating back to the early fourteenth century. It contains more than eighty MSS., divided into a number of secondary groups, translated in many languages, and re-translated from them, even back into Venetian. Without attempting to enter into the intricacies of this class of texts, it is worth mentioning that Professor Benedetto has proved the close relationship that the Latin version of Friar Francis Pipino of Bologna, done when Marco Polo was still living, bears to it. Pipino's version had the largest diffusion at his time and after; and a large number of texts of it are left us. Benedetto has added twenty-four to the twenty-six catalogued by Cordier. One famous copy of it, printed in 1485, is the one fully annotated with marginal comments by the hand of Columbus himself, which is now at the Columbian Library of Lisbon. The version of Pipino is not of much use for the reconstruction of Polo's text; but it is important because it was the foundation of Ramusio's text, which became the source of Purchas and of one of the best modern editions of Polo, that of Marsden (republished as late as 1926).

The second volume of the *Navigazioni et viaggi*, containing the Travels of Messer Marco Polo, was published in 1559, nine years after the first volume, and two years after Ramusio's death. However, he had prepared it for publication, including a preface to the Travels. In it we find a first attempt to sketch the life of Marco Polo, and also a hint concerning the various sources used by him to compose his text; among which was a Latin codex belonging to a Venetian friend, Ghisi, described as being "of marvellous antiquity and perhaps copied from the original of Messer Marco." It was, in fact, the first attempt, however clumsily achieved, of a critical edition.

The analysis of Ramusio's text has led Professor Benedetto to ascertain the identity of its component parts, which he has found to belong to four texts in addition to the fundamental one of Pipino. He has traced them all, including a copy of the much-discussed Ghisi codex. Murray was rather sceptical about the genuineness of this document.

On another hand, Yule, who made a discreet use of Ramusio, has written: "The most important remaining problem in regard to the text of Polo's work is the discovery of the supplemental manuscript from which Ramusio derived those passages which are found only in his edition." And von Richthoffen was of opinion that "the finding of the MS. employed by Ramusio would have an importance only second to the discovery of the original of Marco Polo's own additions to the narrative." Professor Benedetto has had the luck to see his researches crowned by the discovery of this text, or at any rate of a copy of it in the Ambrosiana Library of Milan. This copy, like any other, has many gaps and omissions, but there remains enough amply to prove the derivation of this version from a predecessor of, and a better text than the "geographical." There are in it 200 passages lacking in the "geographical text," and more than half of these are to be found in Ramusio. Among the remaining there are many important additions for the restoration of Polo's text. For instance, many new details on China Proper, a new chapter on Russia, and a remarkable chapter on the Central Asian town of Kharakhoto, excavated and explored by Colonel Kozloff in 1908-09, and by Sir Aurel Stein in his third expedition (1913-16). The latter had supposed that the site should be identified with Marco Polo's "City of Etzina," but this is described in the "Book" "as an agricultural centre, whereas the newly discovered chapter gives to Kharakhoto the importance of a capital city and centre of culture: '*Civitas Kharachoto* (misspelt *Kharachoco* by the copyist) . . . *sub se multas alias civitates et castra distringit . . . Gentes . . . sapientissime (sic) sunt et semper student in artibus liberalibus,*'" etc.

The critical analysis of the texts, their description and history, so far as it could be ascertained, fills up nearly half of Professor Benedetto's book. The main conclusions to be drawn from the systematic study of all the available material are that none of the existing known texts is a faithful and complete reproduction of the Genoese original; that the French MSS. on which the text of Pauthier is based do not represent a version revised by Marco Polo; and that the various groups of existing versions of the "Book" were not originally derived from the "Geographical text," but from earlier MSS. Also, the new matter contained in Ramusio is genuine, and derived from old texts more complete than the "Geographical text."

Among them all the "Geographical text" holds the first place for correctness and completion, and this text Professor Benedetto prints in the second part of his volume, for the first time correctly interpreted and reproduced by a scholar in philology. Side by side with it are printed separately on each page, in the language and form in which they have reached us, all the passages and fragments of varied importance and length collected from the mass of the other texts that go to restore the mutilations of the main text.

What is now needed to complete the work is to incorporate all these elements in the text, and give unity of language to the whole by a translation. For the correct interpretation of the texts, a competent philologist will again be needed, and there can be no doubt that none could undertake it with more knowledge and as intimate a familiarity with the subject as Professor Benedetto has acquired; and it is to be hoped that he will complete his work and give us the full record of the great Polo Odyssey.

The book is issued under the auspices of the City of Venice and of the Italian Geographical Committee. It is worthy of its subject in every respect. A number of plates, in colour and in black, reproduce some miniature pages and some MS. sheets of the more famous codices. There is a full index. Professor Benedetto announces an essay on the language of the "Geographical text," whose index will be a lexicon for the printed text.

F. DE F.

VON CINGGIS KHAN ZUR SOWJETREPUBLIK. Eine kurze Geschichte der Mongolei unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der neusten Zeit. By Iwan Jakowlewitsch Korostovetz, in collaboration with Dr. Erich Hauer. Published by Walter de Gruyter and Co., Berlin and Leipzig. 352 pages; 38 illustrations and a map of Mongolia.

The Central Asian Society has a particular interest in Mongolia and the Mongols, if only on account of having recently had the advantage of attending two lectures, at least, on the subject, delivered by such distinguished Fellows of the Society as Sir George MacMunn and Sir Denison Ross. The work under review therefore may be said to appear at an opportune moment. It remains to be decided how far M. Korostovetz's relatively large work is a valuable contribution to the history of the peoples of Central Asia, and also to what extent it supplements such well-known works as Howorth's monumental "History of the Mongols," and Skrine and Ross's less imposing, but equally important, work, "The Heart of Asia." Without any reflection on the already considerable literature dealing with Mongolia and Western China, it may be said without prejudice that there exists ample room for a further systematic history of Central Asia, especially relating to more or less recent events. We have also to bear in mind the work already newly accomplished by American investigators in the Gobi, as well as that which appears to be in hand at the moment by Russian archæologists, one of whom claims to have discovered the burial-place of Chingiz Khan himself. Apart altogether from ancient history, the time has come for a report from reliable sources on conditions as they are to be found today, and M. Korostovetz in his official capacities has had exceptional opportunities of investigation, and cannot fail to be a leading authority on the subject he has chosen.

Under the old Tzarist *régime* he was an official in the Diplomatic Service, and early in his career was sent out to the Russian Embassy in Peking. From 1899 to 1902 he was head of the Diplomatic Branch of Admiral Alexejew's administration in Port Arthur. He went through the Boxer Rebellion, and, in 1905, was Secretary to Count Witte at the Peace Conference in Portsmouth. His Memoirs dealing with this Conference have already appeared in English under the title of "Pre-War Diplomacy." From 1907 to 1912 he was Ambassador

in Peking. From this short summary of his career it will be evident that he is well qualified for the task he has undertaken.

His collaborator, Dr. Hauer, is a distinguished Oriental linguist and scholar. His claims to part-authorship are put almost too modestly, as it is evident that his influence on his colleague in many of the sections of the book has not been inconsiderable.

There are forty-one chapters and an appendix. Of these, the first eight concern themselves with a *résumé* of the early history of the Mongols. It is obvious that history, even since such comparatively modern times as those of Chingiz, cannot be much more than summarized in such a short space. However, as long as one is not looking for original work, this will possibly be found sufficient for the purpose. Then comes an hiatus in the narrative, and the purely historical section is not continued until chapter xxxv., when the authors deal with post-World War results and the repercussions of the Russian Revolution so far as Russia *vis-à-vis* Mongolia is concerned. Chapter xxxix. describes Soviet propaganda in China; whilst the concluding chapter gives the latest news from Urga—that is to say, up to the end of September, 1925.

The appendix is an abstract of the terms of the constitution of the Republic of the Mongols, or whatever it chooses to call itself now. Had one not heard Miss Cable's humorous stories of life in the tents of the Kalmucks, and learnt from her how, under Soviet pressure, veneered with what passes for civilization some of these Central Asians are, one might be surprised at their modernity. The constitutions are worthy of a better cause.

The foregoing may indicate to some extent that, so far as history goes, the authors are chiefly interested in modern events. The intervening chapters are connected with a variety of subjects, not all by any means of equal interest. Here, for instance, we find a description of the principal author's arrival and life in Urga. Then follows a series of essays on many matters, such as, for example, Lamaism, Russo-Mongolian trade relationships, schools, and education. Dotted about in the middle of the book are descriptions of such details as a private audience with the Hutuktu, a Buddhist feast in Urga, or a dissertation on Mongolian princes, intermingled with a pen picture of the town of Urga.

The chapter on the Mongolian speech and alphabet calls for some slight comment. It seems unnecessary to group *die eigentliche Mongolische Sprache* into four groups. Hitherto three only have been recognized—viz., Mongolian proper, Kalmuck, and Buriatic. We agree with the authors that the Afghan-Mongolian dialect can be left out of consideration. The interesting history of the origin of the Mongolian alphabet is not very clearly brought out, nor is it emphasized that the Mongol characters of today are the lineal descendants of that Uighurian lettering, which was evolved from the old Syriac, which in its turn reached the Uighurs through Nestorian missionaries. It is a point worthy of special emphasis that here we have in the Far East a lettering akin to Hebrew. One would hardly expect to find Aramaic remnants on the confines of China. Due credit is however given to the later Indian and Tibetan influences on alphabetic modifications. But nowadays, even with the use of Galik characters, difficulty is experienced in interpreting certain sounds, much the same as modern Turkish is not always suited to the use of Persi-Arabic without confusion in certain vowel sounds.

Reference has already been made to the shortness of the historical sections dealing with early Mongolian history. Here no attempt seems to have been made to break new ground. Reliance as to historical facts has been placed largely on the works of Posdnejew. Very little is said about Mongol migrations and invasions towards the West—migrations that came to exercise such enormous

influence on Occidental history. Invasions (with permanent results) in the reverse direction began, it may be said, with the expansion of Russia towards Central Asia in the reign of Peter the Great. We learn, too, that in 1800 the mad Tzar, Paul, acting under pressure from Napoleon, despatched an expedition into Turkestan in order to undermine British influence in India. Thus does history repeat itself. It is satisfactory to learn that it met with the disaster it deserved.

But frankly, the historical sections are disappointing. There seems such a small amount of use in writing *eine kurze Geschichte* of the Mongols, starting from the times of Chingiz. There is available an accumulation of historical facts relating to Mongolian events long prior to the days of the Great Slayer and the Golden Horde. And it is, too, a period by no means devoid of interest, as tending to help the study of the development of the Central Asian peoples. It is a period already rich in literature, a great part of which is, in fact, available in German, in contradiction to Dr. Franke's statement in the preface to the effect that *die deutsche Literatur ist nicht reich an Schriften über die Mongolei, ihre Völker und ihre Geschichte*. If German literature is not rich in the subject, it is at least very well provided for. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that M. Korostovetz has added much to it so far as the early story of the Mongol tribes is concerned.

His modern history again is largely made up of a mass of detail, of interest possibly to the clerical section of a *Chancellerie*, but not of great importance to the general reader. To this, exception may be made to the chapter on the Mongols *vis-à-vis* Soviet propaganda, which is not only very informative, but, so far as we can judge, very accurate. This, of course, one is entitled to expect from so distinguished an author.

To sum up, there is to be found between the extra large pages of this work a tremendous amount of information of all sorts relating to the peoples of eastern Central Asia. But its compilation as a history is exasperating to the reader or the student. The narrative is not consecutive. It is not entirely logical in its sequence. It does not, in short, fulfil its claim to be a short history of the Mongols.

It strikes us as being more in the form of a series of extracts, or a series of carefully rewritten despatches, than a formal textbook. But even if we take it at that, it is true that they are the despatches of a clever, far-seeing, and very well-informed Ambassador to his departmental chief, and as such, of course, they have a very considerable value as reference.

The illustrations are not of any particular interest, and cannot be described as being much other than a series of excellent snapshots taken by an enthusiastic amateur photographer.

There is, unfortunately, no index, and it is a hopeless business to attempt to trace anything through the book. There is a formidable list of errata, many of which are merely corrections in German grammar, which might, if not should, have been corrected in the proofs. Apart from that, the publishers have stood by their authors well. The type is excellent and very clear, and the print is in the best modern German style, which is saying a good deal. It is, of course, not written in the old German *Schrift*.

M. Korostovetz is, we think, to be congratulated on his fluent, easy German and on his knowledge of the language. The style and phraseology throughout is simple and clear, and, we think, easier for an Englishman to read than are a good many German historical works. The price of the book is not stated on the thick paper cover.

ISLAM. By Sir E. Denison Ross. 6½ × 4½. Pp. 79. Ernest Benn, Ltd. Price 6d.

There are many big volumes on Islam or Turkey, on the Arab and the Caliphate, that cost many shillings, and deal at length with some phase of the mighty Arab Empire and its Turkish successor. Many there are who prefer at some cost to bathe in Abana and Pharpar, and will ignore the healing sixpenny waters of Jordan, in the shape of "Islam" by Sir Denison Ross, not the least valuable of that remarkable series *Benn's Sixpenny Library*. The whole entrancing and extremely puzzling story of Islam is herein laid bare from the seventh century to the rise of Afghanistan as we know it today, on the death of the Mogul Emperor Aurungzèbe. Not only are the somewhat puzzling successions of the orthodox Caliphs dealt with—that is essential—but we also see clearly in their proper perspective the great Arab kingdoms of Spain, North Africa and Egypt. Not only is the why and the wherefore of an Ommayad Caliph in Spain, and the Moroccan Empire of the West, explained, but we see the white Berbers accepting Islam, the coming of Fatimite Caliphs to Cairo, and the like. Then, again, the chapters take us through those intricacies which many are intrigued by, but few unravel in words of one syllable—the romantics of the Khwarazm Shahs, the Mongols, and the Il Khanids—and give us an outline of that quite remarkable freak domination of the whole of Persia as far as the Caucasus by the Afghans in the notable disturbances that followed feeble rule at Delhi. For less than ten years the Afghan domination of Persia endured and died away before the remarkable rise of Nadir Shah, but it left behind it that agelong quarrel over Herat which has lasted to this day, and may not yet be finished. It is not too much to say that no reader of the *CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL* can really follow its articles without Sir Denison Ross's book by his side.

F. G. M.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS SUCCESSORS, 1801-1927. By William Miller, M.A., F.R.H.S. Cambridge University Press. 616 pp. and maps. 16s.

This book, by the well-known Greek scholar, Mr. William Miller, is described as a revised and enlarged edition of the same work, originally published in 1913, with a second edition in 1923. The new material in the present (third) edition is confined to some additions in the penultimate chapter dealing with the Near East and the European War, and to the inclusion of an entirely new chapter entitled "The Greek, Turkish, and Albanian Republics, 1923-27," together with a new map.

The original work is such a standard authority upon the fate of the Ottoman Empire from the period of its decline that it is hardly necessary in this notice to deal with the book as a whole, and such remarks as will be made will therefore be confined to the new material.

Within the short compass of some twenty-five pages the salient facts connected with the doings of Turkey and the Balkan countries in the Great War are clearly and concisely brought out. As regards the Serbians, it is melancholy to be reminded of how Marshal Putnik, after the splendid headway made by the Serbs against the Austrians in the first year of the war, was refused permission by the Allies to "get the first blow in against the Bulgarians," with the additional result that the futile negotiations with Bulgaria prevented the Allies being able to help Serbia at the proper time. A curious thing, however, about the Bulgarian situation is that, after Bulgaria had been let down by King Ferdinand over the second Balkan War, his guidance was still followed during the Great War. Mr. Miller explains this by stating that, while German influence reigned at Athens equally as at Sofia, the Bulgarians had no statesman of the calibre of

M. Venezelos to oppose the King and pull things round more or less in the end as M. Venezelos did for Greece.

Mr. Miller dwells upon how the "secret" Treaty with Italy, upon her entrance into the war, handicapped Allied diplomacy both at Nish and Athens, and how Italy's interest all along was to prevent Greece coming into the war.

The complications in Greek policy and action are gone into at some length, and many will agree probably with the author's opinion that in 1916 it was hardly surprising that Greece, who had so recently fought two wars and had the fate of Serbia before her eyes, should have become more neutralist.

The unhappy temporary fate of Rumania is ascribed to its proper causes, and it may not be known to many that as regards Albania and to add to the general muddle in that region, an Italian general at one period was ordered definitely to proclaim "the unity and independence of *all* Albania under the ægis and protection of the kingdom of Italy." The actual events in Turkey during the war are summarized very shortly, but we have the authority of Mr. Miller for stating that the chief sufferers by the war in Asia were the unhappy Armenians, and that, apart from deportations and massacres, "The Prefect of Police at Constantinople admitted that the records of the Spanish Inquisition had been searched for new tortures."

The post-war Treaties are dealt with and Mr. Miller finds it hard to explain the "black ingratitude" of the Greek people in turning down M. Venezelos after the triumphs which he had won for his country at the Council-Board of Europe. However, many of us who have been in Greece have the satisfaction of reading an endorsement of our opinion as to the ultimate good of Greece having arisen from the Smyrna disasters. Thus, "the refugees have introduced unknown industries, and they have solved the Macedonian question as far as Greek Macedonia is concerned by bringing the Greek population of that province up to 88·8 per cent. Hellenism has become almost wholly European." The problems which confront the present-day Greater Rumania and the Serb, Croat, and Slovene Kingdom are touched upon, and finally one is glad to read a testimony as to the administration in our annexed colony of Cyprus.

To turn to the last chapter in the book upon the newly established Republics, the history of the last four years in Greece is well traced, as also the course of events, including many vicissitudes, which has led to the present Government comprising a coalition of most of the parties. This has now lasted practically for eighteen months, and confidence in its stability seems to be shown by the foreign loans and foreign enterprise invested in the country. It should be mentioned, however, that some strong opinion exists of Greece eventually reverting to a monarchy.

One could have wished that the aspect of the Turkish Republic had been dwelt upon at more length. As there is no opposition in the parliamentary sense of the word, "Republic" seems to be too liberal a term for present-day Turkey, and one would like to know what the future has in store for this State which has cast many guarantees to the winds. Events in the Third Republic—viz., that of Albania—are traced up to last June, when the Yugoslav incident occurred. "Albania's troubles are evidently not over; Tirana is the Achilles' heel of Balkan independence."

Mr. Miller concludes with some sentences which sum up the Balkan position with accuracy: "Racial hatred burns nowhere so brightly as in South-Eastern Europe, where, no more than in the more cultured West, does their profession of a common Christianity make rival nationalities love each other. Yet no unbiassed observer can doubt that the emancipation of the Eastern Christians from Ottoman rule has been a blessing. Western politicians, disregarding the

fact that these races of the Balkan Peninsula stepped straight out of the Middle Ages, after the long night of Turkish rule, into the full blaze of modern civilization, seldom make allowance for the difficulty of rapid adaptation to the new and strange conditions. Nothing is more unfair than to compare them with other and old-established countries. The wonder is, that the Christian States of the Near East have achieved so much in so comparatively short a time; and the wonder is increased when we reflect that their growth has been constantly hampered by the mutual jealousies and the ignorance of the Great Powers. The Balkan wars freed the States from the yoke of Turkey; the European War from the interference of Austria and Russia; and no Balkan nation—not even the Albanians—wishes to see Italy assume the part of Austria in its affairs. It will be a happy day for the Near East when the maxim ‘The Balkan Peninsula for the Balkan peoples’ is realized. It will be a still happier day when its peaceful development is their sole occupation.”

F. C.-O.

ARABIA DESERTA: A TOPOGRAPHICAL ITINERARY. By Alois Musil. Published under the patronage of the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts and of Charles R. Crane. American Geographical Society Oriental Explorations and Studies, No. 2. New York, 1927.

It is a little startling to see the familiar words, “Arabia Deserta,” on a title-page which does not exhibit the name of Charles M. Doughty, especially as this book, though the work of a Czech, is written in English idiomatic enough to make us regret its American spelling. Still, there is no copyright in titles; nor would it have been easy to find another equally appropriate for the present volume, which is the second of a series of five, all named (like the author’s former work, “Arabia Petraea”) after the provinces or districts explored by him between 1908 and 1915; for “Arabia Deserta” was preceded by “The Northern Hegâz” (1926) and is to be followed by “The Middle Euphrates,” “Palmyrena,” and “Northern Neğd.” Professor Musil takes occasion to point out—and the remark is characteristic—that the title chosen by Doughty for his “noble volumes” is misleading when regarded in the light of ancient geography, since the region which he traversed was actually included by the classical writers in Arabia Felix. Doughty’s fascinating personality and literary genius eclipse any shortcomings on the score of scholarship, but it must be admitted that his successor brings to the task of scientific investigation an equipment of learning such as few explorers have possessed. Considering that so much of the work is occupied with topographical and other details invaluable to the specialist, I think it is wonderfully interesting. The incidents of the daily march are related with such minuteness, the feelings and impressions of the travellers are depicted with such vivacity, that the reader can almost fancy himself to be one of the party. There are some thrilling episodes, admirably related, besides many fine passages of description. Sheikh Mûsa—to give the professor the name by which he was known to the Arabs—is no ordinary man. If his book were nothing more than a record of endurance, determination, courage, and tact under the most trying conditions in a country where life depends on careful and repeated scrutiny (through binoculars or otherwise) of every spur and boulder, it would be well worth reading. His only European companion (except in 1912, when they were joined by Prince Sixtus of Bourbon) was Rudolf Thomasberger, called Tûnân, who had charge of all the scientific instruments.

Twenty years ago Nûrî ibn Sha‘lân ruled over the Rwala, the most powerful tribe in Arabia Deserta. He had caused one of his brothers to be murdered by a slave; another he had killed with his own hand. “He boasted of having

personally killed in fights over 120 men ; and yet there he was sitting before me and looking at me with his childlike sincere eyes !” This was not a person to be trifled with, and by obtaining his protection and assistance the author took a long step towards ensuring the success of the enterprise. To “Sheikh Mûsa,” at any rate, he proved a loyal and affectionate friend. The scene of the main expedition is the territory stretching north-east and south-east of Damascus, its eastern boundary being an irregular line drawn southwards from al-Miyâdin on the Euphrates to al-Ġowf and the Nefûd. In addition to a sketch-map showing the author’s routes, the volume is accompanied by four large folding maps, enclosed in a separate case, which embody the results of his topographical investigations. These depend to some extent on information supplied by Bedouins, and we are given a curious account of the process by which it was elicited :

“On Friday I worked all day with the Slubi Faraġ, augmenting my geographical map of *al-Labbe* and *al-Heġera*. Having determined the cardinal points exactly, he proceeded to draw in the sand within my tent, hills, valleys, and wells, piling up sand for the ridges and *mesas*, scooping it out for the valleys, and marking the individual wells by circular dips. He did not show the distances, but was precise in his designation of the respective directions. The map finished, I questioned him as to the distances between the various places. These he explained in terms of daily marches, estimating, for example, whether it would be possible for Arabs migrating from locality A to locality B to reach their destination the same day. At the same time he took into account whether they were migrating in winter, when they can make at the utmost 20 kilometers, or in summer, when they make about 25 kilometers, if they travel from sunrise to sunset. . . . When determining the distance to a particular watering place, one may arrive at the desired information more easily by asking whether the camels are driven from the camp A to the watering place B in the morning, watered, and taken back without making stops (20 kilometers) ; or whether they do not reach the watering place until afternoon, pass the night there and return the next day (30 kilometers) ; or whether they pass the night some distance from the watering place, do not reach it until the next day, pass the second night beyond the watering place, and return to the camp the third day (45 kilometers). A more specific determination of distance or time is unknown to a Bedouin. . . . When I dismissed Faraġ that evening, my map contained much new topographical nomenclature, and my tent was full of yellow lice which he had left behind him.”

The Bedouin guides and servants (usually three in number) were thievish, quarrelsome, and difficult to manage. At least once a revolver was needed to quell their mutinous spirit, but as a rule both high and low respect the power of the tongue. When a youthful brave hinted that the author was afraid of the unknown desert, he retorted : “I was roaming through it on a camel’s back, while thou wast being carried through it on a saddle-bag.” The quizz flushed and retreated. In the bags that are tied to camel saddles the slaves on marches put the sons of their masters who are too young to know how to ride. These pages abound in realistic pictures of primitive Arabian life and of the desert in all its aspects—not without touches of true imagination. Take, for example, a description of the *razâ* (*ghadâ*), one of the most beautiful desert plants, famed for its tough but easily broken wood, an ideal fuel, producing almost no smoke, burning with a white flame for a long time, and leaving only smouldering red coals and fine white ashes. “Wherever the *razâ* grows in bushes it holds the sand by its roots, thus making a nucleus for the formation of small mounds of sand. A very sad spectacle is presented by bushes that have

been uprooted by the wind. Their glistening, dry white branches and trunks protrude from the sand so bent and broken that they seem like the bleached bones of men or camels covering a former battle-ground. Indeed, the uprooted *razá* does in reality lie scattered over a battle-ground, but the battle has been fought not between men, but between the frail plants and the indomitable, pitiless wind and its powerful ally, the treacherous sand. At the wind's bidding the sand forms a mound among and around the stems of the *razá*, into which it permits the plant's roots to sink; but hardly has the plant come to feel secure and safe when the sand obeys the wind again and the piteous *razá* has to perish."

In the course of the narrative we meet with many references to North Arabian politics before and during the war. The Rwala had no love for the Turks, but blamed the English, arguing that "the fewer pastures the Sultan had in the vicinity of Constantinople, the more he would strive for the appropriation of those belonging to themselves."

Various historical and geographical subjects are discussed in the Appendices (pp. 477-573)—*e.g.*, Northern Arabia in the Assyrian period; the Bene Kedem (the Biblical "children of the East," identified with the *Sharkiyya*, or Saraceni, the inhabitants of the inner desert in Central Arabia); the boundaries of Arabia Deserta according to classical and Arabic authors; ancient, medieval, and modern transport routes in this region; the history of Dumat-al-Jandal; and the march of Khálid ibn al-Walid from Irak to Syria in A.H. 13. The way in which Professor Musil applies his intimate knowledge of Bedouin life to the elucidation of historical problems is extraordinarily interesting and instructive.

The appearance of the volume, which is copiously illustrated, reflects credit on all concerned, particularly on the State Printing Establishment at Prague. It contains a bibliography and a full index.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

THE PALESTINE CAMPAIGNS. By Colonel A. P. Wavell, C.M.G., M.C. Appendices, index and maps. (Campaigns and their Lessons series, edited by Major-General Sir Charles Callwell, K.C.B.) 9" x 6". Pp. x+254. London: Messrs. Constable. 1928. 12s. 6d.

This is one of the series of campaigns and their lessons which are being edited by Sir Charles Callwell, and which can be read with interest by all classes, being written in a style not too technical for the non-military reader, but yet full of sound deductions and lessons for use by the student of military history.

The book is well arranged and opens with a useful chronology of events in all theatres of the war from 1914 to the armistice. The opening chapter deals with a description of the terrain, lines of communication, objectives of the opponents and the factors which influenced the conduct and strategy of the campaign; it shows how the command of the sea by the Allies immobilized an appreciable number of Turkish guns and units needed for shore protection, how it forced on the Turkish railways a greater load than they were fit to carry, but how, on the other hand, the presence of submarines in shallow waters prevented the Allies from transporting troops by sea, and forced on them the long marches through the desert and up through Palestine.

The dependence of the Turks on Germany for money and munitions and the resulting dictatorship of the control, management and direction of the Turkish armies by German generals is well explained, and also the consequent friction which arose between the conflicting policies and objectives of the Turks and Germans. It shows how the peculiar mentality of the German commanders

prevented them from justly appreciating the view-point of the Turks or their Eastern characteristics of inefficiency or inertia. The chapter ends with an appreciation of the good fighting qualities of the Turkish soldiers. The author goes on to show how the campaign was forced on us by the pressure of circumstances, and that it was not a "side show"—*i.e.*, a campaign unrelated to the main theatre of war in Europe, but part of a considered whole, being in truth the defence of a tactically weak part of the continuous fighting line from the Channel to the North-West Frontier of India, where an active attack might drive a wedge into Egypt and sever the line of supply through the Suez Canal. As always a vigorous offensive is the best form of defence, and in this case it proved easier to defend the long line of the Suez Canal by holding the shorter line across the south of Palestine.

The attack of the Turks, February, 1915, was naturally upon Ismailia, as the capture of that point would have severed the water-supply to Port Said and Suez. The faults in both the attack and the defence are examined; the author, we think, is very lenient in his criticism of the want of energy shown by the British command after the repulse of the Turkish attack.

By March, 1916, Sir Archibald Murray had assumed command of the whole of the troops in Egypt and was advocating a more advanced line for the defence of the Canal. The first step was to Katia, some twenty-five miles east of Suez, and the construction of the railway and pipe-line was commenced. From now on the account of the campaign is the account of how each successive step forward towards Palestine was forced upon the higher command, and, as each step was taken, so had the railway to be extended to supply the advance and the water pipe-line to be carried forward, until the old prophecy was fulfilled that when the water of Egypt was brought to Palestine the rule of the Turks over Jerusalem should end. The description of the fighting at Katia, April, 1916, and of von Kress's attack in July of the same year again shows a want of decision in counter-attack, leading to a disappointing result. The Arab revolt broke out in June, 1916, and the value of their adhesion to the cause of the Allies is efficiently summed up by the author, who shows how it diverted considerable Turkish reinforcements and supplies to the Hejaz, and protected the right flank of the British armies in their advance through Palestine.

Proper appreciation is given to the foresight of Sir A. Murray in initiating the construction of the railway and pipe-line, and a compliment made to the efficiency of the Egyptian Labour Corps. The author points out how at both the battle of Romani, August 4, 1916, and at the capture of Rafa, January, 1917, success was achieved just after orders had been issued to break off the fight, which points to the fact that the troops had more determination than the leaders. Both the actions at El Megdhaba and Rafa are excellent examples of bold handling of mounted troops and their limitations when set to attack entrenched positions on foot.

With the capture of Rafa the threat to the canal was removed and other considerations than the protection of Egypt led to the subsequent operations.

Mr. Lloyd-George, who was now Prime Minister, was pressing a vigorous prosecution of the war on the Eastern Front—and General Murray was anxious to launch the autumn campaign from the starting-point of Gaza and its water-supply.

Hence followed the two first attacks on Gaza, both of which failed; that which occurred on March 26 was withdrawn when almost successful, owing to the lateness of the hour and the approach of supporting Turkish troops.

"In war, a last ounce of optimism is sometimes a better reserve than many men."

After the second abortive attack on Gaza, there ensued a lull whilst more troops were arriving from India, Salonika, and Aden. General Allenby assumed command in June with the instructions from Mr. Lloyd-George that he wanted Jerusalem as a Christmas gift to the nation.

With the secession of Russia from the war and the failure of the Western offensive, the Government felt the necessity of success in the East to hearten the people at home, and at the same time pressure from Palestine would hold up the Turkish Yilderim Army which was assembling at Aleppo for an attack on Baghdad. With the troops under his command reinforced and reheartened, Allenby made his spring on Beersheba in October, 1917, captured Gaza on November 2, and was in possession of Jaffa by November 15, and Jerusalem by December 11. Although these events followed so quickly on each other, it was only after months of preparation, training and organization that success was possible, and the author's account of the difficulties encountered and the means by which they were overcome is interesting and instructive.

The last chapters deal with the preparation for the final overthrow of the Turkish armies in Palestine under Liman von Sanders, who had succeeded von Falkenhayn, and are particularly clearly and convincingly written.

We particularly commend to the reader's notice the careful preparations made by Allenby for his final attack in September, 1918, the secrecy of his movements, the use of the Arabs on the Hejaz railway, and his successful efforts to mislead his opponents as to the real point of attack.

The account of the final break through and the events leading up to the fall of Damascus reaches at times a high excellence and is never dull, it carries with it the imagination of the reader, and it is possible for anyone with the slightest acquaintance of Eastern topography to picture the scenes of fighting, the rush of the victorious horsemen, the steady thrust of the plodding infantry, and the amazement of the retreating Turks, hemmed in narrow defiles, attacked by planes from the air, and with their line of retreat barred by exultant foes sprung apparently from the ground.

W. G. L. B.

THROUGH THE HEART OF AFGHANISTAN. By Emil Trinkler. Edited and translated by B. K. Featherstone. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xv + 246; map and forty-four illustrations. London: Faber and Gwyer. 15s. net.

In these days when Afghanistan is daily coming more and more before the public eye, and especially now when its King is visiting England, Mr. Emil Trinkler's book has a particular interest.

The author gives one a graphic account of everyday life in Afghanistan. With motors already on hire in Kabul, and a progressive ruler returning shortly from Europe, there is no end to the modern improvements in communications which may shortly take place. If they do, it is to be hoped that with improved communications the time-honoured Afghan suspicion of all foreigners which the author quotes as the main reason of the 1924 disturbances may disappear.

The book begins with a most detailed account of the author's journey from Germany to Kabul, via Russia. He seems to have suffered from passport troubles in the same way as apparently do all others who have the temerity to travel in Russia in these days. His account of the journey from the Russian border to Herat is of particular interest, as much of the country through which he passed is a closed book to the Englishman. The author is obviously a close observer, and anyone who knows the East will recognize in his pen-portrait officials and servants with whom they themselves have had to deal. The second portion of the book is devoted to the author's life in Kabul, and to a trek which he took with

a friend to try and find coal in the Hindu Kush range. Much of the part which they travelled is entirely new country to the European. In Afghanistan the hotel and housing accommodation have not apparently followed the modernization of transport, and one feels for the author and his friends during their sojourn in Kabul hotels. One is possibly agreeably surprised to find a roof over one's head at all in caravanserais between Herat and Kabul, but it is strange that in a place like the latter, which boasts the Legations of at least four European nations and whose trade with Europe is daily increasing, there should be as yet no adequate hotel accommodation.

The last portion of the book deals with the author's return home via India. He visits Agra, Delhi, Benares and other time-honoured haunts of the visitor to India. These have been written about by so many that comment is unnecessary.

The book as a whole makes excellent and interesting reading. The style is at times somewhat stilted, but this is probably the inevitable result of translation.

AFGHANISTAN OF THE AFGHANS. By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 272; map and illustrations. Diamond Press. 21s.

Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah and his writings are well known to members of the Central Asian Society, who will welcome the timely book that he has just written on the country over which our Guests rule. The Sirdar bases his story on the great importance to Asia of the awakening of Afghanistan from the isolated slumber in which she has for some generations been wrapped. The first two chapters are a description of the country that, while inadequate for those more fully acquainted with the subject, is exactly what the general reader of no particular knowledge requires to give him a bird's-eye view of the story as it appears through the ages.

Then follow some delightful chapters describing the habits and customs folk-lore, superstitions and legends of the people of the country. They show properly enough the people, as very much like any other people of the world, facing the same family, domestic and religious problems, though perhaps they do give the impression that those upland valleys are charming havens of peace. Abdur Rahman, the *Amir El Kabir* (the Great Amir) as he truly was, said, "You may say I've an iron hand, but I rule an iron people"; or, as Lyall puts into his mouth:

"You may think I am reigning in heaven;
I know I am ruling in hell."

But that was before the iron hand had brought law and order, and induced peace by methods entirely its own.

Pleasant reading though these chapters are, and those on "Songs and Sayings" and "Hero Tales," the real value to students of Central Asian problems and their future lies in the chapters on Pan-Islamism, Religion in Afghanistan, and Race Movement in Turkestan. The development of the racial Soviets on the Oxus, their question of Pan-Turanianism, and the possible effect on Afghan Turkestan is one of the immediate questions on which all students will appreciate the Sirdar's views, effectively expressed as they always are. But the author has a good deal to say in criticism of Islam in its popular form, and evidently has some leaning to the Puritanism of the Ikhwan of Ibn Saoud's southern deserts.

"Modern Islam with its hierarchy of priesthood, gross fanaticism engendered by the clergy, appalling ignorance of the essence of the faith, and superstitious practices, is a discredit to the Islam of the Prophet." La la! but we have heard

this too in the West. His remarks, however, on the spiritualism of the East and the materialism of the West are part of the clap-trap which clever and superficial Eastern writers somewhat affect at the present moment. Those who know the sincerity which underlies the rule of life of devout Moslems or of the more unsophisticated Hindu would be the last to deny a spiritual outlook to the people of the East; but because the West is making use of the blessings and opportunities placed at the disposal of mankind, while the East has slumbered, the cry of materialism is not of necessity a valid one. A man must be more experienced and better versed in Western thought than the Sirdar before he can usefully moralize on such abstruse points. To bury your talents is one way of life, to use them so that they increase is another. But apart from this small girding at the Sirdar's aphorisms, it may truly be said that "Afghanistan of the Afghans" is a delightful and informing book of just that kind which a good armchair and a good reading lamp make specially acceptable in the eventide.

G. F. MACMUNN.

MAGIC LADAKH. By "Ganpat" (Major M. L. A. Gompertz). $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 291. With illustrations and map. London: Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd. 21s.

A reviewer is always loath to condemn a work altogether for fear that he may have allowed personal views to take the upper hand. Major Gompertz, no doubt, like many of us, felt called upon to write a book irrespective of its possible merits. It is obvious that he had the material and, judging by his former efforts, the ability to give us a pleasant and readable account of his wanderings, but "Magic Ladakh" cannot be classified among the serious books on Ladakh. The author has undoubtedly read up the existing literature on that country, as all intending travellers should, and, with a stay of some six months to his credit compiled this book. Anyone reading it will recall the feeling he experienced in his schooldays when plodding through some period of English history which did not appeal to him.

Travellers are often inclined to overdo the personal element in their narratives, but in this case the author has written an almost impersonal account, though his facts are based on his own knowledge. The history of Ladakh, the monasteries, the lamas, the inhabitants, etc., are all subjects dealt with in short separate chapters, but the facts have been carefully summarized from previous books without in any way inculcating the personal element. At the end of the book there is, however, one interesting chapter on the Nubra valley and the adjacent peaks, and the author rightly points out that here are many summits on which the foot of man has never trod. A casual reference is made to a flood in the Nubra valley which washed away the suspension bridge at Thrit across the Shyok river. A flood of such great severity, as this must have been, is worthy of more attention, as, so far as I am aware, such a tremendous cataclysm had not been known to occur since 1841. It will be recalled that Cunningham, writing in 1854, gives details of several of these inundations which had happened in the then recent years of 1826, 1833, and 1841. The explanation generally given is that the floods are caused by the sudden release of waters held up by glaciers. The fact that it is nearly a century since one had occurred will no doubt be of interest to geologists, and we look forward to their report as to the immediate cause of this flood, and also what actually has been taking place since the last flood in 1841.

Major Gompertz, not being a scientist, would have had difficulty in adding to our geographical knowledge of Ladakh, and his book should not be condemned

on that account alone. The photographs are, however, poor and of no special interest. There is no sketch-map showing the route followed, but simply a map of the region, containing a vast number of names, which is difficult to follow. The author has also seen fit to adopt a curious form of spelling, as, for example, Macchoi, Purigh, Gagganir, etc. The Permanent Committee on Geographical Names has not dealt with this part of the world; but surely the authority to follow is the Survey of India in "Routes in the Western Himalaya, Kashmir, etc.," vol. i. It is difficult to see why so many travellers of late appear to have an aversion to using this method in their books, adopting instead a spelling peculiar to themselves.

B. K. F.

MODERN JAPAN AND ITS PROBLEMS. By G. C. Allen. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1928.

Mr. Allen very justly remarks in the preface to his book, that a whole library of travellers' impressions, historical treatises and the like have been brought into existence since Japan decided to take her place with the nations of the West some sixty years ago. But, in spite of this, very few attempts have been made to "link up an interpretation of the national character or of the social organization with an analysis of Japan's political, educational, financial, and industrial systems." Herein lies the author's justification for placing before the public yet another volume on this fascinating country.

Most students of Japan will find themselves on familiar ground during the first part of the book, which deals with the people themselves—problems such as: Are they really artistic?—Are their high standards of politeness merely superficial?—Can a people who are so notoriously noisy with their food actually possess the fine sensibilities they claim? and so on. All these questions are dealt with quite frankly and sympathetically, after which follows a very fine description of the "Family System," that amazing institution not unlike the old Scottish clan system, but which is now highly organized and sponsored for by a rigid Germanic type of State.

All these things are interesting and well explained, but Mr. Allen writes as a true expert when he deals with Japan's "mass production" system of education and the position of the student in modern Japan; this also applies to his two scholarly chapters on economics and finance. He describes in detail the rather haphazard beginnings of Japan's banking system at the time of the Restoration, and how this has led to its present weakness, in that there is no powerful central organization, such as the Bank of England, to co-ordinate the activities of the numerous lesser banks and to control their credit policy. The existence of great commercial families in Japan, such as the Suzuki family, whose defaults recently brought about the failure of the Bank of Formosa, is an important point in studying the country's finances, and is one which has not been overlooked.

In the chapter on politics an impression is created that the "Genro" (or Elder Statesmen) still sway the nation politically, but in actual fact this is not now the case, for only one of these venerable and wise old men remains, Prince Saionji, and that powerful bogey, Public Opinion, has taken their place.

Events move rapidly in Japan and the Manhood Suffrage Bill of some years ago has enfranchised a further eight millions of the people, resulting, during the recent election, in signs of awakening to their power on the part of the Labour Party. The near future will doubtless see the political as well as the legal recognition of the Trade Unions, as Mr. Allen prophesies.

The last chapter, which Mr. Allen entitles "Japan and the West," is, while

dealing with a question of the greatest difficulty, probably the most enlightening of all, for here we have the fruits of all his observations both of a scholastic and—shall we say—human nature crystallized into an attempt to answer the great problem, how will it all turn out? The present state of affairs is that it is nearly impossible to form any definite comparison between Japanese and Western ideas—the people are still in the throes of the agony of transition from one civilization to another. The culture of past generations still draws them towards the life of their traditions, whilst their education and normal human regard for material wealth inspire them with a regard for the West.

The author traces briefly the various Western influences which have come Japan's way in recent years—France first, then Germany in connection with military matters, England for naval training, and today ourselves again in connection with education. The present very powerful American influence is deplored—the Americanized Japanese in Japan is frankly very difficult to appreciate.

Mr. Allen has, in fact, produced a book, sympathetic to the people amongst whom he lived and worked, and although far from blind to their weaknesses, yet ever ready to find a traditional reason underlying such of their actions as might not appear praiseworthy to the foreigner. The author is no “cherry-blossom” expert, nor has he made any erroneous statements of a Yellow Peril nature, such as the “Million Bayonets” myth, but has provided an interesting account of Japan's people, her politics, industry, and finance, together with a discussion of her future relations with the West.

It is to be sincerely hoped that his final burst of optimism may be justified, and that, in very truth, Japan's mission in the future will be “to work out some compromise between the West and the East, and, by her comprehension of both civilizations, to bring the two great branches of the human family together.

A. R. B.

NANA FARNAVIS. A Memoir by Captain A. Macdonald, with an introduction by H. G. Rawlinson, I.E.S. Humphrey Milford, for the University of Bombay. Price 8s. 6d.

The interest of its subject fully justifies the publication of this edition of a work originally issued in 1851. Nana Farnavis is regarded by his countrymen as the last and perhaps the greatest of the Maratha Brahman statesmen. He played an important part in a critical period of Maratha history, and his career was one of great vicissitudes. It began in the great disaster which befell his people at the hands of the Muhammadan alliance on the field of Panipat, from which Nana himself had the narrowest of escapes. He lived to see the reduction of the Muhammadan powers of the Dakhan—Mysore totally overthrown, and the Nizam, after a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Marathas, a subsidiary ally of the British. Meanwhile the Marathas held the power at Delhi and over all Central India. Nana, however, also lived to see the English risen from insignificance, at least in Western India, to be the inevitable arbiters of the destiny of the whole country. The English leaders, and particularly Warren Hastings and Cornwallis, gave the Peshwas' Government full opportunity to come peacefully within their system. Maratha policy, however, was essentially predatory and could not be reconciled with the order which it was the object of the Governor-Generals to impose. It was the fashion of old writers to describe Nana Farnavis as the Maratha Macchiavelli. A closer parallel with his tutelage over the Peshwa, Madhavrao II., would be found in the relations between Richelieu and Louis XIII. His final overthrow at the hands of a new ruler,

over whom he tried to continue his control, may suggest to some Bismarck and Wilhelm II. Nana Farnavis had, indeed, the faults and virtues of the race to which he belonged. His methods were unscrupulous, and his personal timidity was a real defect in a statesman of those troublous times. His weakness for the fair sex is frankly acknowledged in the fragment of autobiography attached to the Memoir: it became a matter of some political importance when the lady involved was the mother of the infant Peshwa. We may well accept, however, the opinion of Grant Duff, followed by the author of this Memoir, that he tried to do his best for his master and his country, and that in private life he was veracious, humane, and charitable. The best tribute to him is, perhaps, the statement of the British Resident at Poona at the time of his death that "with him has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government." Though his civil administration was lax, it is significant that the anarchy in the Dakhan only became general after his downfall.

Much of the Memoir is taken *verbatim* from Grant Duff, but no better authority could have been followed. It might, perhaps, have been stated in the introduction, not merely that the book was written by Captain Macdonald for translation, but that the translation into Marathi was actually made by him and was published in 1852. Mr. Rawlinson states that little is known of the author: but even that little is not given. The following brief facts of his career may therefore be put on record. Captain Archibald Macdonald was the third son of the Venerable William Macdonald, Archdeacon of Wiltshire. He was born in 1815, and joined the Bombay army in 1832. After doing all his service with the 18th Bombay Native Infantry he died at Jalna, Nizam's Dominions, in his thirty-ninth year, in March, 1854.

It is desirable in the interests of accuracy to point out certain errors in this edition. A note, correctly placed in the original, has been transferred from p. 24 to p. 22, and is thus likely to confuse the reader as to which Peshwa's death reference is made. On pp. 117 and 124 words have been omitted from the original edition, with injury to the sense. An obvious misprint in the original regarding the sons of Tukaji Holkar has been repeated on p. 122 of the new edition. On p. 162 the death of Madhavrao II. is shown as happening in 1797 instead of 1795. It is stated in the introduction that the spelling of proper names has been modernized; but this has not been always done correctly. For example, the fort referred to in the original as Loghur and once (by a misprint) as Soghur is in the reprint given as Jogarh. It is, of course, Lohogad, the well-known hill fort near Khandala. Nana's village and country house, given as Manaoli, is more correctly written in English as Menvali. Mr. Rawlinson is, it may be noted, in error in saying that it was at this place that Nana's widow, Jiu or Jiva Bai, the Joobye of the correspondence of the time, received Sir Arthur Wellesley and Lord Valentia. She saw them at different times in 1804 at Panvel; and it was not until many years after (as is shown in the Memoir) that she ventured to return to Menvali. It is indeed rather a pity that, doubtless owing to considerations of space, Sir Arthur Wellesley's letters, which were appended to the original edition, have not been reprinted. They show how, with his usual attention to every detail of his duty, he exerted himself to secure the safety and the pension of Nana's widow, and the release of her brother, Parasram, from the implacable enmity of the Peshwa Bajirao. The book is, however, both useful and interesting.

P. R. C.

THE TURKISH LETTERS OF OGIER GHISELIN DE BUSBECQ. Newly translated from the Latin of the Elzevir edition of 1633. By Edward Seymour Forster. Clarendon Press. 1927.

Busbecq was born near Ypres, the natural son of George Ghiselin Seigneur de Busbecq, in 1522. He was educated at Louvain, at Paris, at Venice, and at Padua, and, as his writings prove, possessed a remarkable knowledge of the classics and of ancient history. In 1554, he was appointed Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, a post which he occupied for eight years. As the famous letters prove, he was a many-sided man, who had something to say on many subjects, and said it with authority and with humour.

Upon his arrival at Constantinople he was informed that the Sultan, Soleiman the Magnificent, was at Amasia on the Persian frontier. Accordingly he soon resumed his journey, and gives a vivid description not only of the towns he passes through, but also of the life of the people, not forgetting the famous mohair. His description of Soleiman, who was at the zenith of his power and of his army, the most powerful in existence, is a masterpiece. Equally good is his account of the political situation. At the time of his arrival peace was being made with Persia, and he gives an account of the Ambassadors of Shah Tahmasp, whom he refers to as Sagthama. He shows clearly that his hopes rested on hostilities between Persia and Turkey. Indeed, the most important sentences under this heading merit quotation: "On their side are the resources of a mighty empire, discipline, frugality, and watchfulness. . . . On our side is public poverty, lack of endurance and training; the soldiers are insubordinate, the officers avaricious; and, worst of all, the enemy is accustomed to victory and we to defeat. Can we doubt what the result will be? Persia alone interposes in our favour; for the enemy, as he hastens to attack, must keep an eye on the menace to his rear." These are weighty words and one can only suppose that degeneracy in the successors of Soleiman saved Europe.

To turn to another subject, Busbecq is, I think, the first European to point out that St. George was identical with Chederle or Khizr. Actually the legend of the slaying of the dragon may be traced back to Perseus, while the death of the hero goes still further back to the tragedy of Tammuz, the lover of Ishtar. To readers interested in this subject, I would mention that Sir Richard Temple is publishing a work which deals with these old-world legends in a complete manner.

Busbecq was treated somewhat as a prisoner at Constantinople, but he never ceased to work in the interests of his country, which were also those of Europe, and when he finally returned to Vienna, he not only brought home a treaty of peace, but also valuable manuscripts, a collection of coins, Arabian horses, and even some camels.

P. M. SYKES.

NOTICES

MEMBERS are asked to send in their changes of address, and to notify the office if they do not receive their *Journals* and lecture-cards.

Journals have been returned to the office addressed to: C. G. Brasher, Esq.; Captain P. E. Bartlett, M.C.; Miss Balfe; Mrs. Bruce Cooper; Bassett Digby, Esq.; Edward Fletcher, Esq.; Miss Nita Mylne; Lieutenant-Colonel Leybourne Popham; J. O. Tanner, Esq.; Major R. L. Vance.

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

MESOPOTAMIA AND PERSIAN FORCE DINNER

WE have been asked to give notice that a dinner will be held on June 8 in London, for Officers of the Forces in Mesopotamia, North and South Persia, and Eastern Persian Cordon, including Members of the Civil Administration in Mesopotamia and the Consular Service in Persia.

General Sir William Marshall, Commander-in-Chief in Mesopotamia, will preside.

The dinner will be held at the Mayfair Hotel (cost 15s., excluding wines). Miniatures; evening dress.

Officers desirous of attending should communicate with the Hon. Secretary, Mesopotamian and Persian Dinner, 3, Cophthall Buildings, E.C. 2.

The following note on the Russian-German Alai Expedition has been communicated by the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

RUSSISCH-DEUTSCHE ALAI EXPEDITION.

BREMEN,

HORNERSTRASSE, 2.

This expedition is a joint undertaking of the Soviet Government (Academy of Leningrad) and the German scientific authorities. The object is the glaciological and geological and meteorological investigation of the Alai Mountains in Western Turkistan, from May to December, 1928.

Leader: W. R. Rickmers. Russian Members: N. L. Korshenensky, Professor of Geography, Tashkent; Professor Bielayeff of Pulkova; Professor Zimmermann of Tashkent.

German Members: Dr. L. Noth, Innsbruck, Geologist; Dr. R. Finsterwelder, Munich, Cartography; Dr. R. Lentz, Berlin, Ethnology. In addition there will be four young mountaineers delegated by the German and Austrian Alpine Club.

This is to be the beginning of a systematic collection of data towards the chronological comparison of the ice-ages in the Alps and Turkistan.

LIBRARY NOTICES

The following books have been received for review:

- "The Palestine Campaigns," by Colonel A. P. Wavell, C.M.G., M.C. Campaigns and their Lessons Series, edited by Major-General Sir Charles Callwell, K.C.B. 9" x 6". x + 259 pp. Appendices, index, and maps. (London: Constable. 1928. 12s. 6d.)
- "Memoir of the Life of the late Nana Farnavis." Compiled from family records and extant works by A. MacDonald. Translated by Lieut.-Colonel John Briggs, late Resident at the Court of Satara, with an Introduction by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S. 9½" x 6". 177 pp. Index and illustrations. (For the University of Bombay: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1927. 8s. 6d.)

- "The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq," Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554-1562. Newly translated from the Latin of the Elzevir Edition by Edward Seymour Forster. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{8}''$. xvi+265 pp. Map. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. 7s. 6d.)
- "Modern Japan and its Problems," by G. C. Allen. $8\frac{1}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$ 226 pp. (London: G. Allen and Unwin. 1928. 7s. 6d.)
- "Magic Ladakh," by Major M. L. A. Gompertz (Ganpat). $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. 291 pp. Illustrations and map. (London: Seeley Service. 1928. 21s.)
- "The Ottoman Empire and its Successors, brought up to date by the inclusion of a new chapter entitled 'The Greek, Turkish, and Albanian Republics, 1923-27,'" by William Miller. $7\frac{5}{8}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xv+616 pp. Third edition, enlarged. (Cambridge University Press. 16s.)
- "Five Years in Turkey," by General Liman Von Sanders. $9'' \times 6''$. x+325 pp. Four plates, 17 figures, 3 large-scale maps. (London: Baillière, Tindall and Cox. 1928. 16s.)
- "Through the Heart of Afghanistan," by Emil Trinkler. Edited and translated by B. K. Featherstone. $8\frac{7}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. xv+246 pp. Map and 44 illustrations. (London: Faber and Gwyer. 1928. 15s.)
- "Military Operations in Egypt and Palestine, from the Outbreak of War with Germany to June. 1917." Official History of the War Series. By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B. $9'' \times 5''$. vii+445 pp. (H.M. Stationery Office. 1928. 12s. 6d. Case of maps, 5s. 6d.)
- "A Tour in Southern Asia," by H. Bleakley. $9'' \times 6''$. 297 pp. 20 illustrations and sketch map. (London: J. Lane, Bodley Head. 12s. 6d.)
- "The Seventh Dominion," by Josiah C. Wedgwood. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. xii+131 pp. (London: Labour Publishing Co., Ltd. 1928. 2s. 6d. paper and 4s. 6d. cloth.)
- "Afghanistan of the Afghans," by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. 272 pp. Map. (London: The Diamond Press. 1928. 21s.)
- "Life and Times of Ali Ibn 'Isa, the Good Vizier," by Harold Bowen. $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xvii+420 pp. (Cambridge University Press. 1928. 25s.)
- "Genghis Khan, Emperor of All Men," by Harold Lamb. $9'' \times 6''$. 287 pp. Illustrations. (London: Thornton Butterworth. 1928. 10s. 6d.)
- "Stalky's Reminiscences," by Major-General L. C. Dunsterville, C.B., C.S.I. $8\frac{3}{8}'' \times 6''$. x+298 pp. Illustrations. (London: Jonathan Cape. 1928. 7s. 6d.)
- "Ibn Sa'oud, his People and his Lands," by Ameen Rihani. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. xvii+370 pp. Illustrations and map. (London: Constable. 1928. 21s.)

FEBRUARY PERIODICALS

- Fortnightly Review*: "Mother India—Swaraj and Social Reform," by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.
- The Atlantic Monthly*: "Is India Dying? A reply to 'Mother India,'" by Alden H. Clark.
- The Round Table*: "India, Political and Constitutional."
- The Edinburgh Review*: "The Situation in China," by O. M. Green.
- The Nineteenth Century and After*: "Afghanistan and the Outer World," by Lieut.-General Sir G. MacMunn, K.C.B., etc.

MARCH

- The Round Table*: "Manchuria: A Drama of Railways and Politics."
"India and the Simon Commission." "The Working of the Reforms: An Indian View."

- The Nineteenth Century and After*: "Afghanistan and the Outer World," by Lieut.-General Sir G. MacMunn, K.C.B., etc. "The Mechanism of Shanghai," II., by E. M. Gull. "China: Highbrow Illusions," by J. O. P. Bland.
- Police Journal*: "The Iraq Police," by Lieut.-Colonel Sir A. T. Wilson, K.C.I.E. "The Palestine Force under the Mandate," by A. J. Kingsley Heath.
- The Journal of the United Service Institution of India* (January, 1928): "Innermost Asia and the Story of China's Central Asian Expansion," by Sir Aurel Stein, C.I.E.

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TWO YEARS IN SOUTH KURDISTAN*

BY DR. G. M. LEES, M.C., D.F.C.

THE strategic importance of the rugged mountainous country of Kurdistan for the defence of Iraq does not require emphasis. It is a country inhabited by a proud, turbulent race, between which and the Arab inhabitants of the plains a state either of open war or of raiding activity has existed from time immemorial. Kurdistan is essentially Kurdistan. the land of the Kurds, and the political boundaries which divide it between the three countries, Iraq, Persia, and Turkey, are entirely artificial. In fact, many large nomad tribes have their winter-quarters in the low foothill region on the fringe of the Iraq plains, while in the summer they trek up into the Persian highlands in search of better pasture and a cooler climate.

So long as relations between the three countries concerned remain friendly the divided nature of Kurdistan need not cause either friction or embarrassment, provided that each country is able to control effectively its section. But were the present dictatorial form of government to collapse in either Persia or Turkey, this control would cease automatically—a state of affairs which would react unfavourably on the bordering territory in Iraq. During the period of our administration of Kurdistan, we have evacuated the country once as a result of an invasion of tribesmen from over the Persian frontier, and once in consequence of an incursion of a small body of Turks.

At the close of the Great War, the necessity of our exercising some Our first measure of control over Kurdistan was fully realized, but the authori- policy. ties were averse to military occupation of the country. It was decided, instead, to create some form of buffer state under a semi-independent ruler. A small group of chosen officers were to hold advisory positions and to be in charge of the training of local armed forces. The policy decided upon was an unfortunate one as events proved, but in the circumstances there seemed to be no alternative.

The only outstanding personality in Sulaimani with sufficient Shaikh authority and capable of undertaking the rulership of the country was Shaikh Mahmud i Shaikh Said, so he was duly appointed with the title of Hukmdar and with a substantial subsidy. Mahmud.

Major Noel and a small group of officers proceeded to Sulaimani in order to assist in the work of organization and administration. The evil reputation of Shaikh Mahmud for treachery and dishonesty was

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well known, but as his interests and ours appeared to coincide there seemed to be no occasion for him to play us false. Unfortunately he was trusted too implicitly and allowed too complete control of his large subsidy. Intoxicated by his sudden acquisition of power and wealth, Shaikh Mahmud's ambitions soon commenced to soar beyond their prescribed limits and he had visions of himself as, eventually, king of a united and independent Kurdistan. During the course of the following months, he gathered around him a band of sworn accomplices, and installed a number of ex-Turkish officers or officials in responsible positions in the administration and in the native levies, then being trained by British officers. These men were under an oath of allegiance to support him personally in an effort to throw off all British control.

Shaikh Mahmud had little real popularity throughout South Kurdistan. His reputation for tyranny and treachery caused him to be heartily disliked by all except his own immediate following, but for the same reason he was feared by all who lacked sufficient protection from his vengeance. His position as head of the holy family of Barzinji Shaikhs (in Kurdistan the name Shaikh implies Saud or descendant of the Prophet) caused him to be generally respected. The Kurd is, in general, not devoutly religious, but his simple and superstitious nature makes him particularly susceptible to the influence, whether for good or for evil, of his holy Shaikhs.

Shaikh Mahmud's personal followers were mostly tenants from his large estates or from those of his numerous relatives. He was disliked by the larger nomad tribes, but as the support of the tribesmen was essential for the advancement of his ambitions, on his appointment as Hukmdar, he spared himself no pains to win their allegiance. In this he was favoured by a series of circumstances. During the winters 1917 to 1919 almost famine conditions ruled throughout this part of Kurdistan. In the north the Penjwin district had been ravaged by a Russian army, and in particular by their avenging advance guard of Christian tribesmen. Elsewhere Turkish grain requisitions had been on such a scale that seed grain for the 1919 sowing had been almost unobtainable. In consequence of such conditions the tribesmen were prepared to swear allegiance to anyone in return for substantial subsidies.

Shaikh Mahmud's propaganda for an unified and independent Kurdistan produced no effect whatsoever. At that time anything approaching a national feeling was completely lacking in Kurdistan. Owing to the bitter animosities between the various tribal elements and to the dislike and contempt of all tribesmen for the townsmen and effendi class of ex-Turkish officials, unification and co-operation was out of the question. The demand for independence arose from the latter class—the small but articulate minority.

Shaikh Mahmud was further assisted in his schemes by an important factor—namely, the distrust of the people of our real intentions. This distrust arose largely as a result of an unfortunate retirement from Kirkuk, which, as a military necessity due to lack of transport, we had been forced to undertake in the summer of 1918. On our occupation of that town in the May of that year the Turks had retired from the whole of South Kurdistan. We were given a cordial welcome by the people of Kirkuk, and the leading Kurdish personalities, including Shaikh Mahmud, sent representatives to us in Kirkuk offering submission. The Turks on their reoccupation exacted a summary vengeance on all who had been friendly to us. This affair, in so far as it was a military necessity, was unavoidable; but it did us incalculable damage from a point of view of prestige. The tribesmen had now to decide between allegiance to the British or to Shaikh Mahmud, and there can be no doubt that, if they could have been convinced that we were honest in our declared policy of remaining in Kurdistan, a rebellion in 1919 would have been impossible.

By February the situation had so developed that Shaikh Mahmud's ultimate ambitions were becoming increasingly evident, and steps were considered to bring him under closer control. About this time Major E. B. Soane arrived in Baghdad. A year previously he had contracted tuberculosis while serving as Political Officer at Khanaqin, and he had been evacuated to Australia as an incurable case. The disease had been arrested, and now Soane returned, far from sound, but prepared to undertake active duty once more. It is unnecessary to describe this remarkable man or his connection with Kurdistan to the members of this Society. He has been himself a contributor to this *Journal*, and his obituary notice in it contained a brief summary of his career. He has described his remarkable journey before the war and his sojourn in Sulaimani and Halabja in his book, "To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise." This book has been out of print for many years, but thanks to the efforts of his widow and of some personal friends, a new edition has recently been published as a memorial. The study of the Kurds and their language had long become his foremost interest, and the knowledge thus gained during his long sojourn among them, together with his natural remarkable personality, made Soane of unique value for the administration of Kurdistan.

Major E. B.
Soane.

In early March the Civil Commissioner called a conference at Baghdad to discuss the Kurdish situation. It was attended among others by Colonel Leachman, Major Soane, and Major Noel. It was decided that Soane should replace Noel at Sulaimani, and that Shaikh Mahmud's power should be gradually curtailed, but, if possible, in such a way as to avoid an open breach. One of the first steps was to detach the Halabja district and the powerful nomad Jaf tribe from the authority of Shaikh Mahmud, and to place it in charge of an Assistant

British policy
defined.

Political Officer, who should be directly under the orders of Major Soane at Sulaimani, and I was chosen to undertake this duty.

On March 15 I commenced my trek from railhead at the Jebel Hamrin with a small cavalcade of horses and mules, bound for the great unknown. The political situation was pregnant with possibilities; could we succeed in our attempt to clip gradually the wings of our own nominee, or would he attempt an independent flight before our plans matured? It was bracing spring weather, and mounted on a spirited Arab stallion, one felt little inclined to heed the "music of a distant drum."

At Kifri I found myself in the midst of my Jaf tribesmen, then in their winter-quarters in the foothills on the fringe of the Mesopotamian plains. I halted here for a few days, and paid the headmen of the various sections of the tribe the monthly subsidies previously paid by Shaikh Mahmud, the total subsidy of the latter in Sulaimani being deducted by an equivalent amount. This was the first outward sign of a change in policy, and, in consequence, I received a most cordial welcome everywhere throughout my onward journey to Halabja. The Jaf tribe, and especially their chiefs, the Begzada Jaf, were hereditary enemies of the Berzinja Shaikhs, and our policy of armed financial support of Shaikh Mahmud had been very disagreeable to them.

Halabja lies picturesquely situated among pleasant gardens at the south-eastern end of the broad and fertile Shah-i-Zur valley. It is the capital of a long, straggling district, bounded on one side by 150 miles of Persian frontier, and yet it is in reality no more than an enlarged village, with some 1,000 houses. It boasts of three large, well-built, two-storey houses belonging to the Osman Pasha branch of the Begzada Jaf family, the other branch, that of Mahmud Pasha, having remained with the nomad tribe, although their influence among them had become almost nominal.

The Shahr-i-Zur valley is the half-way halting-place of the Jaf tribe on their long seasonal trek from their winter-quarters in the Kifri vicinity to the Persian highlands between Sinna and Saqiz. For about a month in the late spring, and again in the autumn, the valley is dotted with their countless black tent encampments, and the hills resound with the shouts or the songs of their shepherds. The life of the nomad is care-free and easy, and a good rifle and a swift mount are regarded as necessary attributes of manhood. The settled villager is looked on as an inferior grade of creation—in fact the very name Kurd signifies a tribesman as distinct from a villager or Gurani.

Southern
Kurdistan :
The mountain
tribesmen.

The Shahr-i-Zur plain is flanked on the north-east by a great mountain wall—the Kuh-i-Aoroman—rising 6,000 feet almost sheer out of the plain to a height of about 9,000 feet. The Persian frontier runs along the crest of this range. Both sides of this great mountain mass are inhabited by powerful mountain tribes, living in almost impregnable

villages built in the rock face of the steep and narrow mountain gorges. Where the valleys are wider, terraced gardens are built on the flanks and watered by small canals let off from the main stream higher up the valley. Dried fruits and nuts, including walnuts, almonds, figs, mulberries, apples, quince, raisins, etc., are the principal products of these mountain villages. The Aoroman tribesmen are non-Kurd, and speak a language of their own, unintelligible to a Kurd. They had always been a source of embarrassment to the Turks, a legacy of trouble which we were destined to inherit in full measure. They were divided into two main sections, that of Jafar Sultan and that of Mahmud Khan Dizli, both living partly on our side of the frontier and partly in Persia. The Persian Government did not, however, exercise even a nominal control over them at that time.

As I approached Halabja, I was met, according to the custom of "istiqlal," by over a hundred sowars, including all the Begzadas and the local people of importance. On my arrival I was ushered into the presence of a remarkable personality—the famous Lady of Halabja, Adela Khanum. She was widow of the late Osman Pasha, but, by virtue of her own force of character, she was feared and respected throughout the whole of Southern Kurdistan. She was a small person, apparently frail in body, but nevertheless possessed of endless and unbounded energy. Her features were fine cut, with a tendency towards the aquiline type, and her dark flashing eyes revealed the secret of her power. The first impression which one received of her was of stern harshness and innate strength of character; but, when she smiled, one realized that the subtleties of the woman had played a large part in the success of her autocratic rule. At this time Adela Khanum was about sixty years of age, but, thanks to the skilful, though liberal, use of artificial aids, she did not look a day over forty. The glow in her cheeks was of Parisian origin, and the blackness of her long, straight locks was somewhat idealized. I remember on a later occasion visiting her as she was just recovering from a severe attack of fever, and noticing to my astonishment about an eighth of an inch of pure white at the roots of her hair!

Adela
Khanum.

The Begzada family were at this time divided into two factions, the Lady and her sons Ahmad Beg and Izzet Beg and the families of Mahmud Pasha and Fattah Beg on the one side, and Hamid Beg, son of Osman Pasha by another wife, Daud Beg, and some others on the other side. Shaikh Mahmud had taken advantage of this split, and, as a result of payments and promises, had won the allegiance of Hamid Beg. The latter was allied by marriage with the Aoroman tribes, and so, in the absence of the Jaf nomads from Shahr-i-Zur, he was a source of considerable embarrassment for the other faction. In consequence of this strained situation, I received a very cordial welcome from the Lady and her side and a correspondingly cold one from Hamid Beg.

The month of April and first part of May passed without any untoward incident. Meanwhile I had visited the greater part of my large and unwieldy district, and was becoming more familiar with the tribal situation and with the various chiefs and headmen. Major Soane in Sulaimani was pursuing his policy with apparent success, and, although we realized that Shaikh Mahmud would eventually make a bid for independence, we hoped that before he decided to do so we should have sufficiently curtailed his power as to render him harmless. But events were to prove otherwise !

Early in May I received news that Mahmud Khan Dizli, with about 200 Aoroman tribesmen, had crossed the frontier, with the announced intention of marching on Sulaimani to pay a friendly visit to Shaikh Mahmud. Knowing that Mahmud Khan had been subsidized by Shaikh Mahmud, it was obvious that this friendliness was not altogether disinterested, and so I decided to intercept him. My total armed force then consisted of a detachment of fifty Kurdish levies under command of Sidqi Beg, an ex-officer in the Turkish army. I ordered him to proceed with his men to Khormal in order to be within easy reach in case of emergency, and I set forth accompanied by Ahmad Beg and about fifty Jaf sowars. Meanwhile Mahmud Khan had been awaiting developments in a village at the foot of the Aoroman mountains, unwilling to leave the shelter of his crags until he knew what action I might take. His intentions were obviously unfriendly, and, in fact, the real reason of his desire to reach Sulaimani was only too well known. But I did not wish, nor was I indeed in a position, to provoke hostilities. With Jaf sowars I could not attack him so long as he remained in the hills. The levies were mostly recruits, and, apart from the question of numbers, they were certainly no match for the Aoroman mountain tribesmen in their own country.

Meeting with
Mahmud
Khan.

The only course open to me was to reason with him, and to profess ignorance of his real intentions. I sent a sowar ahead to announce my arrival, and I was duly received and entertained to the customary ceremonial tea. Mahmud Khan was a great uncouth man, with a face in which one searched in vain for a trace of intelligence. His men were about the wildest crowd imaginable as they stood around in a great circle staring with astonishment at the strange *farangi*. They were all physically powerful men, and well armed with Turkish Mauser rifles. During a tea ceremony it is an unwritten law that one may not broach any serious subject, and so conversation was confined to platitudes. Mahmud Khan spent most of his time glaring at me, and I could almost feel his mind working, wondering how much I knew, or was I as simple as I looked, and what unknown source of power had I that I dared visit him in this way and attempt to thwart his purpose.

At the first opportunity I commenced business. I pointed out that

the British Government would regard his crossing the frontier with a body of men as an armed invasion, and that Baghdad had already been informed by telegraph, etc. To cut a long story short, after a great deal of argument he agreed to return to his village and disperse his men, and if he should wish to go to Sulaimani at a later date he would first come to Halabja to ask my permission. We parted good friends as far as outward form goes, and I returned to Khormal to wait there until I received assurance that Mahmud Khan had actually returned.

In the night of the following day Sidqi Beg was fatally shot outside my tent. It was a mystery which baffled me at the time. Mahmud Khan had meanwhile definitely returned to Dizli, and none of his men were known to be in the neighbourhood. Neither could I think how he could profit by such a murder, nor could Sidqi Beg, a very small man, have been mistaken for myself even in the semi-darkness. The truth was, as transpired long subsequently, that the shot had been fired by a friend, and that Sidqi Beg had been my most dangerous enemy. He had been in the pay of Shaikh Mahmud, and when I ordered him to proceed to Khormal he had wanted to march direct to Mahmud Khan and join forces with him. A young Begzada, who was his second in command, refused to become party to this treason, and Sidqi swore to be revenged. The Begzada had not told me of the incident as he thought I should not have believed it, which is perhaps true, especially as Sidqi was as efficient as an officer as the Begzada was the reverse. He knew that Sidqi would shoot him sooner or later if he got a chance, and so——

The next day I returned to Halabja, and the Dizli incident seemed to be closed. I had kept Sulaimani informed of the course of events throughout. Two days later the Mudir of Khormal sent in the urgent news that Mahmud Khan had collected about five hundred Aoroman and Merivan tribesmen, and had crossed the frontier near Penjwin, and was on his way to Sulaimani through the hilly country of Shahr Bazhir, thus avoiding Shahr-i-Zur entirely. Threat to Sulaimani.

I wired the news immediately to Sulaimani, but it only gave about a few hours warning of his arrival. That same morning Major Soane had left for Baghdad by motor, completely ignorant of the approaching calamity, and Major Greenhouse had taken over command. The levies were despatched to prevent Mahmud Khan's entering the town, and in spite of the disaffection of some of the officers they put up a fight, but were eventually routed, and Sulaimani lay open to Mahmud Khan.

Meanwhile Shaikh Mahmud had made no move. If Mahmud Khan had been defeated he would have stoutly denied all complicity, but now, with the defeat of the levies, he was automatically master of the situation. The British officers were seized, and placed under a strong guard in the political office. The telegraph

line to Kirkuk had been cut early that morning, and a sower with despatches sent off by Major Greenhouse had been intercepted, thus preventing the news of the momentous events of the day from reaching the outside world.

Shaikh Mahmud immediately proclaimed himself King of Kurdistan, and proceeded to wreak his vengeance on all and sundry suspected of pro-British sympathies. Mahmud Khan and his wild mountain tribesmen set to work to loot and pillage indiscriminately.

The telegraph service between Sulaimani and Halabja was not a model of efficiency. The line lay for long stretches on the ground, and, as a result, it only functioned in fine weather, and only very rarely was it possible to use the telephone. That evening I was surprised to hear a faint buzzing in my D. 111 instrument, and on lifting up the receiver I heard the voice of Major Greenhouse. It was an unusual combination of fortunate circumstances. Shaikh Mahmud had by an oversight omitted to cut the Halabja line, and Greenhouse and his comrades were locked in the very office containing the telephone instrument.

Hastily Major Greenhouse recounted to me the events of the day, and how he had been unable to get news away of the disaster, and then—crash! A sentry had suddenly looked into the room, and, finding Greenhouse in the act of speaking in the telephone, had sent the instrument flying with his rifle-butt. But it had been sufficient: I despatched an urgent messenger to Khanaqin, and two days later the news was wired from there to Baghdad.

I at once commenced preparations for a relief expedition of Sulaimani. With the assistance of the Lady, Ali Beg, and Ahmad Beg I sent messengers to all sections of the Jaf to mobilize their complete strength and to concentrate in Shahr-i-Zur. Sowars from the neighbouring villages began to arrive during the course of the following day, and by evening I had a force of about 150 men. I started off at dawn next morning, hoping to collect many more men on the way through Shahr-i-Zur, although the Jaf nomads could not be expected within a week.

But alas for my hopes! No sooner was I a few hours on the march than news arrived that the men from the mountain village of Abu Abela were preparing to attack and loot Halabja under the leadership of Shaikh Kerim, an agent of Shaikh Mahmud. I wanted to push on, but as the homes of many of my men were in danger I could no longer control them, and I was forced very reluctantly to abandon the expedition temporarily and return to Halabja.

During the course of the next twenty-four hours I gradually lost control of the situation, until finally I realized that I was a prisoner in my own house. Rumours were abroad that the British had completely evacuated Mesopotamia, and that the Arab tribes had

captured the Boghaz-i-Fao. This was a name with which to conjure. To the Kurdish mind Mesopotamia is entered through a mountain-pass at Fao, and a few *tofanchis* (riflemen) can hold the situation against an army. Such *chai-Khaneh* rumours are much more formidable than a visible enemy. Confirmation was available in abundance from men who had been to Khanaqin or Baghdad during the course of the winter, and had seen on all sides signs of demobilization and evacuation. Also the memory of our evacuation of Kirkuk was still fresh. Shaikh Mahmud had sent envoys to Hamid Beg appointing him governor, and a number of his adherents, such as Shaikh Kerim, to various other offices. The men who had come to my assistance a day previously either left for their homes or joined Hamid Beg, and numbers of *tofanchis* from Abu Abela and the nearer Aoroman villages crowded to Halabja at the prospect of loot, my treasury being supposed to contain fabulous sums. The levies had somehow ceased to exist and had disappeared. There was no alternative but to prepare for a siege and await the arrival of the Jaf.

The Lady and her faction of Bagzadas remained friendly, but, until assistance from the nomad Jaf should arrive, they were powerless. Ali Beg i Mahmud Pasha joined me in my house with about fifteen reliable men, and these, together with ten men of my own, constituted the sum-total of my strength, as opposed to 400 or 500 men with Hamid Beg. He had placed a cordon around my house, but he lacked confidence to attack me openly by day, and we managed to beat off two rather half-hearted night attacks.

The third day brought a diversion. About eleven o'clock a great shout went up: "Taiyara hat, taiyara hat!" An aeroplane! Hamid Beg's men scattered in consternation in all directions, while my small handful of followers shouted and cheered for joy. The plane circled round, and flying low over my house dropped a message-bag. I rushed into the courtyard, picked up the bag, and seeing the handwriting of the Civil Commissioner, Colonel (now Sir Arnold) Wilson, I did not wait to read further, but, snatching up the white marking strips, I jumped on my horse, which had been kept ready saddled day and night for any such emergency and, regardless of the enemy, started off at a hard gallop for the landing-ground about two miles away. The plane continued to circle round, and when I put out the T it came low as if to inspect it, and then after a friendly wave from pilot and passenger flew straight away in the direction of Kifri. It was a great disappointment, and of course I could not divine the real reason for their not having landed, namely shortness of fuel.

I had made a mistake. In the first place it would have been very unwise for the Civil Commissioner to have risked a landing, and it is doubtful if he could have more than temporarily influenced the situation. But as I had obviously prepared for his landing and he had not, I had

to explain the reason to the numbers of sowars of both sides who now came galloping up. I said the pilot had signalled that the ground was too small. The excuse did not sound very convincing, but as luck would have it I was able to profit by it two days later.

I rode back to Halabja alongside Hamid Beg who was very pleasant and affable and, in spite of the seriousness of the situation, I could not help smiling inwardly at its ridiculousness. Hamid Beg's manner was prompted by two motives: he was unable to gauge the significance of this unexpected visit from the skies, and he hoped to elicit some information. At the same time he probably suspected I might try to escape, and so we re-entered Halabja, and returned to our respective strongholds!

The news contained in the Civil Commissioner's message was not very reassuring. A small relief force for Sulaimani, sent from Kirkuk, had been ambushed, and forced to retire with heavy casualties, including two armoured cars. A larger force was then being concentrated at Kirkuk, but two to three weeks must elapse before an advance can be expected. If I lost control of the situation, I should retire on Khanaqin.

The following day passed quietly, but that night another attempt was made to storm my compound. As there was still no news from the Jaf tribe by next day, I decided to attempt to escape under cover of darkness in the coming night, but presently the situation became critical and demanded more immediate action. Messengers from Shaikh Mahmud arrived for Hamid Beg, bringing various royal proclamations and a Kurdish national flag, which was duly hoisted and greeted by volleys of shots as a *feu de joie* (incidentally I now possess this same flag as a souvenir of these events). The messengers also reported that Mahmud Khan was on his way, and would arrive that night at Halabja with instructions that I was to be captured dead or alive. This news did not suit Hamid Beg's men as they should then have had to share the loot from my treasury with several hundred others, and in consequence much unusual activity could be seen from my house.

It is difficult to describe adequately the atmosphere of my "siege." There was something unreal, almost comic opera, about the whole situation, although there was no denying its seriousness. Hamid Beg was a small disagreeable man with a strongly pocked face, and he did not give one an impression of the terrible Kurd. He was, indeed, less to be feared than his friends, the Aoroman tribesmen, or than Shaikh Kerim and his men from Abu Abela. These men hung around my house in groups all day, but they did not molest my servants going to or from the bazaar for food, and there was always a ready interchange of news. In this way I soon learned the reason for the commotion in the enemy stronghold—namely, that I was to be attacked in the afternoon in order to forestall Mahmud Khan's arrival in the evening.

There was only one obvious course of action—to escape at all costs.

I regretted bitterly having delayed so long, in the vain hope of relief arriving from the Jaf. Soon, however, I devised a plan. I gave a trustworthy old henchman a large envelope carefully sealed and containing some old papers. He was to take it secretly to the Lady and to ask her to send two sowars with it quietly out of the town. They were to walk for about a quarter of an hour in the direction of Khanaqin, and then turn about, and come galloping back, and if possible deliver me the despatch.

The Lady played her part admirably, and the plan was a complete success. The sight of two galloping messengers so took the enemy by surprise that they were able to reach my compound without being molested. I read my "despatches," and excitedly informed my men that eight aeroplanes were due to arrive in half an hour's time.

We now, in our turn, shot off a *feu de joie* into the air in the approved fashion, and my men soon broadcasted the great news. Eight aeroplanes being such a lot of aeroplanes and the landing-ground being small, as the event of two days previously had shown, I decided that much digging was necessary. I sent to the bazaar and hired as many coolies as available and provided them with such implements as I possessed. This small band of workers, armed with picks and shovels, were despatched to the landing-ground, and their departure seemed to put the hall-mark of sincerity on my news. The groups of *tofanchis* in the vicinity of my house seemed to melt away and, when I saw the coast was clear, I announced that I must go personally to superintend the digging work, for to dig an aerodrome requires years of experience!

Accompanied by Ali Beg and Ahmad Beg and about twenty sowars, I rode slowly out of the town. Two of Ali Beg's followers had saddle drums which they played vigorously out of defiance at Hamid Beg's men who we could see lining the wall of his compound—great wild looking men scowling at our changed fortunes and obviously very ill at ease.

We rode at a walking pace all the way to the landing-ground—and then off at a gallop! By the time the news reached Hamid Beg that he had been tricked we had about two hours start.

My pursuit could not be thought of until my treasury had first been looted—and that was no easy matter. My personal belongings soon disappeared, but they were not very considerable, and all attention was centred on my safe, the contents of which were variously estimated at 10 to 100 lakhs of rupees. The blacksmith was summoned and he soon demolished the safe—only to find a heap of ashes inside. I had had about 30,000 rupees, of which all but some 3,000 were in notes. During the past two days I had listed the numbers of all the notes (which were subsequently annulled) and burnt them. The silver I distributed among my men before departing.

After two hard days riding across the mountain-passes I reached

Khanaqin, and so by car to Baghdad. The Jaf tribesmen had actually formed a force of about 1,000 sowars, and were starting for Shahr-i-Zur, when they heard that I had left Halabja. The inspired rumours of British evacuation of Mesopotamia had seriously undermined their confidence and, on learning of my precipitous departure from Halabja, they disbanded. The headmen wrote me a mazbata, or declaration of loyalty, saying that if I could produce definite proof of our intention to remain in Kurdistan, even half a dozen British soldiers, they would follow me to the end of the world, etc. But I was but a single individual and a fugitive from my command!

On arrival at Baghdad, I learned that no advance was contemplated from Khanaqin until the main force concentrating in Kirkuk had commenced operations. As this necessitated a delay of at least a fortnight, I obtained permission to rejoin the Air Force temporarily and flew next day to Kirkuk.

The Sulaimani relief force was commanded by General Frazer. The initial reverses had been the result of under-estimating the quality of the enemy, and General Frazer wisely decided to postpone further advance until he had sufficient force to place the issue beyond doubt. I made several trips over Sulaimani, but Major Greenhouse and his comrades were kept under cover and out of sight. We refrained from bombing, as the prisoners would have suffered as a reprisal. Likewise at Halabja, from fear of hitting the Lady's house, I did not recommend bombing, but at Abu Abela I was lucky in scoring a direct hit on Shaikh Kerim's house.

It must be said to Shaikh Mahmud's credit that he fought bravely. Having so deeply committed himself he was desperate, and with an almost fanatical enthusiasm he inspired his men, already flushed by their initial success, to deeds of bravery. But against a well-organized modern force, with machine guns and artillery and supported by aeroplanes, it was of no avail.

Bazian Pass was stormed on June 18. Shaikh Mahmud was severely wounded and captured on the battlefield, and the remnants of his forces scattered in all directions. The safety of the British captives in Sulaimani was our immediate concern. After the taking of the Pass the whole force moved forward, preceded by the cavalry (two squadrons, 32nd Lancers) and a section of field artillery, who occupied the Tash-lujah Pass early in the afternoon. The bulk of the cavalry then pushed on and took Sulaimani about 7 p.m., just in time to save the lives of the British prisoners. It was a brilliant rescue, and entirely dependent on speed for its success. If news of the defeat and capture of Shaikh Mahmud had reached Sulaimani first, the captives would certainly have been carried off into the mountain country of Shahr Bazir and held there as hostages—or if that had not been possible their alternative fate may be imagined. But the first news Sulaimani

received was the thundering of the hoofs of the Indian sowars. The guards were taken completely by surprise and easily overpowered, and Major Greenhouse and his comrades were free, after just a month of confinement. They had suffered much physically, and even more mentally, but all was now over.

Two days before the storming of Bazian I had been recalled to Khanaquin to accompany a small force advancing from there to Halabja. Our expedition was uneventful, and we arrived at Halabja on the same day as General Frazer with a force from Sulaimani. Hamid Beg and his adherents had, of course, sought refuge in the Aoroman, and the Lady was once more established in her own. In recognition of her services to me she was awarded the order of Khan Bahadur—the first woman, as far as I know, on whom this distinction has been conferred. Establishment of security.

Much hard work, but of less general interest, lay before us. Our first concern was to round up the ringleaders of the rebellion, and then to establish the administration on a sound footing and in a manner acceptable to the people themselves. Hamid Beg and Daud Beg surrendered, Mahmud Khan Dizli and Mahmud Khan Kanisenan were captured in Senna at the instigation of Captain Warren. Shaikh Abdul Qadir of Sangao successfully evaded capture, although Captain Bond from Chemchemal and I with joined forces attempted to round him up for nearly a month. Various terms of imprisonment were served on the prisoners, the highest being that of Shaikh Mahmud of twenty years penal servitude in India. Their estates were in all cases sequestrated.

By November, 1919, Major Soane was able to report such satisfactory progress with the establishment of law and order that the troops were completely withdrawn, and our administration was dependent on the goodwill of the people for its support. A new levy force was organized under the very efficient leadership of Captains Fitzgibbons and Makant. The prosperity of the country increased rapidly until Sulaimani division with a yearly revenue of thirty-two lakhs, was recognized as one of the richest in the occupied territory. The most valuable crop was tobacco, and, for the first time for many years, the cultivators were able to harvest their produce without fear of extortion, and transport it safe from attacks of brigands. The rule of Major Soane was stern though equitable. Robberies almost disappeared, and even the carrying of rifles was strictly forbidden, the Kurd proving to be very amenable to this strict discipline. The unruly elements were deprived of a livelihood, but the advantages of a strong administration to the many were obvious. The Persian frontier zone was a perpetual source of potential trouble, and life in Halabja was by no means free from cares, but by dint of alternate threats and bluffs serious trouble was averted. During my travels throughout the district I made a plane-table map of the Shahr-i-Zur valley, which has since been published by the Survey Department, Baghdad, but without acknowledgment of its authorship.

About this period Soane carried out a project which enhanced his reputation greatly as a true friend of all things Kurdish. In spite of local criticism and advice, he published weekly a Kurdish newspaper, called *Peshkotin*, or *Progress*. Kurdish has never been a written language, and the spoken language varies greatly from tribe to tribe. The medium of correspondence was either Persian or Turkish, and the Kurdish wisacres declared emphatically that their language could never be committed to paper. But Soane persisted, and although the paper met considerable ridicule at first, after some months it became well established and very popular. Government correspondence was conducted entirely in Kurdish, and thus a commencement was made towards the fixation of this language, a movement which has since gathered momentum.

In summer, 1920, I was granted home leave, and I handed over my district and its attendant cares to Captain Beale, and in early August started, via Sulaimani and Kirkuk, for Baghdad. I reached Kirkuk on August 13, to find that further progress was out of the question. Mesopotamia was in rebellion. Reluctantly I returned to Sulaimani, and, during the course of the following days, the news from the outer world was far from reassuring. On the 16th the Civil Commissioner wired, giving a résumé of the situation. Baquba had been captured by the Arabs, the Assistant Political Officer at Khanaqin had been forced to flee, and his house was burnt, Captain Salmon at Kifri had been murdered, and the tribes of the Kirkuk and Erbil divisions were disaffected. No military assistance could be expected by outlying districts, and trouble should be anticipated by retirement.

But we had no intention of evacuating, even had we had a safe refuge to which to withdraw. Major Soane took energetic measures to prevent any possibility of unrest. He invited Babekr Agha, Chief of the Pizhder tribe, to come to Sulaimani with several hundred tribal sowars in order to supplement the levy force, and I was despatched to Qara Dagh to prevent the spreading of disaffection from the Dilo and Zengena tribes to the south into Sulaimani division. I raised about 150 sowars and *tofanchis* from the villages of the Qara Dagh valley, and was starting for the adjacent valley of Sangao, when I heard that my old enemy of the previous year, Shaikh Abdul Qadir, had arrived there first, and had captured the local Government Official and seized his revenue funds and a stock of rifles.

I made for Jafaran, a village at the foot of the Sagirma Pass, the only connecting track between the two parallel valleys, where I was joined by Captain Bourne with a detachment of levies. On arrival there I met a messenger with a letter from Shaikh Aol, as he was locally called. It was a most diplomatic letter. After a long preamble of salutations he announced that he happened to be in the neighbourhood, when he heard that a rabble of villagers were about to attack the

mudir and rob him of the Government money. He (Shaikh Aol) had considered it his duty to protect the official and take charge of his funds and arms, and now he would like to learn my wishes. The crafty man was fully aware of the state of rebellion in Mesopotamia, but he did not wish to commit himself further until its outcome was more certain. He had been a fugitive from justice for thirteen months, and I pride myself that Captain Bond and I had forced him to move at high speeds most of the time. He realized his opportunity. By taking charge of the *mudir's* money he would not need to share it with the rabble if the British did evacuate the country, as was still commonly thought. On the other hand, if the rebellion was suppressed, he had done a service to the Government which it would be forced to recognize. I was also relieved of an embarrassing situation. Frankly, I did not want to fight him; the stakes were too great, for if I lost the whole southern part of the division would pass out of control. Even if I won I could not be sure of capturing him, and his presence in the rebellious Zengena country would constitute unpleasant menace.

I replied, thanking him in the name of the "hukimat i fakhima i dowlat i Britannia," and suggested a meeting whereby we could discuss the situation. The terms were that each party should be accompanied by only six unarmed men—meeting-place to be the top of the pass one hour after dawn next morning. By midnight I received his reply, agreeing to meet and accepting the conditions.

It was a dramatic meeting. We both had located our forces during the night so as to be quickly available in case of emergency, but true to conditions, we reached the height of the pass with only six unarmed men each. We shook hands, and I thanked him in the name of the Government for his services. He was a small man, but well built, with a face which, while it showed great force of character, was frank and pleasant in expression. We sat down, and one of his men set about preparing a brew of tea, having come provided with the complete apparatus, including a large samovar and charcoal. That over, we commenced business.

I explained that some few weeks must elapse before the British Government could punish the "donkeys and fathers of cattle" of Dilo tribesmen, and that, in the meantime, we needed the strong support of the people themselves in order to subdue the unruly elements and so to prevent a repetition of the events of the previous year. He was a strong influential tribal chief—would he undertake the office of Mudir of Sangao on behalf of the Government, and if so I would guarantee that he would be officially pardoned for his complicity in the Shaikh Mahmud rebellion?

He accepted immediately. I could see that he was obviously pleased, as this appointment suited his policy. He stood to gain whichever side won. I was also pleased, as it settled an embarrassing situation, and I

felt sure that under the circumstances Shaikh Aol could be depended on. He insisted on having a temporary certificate of the appointment until it could be officially confirmed from Sulaimani. He produced paper, and in doing so I caught sight of the butt of an automatic in the folds of his cloak. Knowing that I had seen it, he glanced at me with an embarrassed look, but I laughed and slapped my hip significantly. He understood and laughed in his turn. "Quite unnecessary," he said, "I decided not to shoot you last winter. When you were riding on the tract through the Derbend-i-Khan gorge on your way to Kifri I was sitting in the cliff up above fingering my rifle. But I decided that I had nothing to gain by shooting, except perhaps some personal satisfaction." Not to be outdone, I told him what his fate would have been if our meeting had been other than prearranged—and so we parted good friends.

I returned to Jafaran and wrote to Major Soane asking for sanction for what I had done, and for his official confirmation of this somewhat unusual appointment. Shaikh Aol Qadir proved an efficient buffer between the disaffected Zengena and Dilo country to the south and Sulaimani division. Meanwhile Captain Holt had succeeded in keeping order in the Hamawand country, and so we managed to weather the critical times in Mesopotamia.

The next scare came from Halabja. A band of Aorumis had raided the town and shot up the houses of Captain Beale and the Lady, killing and wounding several men, including a Begzada called Kerim Begi Aziz Beg. I received the news in Qara Dagh and, after a hard all-night ride, I arrived at Sulaimani just in time to meet two planes from Baghdad. I was taken up as passenger and guide, and we set forth immediately for the Aoroman mountains. We bombed Dizli and some neighbouring villages, and after a circuit over Merivan in order to show the flag, we flew to Halabja and landed. I received a royal welcome from the Begzadas and the townspeople of Halabja and, as Beale had suffered severely from repeated attacks of fever, we decided that he should return to Sulaimani and I should take over my old district once more.

It was now mid-September and, as the situation in Mesopotamia was by this time well in hand, we were at last able to relax our efforts. It was very gratifying that we had been able to avoid internal trouble although completely isolated and surrounded by rebellious districts. It had only been possible by the co-operation of the people themselves, and this in itself was a striking testimony of the soundness and real popularity of Major Soane's system of administration. In the discussion to a paper on "Some Military Aspects of the Mesopotamian Problem," by Captain Sheppard, read to this society in October, 1920, the Rev. Dr. W. A. Wigram made the following comment. He bore "testimony to the services of one particular officer, the man in charge of Sulaimani,

the key and capital of the whole district of Kurdistan. Major Soane, as Political Officer there, being left practically alone, merely by means of his personal influence and his knowledge of the turbulent people whom he knew so well, had been able to keep control of the situation."

I remained in Halabja until January, 1921, when I made another attempt, this time successful, to proceed on leave. Captain E. J. Douglas took over the district and, with rather mixed feelings, I took leave of my many friends and of valleys and mountains for which I had acquired a real affection in spite of so many changes of fortune.

Here my personal contact with Kurdistan ceases, and I feel that I cannot continue the narrative of subsequent events in any detail without allowing personal bias to distort my sense of judgment.

It is a sad story. Major Soane left for England on leave in April, and while at home he was informed that his services would be no longer required. He had stubbornly resisted the attempt on the part of the Baghdad administration to bring Kurdistan directly under the Arab Government, and High Commissioner Sir Percy Cox decided that Kurdistan could be administered without and in spite of him. I realized that the ideals for which we had struggled so long, and the welfare of Kurdistan which we had so much at heart, were doomed if this policy were persisted in, so I handed in my resignation.

Kurdistan was Major Soane's only interest in life, and with the loss of that and with instead a life of inaction, the tuberculosis reappeared and he died in April, 1923.

Major Soane's method of administration in Kurdistan has often been severely criticized and often sadly misrepresented. In Sir Samuel Hoare's recent book, "India by Air," Soane is referred to as "that strange man who lived among the Kurds at Sulimanieh and ruled them with the hand of a medieval despot." Soane realized that when dealing with such a race as the Kurds only a strong Government can be permanently successful, but such a "despotism," however sympathetic, is not consistent with our own principles of administration of mandatory territories, and his services were accordingly dispensed with.

The Sulaimani division remained singularly peaceful throughout 1921, and it seemed as if Major Soane's forebodings had been baseless, but, alas, they were only too well-founded. During the next year four brave officers, Captains Fitzgibbon, Makant, Bond, and Mott, paid the price of administrative misjudgments with their lives. In September, 1922, a small party of Turks appeared among the Pizhder tribe, once our most loyal supporters, and a force of Indian troops sent against them was routed with severe loss. For no real reason panic spread throughout the Sulaimani division and the whole British personnel was precipitously evacuated by aeroplanes, leaving behind 4½ lakhs of rupees, 500 British rifles, and a stock of miscellaneous arms.

Since then Sulaimani has been occupied intermittently and with varying success. For some inexplicable reason Shaikh Mahmud was released from prison and allowed to return, and within a short time he was once more in open rebellion. All our efforts to capture him proved in vain, and eventually he entered into negotiations and was granted a pardon. The country is at the moment enjoying a periodic spell of peacefulness, but for how long?

Conclusion.

Kurdistan is administered now, as far as possible, by local representation, with British officers in merely advisory positions. The garrison consists of Levies. The Arab army and the Police force, while in case of emergency the Air force, are always available.

Our friendly relations with Persia and Turkey contribute largely towards the present peaceful condition of the country, but when one studies the past history of the Kurds it is difficult to imagine that the future holds in store any promise of lasting peace, or at any rate so long as sources of irritation remain. The hatred and contempt of the Kurd for the Arab is, one might say, inborn. It is partly the product of geographical position, the contrast of a mountain people and the dwellers of the plain, and partly racial, Aryan against Semitic. Consequently the administration of Kurdistan by an Arab Government in Baghdad and its occupation by Arab troops cannot be regarded as a permanent, or even a satisfactory, solution of the Kurdish problem. I do not wish to criticize the value of the Arab army in the plains of Iraq, but I question their usefulness in the mountains of Kurdistan. In fact, I feel that their presence there is worse than useless, in that it gives unnecessary offence to the Kurdish people. From time to time I receive letters on this subject from one-time staunch friends full of bitter complaints and reproaches, and I confess that I cannot suppress a strong feeling of sympathy. My personal knowledge of Kurdistan is now rather out of date, and I do not claim to be in any way an "expert" on the country, although I do not think that the nature of the Kurd has changed radically during the intervening seven years.

By occupying a country with insufficient force to enforce our demands, we are dependent to a large extent on the goodwill or active support of certain individuals or of certain sections of the people. We thereby incur a certain moral responsibility to protect these people from consequent reprisals from the more unruly elements. In this respect we have been sadly found wanting. I could quote numerous instances of men who have subsequently suffered on account of assistance rendered to me. One such example is the fate of the village of Jafaran in Qara Dagħ, which I used as a base for the operations against Shaikh Abdul Qadir, which was subsequently and in consequence looted and burned by Hamawand tribesmen.

In September, 1922, Sulaimani was evacuated precipitously. I

happened to be in Baghdad at the time in another capacity, and I was approached by two representatives from the High Commissioner, with the proposal that I should rejoin the Civil Administration and use my influence with the Jaf tribesmen to raise a force of sowars in order to reoccupy Sulaimani. Under other circumstances I should have undertaken the task willingly, but, as I felt it was a case of exploiting certain friendly people without any sincerity of purpose, I refused.

Apart from the strategic importance of a secure tenure in Kurdistan and the moral obligations thereby incurred, a new factor has now appeared—namely, the economic wealth of the Kurdish Arab border zone. It is in the region between Kifri and Kirkuk that the great oil-fields of Iraq are expected to occur, and they must be adequately protected against the possibility of raiding parties. The Jaf tribe are now regarded as the most troublesome element in this part of the country. With the help of the Air Force and of large police posts on the mountain-passes, they can doubtless be kept in subjection; but is such state of affairs necessary? My experience has shown that, if reasonably treated, this powerful tribe can not only be easily controlled, but they may be of considerable active assistance in providing fighting forces of no mean quality. The simple Jaf tribesman is a very likeable fellow and not very difficult to understand. He is quite amenable to discipline, but it must be enforced with much persuasion and not by simple coercion. Officials of all sorts and uniformed police are anathema to him, and no administration which is forced to picquet the migration routes with armed police can be in sympathy with the tribesmen—and sympathetic, though stern, treatment of the Kurdish tribal question is the only guarantee of permanent peace.

DISCUSSION.

Air Vice-Marshal Sir JOHN HIGGINS: Sir George MacMunn, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel that I might be able to add a few words to what your lecturer has told you, because I can take the story up with a little more personal knowledge in later times. I feel that perhaps he is a little pessimistic about Southern Kurdistan at the present moment. When I arrived at Iraq in 1924, Shaikh Mahmud was in one of his periods of being in possession of Sulaimani, nominally as a representative of the then British Government in Iraq, but actually and entirely for his own benefit. I think that probably one of the principal reasons why he wished to be in Sulaimani, and why he proclaimed himself King of Kurdistan and so on, was the considerable revenue that he obtained from the tobacco industry in Sulaimani and the taxes on it. However, whatever the reasons were at that time, he thought he was going to remain there for ever, and that he would get more and more loose from any restraint from the British or the Iraq

Government ; so much so that at the foot of the hills he had laid out a very large garden, and one that would be a very beautiful garden when it was finished. He had apparently quite decided he was going to remain there for the rest of his life. In the spring of 1924 his actions, which had been more or less tolerated for a few months before then, got really more than we could stand. Incidentally he began to annoy Adela Khanum, the Lady of Halabja whom Mr. Lees has told you about, and he was continually stirring up trouble. He was warned that if he went on in this way he would be dispossessed of Sulaimani. However he would not take a friendly warning, and by a combination of bluff, a display of aeroplanes, and a certain amount of bombing of an empty town, Sulaimani was occupied by some troops of the Arab army, a few police, and a Political Officer in July, 1924. Without wanting to weary you I would like to give you a summary of the events after that. Shaikh Mahmud fled to Persia as usual. He always went to Persia when dispossessed, unless captured ; that was part of the ordinary plan of campaign. Throughout the remainder of 1924 and the whole of 1925 and 1926 he tried to make trouble, but this trouble diminished month by month ; and by the end of 1926 he and all his followers had been made so extremely uncomfortable, that he decided it was far better to resign the unequal contest and to retire to Persia with a guarantee of a large portion of the lands which he did fairly own in the Sulaimani district. I really think—touching wood, and knowing how uncertain things are in any Oriental country—I do really think that Kurdistan is more or less settled now. The way in which it is controlled at the present moment is by a series of very strong police posts, not held by many men but by very good men. I think probably it is since Mr. Lees was in Iraq that the present Iraq police force has been formed. It has been formed by a very distinguished officer called Colonel Prescott, a soldier who was in the Indian police beforehand. He has formed a body of men who are really splendid, and I see no reason whatever why this district should not be made peaceful as long as these police posts are kept up, as long as occasional patrols of aeroplanes are kept up, and as long as there is some kind of force in Sulaimani.

I think, perhaps, Mr. Lees is a little unkind about the Iraq army. The Iraq army was formed from nothing, and at first could not be as successful in mountain warfare with the Kurds as the Assyrian levies who had been used to that kind of warfare all their lives. The Iraq army also had very few British officers to start with. It now has far more British officers. It has had a fairly extended training in 1925 and 1926 in this kind of warfare, and the last accounts I have heard of it are quite encouraging. The district I am now talking about extends from the Pass of Bazian on the west to Halabja on the south-east, and to Penjwin on the north-east. The range of mountains shown on the

map has about four passes through it, and there is a very strong police post on each of those passes. Penjwin is occupied by a detachment of the army and police, and from Sulaimani to Halabja there is a string of police posts not very near each other, but very discouraging for the local raider, and the same thing holds between Sulaimani and Bazian on to Chemchemal. The only disorder in that country comes now from a scoundrel called Sabir. He is the son of Kerim Futtah Beg, familiarly known as K. F. B., who was responsible for the murder of Captain Bond. Karim Futtah Beg died quite unromantically in 1926, when raiding a village, and Sabir has, I believe, taken on his rôle. But his activities are very much decreased now, because he cannot go through those passes without a considerable amount of trouble, and the consequence is that he cannot now make a raid on a caravan and then bolt. When Major Soane first went to Southern Kurdistan in 1912, I think he relates in his book that he waited six weeks at Sulaimani before he could get a suitable opportunity to go to Halabja. The suitable opportunity was afforded when a Turkish guard was going through, and ended, I think, in the Turkish guard running away. At the present moment, on any day of the week, unless you are extremely unlucky, a quite small caravan could go from Sulaimani to Halabja without any trouble at all. That is a measure of how peaceful the place has become. I hate to be too optimistic, but I think Mr. Lees is a little pessimistic about the future of the country. We have reduced it to a very great measure of peace.

Mrs. E. B. LINDFIELD SOANE: Sir George MacMunn, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I would like to say what an excellent lecture Captain Lees has given us on his experiences in Kurdistan. It was very interesting to listen to someone who knows the country so well, and can speak of the people and places so accurately. The campaign of which he spoke in South Kurdistan in May, 1919, was not altogether a "frontier affair," although it may possibly have appeared so to nations who had just emerged from the greatest war in history. Nevertheless, the trouble was sufficiently serious to warrant the raising of a small force to cope with it, and it was only the concentration of this force at the foothills of Kurdistan, possibly together with the prestige of the British Army, which prevented the insurrection from spreading to a more extensive area. The Kurds were practically unknown to the outside world before the Great War, and it was only after we had established ourselves in Kurdistan, when the Turkish armies retreated northward, that we began to exercise some political influence among the tribes; and, as Captain Lees has already told you, most of that influence was due to my husband, the late Major Soane. Previously Kurdistan was not a very well-known country, except by people who had business with Turkey, and few realize the size of it. It stretches from the north of Aleppo to the latitude of Baghdad, but always

includes only the great mountains. The Kurds are a very proud race; they loathe the Arabs and Persians, and do not marry anybody but Kurds. I suppose less is known of the Kurds than of any other race in the East. It may surprise you to know that they have an ancient history, and a fine, if somewhat limited, literature. With regard to their language it has been described as a corruption of many different dialects, and not long ago it was described as a harsh jargon, a very corrupt dialect of Persian, unintelligible to any but the folk who spoke it naturally, or again by others as an artificial language, composed of Turkish, Persian, and Armenian words. It is neither of these; a little research proves it to be as worthy of the name of a separate and developed language as Turkish or Persian themselves. The early Medes and Persians spoke two different languages, Medic or Avesta and old Persian, but the two tongues have grown further apart than was originally the case, and while Persian has adopted almost as great a proportion of Arabic words as the Anglo-Saxon did of Latin and Greek words to form modern English, Kurdish, eschewing importations, has kept parallel, but on different lines of grammar; and while frequently adopting a phrase or turn of expression from its sister language, has retained an independence of form and style that marks it as a tongue as different from the artificial Persian as the rough Kurd himself is from the polished Persian. I wish to say these few words on the language because it is described by so many people as a corruption of many different languages, which it is not. The Kurds are descended from the Medes, and their language has developed from the Medic language, which we read of in the holy book of the Zoroastrians—the Zend Avesta. I would just like to add that in all my travels round the world I have never met with such hospitality as in Kurdistan. (Applause.)

Major NOEL: Sir George MacMunn, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I came to Halabja in 1922 as Assistant Political Officer, that is about two years after Mr. Lees. I can testify to the great reputation he left behind him. During the six months I spent there I travelled extensively, and in the remotest of Kurdish valleys and the smallest of hamlets I was continuously regaled with stories of Mr. Lees' exploits. Perhaps what specially appealed to the Kurds was his happy facility for raising a laugh. Among Oriental people nobody is so popular and welcome as a man who makes them laugh; and Mr. Lees' stories and the jokes he made are still remembered.

The lecturer referred to the disdain of the Kurds for the Arabs. It is a very natural phenomenon; we find all the world over that the mountain folk look down on the people of the plain. Since I left Kurdistan I have been serving on the North-west Frontier of India, and I have had the same experience there—that is, the contempt which the Pathan as a hillsman feels for the down-country man. Some years ago

a committee went round the North-west Frontier Province to consider the extension of reforms to that province. Several witnesses said that if Swaraj did materialize, they as Pathans would want to be ruled from Kabul and not from Delhi. Kurdistan will never really welcome rule from Baghdad. You may get a temporary peace," but it is not a stable arrangement and never can be.

Mr. Lees' description of his escape from Halabja reminded me of a somewhat similar experience I went through at the time of the evacuation of Sulaimani in 1922. An officer of the Royal Air Force who had been seedy had come up to stay with me and enjoy a breath of fresh air in the Kurdish mountains—we started from Halabja towards Penjwin and had then swung round towards Sulaimani. It so happened that we were due to reach Sulaimani on the day it was evacuated. We had started early, and after a long ride we reached the crest of the hills overlooking the town at about half-past eleven, when a Kurd we met said in rather a cheeky way: "Why haven't you run away like the other English." I had the fellow caught, but when questioned he stuck to his statement that all the "Sahibs" had only a few hours ago left in "Tyaras"—that is, aeroplanes. I knew that the situation, owing to Turkish propaganda, was somewhat uncomfortable, but I could not for an instant believe that we would abandon the country so precipitately, and we pushed on with the thoughts of a glass of beer in the Levies' Mess uppermost in our minds. As we approached the town we heard a couple of shots. This was in any case unusual, and coming in combination with what the cheeky Kurd had said made me feel suspicious. I therefore got our party under cover in some broken ground, and told one of the most reliable of our followers to leave his rifle and bandolier with us and go down into the town to see what was up; he came back with a scared face, saying that the "Sahibs had all gone and that K. F. B. and his men were in the town." It was somewhat difficult to realize our position left alone in a deserted country. To what extent were we in immediate danger, and where should we make for? Sulaimani was obviously no place for us with K. F. B. at large and the blood of Bond and Makant still, so to say wet, on his hands. I thought on the whole that it would be best to head for Halabja, where I felt sure that Adela Khanum and some of the Jaf chiefs, notably Karim Beg, would stand by me. After travelling all day we reached Karim Beg's encampment at dusk, and after staying with him some hours and discussing the situation, I pushed on to Halabja, which I reached before dawn. The news of our evacuation had reached there the day before and my house had been immediately rushed. However, Adela Khanum had succeeded in recovering a large part of my effects which she had stored in her house. Mr. Lees referred to the element of comic opera in his experiences. The same thing struck me about mine. Nominally we were prisoners in the house, but by an exercise of certain amount of

diplomacy one could get across to Adela Khanum's place and have a meal and hear the latest rumours. In the town pandemonium reigned. Certain persons who were in our bad books and had been exiled had appeared in the town and were vowing to have my blood.

To turn back to the evacuation. The R.A.F. were very pleased with its success. The only thing that was wanting to round it off was that we two had been left behind. For the next two or three days there were flights of aeroplanes all over Kurdistan looking for Soden and Noel. A couple of 9 A's duly appeared over Halabja, and we rushed out to the aerodrome, where we laid out a T indicating a landing up the hill but with the wind which was slight. The pilot, however, knew better, threw out a smoke bomb and decided to land into the wind, with the result that the slope of the aerodrome carried his machine over the edge into a ditch. Instead of evacuating us he was evacuated himself by the pilot of the other machine who landed up hill with the wind. The abandoned 'plane was literally torn to pieces by the crowd. For the next day or two a dust storm was blowing and no machine could get up. The atmosphere was becoming distinctly unhealthy. Soden and I arranged landing strips in complicated patterns on the aerodrome which we changed at intervals. We circulated the yarn that these were secret signs to let visiting machines know that we were safe and that they should not therefore bomb the town. On the second day Adela Khanum and our well-wishers among the Jaf chiefs advised us to leave the town. We moved a couple of miles to the west, where we formed a small encampment. Soden and I laid out a landing ground. The dust storms still blew, but next day it subsided. Four machines duly appeared. Two had been detailed as an aerial escort to protect if necessary the rescuing machines while they landed and took off again. However, the rescuers did not pick us up and disappeared. The two escorting machines, 9 A's, spotted our ground strips and duly landed. One of the machines burst a tyre in doing so. By this time odd Kurds had sprung as it seemed from the ground and a rabble from the town was streaming down towards the landing ground. I felt doubtful about getting away. Fortunately my effects, such as tents, ponies, etc., were near the side of the landing ground. The rapidly forming crowd were more interested in them than the machines. Soden got into one of the machines and I was talking to the Jaf chiefs about fifty yards away. I got Karim Beg aside and asked him if he thought I could get away in the other machine. He said that I stood a chance of doing so as the crowd would go for the loot. I asked him to do his best for my followers and servants and see that they came to no harm. He promised to do so. By this time the wheel had been changed and the engine started. Kerim Beg said: "Now go, I will start the loot of your kit." The machine was

just moving. I clambered in over fuselage as the engine opened out with a roar. By the time I was in the cockpit the machine was lifting over the edge of the landing ground. I looked round. There was a swarm of people where my kit had been. A few desultory shots followed us. Half an hour later we had landed safely in Kirkuk.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—before I ask you to give a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer, I would like to make one or two remarks about this very time of the Shaikh Mahmud rising, and impress on you the fascination of being able to hear this typically romantic story from one of the officers who took part in it. It is one of those happenings you read of in our history, where a whole countryside rises against a few British officers in charge, and they have to carry it through. Shaikh Mahmud was brought home a prisoner from the Bazian Pass. I had him tried, and he was sentenced to death. I knew he was an infernal scoundrel, and people wanted me to hang him, but I thought there was no fair ground for such action. The general delay in settling the future of Iraq had been so great as to be quite enough to confuse any man. Shaikh Mahmud owed no temporary allegiance to the British. When he engineered the *coup d'état* he did not kill the four or five British officers he had in his hands, and I did not think it would be playing the British game fairly to shoot him. (Hear, hear.) I sent him to India with a twenty years' sentence. He was brought back at a time when it was more or less thought we should shake off our responsibilities, and Shaikh Mahmud would be a suitable thorn in the sides of the Turks, more or less a counter-irritant to them. Whether that was right or wrong we have had a peck of trouble with him since. I am sure you will join me in thanking Mr. Lees for his interesting lecture. (Applause.)

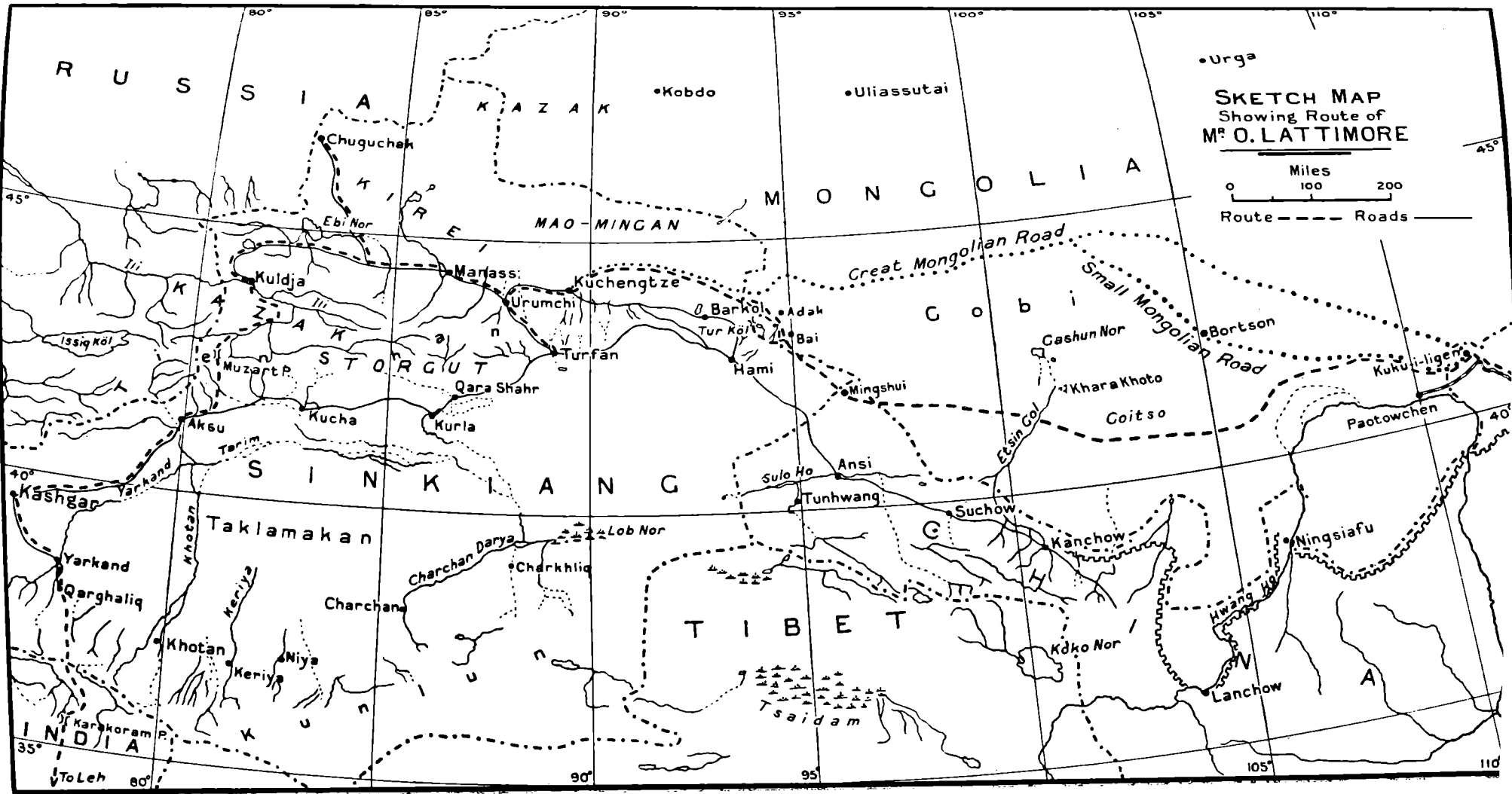
THE CHINESE AS A DOMINANT RACE

By OWEN LATTIMORE

THE following article was the basis of a lecture given by Mr. Lattimore to the Central Asian Society on March 28, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the Chair. The same article appeared in a modified form in *Asia* in June, 1928. Mr. Lattimore has asked us to state that the article as printed here is the first appearance in full of the original text. In his lecture Mr. Lattimore included an account of his journey through Mongolia to Chinese Turkistan. Having been for some years with a British firm in China, he became interested in the goods which came down from an enormous and vaguely known hinterland, and which were shipped from China largely by British firms. These trade routes are very little known, and have been affected in many ways by political developments in Central Asia and the hinterland of China. The state of chaos prevailing in the interior has led to the discovery of a new trade route, which Mr. Lattimore followed, and which took him through nearly a thousand miles of unknown country. When, after leaving the caravan, he reached Urumchi, he wired to his wife, who set out from Peking to meet him. To do this she had to go by train to Novi Sibirisk, take the branch line south to Semipalatinsk, and then had a seventeen days' sleigh journey, travelling under very hard conditions in the bitter cold to meet him at Chuguchak, on the borders on Siberia, about five hundred miles from Urumchi, whence, after visiting the Kuldja country, Turfan, Aksu, Kashgar and other parts of Chinese Turkistan, they travelled slowly home by Leh and Srinagar.

“IMPERIALISM” is an honest word that casuists have of late years brought into bad odour—to the mortification of many honest men who once took a pride in it. The “Imperialist” nations, it is said, are those which, with no justification but military power, thrust their rule or their policies on weaker peoples, either to draw revenues from them or to secure unfair economic advantages for their own nationals. In modern China there is not a newspaper published, whether foreign or Chinese, that does not advert from day to day to the topic, either to assert or refute the charge of Imperialism against the foreign nations which hold “treaty rights.”

Now the Chinese, what with ruling and being ruled, ought to know something about Imperialism. In the thirteenth century, when Marco Polo visited the country, he was impressed by the ability with which it was ruled by the great Kublai, who was an Emperor of the Yuan dynasty, established by conquering Mongol barbarians. When the power of the Mongols decayed, the Imperialist problem was temporarily solved by a Chinese rebellion, popularly commemorated in the festival of the Fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. The legend of the Fifteenth of the Eighth Moon is more illuminating than precise history, for it reflects the tradition of the spirit of the people. The story, as Chinese children learn it, is that the Mongols dispersed themselves over the country and appointed ten Chinese families to



the maintenance of every Mongol. They disported themselves like true Imperialists, even making the Chinese go down on all fours for them to ride. No modern Chinese propagandist could imagine a better cartoon.

When the rising against the Mongols was plotted, little figures of pantry representing men were sent to every family. In each of these figures was a paper on which were written the words: "On the Fifteenth of the Eighth Moon kill the Mongols." Accordingly on the festival each Mongol was killed by the ten families appointed for his maintenance. The success of the rebellion culminated in the establishment of a native dynasty, the glorious Ming line.

In time the glory of the Ming also waned. The abuse of power in China by Chinese rulers led to rebellions, and the Chinese destroyed themselves. At a time when Peking was threatened by an insurgent army, the Manchu hordes passed within the Great Wall. The last Chinese Emperor, the tombs of whose ancestors had been violated by his own subjects, committed suicide, and the Imperial tradition was carried on by the Ta Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty. The Chinese people, whose momentum towards self-expression had carried them no further than the tombs of dead Emperors, remained under alien rule until the Revolution of 1911, when China became a Republic.

The Ta Ch'ing dynasty was fortunate in two of its early Emperors, who were both great soldiers and great administrators—K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung. As a result of their conquests, the Chinese, who under Manchu rule were allowed to enter official life, became once more governors of subject races and, as it were, Imperialists once removed.

The Manchus conquered China at a period of general unrest in Central Asia, and the early Emperors feared that their conquest might be challenged by the renaissant military ambition of the Mongols. In order to secure their Chinese borders, they therefore turned to the conquest of Mongolia. Most of the Southern tribes, which were nearer to China and in a better position to appreciate the strength of the Manchus, voluntarily offered their allegiance. The further tribes were not finally subdued until a series of wars had been undertaken. The difference between the tribes that accepted and the tribes that resisted Manchu rule has been preserved to the present day in the important distinction between Inner or Southern Mongolia and Outer or Northern Mongolia.

The barbarian Manchu invaders had eagerly acquired Chinese culture, and they made it their Mongol policy to promote as far as possible the spread of Chinese civilization in Mongolia, being convinced that the Mongols, if their nomad habits were mitigated by trade and prosperity, would be less of a military danger.

In Inner Mongolia large tracts of land were thrown open to

cultivation, thus doing violence to the Mongol tradition that the earth is holy and their ancient tribal laws which forbid the ploughing of more than the necessary minimum of land, or of any land for two years in succession. The result has been that in some regions the Mongols have imitated the Chinese cultivators. A number of tribes have completely forgotten the Mongol speech, and except for differences in their dress (especially that of the women) are almost indistinguishable from the Chinese. In other regions the disgruntled nomads have moved away and the land has been occupied by Chinese colonists.

Outer Mongolia, even after the tribes had been conquered, was a much more difficult country to garrison. Except towards Manchuria, little was done in the way of expropriating tribal lands. Civilization by the plough not being practicable, the method adopted was to bind the country with commercial chains; for it has been said that Imperialists regard economic subjugation as an essential primary measure. The Manchu Emperors, hoping to preserve the soldierly spirit of their own people, had decreed that no Manchu might farm land or engage in trade. The task of economic subjugation was therefore deputed to the Chinese. In order to encourage them to venture so far among aliens, they were protected by special laws—a curious anticipation of that "extra-territoriality" which, when the foreigner in China benefits by it, is so acutely resented by the Chinese. Whether or not these laws ever had the force of Imperial decrees, they certainly had all the force of custom. They have been preserved by oral tradition among the great Chinese firms (several of them with a documented history going back more than two hundred and fifty years) which handled the rich and profitable trade between China and Mongolia. Thus, for the killing of a Chinese, five Mongol lives might be exacted, while if a Chinese were to kill a Mongol he could commute the penalty by giving five cows to the man's relatives. Moreover, any Chinese might beat any Mongol with impunity, even if he wore on his cap the button of tribal chieftainship.

In Inner Mongolia the advance of Chinese civilization still proceeds. Fong Yu-hsiang, the well-known "Christian" General and captain of the vanguard in the fight against foreign Imperialism, claimed public credit for his policy of opening up Inner Mongolia to settlement by Chinese colonists from the overcrowded provinces. At that time he ruled along the Inner Mongolian frontier from Kalgan to Pao-t'ou and throughout the province of Kansu. In 1926, in the neighbourhood of Kuei-hua and Pao-t'ou, where I had an opportunity of observing personally the methods employed, the racial frontier was advancing at an average rate of perhaps ten miles a year. Every year lands selected by Chinese officials were opened to colonization. The Mongol tribe which owned the land in common after the nomad

system was paid at the rate assessed by the Chinese officials. After this Government purchase the land was newly and differently assessed according to its arable value, showing a handsome profit in immediate cash and future taxes. The Chinese colonist acquired more land than he could ever have dreamed of holding in his native province, and the Mongol moved away. If his new pastures were not rich enough for his cattle, sheep, ponies and camels, he could sell them to a Chinese trader.

All the richest part of Inner Mongolia lies on the side nearest China, and—as things are at present—is easily dominated strategically from China. In Outer Mongolia Chinese fortunes have taken a different turn. When the Revolution overthrew the Empire it seemed good policy to the Chinese to handle the Mongols as strongly as possible. China was free, and there was to be no more tyranny, in China; but there was no sense in encouraging the Mongols to form any other impression than that the Chinese had inherited the military strength of the Manchus. There was, it was true, a little awkwardness in asserting the power of China, for Russia had taken advantage of the Revolution to declare a “special position” in Mongolia. The idea was fostered in the Mongol mind that, should the yoke of the Republic prove galling, sympathy might be sought in Russia.

In the course of the rapid decay of Chinese politics after the Revolution, the shifting Central Government at Peking was always too much occupied with civil wars to do much in Mongolia beyond hoisting the new flag (one stripe of which symbolizes the brotherhood and partnership of the Mongols in the Central Flowery Republic) and altering the official titles used under the Empire. In the year 1920, however, a Chinese general called “Little” Hsu woke up all the Mongol antipathy to the Chinese by the barbarity of his campaigns. The country had been thrown into confusion by the incursion of scattered “White” Russian forces thrown out of Siberia by the Red Revolution. “Little” Hsu, like all Chinese at that period, believed that the long-dreaded power of Russia had at last crumbled into irreparable ruin. His aim was to reassert Chinese authority in Mongolia, to wield that authority himself and to create for himself a political position and a military stronghold. His expedition failed shamefully and he was finally defeated and driven out of Urga with great massacre by the Mongols and the “Mad Baron” Ungern-Sternberg. The Mad Baron was a commander of anti-Bolshevik forces. He and his men were responsible for an appalling catalogue of crimes throughout Mongolia.

Chinese prestige had been irretrievably destroyed, first by the massacre, at the hands of Russians and Mongols, of the Chinese trading communities at Kobdo, Uliassutai and Urga, then by the ease with which the Chinese army was annihilated. The Tsarist Russians, however, lacking in any political or creative ability, wasted

their advantages in senseless violence. In the upshot they were all dispersed, killed or captured by Red Russians from Siberia.

The Mongols, scattered in nomad encampments and without any political creed, were easily dominated by the Russian Soviets, whose military strength remained unchallenged in Mongolia and who were rapidly and competently reconstructing the power of Russia. Many of the Mongol chiefs had, during the course of generations, become closely involved with Chinese traders, and acquired great wealth by selling them the live stock, wool, and pelts which they collected as tribal revenue. Their interests, however, were overridden by the younger generation, who took enthusiastically to the new ideas imported from Russia.

Strategically and economically the Russian interest lay in consolidating Mongol feeling against a return of the Chinese, and in securing to themselves the raw materials of Mongolia and its as yet uncalculated resources in gold, coal and other minerals. In order to break finally the connection with the Chinese traders, which had been the most real link binding Mongolia to China, Customs barriers were established along the Inner Mongolian frontier. Tea, which was regarded as the only essential import from China, was allowed to pass under reasonable taxation. All other articles, even if only destined to pass through Mongolia on the way to Chinese Turkistan, were so exorbitantly taxed (the assessment being on the spot and at the will of the collector) that trade abruptly ceased.

Thus this great experiment in Imperialism and the diffusion of Chinese culture ended ignominiously. From the time that the Chinese became their own masters, not a single measure beneficent to the Mongols had been undertaken. They had stressed the attitude of racial superiority, and the Mongols recognized in Chinese law only an instrument of extortion. They had failed to protect the Mongols, or indeed their own traders, from the lawless invaders from Russia. The last Chinese army in Outer Mongolia had been outgeneralled, outfought and finally massacred as it ran, with shameful ease.

The loss to China can never be added up in mere figures. Trade in Mongolia was largely carried on by credit, with handsome rates of compound interest. Great sections of the best land in Outer Mongolia were virtually administered by Chinese firms. Some of these firms reckoned the money owed to them in millions of silver dollars. Not only were all these debts repudiated by the new rulers of Mongolia, but a yearly trade was lost which had benefited not only China's domestic markets, but was one of the most valuable sources of her export trade to foreign countries.

Mongolia, it may be said, was only a legacy from the Imperial achievements of the Manchus—destined, like all legacies, to be dissipated. No account of Chinese Imperialism would be adequate

without examining fields in which a more strictly Chinese talent has been exercised. An admirable field for such study is offered by the province of Chinese Turkistan, known to the Chinese as Sinkiang, the New Dominion. The diversity of the province and the variety of the races to be administered form as complex a problem as ever confronted a Roman or British governor. It includes Chinese Turkistan proper, the intermediate region of Zungaria between Chinese Turkistan and Mongolia, the Ili Valley of the T'ien Shan or Heavenly Mountains, the Chinese Pamirs, and Tarbagatai, which is largely inhabited by Mongols and was, under the Manchus, included in Mongolia. It has a long and fascinating history in connection with China. At one time a road was kept open between Kansu, the extreme province of China proper, through the deserts of the Lob Nor region to Yarkand and Kashgar, along which the silks of China were despatched to Imperial Rome, and Chinese pilgrims travelled on their way towards India in search of Buddhist texts. It may be said that the successive conquests and evacuations of the province are an index to the history of Chinese expansion and recession—to the periods when they have been "Imperialists" and those when they have been worsted by the "Imperialism" of other nations.

The travels of Sir Aurel Stein and his excavations of dead cities are the most compendious authority for the early history of Chinese influences in Sinkiang and for the eras when successive waves of Tibetan, Hun, Uigur and Mongol invasion obliterated those influences. His discoveries afford copious evidence of the inherent genius for conquest and administration of the Chinese race, and of the strategic skill with which, whenever forced to retrench their borders, they have constructed new frontiers.

The last great expansion of China's frontiers was during the wars of aggression of the Manchus; but the modern history of Sinkiang dates from the Mohammedan rebellion of the sixties and seventies of the last century. This rebellion, affecting several provinces of China proper as well as Chinese Turkistan, severely shook the decaying Manchu dynasty. Millions of Chinese were massacred, and when the reconquering armies advanced they massacred in revenge until wide territories were laid waste that to the present day have not recovered their population.

During the Mohammedan ascendancy Chinese Turkistan came under the rule of an adventurer from Russian Turkistan, Yakub Beg, while in the Zungarian division of the province almost all the Chinese were slaughtered by the predominant T'ung-kan, under the leadership of Daud Khan. Neither T'ung-kan nor Turki showed any genius for government, and both during and after their successes against the Chinese they fought bitterly amongst themselves. Indeed this was the great vice of all the Mohammedans throughout the rebellion

—that they could neither organize nor administer. Their initial successes merely destroyed the cohesion that had been imposed by Chinese civilization; and these successes were the measure of their capacity. Patient and tenacious, the Chinese, after nearly twenty years, began to drive them back.

Though the reconquest of Sinkiang was in the name of the Manchu Empire, it was accomplished by one of the most able Chinese generals of modern times, Tso Tsung-t'ang. The chief difficulties that his army had to overcome were lack of transport, commissariat and pay on the way to Sinkiang. For these reasons the advance extended over years; but once within the lost province the Chinese easily proved their superiority. Yakub Beg, who had been approached by both British and Russian emissaries as the triumphant sovereign of a new state, had shown no more than the abilities of a first-class brigand. His government was established on plunder and his justice on terrorism. The Turki, who are farmers and merchants, suffered heavily by the overthrow of Chinese rule and the cutting off of trade. Yakub Beg, after defeating the T'ung-kan in battle, had not been able to identify his interests with theirs. Moreover, he had taken into his army many soldiers of the old Chinese garrisons, who had turned Moslem perforce. His power broke up as rapidly as it had been acquired, and he himself either took poison or was poisoned by one of his subordinates. The Chinese, being able to attack the two divisions of the Mohammedans separately, defeated them with ease. The soldiers of Yakub Beg either deserted or changed their clothing overnight and became civilians.

It was after the reconquest that the province was named Sinkiang-Hsin-chiang, the New Dominion. The policy of the renewed administration remained more Chinese than Manchu. Indeed, for many years the civil service was largely staffed by the relations and clients of Tso Tsung-t'ang. He himself initiated the policy of keeping the interests of the subject races divided, in order to obviate future rebellion. To the Turki the greatest clemency was shown because their ruler, albeit a Turki, was an alien from Andijan and had achieved his leadership mainly by conquest. The T'ung-kan, by way of contrast, were severely handled, because they were regarded as Chinese in race, though they are probably partly Uighur by descent, with later infusions of Turki blood. Where the Turki were rebels, they were traitors, and therefore were massacred in great numbers and their cities destroyed.

As the modern history of Sinkiang was shaped by a great Chinese conquerer, so its current history has been directed by a great Chinese administrator. Sinkiang is unique among the provinces in that since the Revolution it has been under only one governor, so that its administration shows the unity of a coherent policy of sixteen years.

Yang Tu-chun (the title *Tu-chun* means Military Governor, but, as is very usual, he is concurrently Civil and Military Governor) was at the time of the Revolution in 1911 a subordinate official in Urumchi, the provincial capital. The terrified Governor signed a declaration acknowledging the Revolution and handed over temporary power to the only man with the courage to accept responsibility—the present Governor. The situation was more alarming than serious. None of the subject races were much interested in the theory of republican government. In the Ili Valley, where the main immigrant Chinese population is found, all Manchus were massacred, and the rebels marched on Urumchi. A little fighting convinced them that the rule of the province had fallen into strong hands, and nothing remained to be done by the new Governor but to make his terms with Peking and have his office confirmed.

Since the Revolution, as is well known, the Chinese have shown unity in only one thing—their attitude towards the foreigner. In domestic matters disintegration has proceeded rapidly. Civil administration has been usurped by military adventurers whose armies, nominally at the service of the state, are attached to them personally, the soldiers in hope of the loot that is almost their only pay, the officers in hope of preferment. Provincial governorships change hands with every civil war; and civil wars are usually initiated, whatever the pretext, by some one of the great *condottieri* ambitious for more territory. Sinkiang has been protected from these civil wars by the wisdom of the Governor, who has never been misled into interference in the affairs of China proper, while the remote position of his own province and the huge desert barriers between it and the rest of China have guarded it against invasion. The progressive political deterioration in China and the consequent disorder along the difficult and extended trade routes have increased this isolation until Sinkiang has become virtually an independent kingdom.

Thus we have the curious and interesting study of a small but vigorous Chinese civil service, directed by an able autocrat, maintaining the Chinese racial domination over an immense territory. Chinese born in the province are few. The only considerable community of Chinese immigrants settled on the land is in the Ili Valley, which is divided from the rest of the province by mountains, deserts and non-Chinese populations. Those Chinese merchants who do business on any large scale are almost all men who have come to the province either as prentice lads or as grown men. They are chiefly either from Tientsin, far away in Chihli province, or Shansi traders connected with Sinkiang by the ancient tradition of the caravan route through Mongolia. There was once a small, wealthy community of Sze-ch'uan merchants who handled the silk trade; but since conditions on the trade routes through China proper have

become impossible, they have lost their hold. Silk now goes by sea to Tientsin, whence the Tientsin merchants despatch it in charge of the Shansi caravan traders through Southern Mongolia to Ku Ch'eng-tze and Urumchi.

The immense majority of the population is divided among four of the subject races. The Turki of Chinese Turkistan are farmers, traders and artisans. The T'ung-kan, who rank officially as Mohammedan Chinese, in spite of their traces of alien blood, are petty traders, farmers, and control a great deal of the cart transport that carries most of the internal trade of the province. They are numerous in the eastern oases of Chinese Turkistan and the settled parts of Zungaria. The Kazaks and Mongols are nomads, distributed through the T'ien Shan and Zungaria. The Kazaks are Mohammedans of mixed Kirghiz, Tatar, Turki and Mongol blood, and are connected with similar tribes in the adjoining Siberian provinces.

In the control of this diversity of peoples the Governor appreciates as well as did the Romans the principle of rule by diversion. At different times the town communities may be favoured against the nomads, or the nomads against the towns, or Kazak against Mongol, and Mongol, by way of compensation, against Turki. There are even discriminations against Chinese. The Tientsin community, who hold so closely together as to constitute a society for mutual aid, control a great deal of trade and act virtually as the commercial agents of the Governor and his friends. In order, therefore, to avoid placing too much power within their reach, no Tientsin men throughout the province are appointed to high official positions.

Indeed the Chinese, whose genius as a race for politics and diplomacy is only beginning to be appreciated, are distinguished for the importance they attach to economic values as the motive force of political administration. Other peoples may be misled by ideals, but the Chinese are only apt to be misled by the cash in hand.

The Governor has been successful above his compeers in China in collecting all the real wealth of the province in his own hands, and in making of the currency a powerful instrument of government. Except for Western Chinese Turkistan, from Aksu to Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan, where a certain amount of silver is in circulation, there is no money but paper and copper. Moreover, there are four regional paper currencies, each carefully maintained at par but each exchanging at different rates against the others: the Urumchi, Turfan, Kashgar, and Ili taels. This in itself is a safeguard against insurrection, for no insurrection could come to a head unless it were financed, and with several currencies in use unusually large transfers of money can be detected. Furthermore, the value of paper would at once fall in any region in rebellion against the Governor, leaving the rebels without funds.

The use of paper money for concentrating wealth in the hands of the ruling power is a favourite device in contemporary China. Every regional potentate issues paper money, the acceptance of which is enforced at the point of the bayonet, while for the payment of taxes and other Government receipts only silver is accepted, or the notes of sound banks. In Sinkiang there is no such maintenance of blatantly false values. In the first place, the Government accepts its own paper. In the second place, all the nominal values are in taels, whereas in China there are no paper taels, and silver taels have been superseded for most ordinary purposes by silver and paper dollars. For this reason, and because of the great distance between the province and China, and the slow transit of goods, it is not affected by the money market in China. The extent of local confidence in the paper currency is reflected by the steady rate of exchange between Urumchi taels and the few silver dollars that arrive by way of the caravan route at Ku Ch'eng-tze. In the third place, there is not a single bank, not even a provincial bank (that favourite engine of Chinese governors) to complicate exchange with credit transactions. The province is hermetically sealed.

For domestic business the local currencies are adequate. For trade with Russia or China the system in use approximates closely to barter. The merchant must order from his agent or correspondent imports roughly to the value of his exports, any difference being debited and credited on the books of the two firms. Thus, the Turki cannot accumulate wealth in Russia, nor the Chinese in China, except by exporting goods without imports in return. It is extremely difficult to reinvest profits except in trade, land or buildings in the province itself.

This financial policy admirably suits the interests of the ruling minority. To maintain their position two objects must be kept in mind: the material contentment and political dismemberment of the subject races. Every attention is therefore paid to the development of trade, in which the ruling caste itself participates as a loosely but intimately organized association of capitalists.

Undoubtedly the central tradition of government in China is that the public servant, not being paid a living wage, must pay himself by every possible method of speculation. In China generally the most prevalent abuse is the profit on taxation. The net taxation fixed by the provincial authority does not nearly represent the gross taxation paid by the people. Every subordinate must collect enough to provide for himself, over and above the remittance required by his immediate superior. The result of this excess taxation is felt in the values of land and food and, above all, in trade.

The wisdom of the Chinese in Sinkiang in not bleeding their subjects by such tolls is one of the measures of their success. As the

civil service is not paid by the Republican Government, so the revenues of the province are not remitted to Peking. Revenue is therefore sufficient without undue taxation. The governing class combine to exploit the trade rather than the fiscal revenue. Every great firm leans on official aid. The gratifying result is that business, instead of being hampered by tolls and levies, often flourishes by going tax-free. The system depends on the benefits being shared with the subject races. Every Turki or T'ung-kan merchant who wishes to prosper offers an "interest in the firm" to the biggest official whose friendship he can afford, in return for support in the right quarters.

Even agriculture benefits by these methods. Farming in Chinese Turkistan depends on irrigation, but as there is no pressure of population the Turki has no ambition to turn deserts into farms; especially as newly irrigated land is often unproductive for several years. A Chinese official, however, can often find a rich Turki who will pay him cash in return for the right of collecting the land taxes for a fixed period in a district to be developed. The official then conscripts the labour to dig the necessary canals, and even settlers to take up the farms. Population and production are thus increased by decree. During the unproductive period the farmer is held to his land by law, and after it has begun to yield he becomes contented and prosperous. If at first he suffers from poverty his resentment is directed not against the Chinese Imperialist, but against the Turki "Beg." If in spite of irrigation the land does not become fertile, the loss falls on the Beg who undertook the contract. By the time that the enterprise has definitely been proved a failure he cannot appeal to the official who initiated it, for that official has been transferred. It is an essential part of the working of the civil service that all officials are frequently and erratically transferred, giving no one man the opportunity of forming a local party. No official, therefore, has any interest in his district beyond carrying out the orders of the Governor, maintaining the revenue and making as much for himself as possible.

In order to ensure both economic and political stability, the law, when it is brought into action at all, is drastically administered. The Laws of the Republic of China are very fully codified and could be applied to almost any case of civil or military justice; but they are not. Since in China proper men are casually shot or imprisoned without trial in unknown numbers, one could hardly expect to find milder practices where the Chinese are engaged in "holding down" subject races. Almost every traveller in Sinkiang has adverted to the *ad hoc* methods of the Governor. It is said of him (as of several other Chinese Governors and Generals in different parts of the country) that he has more than once removed a suspected subordinate by inviting him to dinner and having him shot or executed at the table.

I have myself only once witnessed the full process of the law. It was on the borders of Sinkiang and Mongolia, the accused being two Mongols who had confessed to the theft of a bale of cloth from a caravan. The Mongols were not Chinese subjects, but refugees from Outer Mongolia, who had crossed the border to avoid taxation. The only official on the spot was a Chinese petty officer in command of a frontier post of two dozen tatterdemalion cavalymen and two ponies.

He addressed the prisoners in a paternal manner, pointing out that they ought to be more grateful for having escaped from a lawless country than to start thieving on Chinese territory. He added that they were extremely lucky not to have been sent to the nearest civil magistrate, who would certainly have had them shot. As in the North-Western province under the rule of the "Christian" General, the death penalty could be awarded for a theft of the value of thirty silver taels, or about £5 or £6.

In this case, as the goods had been returned, the officer dealt with the case summarily. The men received, nominally, three hundred strokes each on the heel of the left hand. This is a military form of punishment, not mentioned in the Laws of the Republic, administered with a short, flat stick. Two men strike alternate blows, not with any great apparent force, at the same time chanting the count. As can almost always be arranged in China, the prisoners knew beforehand what punishment they were likely to receive, and had arranged by bribery for a false count. Even so their hands were bruised to a swollen, shapeless pulp. Hand and fingers would be totally useless and very painful for an indefinite period. After the beating they were placed in custody overnight, to be sent away under escort the next day.

A Chinese reported, however, that he had had two ponies stolen. If they had been taken by Mongols, the thieves might be known to one or other of the prisoners. They were accordingly examined the next day. Both men protested with tears that, as they had only been in the neighbourhood for a few days, and had arrived after the robbery, they were entirely ignorant. The officer in reply pointed out to them that they, being Mongols, were undoubtedly hardened liars. He ordered them to be beaten again. The second beating was with the lashes, about seven inches long, of riding whips. The prisoners were stripped to the waist and held by the arms by two soldiers. Two other soldiers stood behind them, striking alternately. Again the count was falsified. The bargaining was conducted in front of the presiding officer, who spoke no Mongol, by the interpreter. I could quite easily detect the false count, which must have been equally evident to the officer; but it was customary and he said nothing. At the end of every hundred the beating ceased, while the officer again commanded the prisoners to confess. Although one of

them nearly fainted, they could do nothing but howl that they did not know, but would try to find out.

One man received six hundred, the other five hundred lashes. As each man received only six in ten, a count of six hundred meant only three hundred and sixty lashes. At first the men howled and struggled, then the shrieks became groans and the groans died away to a ghastly silence in which the lashes fell monotonously on the quivering flesh. This angered an under-officer standing by, who took the whip from one of the executioners and laid on with all his strength, but without getting a groan from the victim. Probably, although he could still speak in a dazed way after the lashing ceased, he was on the verge of unconsciousness. The backs of both men between the shoulder-blades were raised into raw weals.

I saw the men next morning. They were eating heartily and speaking ingratiatingly to the escort who was to conduct them to the yurt of a Mongol who had offered security for their good conduct in future. The escort was wearing the sheep-skin trousers of one of the men, which he had exchanged for his own pair of tattered wadded cotton.

I have heard credible stories of Chinese justice that are worse than anything I have seen. The essential thing, however, about the law in Sinkiang is that it is adapted to the control of more than half barbarous peoples who have no conception of justice and despise punishment unless it takes off a bit of skin. On the other hand, no one is in danger of the law unless he meddles with politics or is unwilling to take advantage of the plentiful opportunities of making an honest living. What shows up the brutality of legal practices in other parts of China is the way that people are driven to crime by lack of food, lack of work, unstable currencies and, above all, the manipulations of men in high places who not merely override the law, but the elementary principles of humanity and civilization. Sinkiang is universally commended by the Chinese as a law-abiding and orderly province. They contrast it favourably with Russia.

In the Siberian provinces, as in Sinkiang, there are nomadic Kazak tribes. The frontiers of Sinkiang have suffered considerably from the incursions of Russian Kazak bandits. I have been told by well-informed Chinese with no reason to distort the truth that the explanation of this is that the Russian Kazak are allowed to buy modern arms, and that by the practice of the local courts murder is no murder if the man killed were in possession of arms. The difference between the Russian and Chinese attitudes accounts for the fact that there are far more Chinese robbers in Russian territory than in Sinkiang. The Chinese do not allow their Kazak subjects to have any rifles that are not of a very ancient pattern. Also, if there is a serious crime in a Kazak district the Chinese principle of collective responsi-

bility is put into effect. The Kazak chief is required to produce an offender for punishment, if not the offender. The Kazak tribes in Chinese territory do not, therefore, practise highway robbery. They merely steal the cattle of the Mongols, in retaliation for the cattle stolen from them by the Mongols. Of such activities the Chinese take little notice. They are affairs of barbarian against barbarian; they do not affect the public and they tend to weaken both lots of barbarians.

But this attitude toward the subject races might be called domestic Imperialism. The policy can be modified to suit different conditions. One of the foreign problems that confront the Chinese in Sinkiang is Mongolia. The fact that in Outer Mongolia the Chinese rule was thrown off with remarkable ease is bound to be disturbing to the authorities of Sinkiang, who have to maintain the Chinese prestige over thousands of Mongol subjects. The Altai Mountains, the geographical boundary between Mongolia and Zungaria, do not make a satisfactory political frontier. Like all nomads, the Mongols are not so much concerned with water-sheds as with pastures. Formerly intercourse between the Torgut Mongols on the Zungarian slope of the Altai and the Mingan on the far side was unrestricted.

Chinese policy has been to use one of the Kazak tribes to create a racial frontier. For generations the Torgut of Zungaria shared their pastures with the Kirei-Kazak, one of the tribes who are supposed to have been in the Middle Ages the subjects of Prester John. The ruling of the sovereign Chinese power was that the land belonged to the Torgut, and the Kirei, therefore, paid rent. The Chinese found it politic to hold the Kirei lower than the Torgut, for the Kirei are Mohammedans, speaking a Turki dialect, and might be regarded as dangerous potential allies of the Turki and T'ung-kan were another Moslem rising to be faced.

After the change in the status of Outer Mongolia, the Chinese attitude was revised. The light of the Governor's countenance was averted from the Northern Torgut. If the Torgut did a little raiding among the Kazak herds they were dealt with severely. If the Kirei did the same thing the evidence against them was always found unsatisfactory. It even became unsafe for a Torgut to carry arms, while the Kirei found it possible to hire arms from a certain General of the provincial army. With these they not only worked havoc among the Torgut but crossed the Altai (on the far side of which they had formerly also rented pastures) and went reiving among the Mingan. I was told (though the figures are probably Oriental) that they had "lifted" sixty thousand camels alone, and ponies, horned cattle and sheep in proportion. A Mingan Mongol told me that his tribe had been "robbed into destitution." A part of the booty was sent to the Chinese General in payment for the use of

the arms. It is true that this affair was afterwards treated by the Governor as a scandal and the officer executed; but then he had become too rich and the political manœuvre had already been accomplished. A No Man's Land had been created, terrorized by Kirei raiders who were never called to account. The Mongols of Sinkiang have practically no communication with Mongolia.

The establishment of the racial frontier was reinforced by an embargo on the export to Mongolia of grain and flour, in which there had been a flourishing trade from Ku Ch'eng-tze and Barkul. The Mongols when they attacked Chinese trade had been willing to leave this business alone. Flour may be called the staple luxury of nomads. The better types of nomad despise agriculture, but in modern times many of them have grown almost to depend on bread in the winter. The loss to the Chinese who monopolized the trade was regarded by the authorities as immaterial in view of the object achieved. In Kobdo and Uliassutai the price of flour has doubled and trebled. The particular loss of the traders has been balanced in the provincial revenues by the increased herds and flocks in the possession of the Kirei; for the nomads pay a tithe of their live stock in taxation.

The acquiescence of the Chinese rulers in the ruin of the Torgut of Zungaria is the more conspicuous because another great division of the Torgut, the Mongols of Karashar, are held in high favour. The Prince of Karashar has a small cavalry force which is the best in the province, and the Karashar levies generally are considered good troops. This is because they are segregated from other Mongols and from their position on the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan overlook a large population of Turki and T'ung-kan.

The broad effect of this kind of juggling with the fortunes of subject races is, I think, the sort of Imperialism that lends itself to quotation marks.

Outer Mongolia at present must be regarded as an appanage of Russia; yet it must not be inferred that because of its Mongolian policy the Chinese Government of Sinkiang is on bad terms with the Soviets. On the contrary, it is obliged to be on the very best of terms with them. Isolated as they are from China, the Chinese of Sinkiang have no neighbours in so commanding a military position as the Russians, nor any so mercurial politically. The Russians themselves are far from being disconcerted by the cool relations between Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia. Every obstacle in the way of Chinese intercourse only makes the Russian economic hold more secure, and the absence of Chinese competition makes buying easier and cheaper for the Russian State-monopoly firms.

Owing to its remoteness in the hinterland it is impossible to transport munitions of war from the coast to Sinkiang. They would

be seized on the way by some military adventurer. The most modern arms in the province are those that were taken from the anti-Revolutionary Russian armies which fled from Siberia and were interned by the Chinese. The supply of ammunition for these is naturally limited. Troops posted in different regions are armed with an astonishing assortment of weapons. Even American rifles of the period of the Civil War are to be found. The commonest, perhaps, is an ancient Russian single-shot rifle. Cartridges for the more antique kinds of rifle are loaded by hand with coarse black powder.

Considering the arms at their disposal the Chinese are wise in not attempting to create a modern army. Their military safety as regards the subject races lies in the maintenance of mediæval conditions in which their odds and ends of troops can most effectively maintain their superiority. As regards Russia, the only foreign Power to be kept in mind, it lies in diplomacy.

Both the Russian and the Chinese interests are centred in the exploitation of trade in Sinkiang. The Russians need raw materials and an easy market for their manufactures, which at present are too inferior to compete in the open with those of other civilized nations. The Chinese count on the prosperity of trade to give material contentment to their subjects and obscure any motives for rebellion against Chinese rule. I have heard more than one intelligent Chinese express the opinion that the subject races have far too much at stake to be gambled wantonly in a spontaneous Mohammedan rising. The incentive is lacking—unless it were to come through the “liberated” Mohammedans under Russian rule.

There is one divergence between Russian and Chinese aims. The Chinese wish to increase trade only as far as possible without improving communications. They set great political value on the division of the province into isolated regions. Increased facilities for the movement of trade permits an increase in the mobility of armed forces. The Russians are equally aware of the double value of improved communications. The power of rapid travel would not only consummate their strategic domination of Sinkiang, but place Russia within striking range of Western China and Kokonor Tibet. Russia, as a result, would gain an incalculable advantage both in political influence on China and in competing for raw produce with the firms of other nations, which can only trade from the distant seaports.

Since the closing of the caravan route through Outer Mongolia after the Mongol break with China, and the stoppage of all other routes consequent on the disorders in China itself, the trade of Sinkiang has no considerable outlet except through Russia. The trade route to India is so difficult that it is hardly capable of bearing an increased traffic. The Chinese are therefore in the awkward position of having to maintain their domination in Sinkiang and to

make a front against Russian expansion without being able to draw aid from China. Chinese aid would mean nothing but invasion by an ambitious General and a collapse into the anarchy of Chinese civil wars. Yet the administration must be perpetually on the watch against what may be called the New Imperialism of Russia—the subversion of all rule and a reintegration into regional or racial Soviets oriented towards Moscow. Russian high policy in its dealing with the Chinese rulers of Sinkiang is armed with a threat that needs neither to be veiled nor unduly kept to the fore. A little propaganda, the furnishing of arms and money, and the last great monument of Chinese Imperialism would crumble under the attacks of the subject races.

The price, in fact, of Chinese dominion is acquiescence in Russian economic expansion. The explanation, equally, of the curious abatement of communistic missionary fervour in the promising field of Sinkiang is that under present conditions the much needed raw products of the country can be made a Russian monopoly without the trouble and delay of the "Proletarian Revolution."

When, in 1926, the "Christian" General, Feng Yu-hsiang (whose dependence on Russia needs no further proof) was driven from his stronghold in the North-Western Province of China, it was the general opinion that he would retreat through Kansu, bridge the desert gap to Sinkiang with his motor transport and set up his power there, resting on Russian sympathy and secure from attack. That he did not carry out this plan, for which the preparations had already been made, was undoubtedly due to Russian negotiation. It is hard to believe that increased facilities subsequently granted to Russian trade in Sinkiang, especially the project of a motor service from the provincial capital to the Siberian border (a project which the Governor had opposed for years) were not granted in recognition of the good offices of Russia. The amicable relations between Russian and Chinese in Sinkiang screen a duel between the Imperialistic ambitions of the two races whose public apologists most violently attack Imperialism.

It should be possible to draw some conclusions from the course of history and contemporary events in Mongolia and Sinkiang. Almost all travellers in those regions, including the Russian pioneers, have agreed in constructing a legend of the effete and incompetent Chinese. Probably the reason is that almost none of them understood the Chinese language, the Chinese spirit, the Chinese civilization, the immense confidence of the Chinese in themselves and their civilization. It seems to me that the Chinese official, trader and colonist have a serene conviction of their superiority to all the "outer barbarian" races. They consider it inherently proper that they should dominate every race with which they come in contact, imposing on it

their own speech and if necessary even their own manners and dress. Any setback they may encounter after once filing a claim on any country or people is an affront of Imperialism.

It is interesting to compare the impressions of early voyagers, who found that the Chinese would admit no foreigner unless he came as a subservient barbarian, with the legend fostered by numerous publicists in the last generation or so that the Chinese are a passive people who have been abused by arrogant invaders. The truth is that they are not passive, but thoroughly imbued with the instinct and spirit of domination, an expansionist people whose expansion has been temporarily checked by their inability to cope with better-armed expansionists. The unwieldiness of China, a vast body suffering from atrophied arteries, has obscured the racial unity of its spirit.

There is a remarkable contrast between the ignominious rout of the Chinese in Outer Mongolia at a time when all the circumstances were in their favour and the calculated skill with which they have maintained not only their rule but their prestige in Sinkiang, where they have been hampered by difficulties that would long ago have daunted a passive race.

A typical modern Chinese militarist, having at the back of his head a garbled idea of Western motives of invasion and methods of war, went prancing into Mongolia. He failed because he and his men, with the material equipment of modern soldiers, were handicapped by the mental equipment of the days of the tom-tom and the spear. In Sinkiang a small numerical minority, almost totally deprived of modern material means, have consciously set themselves to triumph over material handicaps by sheer intelligence, and have maintained their domination by the superiority of their moral fibre.

Political systems are not everything. There is still the spirit of the race, which shines through them like a candle through a lantern. To my mind, the politics of a Chinese are a trivial matter. The spirit of his race leaps beyond that; nor is it the passive spirit of a contemplative race, so widely and falsely advertised by all the publicists. The seething of the tides in modern China has shown something of the forces at work. The most important of them all is this: Whether under Chinese or Soviet inspiration, wherever the Chinese have secured (if only for a few days) some measure of power and initiative, they have made it clear (even to their Russian "advisers"), in spite of all the confusions of domestic politics, that to their minds one of the chief functions of Chinese power is to assert Chinese domination—domination, not equality—over every race that comes within the scope of Chinese action.

DISCUSSION.

Capt. ALLAN GRAHAM: I should like to ask the Lecturer what his impressions are as to the reality of Soviet control over Outer Mongolia, how far does he think they are able to use it? How far is their control so secure that they can use it as an easy jumping-off place for subversive propaganda throughout China?

The LECTURER: I do not think the Russian policy in Outer Mongolia is directly connected with their attitude in China. I think the two things are under separate policies. Communication in Mongolia is much too difficult to permit of the invasion of China across Mongolia. On the other hand, there is a certain amount of limited transport which can move across it with sufficient speed to supply a Chinese General with munitions and arms, as in the case of Feng Yushiang when he was in North China. What appears to be a much more natural course of Russian action is to carry on agitation in North China whenever conditions are suitable, and quietly to take the benefit of all the trade which is available to them in Mongolia, because while all other countries carry on their Chinese trade working to the interior from the treaty ports, the Russians are the only one with a land approach. All the railways from the coast to the interior of China have been built to serve trade coming up from the hinterland towards the coast, and there is very little lateral communication, so that whatever is the difficulty to the trade of other countries going towards Mongolia and extreme Western China is automatically favourable to the Russians. What accentuates the difficulties of other trade lays open these countries to the Russians without objection, thus enabling them to buy at their own price.

Sir CHARLES BELL: My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I am afraid I cannot add much to the very interesting talk that the Lecturer has given us this afternoon. But while he was speaking to us, I could almost fancy myself back in Tibet, a country where I have spent a great many years of my life.

The similarities between Mongolia and Tibet are certainly very striking. Apart from the configuration of the country itself, which is not particularly like Tibet, the people, their dress, their appearance, the ponies, the dogs, and even the water-buckets that we have seen on the screen, might equally have belonged to Tibet. Ethnographically there is a very strong resemblance, so strong that you cannot tell a Mongolian from a Tibetan. In addition to the ethnographic connection, there is a strong political connection between the two countries, and a noticeable similarity in the way in which China has dealt with them. In Mongolia, as the Lecturer has told us, we have an Inner Mongolia and an Outer. In Tibet also we used to have an Inner and an Outer Tibet on similar, or somewhat similar, lines.

Again, the Lecturer has told us that in Mongolia the Chinese have an extra-territoriality of their own; that while they object to extra-territoriality in China they universally have it themselves in Mongolia. So was it in Tibet until Tibet broke off her connection with China. The idea of a separate jurisdiction of one's own is very common throughout the outlying dependencies of China. Again, in Tibet the Chinese tried to plant colonies, just as the Lecturer has told us they did in Mongolia. Only there has been a considerable difference here, because Mongolia is much more amenable to the plough than is Tibet. Also Tibet is extremely cold and mountainous, so that the Chinese have usually given up attempts at colonization in disgust.

There are, indeed, differences between the two countries. We have seen in the lecture this evening the carts plying across the greater part of Mongolia, whereas in Tibet it would be almost true to say there is not a wheel from one end of the country to the other. It is too difficult for wheeled transport of any kind.

Now, I am pointing out these similarities between Tibet and Mongolia with an object. The Lecturer has graphically told us about the interest and influence of Russia in Mongolia. Mongolia and Tibet being so closely connected, it was believed in 1913 that a treaty had recently been made between the two. But Tibetans used to inform me that, whether there had ever been a treaty between Mongolia and Tibet or not, was a matter of but slight importance because, treaty or no treaty, Mongolia and Tibet would always act together when possible.

The connection between the two countries being so close, it follows that we must watch very closely Russian influence in Mongolia. What happens in Mongolia may very easily spread to Tibet. In Lhasa there are never less than one thousand or two thousand Mongols, and some of them are in close relations with the Dalai Lama and his Government. What happens in Mongolia inevitably finds repercussion in Tibet, so I think we have to watch very closely Russian influence in Mongolia, and do our best to see that the natural difficulties in Tibet are so utilized that that influence shall not spread into Tibet and be a menace to Tibet's southern neighbour, India.

Mr. E. MANICO GULL: I should like to begin by congratulating Mr. Lattimore and his exceedingly plucky wife very much indeed on their achievement, and Mr. Lattimore on the very excellent lecture he has given us. He told us a little about the inception of the idea of making this trip. He told us with extreme modesty, and perhaps I can add a word or two to the story because I happen to know about it. You have got to conceive Mr. Lattimore living with this idea of making a great journey in Mongolia for two or three years before he actually embarked on it, surrounded by all the disabilities of ordinary life—that is to say, he was in employment, excellent employment,

which is a great disability. He was surrounded by all the ordinary occupations and interests of places like Tientsin and Peking, and there was always the chance that if he gave up all those things when he got to Mongolia he would not be able to complete the journey. He did not tell you that he spent something like four or five months waiting on the border before he got any opportunity of making a start at all. In fact, I think Mr. Lattimore will allow me to say that he has transgressed every single rule a young man could transgress at the start of life. He packed up all the advantages which he possessed, wrapped them into a sort of bundle, and threw them into the wastepaper basket, and said: "I am off to Mongolia to make this big trek." He has done it with admirable success, and in an extremely plucky way. (Applause.) His lecture has been of particular interest to me, followed as it has been by the remarks of Sir Charles Bell, because I was in Urga at the time when the Russian influence there was first becoming dominant. At that time I was in the Chinese Customs service, but I went there on leave largely to interest readers of the *Manchester Guardian*. I went there to ascertain what the truth of the position was in regard to what Russia was doing in Mongolia. It was 1913, just after Russia had made a Convention, in the terms of which she acquired in Outer Mongolia a position and rights she had never had before. I spent several weeks inquiring into the situation, and inquiring as to what extent the Mongols really welcomed the Russians, and I came to the conclusion that while Mongolia's declaration of independence was an expression of their unwillingness to be directly ruled by China, a large number of the Mongols regretted very much that the Convention had been made with Russia, and regretted the power and authority that had been given her. In fact, one or two of the most highly placed Mongols begged me to take letters back to our own Foreign Office. Not everybody agreed with the views that I expressed in a lecture to this Society and in articles in the *Manchester Guardian*, but I think what has taken place since, and what Mr. Lattimore has described this evening, tend to confirm the opinion I formed fifteen years ago. It is true there have been very great changes in Russia, but it appears also to be true that there is very little difference, as far as the control of Outer Mongolia is concerned, between the aims of Soviet Russia and those of Imperial Russia. (Hear, hear.) I agree with Sir Charles Bell in thinking it is worth our while to watch everything that transpires in that part of the world, and I think we should be grateful to all people like Mr. Lattimore who, at great personal risk and sacrifice to himself and his wife, have made a journey so extremely enlightening to us. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Lecturer does not want to say any more, but I think we shall unanimously vote him our

thanks for the interesting and illuminating address he has given us tonight, and in thanking him, we would also congratulate his wife, Mrs. Lattimore, who so bravely ventured into the untrodden wilds and met her husband there. They have taken us into that wild country and brought us out of it, and we feel the adventures they went through have been carried over the footlights to us who sit in this room. We have had the pleasure of that enterprise without its hardships, and record a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and his wife. (Applause.)

THE TURFAN DEPRESSION

BY COLONEL R. SCHOMBERG, D.S.O.

THE Turfan depression in the north-east of Chinese Turkistan has been visited in recent years by archæological expeditions, but it is some time since a general account of this district has appeared.

The greater part of the area is below sea-level, and it is also one of the not infrequent cases found in Central Asia where there is no apparent outlet for its drainage.

On the north are the snowy Bogdo-ola, and on the other sides the hills bounding Turfan are barren and forbidding. It is not, therefore, surprising if the oasis is somewhat arid when compared with the more favoured ones in the south of the province.

The capital of the district is Turfan, a large, walled town, with a very long and very well-stocked bazaar. Beyond the Mohammedan city lies the Chinese quarter, and not a very attractive one. The Turki bazaar is clean and without dust. In the Chinese city, also walled, one wades in stifling, heavy dust.

Dusty though Turkistan can be, the variety of dust in this area seems drier and finer and more penetrating. It is not sand, but rich brown-grey loess, valuable for building and for agriculture. The dry air here seems to have encouraged the local architects to fanciful and elaborate building. The tombs with domes dot the plain thickly, like great mushrooms. The façades of the mosques are tall, and the minarets even striking. The entrances to the compounds of the houses are lofty arches, severe and even imposing, and the houses themselves are more spacious than elsewhere in the province. One feels that the people have let their fancy have freedom when designing in dry mud—for that is what everything is built of.

The heat of the district is considerable, and for that reason the cotton of Turfan is famous. It is grown everywhere, so that rice and wheat have to be imported from outside. The chief food crop is maize and a little millet. Fruit is, however, much grown. The melons of Turfan are held in high repute, and are cut into strips and dried. Probably this is the best proof of the dryness of the climate, as elsewhere the fruit would go bad. The result is not unpalatable. The dried melon is done up into bundles not unlike cured but unmanufactured tobacco. The grape crop is considerable. In one village, Tuyok, the sole crop (with a few insignificant exceptions) is the vine. The grapes are small, seedless, and very sweet, and made into sultanas which are excellent, and are sold locally for twopence a pound.

Curiously enough, apples and pears thrive, and last, especially the former, all through the year.

The chief feature in Turfan, in the agricultural areas, is the karez. This was introduced recently, certainly not more than two centuries ago. So far as I know, there is only one other karez in Turkistan. The karez mounds dot the plain like large molehills. The smooth sloping stretches of Piedmont gravel are broken by the rows of these mounds, and present a novel appearance so far from Persia, the land of their origin. The orifices of the mounds are carefully covered up to keep out the dust that the strong Turfan winds stir up in clouds. These karez are cleaned in January or February, and it is a curious sight to see a row of the mounds, with their lids off, all smoking in the bitter winter air, as the vapour from the running water below rises through the hole. Many karez are abandoned, and as no effort is made to fill them up, dangerous cavities abound. Karez digging and karez cleaning are highly laborious, and it says much for the peasants that they have developed so complete a system of irrigation. Compared with the rest of Turkistan—south of the Tian Shan—the farmer's lot is not a happy one.

Yet the district is prosperous, and it is the cotton that makes it so. The demand for it is great, and the quality is said to be excellent; Russia is the chief customer, and apparently can absorb any amount. It is said that the Turfan cotton was always exported to Russia, even before the war, when so much was being done to encourage the growing of cotton in the Russian Empire. There are a number of prosperous towns in the district besides Turfan. Toksun, properly Tokhtasun (and which does not mean "ninety," as has been said), is the most westerly town, and is on the main road between Turkistan proper and Urumchi, the provincial capital in Dzungaria. The old city of Amir Yaqub Beg, "Bedaulet," the Moslem ruler of the country during the seventies of last century, is now tumbledown and abandoned, but it possesses two good mosques with striking mud towers. The *Wang* or Chief of Turfan lives at Lukchen, thirty miles east of the capital. His town is walled, and as squalid and filthy a place as one could find in Asia. His palace is a great brown mud structure, rising high and gloomy above the offal-filled streets. The unfortunate chief, who is a relation by marriage of the Khan of Hami, has now no power as a ruler. Not that he minds, for he is insane. One reason given for his madness is that he was given dog's brains to eat, which apparently always turn the brain. He has a son who looks after his property, a young man of twenty or so.

The mosque of the Tungans, or Chinese Mohammedans, at Lukchen, is a curious structure. Its roof is a Chinese temple, dragons and all. No account of Turfan would be complete without a reference to the numerous remains of the Buddhist era. These ruins are in a good

state of preservation, thanks to the climate, but the statues and frescoes have been sadly damaged by Moslem fanaticism. Archæological expeditions under Dr. von Le Coq, as well as Sir Aurel Stein's, have opened up most of the sites. Everything worth taking away has been removed. Although it is sad to see the cells and chaityas reft of their images and paintings, one has to remember that it is only the accident of their being hidden that has preserved them at all, and if any were left uncovered and intact, the local Moslem would soon mutilate them. The chief group is at Bezeklik, where the colours of the frescoes are fresh and well preserved, but recent mutilations were evident, as though the damage already done to the serene portraits of the Buddha was not enough. The site of the caves resembles that of the Ajanta caves. A fall of the cliff is endangering the easternmost caves, so it is as well that the precious contents are in Europe, and not exposed to the malice of the Turki, the indifference of the Chinese, or the ravages of the climate, kindly though it has generally been.

The stupa at Sirkap, and the ruins at Karakhoja and near Turfan city, are all interesting. The old cities are great wildernesses of mud buildings, singularly dreary and sombre.

The eastern extremity of the cultivated area is bounded by a range of huge sand-hills. When the strong winds blow the result is unpleasant, although the fields go right to the very edge of these great dunes.

One of the most famous shrines in Central Asia is in the Turfan area, at Tuyok, where the grapes grow. It is the mazar of Assa-ul-Kat, and the eponymous staff of the shrine is carefully preserved. So holy is this shrine that two journeys to it absolve the poor pilgrim from any need of going to Mecca. Twice to Tuyok is equal to once to Mecca. At Astana, near Karakhoja, are the tombs of the Wangs of Lukchen. These tombs have domes covered with glazed blue-green tiles, and from the tops of the tombs is a high metal rod, with circular plates, very much like the extremity of the spire of a Siamese wat, or of any Burmese pagoda. This ornament seems out of place on the domes of a Moslem sepulchre.

Within, the graves are orthodox, severe and unadorned. The walls were painted in arabesques of brown and white and black and white—simple, restrained, and effective.

The texts from the Koran that ran round the walls were in very tall characters of a Cufic type. The interior of the domes themselves were covered with conventional bunches of blue and pink flowers. Indeed, the resting-places of the Lukchen chiefs were dignified and harmonious. Nowhere in Turkistan do cemeteries abound as they do in this district. It is not, presumably, because the mortality is greater, but because the climate preserves the graves. It is true the pattern of mausoleum seems to be more complex than elsewhere. The Turfanlik prefers

something more ornate than a mere dome or elongated mud slab. So on all sides domes and dummy minarets and crooked façades sprout—the cities of the dead seem more numerous than the towns of the living.

The people of the Turfan area are chiefly Turkis from the more favoured parts of the province. There are many Tungans, and some Chinese. Although industrious, the Turki population compares unpleasantly, in manners, morals, appearance, and general demeanour, with the Turki of the south.

They seem to have deteriorated in all respects. Perhaps they have kept bad company. At any rate, many of them smoke Indian hemp; and it is said they also smoke opium. They certainly gamble even more than their compatriots in the south. Their inquisitiveness rivals that of the Chinese, and their method of living shows deterioration.

Animal life seems even more scarce than in other parts of Sinkiang. There is a stray wild sheep or two in the mountains in the north, and the swamps in the south, which should hold, at this time of year, a good number of wild duck or teal, seem to hold nothing. Two small pairs of sand-grouse and six ducks were all that were seen. Pigeons are common enough, usually of the semi-tame kind.

Turfan is more interesting than attractive. Much of the scenery reminds one of Berar and the uglier parts of the Punjab. In the summer the heat is severe. In the winter the cold and the absence of any fuel, save villainous coal, make a sojourn somewhat disagreeable. On the whole, it is the contrast with the neighbouring districts, rather than any virtue of its own, that makes Turfan worth a visit. It is its oddities and not its charms that attract.

SIAM*

BY MR. D. BOURKE-BORROWES

(Late Forest Adviser to the Siamese Government.)

SIAM covers an area of 200,000 square miles—that is to say, about 35 per cent. larger than the British Isles. Its population is nearly 10,000,000; it is, therefore, very thinly populated. General description.

The main feature of its geographical situation is that it lies, practically speaking, between Burma on the west and French Indo-China on the east.

The western land boundary is made up partly by the Salween river, but chiefly by a long series of mountain ranges; the eastern boundary is marked chiefly by the Mekong river—an enormous river, the third or fourth largest in the world. The northern boundary is formed by a narrow tongue of land jutting out from the Shan States on the west and French Laos territory on the east, about 100 miles broad, separating Northern Siam from Yunnan. To the south Siam stretches far down the Malay Peninsula to just south of latitude 6° N., where it meets the northern boundary of the unfederated Malay States.

Siam falls into four major and one minor natural divisions.

The four major divisions are :

1. Northern Siam—a region containing several mountain ranges, with peaks up to 8,500 feet, running parallel in a north and south direction. Between these ranges flow southwards four rivers, which, with many tributaries, form the headwaters of the large Siamese river, the Menam Chao Phya. Northern Siam resembles Central Burma climatically and also in other respects. The climate is somewhat continental, with an average rainfall of 47·8 inches. It is well known for its valuable forest areas, especially for its teak forests, from which comes the second largest export of teak in the world. In the valleys there is considerable rice cultivation, which is capable of great expansion under irrigation schemes.

2. Central Siam lies directly south of Northern Siam. In this region the great river, with a vast number of affluents and canals, runs through the centre of a large, flat, irrigated rice plain. This is by far the richest part of Siam, and the only one which has been under continuous cultivation for many centuries. Bangkok, the capital, is situated on the banks of the Menam Chao Phya, at a distance of

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thirty miles from the sea. It is a large modern city, whose population is officially given as over 350,000, but which I believe in reality contains over half a million people, with a very mixed population. The Chinese element is a very large one, and I should estimate one-third of the population to be Chinese. The two main features of the town are the canals and the Buddhist temples. The city, founded in 1782, has often been called the Venice of the East; and up to quite recent times, until the construction of roads and the introduction of modern transport, canals were the only means of communication, and they still play a great part in the traffic of the city.

Bangkok is the residence of the King and Royal Family. It is the headquarters of Government, and the centre of most of the trade and activity in the country. With the single exception of London, there is no other capital in the world whose population bears so large a proportion to that of the country. In modern progress generally Bangkok is far in advance of the rest of Siam. It is the only large town in Siam, the largest towns next in importance to Bangkok only possessing populations of about 30,000 inhabitants; consequently it dominates the kingdom in a manner unknown elsewhere. The amenities and attractions of Bangkok have had, and still have, rather a bad influence on the Siamese official classes, in that they tempt numbers of the younger men to spend lives of comparative ease in the city rather than to go out and serve under the rougher conditions prevailing outside in the districts.

Climatically, Central Siam is very hot and tropical, and is marked by two seasons—the dry and the rainy season. The general rainfall is about 50 inches.

3. Southern Siam—that is, the Siamese portion of the Malay Peninsula. A large, clearly defined axial range of mountains, with side branches, runs down the centre of the Peninsula. It contains a few peaks up to 5,000 to 6,000 feet in height. Southern Siam is part of Malaya. The climate is hot, wet, and steamy all the year round, with a general rainfall of about 100 inches. Most of this region is covered with dense evergreen forests, largely unexplored, which supply valuable timbers and other tropical forest products. In the plains and valleys there is considerable cultivation of rice, also fruits, cocoanuts, pepper, spices, and rubber. Southern Siam has a great potential future for the planting industry, especially for rubber, which has only been developed to a very limited extent.

4. Eastern Siam. In structure it is a curious kind of plateau basin, tilted up on its western boundary, and sloping away eastwards down to the Mekong valley. The centre is a great marshy depression; parts are well watered and capable of development with irrigation, but much of it is a dry upland country. It bears, however, extensive tracts of forests, containing mostly trees of the deciduous dipterocarp species.

The forests resemble the well-known "indaing" forests of Burma. Since the construction of the North-Eastern Railway their value has recently been much enhanced. Climatically, Eastern Siam is marked by three seasons, and as a whole it is the driest part of the kingdom.

There is one minor natural division worthy of mention—Western Siam. A long strip running along the Burmese frontier, composed partly of the Salween river and its affluents, and partly by the headwaters of the Meklong river. This is a rugged, mountainous region, largely unexplored, inhabited by wild nomadic tribes.

Siam is a very interesting country, owing to its great variety and to the wealth of its natural resources. It is teeming with every kind of scientific interest, and this feature is enhanced by the fact that so much in the country is as yet unknown and undiscovered.

There are about thirty different races and tribes, great and small, indigenous to Siam, and amongst them a few of the most primitive people. In addition, there are a great number of Chinese immigrants, and a large number of foreigners from neighbouring Oriental countries, such as India, Burma, and the Dutch East Indies. A few representatives of the aboriginal races still linger in the remotest parts of the country.

Population,
races,
religions.

Some thousands of years ago successive waves of northern races, mostly of Mongolian origin, swept down and populated most of Siam.

The first immigration was composed of people of the Mon-Khmer stock—supposed to be of northern Indian origin—represented in Siam of today by the scattered Mon or Talaing communities, by the Cambodians or Khmer in Eastern Siam, and by the Khamoo communities in Northern Siam.

The next and greatest immigration was that of the Tai group of races—that is, the Siamese, Laos, Shans, and some other elements, who now number about 7,500,000 people. Their languages clearly show that they came from Southern and perhaps even from Central China.

In the southernmost portions of Siam there are about 400,000 Malays, who were much later arrivals. The Siamese Malay is of very mixed origin.

Since the Middle Ages there has been a steady large immigration of Southern Chinese. In the past these immigrants were almost entirely males, who married Siamese women and produced a mixed breed known as "luk-Chin" (children of Chinamen). These inherit many of the good qualities of their Chinese ancestors and some of their defects. The Chinese and "luk-Chin" are especially numerous in the Bangkok district, and are to be found all along the railways, rivers, and main channels of communications. They are engaged in all kinds of industry and commerce. In the last fifteen years or so the Chinese seem to have developed some nationalist feelings—they now often

bring in their families with them, start Chinese schools, and generally remain more apart from the Siamese. There is at present no general restriction to Chinese immigration, which is increasing annually, but I understand that recently a new immigration law has been passed under which undesirable persons can be excluded. The Chinese question is undoubtedly one of the problems of modern Siam.

The main population elements are distributed approximately as follows: in Northern Siam, chiefly Laos with an admixture of Shans and Burmans; in Central Siam, chiefly Siamese with a large admixture of Chinese; in Southern Siam, Siamese and Malays; in Eastern Siam, Laos with an admixture of Cambodians; in Western Siam, Karens and other wild tribes. The Europeans and Americans number about 2,000, of which at least 60 per cent. are British. About two-thirds residing in Bangkok are engaged chiefly in commercial pursuits. The white population residing outside Bangkok fall mainly into three classes: (a) Europeans engaged in teak extraction in Northern Siam; (b) Europeans and Americans engaged in tin mining in Southern Siam; (c) American missionaries.

The Siamese people fall into two main classes: the peasants, who are chiefly rice farmers and to a certain extent lumbermen and fishermen, and the educated classes, who are officials. There are unfortunately hardly any intermediate classes, and this is also one of the problems of the future.

In character they are light-hearted, kindly, hospitable, and tolerant. They are mild, but, like the Burman, liable to occasional fits of savagery when engaged in dacoity, which is fairly prevalent throughout the country. The Laos resemble the Siamese in most respects.

The races of the Mon-Khmer and Tai groups have evolved considerable culture in music, art, architecture, and the drama. In family life they are polygamists; nevertheless the status of woman is pretty good. By religion they are Southern Buddhists. To a casual observer, their Buddhism seems to be marked with the following characteristics: Firstly, it is much mixed up with Hinduism and animism; secondly, the people seem to be sincerely religious in the external practices of religion; thirdly, a great deal of the religion consists in acquiring merit, chiefly by maintaining monks and building temples. There are about 120,000 monks in Siam, and every decent lad becomes a monk for a few months before going out into the world. Fourthly, the most refreshing feature of Siamese Buddhism is its kindly tolerance. One interesting religious feature is the existence of a body of Siamese Brahmin priests in the capital who perform the duties of royal astrologers and soothsayers. Many of the chief religious ceremonies in Bangkok are of Hindu origin.

There are in Siam about 500,000 hill tribesmen, whose origin and

habits are both curious and interesting. These dwell in the remoter regions, and maintain themselves by shifting cultivation and by hunting. Their nomadic existence consists in burning down forests, cultivating in the ashes, and then moving on in the following year to repeat this operation. As this is under no sort of control, hundreds of thousands of acres of forests have been and are being destroyed, which reclothe themselves with a noxious growth of bushes and weeds. These tribes are all animists, practising various kinds of "spirit" and "devil" worship.

In Southern Siam the Malay elements are cultivators, fishermen, and boatmen. They are all Sunni Muhammadans, but indifferent in religious practice except as regards alcohol.

Modern Siam started in 1851 with the commencement of the reign of King Mongkut. This enlightened monarch initiated modern progress by introducing printing and primary education, by reforming the administration, by constructing canals, ships, and roads. By a series of treaties relations with foreign powers were regulated, and complete extra-territoriality was granted.

Rise and
development
of modern
Siam.

King Chulalongkorn came to the throne in 1868 as a minor and began to reign in 1873. During his long reign many important administrative changes and many measures of reform and progress were introduced, of which the most notable were the organization of justice and police, the spread of education, construction of railways, reforms in revenue and financial administration, and the appointment of trained officials under a direct central control. The chief social reform was the abolition of slavery, and this reacted on the army, because many of the slaves were descendants of prisoners of war, and as such were the mainstay of the country's defence, whereas in this reign a general conscription law was passed. In this reign the practice was started of sending young princes and other young men abroad to study, mainly to England. The large Royal Family has always taken a leading part in the administration, and the position that Siam has attained as a modern nation is chiefly due to the work and guidance of the Royal Princes.

In 1893 Siam came into collision with France in Indo-China, which resulted in the loss of all Siamese provinces east of the Mekong river.

In 1909, as the result of a treaty with Great Britain, Siam relinquished all claims over the Malay States of Kedah, Kelantan, Tringanu, and Perlis, in return for which Great Britain partially surrendered her extra-territorial rights—an example followed by some other foreign powers.

From 1896 onwards Siam consolidated her power in Northern Siam and gradually deprived all the local Lao chiefs of their sovereign rights.

In 1910 King Vajiravudh came to the throne. During his reign Siam joined the Allies in 1917, and benefited thereby by acquiring

German shipping, by a friendly rapprochement with the French, and by improving her position among the nations of the world.

In 1925 the present King Prachatiok came to the throne. The King of Siam rules as an autocratic monarch—one of the few left in the world. In practice he governs through a cabinet of twelve ministers, each ministry being divided into various departments, but he still retains practically unlimited personal power. Since the present reign a Supreme Council of five Royal Princes has been established. This Council is consulted in all weighty matters, and its function may perhaps be compared to that exercised by the elder statesmen of Japan. There are no popular representative institutions in Siam except a few municipalities, all of recent origin.

The most powerful ministry is that of the Interior, which controls the executive administration, the police and gendarmerie, sanitary and health departments, and some of the public works. The Ministry of Public Instruction deals with education, and considerable progress has been made, though there is good reason to believe that technical education is very backward. The Ministry of War controls the standing army (which numbers about 40,000 men), the reserves, and the aviation service, which is large and efficient. This Ministry also controls the civil and military surveying, which is hardly a satisfactory arrangement. The navy is small and does not make much of a show.

The Ministry of Commerce and Communications' main work is the control of the communications—that is, posts, telegraphs, telephones, railways, and roads. The ordinary methods of communications are by boat along the numerous waterways, by pack animals and by cart, but one of the most striking developments has been the construction of a good main-line railway system, with a total length of nearly 2,000 miles—financed chiefly with foreign loans. The railways radiate outwards from Bangkok, northwards to Chiangmai; southwards, across the frontier, to Penang, where they connect up with the F.M.S. railway system; north-eastwards and eastwards, near or up to the frontiers of Indo-China. A large railway bridge has been built across the river at Bangkok, and it is now possible to travel by train from Singapore to Chiangmai, a distance of 1,650 miles, in eighty-four hours, and it used to take three to six weeks to travel by boat from Bangkok to Chiangmai, a distance of 450 miles.

Metalled roads are very deficient, and only exist in small quantities in Northern and Southern Siam. There is not a single yard of road leading out of Bangkok city. Nevertheless the numbers of motor-cars are increasing rapidly.

The Ministry of Agriculture plays an important part in controlling and developing the four basic industries—agriculture, forestry, mining, and fishing. The main achievement in recent years has been the commencement of regular irrigation in Central Siam by the con-

struction of the Prasak Barrage and Works at a total cost of approximately £1,500,000. This is the first of several schemes projected by a British expert, Sir Thomas Ward. Irrigation is of vital importance, and its scope is almost unlimited.

Modern justice was established in Siam through the great labours of Prince Rabi from 1892 to 1910. Modern laws were introduced and prison reform was undertaken. Four classes of courts were established, of which the Appeal Court and the Supreme or *Dika* Court are situated in Bangkok. A British judicial adviser and a staff of European legal advisers are employed. Siamese law.

In 1905 a French Code Commission was appointed, and in 1908, as a result of its labours, the Penal Code was published. This Commission is still sitting and is engaged in the general codification of all Siamese laws. I now come to the question of extra-territoriality, which has recently occupied much of the attention of the Ministries of Justice and Foreign Affairs. European intercourse with Siam started with the Portuguese, who traded in Southern Siam in the sixteenth century. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries European trade and intercourse steadily increased, and the British, Dutch, and Portuguese became keen trade rivals at Ayuthia, the former capital in Central Siam. Extra-territoriality.

In 1826 the East India Company concluded a commercial treaty with Siam, and this example was followed by the United States.

In 1855 a general and commercial treaty was concluded between Great Britain and King Mongkut of Siam, and a British Consul was appointed at Bangkok. The position of British nationals in Siam was recognized and regulated, and the principle of complete extra-territoriality was established; the tariff on British imports was fixed in perpetuity at 3 per cent. *ad valorem*—other foreign powers concerned followed suit.

The grant of complete extra-territoriality to all foreigners undoubtedly caused hardship to the Siamese Government as regards Asiatic subjects and protégés of the European powers concerned. Large numbers of Asiatics, many of them indistinguishable from Siamese subjects, thus became independent of Siamese control, and not only this, but abuses crept in—many Asiatics got themselves registered as subjects or protégés of foreign powers, who had really no claim to be so.

By the treaty of 1909, Great Britain abandoned some of her extra-territorial privileges, and this example was followed by Denmark, whose subjects have many interests in Siam. Cases involving British and Danish subjects registered before the treaty were tried before the International Courts, which consisted of a bench of Siamese judges with a European adviser. The Consul of the subject concerned had the right to evoke the case if he thought fit and to try it himself, calling the consular court out of abeyance for this purpose. In all cases

in which British or Danish subjects were accused or defendants the European adviser's opinion in judgment was final. In cases in which British or Danish subjects were plaintiffs or prosecutors the European adviser simply recorded his opinion.

Post-registered British and Danish subjects were tried in Siamese courts before a mixed bench of Siamese judges and a European adviser. There was no right of evocation. If the accused or defendant was a European subject it was laid down that the adviser's opinion should prevail in the first court. But if the accused were a British or Danish Asiatic subject, the adviser simply recorded his opinion. In all cases in which British or Danish subjects were plaintiffs or prosecutors the adviser recorded his opinion.

The French arrangements were even more complicated! All French European subjects were still tried by consular courts. French Asiatic subjects and protégés were under the same jurisdiction as British and Danish subjects. But in Eastern Siam French Asiatic subjects were amenable only to international courts.

Other foreign nations retained all their extra-territorial privileges.

In 1921 the United States by treaty surrendered all extra-territorial rights, reserving only the right of evocation for five years after the passing of the last Siamese code.

In July, 1925, a new general treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Siam for a period of ten years, whereby British subjects in future are to come under the jurisdiction of the Siamese courts, the rights of evocation being reserved up to five years after the passing of the last Siamese code, except for cases tried before the *Dika* or Supreme Court. The Siamese Government has promised to employ European legal advisers, after the passing of the last code, until such time as it is convinced that their services can safely be dispensed with. At present the majority of legal advisers are French. Up to the present time, where there have been no existing Siamese laws or precedents, Siamese judges have followed English law and judgments; but, with the inauguration of the codes and a law school with French lecturers, I think the tendency in future will be to follow French methods of procedure and justice.

On the same date a new commercial treaty was signed, which is a matter of great importance to British commercial interests, because 86 per cent. of the total Siamese exports go to British territory, and 67 per cent. of the total Siamese imports are of British origin. Under this treaty Siam has been granted tariff autonomy, with the important proviso that, during the first ten years, no duties above 5 per cent. *ad valorem* will be imposed on imported cotton yarn, threads, fabrics, and all manufactured articles of cotton, iron, steel, and machinery. In all general matters Great Britain enjoys the most favoured nation treatment. An assurance has also been given that there is no imme-

diate intention of imposing additional export duties or royalties on rice, teak, and tin.

Similar treaties have been or are being concluded with other foreign powers concerned.

Thus, by now, a period of change has begun in the relations between Siam and foreign nations, and in the future Siam will acquire complete sovereignty in all matters. As far as British interests are concerned, personally, I think there is little to fear. In modern times Siam has had a record of harmonious relations with Great Britain which could hardly be matched in any other Asiatic self-governing country, and, with the safeguards agreed upon, and the general progress of the country, there is every prospect of the future being as good as the past. Turning to the question of tariffs and customs—of greater importance to the British than to any other nation—many people who know Siam will, I think, agree that the past import tariff of 3 per cent. was too low, and inflicted real financial hardship. For the immediate future the Siamese authorities have shown themselves eminently reasonable, and there seems every probability that they will adhere to a policy of moderation in all fiscal matters.

The four basic industries of Siam are, firstly, agriculture, which is by far the most important; secondly, forestry and lumbering; thirdly, mining; and fourthly, fishing. Economics
and finance.

In agriculture rice dwarfs everything else. Rice is the staple food—the “staff of life”—to the inhabitants and their domestic animals. It forms over 80 per cent. of the total exports; 90 per cent. of the rice exported is conveyed to Bangkok chiefly by boat, where it is milled and graded. About 1½ million tons of rice are exported annually, with an average value of £12,000,000 to £14,000,000. The amount exported represents approximately a quarter of the total production, three-quarters being consumed in Siam for food and seed purposes. It is noticeable that the entire rice-milling industry of Bangkok is in the hands of Chinese, while the marketing and export are controlled by Chinese and European firms. Other important agricultural exports are fruit and cattle; this latter trade is in the hands of Indians, who export to the Federated Malay States for butchery.

Considering Siam as a whole, it is essentially a forest country. Probably three-quarters of it—an area considerably larger than the British Isles—is covered by some kind of forest growth. Siam possesses a wealth and variety of tropical vegetation second to none in Asia; it produces both for home consumption and export a great variety of timbers and many other forest products; lumbering is naturally a widespread industry. The most important forest product is the teakwood, of which Siam is the second largest exporter in the world. The teak forests are situated in Northern Siam, and at least 85 per cent. of the area is exploited by European firms; the British

firms control about three-quarters of the teak area. The timber is worked out largely by elephant power to the innumerable waterways, whence it is floated down to Bangkok, a log taking about five years on the journey. Modern methods of timber transport have also been introduced. The average annual export is about 50,000 cubic tons, with a total value of £600,000; this represents two-thirds of the total production. The remarkable increase of gramophone records has recently caused a boom in the production of stick lac, which is gathered from the forest trees, and is also being extensively cultivated in regular plantations. Prices have risen so much latterly that the value of the stick lac export is actually rivalling that of the teakwood.

The mineral resources of Siam are extensive and varied, but little known at present. The only mineral worked on a large scale is tin from the Peninsula. The exploitation of tin in this region by the Chinese is of ancient origin. At the present time tin is mined by several different methods, of which the latest modern development is by dredging. It is again noticeable that the mining labour is entirely Chinese, and that the companies controlling the industry are all either Chinese, European, or American. Most of the European companies are British. The annual export of tin ore amounts to nearly 8,000 tons. Siam is now one of the largest tin producers, and the recent high prices of tin have given this important industry a great impetus. In the past gold and copper mining have been carried out by European companies—always with disastrous results.

One of the great needs of modern Siam is to discover an ample fuel supply, such as coal or oil, to supplement and to replace the local supplies which are wood fuel and paddy husks. Unfortunately, so far, all efforts have failed.

The fourth basic industry is fishing. Siam possesses valuable, extensive, and varied aquatic resources and fisheries, both in the sea and in the inland waters. Fishing is carried on by many different methods—some of them unknown elsewhere. Some of the fish, too, have peculiar habits, such as, of climbing trees. I myself caught one of the catfish tribe, travelling overland across my garden in Bangkok!

After rice, fish is the second staple food, and there is also a large export of dried, salted, and prepared fish, amounting to 10,000-15,000 tons annually, which goes chiefly to the Far East. Latterly the Siamese Government has engaged the services of an American fish expert, Dr. Hugh Smith, who is studying the Siamese fisheries scientifically and economically. It is to be hoped that his recommendations will carry weight.

The steady growth of commerce has been a striking feature in modern Siam. In 1914 the value of the annual trade was £7,800,000 exports and £6,100,000 imports. During and after the war certain abnormal features appeared—prices of food-stuffs and minerals soared

and their export increased, whereas the export of some commodities, such as teak, declined. In 1919 the rice crop was almost a failure, and by the end of the year total export prohibition was enforced; nevertheless, so much money had been made that, during the first eight months of 1920, the balance of trade was completely reversed and the value of the exports only amounted to one-quarter of the imports! But normal conditions soon returned, and with them an increased prosperity. For a tropical country wages are high, and the general standard of living is higher than, for instance, in India. Nature is so prodigal that there is little incentive for the native population to exert itself, but real poverty is quite unknown.

In 1925-26 the total value of all exports from Bangkok port was £18,000,000, of which rice figured at nearly £15,000,000, while the total imports amounted to £14,750,000.

Before the war the Germans had largely ousted British shipping, which had actually fallen to 20 per cent. of the total tonnage, in the port of Bangkok; but when Siam joined the Allies all German shipping in Siam was seized, and by 1921 British shipping largely predominated.

For many years past the revenue of Siam has shown a steady **Revenue.** upward tendency, but so also has the expenditure, especially in recent years. At present the annual revenue is approximately £8,600,000. The largest contributor is the rice, both in the shape of land revenue and export duty; other important contributions are from the State railways, the capitation tax, the Customs, the Excise, the opium revenue, the forests, mines, and fisheries. There is little direct taxation and no income tax, but, with modern developments, it is probable that more will have to be imposed in the future. From 1922 onwards there was a small but annually increasing deficit in the Budget, but since 1925, with the commencement of the new reign, a régime of economy has been inaugurated, and subsequent Budgets are showing small but annually increasing surpluses. This beneficial change is largely due to the work of the present British Financial Adviser, Sir Edward Cook, formerly Financial Secretary to the Government of India. Glancing at the expenditure, it is perhaps rather striking to find that 23 per cent. of the national expenditure should be spent on defence (army, navy, and air force), when it is remembered that, since 1896, the autonomy of Siam has been guaranteed by England and France.

The foreign loans only amount to £10,750,000. These sums have been borrowed partly on the European markets and partly from the Federated Malay States Government, and the money was chiefly spent on railway construction, and latterly on the irrigation project.

Some people who visit Siam, travelling along the beaten track, in the comfortable and well-managed train service, to Bangkok and other show places where everything is far in advance of the rest of the

**General
comments.**

country, carry away a pleasant remembrance of their kindly reception and of the undoubted charm which the people possess—they are therefore apt to paint a glowing picture of modern Siam. Other people, like myself, who spent a good deal of their time travelling on duty round the remoter parts of the kingdom, are apt to see things from a slightly different angle of vision. Without in any way depreciating the creditable results which have been achieved up to date, I would like to offer a few observations.

Such success as has been achieved has been due in part to the fact that the Government has been wise enough to employ and to co-operate with European and American expert officials in many branches of the Administration. But the Siamese are now reaching the same stage that the Japanese arrived at many years ago, and in the future they wish to run their country without the assistance of white officials. The process of getting rid of foreign officials has already started and no doubt will be steadily continued in the future; thus, to my mind, it is all the more advisable that the younger generation in Siam should not become saturated with the idea that everything in Siam is splendid, that the country is forging ahead, and that there is no need to worry much about the future.

The Siamese are in the unfortunate position of seeing their country exploited by foreigners with foreign capital—nearly all important trade and industry being in the hands of outsiders. With the steady growth of national sentiment and consciousness, there is a strong desire that, in the future, the Siamese themselves shall take a larger part in such matters. To my mind, the immediate problem is that additional revenue is needed every year and that this can be obtained mainly by further exploitation of the country by foreigners with foreign capital. It remains to be seen whether, in the future, the youth of Siam, with the spread of technical and commercial education, can become successful merchants, industrialists, and professional men.

In every ministry in Siam there is a tendency for progress to depend on the personality and personal power of the minister in charge, rather than on policy, and this leads to lack of continuity and co-ordination. Again, there has been an inclination to develop the more showy elements which catch the eye, and to neglect that side which does not show up—as for instance, the first tour I made was to Eastern Siam where I was astonished to see aeroplanes carrying the mails to distant villages, while there was not a single metalled road in the whole of that extensive region.

As a further illustration I would refer briefly to some aspects of the administration of rural Siam, of which I have had some personal experience.

**Land
questions.**

All questions connected with land are of the greatest importance, because Siam literally lives on the land. The first question is that of

maps. Although the Survey Department has been in existence for over forty years, only one-fifth or one-sixth of the country has been properly surveyed and mapped, mainly comprising the central rice plain—the chief source of Siam's wealth. Here a cadastral survey has also been made, a regular system of land tenure has been established, and title-deeds for lands have been issued. Elsewhere no system of land classification and tenure exists, and cultivated lands are held chiefly on temporary permits.

In measures designed to improve and develop agriculture the main achievement has been the construction of the Prasak Barrage—a very fine one, due to the work of British irrigation engineers from India. This, together with the establishment of a few stud farms and the commencement of co-operative societies, represents the sum total of the work accomplished up to date. But the necessity for agricultural research work is most urgent, and the scope of such work is practically unlimited.

The forest questions are closely interwoven with the land questions. **Forestry.** Forestry was started in Siam over thirty years ago by British officials from India. The forests have been and are still an important source of revenue and also of employment and trade. Technical and scientific progress has lagged behind; no attempt has been made to undertake a systematic survey of the great resources; while the teak forests, the main source of forest wealth, have been and are being steadily overworked. As already mentioned, vast areas of forests have been and are being destroyed by most wasteful methods of cultivation.

Another important department connected with the land is the **Mines and maps.** Mines Department, which controls an important and growing industry. Much useful work has been accomplished in the past in regulating the mining industry, but, as an official touring about the country, I could not help noticing the absence of technical work and information, as for instance, the absence of a geological survey and geological maps.

Scientific work bearing directly or indirectly on all branches of district administration is very backward, and as the general revenues are likely to increase steadily, it is to be hoped that the Government will devote a sufficient share of the money to remedy this.

It is impossible to attempt to foretell the future of political development in Siam. In these days it does seem curious that a people who have arrived at the degree of development of the Siamese should apparently possess no political opinions and aspirations—but such is the case, as far as I know, and they would appear to be all the happier for it. Municipal government had been started on a small scale in the provinces before I left Siam, and I have been told that since last year its scope is being gradually extended.

Political development.

H.E. The SIAMESE MINISTER: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,— I wish at the outset to be permitted to express my deep sense of appreciation for the kindness of the Council in giving me the opportunity of being present here this afternoon to hear the lecture of Mr. Bourke-Borrowes. My thanks are also due to Mr. Bourke-Borrowes for making Siam known to the people of Great Britain. My Government has not gone in sufficiently or systematically for propaganda. That is not because we do not believe in the usefulness of publicity, but we prefer rather to let propaganda be carried on for the moment by those well-wishers of Siam who are qualified to speak on our behalf; and one such well-wisher and well qualified man is the Lecturer tonight. (Applause.) Well qualified because he had splendid opportunities of travelling about the country—north, south, east, and west—opportunities of which he availed himself to the full; well qualified also because he has the gift of exposition. I remember well when I called upon him at the Forest Department soon after his arrival he displayed before me specimens of lifeless bits of wood, and yet he made them live before me. (Applause.) I am sure you will agree with me that he has done the same with the sketch-map which he showed us at the beginning of his lecture. If I venture upon a few remarks now it is only to supplement what Mr. Bourke-Borrowes has so ably and so clearly put before us. This is necessary because Siam, though a large and old country, is a small and young state—and on account of its youth we are going fast, we are going ahead. It is necessary. Why? Because we have gone in for European intercourse, intercourse with European and Western nations, and we have had to adapt ourselves for that purpose. It has been said that the Siamese people work at play and play at work. I suppose there must be an element of truth in it; but, at any rate, tonight I think you will agree with me that Mr. Bourke-Borrowes has shown that the people of Siam do not deserve that epigram—in this sense: that I am glad that the author I quoted just now gave us the credit of working at play, which shows, at any rate, that we can be serious in certain things. Now with the adoption of European sports and games we are trying to transfer into our work that spirit which had already prevailed, according to that author, in the realm of sport and play. This applies in particular to the second of the two categories into which Mr. Bourke-Borrowes has divided the Siamese people—the official class. The Lecturer was quite right in dividing the Siamese people into two categories: the peasant class, who I am glad to say are industrious and hard-working; and if any blame is to be put forward against the Siamese people, I suppose it must be against the official class. Indeed, Mr. Bourke-Borrowes showed that if only we go on with our irrigation schemes, if only we would set up a Fishery Department, and so on and so forth, I suppose he would be prepared to tell you that Siam has got good prospects for the future, and that the blame, if

there is a blame, lies only with the Government. (Laughter.) You will see how far Siam has advanced in European ways. (Renewed laughter.) In defence of the Government may I recall in a few words what the Siamese Government has endeavoured to do within the last half-century. The Siamese people—we call ourselves the Thai, which means independent people—love independence, and for this reason we have had the spirit of nationhood from the beginning, as a characteristic of our race. Add to that the element of religion, on which Mr. Bourke-Borrowes has touched. Buddhism is a very tolerant religion, and this characteristic of tolerance has a very deep and fundamental political significance. It has helped to keep together as one nation the numerous races in Siam, and not only that, it has also kept Siam open to foreign intercourse ; so that when the time came when Siam could usefully and permanently come into relations with European nations, the country was ready to enter into such relations. (Applause.) We had a state organized in the traditional Oriental fashion before, but when in the middle of the nineteenth century, with the improvement of communications, the time had arrived for intercourse with Europeans, we were prepared. Siam kept open doors, and treaties were concluded with Great Britain first, and then with all the other nations of Europe, opening Siam to European intercourse. At that time, because the administration, especially that of justice, was not organized on modern lines, there was extra-territorial jurisdiction, to which Mr. Bourke-Borrowes referred. King Chulalongkorn set to work to reorganize the Siamese state on a modern basis, and he did that with a sagacity and foresight that have always been praised by European students. He sent to Europe Siamese students to study, especially in England, so that those students could go back home and bring to Siam all the good parts of European civilization they might have absorbed in the course of their study in Europe. I have now under me no less than one hundred and eighty students to look after ; and it is the chief part of my mission, I may say, to train those young men, as I trained myself, to study English culture and civilization in the right spirit and with a view to adaptation in Siam. (Applause.) Thanks to this far-sighted policy of the late King Chulalongkorn, we have been able to reorganize our administration, especially that of justice, so much so that recently the powers have shown confidence in us by agreeing to restore to us autonomy both in fiscal and judicial matters, to which Mr. Bourke-Borrowes has referred. So now, to all intents and purposes, we have our sovereign rights. How are we going to use our sovereignty? Will it be against European intercourse, or shall we follow blindly in European ways? Here I wish to say that the latest developments show clearly that the policy of Siam is that the Siamese should still retain their own national civilization. (Hear, hear.) In that respect I would recall a part of Mr. Bourke-Borrowes's lecture which referred to

the creation of the Institute of Archæology, Fine Arts, and Literature, An archæological service has been set up with a double purpose, first of all to welcome visitors and tourists who would help to make Siam better known abroad, and also to revive this national civilization of the Siamese people, so that we may develop along traditional lines ; but at the same time we realize that we should go in, wisely, for European intercourse, and with that end in view the Government is concentrating hard in further developing the Siamese state along modern lines. Mr. Bourke-Borrowes referred to the question of fisheries : we have set up permanently a Department of Fisheries under Dr. Hugh Smith. Mr. Bourke-Borrowes referred to irrigation schemes : we are still going on with those irrigation schemes. We are still going on with railway building in order to open up the country. In this work we welcome the co-operation of European advisers in every department, and as to the Ministry of Justice, I would like to say this : Mr. Bourke-Borrowes read before you a passage in which he said that in the Ministry of Justice there are more French advisers than British. That may be so, but, if he will permit me, I will correct what may lead to a false impression. In the courts you will find there are as many, if not more, British advisers than French ; but in the Codification Department, because we adopt the code system of law, it is quite true that in that department—which is quite separate—we have more French advisers. At the same time we also have an English professor at the School of Law—a professor whose qualification is to have experience in the code system of law. Our system of law is not that of common law, but that is on account of national tradition. It is the code system. As I say, we are quite ready to go on—and that is why we are quite prepared to give the promise to Great Britain that Mr. Bourke-Borrowes read out to you—we are quite prepared, irrespective of that promise, to go on employing European advisers until we ourselves can undertake completely the work of government without the aid of such advisers. In conclusion, I would like to say, as I thought perhaps Mr. Bourke-Borrowes would have done—because his lecture is entitled “The Position of Siam”—what is the part that Siam is likely to play in international life. As I say, essentially our policy is to develop along national lines, but at the same time we mean to keep up and strengthen our relations with Europe. There is nothing in our civilization against it, because, as I say, Buddhism is a tolerant religion. We have always welcomed foreigners in Siam, and now it is the policy of Government to encourage visitors, tourists, and so on, and also to give facilities to foreigners to come and trade and carry on commerce, enterprises, etc. That is why we welcome foreign co-operation ; but, on the other hand, as we are going to develop along national lines, the present policy of the Government is to encourage the growth of that middle class that the Lecturer said was lacking now in Siam—(Applause)—and it is doing so

by restricting the official class. We were suffering as a consequence of the war continuous deficits in the Budget, and in order to balance it we did not resort to foreign loans, but resorted to the process of retrenchment. A great number of Siamese officials were turned out of Government service, and, of course, on to the fields, the market, and other avenues of commerce; and now the Civil Service Law is being brought out still further to retrench and restrict—to make the official class more restricted, and hence, we hope, more efficient; at the same time turning on to the land those who otherwise would have aimed and aspired to be officials. In this way in the course of time we hope that a middle class may develop. At the same time His present Majesty has started a policy of what I might almost term constitutional development; he has used an existing organization, the Privy Council. He has appointed a Committee of Forty to deliberate on draft laws, so that when this middle class arrives, perhaps in a decade or more, Siam will be ready to take on the European form of government—that is to say, the democratic form—which is suited to the conditions required by intercourse with Europe. But at the same time we mean to remain Siamese in developing our archæology, our culture, our civilization, and the education of the country will now be run along more national lines. Thus our motto is not blindly to adopt but wisely to adapt. (Applause.) In this way we hope that in Siam it will be shown that the East cannot only meet but can co-operate with the West. (Applause.)

Sir MAURICE DE BUNSEN : Lord Allenby, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is difficult for me to express the intense interest with which I have followed every word that has been spoken so admirably today by the Lecturer, and the admirable speech of my friend, His Excellency the Siamese Minister. (Applause.) On that speech I wish to congratulate him, as I do ourselves as a country, for the prospect which it opens to us—which, indeed, I never doubted—of continued friendly and most intimate relations. The only difficulty is that I do not wish to occupy more than a few minutes of time, because it is getting so late; but it would not be difficult for me to speak for a couple of hours on all that has been said, and then leave unsaid a great deal that there is to be said. I will only say I had the happiness to spend two years in Siam at a most interesting and most critical time. When I went there as British Chargé d'Affaires, in the year 1894, there had been a most serious crisis in our relations with our French neighbours over Siam. It is an incident that perhaps has been a good deal forgotten; but at the time it was in everybody's mind, because it as nearly as possible landed us in a war with France. French gunboats had proceeded up the Menam, and bombarded the forts at Paknam, at the entrance of the mouth of the river. This led to a most strained condition of our relations with France. It is too long to go into. It blew over; but it was a most serious crisis—so much so that when I left

England to go out to Siam my friend Sir Robert Morant, who had been living there some time and had great experience of Siamese affairs, said to me: "I very much doubt if when you get out there you will find an independent Siam still in existence." He felt there would be a conflict between England and France as to the position of Siam. I am thankful to know, as we all know, that such a thing did not happen—perhaps could not really happen. But it was very much anticipated, and I may say that during the first year or two I was there my relations with the French Legation, although personally very friendly, were of a difficult kind. There was always a British gunboat lying in front of my Legation house, and a French gunboat a mile lower down the river, opposite the French Legation house. We sometimes met officially at dinners, but were rather snarling at each other all the time. It was difficult to say what was going to happen. What did happen was that Lord Salisbury was Foreign Minister at the time in England, and he met French Foreign Minister—then Monsieur Berthelot, the father of the well-known Monsieur Berthelot we hear of now—and those two statesmen came together and said: "Surely this is unreasonable that we should fall out about a country that we both wish to be friends with, with which we are both doing very good business, and which we both like very much. Is not that absurd?" And so they took a pencil, and they drew a great line round all the principal part of Siam, and they came to an agreement that neither country would invade the other—send a soldier across the frontier—without the permission and consent of the other country. And the result of that was that from that moment to this there had been no Siamese question of the serious character, which there was when I went out there. It put an end to the whole seriousness of the situation. I received a telegram one day. I could hardly believe it, and communicated its contents, of course, the same day, and had many consultations with my good friend the Siamese Minister of Foreign Affairs, the well-known Prince Devawongse, who was indeed a statesman. That was the end of it all. Before that Dr. Morrison, so well known in China for many years as principal adviser of the Chinese Government, had been sent out by *The Times* to Siam in order to write up the conflict which they were convinced was about to break out between France and England over Siam. I had a letter from Mr. Moberley Bell, the editor of *The Times*, asking me to receive Dr. Morrison, who then came to me and said: "What am I to do? There is no Siamese question." He wrote a few interesting letters, went on overland, got to China eventually, and entered on his important and interesting career. One or two things I should just like to mention. With reference to the negotiations still going on, and what has been done towards the final and complete abolition of extra-territoriality, I should like to say of course when I was there the old system was in complete force; and I do not think I was myself ever in

a more unpleasant position than I felt myself in when as well as being *Chargé d'Affaires*—practically Minister—I was also Consul-General, and, therefore, called upon to sit in the seat of justice as a judge when cases of an important nature came up. There was a capital case—a man was on trial for his life. He was a British Malay, who had murdered a Siamese sailor. There was no doubt about it, and the case was argued out before me. It was the British Consular Court; there was a British jury of about half a dozen English merchants living at Bangkok. There was no doubt about it, the man was guilty. He was found guilty, and I could do nothing but put on (figuratively) the black cap and condemn him to be hanged by the neck until he was dead. It was a very unpleasant thing. I thought to myself: "If I had had a legal education I might have made out it was manslaughter, or something that would not have cost him his life." But it was quite clear, and the case went on to Singapore for confirmation; and at my own earnest request the Governor of the Straits Settlements commuted the sentence to one of life service in prison. No doubt the scoundrel deserved to be hung, but I was very happy he was let off to that extent. About fifteen years afterwards I was consulted by the British Government as to whether it was safe to let him out. He could not be let out without the consent of the judge, who was I! I said, of course, I had no objection, and he was released from prison at Singapore. I never heard whether he committed any more murders. The Minister referred to that most enlightened monarch King Chulalongkorn, who abolished slavery and did so much else to modernize Siam. I had the honour of knowing him personally. He showed me great kindness, and I went cruises with him in his yacht. I had the honour to see him on many occasions, and I had the greatest admiration for his capacity and high-mindedness and his civilized and cultured outlook on life. I followed his remaining years with the deepest interest, and grieved sincerely when I heard of his death. He did wonderful work for Siam, and he had around him a set of Ministers who all worked with the same object in view. I wish Siam as a country all prosperity in the future, and I believe she will have it, and we shall continue to be her best friend. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think no one else wishes to say anything. All I can say is that we have listened to a most interesting lecture; and those who have spoken afterwards, His Excellency the Siamese Minister and Sir Maurice de Bunsen, have added to the interest of the lecture. To me it has been one of the most interesting evenings I have ever spent here, and one of the most instructive. That is not surprising, for I knew very little about Siam before, and now I feel I know a great deal about it. I will not detain you, but I ask you to join me in giving a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer. (Applause.)

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

IN the absence of Lord Allenby, the Chair was taken by Colonel Fremantle, M.P., who called on the Hon. Secretary to give the report for the past session.

Major-General SIR WILLIAM BEYNON: The Annual Report which I have to present to this meeting is, I may confidently say, a satisfactory one, showing steady progress and robust vitality. Our numbers are steadily increasing; we have acquired 119 new members during the past year, and our membership is now close on eleven hundred. We have this year to deplore a casualty-list larger than usual. Twelve members have died, among them several whose names are very well known to you all. I allude particularly to Dr. Hogarth and Sir Edmond Slade. These men were an asset to the nation, and their death is a loss to us all. We have also lost an old friend in Baghdad who has from the beginning done his utmost to help us and to see that all our Iraq members got their *Journals*, even when they forgot to send in their constant change of address to the office—Mr. Mackenzie, the well-known founder and owner of the Baghdad Book Shop.

Captain Thomas and Mr. Douglas Newbold have both completed journeys this year through deserts and oases, and have definitely mapped out places hitherto unvisited by Englishmen.

Papers read before the Society, and others which have appeared in the *Journal* since the report last year, have covered practically the whole of Asia, including Syria, Palestine, Iraq, India, China, Turkistan, Arabia, the Red Sea Littoral, Turkey, Persia. Two records of travel from China to India and Russia have been given by the explorers in person, and several papers on Tatar history and incursions have been prepared and read. Besides these, many interesting reviews on books and publications have appeared in the *Journal*.

I have been assured that our *Journal* has kept well up to its previous high excellence. We are very grateful to members who have contributed papers and reviews, many of which are written by men with very special knowledge and who have very little spare time. Members both at home and abroad set special value on good reviews, and ours have been well above the standard.

The report ended with thanks to the staff.

The CHAIRMAN then put the elections to the vote. Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby kindly consented to be re-elected as Chairman of Council, Sir Edward Penton as Honorary Treasurer, Colonel Stevens to take the place of Mr. H. Charles Woods, who had retired through

pressure of other work ; Miss Ella Sykes to take the place of Mr. A. C. Wratislaw, retiring from the Hon. Librarianship through ill-health. Mr. Edward Moon and General Sir Edmund Barrow, Vice-Presidents, retire in accordance with Rule 16. Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, and Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob retire from the Council in accordance with Rule 25.

Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, and Sir E. Denison Ross became Vice-Presidents. Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob and Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson consented to serve on the Council if they were elected.

The Chairman reminded the members of what they owed to Mr. Moon and General Sir Edmund Barrow. Mr. Moon had joined the Council in 1918, and General Sir Edmund Barrow in 1920. They had done much to help the Society, and had never grudged the valuable time they spent in its interests. (Applause.) The members owed them a special vote of thanks. (Applause.)

The elections were then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The Anniversary lecture was given by Wing-Commander Hill, who gave an interesting and well-illustrated paper on his "Experiences on the Cairo-Baghdad Air Route." He explained how the route was laid out, the furrow and landing stages cut, described the difficulties, made light of the early hardships, including the Amman aerodrome in the rains, and showed slides of the country and aeroplanes. A full account of the laying out of the track was given to the Central Asian Society by Air Commodore (now Air Vice-Marshal Sir Henry) Brooke Popham, in 1922,* while this lecture showed how well the early work had been done.

Air-Marshal Sir John Higgins said that the next step, a step they all felt was within sight, was night-flying. Wing-Commander Hill had himself flown this track by night.

The Chairman, in putting a vote of thanks for the lecture, praised the initiative, pluck and resource of these men who had carried into the new air arm the courage and determination which had made the nation. The lecture had been a most interesting one, and the audience voted a very hearty vote of thanks to Wing-Commander Hill.

*See Vol. IX., Part 3, 1922, "Some Notes on Aeroplanes, with Special Reference to the Cairo-Baghdad Air Route."

PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRAQ*

BY DR. W. A. WIGRAM, D.D.

IN dealing with the subject on which I am to have the honour of addressing you today I only profess to give the impressions of one who, having known something of the country before the war, returned to it immediately after, when the British administration was still young and sanguine, and who has recently revisited the land in order to renew acquaintance with some old friends there, who themselves, I regret to say, form one of its problems. Further, in dealing with those problems there is one point which seems to be forgotten by the numerous critics of the administration in the daily Press, and that is, that hardly any of them are of our creating. We have not, as in India for instance, solemnly and conscientiously created the educated native, and then found that we did not know what to do with our Frankenstein man. The main difficulties were all there before our coming, and were part of the inheritance bequeathed to us by the Turk, who had this great advantage over us in the land, that he was not bothered by any feeling that he ought to solve them. It was enough for him to go on, *eskissy gibi*, "in the same old way," collecting as much money as circumstances would allow, and putting up with incidental annoyances. It was a nuisance, no doubt, when Kurds raided a village of productive taxpayers, or foreigners complained of the disciplinary measures that the Turk thought good for the rebellious, and called them massacres; still, no Governor ever dreamed of doing anything in consequence. We are bothered with a conscience and a set of principles from which the old Turk was conspicuously free. (The newer generation seems to be different.) We feel the need to improve things, for the dominant instinct of the Briton in authority is to help the lame dog over the stile, without asking whether he really wants to get to the other side!

Meantime, there are other people who also profess a desire to see the land improved, and are anxious to apply their nostrums much too quickly. Some are natives of the land, demi-educated, and anxious to show how very soon they will be able to do without the foreigner. Some are other foreigners, genuinely astonished at the small amount of progress effected in the ten years of our administration. A specimen of this kind was provided in my experience by the Near East Relief.

* Lecture given on May 31, 1928. As Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby was unavoidably detained, the chair was taken by Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes.

That very well-intentioned body sent out two American ladies, elderly and horn-spectacled spinsters, who were very anxious to tell the Assyrian matrons how to have babies, and what to do with them when they got them. They were anxious to go up to Rowanduz in Kurdistan, and really get to business there, and were injured when they were told that it was not possible for them, at least in January. "But surely we could stay in the hotels!" they said in amazement.

The problems which an administration, thus hampered both by those who do not want to move and by those who want to move too quick, have to face may be summed up thus: There are the problems set by the relations between the town Arab, semi-educated, and the Arabs in the desert on one hand, as personified by Ibn Saud and his Wahabis, and the Kurds in the mountains on the other, as personified by men like Mahommed of Sulimanieh, that attractive and dangerous intriguer, or Ahmed of Barzan, who is nearly a religious maniac. It is the old problem of the relation of the wolf and the hawk to the farm, complicated by the fact that you are not usually asked to turn those excellent animals into house-dogs and barn-door fowls in a few years. Then there is the problem of the relations of the Shiah and the Sunni. The problem is old enough, but the Turk was content just to keep the Shiah in the state of subjection proper to a dissenter. Now there is a government anxious to carry out the admirable ideal of the Prayer Book and "truly and indifferently administer justice for the punishment of wickedness and vice, and the promotion of all true religion." Still, that is an ideal which it is much easier to frame than to embody.

Then you have the problems brought about by the general slackness of the Oriental character. The Turk cared nothing for good administration; or rather, he counted that good that tended to maintain his rule. If he has changed his methods, he has not altered that initial point of view. We, both in India, Egypt, and Iraq, strive "to put the spirit of good government into the minds of the people"—a people that has any amount of desire for the fruits of progress, but precious little, so far as one can judge, of the spirit that produces them.

Can we carry out our ideal? To put things straight is comparatively easy. We were able to do that to admiration in Egypt, and could do it again in Iraq; for, as Milner put it, all that was required was the application of a reasonable amount of honesty and efficiency to a country that had been ruined by a total absence of both. But to make others put them straight and then keep them straight is quite another question.

Take some facts, of recent date, to illustrate this dictum.

Every department has its "departmental adviser," who is supposed to exercise a general control over the whole of its workings. Not so long ago the "adviser" of the department of Evkaf went on leave, leaving a balance of some sixty thousand pounds to the credit of the

office, and only routine work to do. In three months he returned, to find his credit of sixty thousand transformed into a debit of seventeen thousand pounds. There was nothing to show for it, nobody seemed to know where it had gone, and nobody thought that the phenomenon required any explanation.

Take another case. Government passed an irrigation law, by which any man who put up a pump became tenant *ipso facto* of all the land it would water, tax-free, for fifteen years. Afterwards it became his in *miri*, which we may call copyhold or perpetual lease, subject to the tax usual on that tenure. The theory of the law was excellent, but—was it intended that the Finance Minister should use that law to secure forty large estates for himself? The act was perfectly legal, but—to drop back on the Turk once more—when Mustapha Kemal found his Finance Minister doing something of the sort lately, he hanged that functionary like Haman, with law or without it! Law in the East is all very well, but sometimes the East wants a Harun-ar-rashid, who can come down on the malefactor who has kept inside the law. The benefit of an occasional public execution *pro bono publico* is great enough to balance the occasional punishment of a man innocent of the particular crime he happens to have been hanged for!

The Arab of Baghdad is a lawyer born, accustomed to work a code to trick the Turk, and so quite capable of working one for his own benefit. The trick of the Unjust Steward of the Gospels—it is an old one, but it is the old tricks that succeed—is played all up and down the land, for the benefit of the wealthy. The government is, in theory, universal landlord, and lets its *miri*, or governmental land, on a lease, claiming 5 per cent. of the produce as tax. While the tenant works the land he cannot be removed, though, if cultivation is allowed to lapse, so does the right to the land. The land can be, and often is, sublet to tenants, on a fifty-fifty basis. That is fair enough in theory, but when the government Mamur comes along to estimate the crop and claim the government's percentage, saying, "How much owest thou unto my lord?" then it is a case of "Take thy bill and sit down quickly and write" not fifty out of a hundred owed; the steward of the parable would seem to have been comparatively honest; the modern man puts down one hundred out of, say, five hundred measures on which tax is owed to government, so that the government loses the tax on that amount—and the hapless subtenant finds that he gets half of the one hundred measures at which the Mamur has estimated the actual five hundred of crop.

If by miracle—for miracles do happen now and then—the Mamur shall be relatively honest, there are ways of checking such inconvenient activity. One nomad tribe owed sheep-tax to government, and their sheep were counted at 4,000 head. A zealous Mamur came along and counted, and made the total 42,000. He lost his job for his pains; the

tribesmen did not challenge the count; they got up a sham attack on him, and when he fired in self-defence, they got him sacked on that ground.

Of course the question will be asked, "But why is this sort of thing allowed? Are we not the Mandatory Power, there expressly to stop this corruption? What are departmental advisers—those functionaries that we put into every office—there for?"

Actually, those advisers are advisers and no more. They have no power of interference or executive authority. It is not in Mesopotamia as it was in Egypt. There Lord Granville did say, with characteristic euphemism, that the function of the British officials was limited to giving advice, but when it was pointed out to him that the giving of unpalatable advice to an Oriental is about as profitable as bestowing it upon a mule, he added, "But, of course, ministers who cannot take our advice must cease to hold their offices." It is not so in Iraq. There the adviser can advise only, and the ordinary Arab official, while he can understand an order, and can answer the rein at once, has a great power of disregarding good advice that does not happen to square with his own inclinations, or immediate interest. The Englishman has no power to sack the corrupt obstructionist; of course, he may appeal to Cæsar in the person of the High Commissioner, but that high god does not like intervening, unless the knot that has to be disentangled is of such a character that interference is clearly imperative. So the sort of thing that I have described goes on. Had the Englishman power to act he would go round and put things right, for he will work, and work himself to death, for the joy of the working, if he can see results in good administration. If, however, he can see none, and knows that he can see none, it is a very great temptation just to send in his minute, which he knows will be pigeon-holed and no more, and then just sit in his office chair and draw his salary with a bonus at the end of his contract. A man will not go on for ever knocking his head against the padded wall of the polite obstinacy of the Oriental official, who knows that you can do nothing.

This system was established by those who idealized the Arab and were hypnotized by that blessed word "self-determination." As for the Arab, he wants to run before he can walk. He is not doing too well in administration, and he knows it, wherefore he wants to get rid of those who stand to him in the position of an inconvenient conscience.

We turn now to the problems of the relation of Shiah and Sunni. These "dissenters" (it is what the word means) form some three-fourths of the Arab population, and they are gaining in the towns rather rapidly. How and why that comes to pass is a wide question.

They are largely uneducated, for, under the Turk, education was the monopoly of the Established Church, the Sunni minority, and this has the result that the personnel of the administration is necessarily Sunni,

with a fair proportion of what one may call imported Turks, Ottoman officials who saw which way the wind was going, and opted for Arab nationality; good fellows, but as foreign to the Arab as any Briton. There is little love lost between the two sections, for the Shiah makes no secret of the fact that he prefers the British infidel to the heretic, out and away. Still, press and administration are Sunni, while the populace is largely Shiah, so that we have this absurd result: we are saying to these Arabs, "In the sacred name of self-determination, you shall have the government that you do not want, and, on the holy principle of majority rule, you shall be administered by a minority."

Early in this year there was a new Cabinet to be formed and fourteen portfolios to be distributed. The Shiahs asked for four of these, not an exaggerated proportion for three-fourths of the population. "Why on earth do you ask for that?" said the indignant Sunnis; "you know that you have not the men who can do the work." "Quite true," said the Shiahs, "but then, *we* know that we cannot, and are content to follow the counsel of our British departmental advisers. That is the difference."

Hence, the Shiahs are discontented, saying, with some truth, "We did the fighting, they get the profit."

An argument between two good Shiahs illustrates their feeling so well that I must repeat it, prefacing for the benefit of those not up in Moslem divisions that the Shiah expects the return, some day, of the "Great Imam," who is to be a sort of Mahomedan Messiah, and that, of course, every Moslem has great reverence for the person of our Lord, Seyidna Isa.

One of the couple, lamenting the general state of things, exclaimed, "Oh, if only the Great Imam would come out of his cave at Samarra and put everything right!" "It would be no use if he did," moaned his companion. "The English would get Seyidna Isa put in as his departmental adviser."

In the face of these difficulties, what are the forces that make for order? The King whom we have set over the country, Feisul, is well-meaning, and friendly, while such influence as he has is always on our side. Still, no man could describe him as a great force. In spite of his position in the world of Islam, he has failed to strike the imagination of the people of Iraq. There, he is an outsider, almost as much a foreigner as an Englishman, and counted, to be frank, as our puppet. He is not credited with any great belief in himself or in his position and destiny. This may or may not be true, but it is the common belief, and it reflects the thought that people have of him. In a word, such a power as he has is used on the side of order and British influence, but the power is not very great.

The only British striking force that we have in the country consists, as is known, of the Air Force. That the young fellows who compose this do their best and achieve wonders is one of the things that we have

learned to expect from them as a matter of course. I admit that they were somewhat stung by the remark passed upon them by a certain lady M.P., who was good enough to refer to them as "brown-kneed officers, living in luxury and sin." About the only truth in that inuendo is the reference to the brown knees. Having been in and out of the various Air Force centres as a guest a good deal, I may say that the "sin" is no more marked there than in an ordinary officers' mess at home, while as for the luxury—well, if "Mrs. Paget, M.P.," could only be caught like her prototype, and set to spend either a hot weather or a wet weather in say the Air Force quarters at Hinaidi, she would know more of what she was talking about in future, and would probably refrain from the utterance of such pernicious nonsense.

As a means of keeping order in such a land as Iraq, the Air Force is an invaluable element, but it is not enough by itself, either in desert or mountain conditions. Flying men complain that it is very difficult to tell friendly from hostile Arabs when you are 2,000 feet up, unless the Political Officers can persuade the friendly to wear four-foot blackboards as part of their head-dress. Bombing an Arab camp is not of much avail, unless the chemists can provide a "sleeping-gas bomb" that will spread on impact, over a circle of 300 yards radius. Even in Kurdistan the bombing of villages may lead to mistakes. One remembers the Air Force reporting, after an operation of the sort, "Rebellious village of A. bombed according to orders, and destroyed. Enemy casualties unknown, but must be heavy." However, an annoyed A.P.O. presently reported, "Please tell Air Force to be more careful. In trying to bomb rebellious village A. they dropped all bombs on loyal and orderly village of B. N.B.—Total casualties, one ox wounded."

There is so much room in the desert, and so much good cover among the rocks of Kurdistan, that bombing on either does not seem very effective. What the Air Force need is a ground force to back them up, and at present there is only one effective one available in the country, the Assyrian Levy. Of course, I admit to a prejudice in their favour. I know the nation of old, and many of the officers in the force are my personal friends. Further, there is this point. I am a Padre, and have lived for many years in the Christian East. Consequently I get a little sick of hearing, usually from people who have friends out there, that "the Turk is a soldier and a gentleman, but the Eastern Christian is such a slimy worm."

Of course, there is a defence to make, but it is a defence that needs some knowledge of history and some power of sympathy with another's position, and they are mental qualities in which the ordinary Briton is very deficient. The qualities complained of are the natural consequence of being governed by the Turk, who has bred for them for centuries. Let the races concerned get out from under the Turk and have time to recover from his baleful influence, and they will show themselves as

good men as any other. A hundred years ago folk were saying just the same of the Christian races of the Balkans, then subject to the Turk. Nowadays few people will say anything against the military qualities of the Serb!

Still, there is no defence like a counter-attack, and in consequence it is a joy to be able to say, "Well, here is one type of native Oriental Christian, whom everybody who knows them knows to be first-class fighting men, and whom every British officer who has served with them is prepared to swear by." As light infantry they are admittedly in the very first class. Being hillsmen, they have not the instincts of the cavalryman, and—barring one tribe—are usually too light-built for gunners.

As to their qualities, we may take the verdict of the present Air-Marshal in Iraq. The Home authorities recently proposed to withdraw an imperial battalion, which had acted as guard to the "ground establishments" of the Air Force in Iraq, and suggested that the Arab army—to which I will return—could now take their place. "Not if I know it," said the English General. "You will either give me British troops or the Assyrian Levy."

They are good soldiers as well as good fighting men. I am no soldier, but I know that a long march in bad weather is a stringent test of soldierly quality for any troops. Recently an Assyrian battalion had to march from Sulimanieh to Mosul, which is twenty-three days' march. It was vile weather for the whole time, and they had twenty-two bivouacs *en route*. They did not sleep under a roof for the whole of that winter march, and they came in trim, smart, and cheerful.

Not long ago, to give another episode, there was trouble on the northern frontier with the Turk, and the British Colonel in command had not enough troops at his disposal to do the work required. He called up the local Assyrian Bishop, and asked his lordship if he could raise irregulars. I know the Bishop in question well, for I had the educating of him in the old days when it was my duty and privilege to instruct Bishops, and cane them when they deserved it. I must own that it seems I did not cane this Bishop quite enough, for having been consecrated to his episcopal office at the age of fifteen, as is local custom, he has since been illustrating the truth of the law laid down by Robert Browning—

"You should not take a fellow eight years old
And make him swear to never kiss the girls."

Still, his lordship is effective in other ways. "Can I raise irregulars?" he said when requested. "Of course I can"; and he turned up in three days with 500 scallywags, only requesting to be allowed to take them into action himself. Leave being granted, the Bishop took off his black episcopal coat, and gave it to a deacon for safe keeping—it was precious—and led his own tribe into action in purple trousers and white shirt-sleeves, while the Colonel looked on from the hill, and

wondered whether the Archbishop of Canterbury could have done that particular job as well.

Then, these Assyrians have another power, most unusual in Oriental troops. They can produce good officers, who can think and plan and take responsibility. One knows that this is a weak point with the warrior races of India. Last year the High Commissioner was being escorted on a tour by a company or so of these fellows, and the British Colonel looked at the pickets which the Assyrian captain had himself posted round the camp. "Why have you not put one there?" said the Englishman, pointing out one rather obvious spot. The Assyrian grinned. "Me knowing Kurd tricks. Me wanting him come there," and the plan was left undisturbed.

Of course, they have their defects. "They are a blood-feud in khaki when all is said," is the verdict of one very shrewd officer in Mosul; and when British authority took temporary leave of sanity, and turned them loose under an adventurer of their own blood, they behaved as such. Really though, one of the dangers lies in the fact that they are too good. They are—it is an admitted fact—far better soldiers than the local Moslem. Now, for the Mahommedan to find the Christian, the Rayah, who ought not to be allowed to carry arms at all, posing not only as a soldier, but as a better soldier than himself, is a thing that is a breach of all the proprieties, and naturally rouses jealousy. The fact that forces of the local Arab army have had to be rescued when in difficulties—and that not once or twice either—by the Assyrian force has not smoothed matters down, and I fear that it is not in human nature, certainly not Oriental human nature, for the Assyrian to refrain altogether from swank about it. They have an endearing way of saying, "You are King Feisul's men, but we are King George's own troops."

Given a chance of any serious trouble, soldiers are apt to say of the Assyrian, like Wellington of his British troops, "It all depends on that article. The question is, is there enough of him?" Lately, government, moved by economy, has been cutting down their numbers rather drastically, and at the same moment is increasing the work they are putting on them. Wherefore those in charge of them say: "There is enough for the work they are doing now, but no more, and there is no reserve in hand for any emergency."

Meantime, the settlement of the people to which they belong still remains a problem. By a decision of the august League of Nations, which for cynical injustice I consider nothing less than iniquitous, the lands which have belonged to them since before the Ottoman was ever heard of have been handed over to the Turk. If they wished for their old homes, they were told they must go back to Turkish mercy just when that Power was engaged in a massacre of such of their kin as were in his power. The excuse given was, that they had rebelled

against their lawful lord, the Sultan, whom those Turks had just deposed, and therefore they had no rights.

At the time, the League of Nations was acting as if it was there to protect the strong against the weak, for it was not the only decision of the sort that it gave. Yet, it still expects the weak to trust to its justice. The question still remains, what we can do to preserve the nation whose crime has been that it sacrificed its all in the cause of the Entente, and that it is an indispensable element in the work that we are striving to do in Iraq. This duty lies on the British Government that must bear part of the responsibility for the decision complained of.

Another force that may well become quite an effective one in time, is the Arab army, the "Jaish." Given time, and a free hand, there is no doubt that an effective force can be made out of this material, by the combined efforts of the British subaltern and Sergeant What's-his-name. Those two together have produced good results out of worse material, on the conditions named. Still, the Arab is a plainsman, and he is hopelessly at sea in the hills. "Have we got to climb that hill?" men of the Jaish asked of the Assyrians when out in the field together. "That? We put that up last night with our shovels," said the hill-men. Last winter I visited personally one of the posts where a double company of the Jaish had replaced Assyrians in the hills near Amadia. Here, living under conditions where the Assyrians, to the manner born, had made themselves perfectly comfortable and had remained efficient, the unlucky Arabs from the Basra level were cowering in misery, dying off in disease, and unable even to desert in the deep mud. Nor did their officers know what to do to help the men.

I do not say that the stuff is bad, far from it. They would probably do quite well in the plains—provided that they are willing to be taught. There is certainly a question there. The Arab, both in military and political matters, wants to run before he can walk. They were wildly anxious, for instance, to have a Staff college, for an army that can never exceed a weak division in total number; when their advisers hesitated, the word went round, "Oh, you English want to suppress us; you fear our great and gallant army may grow too efficient for you." So the experiment was tried, and men who had not yet learned to drill a platoon were set to tackle Staff problems. The unlucky officer set to the job threw it up in despair.

So far, recruiting or conscription—the latter has been suggested but not enforced and could not be enforced, except on townsmen who are bad material—has been confined to the Arab, as the government fears to enlist the Kurd. Soon, however, if he is to be a subject of Iraq at all, the latter will have to take up his duties.

Another type, the Yezidi, or Devil-worshipper, has been tried, but he has not been a success. British officers report him brave enough, but too utterly stupid for use. That the worshipper of the Devil should be

too utterly thick-headed for use as a soldier, even in a special battalion of "the Devil's own," as would be needful, seems a strange reversal of all the proprieties, but so it is.

And now for the forces which these powers have to keep in control. These are the Arab of the desert and the Kurd of the hills.

I do not propose to enter on the Arab question, for I have no first-hand knowledge of them. They have, however, never been more than a nuisance to the rulers of Baghdad—though that they have always been, and are now. Ibn Sa'ud is not the first man to find out that the fanatic is a most useful tool to win a throne with, but a very awkward subject when the throne is won.

In the north and east are the folk who make another problem—the Kurds. The Iraqi despises the Kurd as an uneducated brigand, which he usually is. The Kurd despises the Iraqi as the highlander does despise the plainsman, but would be content, he says, to obey the British. That feat might be beyond him sometimes, but he has a genuine liking for the British officers who go among him, in whatever guise they come. Yet, not even this liking can make the Kurd obey an Iraqi—an Arab gone degenerate, as he thinks him.

Further, reforms have been brought into the hills too quickly, and the Kurd has a natural dislike for the loss of status that the changes mean to him. He is no longer a feudal seigneur, collecting taxes from his tribe and paying them—or part of them—to government. He is a mere squire, paying taxes himself to an Iraqi *Kaimakam*, and he does not like it. Had the feudal rights of the Aghas been recognized for a generation or so it might have been wiser, but Iraq had to be civilized and progressive! So British officers are now in the strange position of having to coerce Kurds, who might be willing to obey them, into obeying somebody else. Hence, there is discontent among the hills, and there is one across the frontier to foment it, and to send in rifles and the like, in case of trouble which may be his chance. "Box it about, it will come to my father," said the Jacobite of old. An instance of the facts that I have been mentioning is Ahmed, the Sheikh of Barzan. His predecessor Selim was eminently pro-British, almost embarrassingly so. He proposed at one time to capture the city of Mosul, which he might well have done, and hand it over to the British Consul as a present to King George. On another occasion, hearing that I was proposing to leave Kurdistan for England, he expressed the intention of going with me. "We will both go and stay with the Archbishop of Canterbury till you have done your business with him, and then his Grace shall take us both down to Windsor, and King George and I will discuss how Kurdistan shall be governed."

My reputation at Lambeth is, "When you turn up, we know that something wild and hairy and Oriental is in the offing," but they do not know what I have been at some pains to spare them.

The man was executed by the Turks during the war, as being pro-British, but somehow his successor has been mishandled, and has as his adviser a bitterly anti-British agent, one of those schoolmasters whom we had to dismiss as too utterly incompetent for his salary. He is now Mollah Zeid Alim, the doctorate that the last word implies being self-bestowed, and is a dangerous influence in an important place.

Sheikh Ahmed is half mad, though none the less holy or dangerous on that account, and he has developed the hereditary sanctity of his office, great with his father, into a claim to something very like deity. It is true that he repudiates that claim when talking with the educated, but he can use it with his clan notwithstanding, and they are a good fighting set, about eight hundred strong in all. "They are the one set of Kurds whom we should have to take really seriously," say the Assyrian officers. Not but what they are ready enough to take the field against him "and try out the red feather against the red kerchief," the badges of the two forces concerned. Should he, and a few other smaller clans who are accustomed to follow him in the field, go up in revolt, there is some probability that representatives of other chiefs, like Mahmud of Sulimanieh, for instance, would come with what may be described as a watching brief. They would be loyalty itself if Ahmed should receive a defeat in the first round, and would probably cut off his retreat. Should he score an initial success against the Assyrian Levy—and its numbers have been reduced, as has been said, to dangerously low level—then they would probably join the winning side and the position would become awkward, at least locally.

Broadly, though, this may be said. If the Kurds were united under any one man they could probably sweep out Iraq, but that has never happened in history yet. It is with them as with our own Highlanders of old; no rising of those formidable fighting men could be dangerous unless all, or at least many, joined in it together; but it was not possible for any chieftains to join under any one of themselves. Old feuds and jealousies were too strong. It was only the outsider who knew the clans, a Montrose or a Dundee, who could unite many of them in one formidable rising, and even he could not hold them together for long. Can such a man rise now? At least there is no sign of one at present, though I believe that there exists in Aleppo, or under Turkish protection, a representative of the old house of Bedr Khan, who claims to be "the prince of all Kurdistan."

As usual, then, we are gambling there, and keeping an empire going with a corporal's guard. We have force for any one trouble of the size usual in the land, but hardly for more than one at once. Should any small trouble develop unexpectedly and grow big owing to some initial success, others would join a lucky rebel, and the position would become dangerous. It is to be noted that if a rising were to come, it would not be against the British, but far more against the people whom we have

put in charge, and with the hope that it would force us to take over direct control from them. Can we carry our Iraq adventure through and set up the state we wish to see there? We can do it, I believe, but it will take time, and more time than those Arabs for whose benefit we are trying to do it seem at present disposed to allow us. I, as an unrepentant and unregenerate Imperialist, believe firmly that Allah the all-great has called us to a certain work, and that we shall be able to carry it through, provided always that we do not fail through any craven fear of being great.

That is what I have to say. At times I have spoken with more heat than is perhaps customary in so respectable a place. I can only say that I have spoken of my friends, my friends native and British, whom I have heard slighted and belittled. As I have personal knowledge of the facts and a position that enables me to speak freely, it is for me to put the truth before you as I see it.

Colonel CUNLIFFE-OWEN: I am afraid I have not got too much claim to speak now, as I have not been in Iraq for six years. However, it has been my good fortune to know Dr. Wigram very well. I have worked in many places with him in Iraq and elsewhere. As regards his remarks about the administration of Iraq, like him I am one of the unrepentant people, and I thoroughly agree with his opinion on administration among Eastern nations. I go further, and though I suppose it was impossible that it could continue, I regret that the civil administration of Iraq could not be carried on directly by the British as it was up to about 1919.

I was intimately associated with the Assyrian Christians, and had direct control of them for something like four years. I can safely support what Dr. Wigram says about their fighting capabilities; they aided me to defend the Baqubah camp in the Arab insurrection, and though most of the fighting men were on the way to being repatriated, and there were very few left in the camp, those who were left made a splendid defence. I should never wish to have better men under my command in any part of the globe. I do not know why there is such depreciation of the fighting qualities of the Eastern Christians; I think it is partly because they have a bad press in England and the Turks have a better one. Although I admire the Turk as a fighter I cannot see that the other races are behind him. Not only are the Assyrian Christians first-class fighting material, but I cannot see that the Bulgarian, Serbian, or Greek is behind the Turk. They are all good fighters. It is not the people in the towns like the Piræus you should count, but those in the country, and any Eastern Christians, Armenians included, are first-class fighting material.

I do not subscribe so much to what is supposed to be our indebtedness to the Assyrian Christians and their help in the war. They

came in on our side; I do not insist on that too much, but still I think it is rather sad we have not been able to help them more by placing them as a united nation in some territory which formerly belonged to them. The difficulty is that that territory was in Turkey and it was hard to get it away from the Turks. The League of Nations might have done something that way perhaps, but Dr. Wigram is perhaps hard on the League; there are a good many conflicting interests which it is difficult to reconcile. I do not see how it was possible for the League to insist that a large part of Turkey should be taken away; but I regret very much that the Assyrian Christians have not a country or nationality of their own and are scattered about and placed anywhere as they are now. The League has done some exceedingly good work in Eastern countries, notably in Greece and in connection with the Greco-Bulgarian frontier; even in the case of Corfu I think the trouble would have developed very considerably if the League had not stepped in at the end; one has to be grateful to the League for a good many political acts, and also for their social and moral work too, in the Near and Middle East.

I am sorry also that direct British administration of Iraq has not continued, because I think the administration of the Kurds would have been far more easily carried on by direct British methods than through a mandated territory.

One point Dr. Wigram did not touch upon is the question of possible relations with Ibn Sa'ud over the frontier of Iraq. I was staying with Ibn Sa'ud a short while ago in the Hijaz, and my own opinion is that he is a thoroughly good ally of the British. I do not believe he would in any way attempt to cause difficulty to us on the frontier of Iraq and Nejd. The trouble the other day was accentuated by a certain section of the press which has all along wanted to get us out of Iraq, and it was written up, I firmly believe, for some special reason. They even put in that Ibn Sa'ud had declared a Holy War. I said at the time I was perfectly sure nothing of the kind was on the *tapis*. I believe it was done by people who wished to get up trouble for interested motives. I believe Ibn Sa'ud wishes to keep his treaty conditions at Kuwait, on the frontier, in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere. Dr. Wigram gave an extremely interesting lecture, and except possibly about the League of Nations I agree with every word he said. (Applause.)

Colonel BARKE said he had been with the levies for nearly seven years and considered it a privilege to serve with men possessing such high soldierly qualities. He remarked that undoubtedly there had been considerable opposition by the Kurds in the past to the rule of the Iraq Government.

A MEMBER: In defence of the League of Nations I might explain the position. In the Armistice Treaty there was no definite

decision as to where the frontier should be. In the Treaty of Lausanne it was decided there should be a frontier in a certain position. The treaty frontier failed; we reverted to the position we had been in originally, and there was no frontier at all. On these grounds I do not quite see how it is justifiable to say the League of Nations could not take a country away from the Turks in order to give it to the Assyrian Christians. It seems to me the League of Nations was in a very difficult position. Every member of the League had to consider the interests of his own country which were that they should not be called upon to support the country which might be attacked. In other words, they found themselves almost automatically on the side of the potentially aggressive country.

A LADY MEMBER: Might I ask a question about the Assyrian Levies. I was told in Iraq last year that at the end of two years from that time the Assyrian Levy would cease to exist altogether. Was that a mistake?

The LECTURER: It is true that was the order, but I hope the order has been reconsidered.

The CHAIRMAN: Those of us who were in the Middle East during the Great War know that it was mainly due to Dr. Wigram's long residence, devotion to his work, and the influence that he had on the Assyrian Christians that they came into the Great War as our faithful allies. Dr. Wigram's book, "The Cradle of Mankind," is also a classic. May I tell a story about the Assyrian Christians? In 1918 they were stranded in North-west Persia owing to the breaking up and disappearance of the Russian army, and were in great peril of being annihilated by the Turks, Kurds, and Persians. We came to their rescue, and saved them with some difficulty. Some few years ago I was lecturing in America, and at a meeting the present Secretary of the Navy said that the saving of those men, women, and children with their flocks and herds, and the escorting of them across four hundred miles of Western Persia to Baqubah in Iraq, was the greatest humanitarian achievement ever carried through by any nation in the stress of a great war. I consider that a notable tribute by a leading American.

I have heard many lectures in this hall, but I do not think I have listened to any single lecture which so thoroughly went down to the root of the matter. (Applause.) Dr. Wigram started with the story of the American ladies who said they would go to the "hotels" at Rowandiuz, which reminded me of an old Central Asian traveller, Mr. Ney Elias, who was bothered a great deal by a schoolmaster who said he wished to travel in Central Asia, but that before doing so he would like know what the hotels were like! My friend replied to him, "Well, sir, one thing is that the waiters do not wear white ties." (Laughter.) Among those amusing stories that have been told, we have heard

words of wisdom. May I quote: "Not years but generations are required." Secondly, "Advisers without powers are useless; they are put in an absolutely unfair position."

The question of the Christians and their alleged lack of courage in India is partly due to the fact that the lowest of the people have become Christians. But there are cases where great valour has been shown by them. The Madras Pioneers in the Great War had to throw a bridge across the Tigris in one of the battles under a very heavy fire, and they showed amazing courage. Therefore it really means that when Christians are given a chance, and freed from degradation and oppression, they become fine fighting men. (Applause.) I have much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Dr. Wigram.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

The LECTURER: I beg to acknowledge the vote of thanks, but I must disclaim having done the whole of this work for the Assyrians myself; for, after all, I was only one of a series of men who worked among them.

ARAB AND INDIAN SHIPS AND SEAFARERS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN

BY CAPTAIN W. B. HUDDLESTON, C.M.G., R.I.M.

WHEN I first visited Calcutta over forty years ago the shipping was a wonderful sight to see. There was, perhaps, a larger number of sailing ships gathered together, at one time and place, than anywhere else in the world. Tier after tier could be seen lying four deep in the Hugli, and no sailor could forget these fine British ships, their lofty spars and smart appearance.

Their place has been taken by steamers, which arrive and depart with the regularity of trains, and are a triumph of machinery, and no doubt a blessing to the travelling public, as also the merchants concerned with the trade, but a deathblow to the colour and romance of the sea; and the absence of sail, as a school for seamen and an incentive for youth to go to sea, is a misfortune for England.

Service in a sailing ship, a hard life though it undoubtedly was, made officers and men alert in mind and body.

There were at that time also a fair number of Arab ships and traders from Muscat and elsewhere, mostly ancient wooden sailing vessels. I have a remembrance of going aboard one, and having a look at the old, very old quadrant, which the Arab captain produced with some pride. There was something very attractive about these old vessels; they were certainly more interesting to visit than the modern tramp steamer, for instance, but from the published statistics of shipping I see no trace of their visiting Calcutta nowadays.

India has a coast-line of some 4,000 miles, the topographical features of the east and west coasts differing from one another very greatly. On the east coast there is a coast-line of roughly 1,700 miles, but there are no good natural harbours; it is, speaking generally, low and sandy throughout. Calcutta and Chittagong are fine well-equipped ports, but they are up rivers at the head of the bay.

On the west coast, Bombay, though open to the S.S.W., is a good and well-situated harbour. Along the coast to the south there are numerous headlands, bays, and rivers, and also immense backwaters, which afford shelter and anchorage to coasting craft. The Konkan coast is famous as the former haunts of the Angrian pirates, and I remember when I was at one time surveying the small harbour of Deoghur how typically well fitted it was for these old freebooters, it was protected by a fort at the entrance, had a good and secure anchorage

inside, a first-class place from where to look out. It commanded a splendid view right up and down the coast and out to sea, and so gave time to intercept vessels proceeding up or down the coast.

In Ceylon, Trincomali is the only entirely sheltered natural harbour—not only there, but throughout the Indian peninsula. It is, however, not used to any appreciable extent by native craft, as there is comparatively very little trade.

The character of the coast and its harbours calls everywhere for different types of boats and vessels, and India being an extremely conservative country, it is found that the vessels described in the sixteenth century and before, as well as the men who man them, are much of the same type to this day. India is a country of small craft, and the sailing vessels on the coast are mainly from ten to three hundred tons, and very rarely more.

Between 1669-1675 Thomas Bowrey was one of those travellers to whom we are indebted for a description of a boat with which I was at one time very conversant. Writing of the masula boat, he says: "They are built very slight, having no timbers in them save 'thafts' to hold their sides together. These planks, all very broad and thin, sewed together with coir; they are flat-bottomed." This well describes this very primitive-looking boat, which we used when surveying on the Orissa coast. The surf on the east coast often breaks in four fathoms or more, huge vicious-looking breakers, in spite of which, by the aid of this boat and her crew of ten men and a tindal, two of whom used to bail constantly, we used to land with all our surveying gear. Our party consisted of one or two officers, a party of half a dozen or more lascars, all our surveying gear, and very often in addition bags of chunam and bundles of old canvas, used for the erection of marks, in fact no inconsiderable weight. We landed dry and comfortably. No ship's boat could do this work in safety, and I cannot conceive of a better designed craft for its particular purpose than a masula boat.

To complete the picture, I add a description about the same time by Dr. John Fryer* regarding the crew of a masula boat: "The boatmen . . . were of a sunburnt black, with long black hair, tied up in a clout of Calicut lawn, girt about the middle with a sash, and in their ears rings of gold. Those that were bareheaded were shorn all to one lock, which carelessly tousled up to be left to Perimel (one of their prophets) to hold fast by when he should haul them to heaven."

These men can be recognized too; the same type now as they were two hundred and fifty years ago and more.

Descriptions of the catamaran (kettu-maram), "tied tree," are also given by various old travellers, and are as accurate now as they were then.

* "Travels in India in the Seventeenth Century," by Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Fryer. London: Trübner and Co., 1873.

Of those who man them—viz., fishermen—the Indian Year Book is not very complimentary :

“The caste system, however, exerts a blighting influence on progress. Fishing and the fish trade are universally relegated to low-caste men, who alike from their want of education, the isolation caused by their work and caste, and their extreme conservatism, are among the most ignorant, suspicious, and prejudiced of the population.”

Regarding the fishermen on the Godaveri coast, another extract, from a different source, upholds this view :*

“They objected to my pickling any of the multitude of sea snakes which they inadvertently captured. These they always carefully put back into the sea, not for pity’s sake, but to appease the offended gods. So far did their superstitious reverence go, that even when, as happened to a poor little boy one morning, shortly before my visit, a person was bitten and died, their resentment was not in the least aroused.”

Since those days steps have been taken, I understand, to start schools for teachers to educate the children of fishermen at Calicut.

The chief fish on the west coast near Calicut are sardines, of which so greatly are they in excess of food requirements, that every year large quantities are turned into manure ; they are found within the five-fathom line, and fleets of small boats are employed in catching them.

At Ratnigiri the fishermen are more enterprising, and go out far beyond the five-fathom line, and are engaged in drift netting for bonito and seer fish. They bring large catches into Malpe and Mangalore. As one proceeds further north along the coast the size of the boats increases, until we find that the finest of Bombay fishing boats hail from the coast between Bassein and Surat ; they fish principally off the Kutch and Kathiawar coasts and in the mouth of the Gulf of Cambay.

The Bombay fishing boat is one of the fastest and smartest of vessels ; it employs about ten or fifteen men, and when fishing is not remunerative is employed in the coasting trade.

“The older ports, Surat, Broach, Cambay, and Mandevi, were famous in the ancient days for their bold and hardy mariners.”†

The Maldivé and Laccadive islanders are both fishermen and sailors, as well as expert boat-builders.

Of Minicoy the author of “A Naturalist in Indian Seas” writes :

“Their fishing smacks are fit to compare in respect of workmanship with a good Europe built cutter ; they are made partially of palm wood, partly of the white wood of the so-called ‘country almond’

* “A Naturalist in Indian Seas,” by A. Alcock, M.B., LL.D., F.R.S. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1902.

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(*Terminalia catappa*), which grows plentifully on the island, and party of teak imported from Malabar, and in shape and massive strength they have a strong likeness to an ancient war-galley.

“The seafaring instinct is strong in the boys, who not only sail their model yachts off the shore, but also venture far out in the lagoon in little sailing canoes to fish.” This reference to the seafaring instinct is interesting.

On one occasion when I visited the Laccadive Islands, I arrived there at a season when, it was said, large ray fish go there to spawn or give birth to their young in the lagoons, and soon after anchoring my attention was called to one of these fish moving very slowly just underneath the surface of the water and nearly awash. It was a huge, flat, round-looking fish, some 8 to 10 feet in diameter; some of the islanders who had come aboard saw it too, and immediately shoved off in their boats. They went straight to it, and on getting alongside one of them jumped on its back and stabbed it repeatedly. They eventually secured this fish, but I did not see it ashore; I do not venture to make a guess at its weight, but it was a monstrous fish.

Further south in the Maldivé Islands the natives are, according to the west coast pilot, expert navigators and sailors. They have schools for teaching navigation on some of the islands; they copy our nautical tables and navigation books and repair their nautical instruments.

The various types of boats and vessels in use on the coasts and in the harbours, rivers, and seas of the Indian Ocean and adjacent seas are numerous and interesting, and seem to have been in use since the earliest times.

The dhows which ply in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and on the east coast of Africa are manned by Arabs, and are the best known of all native craft. Their huge lateen sails, their sailing powers, and their seaworthiness make them the best type of craft for the crew who man them and the coasts on which they ply.

They are built in many places in the Persian Gulf and in the Red Sea. They are sharp-prowed or grab built, which is characteristic of them. They vary in size considerably; they are fitted with one or two masts, raking forward; they carry a very long yard with a lateen sail; they have decks fore and aft and a raised poop, and passengers berth aft under an awning. A large dhow is: length, 85 feet; beam, 20 feet 9 inches; and depth, 11 feet 6 inches.

The vessels mentioned in connection with piracy, the slave trade, and the arms traffic, are generally dhows, and their name crops up continually in tales of Indian seas; their rakish appearance seems to fit their reputation. A fleet of dhows at anchor, with their blood-red streamers flying, make a picturesque group, and one that has possibly not changed for centuries.

Some years ago, when stationed up the Gulf, I boarded a small dhow at sea which had committed piracy by robbing the crew of an Indian bagala of all the money they carried for buying a cargo of dates at Basrah. I found that the crew consisted of five or six men, who were Tangistanis; they were of fine physique, light complexion, and a very powerful and truculent lot of rascals they looked.

The bagala or budgerow takes its name from an Arab word, the feminine of baghl, a mule; they are Indian vessels which are very broad in proportion to their length; they have round sterns and poop decks and have straight stems; the peculiarity of form of this vessel is said to be the same from the period of Alexander the Great. They carry one mast and a lateen sail. Length, 74 feet; breadth, 25 feet; and depth, 11 feet 6 inches. They are mostly engaged in trade with Cutch, Gujerat, the Malabar coast, and the coast of Arabia.

The patimar are vessels which are plentiful on the west coast of India from Bombay to Cape Comorin. They are grab built, about 200 tons. Length, 76 feet 6 inches; beam, 21 feet 6 inches; depth, 11 feet 9 inches.

They are well built, being planked with teak over jungle wood frames; they have two masts with lateen sails, and they are navigated by men of the Mopila caste, and have tindals who have the reputation of being good pilots and navigators. All the same during dark nights, when there is no moon, they and the bagala are a cause of anxiety to all officers of the watch on the west coast of India, as they rarely, if ever, carry side lights, and the first sign of them is a flare or white light close under the bows—luckily they are practically sure to be standing off the land, and as quick action is imperative with the helm to avoid colliding with, and sinking them, such knowledge is useful.

The boatila mancha of Ceylon has a deck fore and aft, has one mast and a square lug sail, also a bowsprit with jib. Their design is more like the European type than any other Indian-built vessel. They are employed in the Gulf of Manaar, and are from 50 to 60 feet long.

The doni of the Coromandel coast is like a Noah's Ark, and only ventures to sea in the fine weather; they are of very light draught, only drawing 4 feet when loaded. They trade on the east coast to Ceylon. They are fitted with one mast and a long sail.

In the Hugli there is the denji, a boat which is half-decked with a half-house in the well. The dinghy in England is said to have adopted the name; if so, no boats could be more unlike in appearance.

Burmese vessels are very picturesque and unique in design. Describing the hnau of 120 to 130 tons, a writer in the "Cyclopædia of India" says:

"The bow is long, with beautiful hollow lines, strongly resembling those of a modern steamer. The stern rises high above the water and below the run is drawn out fine to an edge. A high bench or platform

for the steersman, elaborately carved, is an indispensable appendage; the rudder is a large paddle lashed to the larboard quarter, and having a short pillar passing athwart the steersman's bench. The most peculiar part of the arrangement of these vessels is in the spars and rigging. The mast consists of two spars; it is, in fact, a pair of shears, bolted and lashed to the posts rising out of the keel piece so that it can be let down or unshipped altogether without difficulty. The yard is a bamboo or a line of spliced bamboos of enormous length, and being perfectly flexible is suspended from the mast-head by numerous guys so as to curve upwards in an inverted bow. The sail cloth is common light cotton stuff. They can only sail with the wind. A fleet of them with spreading wings—and nearly invisible hulls—look like a flight of butterflies on the water."

The last boat to mention is the sampan, which is the common type of boat from Burma eastwards. It is shaped like a spoon, has the slightest of draughts, and is propelled by one man facing forward with a pair of sculls. It is a particularly unsafe boat under sail; it is flat-bottomed and suitable to rapid rivers, as in Burma.

So far I have tried to describe some of the country craft in the Persian Gulf, on the coasts of India and Burma. There are many other vessels which ply on the rivers, on the coasts, and in the harbours between larger ships and the shore, and many also on the coast which I have not attempted to describe. For instance,* the most important occupation in Bahrein is pearl-fishing, where they employ more than 900 boats each with a crew of about twenty, the total crews amounting to 20,000 men. There are the *balam* and the *mahala*, for instance, of the Tigris, Euphrates, and the Karun river, and the *shikari* and *dunga* of Cashmere, as well as the *kufu*, the circular bowl-shaped basket boat; but they all really serve one purpose—viz., transport, which is at the main root of their being.

In the earliest days of the Portuguese and the Dutch, long before we realized the immense possibilities of trade with India, they established at various places along the coast factories or places where goods were collected from the surrounding district ready for their vessels to take away to Europe. When, in the year 1613, Captain Hippon in the *Globe* sailed for the Coromandel coast and visited Masulipatam, he founded the first factory for England there. Since then, at comparatively short distances along the coasts of India and Burma and elsewhere, there are ports or anchorages where merchandise is collected and called for.

Every now and again a large port is formed where there is sufficient deep water for large vessels to approach. If there is no natural harbour, and the state of the country behind the coast calls for it, an artificial one is constructed.

* "A Handbook of Arabia." London: Published by H.M. Stationery Office.

The country craft described are now the mere gleaners of the harvest.

The bulk of cargo goes either by steamer or rail. Coasting steamers, call for a few hours at every approachable port or harbour, pick up such cargo as has been collected ready for them, and discharge that which they have transported from elsewhere for disposal locally. Wherever possible in the large ports, which are generally terminal ports, vessels go alongside well-equipped quays, where cranes for loading and discharging them in the quickest possible time are ready for them. Modern steamers themselves are fitted with double winches, as many and as big hatches as possible, and also as many derricks as can be fitted, both from the masts and on the decks, so that they can be discharged and/or loaded from both sides at the same time.

Speed in loading and in discharge are a *sine qua non* of the vessel being able to earn her way. The quicker a vessel can be turned round the better dividends she will earn. This sort of thing is quite foreign to the country craft on the coast; time is not such an important factor with them, and they are both inexpensive to man and to maintain. There is a falling off in the number of country vessels built in India and of those registered. Steamer and railway competition no doubt account for it. As regards the latter, the Department of Fisheries, Bengal, for year ending March 31, 1922, states: "Of the various means of conveyance, the railway companies brought about 81 per cent. of the total imports, 4·5 per cent. by canals, and 14 per cent. by road." This refers to fish from the Chilka lake, the rapid transit of which is of course most important.

Luckily there will always be work for country craft at places where coasting steamers do not call, either because there is insufficient cargo for the latter, or on account of the inaccessibility of the place. It would be a misfortune indeed were it otherwise.

The steamers on the coast and most of the British vessels employed in trading to and from India have lascar crews. These men come from Bombay, the Maldives, Bengal, and Chittagong, the latter perhaps supplying most of them. In 1911 there were some 42,905 of these men actually borne on Asiatic agreements, which number includes firemen and domestics, but does not include the numbers who, whilst actually not at sea, are at home and not at the time employed. These men are reported to be very satisfactory, and adapt themselves very quickly to life on board ship.

The Royal Indian Marine enrolls its seamen from the Ratnigiri district, and has done so from the earliest times. The seamen enter as boys, and are very intelligent and quick to learn. Families succeed each other in the service, and they look to it for their livelihood. They are a very healthy class of men, steady, hard-working, and good seamen and boatmen. They receive their training on board, and are

very quick to learn. They make excellent signalmen. The petty officers are reliable and thoroughly trustworthy. These men will fill the ratings of the Indian navy, and are already filling their new duties satisfactorily.

Last year a training ship was started in Bombay for the purpose of training young men—natives of India—to become officers in the Mercantile Navy. It is at present premature to draw any conclusions on the subject, but it is open to remark that up to now there does not seem to have been much, if any, attraction for Indian boys of the educated classes to follow the sea as a profession. As regards the proposed training of Indian boys as officers for the Indian Navy, it has been decided that British and Indian boys should enter by competition at the age of eighteen, exactly in the same way as public school cadets are now taken into the Royal Navy, and it was agreed that the Indian cadets should be mainly recruited through the Prince of Wales's College, Dehra Dun; and that one appointment every year should be reserved for an Indian. Whether they will develop "sea sense" as we understand it and be really attracted towards service in the Indian Navy is another matter.

I am glad to see, however, that efficiency is the acid test, as the proposed course of training and advancement includes a course of six months at sea in an Atlantic Fleet destroyer (not to remain in the vessel if she refits, the object being to obtain actual sea-going experience).

If this is insisted on, before the officer becomes a sub-lieutenant he will have gone a long way to prove his keenness and fitness for a sailor's life, and will be able to take his place amongst other officers of the service. It is to be hoped that the highest standard will be required of the would-be Indian naval officer, and that under no circumstances will it be lowered. He will be inheriting great traditions, and should be worthy of them. This proposal for officering the service is, of course, a new one, and it will be very interesting to see what class of candidate will present himself for a commission in the Indian Navy.

I very much doubt whether it would be possible to obtain the right material for an Indian naval officer amongst the class of natives of India who at present earn their living at sea.

Many naval officers in England come from inland places, and India being an immense country, with a vast population to choose from, should be able to fill the few vacancies there will be available without any difficulty.

CIS-CASPIAN NOTES

Translated and reviewed from the "Azeri Turk."

THE predominant note in this publication is sympathy with the Tatar-Turk inhabitants of the Trans-Caucasian Republics, and the publication draws attention to the increasing "Russianization" of this part of Asia. As the Central Government of Moscow rules these so-called "associated" Republics with a greater degree of autocracy than the old Russian Imperial Government ever did, and as various changes are being introduced into the life of these Republics, it is necessary roughly to grasp the Soviet system as practised by Moscow.

The Federated Republic of Trans-Caucasia, composed of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, is one of the six principal Republics of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—*i.e.*, Soviet Russia.

The natives of Azerbaijan are of Tatar-Turk origin. Under the Constitution of the Union universal franchise exists, and the chain of representation from the peasant to the Central Congress at Moscow is as follows:

The peasant elects his village deputy, the village elects its deputy for the Valost (rural district), the latter sends deputies to the Uyezd (county), the Uyezd to the Gubernia (provincial), the Gubernia to the Oblast (larger than a province) and finally from this latter assembly deputies reach the All-Russian Congress of Deputies at Moscow.

Towns, factories, and works, according to their size, send deputies, either to the Uyezd or Gubernia; but it should be noted that these voters have by law a much larger percentage of delegates than the rural communities. The All-Russian Congress at Moscow elects departmental commissars (who have their prototypes in every Congress below them) and the Central Executive Committee. This latter body exercises the real power of government, and can overrule any decision of any Congress, through the commissar concerned at headquarters working by means of his subordinate in the province.

Though by the process of representation outlined above the Government of Russia upholds the principle of universal suffrage, yet in practice the peasant is very indirectly represented in Moscow.

It should be noted that the Central Executive at Moscow is, under the Constitution, empowered to transfer populations from one Republic to another.

The most important industry in the Federated Republics is that of the oilfield at Baku. After the revolution an autonomous Republic was proclaimed in Azerbaijan, but the people were quite incapable of carrying on a Government, and the army of Soviet Russia soon took forcible possession of the oilfield. This was followed by complete control of the industry by Moscow, who now "transfers" Russian workers *en masse* to Azerbaijan. The important posts in the oilfield are nearly all held by Russians, and there is only one Turk in the "Department of Control." At present the Turks outnumber the Russians by two to one in the whole field. This disparity is being coped with by the transfer of Russians. The natives' dwellings in the Baku and other districts are being expropriated for the use of immigrant Russians.

In addition to the control of the oilfield by Russia, the *Azeri Turk* cites other instances of Russian monopolist policy.

The prohibition of export of native wines, the underselling of the native liquor

by vodka, the forcible collection of raw materials, cotton, silk, metals, which are sent to Russia to be made up, are some of the means by which an effective stopper is put on indigenous manufactures.

As the supply does not meet the demand in Baku, workmen's houses consisting of two rooms each, at a cost of five thousand roubles, are being built. On the other hand, pensioned Russian soldiers of the Red Army who have settled in Azerbaijan are better housed in dwellings of three rooms. The continuity of the policy of the Central Government at Moscow is manifest.

The relations between workers and Government are not happy, owing to scarcity and consequent dearness of food, the refusal of the Government to increase wages, and the forced loan. The workers object to deductions from their wages for this purpose.

Under these conditions it is not to be wondered at that racial characteristics and differences between the Russian and the Turk are beginning to show themselves. The latent antagonism between Turk and Russian is accentuated by the Government's policy of displacing the Turkish town worker by a Russian and sending the Turk to the countryside. Even the town worker and the peasant in Russia do not love one another.

THE JEWS.

The Central Government, being desirous of emulating the Palestine policy of Great Britain, has through its "Jewish Settlement Committee" been trying for the last four or five years to form a Jewish Republic in Southern Ukraine. The project, however, seems doomed to failure, owing to the traditional dislike of the Jews in South Russia by both Tatar and Russian.

THE ARMENIANS.

The Armenian community in Azerbaijan is being well cared for by the Central Government. According to the *Azeri Turk* the Armenian nationalists who fled to Persia in 1920 are being encouraged to return and land has been given them.

This policy towards the Armenians can be understood, as the latter have no goodwill to Turkey.

This people, with the thrift and pertinacity of their race, have established themselves in separate communities and undertakings, and if left to themselves (as they probably will be) will in the future exercise an important influence on the economic situation of the Republic.

THE COSSACKS OF THE DON AND KUBAN.

These people seem to have recovered from the effects of the successive invasions of, first, Denikin and then the Bolsheviks, to the extent of thinking of their future.

In their paper *The Free Cossack*, just published in Prague, they record their opinion that they have been the pawn of politicians and Powers and that their object is to obtain their national independence from the U.S.S.R.

The *Azeri Turk* discusses the probable effects of this publication in Bolshevik Russia and amongst the inhabitants of White Russia.

THE JAPANESE IN SHANTUNG

THE following note on Japanese interests in Shantung is made from an article on the subject in the *Daily Telegraph* on May 18 by Mr. E. M. Gull :

The majority of the 3,000 Japanese residents in Tsinanfu are mainly engaged in developing the place as a commercial centre able to draw on an area rich in agricultural and animal products—the economic heart, in fact, of China north of the Yangtze. Their object is to attract as much of the produce of the area as possible, and to cause it to seek an outlet at the port of Tsingtao, with which Tsinanfu is connected by rail. Before this line was opened—that is to say, before 1904—most of the produce flowed north to Tientsin and south to the Yangtze, whence came the foreign goods that were exchanged for it. The completion of the line afforded an alternative route, and the trade of Tsingtao, which the Germans had been developing for six years, began to grow. Meanwhile plans had been formed to connect Tientsin by railway with the Yangtze. This railway, now the Tientsin-Pukow line, was from the first designed to pass through Tsinanfu, and foreseeing the coming importance of the place, the Chinese Government decided in 1906 to open it up to foreign residence for commercial purposes. The Japanese, accordingly, have every right to be there.

They are there in larger numbers than other nationals, partly because rather more than half the trade of Tsingtao is in Japanese hands. Tsingtao does between 3 and 4 per cent. of China's direct foreign trade and between 4 and 5 per cent. of her total foreign and domestic trade. The Japanese, moreover, are much more interested than any other foreigners in the Tsinan-Tsingtao railway. Like Tsingtao, the railway was built by the Germans, who lost control both of the line and of the port during the first year of the Great War, when they were driven out of Shantung by combined Japanese and British forces, the British troops, under General Barnardiston, being only a small proportion of the whole. Becoming in this way the successors of the Germans, the Japanese proceeded to develop their railway and other enterprises, and in doing so invested large sums of money. The Chinese, who had been glad enough to see the Germans turned out, did not want the Japanese in their place, and objected when articles 156-158 of the Treaty of Versailles transferred to Japan all the rights which Germany had had in China. For a time, in consequence, Shantung became one of the most difficult questions of the day, and in 1921 was brought before the Washington Conference, the final outcome being that Japan agreed, upon certain terms, to give up what the Treaty of Versailles had assigned her.

As finally arranged, these terms included the transfer of the railway, with its branches and properties, to China, China on her side undertaking to compensate Japan for their value, which was assessed at 53,406,141 gold marks, a sum reckoned to be equivalent to about Yen 40,000,000. The terms also included the payment by China of Yen 14,000,000 in 6 per cent. Treasury notes, redeemable in fifteen years, on account partly of public properties, constructed or improved by the Japanese authorities, and partly of certain salt interests of Japanese subjects and companies on the coast ; while it was further agreed to form a Sino-Japanese company to work the coal-mines of Fangtze, Tzuchuan, and Chinglingchen, the said company to be responsible for the payment to the Japanese Government of a sum of Yen 5,000,000. The greater part of these various sums is still outstanding.

REVIEWS

AFGHANISTAN : eine landeskundliche Studie auf grund des vorhandenen Materials und eigener Beobachtung. Von Dr. Emil Trinkler. Mit 3 Textabbildungen, 4 Bilder, und 4 Kartentafeln. Ergänzungsheft Nr. 196 zu " Petermanns Mitteilungen." 11 x 8. Pp. vi + 80. Gotha : Justus Perthes. 1928.

Dr. Trinkler has given us a treatise on Afghanistan which consists of an up-to-date and accurate compilation of all the existing information on this country. He has studied exhaustively the literature on this part of the world dating from the early part of the nineteenth century, and has also embodied the scientific results of his last expedition. This work is unique in many respects, but its chief distinction is that such an undertaking has never before been attempted. Dr. Trinkler is to be congratulated, and it is difficult to realize the amount of work and research involved. Owing to the limited space available for reviews, it would be impossible even to attempt to summarize this work. All that can be done is to give a skeleton outline which will enable the reader to see at a glance the subjects which have been included. Our knowledge of Afghanistan is today so limited from the scientific aspect that one is rather loath to criticize the material given us.

Dr. Trinkler is at present engaged on another expedition in Central Asia, which accounts for the fact that the preface was written in Kashgar as recently as December, 1927. We notice two familiar names in it, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Heawood, the Librarians respectively of the India Office and the Royal Geographical Society, whose assistance the author gratefully acknowledges. Dr. Trinkler came over to London for the express purpose of studying the English literature on Afghanistan during the autumn of 1925 and the spring of 1926. Though he does not appear to have made use of the Society's library on his last visit, we hope that on his return from his present expedition he will not only avail himself of the library and building, but that he will let us see some of the beautiful photographs, some of which have appeared in an English paper. There is one observation, however, which is called for before this treatise is further outlined, since a glance at the index draws our attention to it. The spelling of the Afghan names has always been a source of controversy, and since Dr. Trinkler was at the Royal Geographical Society it seems a pity that he did not go into this question, as apparently no definite system has been used. It is true that the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names has not as yet specifically dealt with names in Afghanistan, but there is little doubt that the spelling to be followed is that of the Survey of India used in

their "List of Names of 1/2M sheet Afghanistan," published in 1926. A large number of the places do not, of course, appear on any of the maps at the Royal Geographical Society, and for these the author cannot go far wrong if he follows the method laid down in "A System for the Transliteration of Persian, Afghan, and Arabian Words," second edition, published by the General Staff, India, 1912. Safed Koh is spelt *Sefid-Kuh*; Tang-i-Azao, *Teng-i-Asau*; Hari Rud, *Heri-rud*; to quote but a few examples of misspelling which appear throughout the book.

This work is divided into two main parts with sub-headings as follows :

Part I.: (1) An orographic study of Afghanistan; (2) Geology; (3) Climate; (4) Hydrography; (5) Flora and fauna; (6) Natural features of Afghanistan. Part II.: (1) Population and races; (2) Progress of civilization; (3) Religion; (4) Towns; (5) Routes of earlier travellers; (6) Commerce and civilization.

Dr. Trinkler, however, does not allow his zeal to wane at the end of Part II., for a bibliography of Afghanistan, consisting of over 141 books, follows, beginning with Pottinger's "Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde," published in London in 1816. One glance is enough to show that no stone has been left unturned. Writers of all nationalities are mentioned, and references to articles in the *Indian Meteorological Memoirs*, *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, *Deutschr. d. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien*, *Bull. de la Soc. Géol. de France*, *Die Grenzboten Leipzig*, and many other authorities testify to the thoroughness of the author. An index follows which, in fairness to Dr. Trinkler, might have been fuller and more comprehensive.

The illustrations are few, consisting of thirteen photographs, well reproduced on three full plates. The first gives four views of geological features, whilst the remainder consist of typical landscapes and pictures of the different tribes. At the end are some half-dozen coloured maps, the first showing the author's route across Afghanistan. There is also a geological map with twelve different shadings and colours, and four orographical maps marking the different ranges and distinguishing those of volcanic origin. The last plate consists of two maps which give the various tribes and main thoroughfares in Afghanistan, the former being marked in colours according to the origin of the tribe. All these maps are beautifully clear, and no money has been spared in their reproduction. English publishers might well take a hint and realize that a few extra shillings spent on a map make all the difference to a travel-book.

Space is naturally limited, but it is to be hoped that this review will convey to readers that here is a work that is worthy of receiving our heartiest congratulations. Dr. Trinkler is especially to be commended, as he is a very busy man at all times, and this was no light

task. It has often been said that exploring is an international pastime, and whether the explorer or scientist be an Englishman, German, American, or another, he must be accorded the same praise. Afghanistan, though an independent state, has come under the influence of the British Empire, and Englishmen were among the earliest travellers here, so that one could have wished that an Englishman had undertaken this great work. Unfortunately we in England have no *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, and had such a treatise been offered either to the *Geographical Journal* or our own JOURNAL it would have been returned with a courteous note pointing out that the work was too long. A *Petermanns Mitteilungen* in English would therefore be welcome, but one ventures to think will not materialize for many a day.

B. K. FEATHERSTONE.

STALKY'S REMINISCENCES. By Major-General L. C. Dunsterville, C.B., C.S.I.
8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6. Pp. xvii + 370. Illustrations and map. London: Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.

This is a remarkable work from more than one point of view. The fact that General Dunsterville is the original of "Stalky" in Kipling's immortal work will alone attract many readers. They will be richly rewarded, for he supplies, so to speak, the raw material on which Kipling worked, adding many a good story, told in a delightfully breezy manner by a man who still retains the heart of a schoolboy. Of Kipling, too, he gives an admirable account, proving how mind can conquer matter, even at school. Dunsterville says little about Sandhurst, but he gives a vivid account of life in a British infantry regiment in the eighties. He joined the Sussex Regiment at Malta, and, after a year on that gay island, he accompanied it to Cairo. There he nearly came to grief from gambling, but was saved by his brother-officers. At this period of his career he was reckless, and often thought of throwing up his commission, the fact being that he had never had a home, his mother having died when he was ten, while he hardly knew his father, who had been serving in India during his boyhood.

When he reached India he found himself. He was gazetted to a fine Punjab regiment, and this portion of the autobiography makes delightful reading, his insight into the character of his men and his admiration for their martial qualities being everywhere evident. To quote his views on the class from which recruits were drawn: "His house and cattle-sheds are alive with scorpions. In the long grass lurk cobras and other deadly snakes. . . . Plague, cholera, and malaria are always with him. In spite of these terrible conditions, and of a climate that roasts you in summer and freezes you in winter, this brave fellow holds his own, and faces the world with a broad smile." Dunsterville was soon appointed adjutant, and he gives an account of a fine old Indian officer, whose only tactics were "fix bayonets and charge." Indeed, many of Dunsterville's character-sketches are worthy of Kipling himself.

At last, after many years, came active service with the regiment he had helped to train, and we are given an excellent account of the night attack on the camp at Wano by Waziri and Mahsud tribesmen, who deeply resented having the boundary between the Indian Empire and Afghanistan delimited, in accordance with the treaty negotiated by Sir Mortimer Durand.

After this active service, Dunsterville decided to learn Russian; and his portrayal of Russian mentality, of Russian hospitality, and of the various

tests which his friends invented, just to see what an Englishman would do, is masterly.

The climax of a fine career was the command of "Dunsterforce" in the Great War. Russia had collapsed in 1917-18, and the road to India was open across the Caspian and Central Asia. With amazing courage the British War Office attempted the impossible, sending a Mission from Baghdad across Persia to the Caucasus, to organize the Georgians and Armenians against the Turkish invaders. This programme was not carried out in its entirety, but Baku was held by a tiny force of British troops against two Turkish divisions, with the result that its petrol was denied to the Germans in the summer of 1918. The memory of this great feat will never be forgotten, although, owing to the secrecy that was inevitable and the absence of a correspondent, Dunsterville and his brave officers and men have not received the public recognition of their services that was their due.

In conclusion, underlying Dunsterville's career were amazing initiative and cheerfulness, qualities that have created and kept the British Empire, and this book will serve as an inspiration to young and old for many a year to come.

P. M. S.

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN EGYPT AND PALESTINE FROM THE OUTBREAK OF WAR WITH GERMANY TO JUNE, 1917. Official History of the War Series. By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., and Captain Cyril Falls. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. vii + 445. H.M. Stationery Office. 1928. 12s. 6d. Maps, 5s. 6d.

To condense the record of nearly three years into the space of one volume is no easy task; and the authors are to be congratulated on their achievement.

Chapter I. gives the situation in Egypt up to the entry of Turkey into the War and the proclamation of a protectorate.

Chapter II. deals with the threat against the Suez Canal; an interesting note on p. 35 explains the objects of the enemy and mentions a plot by German agents for a rising in Cairo, which should coincide with the attack on the Canal.

In Chapter III. we have the full narrative of the attack. Justice is done to the enemy for the skill and daring of leadership and execution. The problems of the defence and the difficulties of counter-attack and pursuit are discussed and explained. The loyal and effective co-operation of French ships of war and aeroplanes is recognized and appreciated.

In Chapter IV. is described the connection of Egypt with events in Gallipoli, and the responsibilities which General Sir John Maxwell had to bear when the base of the Gallipoli campaign was established in Egypt. He carried a weight of responsibility which might have crushed a man less staunch and resolute. Trouble threatened from the west; trouble was stirring in the Sudan; the Sinai front was still insecure; mines were found in the Canal; and Chapter V. shows how the evacuation of Gallipoli added to the gravity of Egypt's peril.

At the end of 1915, the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force was reorganized, and Sir Archibald Murray succeeded Sir Charles Monro in chief command. Headquarters were fixed in Egypt, and control extended to Salonika. Subsequently the entire control over operations in Salonika was transferred to General Sarrail.

Troops from Gallipoli had poured into Egypt, where they were to rest and refit. General Murray, in chief command, was responsible for the defence of the Canal, leaving to General Maxwell the internal affairs of Egypt and the defence

of the Western Frontier. The somewhat complicated details concerning allotment of troops and demarcation of zones between the two commands are explained in Chapter VI.

The next three chapters are concerned with the western campaign against the Senussi, successfully conducted by Sir John Maxwell. After its close, he returned to England, in March; and then the force in Egypt was united under Sir Archibald Murray. The operations in the Sudan and the expedition against the Sultan of Darfur are also described at some length.

In pp. 170-174 is found General Murray's appreciation of the situation on the eastern front, dated February 15, 1916, and his plans for the forward defence of the Canal.

Chapters X. and XI. describe the execution of these plans, the advance into Sinai, the Battle of Romani, and the end of the campaign against the Canal.

Chapters XII. and XIII. refer to the revolt of the Hedjaz, the entry of the Arabs into the war against Turkey, and the operations leading to the capture of Aqaba.

In Chapter XIV. is General Murray's appreciation of the situation after Romani. He pursues his way: Maghaba is taken, El Arish is gained; and in Chapter XV. we follow his advance through the desert to Rafah. At Rafah a blow was dealt at the Turks, which caused Kress von Kressenstein to withdraw beyond the Egyptian frontier.

By March 21, 1917, railhead had reached Khan Yunis, with the pipe-line nearly as far forward.

A pause was now made while the railway progressed towards Rafah; and meanwhile preparations were pressed on for an attack against the Turks in their new position at Gaza.

The strength of the Turks about Gaza was estimated at two and a half weak divisions.

Sir Charles Dobell, commanding the eastern force, was ordered by General Murray to gain the line of the Wadi Ghazze, and thus cover the advance of the railway, to prevent the enemy's withdrawal from his present position without fighting, and to capture Gaza.

The orders issued by Sir Charles Dobell, dated March 25, are given in Appendix VIII., on pp. 413-415.

Chapters XVI. and XVII. vividly depict the battle, and show how narrow was the margin by which victory eluded his grasp.

After the ill success of the first battle of Gaza, General Murray's problem became more difficult. Gaza had been but a detached post on the Turkish right; it was now made the strong point of an entrenched position, which ran from the sea coast to Abu Hereira, twelve miles in length. Beersheba, further to the east, was lightly held, but was far distant and guarded by arid desert. Reinforcements had come to the enemy, and he was energetically improving his field-works.

General Dobell was again charged with the attack, and his orders received the approval of the Commander-in-Chief.

The operation was undertaken in two phases, of which the first, on April 17, made good its objectives. April 18 was spent in bombarding the Turkish position from land and sea. Early on the 19th the second phase of the attack began; but by evening it had come to a standstill. At nightfall, orders were issued for the attack to be renewed next day; but the state of the troops and the ammunition supply caused postponement, and Sir Archibald Murray, reluctantly coming to the conclusion that no further advance was possible, abandoned the enterprise. This battle is described in Chapter XVIII.

The two concluding chapters summarize the situation after the second battle of Gaza, and end with a brief review of the whole campaign.

After the second battle of Gaza it was evident that either the invasion of Palestine must be abandoned or our army must be reinforced. The War Cabinet was of opinion that the continuation of a strong offensive in the Palestine theatre promised well; and Sir Archibald Murray was told that he should be prepared to maintain, at and beyond railhead, six divisions and three cavalry divisions, by July. In June, however, he sailed for England, after handing over command to Sir Edmund Allenby.

For the first fifteen months of the war with Turkey, the defence of Egypt was conducted by Sir John Maxwell.

With danger threatening from east and west, with trouble in the Sudan, with responsibilities towards Gallipoli, he was perforce tied to the vicinity of the Canal. The evacuation of Gallipoli set free a large number of Turkish troops who might be available for a renewed attack on the Canal.

When the defeat of the Senussi made the western frontier at last safe, a bolder scheme for the defence of the Canal could be, and was, initiated.

Thus commenced the advance towards Palestine and the conquest of the Desert, by rail, water-pipe, and wire road.

Romani, Maghdaba, and Rafah rewarded General Murray's arms; but he was foiled at Gaza.

It appears that at both Maghdaba and Rafah a conference of the Commanders had ended in decision to break off the engagement; but, before the order for withdrawal was issued, the valour of the troops had carried them to victory.

Similarly, at the first battle of Gaza, the action was called off at a moment when the Turks, surrounded and despairing of success, were about to surrender.

This triple coincidence gives rise to thought.

Success in war requires careful preliminary preparation, singleness of command, determination to win.

Here preparation was thorough; but unity of command appears to have lacked completeness, and the driving power of the will to win was not apparent.

It may have been that duties in connection with the administration of martial law in Cairo unduly occupied the attention of the Commander-in-Chief; to a degree which, perhaps, affected detrimentally his influence in the field; and a campaign, brilliant in its inception, closed in disappointment.

This volume is clear and readable, but in some parts would have been improved by greater conciseness. For instance, the sketch of the life of Mohammed, at the beginning of Chapter XII., has no bearing on military operations, with which the book claims to deal.

In Chapter XIX., pp. 365-366, occur moral platitudes concerning the deleterious effects on an army of the too ardent cult of Bacchus and Venus, which add no value to the history.

On p. 367 is to be found the statement that the death, in October, 1917, of Sultan Hussein, a firm and loyal friend to Great Britain, had an ill effect on Anglo-Egyptian relations. Such a statement is questionable, if not inexact. Sultan Hussein was succeeded by Sultan Fuad, now His Majesty King Fuad who also has been and is a firm and loyal friend to Great Britain.

The arrangement of the book is good. Appendices and notes are adequate and useful. Maps and sketches are sufficient; and are satisfactory, with the exception of an illegible diagram facing p. 278.

ISLAM: HER MORAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUE. By Major A. G. Leonard, late 2nd Batt. East Lancashire Regiment. 2nd edition. 1927. 4s. To be obtained from the author, 102, Ladbroke Grove, London, W. 11.

This monograph was originally published in 1909, when Europe was being terrified by the bogey of the imaginary "Moslem Menace." It has now been brought up to date when the increasing knowledge of Islam has exposed the folly and futility of fears that had their origin in the darkness of ignorance. It is published with an appreciative foreword by the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, who has done much to interpret the true inner meaning of Islam to the English-speaking world; while the author in an introductory chapter is able to claim that the history of the Islamic world since 1909 has confirmed his earlier exposition. The author is not a sentimental student or shallow observer striving, like so many who profess to find in Buddhism and other Eastern cults the road to salvation, to impress his readers by vague appeals to dimly conceived or non-existent spiritual ideals. He is a thorough realist, who has studied Islam and Moslems over three continents and "has tried to show Islam" in her true moral and spiritual colours—*i.e.*, at her best. He says:

"I who write these words am not a Moslem, and I hold no brief of any kind for Islam. But as one who has been in touch with all classes and grades of Mohammedans in various parts of the world and has seen Islam in her naked pelt, so to speak, as one too who has made a special study of ethnology—I have seen for myself the marked impression for their good that Islamic teaching makes upon the lower and inferior order of mankind."

No one can read the monograph without being impressed by the author's wide knowledge and deep sincerity.

The personality and ideals of Mohammed have rarely been explained with a more sympathetic insight than in the chapters that describe his temperament and characteristics, the environment that moulded him, the religious principles and beliefs that dominated him, the national and political ideas that guided him, and the influence of his work and character on the world's history. Those chapters are brilliantly written; they display not only a profound knowledge of Islam, but a very wide range of philosophical study; and whether we agree fully with them or not, they cannot fail to arouse the reader's interest and stimulate his mind. In the two final chapters the author deals with (1) Moslem morality and Christendom's attitude to Islam, and (2) Europe's debt to Islam and ethnic spheres of influence as between Islam and Christianity.

He makes an earnest appeal to these two great religions to cast aside the spirit of mutual suspicion and intolerance which has antagonized them for centuries, and to realize that the world is big enough for them both; that each has something to learn from the other; that both have a duty to raise, in their respective spheres, the millions who are still slaves to the most debased heathen superstitions and have no conceptions of the one supreme God.

While many readers will hesitate to accept all the author's claims on behalf of Islam, few who have had long and close acquaintance with Moslems will dispute the generous tribute which the author renders to them in his concluding pages.

"Afghan, Arab, Baluchi, Hindustani, Somali, Turk, Egyptian, Hadendowa, Berber, Senegalese, Fulani, Hausa, Yoruba, Mandingo, Malay—I have found them in the main Islamic to very core. Seeing, as I have, their splendid heroism in their own cause, and their touching devotion to those whose salt they have eaten, my feeling towards them is not only one of unmixed admiration and respect, but also of deep esteem and regard." Perhaps the writer of this review may be allowed to add his own testimony. In the Great War when Turkey joined our enemies, determined and persistent attempts were made by a small

anti-British section of Muslims in Northern India to stir up their co-religionists against England by preaching a Jihad. The Muslim tribes of the North Punjab were strictly orthodox, though free from bigotry, and furnish perhaps the finest fighting material in Asia. Much depended on their attitude. What was it? True to their salt they rejected with contempt all the arguments for a religious war, and 180,000 came forward voluntarily to fight for the King-Emperor against the Turks and other enemies. Their valour in the field was on a par with that splendid loyalty. Theirs was a "Moslem Menace" to their Turkish foes, not to their Christian rulers.

M. F. O'DWYER.

WHAT ARE THE RIGHTS OF THE MUSLIM MINORITY IN INDIA? By Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces. Published by the Indian Press, Ltd. Allahabad. 1928.

If we had more men of the type of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan among Indian politicians and publicists one would feel more hopeful about India's political future. This exposition of the rights of the Muslim minority (roughly 60 millions out of the 247 millions in British India) and of the measures necessary to safeguard these rights in the future displays a knowledge of and frank acceptance of facts, a breadth of view, and a broad-minded tolerance which are as refreshing as they are rare in the lucubrations of Indian politicians. The author started well equipped for his task because, as a trained historian—he was Professor of History in Allahabad—he possesses the true historical perspective, which so many Indian writers lack, for they will not face realities or historical facts when these do not suit their purpose.

This knowledge he supplemented by a thorough investigation, in the League of Nations Secretariat at Geneva, of the provisions embodied in the various post-war peace treaties for the protection of minority rights in the various Succession States established by those treaties.

He argues, and with a force which must carry conviction to unprejudiced minds, that similar provisions are indispensable in the case of the Muslim (and other) minorities in British India as a whole, and in the various provinces, to prevent racial and sectarian oppression by the dominant majority (Hindu in seven out of the nine major provinces, Muslim in two) in any future political advance towards self-government. The rights which he desires to safeguard by statute as fundamental rights are in the case of the Muslims :

1. Separate electorates, as being absolutely vital to their existence, and therefore recognized, though unwillingly, by such Radical Secretaries of State as Lord Morley and Mr. Montagu. This, however, would be a transitional measure, and should disappear "as and when the two communities have reached the same educational and economic level," and a spirit of mutual trust and toleration has replaced the present acute distrust and hostility.

2. Effective representation in all the services of the State and local bodies.

3. Effective representation in the Cabinets of the Central and Provincial Governments.

4. A substantial share in the grants-in-aid for various purposes, educational and other.

5. The maintenance of the Urdu language (where established in the past) in the courts, local boards, Government offices, schools, and other public institutions.

6. Adequate representation in all grades of education—University, secondary, and primary—as being essential to bring Muslims to a level with the Hindu majority, and religious teaching in primary schools.

The author has argued the case for each of these safeguards with a profound knowledge of conditions, not only in his own but in other provinces of India. But his most powerful argument is that every one of the above minority rights has been distinctly recognized as a *fundamental right* in the post-war treaties of the various succession States (which he analyzes in detail), and that the League of Nations has been made responsible for their enforcement.

He also shows how futile and misleading it is to apply the conception of nationality prevalent in England and France to Indian conditions. He aptly remarks that :

“ People (in India) who are fond of using the term ‘ nation ’ glibly are either ignorant of the factors that have brought about the ‘ unitary and organic States ’ in Western Europe, or deliberately shut their eyes to inconvenient facts, and act and talk on the assumption that no differences exist.”

In contrast to these dishonest and misleading methods, the author, after a comprehensive review of the Muslim position in the various provinces, arrives at the following conclusion, from which few will dissent :

“ The Muslim community is therefore united by the common ties of religion, the social tie of equality, the cultural tie of language, the historical tie of a glorious past, and is homogeneous and compact.”

He has made out a convincing case for safeguarding the rights of the Muslims by a statutory recognition and definition of fundamental rights, which no Indian legislature, central or provincial, can alter, and which must be embodied in principle in whatever Act of the British Parliament is passed on the report of the Simon Commission, while the details must be worked out in rules made by the Secretary of State to give effect to those principles.

So far the case appears to be established. As a further safeguard against unconstitutional interference with those fundamental rights, the author proposes, on the analogy of the American and Swiss constitutions, the creation of a supreme or federal court.

Whatever the future may bring forth, there seems to be no need and no place for any such machinery at the present stage. The British Parliament, acting through the Secretary of State for India, is the final authority responsible “ for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples,” and should not delegate its powers to anyone but the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council. But to ensure that the Government of India discharges that responsibility wisely and well, it must be strong and impartial, with a predominant British element, and must not be influenced by an all-India Assembly which the urban Hindu literary castes will dominate in the future as they have in the past. British constitutional history furnishes a most pertinent precedent. The British North America Act of 1867—an Act of the British Parliament—secured certain rights to the French minority in Canada. At the Imperial Conference of 1927 it was proposed that the Dominion Parliament of Canada—now a sovereign State—should be invested with power to amend the Act of 1867. The French minority strongly opposed the proposal, and the project was abandoned. Could there be a more powerful illustration of the responsibility of the British Parliament as guardian of minority rights, whether in Canada, a self-governing Dominion, or in British India, now moving towards self-governing institutions if she can show her capacity to work them, or in the Crown Colonies, such as Kenya, etc. ? Parliament can never repudiate this obligation, least of all in the case of the many minorities in the Indian Empire.

M. F. O'DWYER.

THE PERSIAN GULF. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold T. Wilson, K.C.I.E., with a foreword by the Right Hon. L. S. Amery. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 25s.

The Persian Gulf and the eastern basin of the Mediterranean contain the most profound and ancient records of the history of man's civilization. In each history and romance are inextricably associated. In each lie the materials for the study of ancient man and the progress of his knowledge and activities. In the Persian Gulf these materials are still unexplored to an extent of which the year's report of the explorers renders us more conscious of how much there remains to be discovered.

Sir Arnold Wilson gives us a history through the ages of this deeply interesting Gulf. His modest disclaimer of any pretensions to original research must not deceive the reader into supposing that here he is going to find a mere repetition of what a few earlier writers have told us. The wide extent of his authorities is disclosed in the bibliography and footnotes, and his judicious selection of his material is in itself a work of art. But to this research there is added a peculiar quality. As we accompany him through his pages, we are conscious of the guidance of one who is not only saturated with knowledge of his subject on the historical side, but also a personal acquaintance, acquired at first hand, with the whole spirit of that strange and, to most people, repellent quarter of the globe; and that acquaintance has brought with it an affection for it, even for its cruel climate. This causes an atmosphere of reality as well as sympathy to pervade the book, which makes its reading a singular pleasure.

Sir Arnold, we have said, carries the writer down throughout the ages. As we travel in his company we witness a succession of great sea-trading states and, consequently, great maritime empires. Babylonian, Greek, Sabæan, Phœnician, Sassanian, and Arab are succeeded by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English. If the cradle of navigators is anywhere to be distinguished, it is in that Gulf where the movement of essential goods must have been among the first necessities of man. Even "the primitive fishing craft still in use are survivals of the highest antiquity," while the records show us a shipbuilding industry already of great importance and obviously of long-established existence nearly 3,000 years before our era. As prosperity, and with it the consequential spread of luxury, increased, so did the importance of navigation, so that the Gulf became an artery of trade comparable only in importance in the needs of the peoples round its shores to that of the English Channel of today.

As trade expanded, shipbuilding to maintain it improved in order to seek in more remote waters new treasures and new outlets. The local timber ceased to furnish what such ships as the more extended navigation demanded, and timber from India had to be imported to meet the needs. Further, since wherever a rich trade comes into being its plunder becomes the object of the lawless or the more powerful, so, from the earliest days until those when British supremacy was finally established, the pirate, either an individual or a State, has been a feature of the life of the Gulf, an element in its policy. In Pliny's time, when voyage was made once a year, it was made "with cohorts of archers on board the ships on account of the pirates who infest those seas." The prototypes of those archers today are the sloops of the navy, which now are the policemen preserving order on the waters of the Gulf.

How early a trade with the remote land of China was in existence is even now uncertain, though we see that it had already begun before the sixth century of our era: not indeed in one continuous voyage, but in two, the Western part conducted by the Arab and the Eastern by the Chinese, the shipping meeting at that "Clapham Junction of the Indian Ocean," Ceylon.

As experience extended, each participant stretched further, till by the tenth century the Chinese junk is showing her matting sails in the ports of the Gulf and the Arab his lateens in the ports of the China Sea.

The history of the Early and Middle Ages, with the rise of such great trading cities as Basra, Bagdad, Siraf, Qais, and Hormuz, is told with a lucidity that engrosses the attention. Tempting as it is to linger over the descriptions of their rise under the influence of commerce and fall under, largely, the curse of war, and to ponder over the problem of the great mound city of Bahrain, we must pass to Sir Arnold's next phrase of the history: that of the arrival of the European, and the new struggle between the maritime powers first to share and later to acquire the trade of the East. The "Portugall," by virtue of his wonderful exploration, comes first to dispute with the Arab and the Persian at sea, and to a lesser degree on land, for the possession of the trade. Ports are his first necessity, as they must ever be for a sea power, and Albuquerque quickly distinguishes the *points d'appui* which he must hold in order to preserve the interests of Portugal in the Eastern trade and Indian dominions, which is in reality but a factor in that trade. To control the Straits of Babel Mandeb, Aden is required; to control the Straits of Bussora, Portugal must possess Hormuz; and Diu and Goa are necessary for the security in India. These are the three great focal points; and as trade radiated further, to them others are added.

For a century the Portuguese retain their dominion. They are followed by the English and Dutch with their trading companies. But before the first English company had made its venture, two Englishmen—Sir Anthony Sherley and his brother—had visited Persia and acquainted themselves with the value of the Persian markets. To them the company was an interloper; but affairs were arranged, and before long the company was directing its attention to the ousting of the Portuguese. It assists the Persians to expel them from Hormuz, which, from a stately city, was within ten years of its loss a ruin, to be replaced by Gombroon—Bunder Abbas. There, for 150 years, stood the headquarters of the English company.

The fall of the Portuguese may be dated from the loss of Hormuz in 1622, though for another quarter of a century they continued to hold Maskat and conduct a diminishing trade in the Gulf. But their expulsion did not spell British monopoly, for in the meantime the Hollander, with the whole weight of a national effort behind, was come to take a part in the trade. Nourished by subsidies and an energetic and ably directed council, the Dutch company was at a great advantage, and the end of the seventeenth century witnessed the predominance of its position.

Though the Gulf appears but little in our histories of the long-drawn-out struggles of the eighteenth century, the British arms never were without employment there. British power was restored; the Dutch, too occupied in Europe to maintain their strength in this part, weakened and wilted away; the French made their appearance, and, though they acquired no great position, no war took place without the appearance of their frigates, single or in squadrons, in the Gulf waters; while throughout the whole period and well into the nineteenth century the pirate was never absent. Not the least interesting chapter, nor, to an Englishman, the least satisfactory, are those in which Sir Arnold describes the growth of English influence and the destruction of piracy. How beneficent a work has been done by the sea and land forces of this country, of the East India Company, and of India herself, by the establishment of the *pax Britannica* in this sea is too insufficiently known. It is greatly to be wished that the knowledge were more widespread, for we should hear less nonsense

and rodomontade about an Empire built on blood and the slavery of native races if it were.

Sir Arnold includes some good drawings, among them an excellent sketch of the harbour of Maskat, which makes one regret that the modern traveller only too rarely possesses the power to produce the delicate products of the old water-colour artists. A visit to the Maskat of today makes it difficult to realize that a bare ninety years ago its Imam supported a fleet comprising vessels of such power as a 46-gun frigate and two of 28—vessels the equivalents of which today are the cruiser and light cruiser. Nor, looking at the Egypt of the present day, is it easy to recognize in it the country of Mehemet Ali, whose threat to capture Bahrain created tension in India and a concentration of the Indian navy and the East Indian squadron in the Gulf—an occasion taken by the Bombay Government to issue restrictions of a type not unfamiliar to those who have had occasionally to maintain British interests in the outer parts of the Empire. He was to use his influence to deter the Egyptians from attacking Bahrain, but if, notwithstanding, they did attack, or if the Government of Bahrain asked for assistance, the admiral was “to afford that Government every encouragement to resistance and all support *short of placing himself in actual collision with the Egyptian authorities.*” One may feel grateful that commanders to whom it has fallen to uphold British interests in the Gulf have not always been shackled with such instructions.

The slave trade, the arms traffic, the pearl fisheries, the tribal warfares of the coast of Oman, and the international questions of railways, of cables and navigation, form most important and educative chapters of Sir Arnold Wilson's book. At the end of his survey he lets us into the workings of his mind. He is full of pride—honest and unboastful pride—of our record and of trust in the future. By whatever agency our trust in those waters is now to be continued, continuity of the administration which has produced results so beneficial to mankind will be continued. He is convinced, and he will convince readers of his admirable book, “that our work is righteous and that it shall endure.” H. W. R.

THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES. By Alois Musil. American Geographical Society: Oriental Explorations and Studies, No. 3. 10¼ × 7; pp. xvii + 631; maps and illustrations. New York. 1927.

“At 9.15 we crossed the *še'ib* of Sa'ede, and at 9.50 the *še'ib* of as-Sidde, beyond which the jagged bluffs again approach the Euphrates. On the road some *fellāhīn* were riding on donkeys. The last of them, an elderly, one-eyed man, cursed us incessantly: ‘Oh, may you die even today; oh, that it were your last day in this world!’ he repeated at least a hundred times.” There was never a more sober account of Eastern travel than this plain story of two journeys along the Euphrates from Dair az Zūr as far as al Qāyam, ranging across all the country eastwards to the Tigris, from Bagdad to Takrīt. The journeys were undertaken in 1912 and 1915, the former in the company of Prince Sixte of Bourbon, and the latter as a conclusion to an extended visit to Central Arabia in war-time. The diary of these journeys, painfully accurate and meticulous in its description of ground, vegetation, fauna, is the substance of this book, and covers 193 pages. Nowhere is any incident much more exciting than the above recorded.

Yet it is a fascinating book, dull as it may seem at first sight. No one who has travelled over any part of that country, even in the swiftest of motors, no one who is interested in the history of the Near East at all will leave this book without feeling stimulated, excited, refreshed by it. And the fascination lies in

the twenty-one appendices. It was to write these, as the author expressly tells us, that the journeys were undertaken ; they are the result of his minute, painstaking record of geography, and form a wonderful contribution to history. From the Assyrian period, through the supremacy of Macedonians and Greeks, down to recent times. Professor Musil has ransacked the literature of diverse tongues, to elucidate, examine or reject the statements of a geographical nature which are of importance for historical understanding. The small kingdoms and tribal areas of the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. are located ; Xenophon's march is followed with a rigorous exactitude no previous scholar has been able to employ ; Isodore of Charax and the Emperor Julian are followed step by step. But perhaps the most brilliant section of all is the examination of the various accounts of Khalid's campaigns, when the Muslimin first attacked Persian fortified territory. The careful analysis, the judicial confrontation of the Arabic authorities, the masterly decision upon doubtful points possible only for one who knows the ground as Musil knows it, the final rejection of a bushel of errors—these qualities are nowhere better displayed than on pp. 283-312. And so the reader passes on to consider the ancient canal systems, the site of Thapsacus, the sources for the history of each of the important towns.

Not all of Professor Musil's arguments and geographical identifications will prove correct. It would be possible to enumerate a number of instances where fuller information is likely to modify his conclusions ; but his work is invaluable for the historian, the traveller, the geographer. A number of interesting principles are illustrated, which we all need to learn. First and foremost of these perhaps should be placed the criticism of the Mohammedan geographers. These writers are not, in detail, very reliable ; most often they were writing of places they had not seen. Sometimes their hearsay evidence is good ; when they copy from their predecessors, then their evidence should not be quoted, as it often is, as holding true of their own time.

Secondly, one would place the curiously spasmodic survival of place names. Professor Musil is able, in some cases, to prove that modern names can be traced back through the ages to the Assyrian period ; but certain cases of this kind are very rare. The method too frequently adopted of locating ancient sites by spotting similar names on a small-scale map could not be more conclusively proved to be unscientific than it is in this work.

Finally, a word of praise is due to the English of this book. Professor Musil is a Czech, whose scientific work before the war was published in German. It has been no small task for him to cast this work in the mould required by a different language ; but he has been triumphantly successful. We would congratulate the author on his work, and the American Geographical Society on the very excellent format and printing.

S. S.

FIVE YEARS IN TURKEY. By Liman von Sanders. Translation by the United States Naval Institute. 9×6. Pp. x + 325, 4 plates, 17 figures, and 3 large-scale maps. Baillière, Tindall and Cox. 16s.

In June, 1913, General of Cavalry Liman von Sanders was invited to accept the appointment as Chief of the Military Mission about to be despatched to Turkey. There can be little doubt now that von Sanders might well have hesitated before accepting such a position. The qualifications demanded were for a man of eminent military ability and wide experience in General Staff work. Knowledge of the country and of the language was not asked for. He did not hesitate. He jumped at it. The Emperor in a final interview instructed him to drive politics out of the Corps of Turkish officers. That was not the last of

the impossible instructions he was to get. Neither he, nor the Kaiser, nor the General Staff in Berlin, ever appreciated correctly the Turkish character. They failed to understand the Seljuk mentality, as they were unable to grasp British or American psychology.

Von Sanders arrived in Stamboul in December, 1913, and he was not long in learning that the path of a military reformer bristled with difficulties. His initial line of policy appears to have been to combine the functions of Adviser to the War Ministry, and, at the same time, to be in executive command of an Army Corps. No doubt he intended the Corps to be something in the nature of an *Exemplar* formation, if one may apply such a term to so large a force. Sharp differences at once arose, and within a fortnight Liman wished to be recalled to Germany. However, he was promoted to be Turkish Marshal, and so automatically vacated his corps.

Then Enver appeared on the scene, and the differences between the Adviser and the Minister for War became accentuated. His position became almost farcical. For instance, when he went to inspect a unit, new clothing would be issued out, only to be taken back into store again on completion of the inspection. The sick, the weak, and the poorly trained were concealed, so that he should not see anything unpleasant. The conditions throughout the army ancillary services were typically Oriental—deficiencies everywhere, condition of buildings deplorable, horses in a bad state, harness neglected. The state of the military hospitals was alarming. The sick lay confusedly mixed, often in the same bed when there was one. The seriously ill and the moribund were put away in locked rooms during his inspections. From his accounts the Turkish military medical arrangements must have deteriorated since your reviewer visited the hospitals in the campaign in the Yemen in 1910.

A great deal of all this chicanery on the part of the Turk towards the foreign I.G. must have been encouraged by his ignorance of the language; whilst the factor of the elimination of senior Turkish Staff Officers for Germans quite naturally led to a certain amount of passive opposition. Apart from that, the whole policy of executive command was an unsound one in the circumstances. All this is by way of being some sort of apologia for the disasters that followed.

On the outbreak of the Great War, the General tried to get himself recalled, and he tried again in September, but the Military Cabinet refused to hear of it. The author here gives most interesting details of the inner history of the early Turkish plans of campaign. Firstly, Enver, the German Ambassador, and Admiral Souchon were all in favour of action against the Suez Canal, and a swift descent on Egypt. Liman alone at the conference opposed the enterprise. He was ordered, however, from Berlin to put aside his views and subordinate his doubts. In fact, M.I. (Orient Section) at the War Office in Berlin must have been in possession of amazingly little information as regards Turkish communications and the capacities of the Services. Secondly, we hear of grandiose plans for the IIIrd Army in the Caucasus, involving the capture of Kars. One corps was to be a holding force on the main Erzerum-Sarikamis-Kars road, whilst two others were to carry out an ambitious flank movement over almost impassable mountains in winter. Liman studied the problem and turned it down, as well as he ought to do. Enver became fantastic and seems to have had visions of himself as Alexander. He contemplated marching through Afghanistan to India. He never lost that vision; to his death near Bokhara he held it. The operation ended in the destruction of the IIIrd Army; 12,000 men only of the original 90,000 returned.

The story of the Dardanelles fighting is told on conventional lines, but is of extraordinary interest. Intelligence, as was to be expected, was chiefly centred

in Athens. Liman's views about the passage through the Straits of an Allied Fleet are worth quoting :

“ . . . Even in case the Allied Fleet forced a passage, and won the naval battle in the Sea of Marmora, I judged it would be in a nearly untenable position so long as the entire shores on the Dardanelles strait were not held by strong Allied forces. . . . But for a successful landing of troops near Constantinople . . . the defensive arrangements left little hope of success. . . . A decisive success could not be won by the enemy unless the landing of large forces in the Dardanelles was coincident with, or antecedent to, the passage of the fleet.”

The author says little of the naval battle of March 18, 1915, beyond noting that Djevad Bey admits to sustaining 200 casualties as the result of the bombardment. Meanwhile Field-Marshal von der Goltz had taken over command of the 1st Army, whilst Liman went to the 5th on the Peninsula. He gives a masterly appreciation of the situation. On learning of the enemy landings, the General's first feeling was that his arrangements for defence needed no alteration, and that, like Oyama at the Yalu, he could retire to rest as soon as the battle begins. The enemy, he says, had selected those points which he himself had considered most likely landing-places. He admits the Allied preparations were excellent, but he considers their defect was that they were based on out-of-date reconnaissances. He pays tribute to the bravery and tenacity of General Hamilton's troops. As regards the news of the Suvla landing in August, he remarks :

“ . . . The success of the new enemy enterprise was counted on with such certainty that already windows were being rented in Pera Street, and that the British Embassy was being put in order and the beds newly covered. . . .”

It will be remembered that Mustapha Kemal, the Ghazi, first made his name as Commander of the 19th Division on the Suvla front. He was a man after von Sanders' own heart. The author fully realized that the success of the Suvla operation meant for him the end of the Gallipoli campaign. He confesses himself unable to understand the delay that took place. There seems no doubt that the Suvla landing actually was a surprise to him, and that, for a change, speaks well for the precautions taken as to secrecy.

We disagree with Liman, that British shipping was strewn along the coast—sunk by Major Lierau's artillery. We who looked over those seas day after day missed that unpleasing sight. In regard to the evacuation of Suvla on 19/20th December, the author says, “a dense fog covered the peninsula and coast.” We disagree. It was a bright moonlight night, far too bright, in fact, to be comfortable. Details of the events of the 8/9th January, 1916, are incorrect. There were no “bloody conflicts” anywhere. General Maude was nearly hit by a stray shell, that was all. We learn the Turkish losses in Gallipoli amounted to 218,000, of whom 66,000 were killed. The Kaiser visited the battlefields in October, 1917.

The next important section is of absorbing interest to the British reader, as it is von Sanders' account of the operations in Palestine. The Turkish armies had fallen on evil days. Erzerum and Bagdad had fallen, and Palestine was seriously threatened. It was indeed time for *Yilderim*, or the lightning movement, by Army Group F. At first the idea was to recapture Bagdad, but in the autumn of 1917 its plans were altered to the Sinai Front. In February, 1918, von Sanders was offered command of the Group in relief of von Falkenhayn. Enver told him nothing about the plans he was preparing for extensive operations in Azerbaijan. Few commanders could have succeeded to a more

difficult task. Battalion strengths were down to 120-150 rifles. Pay was scanty and rare. Some artillery units were without guns, others with guns had no horses. Troops were undernourished, poorly clothed, and wretchedly shod. The situation east of Jordan was causing anxiety, and it is most satisfactory to read what a real thorn in the side were the forces under Feisal and Lawrence. By the way, von Sanders credits Feisal with a good knowledge of English. His Majesty will be flattered to read this!

And so his book leads up to the climax—the practical destruction of his whole force, following the British attack of 19th September, 1918. In reading the account, one cannot but feel that the Army Group was overburdened with lower formations. It had three armies, each probably not much stronger than a British division, but it had three lots of Staffs. Each army bristled with corps and divisions. Inter-communication must have been, and in fact was, hopeless. The end came on 30th October, 1918, when he was ordered to hand over to Mustapha Kemal and report in Stamboul. He had narrowly escaped capture at Nazareth.

Your reviewer has dealt with this work at some length. In summary, it may be said, that for a long time to come it will be of value to students of history. It is in the main accurate: only details here and there are open to criticism. Its compilation is soldierly. It is clear, concise, and complete. The appreciations given are models of their kind. *But* it should be studied in its original. The *but* is important. It is almost incredible that the United States Naval Institute should sponsor such an indifferent production. It is crudely translated—perhaps too literally translated—in style too stilted and unpleasing. To mention a few examples: “To protect its official occupants of the highest positions”; “I meant to direct the Great General Staff journey”; “when the tunnel had pierced the mountain, though with a small profile”; “the other sensitive point.”

In spite of the apology in the preface, we do not like the spelling of his Arabic. *Schatt-el Arab* will never do. Lawrence may be a genius and may spell as he likes, but not von Sanders—at least not when rendered into English. And then, again, the American public may like split infinitives on every possible occasion. We do not. As a piece of military history the book has a definite value; as a work of war literature in the English language, in the form given to us by the United States Naval Institute, it occupies no place, and the fault of that lies entirely with the translator.

D. S.

IBN SA'UD OF ARABIA, HIS PEOPLE AND HIS LANDS. By Ameen Rihani. Illustrations and map. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. Pp. xvii+370. London: Messrs. Constable. 1928. 21s.

It would be ungracious and unnecessary to criticize Mr. Ameen Rihani's book in detail. It must be read as a whole, and as such it is a vivid and realistic picture of life and conditions in-Nejd. The author has not spared himself, he has faced manfully all those minor discomforts which are inevitable in the pursuit of a true insight into conditions in Central Arabia, and he has had his reward, for his book is one which, in addition to being full of fascination to the casual reader, merits a place of honour in the library of every student of Middle Eastern affairs. The descriptions of the desert and of camel journeying through the Arabian wastes are most attractive, and the picture of Bedouin life and habit is full of life and colour, but most striking is the author's portrayal of Ibn Sa'oud himself, and his clear exposition of the peculiar psychological and economic conditions which have in the past made Central Arabia the birthplace of great movements, and which may perhaps do so yet again.

Mr. Rihani has solved the secret of such greatness as has come out of Central Arabia in the past, and he gives food for reflection on the possible future. He shows how psychological, geographical, and economic conditions combine to create an urge which Ibn Sa'oud—autocrat though he be—may find it impossible to resist. A hardy warlike race, peculiarly susceptible to the dictates of a harsh and uncompromising creed, an inhospitable land which denies every ease and comfort to a population to which it affords the barest possibility of livelihood, what wonder that Ibn Sa'oud should deem a dynamic policy essential unless he is to see the edifice, which has been erected by his personal valour and statecraft, crumble away and disintegrate into its former welter of petty tribal feud and internecine warfare. The remedy is the transformation of the nomad into a peasant or townsman; but where is the capital to come from for the necessary development of the internal resources of the country in order that it may support its population and supply their growing needs? Time is necessary and, in the meantime, Ibn Sa'oud's task of controlling the situation, while still retaining the loyalty and support of his turbulent subjects, must of necessity be one of extraordinary difficulty. This side of the picture is very clearly to be seen in Mr. Rihani's interesting record of local conditions and of his many intimate conversations with Ibn Sa'oud.

The book is not only a portrayal of Central Arabian life and conditions fascinating to the casual reader, but is one that merits careful study by all those who are concerned with the direction of British policy in the Middle East.

To some it might seem that the author has an anti-British bias, but an impartial judge would hardly support the charge against one who is quite frankly writing from a Nejd point of view. If the author were to fail to criticize where he considered criticism was well-founded, his book would lose the greater part of its value.

G. F. C.

BAGHDAD IN BYGONE DAYS. By Constance M. Alexander. Pp. xvi+336.

8½ × 6¼. London: John Murray. 16s.

Nothing but praise can be given for this fascinating book. It is the history of Claudius Rich, a traveller, artist, linguist, and antiquary. Rich's life was a short one, as he was born in 1786 and he died in 1821.

The illegitimate son of a Colonel Cockburn, he made his way by his scholarship. From the very first he attracted attention by his marked aptitude for languages. Besides knowing Latin, Greek, and several modern languages, at the age of ten he started learning Arabic, and in the course of two years he could both read and write it. Later he learnt Hebrew, Syriac, and evidently Turkish, as he was able to help a shipwrecked Turkish merchant.

At seventeen he was granted a military cadetship in the East India Company. On going up for the examination, he attracted the notice of one of the examiners by his great knowledge of languages; the latter pressed the Directors to find some more suitable and lucrative employment for so gifted a man. He was therefore given a writership in the civil branch.

His first post was as secretary to the Consul-General for the Mediterranean, with headquarters at Cairo. On his way to join this appointment the ship on which he was travelling caught fire, and left him stranded in Spain. Travel in the Mediterranean being dangerous owing to the war between England and France, he had some difficulty in reaching Naples, where he stayed three months and studied music, in which he became very proficient. He then crossed to Malta, where his chief, Mr. Lock, was staying. But Mr. Lock died almost at once, so Rich was sent to Constantinople.

Rich spent fifteen months in Turkey, mostly in the Asiatic provinces, and became thoroughly conversant with Turkish etiquette and manners. He then went to Cairo for a year, where he made a deep study of Arabic and the Egyptians. In 1807 he was ordered to Bombay, and proceeded there through Palestine, Syria, and the present Iraq.

Arriving at Bombay he stayed with Sir James Mackintosh, who was afterwards to be his lifelong friend and supporter. A few months in this household sufficed for Rich to fall in love with Sir James's daughter Mary, and they were married in January, 1808. The marriage turned out an ideal one, and the Richs were practically never separated until a few weeks before his death.

Just after his marriage Rich was given the appointment of Resident at Baghdad, two months before his twenty-second birthday! A wonderful experiment to send this boy and girl to maintain the prestige of England in such an important post during such troublous times, for Napoleon was still intriguing in the East. However, the experiment was successful, and Rich made good, being helped enormously by his intimate knowledge of the Oriental mind and outlook. Baghdad was ruled at that time by Turkish Pashas, whose security of tenure was not too good. Rich managed to hold his own with them all, and gradually became the strongest personality in the city. He was not supported too well by the authorities in Bombay, but was well backed up by the Ambassador in Constantinople. He suffered terribly from fever, and was in constant friction with Bombay about money affairs, which tended to fray his nerves. He certainly seemed to have been a most extravagant young man, keeping up a small troop of Hussars, all Europeans, in addition to the Indian guard given him by the Company. It must, however, be remembered that Orientals are impressed by force and show, and Rich was living in troublous times, with little force behind him.

Miss Alexander has given most interesting accounts of Rich's journeys in both Asia and Europe, the men he met, and the customs of the last century. Rich accumulated many antiquities and many rare manuscripts; some of these are in the British Museum, but many, unfortunately, got lost or destroyed.

After a final quarrel with the reigning Pasha, the Richs left Baghdad in June, 1821; but not having any definite orders to proceed to Bombay, he broke his journey at Bushire, though his wife went on. The heat, as can be imagined, was terrible, and after waiting a month for orders he left for Shiraz, where he employed his time in visiting Persepolis and other ruins. In September cholera broke out during the marriage festivities of a Persian prince, and Rich, who was still an ailing man, caught the infection and died.

Gifted with a fine brain, a profound thinker, and with an immense capacity for work, Rich's death deprived the Empire of one of its most strenuous supporters. His wife survived him for many years, dying in 1876. It is said that on hearing of his death she became unconscious and her hair turned snow white.

H. S.

UR EXCAVATIONS. Vol. i.: Al Ubaid. By H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley. Publication of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Oxford University Press.

At regular intervals during the past five years, articles in the Press, special exhibitions at the British Museum and well-illustrated lectures to various societies have awakened a widespread interest in the wonderful discoveries which have been made at Ur in Lower Mesopotamia.

The first volume of detailed record of these discoveries has recently been

published, and consists of an exhaustive and complete account of the small isolated mound known as Al Ubaid.

It is probably captious to suggest that, in the interests of the general public, this volume should have been the second of the series, and should have been preceded by one in which a more general description of the city of Ur, its history and surroundings, was given. Al Ubaid, by reason of its compact and complete nature, and still more by reason of the wonderful rewards it has bestowed on its discoverers, doubtless inspired the authors to break the chronological sequence of the records of their work and give its precedence.

To Dr. Hall is due the credit of its discovery and the discovery of many of its most wonderful objects. To Mr. Woolley has fallen the pleasant duty of adding to these discoveries and the dangerous but still more pleasant and fascinating duty of making a conjectural restoration of the site and the ancient temple.

The labour of authorship is divided by Dr. Hall and Mr. Woolley, with one chapter of the inscriptions and their significance by Mr. C. J. Gadd and another by Sir Arthur Keith on the human remains.

It is natural that a large portion of a work of this description must take the form of a detailed record or catalogue and consequently that its appeal is to the expert rather than the ordinary reader. The authors, however, are to be congratulated in that they have made much of the book interesting and some of it absorbing to the reader who reads for recreation. Dr. Hall in his description of his labours and discoveries instils even some humour into the records, and Mr. Woolley, by his obvious keenness and sincerity attracts the most wayward reader.

The excavations have clearly disclosed two distinct, though probably related periods; the earlier period at present must be termed the prehistoric period, and the later period that of the First Dynasty of Ur. This First Dynasty period has been brought out of the mists of mythology and conjecture, and, though not yet dated exactly, is established much more firmly in early history. The estimated date of its foundations is 3,100 B.C. Prior to this date present evidence and research indicates a blank for about 400 years, and then emerge the traces of an earlier culture of which little is known other than its existence. The First Dynasty period was Sumerian; that the earlier one was Sumerian, proto-Sumerian or pre-Sumerian, is not yet established. Anthropological evidence indicates that it was Sumerian or at least closely akin. The other evidence is that afforded by the fragments of the famous early painted pottery which threads its way back through these early pages of time and seems to indicate the existence of a very widespread primitive culture extending from the shores of the Mediterranean to the borders of India. That this early culture was continuous down to historic times, and that the gap existing, or indicated, at Al Ubaid is purely local, seems conclusively proved.

The high standard of craftsmanship of the First Dynastic period would appear to have entailed a longer period of evolution than that allowed between the two periods at Al Ubaid. It may be that the early period represents the standard of life outside the close influence of the towns, and the process of development of this craftsmanship is most likely to be discovered in other sites in Mesopotamia.

In his chapter on the reconstruction of the temple Mr. Woolley starts by apologizing for his temerity in expressing his imagination, then step by step and brick by brick he reconstructs the ancient shrine in such a convincing manner that his apologies are clearly proved unnecessary. His arguments are extremely sane, his deductions sound, and in his reconstruction of the flower motifs the lay reader is certain to agree with him rather than with Dr. Hall.

Mr. Gadd rather laments the scantiness of the inscriptions, but emphasizes

the great importance of such as have been found. A hitherto unknown king has been discovered and, by establishing the First Dynasty of Ur as an historical reality, additional light has been thrown on the early history of our civilization.

Sir Arthur Keith's deductions are of great interest in that the fact is now established that the people of Mesopotamia in the fourth millennium B.C. and the Mesopotamian Arab of today are from the same original stock. The human remains show that the types discovered and the types existing today represent a transition type between Iranian and Semitic stocks, and what is still more important, that they fulfil the anthropologist's ideal of the pioneers of our civilization.

The publication is liberally illustrated by means of photographs and drawings. Mr. Woolley uses the metric system throughout for all his dimensions; Dr. Hall gives both metres and feet, an undoubted boon to those who cannot visualize comfortably in centimetres.

J. M. W.

A PERSIAN CARAVAN. By A. Cecil Edwards. 9 × 6. Pp. 166. Illustrations. London: Duckworth. 1928. 8s. 6d.

Mr. Cecil Edwards has resided in Persia for many years, in touch with all classes from the Governor to the beggar. He belongs to that small but select band of Europeans who understand Persian mentality, and he wields a discriminating but yet sympathetic pen.

His stories prove these qualities. In one he deals with the overwhelming importance of water, which cannot be grasped by dwellers in rainy Europe.

A traveller had ridden for thirteen days from Yezd, set in a desert of sand across a barren country to Kashan, without seeing a running brook and scarcely a tree to break the monotony. On being welcomed at Kashan, he expressed his feelings to his host, who hastened to show him a garden where he "pointed to a little stream no bigger than a man's arm" and said: "Sahib, in the whole of Feranghistan (Europe), tell me, is there a stream of water equal to this stream of water?"

Another story is told of an engineer who was instructed to cut a straight avenue through a city, but found that it would pass through the shrine of a Saint, who was deeply venerated. Being a man of resource, he dreamed a dream in which the Saint ordered him to find him a quieter resting-place. He invited some of the religious leaders to a meeting and pointed out that if the dream could be dreamed by them also, there was an ideal site for a new shrine close to the chief mosque, and that pilgrimages to it would be a source of revenue. He added that the Governor would defray the cost of "a new and elegant shrine with a dome of blue tile work." The chief *Mulla*, whose title was the Eye-of-Wisdom, nodded sagely in acquiescence.

Mr. Edwards does not confine himself to Persians only, for he tells good stories in which Europeans play the leading rôles. Indeed, every story is a good story, and we hope that he may be induced to give us more of these delightful tales.

P. M. SYKES.

GENGHIS KHAN, EMPEROR OF ALL MEN. By Harold Lamb. 9 × 6. Pp. 287. Illustrations. London: Thornton Butterworth. 1928. 10s. 6d.

"The annals relate that a certain Jenghiz Khan invaded the town." This sentence from a recent book of travel in Central Asia shows that a popular work of this kind meets a real need. Mr. Lamb belongs to the school of the late M. Cahun, and, like the latter, aims at reproducing the atmosphere of the steppes and presenting his hero in his own environment. The result is a lively and stimulating work, which unites in a curious manner the methods of

the novel and of the historical narrative, and should prove of value in introducing the general reader to Central Asian history. Whether Mr. Lamb has been successful in elucidating the "mystery" of Chingiz Khan, in explaining "the power of one man to alter human civilization," is more doubtful. To be told that "he took from the world what he wanted for his sons and other people. He did this by war, because he knew no other means. What he did not want he destroyed, because he did not know what else to do with it" leaves us much where we were. The only serious criticism, however, to be levelled against author and publisher (apart from the wretched quality of the binding), arises out of the extravagant claim that this "monograph" is "both a thrilling romance and soundly documented history," backed up by a great parade of notes and bibliography. It may be left to the historian to draw up a full indictment; here it is sufficient to refer to the brilliant and detailed description given on pages 129 to 132 of a battle which never took place. The student of history will thank Mr. Lamb for the colour and seek his facts elsewhere.

H. A. R. GIBB.

FIFTY YEARS IN A CHANGING WORLD. By Sir Valentine Chirol. London: Jonathan Cape. 1927. Price 16s. net.

Sir Valentine Chirol claims, with justice, to have lived in a period during which immense and immensely rapid changes have taken place all over the world, and during that time to have seen a good deal of history in the making, and to have been brought into personal and intimate contact with a good many of those who are making it. In this book he happily combines history and autobiography. In a series of essays, each dealing with a particular country or group of countries, he describes some of the most momentous of the changes which have taken place during his lifetime, and he illustrates the changes by some account of his own personal experiences while travelling or residing in the country or countries he is describing.

The author is exceptionally qualified to write on the recent history of Europe and the East. He was educated in France and Germany, and is as much at home in French and German as in English. Then, after four years' apprenticeship in the Foreign Office, he took to travel and journalism. Between 1876 and 1892 he spent long periods in travelling and residing in Egypt, Syria, the Balkans and Turkey, and he also visited Persia. From 1892 to 1897 he was *The Times* Correspondent in Berlin, and from 1897 to 1912 Foreign Editor of *The Times*. While employed by *The Times*, and subsequent to that period, he undertook many missions to foreign countries, either for *The Times* or for the Government. He was a frequent visitor to Egypt. Between 1895 and 1905 he visited China and Japan four times, and saw the rise of Japan and the beginnings of the revolution in China. He has visited India seventeen times, was a member of the Royal Commission upon the Indian Public Services, and altogether has spent between six and seven years in India. During the war he was sent by the Government on a mission to the Balkans, with a view to attempting to bring those States into the war on the Allies' side.

Sir Valentine Chirol has produced a book which is not only interesting and entertaining, but which is a valuable contribution to the history of the times. He writes with a knowledge such as few men—perhaps no other man—can equal, a knowledge often gained from behind the scenes. And as would be expected from his career and the extent of his travels, he brings to bear on the events occurring in any particular country an outlook not confined to experience gained in that country, but based on a personal knowledge of similar events in

a much wider field. This wideness of outlook is one of the main merits of his descriptions of the ideas and influences which have of recent years so greatly transformed the East. Though many of the events which are described are still the subject of controversy, the facts are selected and presented with impartiality, and the deductions from such facts are drawn with fairness and sanity.

The ordinary reader will probably turn with most interest to the chapters which deal with France and Germany. In Chapter I. the author describes how as a boy he saw "the German Armies make their victorious entry into Paris on March 1, 1871, under the Arc de Triomphe to the Place de la Concorde, and bivouac for two days on the Champs Elysées as on a field of battle, in the grimly silent solitude with which the vanquished capital encompassed them." And this is followed by a dramatic account of the Paris Commune, Chirol having been present as an eye-witness at some of the most thrilling episodes of that sordid drama.

Forty-nine years later Sir Valentine Chirol was again in Paris during the Paris Peace Conference, and the book ends appropriately with an account, amusing in its incidents, though melancholy in its conclusion, of the negotiations which then took place, and of the personalities which were engaged in them. If he is unable to look back on many of the results of the feverish activity of those negotiations with much pride or satisfaction, he believes that the Covenant of the League of Nations may yet mark a great turning-point in the history of the world.

Chapters XX. and XXI. describe the relations of Germany to England from the early days of William II. down to the outbreak of the Great War, as Sir Valentine saw them first as *The Times* Correspondent in Berlin, and subsequently from his desk in Printing House Square. The account is specially valuable, owing to Sir Valentine's intimacy with several German officials who had a part in the direction of German policy, and particularly with Holstein, the Permanent Secretary at the Foreign Office. His appreciation of that strange character is more favourable than that which has been given by Herr Emil Ludwig in his "Kaiser Wilhelm II."

When in 1892 Chirol took up his residence at Berlin, he had no distrust of German foreign policy: but there gradually grew upon him a profound distrust of the Kaiser on account of the instability and intemperance of his character and of the servility of the entourage which surrounded him. Slowly, also, there grew on Chirol a deep distrust of Germany's foreign policy, and not in the least in connection with its relations to Great Britain. He made it his business to watch and report accurately the real trend and purpose of German policy, while remaining scrupulously careful not to stimulate ill-feeling in either country. His success in carrying out this policy is evidenced by a "very secret" document written by Prince Bülow in 1899, when he was Foreign Secretary, which was published by the German Government after the war.

"On the whole," Prince Bülow wrote, "it is certain that opinion in England is far less anti-German than opinion in Germany is anti-English. Therefore those Englishmen like Chirol and Saunders are most dangerous to us, who know from their own observation the depth and bitterness of German antipathy against England."

Thanks to his close touch with German Foreign Office officials, Sir Valentine Chirol is able to throw light on the policy of the German Foreign Office towards Great Britain, and the accounts he gives of interviews with German Foreign Office officials in connection with the Emperor's famous telegram to Kruger, the interview between the Emperor and Lord Salisbury at Cowes, and the conversa-

tions which took place in 1901 between Eckhardstein and British Ministers, are illuminating.

If the chapters on France and Germany make the strongest appeal to the ordinary reader, subscribers to this Journal are likely to find the principal interest of the book in those chapters which deal with what "used to be called the Unchanging East," and in which Sir Valentine describes "the growth, sometimes almost from their birth, of the new and incalculable forces, which, though evolved under the masterful impact of the West, are already challenging the white man's claim to the appointed overlordship of the coloured races of the earth."

The growth of nationalism and the development of political consciousness is traced in Turkey and its dependencies, in the Balkans, in Egypt, in India, in Japan, and in China, and the political changes in Persia are not omitted. The author, thanks to his extensive knowledge of all these countries, is able to correlate the movement as it manifested itself in each of these countries with the similar movements in the others, and to trace the influence which political events in one part of the East have had on other parts.

With regard to Japan, he writes :

"No other change which has taken place within my lifetime is to my mind so wonderful and so momentous as the transformation of Japan within little more than two generations from Asiatic medievalism into a state outwardly modelled on Western civilization, and largely imbued with its spirit, and yet able to preserve many of the best qualities of its own virile civilization."

Sir Valentine Chirol points out that the significance of Japan's victory over Russia, a great European Power, sent a thrill of racial pride throughout Asia. That statement is no exaggeration. The success of Japan over Russia, more than any other event before the Great War, gave a strong impulse to the Nationalist movements in all Oriental countries, whether in Asia or outside Asia. As the writer of this article observed at the time, its influence extended to Egypt and Turkey.

If Japan's success over Russia fanned the flame of the Nationalist and anti-foreign movements throughout the East, the Great War stirred the fire into a conflagration. The declarations of the Allies that they were fighting for the freedom of the small Powers, President Wilson's doctrine of self-determination, doubts as to the issue of the war, the hardships it caused even in countries which were not within its ambit, the economic crisis which followed it, and the mistakes and errors of the Governments of the Allies and of the administrators who represented them—all added fuel to the flame.

But when Sir Valentine Chirol first visited the East, the Nationalist movement was of little moment, except in Japan and for stirrings in India. And his description of the conditions which he then found in Egypt and Syria, in European Turkey and Anatolia, in Persia and China, is both instructive and amusing. At a time when those conditions are beginning to be forgotten, and are not infrequently misrepresented, the contemporary observations of a trained observer have a permanent historical value.

Chapters II., III., and IV. deal with Egypt. The misgovernment and bankruptcy of that country under the rule of Ismail, its regeneration by Lord Cromer, and the rise and growth of Nationalism are sketched with a sure but light hand. The author is a sincere admirer of Lord Cromer. And his appreciation of his character and work will be welcomed by all who have regard for the reputation of a great Englishman, in view of the baseless misrepresentations which have been given wide publicity by Lytton Strachey's Eminent Victorians.

In his description of Egypt, Sir Valentine Chirol is on much-trodden ground. He passes to a less familiar field in the account which he gives in Chapter V. of "Syria," as he saw it in 1879, at a time when, owing to the recent British occupation of Cyprus, British prestige stood high in the neighbouring Turkish Provinces. It happened that a rising by the Druses against the Turkish Government on account of certain grievances became imminent, and Sir Valentine Chirol relates how he carried a verbal message from the British Consul-General, G. F. Eldridge, to the Druse headquarters on Mount Hermon, advising them on no account to stir or give the slightest provocation to their enemies. The message was delivered, and the Chiefs, relying on the Englishman's word, sent back their followers, who were already mobilizing, to their homes. The crisis was averted, and, owing to the representations of the British Consul-General, the grievances were subsequently remedied by the Turkish authorities.

Sir Valentine spent two years in Turkey in 1880 and 1881, and in Chapters VI. and VII. gives a most interesting account of the conditions which then existed in Asiatic and European Turkey. During these two years, "two things happened that were fraught with big consequences. One was the first step taken by Abdul Hamid in the development of his Pan-Islamic policy; the other was the beginning of German penetration into Turkey with the arrival of the German military mission to reorganize the Turkish Army."

Sir Valentine then passes to the revolution of 1908 and to the deposition of Abdul Hamid by the Committee of Union and Progress, and ends with a short but discerning account of the present republic under Mustapha Kemal. In conclusion, he writes: "The dead Ottoman Empire will be mourned by few who have seen so much as I happen to have done." While most Englishmen who knew the old Turkish Government will agree with this statement, they will probably take a more hopeful view of the future of the Turkish race than that which the author expresses.

The subject of Chapter VIII. is the contrasting characters and dramatic histories of the two first rulers of Bulgaria, Prince Alexander of Battenberg and King Ferdinand. Sir Valentine Chirol was on intimate terms with the former, whom he greatly admired; he accompanied him on his journey from Bulgaria, when he resigned his throne, and is able to reproduce almost in his own words the explanation which he then gave of his decision, an explanation entirely creditable to the patriotism of that chivalrous Prince. In the course of an interview granted to Chirol, King Ferdinand with his habitual cynicism contrasted his own character with that of his predecessor. Chirol had suggested that the greatest qualities of Prince Alexander were "*des qualités de cœur plutôt que de tête.*" Prince Ferdinand, who was toying all the time with some precious stones, which he held caressingly in his hand, looked Chirol straight in the face and speaking for once the truth, remarked dryly: "*Eh bien, Monsieur, l'histoire ne dira pas cela de moi.*"

The author's knowledge of Persia is not so intimate as in the case of the other Eastern countries which he describes, but he has paid four visits to that country and has travelled through it from north to south. He tells the story, worthy of Haji Baba, of how in 1884 he carried a Nordenfeldt machine gun to Teheran, in order to present it to the Shah, and how he returned it to England unrepresented, finding that "the road for it to the Palace would have to be paved with gold tomans to satisfy the greed of a whole chain of officials, great and small." When he revisited the country in 1902 the former British ascendancy had been completely superseded by Russian ascendancy. The next year he accompanied Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India, in a voyage up the Persian

Gulf. Curzon had planned to land at Bushire and receive an official reception, but, thanks to Russian diplomacy, instructions were sent from Teheran that Curzon's status as Viceroy could not be recognized on Persian soil, and he returned to India without setting foot at Bushire, intensely mortified at the rebuff. But this did not prevent him from submitting himself later to a more serious rebuff at the hands of the Persian Government. For when at the Foreign Office in 1920, he was responsible for the abortive Anglo-Persian Agreement, which attempted to put the clock back to the old days of British ascendancy in Persia. The attempt was an impossible one in view of the arrival of Bolshevist forces on Persian soil and the evacuation of that country by the British troops.

No part of the book is of greater interest at the present time than the chapters on China and Japan. When Chirol first visited these countries in 1905 shortly after the Japanese and Chinese war, the contrast between the two countries was striking. China showed little sign of change, either politically or socially, from its traditional attitude of lordly satisfaction with its own civilization and of aloofness from any new or foreign ideas. Japan in little more than two generations had already assimilated so much of Western knowledge and efficiency as to justify its claims to take rank amongst the modern nations of the world. The Government of the Empress of China was so weak that change was inevitable. The seizure by the Powers of the Leased Territories in 1895, and the suppression by International Forces of the Boxer Rising in 1900, both eventually increased the strength of the revolutionary movement. Chirol visited Peking in 1901, when it was occupied by the International Forces, and describes the destruction of the city wrought by the Boxers and the overbearing methods and "Hunnish frightfulness" of the German forces. He recalls a conversation with Count Ito on the significance of the Boxer revolt. The Japanese statesman expressed the most serious doubts as to the wisdom of the policy of the Powers in suppressing the Boxer rising and bolstering up the Dowager Empress. He believed the day would come when China would reap the whirlwind which the Empress had sown, and not China alone, but the Foreign Powers who would have to pay for their further reprieve of a worthless dynasty. Sir Valentine Chirol briefly sketches the events by which this prognostication has been fulfilled.

In the three chapters devoted to India Sir Valentine Chirol limits himself in the main to the record of his personal experiences in that country, having regard to his recently published work on India, which describes its recent history and analyzes the present political conditions. But he has much of interest to relate as to the events which have led up to the present state of affairs, and as to many of the personalities who have been concerned with those events. Amongst the matters which he touches on may be mentioned the Ilbert Bill, the First Meeting of Congress, the Imperial Durbar of 1903, the controversy between Curzon and Kitchener over the reorganization of the higher administration of the Indian Army, the Bengal Partition, Lord Morley's tenure of office as Secretary of State for India, new Delhi, the action for libel brought against Chirol by Tilak, the Nationalist agitation after the war, General Dyer's action at Amritsar, and the new Indian Legislature. He writes with a knowledge gained from a wide experience and close study of Indian conditions, and with a genuine, though not blind, sympathy for Nationalist aspirations.

The book is enlivened by numerous brilliantly written sketches of personalities whom the author has known or met, and who have played an important part in the history of their times, or who, without being historically important, are remarkable on account of their characters or careers. The following is a selection: the Khedive Ismail, Cromer, Gordon, Nubar Pasha, Lawrence

Oliphant, Mrs. Digby, Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, King Ferdinand, Zill-Es-Sultan, Li Hung Chang, Lo Fieng Luh, Roosevelt, Curzon, Gokhale, Gandhi, and Holstein.

No one who is interested in the East can fail to find both instruction and entertainment in reading this book, and while much of it is in a light vein, it contains matter of permanent historical value. It should be read by every Englishman who, whether as an administrator or a business man or in any other capacity, has to deal with Oriental races.

E. B. C.

CHINA AND ENGLAND. By W. E. Soothill. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$. Pp. 228. Oxford University Press. London: Milford. 7s. 6d.

Dr. Soothill's book is an effective answer to the misstatements which were current in Great Britain after the unfortunate shooting of Chinese students and other rioters at Shanghai in May, 1925, to the effect that Chinese labourers were being shamelessly exploited by British capitalists, and that the existence of the Foreign Settlements and Concessions was impeding the development by the Chinese of their own country. Mr. Lloyd George and others made grossly inaccurate statements about China's wrongs. The analysis of the present position of extra-territoriality and of the effect upon the Chinese of the industrial revolution which is now in progress is particularly useful.

As Dr. Soothill says, to "understand the present it is necessary to know the past." His sketch of the political relations between China and Great Britain is necessarily condensed, but the omission of any reference to some events of importance and the statement that Captain Elliot's refusal in 1834 to allow Mr. Dent to be taken into the city unaccompanied by him and without a guarantee for his return was "the beginning of the changed relationship between the two countries" is calculated to create the impression that until that year the British submitted tamely to the indignities which were heaped upon them by the Chinese. This was, however, not the case. The Court of Directors, who depended upon the profits of their monopoly for dividends, were certainly very pacific, though on one or two occasions even they indulged in some bluster. But their servants at Canton and other British subjects, conscious of Chinese weakness and influenced by the knowledge that their countrymen were at this time creating a mighty Oriental Empire, were at times decidedly aggressive. As the Viceroy of Canton once reported to Peking, the other foreigners were only a "little perverse," but the English were "exceedingly fierce and unruly." Until 1817 the opium question did not affect the relations between the two countries, but serious friction occurred from other causes. On two occasions—when the British tried in 1812 to occupy Macao to prevent its occupation by the French and when the Chinese refused permission in 1816 to the frigate, which was sent to convey Lord Amherst to India, to proceed up the Canton river—actual hostilities resulted. The friction that occurred in 1814 is referred to by Dr. Soothill; but in 1829-32 the action of the chief supercargo, who brought his wife with him to Canton, and the attempted construction of a garden in front of the Company's factory, after permission to construct it had been refused, also caused serious friction. The two countries were steadily drifting into a quarrel when the development of the opium trade exhausted Chinese patience and brought about the collision. The missionaries helped to embitter the quarrel. Messrs. Gutzlaff and Medhurst, determined, as Mr. Medhurst said, to break no law except that which forbade the propagation of the Gospel in a heathen country, sailed up the coast as far as Shanghai and distributed tracts. Foreign

commerce was restricted to the port of Canton and the preaching of Christianity was strictly prohibited, and from the Chinese point of view the action of the missionaries was a serious outrage. The missions sent to Fukien to study the tea industry were also a direct defiance of the Chinese Government.

The account given of the opium trade, which is apparently based upon Mr. Medhurst's book, is incomplete and inaccurate. Dr. Soothill talks of the East India Company ceasing to trade; but except on one occasion in 1782, when Warren Hastings sent a ship with opium to China (a transaction which formed one of the articles of his impeachment), the Company did not trade directly in opium. They assumed in 1773 a monopoly of the production of opium in Bengal and Bihar, and of its sale at Calcutta for export to the Malay Archipelago and China; but they did not materially increase the quantity of opium which was exported from India when they assumed the monopoly until they were compelled to do so to meet the competition of opium produced in the semi-independent States in Central India, and exported to China from the Portuguese ports on the west coast of India, a trade which they had tried ineffectually to suppress. Opium was contraband at Canton, as it was not one of the articles of which barter was permitted; but its importation was not formally prohibited until 1799 in the reign of Kiaking. I found the prohibitory edict in the manuscript correspondence of the Company at the India Office, and its wording shows that there was no previous prohibition. I think also that it is somewhat misleading to say that the smoking of opium "was less than three centuries old." The habit of smoking an extract of pure opium (*chandu*) appears to be a comparatively recent invention, and the invention by the Chinese of this habit was the cause of the great increase in the demand for opium in China which arose at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was this increase which appears to have led to the issue of the prohibitory edict. The edict of 1729, to which Dr. Soothill refers, appears to have applied to Formosa only. The habit of smoking *madat* or *madak* (leaves steeped in opium) was prevalent in Java at an earlier period, and may have followed the Dutch to Formosa. It was not until 1832-33, when the withdrawal of the Company's monopoly was in contemplation, and their authority over their countrymen was weakened, that the opium trade became a serious problem. The introduction of free trade with China in 1834 and the opportunities which it afforded to adventurous and lawless men, combined with the great increase in the quantity of Indian opium imported, turned the balance of trade against China, and led to the export of sycee silver, and this and the lawless conduct of some of the free traders impelled the Chinese to use force. The High Commissioner, Lin, was sent to Canton not merely to suppress the opium trade, but also to punish the English for their persistent contumacy, and his proceedings made war inevitable.

The Chinese were worsted in the war of 1839-42 but were not cowed; and until the further war of 1856-60 they would not concede to the English equality of treatment. It was the determination of the English to obtain this that led to this war. The incident of the "Arrow" merely provided Parkes and Palmerston with their opportunity. As the Chinese obstinately refused to treat foreigners as equals or to enter into any negotiations, their responsibility for these wars was at least as great as that of the British, though some of the British free traders undoubtedly behaved very badly. As Dr. Soothill well says, since the second war "the chief faults of the British have been rather those of omission than of commission"; and in spite of Sun Yat-sen's rancorous hostility the respect which has been entertained by the Chinese for the British for many years appears to be returning. Dr. Soothill's exposition of the fatuous character of Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles is interesting. An exposition in Chinese of Sun's

errors of fact would do much good, as the Chinese are amenable to the influence of the written word.

As regards extra-territoriality Dr. Soothill's recital of the objections to Chinese Criminal Law and Procedure is impressive, but the case for the foreigner is even stronger than he makes it to be. He says that "the demand was not at first willingly conceded," but this is only partly correct. In homicide cases the Chinese were always determined to insist on their law of a life for a life: but in an Imperial edict, issued in connection with the case of 1807 to which Dr. Soothill refers, the Canton authorities were ordered in all cases, except those of homicide, to make over a foreign offender to the chief of his own country for trial and punishment. In homicide cases it was made clear that a life for a life was to be exacted. Apart from the fact that it was impossible for a foreigner to get a fair trial, the Chinese law of homicide was so unjust that extra-territoriality had to be insisted on. No right of self-defence was recognized in the Manchu penal code, the only concession made to an attacked person who killed his assailant being that he was strangled instead of being decapitated. As Dr. Soothill says, the establishment of mixed courts with Chinese and foreign judges, acting conjointly, for the trial of offences in which British subjects are concerned, appears to be the utmost limit of concession in this matter that can safely be agreed to.

As regards the Maritime Customs the Chinese have a better case than Dr. Soothill admits. Before the Revolution of 1911 the Foreign Commissioners of Customs did not collect the duty, and the revenue collected was handled by Chinese officials. There was no default under this arrangement in payment of the interest on foreign loans or of the instalments of the Boxer indemnity; and the Chinese desire to revert to this arrangement as soon as a Government capable of enforcing its authority is established in China will have to be seriously considered. The arrangements made in 1911 were not intended to be permanent.

I cannot agree also that an increase of the tariff will not benefit the Chinese. It is doubtful if the contributions formerly made by the Provincial Governments will ever be renewed on anything like the former scale, and unless the Central Government is provided with funds for administrative purposes in a proper way it will have to find them in some improper way.

The future is uncertain, though the general situation in China appears to have improved. Dr. Soothill hopes that it may be possible for Great Britain and America to harmonize their policies and "to put China in the way of healing" by supplying men whose friendship, advice, and mediation would be valued. But as long as Americans hold the views referred to by Dr. Soothill on page 68 of his book, such harmony will be difficult to obtain, and I am disposed to think that the improvement in the situation, so far as the British are concerned, is partly due to the fact that since the failure of the Tariff Conference H.B.M.'s Government has taken its own line. Advisers and mediators must be selected by the Chinese themselves. Men planted on them by a foreign Government will have no influence. All well-wishers of China must, however, hope that the Chinese will avail themselves of foreign co-operation and assistance.

R. M. DANE.

GREECE. By William Miller. Pp. 340. Ernest Benn, Ltd. 15s.

Dr. William Miller's "Ottoman Empire and its Successors" (new edition—brought up to date) was recently reviewed in these columns. Now "Greece," by the same scholarly author, presents an equally accurate and well-informed

chronicle of that small nation's vicissitudes in the last hundred years and its position today.

From being a more or less negligible quantity less than twenty years ago, the Hellenic Republic now occupies a place quite in the forefront of the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean world. As has been before remarked, the numerous internal political interruptions leave the body of the nation cold, and with the help of the large increment of refugees and their enterprise, Greece now forms a homogeneous and busy nation. So much outside capital has been linked up in Greece with international loans and enterprises that it is difficult to think the stability of the country and its freedom from external complications is not now to a great extent assured.

Dr. Miller, after tracing the various influences which brought forth the independence and the establishment of the initial Monarchy, gives a concise historical retrospect of the events down to the present day, and then devotes chapters to the different subjects of current internal and external affairs. He comments upon these very appositely. To show what Greece has attained, the author quotes statistics to prove that "every successive expansion has provided fresh elements of strength and wealth"; cultivation has enormously increased, while the Piræus now outrivals Constantinople, Salonica, or Smyrna. Drainage and reclamation schemes are now in force, and the crying need of the improvement of the water-supply is being vigorously prosecuted, this in addition to better communications and facilities for movement. The Budget has been balanced and the drachma stabilized.

In regard to external relations, the close ties and friendliness with Great Britain and the British are emphasized, and many instances are given to prove this. But, as usual, one notices the lack of any British propaganda, while the high rate of exchange militates against the purchase of large quantities of British goods. Dr. Miller laments the financial neglect of our School of Archæology, in comparison, say, with the American support to theirs; but here he perhaps forgets for the moment the tremendous financial obligations which our country has to submit to at the present time.

The two most important aspects of foreign relations for Greece at the moment are perhaps those with Italy and Jugo-Slavia, and these are appropriately dealt with. Dr. Miller's learnings are, of course, not with Italy, and it must be conceded that he has a good point to show in respect to the Italian treatment of the Dodecanese question, islands which the Italians have twice promised to evacuate. He is not on firm ground, however, when comparing this question with that of Cyprus, which he does, and when he terms Cyprus as "unredeemed." This island had never been "Greek," and the Cypriotes are not "Greek." The fallacies in connection therewith have been frequently exposed, and authoritative pronouncements made moreover that the question is closed.

As to ugo-Slavia, the position is not too easy, and Dr. Miller concludes that the safest policy for Greece is to hold aloof from any definite combination either with Rome or Belgrade.

Before concluding this brief notice of a most interesting book, one quotation must be made from the author's chapter on "Who's Who" in Athens. In dealing with General Metaxas, the "moderate" Royalist leader and sub-chief of the General Staff in the early stages of the War, he quotes a "Dardenelles" incident.

The Greek Government had ordered General Metaxas to draw up a plan for the capture of the Dardanelles, based upon excellent information, which the British were not in a position to acquire for themselves. This plan was sent to

the British military authorities, who, with deplorable stupidity and tactlessness, returned the envelope unopened.

The present reviewer can bear out this statement in its general sense, because he was the individual who interviewed General Metaxas' chief, General Dousmanis, at the time. General Metaxas likewise predicted with absolute accuracy, before the event, the fate which awaited the Rumanians when they entered the War at the time chosen.

It would have been perhaps better if Dr. Miller had added a map to his book, while the fact that there is no Baedeker upon Greece since 1909 seems to require the services of some enterprising individual to rectify the omission. Thousands of tourists now visit Greece every season.

F. C-O.

POEMS FROM THE DIVAN OF HAFIZ. Translated by Gertrude L. Bell. Heinemann.

This selection from the poems of Hafiz was first published in 1897, when the authoress was in her twenties. The second edition has just been produced.

On several occasions it was my good fortune to find Gertrude Bell in the mood to discuss the books she had written. I most thoroughly enjoyed her criticisms of her own works, and I know that she loved to discuss their merits and point out what, in her eyes, were their faults and weaknesses. Her naturally balanced nature was equally devoid of mock modesty and conceit, and I am sure that the best critic of her works was Gertrude Bell herself. "Amurath to Amurath" was her favourite, though she considered her work on Ukhaider of greater importance.

It is strange, therefore, that she never discussed her poetry with me. Two reasons may have influenced her: She may have thought that I would not appreciate or understand it; or she may in the years I knew her have felt a reticence, akin to shyness, about her early poetical work. The latter feeling, though a very natural one, would be rather foreign to her nature.

By the average person Gertrude Bell is remembered as the explorer who, after many years of travelling in the deserts of Arabia, turned the full force of her mind and energy on the creation, or re-creation, of an Arab Empire in the Middle East. This later phase of her career has rather overshadowed her early poetical work, and it is most befitting that this poetry should now be republished. Through all her work, even through the self-imposed drudgery of her later labours in Iraq, she retained that poetical spirit which was her early inspiration.

The present volume is admirably prefaced by Sir E. Denison Ross, who illustrates very clearly the three main methods or types of poetical translation, and for purposes of comparison he gives a literal translation of one of the poems. He also asserts that the charm of Persian poetry lies in the music of its language rather than its meaning. This assertion is clearly borne out in the poems; nothing of the narrative exists in them and, to the Western mind at least, they convey only the peculiar music of their words. To the Eastern mind they may convey something of the elusive mystical idealism of the doctrine of Sufism, though Gertrude Bell suspects "that the cupbearer brought him a wine other than that of Divine knowledge, and that his mistress is considerably more than an allegorical figure."

"He wrote," says Gertrude Bell, "of the world as he found it. In his experience pleasure and religion were the two most important incentives to human action; he ignored neither the one nor the other."

The introduction to the poems, which is both historical and analytical, shows clearly the thoroughness with which she studied the poet and his period, particularly, as Sir Denison Ross points out, as no written history of Islamic

Persia existed, and her record had to be compiled from fragmentary records and manuscripts. The notes also display this prodigal expenditure of energy, and show how completely Gertrude Bell carried out any task to which she applied her head, her hand, and her heart.

J. M. W.

MODERN ARABIC SENTENCES ON PRACTICAL SUBJECTS. Compiled by A. T. Sheringham, D.S.O. London: Kegan Paul. 1927. 12s. 6d. net.

The final judgement on this book will depend on the position and point of view of the user. Many a young officer, left to his own resources, with a painfully acquired knowledge of Arabic, and eager for his "Prelim" or Interpreter-ship, will bless Major Sheringham's name. Everyone who has realized the awful blankness to which one may be reduced by a few newspaper squiggles, in spite of a very tolerable acquaintance with Sindbad the Sailor, will be grateful for the hand which gets him there, even if at times it pushes him through the hedge instead of helping him over it. If I, as a teacher, were asked to recommend a book for a student working by himself, I should not hesitate (and in fact have not hesitated) to recommend this one, though at the same time advising him to read it with a competent native scholar. For along with much that is wholly admirable there is much that is open to serious criticism. Major Sheringham has, very rightly and with a large measure of success, preferred idiomatic translations to word-for-word renderings. But from idiomatic translations to free renderings there is only a step, and free renderings mean sooner or later inaccurate renderings. For this reason I should not use this book as a textbook unless in exceptional circumstances. Without (I hope) any pedantic insistence on trifles, in the large sections which I have worked through carefully there are few pages on which I have not marked one or more errors, quite apart from a considerable number of misprints in the Arabic text. Sometimes the errors are comparatively unimportant; many others arise from disregarding conjunctions, with consequent loss of balance and often of sense (there is a startling instance on pp. 163 and 164, where the first half of sentence 341 is a subordinate clause belonging to sentence 340); and in a few cases they reach the length of positive mistranslations, as on p. 58, sentence 66, where "The gravity of these dissensions was increased by the addition of" is rendered, "These contentions are borne out by a consideration of"; and p. 208, sentence 67, where "It is the residence of the principal merchants and has a fully representative municipality" is rendered, "The leading merchants are well-informed." There are two other criticisms of a more general nature which ought to be made. The first concerns the subject matter of the extracts. There is too little variety and too much propaganda. The commercial section especially is very weak. The second concerns the language of the extracts. A great many, if not the majority, are taken from translations of Reuter telegrams and speeches made in England. Any Egyptian will tell you where to find the worst Arabic in the newspapers. Still, even that is high-class compared with the execrable military Arabic of such sentences as No. 27, p. 13. One the whole, however, the book is a step in the right direction, and supplies, even if imperfectly, a growing need.

H. A. R. GIBB.

THE AGE OF THE GODS. A Study in the Origins of Culture in Prehistoric Europe and the Ancient East. By Christopher Dawson. John Murray. 18s.

This work sets out to survey in a highly synthetic form the results of researches into the civilizations of the Ancient East and the cultural development of prehistoric Europe. The object thus aimed at is successfully attained;

the main contentions are stated with admirable clearness and moderation, and are fully documented. The author lays especial stress on the falseness of the nationalist conception of history, and on the advantage involved in the recognition of the cultural traditions common to the peoples of Europe and of nearer Asia. The racial element, important as it is, is not the decisive factor in the human drama. There are, from the first appearance of the modern type of humanity in the later Palæolithic period, no pure races, only regional types, which are the products of social and cultural influences. All changes of culture are themselves due to the fusion of races. Thus primitive culture is intimately bound up with primitive religion, and the latter is as old as human consciousness. The book has especial interest for those interested in Asiatic studies, since the author accepts the belief in Asia as the cradle of the human race, however scanty our present knowledge of Palæolithic development in that continent may be. The higher culture rose in the Middle East, and the first historical people with whom it is associated are the Sumerians, whose original habitat was probably in the mountainous region east of the Persian Gulf. The author points out the close connection between the Sumerian culture and that recently discovered in the Indus valley; and his conclusions are fortified by the type of the human remains discovered since his book was written at Mohan-jodaro in Sind. On this foundation was built the later Indo-Aryan culture of India, which, as the author points out, has been too readily ascribed both by Europeans and by the dominant castes in India to the later fair-skinned invaders from the North. Western Asia, and in particular Anatolia, was also responsible for the cult of the Mother Goddess. Many traces of this religion may yet be found in Europe, but it is only in India, and more particularly in the regions least affected by the Aryan invasions, that it remains a living and a powerful force. The shrines of the goddess were the germs of the cities, and thus the temple estates provided the foundation for the archaic culture of Western Asia. The Sumerians were the true creators of the city state, and it may well be assumed that from them the conception spread eastward to India, and even to Cambodia and Java, if not to the Pacific; and westward by the aid of the Phœnicians, and, by a later derivation, through the Myceneans and Etruscans to Greece and Rome. In India alone, as with the cult of the Mother Goddess, has the sacred city persisted to the present day. The Sumerian state was pure theocracy, and, even when it fell to the Semitic dynasties of Babylon, there was no break in the continuity of Mesopotamian culture. As the author says, the Sumerians and the Babylonians were the schoolmasters of the ancient world. Civilization in Europe derives its origins partly from the tradition of a peasant culture in Central Europe, but also, and more particularly, from the metal-using culture of the Mediterranean, the decisive factor in whose dissemination was the influence of sea-power. The author passes no final opinion on the origin of the Megalithic culture, though he evidently prefers an Arabian to a Libyan source. He lays stress on the essentially pacific nature of the archaic civilization, which reached its highest point in the third millennium B.C. Warfare was obviously not unknown, but it was occasional and rudimentary. There was no military caste, and even great organized states, such as Egypt of the Old Kingdom, were essentially unwarlike. The coming of the warrior peoples—that is, the Indo-European invaders—permanently changed this condition. The author's view that the taming of the horse was the invention that revolutionized the art of warfare may not be generally accepted, though it is agreed that many of the Indo-European races were closely associated with horse management. The author accepts the view that these invaders were essentially Nordic, and had their origin probably in the centre or north of Europe. He points out, however,

that the Aryans advanced swiftly as victorious warriors, and did not destroy the culture of the peoples whom they conquered. They assimilated it, and were, indeed, profoundly affected by its influence. The Asiatic-Libyan culture of the Mycenaean Age fell before the Achæans, and they in turn were overcome by another and more barbarous Hellenic race in the Dorians. But the rise of classical civilization was largely a renaissance of Ægean culture, and the city state, the most original creation of Greek genius, was due to a combination of the Asiatic sacred city with the tribal feeling of the Aryan warrior. Similarly, if we accept, with the author, the Asiatic origin of the Etruscans, the Roman state was due to the fusion of the Etruscan city conception and the Italic peasant community. Immense, however, as were the achievements of the Assyrian and Persian Empires, the Greek cities, and even the Roman Republic, they were all by comparison short-lived. They represented transitional stages between the archaic theocracy of the East and the world religions, Byzantine, Islamic, and mediæval Christian, which succeeded them.

The author's conclusions may not obtain universal acceptance, but the clarity of their enunciation deserves the highest commendation.

P. R. C.

ASIA RE-BORN. By Marguerite Harrison. 1928. 15s.

Reference to Hansard for 1924 (p. 874) and for 1925 (pp. 1298 and 1846) shows that the author, Mrs. Marguerite Harrison, made her first public appearance in Asia as Secret Service Agent of the United States of America in Moscow, where, according to statements made in the House of Commons, she falsely denounced as a spy a British subject, Mrs. Stan Harding, who was, in consequence, imprisoned in circumstances which involved the loss of her health and much suffering. The Soviet Government, in reply to representations made by the British Government, described Mrs. Harrison as a Soviet informer, and awarded £3,000 compensation to Mrs. Stan Harding.

With these facts in mind, the reviewer was not surprised to find that the authoress is imbued, like her predecessor and countryman, Upton Close, whose book, "The Revolt of Asia," was reviewed in these pages last October, with an ingrained hatred of Great Britain and her allies, and an equally ardent affection for Lenin and his successors. She finds no difficulty in discovering in the recent history of every country she has visited, or writes of, abundant evidence of British greed and of British perfidy, of Asiatic resentment and Asiatic "re-birth," a process strange to evolution, but beloved by revolutionaries.

The book professes to deal with facts, but no authorities are ever quoted for the various statements made (a large proportion of those within the reviewer's ken being inaccurate or worse), though they are doubtless to be found in the "daily news dispatches" of tendentious correspondents to New York dailies. We learn (p. 114) that Afghanistan, Turkey and Persia form a group sufficiently homogeneous to constitute a bloc. "All their interests would attach them to Russia rather than to any other power. . . . When all is said and done, they understand one another."

The penultimate chapter concludes with the statement that "if the Asiatics accept Bolshevism as a political system, they will transmute the principles laid down by Marx into something more suited to the Asiatic mentality; but the mystic faith of Lenin . . . which points the way towards the fulfilment of what Asia believes to be her destiny, is deep-rooted in the minds of Orientals."

The book is dated from Morocco, which suggests that Mrs. Harrison's presence is perhaps as little welcome today in the United States as in this country.

A. T. WILSON.

ADVENTURES IN ARABIA. By W. B. Seabrook. 9 × 6½. Pp. 312. Illustrations. London: George G. Harrap and Co. 1928. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Seabrook, an enterprising American journalist, whose interests range from *ghrazzu* to voodooism, made a series of visits to the black tents of the Beni Sakhr—those “Bedouens,” whom the Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley and Victoria, her daughter, in the eighteen-fifties described as “fierce and rapacious and much to be feared.” Here, he was an honoured guest of Mitkhal-el-Fayiz, overlord of the tribe, resident at the time in the desert beyond Amman. This would be somewhere about 1924-25. In those days, the big triple-engined machines of Imperial Airways were not coming over the encampment regularly twice a week or oftener, yet, the fortnightly service, Bagdad-Heliopolis, of the R.A.F. could not have passed far away. And then, as the northern trans-desert motor-route, Damascus-Bagdad, became more and more unsafe owing to anti-French feeling on the part of the tribes, the Nairn and other motor people were nosing about in Beni Sakhr country in their endeavours to find a suitable, safe route from Jerusalem to Bagdad. So Mr. Seabrook and his party were not isolated as have been Cheesman, Phillby, and other recent wanderers among the Beduw.

However, that is no drawback. It merely throws on Mr. Seabrook the onus of sustaining the title to his book. Though the life he so vividly describes was full of incident and interest, yet, except for an experience of one small raid, actual adventures seem to have been scarce during his sojourn in the *khaimah* of Mitkhal.

Mr. Seabrook appears to have had a workable knowledge of Arabic and to have been able to collect a mass of information relating to desert custom and ceremonial. We are not prepared to say that he gives us much that is new in this respect, but it is always pleasant to have such recalled to mind, especially as his descriptions are very accurate in their detail. In 1925, Mr. Seabrook, accompanied this time by his wife, paid a visit to Sultan Atrash at Souieda, the Druse capital, which a month later was to be the scene of what developed into a prolonged and arduous siege. Its gallant French garrison barely managed successfully to sustain it. Only those, perhaps, who had some vital interest in the restoration of peace and tranquillity to the Djebel country and to the trans-desert motor-route will appreciate with what anxiety the fortunes of the garrison, shut in and cut off from the relieving columns, was followed.

The author undertakes a difficult task when in the course of a few paragraphs he essays to explain the Druse faith. As he says, the Druse religion is essentially a secret faith. Mr. Seabrook admits, that even when his account of it was translated from *Asia* into Arabic and circulated, it failed to obtain either confirmation or denial. We agree, however, with the author, the pivot is Hakim, sixth Fatimite Caliph, who represents in Druseism the final incarnation, and through whom an ultimate appeal to mankind was made. For six and twenty years the door of mercy stood open and then it was for ever closed, at least, until Hakim, assassinated by Sitt-ul-Mulk, his sister, shall reappear and conquer the world to make supreme the Druse religion. No converts to Druseism are permitted, hence the secrecy of its doctrine. Mr. Seabrook in his description of the cult, which, it is not to be wondered at, is by no means very clear, is, we think, chasing a hare when he allows himself to be diverted by the “golden calf” fetish. Possibly he forgets that the origin of the Druse people lies in Turkoman, Kurdish, Arab, and Yemenite elements.

The author visited the monastery of the Rufai, or Howling Dervishes, of which he furnishes an interesting description. The bibliography on the subject of “those seeking doors” is already very large, and although, again, Mr. Sea-

brook adds nothing very new to our knowledge this section is very readable and entertaining.

Finally, we are taken across the desert to the Mosul area, where we are introduced to the followers of Mir Said Beg—the Yezidis. Rather “a song and dance” is made of a commonplace visit to Sheikh Adi, the principal temple of the Devil Worshipers. Mr. Seabrook notwithstanding, let it suffice here to be said, that should any member of the Central Asian Society desire to visit the temple of the Mysteries and see, at least, the Black Serpent on the wall, all he or she has to do is to take a taxi from Mosul to the Police Post at Baadri, borrow a horse from the ever-courteous and helpful O.C. Police, and ride on comfortably for about an hour or so to Sheikh Adi. As did Mr. Seabrook, he should find the custodian to be the same garrulous old gentleman and just as grateful for a small donation, but, unlike Mr. Seabrook, he need have no real anxiety as to the caverns under the temple. There is nothing in them except the ice-cold stream continued from the spring further up the valley. However, on a hot July day there is no more pleasant resting place in all Iraq than at this temple dedicated to the worship of Melek Taos, the Prince of Devildom.

To sum up, Mr. Seabrook has given us a very readable book of travel. Its title is a trifle misleading, as geographically its substance is concerned as much with Syria as with Arabia. Its “adventures” are not completely convincing, but of scene and story it is full to the brim. The photographs are excellent, and some of the little pen-drawings beautifully done. D. S.

FINDING THE WORTH WHILE IN THE ORIENT. By Lucian Kirtland. 7½" × 5¼".

Pp. xii+462. Illustrations. Messrs. G. Harrap and Co. 1928.

One of the greatest difficulties with which a traveller planning a tour in a new country has to contend is that of trying to discover from the advice thrust upon him by his friends, which are the places he himself will find interesting and enjoyable.

Mr. Kirtland has set himself the task of writing, not a guide-book, but a description of the more well-known places in almost every country from Japan to India, with the best ways of reaching them and the reasons why he considers them “worth while” visiting.

The book is pleasant reading, the more so, perhaps, because it paints the East in very rosy lights. But Mr. Kirtland leaves one with the feeling that whilst he travels in an ideal way himself, with no definite plans and frequent excursions from the beaten track, he rather recommends his readers to follow fixed tours, with everything arranged in advance; and those who prefer independent travel will often wish that Mr. Kirtland had told them more of the less known places which he has evidently visited, and perhaps at times a little more of their history.

So fast is the East changing that already some of Mr. Kirtland's information is out of date. Trains are faster, roads better, and many more places are accessible by car than was the case when he last visited them.

But whatever its merits or its omissions all would-be travellers should read this book because of the excellence of the advice in the first chapter, and for the warning in the last, that “it is infinitely better to go to fewer places and to keep the keen edge of one's enthusiasm, than to see everything in a benumbed state of exhaustion.”

M. M. M.

THE UNCENSORED DARDANELLES. By E. Ashmead-Bartlett. Pp. 286, with twenty-five illustrations and two maps. Hutchinson and Co. Price 21s.

Whatever criticism may be levelled against Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett's latest book, exception cannot be taken to the fact that he has held his hand all through this long time before publishing his war diary and his views on the operations in the Dardanelles. After the war, when the heavy hand of the censorship was finally lifted, there must have been a great temptation for him to have followed the example of other eminent persons who rushed into print and expounded views which, in many cases, in the light of later knowledge they must now regret. Mr. Bartlett has even had the advantage of getting a check on his opinions and, in some measure, of seeing the war from the other side of the hill by, for instance, reading Liman von Sanders' work, to which, from time to time, he rightly expresses his indebtedness.

It will be recalled that in March, 1915, Mr. Bartlett was appointed to represent the Newspaper Proprietors' Association in the forthcoming amphibian operations in the Dardanelles. He was, in point of experience, well qualified to act as a war correspondent, having already seen service as such in the Russo-Japanese War, in Morocco, and in the Balkans. Temperamentally, however, it is evident that he was a difficult man to deal with. His views on the duties of a war correspondent, at least in a national life-and-death struggle, were at variance, eventually, with those held by the superior Staff. Mr. Bartlett is a man of great independence of character and thought, and it is apparent that if he did not agree even with the lines of general strategy he was prepared to say something about it to his employers.

"I shall not," he writes, "attempt to conceal the views I hold. . . . I have held them from the first day I ever joined the Expedition, and I have never changed them since. . . . I shall always believe that our disasters in the field were due to the faulty tactics, and still more faulty strategy, of Sir Ian Hamilton and his advisers. . . . Never, in fact, was a gallant army so miserably mishandled by its chiefs as were the British and Dominion soldiers on Gallipoli. Never was higher price paid for such a complete misunderstanding of a strategical situation. . . ."

And then, again, when Lord Kitchener instructed Sir William Birdwood to look about for a new landing-place at the head of the Gulf of Xeros :

"But it was too late. Sir William Birdwood had to admit that the hour had passed. Had Lord Kitchener insisted upon the landing at Bulair when our reinforcements reached the army in July the whole course of the World War might have been changed."

All through his work and all through his diary Mr. Bartlett is out of sympathy with the plans as attempted. For him, Bulair was the "seat of election" for a landing. All that can be said about it now is that the project will always make an excellent scheme for a war game. As everyone knows, opportunities arose during the Chanak occupation of making a careful reconnaissance of the whole area—Helles, Anzac, and Suvla—and at the close of every conference it was decided that the plan of operations as attempted on April 25 and later on August 6 were practically impossible of success. Von Sanders, as already noted in the pages of this *Journal*, was of that opinion. On the other hand, it is equally well known that most careful consideration was paid by Operations Branch of G.H.Q. to the Bulair position, and it is said that owing partly to naval opposition the plan was turned down. An alternative was a landing on the mainland by all forces at some distance from the entrance to the Straits at a safe base, to be followed by a methodical advance, as was done by the Japanese previous to the investment of Kiao-chao. That plan was, however,

apparently vetoed by Lord Kitchener, who, naturally, at this stage was adamant against embarking on a fresh continental war of enormous magnitude. Mr. Bartlett does not in our view adequately criticize the alternatives. He speaks disparagingly and quite rightly about faulty strategy and of fraction of the essential principles of war when discussing the dispersion of force necessary to make good several landings; but he does not review the situation with that calm, reasoned criticism which after this lapse of time he had such an excellent opportunity of doing. We hold that the whole interest of the campaign now lies in a critical review in the light of the added knowledge at our disposal. The actual story—epic and magnificent as it is—has so often and so well been told that little more remains to be said about it. The official history, however, has yet to appear, and if it is edited by one with a fearless, critical intellect advantage will undoubtedly be taken of the omission which Mr. Bartlett might so readily have filled in. As it is, he is not convincing in his reasoning. He differed violently almost from G.H.Q., and to large extent he leaves it at that.

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The author is anxious that we should not regard his work as a history. That being so, he describes what he saw with his own eyes. For the landing on April 25 he was with the Anzacs, and what he has to say about it has, we think, never been better told. It is beyond words thrilling. Further, his descriptions of the landings and fighting at Helles hardly suffer at all from his not having been a participant; for he has that capacity, the mark of a trained journalist, of picking out the essentials and retailing the story infinitely fresh to his readers. He can set the scene, too. Here is his pen-picture of Achi Baba:

“Achi Baba, the mountain—if such it can be called—has a peculiarly forbidding aspect. It resembles an old Chinese idol, with a great, round, stupid-looking head, has two short, thick-set shoulders, and then two long arms stretching out on either side to the sea. Between these two arms lies the plain, broken into low plateaux and nullahs of varying depth, and the old Chinese idol looks exactly as if he had been placed there to devour in his fiendish grasp all the soldiers, guns, and material discharged from the ships.”

And yet how insignificant is the mountain as seen from a ship, whether viewed from the western or the eastern side, except that today, as you pass up or down the Straits, there, at the foot of the hill, you see something dominant, white, and glistening—our war memorial.

The author at this time lived no life of ease. He moved from ship to ship, and he takes being torpedoed as part of the great game. Of course, his air-tube lifebelt was not inflated when the need came, a lesson to avoid unauthorized “gadgets” in future. However, the incident gave him an excuse for returning to England, where he had an opportunity of putting his decided views before influential people and members of the Cabinet, to say nothing of furnishing the Prime Minister with an appreciation of the situation! This is quoted in full in the text, and, there is no doubt about it, is a very able piece of work. Followed a long interview with Lord Kitchener. He returned to the Peninsula about the end of June, and from the start was none too happy, as, in the changed conditions, he found himself under army instead of navy control. He witnessed the Suvla landing from the *Minneapolis*.

“. . . ‘Breakfast will be served at five-thirty this morning, sir, instead of at eight o’clock,’” said to the steward to him. “Descending to the saloon for this repast, I found an old steward carefully cleaning the carpet on the stairway with a vacuum cleaner. . . . How strange that the stewards should clean the carpets of an Atlantic liner when the fate of Constantinople was hanging in the balance!”

By no means is the only comment we can offer. Mr. Bartlett was at the Suvla landing!

As for the attack :

"The plan was in fact quite impossible, and never stood the smallest chance of leading to any definite result."

Here, if we disagree with the author, we stand on firm ground. We are entitled to say that the plan was all right, but the material failed. Had the veteran Dominion troops been transferred to the new terrain, reinforced with the 29th and 13th Divisions, the story of August 6-10 might have been different.

On September 8, 1915, he wrote his famous letter to Mr. Asquith, which, in order to avoid the censorship, he entrusted to Mr. Keith Murdoch to deliver. Someone gave the plan away, and the letter was intercepted at Marseilles. Mr. Bartlett, having broken the rules, was sent home. He left the scene without regret :

". . . I said good-bye to the few friends I could find, and then left G.H.Q. for ever without a single regret. Never have I known such a collection of unsuitable people to whom to entrust a great campaign . . . their muddles, mis-managements, and ignorance of the strategy and tactics of modern war have brought about the greatest disaster in English history."

We think Mr. Bartlett would be hard put to it to justify his method of communicating with the Prime Minister. Had he wished it, surely he could have sent his letter in officially and, if necessary, *demande*d that it should be forwarded through the usual official channels. It is unlikely that he would have met with a refusal, but had this contingency arisen, other steps would then have been open to him. On arrival home, he exerted all the influence he was able to bring to bear on pressing for withdrawal. Such an amazing assumption of military knowledge on the part of a war-correspondent was quite in keeping with what was going on behind the scenes in England at that time. In the case of Mr. Bartlett, his efforts only escape the epithet of *intrigue* because they were so well-meaning. Finally he got into touch with Lord Northcliffe and persuaded him to his views. Northcliffe, he says, was prepared to "expose" the conduct of the expedition in his papers unless the Government acceded. The end of the affair is now a matter of history, and Mr. Bartlett rightly does no more than summarize what is well known.

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The book is to be regarded as a personal, journalistic account of an operation of war of the greatest magnitude and, as such, it has a very considerable value. The student of military history, whilst aware of its shortcomings, will find it of much assistance. But in war it is not always the onlooker who sees most of the game. It is to be admitted that here the Higher Command made mistakes involving immense disaster. The successful commander is he who makes least mistakes. Had other plans been adopted no man can say what might have been the outcome. But one thing seems to be quite certain—fear of a landing anywhere near Bulair did not keep Liman von Sanders awake at night, ever!

Frequently one may disagree with the author, but his work is singularly free from errors of fact. There was not, however, "plenty of good water in the Gully ravine" except after rain, and then there was too much. He says : "Never have I known an Army which has such a poor opinion of its Chiefs. . . . Sir Ian is also very unpopular with the Dominion troops." This is an exaggeration. The army took little interest in such matters. A few intriguers may have got busy and given him that impression. He repeats Aubrey Herbert's charge against G.H.Q. to the effect that *thousands* of our wounded were left out to perish

between the lines, and a few paragraphs later he refers to *hundreds* lying out mutilated. This could only have happened in the intricate fighting in the nullahs and dense scrub among the foothills of Khoja Chemen Tepe and was unavoidable.

Two last quibbles: We who hated the sight of it, "The Pride of G.H.Q. and the Scandal of the World," spelt it *Aragon*. Mr. Bartlett prefers it *Arigon*. And finally there is *no* index to his book.

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It is a book that no one interested in any way in the campaign in the Dardanelles can possibly afford not to have on the bookshelf.

D. S.

NOTES

BURIED CITIES AND UNDERGROUND TOMBS OF EASTERN MONGOLIA

AN account has been sent to the Society of the ruins of Polocheng, in Eastern Inner Mongolia, shown on most maps in *about* lat. 44° 16' 21" and long. (approx.) 119° E. and 3,300 feet above sea-level. (Polocheng is the Chinese for the Mongolian *Borohoto*, also and locally called *Gesu Wen Cheng*.)

"It is well situated in the Barin country on a plain at the junction of a small stream flowing east with the Eje Muren, generally written Eroho Muren, which is totally wrongly placed on the British survey maps. Its situation is that rather of the Cholo Gol of these sheets.

"The high earthen ramparts, well-preserved and grass-grown, save on part of the south wall which has been eroded by the river, shows a city about 1½ miles square, but with the four corners shaped off, giving an irregular octagonal shape. Facing one of the two southern entrances of the city stands a mutilated image of red granite some 15 feet high, of a standing man in long flowing garments to the feet, the short curly hair, shape of head and regular features of which are decidedly more Grecian, or at least Aryan, than Oriental; certainly not Mongoloid. The image stands on a broken pavement, more or less grass-grown, apparently circular in shape, but whether forming the floor of a shrine covered in by roof and walls or in the open was not apparent to me on my hurried visit. Unfortunately I had no films for my camera with which I could have taken a photographic record of this interesting relic, which it is to be feared may be destroyed ere long. Chinese immigrants are settling in the neighbourhood and intend to build their new district city of Lin Tung Hsien within the ancient ramparts and are likely to treat such 'rubbish' with scant respect, unless the interest of the Chinese authorities can be secured to prevent thoughtless vandalism."

* * * * *

"Polocheng is but one of many such towns that are to be found (but hitherto uninvestigated, I believe) throughout Eastern Inner Mongolia. The Chinese speak of these towns as belonging to the pre-Mongol *Kaoli Kuo*, or Korean kingdom, which formerly flourished, they say, in these regions. Priests of the Belgian Mission, however, assure me that they are the remains of the Khitan *Kuo* of Prester John, which extended over the *Liao Hei* or west of the *Liao* River country—as *Liao Tung* in South Manchuria lies east of the *Liao* River.

"The country lying south and east of the Gobi, though still almost entirely

unexplored, is yet obviously rich in remains of the highest interest, not only to the historian and the archæologist, but also to the palæontologist, as the frequent finds of fossil animal bones suggest, especially the recent palæological finds in the Barin country—stone plough shares, etc.—described by Père Licent, a few examples of which I have seen.”

* * * * *

“Of even greater archæological interest are the numerous subterranean tombs which are constantly being accidentally found by Chinese and Mongols throughout the district. I have not personally had the opportunity of investigating these, but know from reliable first-hand information of at least three at widely distant locations, the accounts of which are in substantial agreement.

“Generally what appears to be a small circular opening of a well is uncovered by the plough or mattock. Rough excavating work is begun, which as it descends reveals a bottle-shaped enlargement downward, till the transverse timber beams of some chamber is reached forming the roof of a large room, often ornamented over a doorway; in one case, an ancient bronze figure of an old man playing some musical instrument.

“In the room are generally found the unswathed figures of the long-since dead, mostly in a sitting posture and often of such a gigantic size as to be as tall sitting as the Chinese finders are standing up. In one case related to me by an intelligent Mongol from the Keshikten tribe, about thirty miles south of Ching Peng (Mongol Biru), approx. long. 118, lat. 43, the dead man and his wife were thus seated opposite to each other on either side of a table, with the dead bodies of attendant slaves still standing (?) around them. On the table was an ancient and valuable bowl containing a fluid (1) which the natives aver accounts for the wonderful state of preservation in which both the bodies and the silk and other fabrics of their dresses are found. For on my informant throwing away the fluid in order to appropriate the precious bowls (which are bought up at good figures by Chinese collectors from Peking), the figures and garments crumbled away, leaving only the bones. Doubtless the entrance of fresh air was more to be blamed for this effect.

“These very circumstantial stories certainly deserve investigation, however much or little of truth they may actually be found to contain. But such careful investigation requires the expenditure of much time, money, and specialized skill such as I do not possess.”

TRANSCONTINENTAL AIRWAYS

The *Messenger de Teheran* of June 1 states that the Junkers Company are still discussing with the Persian Government the last details of the Teheran-Meshed section of their air-line; once this section is well established the line will be continued to Kabul, where it will link up with the Kabul-Tashkent Russian airway, which has already been running successfully for some time. A notice in the same paper states that Junkers have taken their first passenger from Paris to Teheran via Berlin, Moscow, and Baku, taking 52½ hours flying time for the journey.

Members who are returning to Iraq and Persia in their own cars may be interested in the following time-table of a 12 h.p. touring-car crossing the Syrian desert to Baghdad:

Miles.

0	Beyrout, depart	...	...	Thursday, 2.30 p.m. (Syrian time).
75	Damascus, arrive	...	...	Thursday, 7.30 p.m. " "
	Damascus, depart	...	...	Friday, 7.30 a.m. " "
262	Rutbah Oasis (dinner at Rutbah),			
	arrive	...	...	Friday, 7.20 p.m. " "
	Rutbah, depart	...	...	Friday, 8.55 p.m. " "
200	Ramadi (Iraq), arrive	...	...	Saturday, 8.30 a.m. (9.30 a.m. Baghdad time).
50	Fellujah, arrive	...	...	Saturday, 12.10 p.m. (Baghdad time).
	Fellujah (cross the Euphrates by			
	ferry), depart	Saturday, 12.40 p.m. " "
40	Baghdad, arrive	Saturday, 1.55 p.m. " "

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The drive from Beyrout to Damascus took about eleven hours, driving over ground which was not a road, but alternations of hard soil lightly strewn here and there with boulders, soft sand heavily rutted by previous convoys, and fields of camel thorn and other desert vegetation with unexpectedly tufty roots. The distance from Fellujah to Baghdad was covered in $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours (40 miles). Twenty-three miles of this were over made road, the rest over hardish and very hot sand. The engine never boiled during this period, although there were two people in the car and well over 300 pounds of luggage on board. The car was overhauled at Baghdad and the journey was continued into Persia.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY NOTICES

Journal, cards, and letters have been returned addressed to: Miss Balfe, Mrs. Bruce Cooper, Captain F. C. de L. Kirk, Wing-Commander W. E. Wynn, R.A.F. (retired), Major Stover, 93rd Burma Infantry. The Secretary would be grateful if addresses could be sent in for the above.

The Copyright Department has asked for copies of Parts I. and III. of the 1927 *Journal* to complete a library set. Members who do not bind their copies might be able to supply these.

Binding cased for the *Journal* can be obtained through the office: in buckram 2s. 9d., and in cloth 2s. 3d. each.

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

The spelling of place names, when the authors allow it, is that laid down by the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names.

LIBRARY NOTICES

The Council wish to thank Mr. W. E. D. Allen for several books on Georgia, which make a valuable addition to the Library.

The following books have been received for review :

- "Adventures in Arabia : Among the Bedouins, Druses, Whirling Dervishes, and Yezidee Devil Worshipers," by W. B. Seabrook. 9" x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". 312 pp. Illustrations. (London: George G. Harrap. 1928. 12s. 6d.)
- "The Age of the Gods : A Study in the Origins of Culture in Pre-historic Europe and the Ancient East," by Christopher Dawson. 9" x 6". xx+446 pp. Maps and illustrations. (London: John Murray. 1928. 18s.)
- "Asia Reborn," by Marguerite Harrison. 9" x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". ix+389 pp. (London: Harper and Bros. 1928. 15s.)
- "Baghdad in Bygone Days : From the Journals and Correspondence of Claudius Rich, Traveller, Artist, Linguist, Antiquary, and British Resident at Baghdad, 1808-1821," by Constance M. Alexander. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". xvi+336 pp. Illustrations. (London: John Murray. 1928. 16s.)
- "China and England," by W. E. Soothill. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". 228 pp. (Oxford University Press. 1928. 7s. 6d.)
- "Chinese Realities," by John Foster. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". 240 pp. (London: Edinburgh House Press. 1928. 2s. 6d.)
- "The Cult of the Peacock Angel : A Short Account of the Yezidi Tribes of Kurdistan." With a Commentary by Sir R. Carnac Temple, Bart., C.B., F.B.A., etc. By R. H. W. Empson. 235 pp. Illustrations. (London: H. F. and G. Witherby. 1928. 15s.)
- "The Dragon Sheds His Skin," by Winifred Galbraith. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". 221 pp. Illustrations. (London: Jonathan Cape. 1928. 7s. 6d.)
- "Eastern Mediterranean Lands : Twenty Years of Life, Sport, and Travel," by Colonel P. H. H. Massy, C.B.E. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". xii+261 pp. Illustrations and maps. (London: G. Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1928. 12s. 6d.)
- "The Fellahin of Upper Egypt : Their Religious, Social, and Industrial Life Today, with Special Reference to Survivals from Ancient Times," by Winifred S. Blackman. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". 331 pp. Illustrations. (London: George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd. 1927. 15s.)
- "Finding the Worth While in the Orient," by Lucian S. Kirtland. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xii+462 pp. Illustrations. (London: George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd. 1928. 10s. 6d.)
- "Indian Agriculture," by A. and G. L. C. Howard. India of Today Series, vol. viii. 7" x 5". 98 pp. Illustrations. (London: Humphrey Milford. 1927. 3s. 6d.)
- "Islam : Her Moral and Spiritual Value," by Major A. Glyn Leonard. (London: Messrs. Luzac. 1928. 4s.)
- "The Land of the Five Rivers : An Economic History of the Punjab from the Earliest Times to the Year of Grace 1890," by Hugh Kennedy Trevaskis, I.C.S. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". xx+372 pp. (Oxford University Press. 1928. 15s.)
- "A Persian Caravan," by A. Cecil Edwards. 9" x 6". 166 pp. Illustrated. (London: Duckworth. 1928. 8s. 6d.)
- "The Persian Gulf : An Historical Sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century." With a Foreword by the Right

- Hon. L. S. Amery, P.C. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold T. Wilson, K.C.I.E., etc. $9\frac{3}{8}'' \times 7''$. xvi+327 pp. Illustrations. (Oxford: Humphrey Milford at the Clarendon Press. 1928. 25s.)
- "Poems from the Divan of Hafiz," by Gertrude L. Bell. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{8}''$. 175 pp. (London: Heinemann. 1928. 5s.)
- "Report on the Finance and Commerce of Persia, 1925-1927," by E. R. Ingeman. v+51 pp. (London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1928. 1s. 6d.)
- "Tigers, Gold, and Witch-Doctors," by Bassett Digby, F.R.G.S. $8\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. 341 pp. Illustrations. (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head. 1928. 12s. 6d.)
- "The Uncensored Dardanelles," by E. Ashmead-Bartlett. $9\frac{3}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. 286 pp. Illustrations and maps. (London: Hutchinson and Co. 21s.)
- "What are the Rights of the Muslim Minority in India?" by Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt.D. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. ix+188 pp. (Allahabad: India Press. 1928.)
- "Within the Walls of Nanking," by Alice Tisdale Hobart. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. 243 pp. (London: Jonathan Cape. 1928. 6s.)
- "Life and Times of C. R. Das," being a personal memoir of the late Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan, and a complete outline of the history of Bengal for the first quarter of the twentieth century, by Prithwis Chandra Ray. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. xv+313 pp. Illustrations. (At the Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1928. 12s. 6d.)

The following articles have been added to the Pamphlet Library: Commodore B. Fisher's "Irrigation Systems of Persia," from the *American Geographical Review*, April; "The U.S.S.R. System of Neutrality and Non-Aggression" and "The Analysis of Neutrality and Non-Aggression Treaties," from the *Bulletin of International News*, June 9.

The following articles on Asiatic subjects have appeared in the quarterlies:

April:

The English Review: "The Task of the Simon Commission," by Lord Sydenham of Combe.

Quarterly Review: "Turkey—Yesterday and Tomorrow," by H. Charles Woods; "Yellow Asia," by Conrad M. R. Bonacina.

Empire Review: "Wards in Mandate: Palestine and Syria," by M. J. Landa.

May:

Nineteenth Century: "In the Footsteps of Marco Polo," by Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., etc.

The Contemporary Review: "China and the Powers," by H. Wilson Harris.

June:

The Round Table: "Egypt, a Kingdom"; "China"; "India: The Commission's Experience."

The Contemporary Review: "The Trouble in Arabia," by St. John Philby.

Revue des Deux Mondes: "Regards sur l'Égypte et la Palestine—I. Chez le Roi Fouad," par Gabriel Hanotaux.

JOURNAL

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1928

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY NOTICES

Members are asked to inform the office of any change of address, and to notify the Secretary as soon as possible if they do not receive *Journals* and lecture cards.

Journals have been returned addressed to Colonel G. H. Boileau, C.B., Major H. Hedworth Williamson, Miss Balfe, and Mrs. Bruce Cooper. The Secretary would be glad of addresses.

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

CHINA : A SURVEY OF THE PRESENT POSITION*

BY F. W. CAREY

THE Chinese seeker after light, bent on correcting his perspective of the present by delving into the past, is confronted with no mean task. "To know history," says the Chinese proverb, "one must read five cartloads of books." The hustling West, accustomed to absorb its facts in tabloid form, will find little comfort in this counsel of perfection. Nevertheless, in order to appreciate the significance of what is going on in China today, some knowledge of recent happenings is essential. I propose, therefore, to preface my talk this evening with a brief review of occurrences since the Revolution in 1911, as some of these bear directly on the present situation.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Chinese Republic was formally inaugurated on February 12, 1912, when the Manchu Boy-Emperor, Hsüan Tung, was allowed to abdicate, and the most powerful "War Lord" of the moment, Yüan Shih-kai, was nominated to the Presidency, the Provisional President, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, accepting a subsidiary post. But the Chinese were to learn that the blessed word "democracy" is not a synonym for peace, and that a successful revolution is no guarantee of prosperity and order. The new form of government brought with it nothing but trouble and misrule. The constitution providing for a people's Parliament, parliamentary elections duly took place; but as the necessary machinery for conducting them did not exist, they could not have been other than farcical. Nevertheless, a Parliament which included China's leading politicians, many of them quite brilliant young men with a Western education, met at Peking in April, 1913. Much was expected of this first National Assembly. But its members were defeated by their own inexperience, combined, perhaps, with over-confidence. They quickly found themselves in opposition to the President, who, the following January, decided that he could govern without their assistance, and dismissed them to their homes.

Thwarted in an ill-advised attempt to found a new dynasty in his own person, President Yüan succumbed in June, 1916, to an attack of spleen, the country becoming at his death, and since remaining, the happy hunting-ground of irresponsible military despots, all intent on extorting money from the civilian population for private gain, or for the upkeep of their ill-disciplined armies.

* Lecture given on June 20, 1928.

The most striking change arising out of the Revolution, and one which continues largely to rule the situation in China, has been the complete reversal of the respective position of the civil and military authorities. Under the Empire the military was absolutely subordinated to the civil rule, the relation between the two being pungently expressed in an old couplet :

“ One stroke from the civil official's pen
Makes the army officer jump again.”

In the turmoil of the Revolution most of the old territorial officials disappeared. They were succeeded in a large number of instances by those military leaders who in the course of the revolt against Manchu rule had become popular heroes, and were permitted, contrary to all tradition, to assume administrative powers. The military thus acquired not only a political hold upon the country, which they are loth to relinquish, but a social standing and consideration the reverse of that which they formerly enjoyed ; and at all functions nowadays they are given precedence of civil officials of equal, or even of higher, rank.

NATIONALISM APPRAISED.

I turn now to the consideration of the popular movement known as Nationalism. No student of Chinese affairs will be disposed to deny that the past quarter of a century has witnessed a distinct change of outlook affecting all classes of the population—a change owing its origin and growth partly to the spread of elementary education, but in a greater degree still to the new ideas and modern doctrines broadcast by a young and irresponsible Press. The former Manchu ban on newspapers, already weakened as a result of the Boxer troubles in 1900, was completely lifted with the advent of the Revolution. Since then hundreds of publications, of widely varying merit, have sprung into existence, and, thanks to immensely improved postal facilities, find their way to the meanest hamlet of the far interior, disseminating new social theories and strange political creeds. In the reaction of the masses to this unaccustomed mental pabulum, sympathetic observers discern the awakening of a spirit of nationalism. But how far is this diagnosis correct? The Chinese, owing to racial differences and wide variations in language, customs, and modes of thought, are provincial rather than national in sentiment and outlook. Ordinarily their sympathies do not extend beyond their immediate blood kin or their clan ; and, though it is not difficult to quote instances of true patriotism, I doubt if the people in the mass have any real conception of what we mean by the term “ nationalism.” The movement is there. But, subjecting it to close analysis, one finds too large a proportion of racial prejudice and too little of genuine spiritual force. Education will no doubt gradually correct this, but that is the position at the moment.

Speaking recently in London, Dr. David Yui, National Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in China, drew a distinction between the Nationalist party, which, he said, was organized and had a platform of its own, and Nationalism or the nationalistic movement. According to him, Nationalism is a spontaneous movement of the people, and is without recognized leadership, but stands definitely for certain principles, which include the establishment of a united, efficient, honest, and democratic Government for the whole country. When, however, he declares that one of the aims of Nationalism is to secure the revision of the treaties with foreign Powers, I feel that either he is himself confusing the nationalistic movement with the Nationalist party, or else that the distinction which he draws is altogether too fine a one.

BIRTH OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY.

The Kuomintang, or Nationalist party, as it is usually called, was first formed in 1912 by the amalgamation of four political societies, of which the most influential, the Tung Mêng Hui, was originally founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen as far back as 1901. Proscribed in 1914 by President Yüan Shih-kai, after he had dissolved the first Parliament, the Kuomintang for a time lost ground. But the Student Movement of 1919, directed against the conclusion by the Peking Government of a series of Japanese loans, gave the party new life by providing it with innumerable recruits. Merchants who ordinarily would have been too timid to dabble in politics were persuaded to preside at meetings of protest; enthusiastic young women became tub thumpers in order to explain to passers-by why their country was in danger of being sold to Japan; even officials found themselves carried to the platform by popular feeling, and extolling the virtues of patriotism.

Dr. Sun was at the time in Shanghai, where the movement was most actively supported, and he was quick to appraise its significance. At his suggestion Kuomintang organizers were sent among the students, and a new literature, much of it from the pen of Dr. Sun himself, was published in immense quantities, and distributed to students in every province. The students in their turn brought Dr. Sun's messages to the less intellectual masses—the peasants and labourers—and in this way Kuomintang ideas spread all over China. I may add that the Student Movement ultimately assumed a more definitely political and undesirable character, and was for a time under Bolshevist influence.

The Kuomintang came again into prominence in 1921, when it established a separate Government at Canton with Dr. Sun as President. Serious differences of opinion arising with his colleagues, including General Chên Chiung-ming, the Commander-in-Chief, who refused to support a suggested expedition against the North, Dr. Sun was shortly compelled to seek safety in flight. He left Canton on a British gunboat, and withdrew to Shanghai, where he made the acquaintance of

Joffe, the Russian Soviet Envoy, and discussed with him the principles and methods of Communism. Early in 1923 Dr. Sun regained the leadership of the Kuomintang, and, returning to the South, was nominated Generalissimo of the Canton Military Government. Recognizing the lack of organization within the Kuomintang, and his inability to achieve success because of his constant betrayal by military leaders, Dr. Sun, in 1923, endeavoured to recruit Canadian war veterans, who would help him to reorganize his army on a modern basis. He also sought aid in the shape of money and military supplies through the British authorities in Hongkong. These efforts proving fruitless, he recalled his talks with Joffe at Shanghai, and turned to Moscow for the much-needed assistance. Borodin was thereupon appointed Soviet agent at Canton, and brought with him a number of civil and military advisers; a "Red" army came into being, whole shiploads of war material reaching Canton in Russian ships from Vladivostock for its equipment; and a training college for military cadets under Russian instructors was established at Whampoa. The organization of labour unions was encouraged, and it was not long before Communism was openly advocated, and intensive Bolshevist propaganda conducted amongst all classes of the population.

DEATH OF SUN YAT-SEN.

Dr. Sun's great ambition, which was to lead in person a powerful army northwards for the purpose of reuniting China by conquest, was destined never to be fulfilled; nor was he able, even with the aid he received from Moscow, to maintain his hold at Canton, the citizens considering his methods entirely too tyrannical. He left Canton in failing health to attend a Reorganization Conference in Peking in December, 1924, and died there on the following 12th of March. Since his death, his memory has been elevated to a plane equal to that occupied by Lenin's in Russia, and his Will is solemnly read at all official functions, and has become the Nationalist party's bible. It prescribes adherence to what are styled "The Three People's Principles" explained by Sun in his lifetime as the three stages through which it was necessary for the nation to pass before attaining to democracy as defined by Abraham Lincoln.

EVENTS IN NORTH CHINA.

Events in North China during the period immediately preceding Dr. Sun's death claim some attention, if we are to understand the present situation. Interest then centred round the status of Shanghai, which for years had been the source of friction. Shanghai, which, I need scarcely remind you, is easily the richest city in China, is actually situated in the province of Kiangsu, of which Nanking is the capital; but, at the time I refer to, it was held and its big revenues enjoyed by

the Military Governor of the adjoining province of Chekiang, who belonged to the political group of which Chang Tso-lin was the head. Early in September, 1924, the Governor of Kiangsu demanded the return of Shanghai, under threat of recovering it by force. He was supported by Wu Pei-fu, another of the great War Lords, whose influence then extended over five provinces. Chang Tso-lin, on his side, accepted the challenge, and the two parties prepared for a struggle. In the actual fight for Shanghai which followed, the Chekiang man was beaten and fled to Japan, and the province of Kiangsu secured the coveted prize. But hostilities were by no means over. The two great War Lords had massed their forces on the Manchurian frontier, and were skirmishing for position, when Wu Pei-fu heard, to his dismay, that Fêng Yü-hsiang, the "Christian General," to whom he had entrusted the defence of the metropolitan province, had deliberately turned away from the front, marched his army into Peking, and declared himself neutral. Thus betrayed, Wu Pei-fu had no option but to abandon the campaign and to seek a safe retreat in the Yangtze valley. Fêng Yü-hsiang temporarily assumed control of the Central Government, one of his first acts being to eject the ex-Emperor from the Winter Palace, where he had been permitted to reside under the terms of the abdication agreement. Meanwhile, Chang Tso-lin's Manchurian forces, finding no one in their way, marched south as far as Shanghai. A year later there was a further reshuffling of alliances. Chang Tso-lin found it impossible to work harmoniously with the "Christian General," and fighting broke out between the two. Chang was thereupon joined by his former enemy, Wu Pei-fu, who was glad to seize the opportunity of revenging himself on Fêng, and, in the summer of 1926, the "Christian General's" army was defeated and subsequently dispersed, Fêng himself retiring to Moscow by way of Mongolia. A further turn of the wheel later deprived Wu Pei-fu of his prestige and power, and one hears no more of him for the moment. But, because of his personal courage and character, he has many admirers, and the future may still hold a high place for him in Chinese politics. I propose to refer later to Chang Tso-lin, who has managed for so long to maintain his hold of Manchuria and Peking, and also to Fêng Yü-hsiang.

THE NATIONALISTS MOVE NORTH.

Following Sun Yat-sen's departure from Canton, to die at Peking, the young Nationalist army had distinguished itself by the manner in which it had repelled an invasion of anti-Red forces from Swatow. This, with other successful operations, in which the Whampoa Cadets played no mean part, brought into prominence a till then comparatively unknown officer named Chiang Kai-shek, a native of mid-China, who, fortunate in attracting the attention of Sun Yat-sen, had by him been appointed Director of the Whampoa Military Academy. Chiang

followed up his successes in the field by removing the undesired military elements that were giving trouble in Canton. He then proceeded to eliminate his own rivals, and was nominated Commander-in-Chief of the Kuomintang forces.

In July, 1926, the Nationalist Government at Canton decided to set in motion the long talked of campaign against the North. With Chiang as leader, the Southern armies succeeded in reaching the Yangtze with scarcely a conflict. Their rapid advance was attributable in part to their superior discipline and equipment, and the fact that Russian military experts assisted to direct operations in the field. But intrigue and treachery and wholesale defections from the armies opposed to him have played a preponderating part in Chiang Kai-shek's successes. Indeed, he ran the risk at one time of being regarded as the *beau idéal* of the Chinese general of the classics—one who wins victories without fighting battles. This is not to say, however, that his campaign was entirely bloodless, and the regiments trained and directed by himself have a deservedly high reputation for courage and initiative.

THE ANTI-BRITISH CAMPAIGN.

It is now a matter of common knowledge that, in return for the support afforded them by the Soviet Government, the leaders of the Kuomintang agreed to assist in undermining British influence in the Far East. A clash between the police and a Chinese crowd at Shanghai in May, 1925, involving loss of life, and, a month later, the unfortunate Shakee affair at Canton gave them a handle for strong anti-British propaganda. A trade boycott of Hongkong was organized, which lasted for eighteen months. At all South China ports, and wherever the Nationalists held sway, British ships and goods were barred, and the labour unions encouraged to make life as hard as possible for British residents.

Alongside Nationalist military operations as they progressed towards the North, a fierce, intensive campaign against Great Britain was conducted with untiring vigour. In the train of Chiang Kai-shek's victorious army followed Borodin and his propaganda corps, and every city occupied broke out into an eruption of lying placards depicting Britain as the arch-enemy, and British soldiers and sailors as the emissaries of Satan. But, as we shall see, Borodin overreached himself in the end, and a violent reaction against Bolshevist intrigue set in.

THE RENDITION OF BRITISH CONCESSIONS.

Hankow, the most important trade centre on the Yangtze, fell to the Nationalist forces in September, 1926, and the Nationalist Government was transferred there from Canton in the following December, General Chiang Kai-shek arriving at Hankow on the 8th of that month in company with Messrs. Borodin and Eugene Chen, Madame Sun Yat-

sen, Sun Fo (Dr. Sun's son by his first wife), and other prominent Nationalists. All labour was at once organized on a Communist propaganda basis, and intensive anti-foreign, and particularly anti-British, agitation encouraged. It would appear that, at this time, Borodin was master of the situation, and that his efforts brought about the unchecked disorder which, beginning on Christmas Eve, ended on January 3, 1927, in the invasion and partial looting of the British Concession at Hankow by a mob. The occupation by the Nationalists of any city through the Yangtze valley area was marked by similar mob excesses, necessitating the issue of orders for the evacuation of all British residents; and, about the same time, the entire British community had to leave Kiukiang, where, under the incitement of Communist agitators, a tense and dangerous situation had developed. It is worthy of note that when these incidents occurred a definite split had already revealed itself in the Kuomintang ranks. Disassociating himself from Borodin and the extremist group, General Chiang Kai-shek and some of the more intellectual members of the party had already left Hankow, and established themselves at Nanchang, above Shanghai.

The Hankow incident ended in the conclusion of an Agreement between Mr. O'Malley, representing His Majesty's Government, and Mr. Eugene Chen, Foreign Minister in the Nationalist Government, whereby the British Concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang were handed back to China on March 15, 1927. This practical proof of British sympathy with Chinese Nationalist aspirations was subjected to keen criticism at the time. But later events would seem to show that the sacrifices made have had their psychological value, and that the Chinese are beginning to realize that our professions of goodwill are not mere empty phrases.

THE PARTY PURIFICATION MOVEMENT.

Nanking was occupied by the Nationalist army during the latter part of March. Before the main forces arrived, the city was entered by troops under the command of General Cheng Chien, a Hunanese, who had been Minister of War in Canton under Dr. Sun Yat-sen when Chiang Kai-shek was a comparatively obscure staff officer. Whether this fact had any bearing on the murderous attack which he permitted his troops to perpetrate on those foreign residents who had elected to remain in the city, will probably never be clearly known. But there are unbiassed Chinese who hold the opinion that the outrages were deliberately planned by Cheng Chien because he was jealous of Chiang Kai-shek's meteoric rise, and wished to embarrass him by involving him in trouble with foreign Powers.*

* General Cheng Chien was recently arrested for treachery at Hankow, and is stated to have been executed by order of the Nationalist Government.

A few days after the fall of Nanking the Northern troops evacuated Shanghai, where they had been for some time in a precarious position owing to the fierce opposition and activities of the labour element. General Chiang Kai-shek, arriving there on board a Chinese gunboat on March 26, found evidence of Communist intrigue, which was planning violence on a scale that would have made the Nanking outrages appear trivial in comparison, and he instantly realized the necessity for strong measures. Chiang had no more than 3,000 troops actually in Shanghai, but it was enormously in his favour that he was amongst his own people; for he is a native of Ningpo, which district provides Shanghai with the bulk of its population. His personal influence was sufficiently great to induce the labour organizations to suspend their strikes and demonstrations. Thereupon the middle-class Chinese ranged themselves on his side, and the Chinese bankers made him an immediate loan of \$3,000,000. The students also, in mass meeting, declared themselves anti-Communist. The Hankow group of politicians, on the other hand, still under the influence of Borodin, issued instructions to Communists everywhere to disobey and outlaw General Chiang on the ground that he was planning an alliance with the North.

Having completed his preparations, Chiang gave orders on April 12 for an armed attack on the Communists in Shanghai and its suburbs. The troops detailed for the purpose received very material assistance from disillusioned Kuomintang labourers, who were filled with bitterness against the Communist-controlled General Labour Union, which, to quote the Chinese correspondent of a local paper, "had arrogated to itself powers of government; had established its own political bureau and its own commune—a terror-inspiring, secret organization, which kidnapped and assassinated its opponents, and filled the hearts of honest workmen with fear." The Communists were well armed, and did not take the attack lying down; but they were successfully rounded up, hundreds of them being killed, and the effect has been more than temporary, for since that day there has not been a serious strike in Shanghai. To explain his rigorous treatment of Communists on this occasion General Chiang Kai-shek, in a manifesto to the people, asserted that the horrible policies of the Communist party were hampering the true aims of the Kuomintang. To this manifesto the Hankow group replied by expelling Chiang and other important leaders from the Kuomintang. They stigmatized Chiang as a traitor, and his followers as scoundrels. However, Hankow soon ceased to exercise any political influence, and by the month of May practically all Communist organizations in China had ceased to function. Nevertheless, it was not until mid-July that the anti-Communist *coup* effected by one of General Chiang's supporters at Hankow led to the flight from there of the leading Communists. Borodin and his staff left for Russia overland, via Mongolia; and Madame Sun Yat-sen, accompanied by

Eugene Chen, departed secretly for Moscow about the same time and by the same route. They have both, since their arrival in Moscow, issued statements declaring that the Nationalist Government in China has ceased to exist as a political factor, having been betrayed by the militarists.

THE RESIGNATION OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

After the elimination of the Communists, the most serious problem facing the Kuomintang was the reunion of what may be termed the right and left wings. While proposals for a meeting to bring about a reconciliation between the two groups were being considered, Chiang Kai-shek announced his resignation, and retired for a time from public life. Subsequently, a series of conferences of the Nationalist party took place at Shanghai, Nanking was definitely adopted as the Nationalist capital, and the Government successfully reorganized. There was ample evidence of the vitality of the Kuomintang in spite of personal differences between some of the leading members. But the fact remained that no progress was being made in the military campaign against the North.

For several months, while Chiang Kai-shek was in retirement, the greater part of China, including the Yangtze valley region, enjoyed a much-needed respite from civil strife. December, 1927, will be remembered, however, for many years to come by Canton on account of the Communist *coup* which occurred on the 11th of that month, the city being seized by the scum of the population, who indulged in murder, incendiarism, and looting on a large scale. Nearly one-third of the business quarter of the city was laid in ruins, with scarcely one brick upon another. The outbreak was suppressed on December 13 by troops under a well-known local General, Li Fu-lin, bloody reprisals being adopted against the Communists. A number of Russians, including the Soviet Vice-Consul, were arrested on this occasion, and after being paraded through the city were executed. The Nanking Government asserted that the *coup* was engineered by Russians, acting under Soviet direction, and, as a consequence, a mandate was issued on December 14, severing relations with Soviet Russia, and ordering the closing down of all Russian consulates and commercial agencies in Nationalist territory.

THE INTERVENTION OF SHANSI.

In June last the Nationalist party gained another powerful ally. Yen Hsi-shan, Military Governor of Shansi, who, in spite of persistent pressure from either side, had previously maintained a completely neutral attitude in the war between North and South, suddenly announced his adherence to the Nationalist cause, and demanded that Marshal Chang Tso-lin should follow his example. The latter, as was

to be expected, rejected this peremptory demand, and both sides prepared for battle. Hostilities did not actually break out until September, when the first exchanges went in favour of Shansi. In October, however, a fresh concentration of Chang's army being completed, the Shansi forces were pushed back, and lost several important positions. But, in the meanwhile, a body of Shansi irregular troops, estimated at about 3,000, succeeded in getting through the passes on the Chihli-Shansi border, and captured Chochow, a walled city not more than thirty miles south of Peking itself. There they stubbornly held out for close on three months, in spite of the efforts of a Northern force of 20,000 men, including strong artillery, to dislodge them. Although this siege had little bearing on the general military situation, it was given much prominence in Chinese newspapers, and the courage of the besieged under incessant attacks and the pounding of heavy guns constitutes one of the most interesting, if not romantic, episodes of the present strife. The surrender of Chochow took place on January 6, the defenders, in characteristically Eastern fashion, accepting an invitation to take service with the Northern army.

THE FALL OF PEKING.

We now come to the last phase of the long struggle between the South and North—that is to say, between the Kuomintang forces and the armies of Chang Tso-lin. But the reappearance on the scene of Fêng Yü-hsiang first requires a word of explanation. Defeated in the summer of 1926 by the combined armies of Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu and chased Moscow-wards, as I have already told you, Fêng returned a few months later, and, establishing his centre in the outlying western province of Kansu, occupied himself in collecting the remnants of his former army, and preparing again to enter the lists. In March of last year he accepted an appointment as army group commander in the Kuomintang, and subsequently attempted to patch up the quarrel which broke out between the Hankow extremist group and Chiang Kai-shek and his following. The forces at his disposal are now estimated to consist of approximately 200,000 units, including a cavalry division of four Soviet Mongolian regiments, one of them organized and trained by Russian officers, and from time to time he has despatched troops eastwards into Honan, thus threatening the Northern forces on their right flank. The position, then, in the spring of this year was as follows: Chiang Kai-shek, at the urgent request of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, had resumed office as Generalissimo of the Nationalist army, and had arranged with Fêng Yü-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan for a united drive against the North. Progress at first was slow, but by the end of April, with three armies converging on Peking, and his own forces somewhat lukewarm in battle, Chang Tso-lin was preparing to quit the capital. The advance

of the Nationalist army proper, under Chiang Kai-shek, was delayed by the unfortunate collision with the Japanese at Tsinanfu, but Yen Hsi-shan's troops successfully pushed their way eastwards to a point south of Tientsin. A disturbing factor then came into the situation. Japan issued an ultimatum to the combatants, placing Manchuria definitely outside the sphere of operations, drawing a line, as it were, between China Proper and all the region north of the Great Wall. This encouraged Chang Tso-lin to express his determination to hold Peking to the last; but his dictatorship ended on June 3, when he entrained for his own city of Mukden, the political capital of Manchuria. The train in which he travelled was bombed just before reaching its destination, and we do not yet know for certain whether he is alive or dead.* A romantic character, by necessity a brigand in his early days, and since 1911 the uncrowned monarch of Manchuria, Chang's personal qualities attracted a large following, and it will always stand to his credit that he maintained order in Peking during his occupation of the capital, and that foreign life and property were safer under his care than anywhere else in China.

MEN OF THE MOMENT.

As I have shown you this evening, it has taken the Nationalists exactly two years to reach Peking since their original expedition started from Canton. With Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian War Lord, off the stage, three men now share the limelight between them—viz., Yen Hsi-shan, Fêng Yü-hsiang, and Chiang Kai-shek. Though his name is less familiar to the British public than those of other prominent Chinese leaders, Yen Hsi-shan is a very remarkable man. In the first place, he is the only official in China to retain the position which he gained during the Revolution in 1911, when he was elected Military Governor of Shansi, which we call the "model province." A graduate of the Tokyo Military College, and a man of undoubted ability, he has been successful in maintaining law and order within his province, and in keeping it for sixteen years out of the maelstrom of civil strife. Some years ago he urged the disbandment of troops in order to curtail useless expenditure; though his was the voice of one crying in the wilderness. He has encouraged education by the establishment of colleges and schools, and has built a number of motor roads through his province. As long ago as 1917, I read a little booklet written by Governor Yen himself in an endeavour to instruct his people. After briefly describing the various countries of the world, it stresses, in very simple language suited to its readers, the importance of education, and of personal and public hygiene—altogether a very useful and entertaining little work. Governor Yen is now in control of both Peking and Tientsin, and we

* His death actually occurred on June 21, the day after the reading of this paper.

may derive some comfort from that fact, for he has shown himself a man of peace and progress in the past, and in the councils of the Nationalist party his will be, no doubt, a sane and restraining influence.

Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Nationalist army proper, is reported to have handed in his resignation on the ground that his task is completed. But I do not think that this will be taken seriously. Though his prestige was dimmed for a time, owing to party bickerings after the arrival of his forces at Shanghai, he is still very much a popular idol, and his party certainly cannot do without him. Those who know him best say that his outlook has broadened a good deal since he first came into public notice as Director of the Whampoa Military Academy, and it is thought that he will not favour any sort of policy likely to antagonize foreign opinion.

I wish that we could be similarly assured regarding the attitude of Fêng Yü-hsiang. To the minds of most of his countrymen, his is the most sinister figure on the Chinese political stage. He is feared and distrusted by everyone. He no longer troubles to wear his sheep's clothing—a fact recognized even here by the man-in-the-street, who now refers to him not as the "Christian General," but as "this man Fêng"! According to the Chinese code of honour, there are degrees of treachery. No special opprobrium attaches to a military leader who changes his allegiance, but there are certain well-defined rules governing the game. The chief one is that you must never betray your patron. Thus, Chên Chiung-ming's failure to retain his hold on the South is attributed to his quarrel with Sun Yat-sen, to whom he owed everything, but whom he drove from Canton in 1922. I have told you of the scurvy trick which Fêng played on his chief and patron, Wu Pei-fu, when the latter was fighting against Chang Tso-lin three years ago. This is remembered against him by all decent Chinese; nor did they approve of his treatment of the ex-Emperor. Fêng is known to be both arrogant and ambitious, and we may expect that he will try to dominate the situation even if he fails to secure Peking as his prize. He has had no access to the sea, and has been wholly dependent on Russia for his military supplies; consequently, his predominance would, in all probability, mean a revival of Russian intrigue in China.

The immediate future lies in the hands of these three men. It is, possibly, as a sop to them and other powerful but rather less prominent "War Lords" that a scheme of regional government has been suggested, providing for the division of China into six political areas, each more or less independent, but all owing allegiance to a Supreme Council at Nanking, which is to be the new national capital. It is a little difficult to reconcile this proposal with the view so frequently expressed by the Nationalist party that any form of regional government likely to prolong the period of feudalism in China must be

opposed. If the scheme is adopted, its success must obviously depend on the willingness of the several War Lords to sink their personal vanity and ambitions, and subordinate themselves to the civil power. Chiang Kai-shek, we know, is ready to do so ; and if a majority of the other military leaders show equal sincerity, it will not be long before China possesses a stable Government.

NATIONALIST POLICY.

Meanwhile, according to a declaration which it has just issued, the Nanking Government considers the military stage of the Revolution to be ended, and expresses its earnest desire to embark on a programme of reconstruction.

“ With the cessation of fighting we, one and all,” the declaration reads, “ should devote our energy to the improvement and reorganization of our industries and spreading education among our people. It is hoped that friendly nations will accord to China sympathetic assistance in her efforts to realize her aspirations by first freeing her from her treaty restrictions, and secondly by giving her material aid. A strong and well-ordered China will mean peace and happiness to the world.”

With this reasonably worded statement no one will be disposed to disagree. Our Government is already committed to a policy of conciliation, and, on the whole, it has been a successful policy. And Dr. Wang Chung-hui, ex-Premier of China, and now Minister of Justice in the Nanking Government, after a recent interview with Sir Austen Chamberlain, readily admitted that the British Government had gone further than any other Government in meeting Nationalist aspirations.

The treaty restrictions referred to will no doubt form the subject of negotiations in due course between the British and Nationalist Governments. The provisions in the Treaties to which the Chinese take exception are, as you probably know, those dealing with the import tariff on foreign goods and with extraterritoriality, respectively. We have already conceded the right of China to enjoy full tariff autonomy from January 1 next, subject, however, to the drawing up by China herself, and the promulgation, of a new national tariff. A special conference which was held at Peking at the end of 1925 to discuss this question was rendered abortive owing to civil war conditions in China, and an attempt made by the Nanking Government to introduce a new tariff from September 1, 1927, failed because it provided for certain so-called luxury taxes which raised a storm of protest from the Chinese themselves. If China would only employ competent foreign advisers to assist her in this matter, she would be saved from such blunders. To say that the men who are leading the Nationalist movement lack expert training on matters such as these is not to question their patriotism or sincerity. But what is quite certain is, that they will not

get far unless they accept foreign co-operation, and the Nationalist Government, in the tremendous task of reorganization which lies before it, would do well to procure the best technical advice available. As far as we are concerned, our trade has nothing to fear from a well-balanced and reasonable tariff. All that we ask is that no artificial barriers may be set up between the legitimate commercial needs of the two nations.

Turning now to the question of extraterritoriality: The one privilege to which the British resident in China clings with the most determination is the right of being tried, whether for civil or criminal offences, by the laws of his own country, and not by those of China. All other privileges secured by treaty he is prepared to relinquish; but even those who have most sympathy with China's aspirations will scarcely be prepared to assert that her judicial system affords reasonable guarantees of justice to foreigners within her borders. I venture to offer a suggestion on this point which may be worth consideration. It is that, when negotiations are opened between the two Governments on this subject, we should offer to relinquish extraterritorial rights under a post-dated agreement, to take effect in five years' time if, during the interval, China has shown that she not only can assure satisfactory protection for British lives and property, but that, by the remodelling of her judicial system, reasonable guarantees of justice to British residents are provided. Here again, China would do well to engage legal advisers of the highest standing to help her to administer her penal code, until it can be said of her that her process of law accords with the basic principles of our own Great Charter: Justice shall not be sold, denied, or delayed to any man.

BRITISH TRADE IN CHINA.

I am so often asked about the prospects of British trade in China, that I propose to answer the question in my concluding remarks. When I left South China last March, British trade was recovering rapidly from the effect of the recent strike and boycott. There were ample signs of this in Hongkong, where everyone I met was very hopeful. At Shanghai, too, and in the Yangtze valley region trade conditions have greatly improved. One of the leading British firms in Shanghai, in their Report for 1927 just issued, declares that the boycott has ended, and in its place is to be found a spirit of honest friendliness towards us which inspires a feeling of optimism for the future. Speaking of Shanghai, it has been borne in on me that the extraordinary development of that great port is not sufficiently appreciated by those who look to China for business opportunities. In 1913 the value of the gross import and export trade was approximately £75,000,000. This year it will not be less than £400,000,000. That trade should exist at all in the face of such impediments as continuous civil war,

labour strikes, and burdensome taxation is astonishing. But China's trade resilience is proverbial; and I think it is due very largely to the fact that the Chinese trader above all others is a practical man, who is out to do business no matter how unfavourable the conditions.

But, it will be objected, how long will the present silver lining to the clouds last? What if the several leading War Lords are unable to compose their rivalry, and civil strife continues? Well, in trade as in every undertaking, one must take risks. In the early days of our intercourse with China, before treaties were conceived, our merchants risked not only their capital but frequently their lives. Enduring first the dangers and discomforts of a long sea voyage, they traded—as we learn from the records of John Company—under all sorts of disadvantages, yet not unprofitably. British firms in China will in future find it necessary, no doubt, to tackle certain problems from a new angle; and the success of any enterprise in the Far East will depend largely on the ability of those in charge to appreciate changing conditions. But, if the wonderful growth of Shanghai is any criterion, it is safe to predict that ahead of them lie greater opportunities for British merchants than were ever theirs in the past.

Mr. WOODHEAD: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Carey, Ladies and Gentlemen, —I have listened with very great interest to Mr. Carey's presentation of the case in regard to the history of China since the establishment of the Republic; and I am not going to waste ten minutes or a quarter of an hour of your time by endorsing or expanding them. There is indeed only one point on which I would like to make a few remarks, and that point is one on which I am afraid I must take issue with Mr. Carey. Mr. Carey mentioned that one of the outstanding problems with which Great Britain has to deal in China in face of Nationalistic demands, is the question of extraterritoriality, and that the extraterritorial privilege is one to which the British communities in China stick most closely and are most reluctant to relinquish. They are naturally very reluctant to relinquish it, because on many phases of what we regard as ordinary common everyday life no code of law exists in China today. There is no bankruptcy law, for instance, and there are many other very serious deficiencies in the Civil Code. The law as administered today is simply grotesque. I might mention one instance which shows how ludicrous the administration has been under the militarist rule from which we have suffered in North China. About a year ago a big Chinese corporation failed for the sum of about £800,000. The Chinese manager, a Mr. Hin An-chi, was arrested on a charge of fraud, and taken to the civil prison where, under ordinary circumstances, if a charge of fraud was made against him, he should have been tried. But among his creditors there was a bank in which the local militarists had the leading show, and to this bank Mr. Hin

An-chi, or his corporation, owed about 600,000 dollars—less than one-tenth of the firm's operations. The militarist took him out of the civil prison and put him in the military prison, and there he was detained while they tried by various devices to extort their obligations from him, that they thought ought to have priority over those of the civil creditors. But he had not got the 600,000 dollars to part with and could not raise the money. In the course of their investigations the militarists found that Hin An-chi had taken out life insurance policies amounting to 200,000 dollars, and the brilliant idea entered their heads that if they could compel him to sign away his wife's rights in the policies, and then they shot him, they would be able to secure the amount of money to which his estate would be entitled. I happened to be the editor of a British paper in Tientsin, and I was shown an urgent letter that he got out through his brother, while he was in prison, addressed to the insurance company, begging them to acquaint the militarists with the fact that in the event of his being shot the militarists would not derive any benefit from the life insurance policies. (Laughter.) This was brought to my notice, and I wrote an article, putting forward what I believe to be the law on the subject, that if a man is executed for a capital offence the life insurance policy is automatically invalidated. Therefore, if the militarists shot him, if they wanted the money they would have to plead they had not executed but had murdered him. He was released. Mr. Carey suggests we should make certain conditional promises to come into effect five years hence. Great Britain has done that in China on several occasions, and it has had disastrous consequences. I might mention in the first place the settlement of the opium question. We agreed we would refrain from insisting on the export of Indian opium to China as soon as China was cleared of native-grown opium, and we went in for reduction *pari passu* with the Chinese rate of reduction, and we actually stopped the export of Indian opium to China long before it could be seriously pretended that China had suppressed the cultivation of opium in her own country; and the result today is that China is producing eight times as much opium as the whole of the rest of the world put together. Another example is in connection with the customs tariff. Mr. Carey has told you that we and other Powers agreed to concede tariff autonomy to the Chinese from January 1 next year. There is a good deal of difference of opinion as to whether we unconditionally agreed to this. No treaty was actually signed saying that we should agree to this, but it was agreed two clauses should be inserted in a treaty to be concluded by the Tariff Conference. One clause was to the effect that *li-kin* (transit duties) were to be abolished by January 1, 1929, and the other was that China should enjoy tariff autonomy on January 1, 1929. The Chinese drew up a wonderful scheme showing how *li-kin* was to be abolished. Every three months some new step was to be taken in

that direction, and according to that programme *li-kin* should be abolished, I believe, about the end of March this year. Not a single one of those steps has yet been taken. But the result of these post-dated cheques was that passionate demonstrations occurred which compelled us, against our better judgment, at the risk of jeopardizing the personal safety, liberties, and property of our fellow-subjects, to make concessions to the Chinese by imposing responsibilities which they are not in a position to fulfil.

General Sir EDMUND BARROW : I would like to ask a question. We frequently, not only at these lectures but during the last few months, have been told about the occupation of Shanghai by Chinese troops. I presume that always means the Shanghai native city? Is not that so?

The LECTURER : Yes, in every instance. The foreign business and residential centre is known as the Shanghai International Settlement. The native city is a thing apart, and it is necessary to discriminate between the two.

Sir EDMUND BARROW : I do not think the public is aware that when we talk of Shanghai in the Press it means the native city. The public thinks the British community is threatened.

The CHAIRMAN, in summing up, said that Mr. Carey had gone back to the year of the Chinese Revolution as the start of the new order in China. He himself would prefer to take an earlier starting-point. It was in 1894, in the year of the war between Japan and China that the great shock was given to the Chinese Empire, and after that war China was in some danger of disruption. He did not wish to run through the history of the struggle between China and Japan and China and the Powers, but this new Nanking Government, if it proved to be stable, would be to later generations one of the great historical landmarks of the history of China. He thanked Mr. Carey very much for an admirable lecture, for it summed up clearly the events of the last two years.

A TOUR THROUGH KOREA

By D. BOURKE-BORROWES

EXCELLENT Japanese train and steamer services convey the traveller from Japan to Korea, which in the last twenty years has been converted from a self-governing Oriental state into the most important of the Japanese colonies.

Although, for sentimental and other reasons, the passing of the Korean Empire may be regretted, it is well to remember that, before the Japanese domination in Korea, the government was hopelessly effete and corrupt, and the finances of the country in a perpetually bankrupt condition, and that, since that time, the Japanese have given the Korean people the best government they have ever known. Law, order, and security prevail throughout the country, right up to the Manchurian border, and it is evident that the large sums spent in recent years on the development of the country by means of harbours, railways, roads, telegraphs, irrigation works, together with scientific research work of every description, have added greatly to the economic and commercial prosperity of the country and its inhabitants.

There are clear signs, however, that Korean nationalist sentiments, in spite of repression, are still smouldering, and it is possible that Japanese rule in Korea is the most hated of all foreign dominations in Asia. This seems probably due to the militarist methods of government adopted in the past. It is only fair to add that during recent years the methods of government in Korea appear to have been considerably softened, and the people appear to be more reconciled to Japanese rule than was formerly the case.

Korea is inhabited by one single race, speaking one language, which in itself is rather a curious phenomenon, as Oriental countries usually abound in different races and languages, and even Japan, one of the most homogeneous of nations, possesses within its boundaries a second race, speaking a second language. From their looks, Koreans appear to descend from some ancient Mongolian or Turanian stock, although their exact origin is doubtful. The Korean language has an identity entirely of its own, and cannot be linked up clearly with any other tongue; it possesses an alphabet and, unlike the Chinese languages, is polysyllabic.

Perhaps the most curious feature of all in Korean life is the almost complete absence of any form of national religion. Buddhism exists, but has been so much suppressed and even persecuted in the last 500

years that it only lingers on in certain remote mountain districts. From the Chinese the Koreans borrowed a certain amount of Confucianism and ancestor worship, and also the primeval worship of Heaven—a small replica of the famous temple of Heaven in Peking exists in Seoul, the capital, where the people congregate to worship in times of distress and calamity. In many of the country villages the only visible manifestations of national religion are to be found in the numerous little wooden spirit-houses, and it is possible that these ancient forms of "devil-worship" represent the real spiritual feelings of the mass of uneducated people. It may be added that, for many years past, Christian missions of various denominations have been making a certain amount of progress in Korea.

The old town of Seoul must have been a curious place, whose walls, pierced at convenient points by massive pagoda-like gates, enclosed a perfect labyrinth of dirty narrow streets, only passable for pack-traffic. Since the arrival of the Japanese it has been completely replaced by a heterogeneous Japanese city, whose ugliness is only relieved by a few large, dignified public and commercial buildings, built in European style out of grey Korean granite; nowadays little remains of the picturesque past except the palaces and a few old temples and gateways. While the modernization of the city was inevitable, and the thoroughness with which it was carried out is a testimony to Japanese organization and enterprise, it is indeed regrettable that so much that was curious and interesting was ruthlessly swept away in the process.

The Korean climate is one of extremes, but in spite of this the Koreans dress all the year round in white cotton cloth, well padded in winter with cotton-wool, and white is the national colour of mourning. During the Korean Empire the streets of the capital were bright with coloured robes; and women, when moving abroad, closely veiled themselves by drawing over their heads peculiar bright green robes with little crimson sleeves; these robes were never worn on the body, but only used as a covering for the head. Nowadays, the veiling of women has fallen into disuse, and since the death of their Emperor and the disappearance of their royal family, the entire nation seems to have gone into permanent mourning. Much has been written about the peculiarity of the men's hats, the most inexplicable form being the little black top-hat made of woven horse-hair, perched on the top of a large skull-cap, which fits tightly on the owner's head; other curious types are supplied by hats shaped like inverted flower-pots and hats resembling small bishops' mitres.

Central Korea stands out as a fine rolling agricultural country, intersected by mountain ranges, many of which are celebrated for their beautiful scenery. When the Japanese took over the country seventeen years ago, they found the hills bare of all woody vegetation

—the Koreans, like the Chinese, having a perfect passion for destroying tree-growth—and it is to their eternal credit that they should have succeeded in so short a space of time in reclothing the denuded slopes with millions of young trees, chiefly pines and other conifers.

As the traveller passes northwards, the scenery changes into a land of steep, rugged mountains, and streams winding through narrow stony valleys, with little farm-houses built of clay and stone, roofed with thatch and rough shingles, nestling in the valleys or on the lower hill-slopes. The general landscape is startlingly like many upland tracts in Asia Minor and Kurdistan, and this resemblance is much enhanced by the appearance of the local population; both sexes wear, as part of their costume, short white jackets and voluminous baggy trousers; and the men especially, with their stocky figures, Mongolian features, and thin black beards, look just as if they had stepped out of some Turkoman or Central Asian tribe of nomads.

With the great recent increase of population in Northern Korea—largely due to the stability of Japanese rule—pressure on the agricultural land has very much increased, but fortunately there is a great outlet for the poorer classes in the mining industry. The rocks in the mountains are highly mineralized, and the whole region contains many kinds of minerals, and is specially well-known as a gold-bearing area. Every peasant-farmer is a potential miner, and whilst ploughing his fields will stop at frequent intervals to examine the rocks which his plough has turned up. During the slack seasons the farmer digs for gold on his own account, crushing the ore in batteries of wooden stamps worked by water-power, or goes to work at one of the European or Japanese mines established in his neighbourhood. Although the Korean is counted as lazy and improvident when compared with his more industrious neighbours, yet no one has ever been heard to say a word against Korean mining labour, which is universally praised as the best and most reliable in Asia.

After spending some time on a gold mine in the northern mountains, watching the complicated process of gold mining with modern machinery, I set out northwards towards the Yalu River with a small string of shaggy Korean pack-ponies, and a sturdy pony-man in charge. The trial led over rocky passes and along narrow valleys fringed with groves of poplar and wild pear trees, whose branches were full of chattering magpies. As we passed on the way clusters of farm-houses, I noticed the pigs grazing outside, each one tethered to a wooden post, with a bent birchwood collar round its neck. Above us, on the mountain-sides, the sturdy farmers were ploughing on slopes which, in most countries, would be considered impossible for regular agriculture; higher still, on slopes too steep for the plough, men and women, crouching and clinging on to rocks, were hoeing and weeding the scanty hill-crops.

A profusion of beautiful spring flowers covered hill and dale like a jewelled carpet—lilies, pinks, aquilegias, campanulas, asters, and many other familiar flowers, and among the flowering shrubs white may, hawthorn, hydrangeas, syringas, white lilac, and masses of wild roses were very noticeable. The air was so mild that, although carrying with me no tent, I was able to avoid the vermin-infested farm-houses and to spread my camp-bed at the end of each day under the shelter of some wild pear tree, near some flowing brook.

After three days' marching I reached the Yalu River, and an afternoon and an evening spent in a Korean junk, floating down stream through gloomy rugged gorges and past long stretches of flourishing cultivation, brought me on the following morning to the Japanese railway town of Singeshu. The traffic on the river is remarkable for the large numbers of timber rafts which are constantly being brought down from the forest country at the head-waters of the river to the sawmills at Singeshu, and at Antung on the Manchurian side of the river.

Once across the river, the journey is continued to Mukden along the Southern Manchurian Railway, across the fertile plains of Manchuria, covered with splendid crops of millet, maize, wheat, and soya beans—the products of this last-named crop furnish the greater part of the wealth and industry of Manchuria.

TURKEY*

By HAROLD ARMSTRONG

I THANK you, my lord, for the kind things that you have said, and you, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for coming here on this very hot day to hear what I have to say. And I, for my part, will endeavour to give you some idea of conditions in modern Turkey as I have seen them during the past eighteen months.

In considering the form in which I should give this lecture, I decided not to give a rigid discourse nor to deal with high politics, but to come down off the lofty stool of the pedagogue, and ask you just to treat me simply as your guide : to hear with my ears and see with my eyes. Together we will travel by the routes which I took in Turkey, and here and there I will pick out such things as seem to me to be important and will explain to you their significance.

In February, 1927, I went from Paris to Cyprus as the British Delegate in that area of the Commission for the Assessment of Damage Suffered in Turkey. I made Cyprus my headquarters, and from there travelled backwards and forwards throughout the Middle East.

I should like to tell you of Cyprus, of the island which in spring is a garden of flowers and during the rest of the year is a parched desert, the true Island of Aphrodite, beautiful for a short season and then drear and barren ; of the pine-covered mountain of Troodos ; of the 300,000 Greeks who are probably the most scurrilous and unpleasant of the peoples of the Middle East ; of the 60,000 Turks who, though they have become debased in blood, language, and even in courage, are still the best element in the island, and who are without exception loyal to the British rule, a fact that is not perhaps sufficiently appreciated by those who at present govern Cyprus. I should like to tell you of the fifty years of British rule which have not been altogether effective and of the influx of Armenians. But the Society has ordered me to speak on Turkey alone, and I will only say that, during the last two years, under the able direction of Mr. Amery—whom I believe to be the greatest Colonial Secretary of modern times—things have begun to improve ; and I will shoot at you one aphorism—Cyprus is one of those places which, if you take seriously, will break your heart, and if you do not take seriously will destroy your morale. The British Empire is full of such places.

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on June 14, 1928, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the Chair.

From Cyprus I first went into Syria. Again I should like to tell you of the agonies of the French and the Druses in the South; of the bombardment, the justifiable bombardment of Damascus; I can think of no act of deliberate brutality as justified as that bombardment.

Ladies and gentlemen, you will note that after my last remark I paused. I threw out a contentious remark, deliberately contentious, and I paused in the hope that one or more of you would have protested or contradicted me. But as none of you interrupted—I cannot believe that you all agreed—you will only have yourselves to blame if from now on I grow dull.

But to return: both in Cyprus and in Syria I found it intensely interesting to watch how the British and the French are endeavouring to handle the peoples and the problems which the Ottoman Empire has left to them.

I went by Beirut to Damascus and from there to Baalbek, Homs and Hama; then back to Tripoli on the coast, up to Lattakia and over the hills, where the Nusairi still worship the old pagan gods; and so I came to Aleppo.

In speaking of modern Turkey I must speak of North Syria. In the centre of Syria the French have been exceedingly successful; but in the North, whether deliberately or because they have to, they seem to look on the Aleppo area as a buffer state and to realize that the frontier is artificial. It is possible, though I do not wish to malign the French, that the Armenian colonies which are being planted all over this area are convenient for taking the first blow should trouble come from the north.

The whole tendency of Northern Syria is Turkish. The methods of rule are Turkish. The money used in Aleppo is Turkish silver, and that used just across the Turkish frontier at such places as Aintab is also old Turkish silver, and this is curious in view of the fact that it is forbidden throughout the whole of Turkey to use anything but paper money.

Turkish is understood everywhere in North Syria. Frequently when I was treated with some hostility as being a foreigner, as soon as I spoke Turkish I was treated as a friend. I remember on one occasion being roughly stopped by a fat policeman, and as soon as I spoke to him in Turkish he literally fell on my neck, and when he knew that I had been with the Gendarmerie in Skutari he begged me to tell him all the news of Stamboul and the Bosphorus, and I said:

“But you are a Syrian. You wear Syrian uniform and take Syrian pay.” And he replied stoutly, “I am a Turk”; and all the other police in the post declared, “We are all Turks here.”

That, ladies and gentlemen, was the attitude of many of the people in North Syria.

Commercially it is the same thing. Aleppo is slowly dying. You

know its position in the past. It was the great centre of the caravan trade. Caravans came from the Black Sea coast, from Anatolia and the Caucasus, from South Russia and Persia and from Arabia and Baghdad and even Egypt, and in the covered bazaars of Aleppo the merchants did their trade. The new frontier has stopped all that. Both the French and the Turks are continually putting on restrictions. The Turks are deliberately endeavouring to direct the trade that used to go to Aleppo down to Mersina.

And whether you like it or no, and though the Turks have destroyed the Khalif and the religious aspect of the Turkish Government, none the less today the Turks are the natural leaders of Islam.

But I must get on to Turkey or I shall be talking all day about Syria.

I took the road by the Western Gate of Aleppo across the empty steppes—where there is not one tree for thirty miles—climbed the Bailan Pass, looked back to see the Orontes River winding down to Antioch, and then followed the precipice road down into Alexandretta and took ship; and as the night began to fall steamed out along the Turkish coast.

I was woken at dawn by the siren of the steamer, to find that we were creeping up to our anchorage off Mersina, with the leadsman calling monotonously the depths. I have mentioned that fog and the ship creeping cautiously, timidly forward as symbolical of the attitude of the outside world to New Turkey.

Five years ago I wrote a book called "Turkey in Travail"; I am going to be conceited enough to believe that some of you have read it. From the size of my publishers' cheques I know that precious few of you ever bought it. But for those who have never read it I will explain that I endeavoured in that book to describe from a personal angle the years of dramatic history between 1916 and 1923, when the victorious Allies and the Turks destroyed the Ottoman Empire, and out of that welter of error, tragedy, despair, luck, and bravery was born a Turkish Republic. In that book I made no attempt to prophesy the future.

During the five years between 1922 and 1927 I tried to keep in touch with the course of events, but after reading newspapers, talking to diplomats, consuls, traders and business men, I was in a complete fog. And I assure you after a course of the histories of Professor Toynbee, together with the unconscionable drivel published in some newspapers, and the articles of Commander Kenworthy, together with a book or two by American missionaries and stray travellers to Angora, I came to the conclusion that the world at large knew nothing either of the facts or of the Turkish mentality.

To give a small example: Commander Kenworthy, in one article some time ago, in speaking of the new progressive Turkish Republic, states that it desires to be westernized, that it was turning to the West,

and that it had so linked itself with the West that, for instance, it is now possible to get into a sleeping berth at Calais and in comfort and "without getting out of the car" travel to Angora. He seems to have forgotten the geographical fact of the Bosphorus. That, however, is only a small point, but it is equally true that, just as Commander Kenworthy is faulty in his geography, so he is ignorant of Turkish mentality. The Turks do not desire to be westernized. They are Turks and not Europeans. They are prepared to borrow from the West and to utilize what they consider to be of value, but they remain Turks. They are proud of being Turks.

And, as I look back on the advice given to me by the diplomats, the consuls, and the traders, I realize how wrong they were in their general estimate. They seem to look on the Turk as something inhuman, as something with which they could not get into mental contact, or compromise with or deal with, any more than one can deal with a wild animal.

I resent that attitude. I have seen British officials treating the Turks as if they were still the Terrible Turk of the days of Suleiman the Magnificent, and I have seen the Turk accepting the position while smiling behind his hand.

Ladies and gentlemen, you must cut all that out if you wish to deal with the Turk. You must learn his habits and his aims, and then if you will treat him simply as man to man I do assure you that you will in a very short space of time find yourself on the best of terms with him.

I was warned before I came here by several persons of importance to be careful what I said. I replied that I was fully aware that it was impossible to speak frankly in Italy or even in France, but that I was speaking of Turkey, and that I had never yet met a Turk who resented what I said, provided I said it honestly and with courtesy.

You will realize that my own position on going into Turkey was very delicate, for I was coming to inspect war damage done by the Turks in their own country on British property.

As I stood leaning on the ship's rail and thinking of the things of which I have told you, the morning breeze sprang up and the fog began to lift. I want you to see the scene as I saw it. Before us was a low shore, and crouched by the water's edge a town set in orange groves. Above the general level of the houses showed a palm-tree or two, the minaret of a mosque, and some lordly eucalyptus-trees. To the east and the west ran a long plain. Behind the town were low hills covered with scrub, and beyond them I could see through the rifts in the fog the great mountains of the Karaman and the Taurus, ripped into fierce ravines and topped by great masses of snow which stood out against the hot blue sky.

I want you to see this picture because these mountains have a curious appeal to every traveller. They shut in the central plateau of Anatolia. I have crossed them from Ineboli, from Smyrna, and from

the Aleppo frontier, and each time I have had the same sense of going from the ordinary into the fantastic, of leaving routine and going into the forbidden. I have felt the same sense of adventure and mystery which catches at the heart of every traveller with a strange excitement.

I was taken ashore by noisy gesticulating boatmen, who were incredibly avaricious. They were Arabs, and talking the Arabic which to me is the most uncouth of all the languages which I have had to learn. I mean uncouth in sound. For, listen to an Arab speaking and it will sound as if he had a piece of gut tied across his back teeth and was trying to gargle over it. There are a succession of unpleasant guttural noises, such as the "ains" and the "ghains," which sound as if the Arab were preparing continuously to spit.

So that when I came ashore and heard Turkish—the soft Turkish, with all the harshness of the Arabic toned down and only the softness of the Persian and the incision of the Tatar retained, it was like a melody.

I landed without difficulty. And I wish to make it clear that throughout the whole of my tours in Turkey I was treated with great courtesy and kindness as if I was a pasha in the days of the Sultans, perhaps somewhat under a cloud and to be suspected, but still a pasha; so that I got all the help possible and at the same time was followed by secret service agents.

It was strange that the Turks should help me, for the majority of the claimants on my list were, from a Turkish point of view, traitors. They were Ottoman Greeks and Armenians, who had run away from Turkey during the massacres of 1897, 1908, or again from military service between 1908 and 1914, and become British subjects at the annexation of Cyprus on November 5, 1914. It was as if a German had come to London and said that there were a number of Englishmen who had run away to Germany in 1914 and become German subjects, even fought for Germany; and that they owned property in, say, Oxford or Winchester, which he wished to inspect to see what damage had been done to them by the accursed British. Had he applied to you or me, ladies and gentlemen, I feel sure that we should have applied the toe of a boot to the seat of his bags and kicked him out. It is a curious light on Turkish mentality—which none of us have studied seriously hitherto—that I was assisted and treated with courtesy.

The first two people whom I met, the Director of the Customs and the Controller of the passport, were ex-prisoners of war. Now I want you to remember that the Turkish losses in the Great War and even more in the Greco-Turkish war were enormous and, except for the ex-prisoners of war, there remain very few men between the ages of 30 and 45, so that all the small official positions are held by ex-prisoners of war. And if any of you should travel in Turkey you will find your treatment will depend very largely on how these prisoners were treated by us during the war.

Another result of these immense losses is the fact that Anatolia is very empty. It could comfortably hold 55 million persons; the maximum at present is about 11 to 13 millions. It is potentially very rich. Both Germany and Italy are overflowing and, in the very near future, the problem will arise in acute form as to whether other people besides the Turks will occupy Anatolia. England will have to decide on which side she will stand. It will, moreover, be very interesting to see whether events have destroyed any of the Turkish fighting quality and whether Mussolini has been able to turn the Italian into a soldier and a brave man. These are points which I am convinced will have to be tested in the near future.

I came out of the passport office to look for the Turks, to get my first view of the new Turk, and I was staggered to find there were no Turks in the streets. I saw Greeks and Levantines of all sorts, and then I realized that since my last visit to Turkey the fez had been abolished and the hat introduced.

From an artistic point of view the suppression of the fez cannot be justified, for the Turk has lost much of his old charm and dignity. There went by me a bare-footed porter with large-seated country trousers, which looked like the father and mother of all plus-fours, and on his head a bashed-in bowler. After him came a villager selling curdled cream, wearing what I believe the salesman in London calls a "gentleman's straw-boater," and behind him a venerable white-bearded old gentleman squatting on a donkey between two sacks of charcoal, and on his head a thing like a dunce's cap, obviously made at home of some old felt and the edges turned up to make a brim. All the rubbish of the rag shops of Europe seems to have been sent to Turkey, and the young bloods wore caps made in Austria, of such virulent colour and pattern that they would have shocked even the artistic sense of a Parisian Apache.

But the reasons (which are really no business of ours) for which the fez was abolished were sound. The fez had become the symbol of the Ottomans, whether they were Egyptians, Turks, Greeks or Armenians, and when the Ottoman Empire was destroyed Mustapha Kemal decided that the Turks should have no distinguishing mark separating them from other peoples. For many years the Turks have not been happy wearing fezes outside Turkey. I remember meeting Djavid Bey, the Jew of Salonica and of the Committee of Union and Progress, wearing a cloth cap in Milan in 1922, and even such an old die-hard as Damad Ferid Pasha, together with his entourage, wore top hats when they came to Paris in 1920.

Further, the fez had become the distinguishing mark of the Moslem. You know that in the gymnastic exercises which Mohamed introduced into the prayers, a Moslem must touch his forehead on the ground a certain number of times, and for this reason his headgear must have no

peak. The fez, though an Austrian introduction, was admirably suited for this. When Mustapha Kemal suppressed the fez he struck a direct blow at the religious party in Turkey, which was the only party of reaction and counter-revolution. And today you may recognize the religious anywhere in Turkey because the men wear caps and carry the peak either over one ear or slung over the back of the neck like a motorist.

I soon got used to hats, and then I found that the people had changed very little. They were still the same placid, courteous, pleasant people I had known before.

I will not keep you long in Mersina. As I have already said, the Turks are endeavouring to transfer the trade that used to go to Aleppo to Mersina. They have ambitious schemes for a big harbour and improved train service, but these are things of the future.

I took a car from Mersina across the renowned Adana plain. It has an evil climate but immense potentialities for wealth. At present there is grown a little short and dry cotton, and there is a factory working well there which contains English money. If, however, this plain were canalized, it could grow long, wet American cotton, and would probably be as rich as any portion of Egypt; but this the Turks cannot do without capital, and it is of interest to know the Turkish attitude to foreign capital, as there is no capital in the country.

On the one hand the Turks have urgent need of capital and on the other they are afraid to accept foreign capital on any terms. For many years before the war, from a Turkish point of view, Turkey was bound hand and foot by the capitulations and behind them the capitalists. Having just burst or thrown off these chains the Turks are determined not to allow them to be reimposed.

And a word of advice to any of you who may be doing business in Turkey—avoid the diplomats and the consuls. I am not saying anything against the diplomats or the consuls, but the Turkish Government are determined that they shall not obtain any of their old control or powers. For example, I visited a certain governor and, as he did not know I was coming, I walked into his office—the Governor's door is open to all applicants—and stood with arms folded until he should notice me. After I had stood waiting for a while, he looked up from his table where he was writing and seeing me asked me who I was and what I wanted. I told him. Whereupon he said: "Have you the British Consul with you?" and when I said "No," he replied at once, "Come along then, we can get to business if you are acting for yourself."

The instructions appear to be that all Turkish officials must treat foreign representatives with courtesy, but that they should take care that the consuls do not get back any of their old powers.

Half-way to Adana we reached Tarsus. I shall not keep you there

long either; and I think that Tarsus was aptly summed up by a remark made by my English secretary. He was an old soldier with a shrewd sense of values. He had got hold of a guide-book giving the life of Saul of Tarsus, and when we had been in that town for a short time he said: "Now I understand why this Saul never came back to Tarsus."

Beyond Tarsus we ran on to a typical Turkish road, for the roads in Turkey are not good and I will describe this one. It was built by the Romans, and at odd times had been repaired by Sultans who had wished to come that way, and finally by the Germans and the French, whose lorries in turn had led to its final destruction. It was a mass of holes. Even the big foundation stones were rooted up, and only the centre stones remained, winding across the country like a snake's backbone. For the most part we travelled along the edge of the road, and the road itself was not so much for travelling on as for indicating the general direction in which we had to go. When we came to streams where the bridges were broken we tracked off across the country looking for some place where we could cross and then came back to the road. When we had to remain on the actual road the agony in every bone as the old Ford leapt like a buck hare was a thing I shall not forget. Without capital the roads cannot be repaired, and the one thing against which the obedient, placid Turkish peasants kick is road-mending.

At Adana I stayed a month. For me most towns have some special character. I have seen Adana at practically all times of the year, and it is an unhappy and unpleasant place, ugly and unhealthy, burnt up by the terrific heat of the summer, shrivelled by the winter's cold, and for the one month that it is reasonable the air is stale and tired.

The Turks plan to make it into an industrial and manufacturing centre. There are a number of factories in action, but again the need of capital is evident. My own impression is, after making considerable enquiries, that while in 1926 there was some progress, in 1927 there was a reaction. But there is money to be made in Adana, and this was instanced by the number of Germans in the town.

Throughout Turkey there are many Germans. I saw them in Mersina. In Adana there were large numbers, and the French director of a company told me that many came in 1921 when the mark fell out of the market and it was possible to engage good technical German experts at little more than the price of a Turkish labourer. In Kæsarea, to which we shall come shortly, they were working at an aeroplane factory, and in the streets one saw such signs as "shaumaker." In Adalia there were two factories, one for grinding corn and one for cutting timber, both of which were run by Germans. On every road I met German bagmen carrying their samples and living under the primitive conditions of the country. In Angora there were Germans everywhere, in hotels and restaurants, and perhaps the best example that I can give you was

the newspaper shop. There is one newspaper shop in Angora. In it I found one English book, a Waverley novel, two French newspapers a month apart, but which the shopman would not sell separately, and the rest of the shop was divided into two pieces, of which one was full of German newspapers and books. These Germans are not controlling, but are working loyally and efficiently under and for Turks.

I visited the villages around Adana and these, like all the villages in Turkey which I visited, were incredibly poor, the result of centuries of maladministration, continuous wars, and finally the fighting between the Turks and the French in 1920. In fact, nearly all the villages, vineyards, and gardens around Adana had been destroyed in the fighting in 1920.

My duties took me among other places to Christian Keuy, a small village outside Adana, which I found to be full of Cretan and Salonika refugees, for wherever you travel in the East today you will find hordes of refugees. There are Greek and Armenian refugees in Cyprus. Just outside Beirut there used to be a town of 40,000 souls who were Armenian refugees, and lived in hovels made of petrol tins and sacking, until they developed some serious contagious diseases and the French authorities began to break up the town and make colonies in North Syria. It is the same thing in Greece and Turkey. The lot of these refugees is an exceedingly hard one, and the Middle East is full of the wail of the refugee.

I do not wish to raise old quarrels nor do I wish to discuss the reasons for, or excuse, the massacres of the Armenians. They make a long and bloody history. The new Turks disassociate themselves from them. They sympathize, but treat them as part of the things done by the Ottoman Empire, the dead Ottoman Empire, which they have put definitely behind them. That is an attitude which most people do not appreciate—that the new Turks have cut themselves off from the acts and the responsibilities of the dead Ottoman Empire. But to show you how little we understand the mentality of either the Turks or the Armenians I will tell you what I believe to be true. I have the best of evidence for saying that in 1908 the Armenians, assisted by Russian advice and money, made a coup d'état with the intention of establishing a separate Armenian State based on Adana, which was the centre of the Armenian population in Turkey. For some ten days they held absolute control of Adana and its area, and were only defeated after the Turks had sent down a large number of troops. After that came the massacres.

Here I must give you a personal note which, however, is a note also on the Turkish character. While I was in Adana the Turks published in their papers a translation of my "Turkey in Travail"; this I bought each day and it acted as a passport. Often I was held up by junior Turkish officials. My passport with its diplomatic visas left them un-

moved. They promised to write to Angora about it, and meanwhile I must wait perhaps for two weeks. Letters of introduction from one governor to the next were treated in the same way, and then I would say: "Have you read the morning paper?" And the official would say: "What do you mean?" And I would point to the article, which would be a translation of a chapter of my book, and say: "I wrote that." And the official would say after a moment's hesitation and surprise: "Oh, so that is you, is it? That's all right. You can go along, but come and have a cup of coffee first."

The junior official had changed but little in five years. But let me repeat that, throughout my tour in Turkey, I met with almost uniform politeness and kindness, especially among the senior officials.

I left Adana without regret and took the railway through the foothills up into the Taurus mountains and through the tunnels which had been built mainly by our prisoners-of-war from Kut-el-Amarah. Many of you must have passed that way, and I shall not therefore waste your time describing to you the glimpses one gets in the cuttings where the snows are steep above one and the precipices run sheer down below; but I want to tell you a fact which I do not believe is as yet public property but will be published in the near future.

Most people have been at a loss to understand why in 1915 we did not attack at this point. It is the most vulnerable in Turkey. It was not fortified until 1916. Landing was easy: there was a broad plain with undefended mountains to hold. Had we taken control of this area in 1915 Turkey would have been cut off from the East. There would have been no campaign in Mesopotamia and no campaign from Egypt and Syria. The cotton of Adana could not have been sent to Germany, and it is probable that Turkey would have been out of the war perhaps a year before she capitulated. There would have been no Dardanelles campaign and no siege of Kut-el-Amarah. Cyprus stood handy to the coast for the concentration of troops and for supplies. The General Staff, the Admiralty, the Cabinet, and all responsible officials were in favour of an attack on this point, and the reason that that attack was never made—and remember that its success was almost sure—was due to the fact that when the British Government informed the French Government of its intentions, within a few hours the French Ambassador came to the Foreign Office with a telegram which stated that the French Government would consider it as an "unfriendly act" if British troops landed in this area, and frankly gave as its reason that it could not allow any but French troops to land in the south-east of Turkey or in North Syria. I believe that telegram, with the consent of the French Government, is shortly to be published. And so during a war in which each of us was fighting for our very existence the French, for a piece of selfish national policy, deliberately made our chances of success less likely. And when you think of the hundreds of thousands of good

Englishmen who died and of the millions of pounds wasted as the result of that act, can you wonder that some of us at times grow caustic about the French national policy.

Beyond the pass we crossed the Conqueror's road, down which have come all the conquering armies from west to east. Now it is a shored-up track beside a racing mountain stream with here and there some broken huts and the litter of camps; and now and again a caravan of camels or mules.

After that we come out on to the Anatolia plateau. And here I wish to say how well this railway is run—in fact, far better than that run by the French company between Mersina and Adana, and infinitely better than those run by the Syrians under French control.

The Turk is a curious mixture of efficiency and inefficiency; for example, there is this railway, and again the Ferry Boats Service on the Bosphorus, which have a very difficult course and awkward landing-places. The organization and the captains of the Bosphorus Ferry Service are all Turkish, and yet those boats are always punctual to the minute and very rarely break down. On the other hand, in other matters when something urgent requires to be done, one will often meet with the most gross inefficiency, slackness, and procrastination.

I got out at the station of Ulu Kishla, and from there I travelled by carriage and car by a bad road to Kæsarea. I will describe that journey to you as typical of the Anatolian plateau. I have seen it at all times of the year, but I will describe it in mid-winter.

I travelled for miles through a country whose soil was potentially rich, but most of it lay untouched. There were few villages, and those I visited were extremely poor and the standard of living of the people very low. The temperature was below zero, and the whole land was bound hard in black frost, so that it was as grey as dead ashes, and there was no running water. I was struck by the sense of immense distances, but even more by the sense of an immense silence broken only now and again by the sough of the wings of a fleet of ducks or a wedge of geese going down south to open water and food. On either side of us and overpowering us were great snows, and below them, on the sides of the mountains, were pine-forests.

We met little life; now and again we passed a horseman wearing a cloak of stiff black wool which reached from his neck down to the fetlocks of the horse and covered man and the horse, and on his head a black hood. Now and again a posse of gendarmes went by, and we met a country cart or two full of recruits going down to Ulu Kishla. They were fine lusty young men, and considering the hardness of their lives and the poor quality of their food, I can only credit their magnificent physique to the water and the air of this plateau, for the water is delicious and the air has the kick of champagne. Always as we travelled we could see the great peak of Arjais-Dagh, at the foot of which lies

Kæsarea. And it is typical of the general ignorance that few people have even heard of this mountain, which is as high as Mont Blanc, and only second in this area to Mount Ararat.

We met with no trouble throughout all this area. Security is excellent. As far as I could make out, in all Turkey west of Euphrates River, security was absolute and brigandage had ceased to exist. East of the Euphrates, the Kurds, who as you remember revolted in 1924, were still causing some trouble in the hills. In the old days it would have been unsafe to travel in this area unarmed and without an escort, as brigandage was rife. Now it is quite safe. I think that the disappearance of brigandage can be partly explained as follows: Our difficulties, in the days when I was connected with the gendarmerie, was due largely to the fact that the Turkish brigands were helped by the Turkish villagers, and the Greek brigands by the Greek villagers, and each fed on the other. Now all Christians have left Anatolia, and the only brigand possible is a Turk. If a Turk becomes a brigand he must feed on Turks and so become an ordinary criminal. The Turkish police and gendarmerie are very efficient at capturing criminals when it suits their convenience, and they have very soon cleared up all the brigands. Hence today one may travel alone throughout the country in safety, and the crime statistics are very low. This is in marked contrast to Cyprus, where the Greek population predominates, and where the records of violent crimes show that the people of that island are, with the exception of Chicago, the most criminal in the world.

After a long day of rough travelling I came to Kæsarea, and here I want to tell you a short story to show that the Turk has not changed vitally. As we neared the town and the Ford car bucked like a two-year-old all over the broken road and the driver had grown tired, I suddenly saw an aeroplane in a valley and German mechanics at work on it. I wanted to stop. The driver refused. I demanded to stop, and when he refused again, both being tired, we quarrelled, and after a while I called him every foul name that the Turkish and the Arabic languages—and they are pretty prolific under this heading—could supply. To top it all I called him "Adebsis," which means no more than "Without manners." He stopped at once with all his anger gone, and putting his hand on mine he said:

"You can stop or do what you like. It is not true, and I cannot let any foreigner think that I am unmannerly," and I in return, wishing to be courteous, replied:

"It is undoubtedly a word that I must have learnt from a Greek and of course it cannot be applied to a Turk." And after that we were the best of friends.

I want to paint a picture of Kæsarea. We arrived about sunset, and behind the town stood sheer and immense the mountain of Arjais-Dagh, sheer out of the plateau, with its peak covered with snow, from

which like a veil in the wind was blown out a storm. As we came in the mountain turned in the setting sun from rose to bronze, paled to embers, and died into grey ashes as the night swept up.

At its foot squatted the town. It was an old-world town, its houses set at all angles, built of blocks of grey stone, with gargoyles on every corner; its twisted streets were cobbled, and along each side were tiny shops where men were working cross-legged by the light of candles or flares, and the windows above were latticed. It was a city of the Arabian Nights. One could step back, in entering it, into the Middle Ages and the times of Haroun-al-Raschid; and day did not dispel the picture.

Kæsarea is interesting in every way. It used to be fanatical and reactionary, and so it is today. A great percentage of the men are religious and wear their caps over one ear; prayer is called from the minarets five times a day; the mosques are full and the women are without exception heavily veiled. They still wear the old-fashioned clothes of cloak and formless dress made of blue and white print with a heavy blue edge. I was told that in cold weather they wear all their available clothes to keep warm.

This is, I think, the place to say a word about the position of women in modern Turkey. A great deal of nonsense and incorrect fact has been written about them. Eighty per cent. of the women in Turkey today go veiled. In Constantinople ninety-five per cent. are unveiled, in Smyrna sixty per cent., in Adalia fifty per cent. and in Angora perhaps fifty per cent., but throughout the rest of Turkey the women are veiled, and the only one I saw in Kæsarea going uncovered was no better than she ought to be. According to the law men must wear hats, but women may wear veils or no as they like.

The Turkish man is as jealous as ever. I asked men of all classes how they would take it if they saw me talking with a Turkish woman, and they said without hesitation that they would not like it at all. Their jealousy has never been based on religion but is animal jealousy, and with it I can sympathize, for, as an Englishman, I dislike seeing English women with foreigners just as much as an American dislikes seeing his women with a negro.

Before the law women are better placed and have far more opportunities than under the old regime, but my own impression was that though they had many more opportunities they had taken very little advantage of them. The harem is long since dead, if for no other reason as a result of the economic changes. Under primitive conditions, as in an Arab encampment, a wife is an asset. She works for her husband. Daughters can be sold and sons are the best form of insurance for they look after their parents, whereas under modern conditions children form a new family and look after their children and a wife is something of a luxury to be paid for. There are few Turks today who.

even if the law allowed it, which it does not, could afford to keep more than one wife.

In 1922 I had hoped that the women of Turkey would be one of the potent influences in the reconstruction of the new Turkey. In 1927 I found that those who had become modernized had become over-extreme and the rest had not changed at all. It is possible that in the near future they may become more balanced.

There is one change, however, which it is more difficult and which requires more delicacy to explain, but which to me was the most revolutionary of all, and that was that the men seem to have lost interest in the women, and that whereas in the olden days sex predominated all other interests, this has ceased to be so in 1927. I will explain what I mean by taking you to Skutari, where I know my way about. In 1921 or 1922 any woman veiled, half-veiled or uncovered who was pretty or smart to look at would have inevitably been followed by half a dozen young bloods, an officer or two and some cadets from the school, who would be trying to look under her veil while they nudged each other. This had all ceased. For example, I sat one day eating *muhalebe* in a shop in Skutari and there came in two handsome, smartly dressed young women and nobody followed them or took notice of them. They paid their own bill and left unconcerned. In the old days there would have been at least one or two officers waiting outside the shop in the hopes of catching their eyes. And I got the impression that the women rather missed the old days and wanted someone to look at them, take notice of them, even follow them about.

But to go back to Kæsarea. It is typical of the present position in Turkey. At the moment it is an ancient town untouched; but the railway has just reached it, and before long it is likely to be a big junction connecting up Angora and Sivas with the main line down to Adana. It is likely to be an important commercial centre. The Governor was typical. He was capable, energetic, and obviously irritated by the junior officials and the general backwardness of the people. He was trying to get a move on under great difficulties.

Kæsarea also is the one place where the Turks have effectively taken the position of the Christians whom they ejected. The people of Kæsarea have always had the reputation of working and being hard business men. In fact, they are known as the *Shaitanli*, or The Devils, for this reason. In other parts of Turkey I saw the Turks trying to take over the humdrum work of small shops and trading which the Greeks and Armenians used to do, but without great enthusiasm. In Kæsarea the Christian quarter was completely in ruins, but the Turks had effectively taken over the work done by the Christians. For example, they were exporting as many as 7,000 silk carpets a year. It is true that these are not of the same quality as in the old days, but conditions are changed, for they are working for the wholesale market,

and the silk they use is from Italy and the dye is German and alkaline.

As to the Christians, there are few left in Anatolia. There are no Greeks. I believe there are three in Smyrna and one or two consuls about. There are some Armenians in every big town, but none in the villages: in Angora about 700, in Kæsarea 800, in Adana about 600, and most of these are Catholics. In the future it will be possible for some of the Armenians to go back, but the Turkish point of view is quite normal. For the Turks their Christian population has meant outside control by the European powers and internal trouble. With the Christian population gone they may be poorer, but they are prepared to be poor and free, and to have no Christians in Turkey.

Finally I would say of Kæsarea that in the future, if Turkey succeeds, it will be a great centre for troops, aeroplanes, and commerce, and I repeat that it is typical of Turkey today in the fact that there is a promise of these things, but as yet only the promise.

I took the road to Angora with regret, for I had been treated well and had been interested. We travelled by the new railway for fourteen hours across the same great plateau, bleak and treeless, which stretches more or less continuously right across to Baluchistan until it reaches the mud-flats of India. Now and again we saw camel caravans with their Kurdish-Persian-speaking drivers winding away by roads that disappear into the formless bleak distance. Sometimes we passed flocks of sheep, and the huge wolf dogs came barking at the train. These dogs are typical of this plateau. They are more wolf than dog and capable of killing a man, and it is the rule in this country that if attacked one must not shoot them, but it is permissible to stab them with a knife, which is proof that the attack was dangerous. The shepherds are as hardy as the dogs and the whole life primitive and fierce.

We crossed the Halys River, and at Kirk Ulu I saw factories and depots of arms and ammunition, and big four-storeyed barracks being built for the German workmen employed in the factories.

Towards evening we came to Angora.

I will be frank about Angora, and I am sure that any Turk who hears or reads what I say will not resent my frank opinion.

I was disappointed. I know the immense difficulties under which the Turkish Government is working. In some ways I think that they have done marvels, but Angora is still an Anatolian village. The town consists of a fortress on top of a steep hill, inside which there is a village, where the women are still veiled and small officials live the same life as they have done for centuries. Below that is the Burnt-Out Quarter, which has not been repaired, and again below that there is another Anatolian village, through which has been made a road and some fine buildings, such as Government offices and a hotel or two, and also a broad, well-made road leading down to the station. All the

majesty and grandeur of Stambul is gone, and I felt that some of the sordidness and meanness of Pera had been brought to Angora and mixed into this valiant attempt to turn the village into a capital city.

The Turks still feel themselves to be exiles, but I am sure that they do not intend to return to Constantinople; and in this they are very wise, partly because that city has demoralized all the peoples who have come to it, whether they were Byzantines or Turks, as it demoralized even the Allies during the short period of their occupation in 1919 to 1922. Constantinople, in fact, is the harlot of the world. And again for the struggling Turkish Republic to keep its headquarters on the Bosphorus would be to put itself in the power of those who wish to control it, the great powers of the world. And I will suggest that it is time that the embassies transfer to Angora and the ambassadors get into closer touch with the real rulers of Turkey.

I see the time is short, and I must cut out the tours in which I wish to take you by Eski Shehr and Afion down by Burdur to the south coast to Adalia and along the shore by 'Alaya, and Selefke and Anamur to Mersina and after that to Smyrna and Constantinople. I will therefore summarize some of my general impressions.

In modern Turkey, the rulers who are, perhaps, one or two per cent. of the population, are exceedingly efficient and full of high resolve. The junior officials have changed very little, only they are expected to do more work, to entertain, and their pay is still inadequate. The people as yet are untouched, but I will not say untouchable, for there has not been sufficient time yet to enable one to judge justly. They are a tired people, and they have been knocked to pieces by unending wars and maladministration. If Mustapha Kemal lives a little longer he may be able to make some impression on the massed inertia of the Turkish people.

Parliamentary government in the country is only a form and a Dictatorship is essential. You will realize that just as Bolshevism only suits the Russians and Fascismo the Italians, so the Parliamentary system only succeeds with the Anglo-Saxons. But it suits the end in Turkey. The Dictatorship, however, is a danger, as Mustapha Kemal overwhelms every other idea whether of country or patriotism; everything, every power, every idea is centred in him, and when he goes there must be a great gap, difficult to fill.

Let me say here and now that there is no question of any counter-revolution as there is no one to counter-revolt, though it is true that when only a few people hold the reins of power it is possible that another small party, even from among their own friends, may replace them.

As to their attitude to foreigners the Turks are still full of xenophobia. They dislike the British intensely because they made a Treaty of Sévres by which Turkey was to be destroyed; because they backed

the Greeks; and because they are believed to have been behind the Kurdish revolt of 1924, and to be encouraging the return of a Sultan and Khalif. I will explain the general position better by an example. If, for instance, you were crossing the road towards an island, and just as you got half-way you were nearly run over by a motor-bus and it was clear that the driver had deliberately tried to kill you and you got on the island with a tremendous effort, you would stand on that island thoroughly frightened and at the same time you would hate the driver of that bus, and perhaps the drivers of all buses. Now that is the Turkish position. They have just escaped by the skin of their teeth and at a tremendous effort from complete annihilation at our hands, and they are still in the reaction; but I believe that this can be got over, for we have much in common, both in our outlook and in our interests. A little close, sympathetic contact between us would quickly make us friends again.

Financially Turkey is terribly poor. The taxes are very heavy, and I think that they are making a mistake by creating monopolies. They need and desire capital, but they want it without any terms, and no capitalist is prepared to let them have it.

The law has been put into order by the adoption of the essential part of the Swiss Civil Code and the Italian criminal code.

Public security throughout most of Turkey is excellent.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, if you talk to Russians you will realize that in Russia there is a new spirit, there is a belief, a vital desire, and whether you like it or no, and whether it will be good or bad, the next generation in Russia will bring forth something new. I looked for a similar stirring spirit in Turkey and failed to find it. The capable ruling groups are fighting against immense difficulties to get their country into order and on to a progressive line; but up to date, and even today, they have to do more destroying than creating.

As in 1922 so today I am not prepared to say whether or no they will succeed, but let me say this, if they fail Turkey will slither down into final decay and Anatolia will become a prize for which the nations will fight, and I believe that a little sympathy, a little holding out of the hand of friendship on our part, would be of immense value to the rulers of Turkey, for I am convinced that a stable, well-governed, prosperous Turkey would be of great value both to the British Empire and to the world in general. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for coming here, keeping awake, and listening to me on this very hot afternoon.

Mr. F. H. SKRINE said he wished to ask two questions: firstly, what was the meaning of the attempted Europeanization of Turkey, more especially shown in the abandonment of the fez; and secondly, why was Mustapha Kemal embarking on a costly railway project when

in other countries railways were losing favour? Why did he not improve roads and encourage mechanical transport?

The LECTURER: My lord, the question of the fez I tried to explain just now, but I will do it again very quickly. First, the fez represents the Ottoman, and Mustapha Kemal is determined that the Turks should not be separated by any distinguishing mark from the Western peoples.* Secondly, it is a mark of the Moslem, and the Moslem religious idea was always at the back of any reactionary movement in Turkey; when Kemal destroyed the fez he simply struck a blow at the same people as he, hung two years ago, the people the Young Turks hate, such as the old Sultan.

I do not know if I can explain quite clearly about the railways. I think the proposition is a different one from that in any European country, because in other European countries good roads already exist to some extent, while in Turkey there is only one road from Cæsarea to Angora.

The attitude of the Turk to Europeanization is simple. It is that he will take what he can get, and when he thinks something is good he will get it. Very often he will take something which is not so good. I often find the Turks take those things in our civilization which we think of lesser importance, and leave out the things which we think of vital importance. (Applause.)

Sir DENISON ROSS said he had not only read Mr. Armstrong's book, but had reviewed it at great length, as being one of the best books on a post-war country in the East. He had hoped to hear today that the 2 per cent. of Turks who were working for the advance of the country had achieved some result; he had been disappointed to hear how little effect they had had.

Mr. KEELING: Mr. Chairman,— Captain Armstrong said that whereas in Anatolia the country was peaceful and you could travel as safely as in England, Englishmen and other Europeans were not allowed to go beyond the Euphrates where, I think he said, there was very considerable unrest. I was talking yesterday to an English geologist who has been working for my firm with an American geologist in that very country. He has been in Nisibin, and all the way along within half a mile of the frontier of Iraq, and his report is that whereas what Captain Armstrong said may have been true a few months ago, it is now no longer true. The Turks have got the country in order and it is perfectly safe. He went about unguarded, unattended, unopposed, and unobstructed.

* This point has been very clearly brought out in the discussions on the adoption of the Latin alphabet. Falih Rifki Bey, writing in *Le Milliett*, says: "Pourquoi la littérature d'il y a vingt ans est-elle devenue une énigme obscure à l'égal des écrits d'il y a trois siècles? C'est parce que la langue *osmanlie* est devenue la langue *turque*. Nous changeons l'écriture de la langue *turque*, et non celle des langues arabe et persane."

The LECTURER: The Governor of Eintab, where I went early in December, 1927, told me I could go anywhere I liked in the west but not in the east. There they would not allow it.

Colonel LANE: I would like to ask the lecturer what will be the effect in Turkey of giving up the Moslem religion? Also what will be the effect of the change from Arabic script to Roman and the change in the flag, which is now the White Wolf instead of the Star and Crescent?

The LECTURER: It is difficult for me to give an answer, because I am trying to deal with facts, and this is in the nature of a phantasy. The position in religion is this: the Turk is pretty lazy, as many of us are, in religious matters. If you go to the mosque it is rather to your credit, but a man who is lazy on Friday morning does not go, nor does he go on any other day in the week. Perhaps an illustration will make it clear. I was in Smyrna talking to a young man in the mosque. He said: "I am glad to see you here"; and he went on "Very few people come here now." I asked, "Why are you here; you are a young man?" He said: "Well, I have not been very well, so I thought I would come." (Laughter.)

A MEMBER: I would like to ask whether the Turkish women who have been educated in Constantinople have done anything towards helping the people in the interior?

The LECTURER: I have not seen them do anything throughout the interior where I have been. I am not talking about Sivas, but of Konia, Mersina, and all along the coast. Except that they have a number of very efficient schoolmistresses in the schools, there is no social service work being done in Turkey. In Cyprus all the schoolmistresses are Turkish, sent from Constantinople, as they are in Northern Syria. In all these towns the schools are being run by women, but there is no social work.

A MEMBER: May I ask if the children are taught the Koran in schools?

The LECTURER: I think the answer is no. Religious teaching is being cut out of all the schools.

Dr. RUSTON PARKER: There was a statement in *The Times* only a day or two ago to the effect that Mustapha Kemal was going to abolish Friday altogether. He thought it a waste of time that the Muhammadans do nothing on Friday, Jews on Saturday, and Christians on Sunday. He was determined to abolish Friday and make them all keep Sunday.

The LECTURER: I quite agree with that. When I go to see those Turkish Pashas they never give me any coffee. "It wastes time," they say; "let us get on to business." So I think it is quite likely.

The CHAIRMAN: I think that the time has now come to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer who has given us an enjoy-

able afternoon. To me especially it has been extremely interesting, because I had the good luck to go through all that part of Turkey at the end of the war. It was a very different thing from now: the country was very unstable, refugees were passing through, and disbanded Turks were turning into brigands. The French had not yet taken over Cilicia from us and the country was under military administration; it was most interesting to hear tonight what has happened since.

There is always a danger, I think, at any rate, in a great world upheaval such as we have experienced, of interfering too much in our neighbours' business. We were the victors in the war and were apt to think it was for us to put everyone's affairs straight. That is impossible, but it is not impossible to take an intelligent interest in their affairs—to judge for ourselves how the other nations are setting their houses in order. It is a matter of great importance how these houses are being set in order, but we cannot set them in order for them. Every nation must settle for itself its own affairs, decide for itself whether it prefers a dictator, Parliamentary or military rule. World history is the history of nations, and we have to watch nations working out history for themselves and make up our minds in what way it will affect us. I should like to thank Mr. Armstrong for his help in giving us a picture of the new Turkey. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: I thank you, my lord, and I thank you, ladies and gentlemen. I hope I have not been too pessimistic; I would only ask you to remember that the Turkish Government is working at this moment under stupendous difficulties, and I believe the success of a sound permanent Turkey holding Anatolia means more for the world, for us, and for our empire than anything else in that area. (Applause.)

BAHRAIN

By C. DALRYMPLE BELGRAVE

THE Bahrain archipelago is a group of small islands about seventeen miles off the Arab coast half-way down the Persian Gulf.

The town of Manama, the capital and commercial centre of the principality, is situated at the northern point of an island of the same name. This, the largest of the islands, is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide at the centre. It is separated from Muharrak Island, which contains the second largest town, by a stretch of sea, a mile wide, which becomes dry land, except for a narrow channel, at high tide. There are two smaller islands covered with palm groves and several rocky uninhabited islets.

The names "Manama" and "Muharrak" mean respectively "The place of sleeping" and "The place of burning." It has been suggested that the former island was used as a place for burying and the latter island as a place for cremations either by inhabitants or by people from the mainland many centuries ago. On Manama Island there is an area of many miles covered with thousands of ancient tumuli: some of these burial mounds are over fifty feet high. There has been much controversy about their origin, which has not yet been definitely settled.

The climate of the Persian Gulf is notorious, and much has been written about it; still more is said.

In Bahrain the temperature does not reach the height that it does in Muscat and some of the other Gulf ports, but the maximum humidity is higher than anywhere else in the Gulf. During three months of the summer, July, August, and September, the climate is very disagreeable indeed, very hot and extremely damp. The buildings ooze with moisture. April, May, June, and October are also hot and damp, but relieved by frequent dry spells which occur when the north wind blows. The remaining five months are usually quite pleasant, and during January and February it is often cold enough for fires in the house.

Only a small area of the islands is cultivated, the rest is stony desert. Rainfall never exceeds three inches in the year, but numerous fresh-water springs irrigate the gardens, which consist mostly of date groves. It is thought that the origin of this water supply is in the Arabian highlands 300 miles away. Several of the springs rise from

the bed of the sea. The Arabs dive down to the source with leather skins which they fill with fresh water, close, and carry up through the salt water to the surface. Before Artesian wells were sunk the water from the sea-springs was sold in the bazaars at four annas for each petrol-tin.

There are very few animals on the islands. At one time the Shaikhs used to breed ponies, but motor-cars have superseded horses. A particularly fine strain of white donkeys used to be exported from Bahrain to Zanzibar and the East African ports. They were usually exported on dhows from Muscat, and are therefore known in East Africa as "Muscat donkeys." I have met them as far west as Iringa District in Tanganyika Territory.

The local cows are fed chiefly on dates and dried fish—a peculiar diet, but one that produces good milk.

A few gazelles have been imported by the Shaikh, but there are so few that each one is known almost by name. In some places there are quantities of hares, which the Shaikhs hunt with silugi hounds. The Shaikh is a great breeder of these hounds. The Shaikh's favourite sport is hawking, especially during the season when the lesser bustard are on the islands. The venerable Shaikh Isa Ibn Ali, who is about eighty-five years old, constantly spends a whole day out hawking with his sons, riding most of the time on a donkey.

No census of the population has been taken, but the total is estimated at nearly 150,000, of which about two-thirds are resident in the two chief towns and the remainder in small scattered villages.

The population is made up of Arabs and the original inhabitants of the islands who are known as Baharina. The former are Sunni and the latter are Shias. The Arabs live almost entirely in the two towns; their interests are mainly commercial and connected with the pearl industry. All the cultivation is done by the Baharina. The Government and the ruling family is Sunni.

The population of Manama town is a mixed one, and includes Indians, Baluchis, Iraklis, freed negro slaves, and a small but influential community of wealthy Persian merchants, who migrated from Persia mostly during the last fifty years and have acquired wealth from trading in Bahrain. Most of these are Sunni, and came originally across the Gulf from Persian ports. There is also a large floating population of low class Persian coolies, who work as porters on the docks and in the bazaars.

The Shaikhs of the Khalifa family are the rulers of Bahrain. In 1783 they came over from the neighbourhood of Kuwait on the Arabian coast and conquered the islands which, for a few years in the latter part of that century, had paid tribute to Persia.

The present Shaikh, a direct descendant of the conquerors, is Sir Isa Ibn Ali al Khalifa. In 1923, owing to his advanced age, he

handed over the control of the state to his eldest son, Shaikh Hamed Ibn Isa al Khalifa, who is now a man of between fifty and sixty years of age. The Shaikhs of Bahrain have been in treaty relations with Britain for over a century.

Bahrain has been famous for many centuries as the centre of the pearl-diving in the Persian Gulf. The welfare and the very existence of the people depend upon the pearls. There are no local industries of any importance except boat-building. Nothing affects the people more than the result of the pearl season. If the season is good, money flows. The big merchants who trade in pearls between Bahrain, Bombay, Paris, and London make large profits. The local merchants who advance money to the boat captains are sure of their interest; the boat captains make money, and even the divers, who invariably come off the worst, receive larger amounts when they are paid their shares of the profits from the boats' catches.

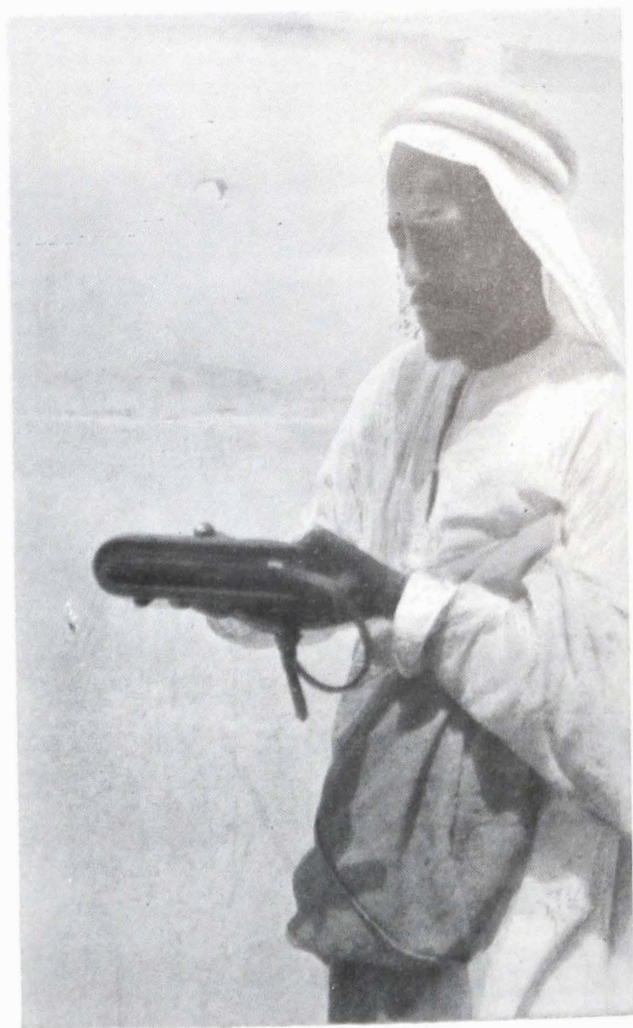
If the season is good, the State revenues are larger. The revenue depends entirely on a five per cent. import tax, and when there is money to spend in the bazaars the imports increase. No tax is levied on the pearls, and anybody is free to dive, as it is the Shaikh's policy to advance the industry in every way. I have often seen it stated that the Shaikh of Bahrain himself receives large sums from the pearls. This is not the case: he has no personal interest in the pearling.

The pearling system is very ancient and very complicated. Merchants on shore lend money to the captains of the pearling dhows, who usually give the merchants first option on their pearls. The profits on the boat's catch is shared proportionately among the captain, the divers, and the pullers. Interest is almost always charged by the merchants on the money which they lend to the captains and by the latter on the money which they lend to the divers at the beginning and end of the diving season, although the charging of interest is strictly forbidden by the Koran. The more sanctimonious merchants quiet their conscience in the following way. They hand over to the captain fifty bags of rice at the beginning of the season on the understanding that he gives them back sixty bags, or the equivalent in cash, at the end of the season. This is not considered to be taking interest.

During the last few years various reforms in the system have been made by the Shaikh. Rates of interest have been settled between divers and captains. At the beginning of each season the Shaikh issues a proclamation laying down the amount to be advanced to a diver. Formerly boat captains used to lend money to young men who showed promise of being good divers, at exorbitant interest, thus binding the borrower to dive for the rest of his life to pay off the debt. The condition of divers was almost that of slaves. The



H.E. SHEIKH HAMED WITH HIS FAVOURITE HAWK.



THE LARGEST PEARL OF THE 1927 SEASON,
WORTH ABOUT £5,000.



A DIVING DHOW ON THE PEARL BANKS.



TWO DIVERS IN THE SEA WEARING NOSE CLIPS.

divers as a class are entirely illiterate and easily cheated, so lately the Shaikh has established a department in his Government to protect their interests.

The divers work during four months of the year, in the summer, when the sea is warm. They use no apparatus. The average dive lasts one and a half minutes. The diving dhows are small and very overcrowded, and remain out at sea sometimes for two months at a time. During the season, walking through the bazaar, one sees groups of Arabs haggling over pearls of every size and shape and colour, which they show to each other, resting on little scraps of red twill. Indian and Continental pearl merchants from Bombay and Paris come to Bahrain during the pearling season and swell the European population which would otherwise dwindle in the summer to less than half a dozen people.

In Bahrain there is a curious mixture of modern progress and Oriental prejudice and stagnation. The Shaikh, especially since his visit to England three years ago, with the co-operation of most of the leading Arabs, has carried out many modern improvements and reforms. He and all the principal merchants own large motor-cars. People vie with each other in the size and quality of their cars. The Shaikh recently built himself a new palace, the first building of cut stone on the islands. Numbers of Artesian wells have been sunk by the State, and lately by private individuals, during the last two or three years, providing a plentiful water supply and increased irrigation for cultivation.

A wide road has been built the length of the town along the foreshore of Manama. The municipal councils of Manama and Muharrak, both very active bodies, take every opportunity of broadening the streets and bazaars in the two towns, and have built stone, meat and fruit markets in place of the old insanitary straw huts which previously existed. The Shaikh is proposing to instal electric light in his capital, and is considering the construction of a causeway across the sea to the neighbouring island of Muharrak. There are two hospitals in Manama, an ice factory, and a wireless station.

The British India boats which call weekly at Bahrain are compelled, owing to shallow water, to anchor three or four miles out at sea, but motor-launches, of which there are a large number in Bahrain, are used to convey the passengers ashore. There is a regular service by these launches from Bahrain to the mainland.

Although the Shaikh takes a strong personal interest in education, small progress has been made in that direction. The attendance at the State schools is small. Many of the pearl merchants and most of the boat captains who transact business, involving many thousands of pounds every season, are entirely illiterate. There is no female education in Bahrain. A few of the advanced Arabs are in favour

of it, but the majority disapprove of any change. The social and hygienic state of women is the same as it was many centuries ago.

One of the things that strike one most on first seeing the people is the badness of their teeth and eyes, especially among the Baharina. About half the men seem to have unsound eyes. One family of four brothers have five sound eyes between them.

The people of Bahrain like to consider that it is the most important port between Basra and Karachi. This is partly because most of the imports to the mainland are shipped through Bahrain. During the last two or three years there has been a remarkable increase in the variety of European goods which are stocked in the bazaar.

On a really hot day the bazaars are the coolest places in the town. The lanes are roofed over with matting and spread weekly with clean sand. Compared to most Eastern bazaars, they are remarkably clean and free from unpleasant smells, except when one passes the place where they sell dried fish. There are not many native goods worth buying; brass and copper coffee-pots are made, and one can buy Persian carpets, but they are better and cheaper if purchased elsewhere. The unbecoming fashion of natives wearing European clothes has not yet reached Bahrain, except in the case of a few foreigners—Indians, Persians, and Iraklis. The Shaikh and the Arabs do not approve of it. Once the son of the leading Kadi returned from a visit to Paris wearing a French suit. Urgent messages were sent to him on the boat forbidding him to set foot upon the island until he had changed his clothes.

The Shaikh himself is a man of simple habits. He has three residences, one in each of the two towns and one out on the desert in the middle of the island. He prefers living in his country-house among his hawks and his horses and his hounds. His palace in Manama is furnished in European fashion, but in his other houses he lives in Arab style. He does not care for show except on State occasions, and then he appears in gorgeous embroidered robes, carrying his sword in a golden scabbard, surrounded by his brilliantly dressed sons and retainers, and escorted by a detachment of the State police and a picturesque bodyguard of local Arabs. In person, he is a tall, distinguished-looking man, with a square black beard and a dignified manner. Although he has travelled in India and in England, he speaks no language but his own.

Taken as a whole, Bahrain is not a beautiful place; but what it lacks in beauty it makes up for in interest. The best parts of Manama town are very like some of the suburbs of Alexandria, except for the curious wind towers, which are a feature of the houses inhabited by Persians. The inland desert country is arid and ugly, terribly hot in the summer days, but cooler than the coast during the nights. Owing to the intense heat at night, which is the most

trying feature of the Bahrain climate, many of the town people motor out to the desert after sunset and spend the night in tents or straw houses.

Some of the gardens are very attractive, especially where there are fresh-water springs, overshadowed by date-palms and drooping tamarinds, in whose translucent depths one sees tortoises and big carp. In the summer evenings it is the fashion of the Arabs to drive out to Idari, the biggest of the springs near the town, for bathing. Sometimes there are as many as twenty cars parked alongside the spring, and groups of Arabs sit on carpets round the banks drinking coffee and watching the bathers. Very often the Shaikh himself goes out there with his sons.

Although Bahrain lies between Iraq and India—and in these days more and more people travel home by the overland route—the fast mail from Basra to India does not call. Few people, therefore, except those who have official or commercial interest in the islands, visit Bahrain.

ANNUAL DINNER

SIR RONALD STORRS AND SIR HARCOURT BUTLER

THE annual dinner of the Society was held at the Hotel Cecil, on July 5, with the President, Viscount Peel, in the chair.

After the loyal toasts had been honoured, Sir RONALD STORRS proposed the toast of the Society. He said he had been asked to take the opportunity of making some observations on those parts of the Near East with which he was more particularly acquainted, Cyprus and Palestine. They were countries in which there were unusual resemblances. Both were maritime countries, but had never been naval countries. That had never mattered to Palestine, which had access to the countries both north and south, had heard the tramp of innumerable armies, and had scattered her sons over the face of the earth. But it was rather otherwise with regard to the small island community of Cyprus, whose inhabitants had not been situated in conditions under which they would be likely to go far afield. Another resemblance between the two countries was that both benefited, if that term might be allowed, by the possession of three official languages. In Cyprus all Government business had to be carried on in English, Greek, and Turkish; in Palestine in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. It was so in Palestine two thousand years ago, when an official inscription was written in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek. Such variety of official language was not unknown in the West. In Switzerland at present there were three official languages, and in England, eight hundred years ago, he presumed that English, Latin, and Norman were the three languages in official use. Another resemblance between Palestine and Cyprus, perhaps a less happy one, was that in an admirably peaceful and well-meaning population there was a small but noisy percentage of people who might be termed politicians, guided chiefly by a stupendous misapplication of what might otherwise be economic and administrative energy, who kept the clock back and wasted their opportunities upon sterile and altogether futile politics. (Laughter.) But when these resemblances had been recognized there were points of enormous distinction between the two countries. He could say of Palestine after eight years' official association with the country that there was an atmosphere of poignancy which made everything occurring in Palestine seem to be important. They knew that many things which had occurred in Palestine in the past were still of extreme importance to mankind.

Sir Ronald Storrs then gave a brief survey of the history of Cyprus, leading up to a reminder that we have reached the jubilee of its transfer

from a cruel and inefficient Ottoman Administration to the British Crown under the Treaty of Berlin. Lord Beaconsfield came back to this country bringing peace in one hand and honour in the other, and Cyprus constituted the honour.

Cyprus deserved and needed more interest and help. Nevertheless it must be recognized that we had given to the service of the island some of our best men. He need only mention the name of Lord Kitchener, who was for two years Surveyor and Registrar-General of Cyprus. He journeyed throughout its length and breadth and corrected the map by which the authorities were still guided. He (Sir Ronald) had the honour and pleasure last year, as one of Lord Kitchener's humble subordinates in the past, to erect a tablet on the house where he had lived during his two years on the island, where his name and personality were still remembered.

Sir Ronald drew attention to the extraordinary beauty of Cyprus and to the advantages offered, including one thousand miles of excellent motor roads, to the tourist. The island was provided with some excellent hotels, not of course marked by the splendour to which they were accustomed in London, but which provided all the decencies and necessities of life at the absurdly cheap rate of eight or nine shillings a day. The island was possessed of many archaeological and historical treasures, and there was no lack of those facilities which the British resident and tourist took with him wherever he went. There were golf and tennis clubs, and even a very tolerable racecourse.

He felt justified in giving these details, for the Central Asian Society comprised within its purview that great triangle which was based on Constantinople, Cairo, and Calcutta, from which had been produced three, or if they included Buddhism as a religion, four of the great religions of the world. Nor was it inconceivable that at any moment there might once more arise within that triangle some God-gifted organ-voice speaking once more for the healing of the nations. It was an area, therefore, of paramount importance for the peace of the British Empire and consequently for the peace of the whole world. It was not merely of considerable but of extraordinary importance that we should have at our disposal all the accumulated knowledge and information for guidance in respect of the administration of those portions of that immense triangle with which we were concerned. They must remember that Macaulay started, as regards education, on an inclined plane when he recommended for Asiatic peoples a literary education. He must confess, that as an administrator, when he had to tour in the villages where the great majority of the people of Palestine resided, and had seen the children of agricultural labourers applying their minds to literary and philosophical studies, he had been unable to repress the reflection that such education was not likely to turn them out good agriculturists, though it might make them voters and possibly members

of local legislatures, which at any moment might turn out the Government of the day. It had been his privilege to see, both in post-war days and before, how quickly reconstruction could be achieved in such countries, without the aid of representative institutions. As Military Governor of Jerusalem, it was his privilege to live for about a year in an office where they were not hampered by a legislature, and where, for the time being, there were not even lawyers. (Laughter.) There was not so much as a secretariat or a central government, and it often occurred to him to remember in his lonely station the words of the poet who wrote of the happy garden where man first moved without a mate to share his life. It was his privilege to be under Field-Marshal Lord Allenby and to receive his trust and assistance. He hoped they would not consider that he was in any way inclined to discount the benefits of representative government, but he was free to confess that in the part of the world of which he had been speaking he had found it easier to administer the country without the assistance of a legislature. In the Middle East it was a very difficult task to reconcile to the work of practicable administration the unmade-up leeways of the past and the frothy effervescences of the present. They needed not only knowledge for the task but the sympathy which was born of such knowledge. He respectfully suggested that the Central Asian Society as a repository and as a clearing-house of ideas of such regions was an institution of incalculable value to all persons responsible for or interested in the conduct of affairs in the Near and Middle East. The Society was fortunate in having at its head an eminent statesman acknowledged to be one of the masters of his craft in this country and elsewhere, and also a distinguished Field-Marshal who had been aptly termed the last of the paladins. (Cheers.) Their names and their counsels imparted to the deliberations of the Society a happy blend of the practical and the theoretical. It was to him a very great pride and pleasure to give the toast of the Society coupled with the names of the President, Lord Peel, and the Chairman, Field-Marshal Lord Allenby. (Applause.)

Lord PEEL, who was cordially received on rising to reply, said that they had listened with great pleasure to the brilliant and far-seeing speech of Sir Ronald Storrs. On behalf of the Society he thanked him for the high tribute which, as a practical administrator, he had paid to the value of the work of the Society. Sir Ronald was deeply steeped in the lore and wisdom of the Near East. He looked young, but he had had a quarter of a century's experience in the East, and he had been Oriental Secretary to many eminent rulers, amongst whom he might mention the names of Lord Cromer and Lord Kitchener. He acted for some time as Military Governor of Jerusalem, numbering amongst his predecessors the well-known name of Pontius Pilate; he had also been Civil Governor of Jerusalem, a post in which he had been most successful. Since then he had been Governor of Cyprus, and he (Lord

Peel) anticipated that there was another twenty-five or thirty years of active administrative life before him, and that he would occupy many other Governorships in that time.

They had one other guest to whom he would like to allude—Sir John Simon. They all knew the gigantic task in which he was now engaged. He had devoted his great abilities to the examination of the Constitution of India, with a view to seeing how far it might be adapted to the new requirements of the coming age. He had a melancholy announcement to make, which was that they were not to be given the pleasure of listening to Sir John Simon. It seemed a strange paradox, and, indeed, almost an impropriety, that so great a lawyer and Parliamentarian should, in a great gathering of this kind, sit silent. (Laughter.) It must be a strange, and he did not know whether it was an altogether agreeable, experience for Sir John Simon, but he felt that with these great responsibilities upon him he had better observe the severe rule he had laid down for himself. Sometimes members of the House of Commons, when they had not caught the Speaker's eye, had the feeling that the best speeches were those which had never been delivered. That was the solitary consolation of their gathering that evening. (Laughter.) At the beginning of the dinner he made a suggestion to Sir John that he should at least say a few words, but he recalled that it was part of the contract when he accepted their invitation that he should not speak—and when a great lawyer talked of a contract there was nothing more to be said by the lay outsider. (Laughter.) But he would like to wish Sir John and his colleagues, on behalf of the Society, many of whose members were well acquainted with India, and knew something of the difficulties that he was encountering, their best wishes and their hearty goodwill in the gigantic task which had been laid upon his shoulders. (Loud cheers.)

He must say one word about Sir Harcourt Butler, if only for the reason that he had had a wonderful experience in India for thirty-seven years. For no less than twelve of those years he was the Governor of provinces, and he had had the unique experience of being twice the Governor of the same province, which was, he believed, a record. He had been Governor of two provinces, and when he had guided the introduction of the Reforms in the United Provinces the same task fell to him in Burma. He was the first Education Minister on the Viceroy's Council, and had previously discharged the duties of Foreign Secretary—duties which were so heavy that they were now divided between two men. In Burma Sir Harcourt put down the slave traffic in certain unadministered tracts, and had shown so high an administrative capacity that it was difficult for other Governors to follow him. In spite of these great administrative achievements he had had time, he was glad to say, for other duties and interests. For instance, he was distinguished in the great science of gastronomy. (Laughter.) And

that was a subject which appealed strongly to him, Lord Peel, as the Minister responsible for Government hospitality. (Renewed laughter.)

Sir Ronald Storrs had spoken of the wide range of the Central Asian Society. They could see from the reference to the two last issues of the *Journal* that it ranged through the whole of Asia. There were some people of small imagination who had complained that while they were known as the Central Asian Society, they discussed Palestine, China, and other countries which seemed to be geographically outside the scope of such an appellation. But they had abundant precedents in the past for their breadth of view. He believed it was from Central Asia that such well-known historical figures as Chingiz Khan and Tamerlaine came, and extended their rule over very wide fields, even wider, in some respects, than those covered by the discussions of the Society. Of recent events in connection with their vast field worth record he might mention the flight to India by aeroplane of the Secretary of State for War, Sir Samuel Hoare, accompanied by Lady Hoare. He could not refrain from mentioning this, as it was an opportunity to boost a colleague. (Laughter.) And he hoped that in due course Sir Samuel Hoare would return the compliment. (Renewed laughter.) The other event was the visit of King Amanullah Khan to Europe, and more particularly to this country. He showed himself an enlightened and progressive monarch, and as he said when he returned to Kabul, he undertook the journey not for pleasure but to study the institutions, scientific advances, and educational systems of the West. He (Lord Peel) was present at Oxford when the King of Afghanistan was given his honorary degree, and his speech on that occasion struck him as most remarkable. His Majesty was enormously impressed by having the degree conferred upon him by the ancient University of Oxford, which, as he said, had stood for so many centuries as a seat of learning. His Majesty saw almost everything that could be seen in this country in the limited time at his disposal, and he believed that what struck him most was the wonderful stability of our social institutions. He appreciated the significance of the fact that in some of the country houses he visited the same families had lived for three or four or more centuries, and his imagination was touched when he visited Windsor Castle and saw, as he said, the home for a thousand years of mighty kings. His Majesty finished up his journey in Russia, but he thought he had quite sufficient acumen and ability to see through the carefully arranged programme provided for him.

There were so many occupations and preoccupations, and so many things of interest going on in the vast dominions of our Empire, that there could be no doubt that we required a Society such as theirs to maintain interest and attention in Asiatic questions, and thus help to keep the British people informed on the problems of the East. They had long since discarded some of the old phrases which used to be

current. For instance, in the Central Asian Society they never talked about the "unchanging East." They were, on the contrary, deeply impressed by the rapidity of the changes which were going on in those countries, and it was their constant object to keep their knowledge ever fresh and new on the problems of the hour, leaving the study of antiquities and ancient civilizations to other societies. In particular, they sought information from those who had present-day experience as travellers, administrators, and soldiers in the East, who could bring to them fresh stores of knowledge and keep them constantly informed on what was passing in Asia.

One effect of fuller knowledge must be to qualify the facile theory that the great contrast between the East and the West was the materialization of our own civilization compared with the spirituality of the East. He was talking the other day to some Eastern friends, and gave them one or two instances which perhaps might help them to reconsider this settled belief on their part. He asked them to look at the City of London, the great financial centre of the world, and they would find that the most striking architectural feature of "the square mile" was the Cathedral and other great churches of Wren and other architects with their spires pointing to heaven. Was that a sign of mere material civilization? Further, he reminded them of the profound interest shown in both Houses of Parliament in the Prayer Book debates. These had attracted larger attendances of members and a wider interest on the part of the public at large than any discussions of material or economic questions which he could recall. The visitor might have supposed that he was listening, not to a debate in the House of Commons or the House of Lords, but to some medieval assembly of the Fathers discussing profound religious questions which had stirred the hearts of men from the Council of Nicæa.

They could not overlook the fact that the countries of Asia were far more critical of the West than they were thirty or forty years ago, and it was most desirable that there should be exchange of information between the East and West, and that we should study the problems of the East with sympathy born of full knowledge. It was said that it was lack of transport which led to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. We had no lack of transport in these days, no lack of communication, whether by air or by wireless, and it was quite clear that in the immediate future we were going to be brought far nearer to the East than we had ever been before. But the Central Asian Society existed to warn the public of the danger that, however near we might be brought to one another by modern science, we should never succeed in promoting peace and goodwill unless we approached the problems of the East with adequate knowledge, with sympathy and tolerance, and with a determination to understand the points of view of the Eastern, however they might differ from our own. Unless they could cultivate

that spirit they would not succeed in their mission. It was the determined aim of the Central Asian Society to make an effective contribution to the cultivation of that spirit. (Cheers.)

Field-Marshal Lord ALLENBY, in proposing the toast of the guests, said that it was their happiness to have with them that night the Persian Minister, the representative of a land of ancient culture and civilization, dating back far beyond the time when our own civilization rose—a civilization which was anterior to that of Egypt, if not indeed to that of China. They welcomed the representative of Persia, and they wished him and his country a prosperity and happiness in the future worthy of the long history of that land. It was also their privilege to have with them a Minister representing King Feisal of Iraq. They had welcomed his royal master to this country last year, and he recalled with satisfaction that he had the privilege of entertaining His Majesty and the honour of receiving his hospitality.

They recalled the close association of their armies and those of the Arabs under King Feisal in the war, and were gratified that this had been followed by their close co-operation with him in the administration of his country. They had much appreciated the observations of Sir Ronald Storrs, and he was in a position to say how deeply the country was indebted to him for the work he did for the Allied cause in the winter of 1917 when Jerusalem was first occupied. In the early days of the military administration he had a hard and rough time, and there was little or no opportunity for providing himself with the ordinary conveniences of life. Palestine owed to him, both as military and civil Governor of Jerusalem, a debt of gratitude. Perhaps only he (the Field-Marshal) and Sir Ronald knew the dangers to the Allied cause which had to be overcome at that time. Of Sir John Simon he could say little beyond what had already been remarked by the President. They welcomed him as a great lawyer and statesman engaged upon a great imperial work. Sir Harcourt Butler, as Governor of two Indian provinces, had served his King and country worthily and well, and had won the affection of the people. On the previous day a lady friend of his said to him, "You will meet Sir Harcourt Butler tomorrow evening; you will find him a great dear." (Laughter and cheers.)

Sir HARCOURT BUTLER, who was received with enthusiasm, said that he was called upon to reply for the guests, while Sir John Simon, whom they would so much rather hear, sat silent. It had been his lot during his long Indian career, now and then, to attend animal fights; but there were occasions, surprising as it may seem, when even the principal animals refused to fight. (Laughter.) He remembered that on one occasion they all refused to fight. The Prince who was their host was disappointed, and decided to turn them all into the arena together. There was a tiger, a leopard, a pig, a bear, a donkey, a camel, and other animals all turned out together; but even then the conflict, which their

host was expecting, did not mature, and the only animal which came up to anticipation was the donkey (laughter), who laid out with his heels all round with such effect that the other animals slunk off clinging to the side of the arena. Encouraged by this example (laughter) he made bold to reply for the guests. He thanked the President for the kind words in which he had referred to his official career. He could only say that if he had achieved anything during his long service it was due to the help, assistance, and loyal support he had always received from those who were working with him, whether Europeans, Indians, or Burmans. He could not speak of the Middle East and Central Asia with first-hand knowledge such as could be supplied by his old friend and fellow-schoolboy, Sir Percy Cox (cheers), and he could only tell them something of the Asia that he knew. He was expected to say something about India, and that was not very easy.

Sir Harcourt went on to say: I cannot talk about the Reforms, for that is a matter in the hands of Sir John Simon and his colleagues, and very capable hands they are. I may perhaps say without impertinence that they have our fullest sympathy in the difficult task before them, one of the most difficult tasks conceivable. For they have to cut a positive path through a jungle of negative criticism. They have our sympathy and they have our confidence. Still less can I talk about the Indian States Committee of which I am Chairman. I will only say this: that we all realize the importance of the Indian States, the great services of the Indian Princes in the past, their deep loyalty to the Crown, and their high position in India. There remains the old but ever-present topic of East and West in its modern form. There are those who think that East and West can never combine. We all know the lines of Matthew Arnold and Rudyard Kipling in support of the views which they have so aptly expressed.

But another view is gaining ground steadily, a view which I myself have long held, that a great synthesis is being worked out, very slowly it must be admitted, and to some extent unconsciously. The change which this signifies is, to my mind, the most important change of recent years in regard to Indian problems. We hear less now than formerly of belligerent progress and more now than formerly of mutual understanding. So much, indeed, is certain, that much greater interest is taken now than formerly in Indian problems. In the current number of the *Hibbert Journal* there is a deeply interesting and profound article by Lord Haldane on this subject. He deals in masterly manner with the spiritual and philosophical position. He holds that the leaders of thought in the East understand the thought of the West better than the leaders of thought in the West understand the thought of the East, and he draws attention to the fact that under wholly diverging forms the great religions of the East and of the West have more of a common foundation than we here at least commonly suppose, and he thinks that

we are wrong to deal only with politicians, leaving aside the leaders of thought. There are other articles in the *Journal* dealing with Indian questions on the religious and philosophical side, a very important side beyond all question.

In the world of politics and business we are being thrown together in a way which would have been regarded as impossible many years ago, and if the contact leads at first, and not unnaturally, to some collision, there is at least a better understanding of different points of view. (Cheers.) In Committees where most of the work of the world is done there has been really good combination and mutual understanding with excellent results. It is in committees where work is done quietly and without publicity that our best work has been done. For the light of publicity in India is a rather fierce flame fanned by fanaticism of various forms. (Laughter and cheers.) Again, Indians are taking to invest their money in ventures which depend on the continuance of British rule. There is a demand on all sides now for more practical education. There are many—I confess that I am one of them—who think that economic questions will in the future overshadow political questions. We may have to revise our ideas in many respects; we are doing so. We are meeting the time changes with that practical accommodation which is generally regarded as the genius of our race.

Look back, I ask you, on the changes that you have seen in your lifetime. I remember how when I landed in Bombay nearly forty years ago, I was bewildered by the multitudes of peoples. They were like birds in an aviary of different forms and colours and different voices. The diversity remains, the lines of cleavage are still deep, but by our education, by the spread of communications, by our scientific administrative system, by our common laws and language—and English is now established as an Indian language—we have given at least the idea of unity to India. It may be imperfectly conceived, the lines of cleavage may be deepening under the influence of religious and racial fanaticism, but some progress has been made already. English education has purified our services. British commercial enterprise has conferred immense benefits on the peoples of India and shown them the way to make their country industrial and commercial. The principles of British law have profoundly affected and are profoundly affecting the lives and thoughts of the people. At many points the West is influencing the East, and at many points also the East in influencing the West. (Cheers.)

What will be the issue of all this activity one cannot foresee. The difficulties of Government are increasing, new problems are arising. The maintenance of law and order is more intricate a problem than it has been in the past, and everything depends on this primary function. The necessity for firmness in administration was perhaps never greater than it is now. We must not overlook administration while thinking

of policy. After all, administration is the life of the law and its point of contact with the people. (Cheers.) The problems of labour are rising. The interests of minorities are clamant. The welfare of inarticulate millions needs increasing attention. Other countries have gone or are going through the same experiences. That is a point that we must always remember. We have not reached our present position in the West without long struggles and many inconveniences. The East has the advantage of the accumulated experience of the West, but it cannot leap suddenly into progress. It has to learn by its own mistakes and pay the price of change. It is a commonplace that for every gain some loss is inevitable. I have always found it useful to put this question to myself. Through what stages did we have to go in order to attain a similar result? How did we stand in this matter a century or two ago? And when I reflect on this and on the fixed points of position, I decline to plunge into pessimism. (Cheers.) I remain an optimist still.

Progress in so vast a country as India, so riddled with different points of view, must be slow; patience is the greatest of all virtues in dealing with the persistence of the East. It may be attained not in our own way, it may take forms not our own forms, but progress is going on. The synthesis is being slowly built up. The number of Indians who are working for the synthesis is far greater than we know. (Cheers.) Our greatest critics are after all converted to the Western point of view. The efforts to revive ancient ideas have received little support from them. Never forget that reaction is the real danger in India, and that the forces of reaction are still very powerful. Some reactions must be expected from time to time. But we cannot go back and we cannot go out. We cannot expect the same thing to be and not to be. We cannot have Western Progress without the help of Westerners. We must maintain for a long time to come a strong Western element in the essential public services. Troubles we must expect. But when I survey the progress of the last forty years, a progress which would have been thought quite impossible forty years ago; when I think that we have been through the greatest war of history without the revolutions which have overtaken many other countries (cheers), when I think of the quiet of India—for on the whole it has been quiet—the freedom of movement, the strong financial position, then I feel that we may face the future, not without anxiety, but with some reasoned hope in the power of our own people and of the leaders of Indian moderate and responsible opinion to work out a synthesis. And what is more, I believe that we are doing it. (Loud applause.)

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HUNGARY TO OUR KNOWLEDGE OF CENTRAL ASIA*

BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS

THE title chosen for my lecture perhaps requires definition. By Hungary I naturally mean scholars of Hungarian origin. The scholars of whom I shall speak are *Csoma*, *Ujfalvy*, *Vambéry*, and *Stein*. I shall begin with *Csoma*, and it is mainly with his life and work that I shall deal. In Central Asia I include Tibet, as well as those countries where, during the past thirty years, such wonderful treasures of art and literature have been released from under the dust of ages.

It was, as we shall see, the Asiatic Society of Bengal which became the medium for the foundation of Tibetan studies, just as it had been of Sanskritic studies. It is not always remembered that, although we in the West had, by the end of the eighteenth century, acquired a considerable knowledge of the literature and culture of the Near East, of the Middle East, and even of the Far East (thanks to the Arabs in Spain, the Crusades, and the mediæval travellers like Marco Polo), our ignorance of old religions and languages of India was abysmal. It was not till Warren Hastings became Governor-General of India that the study of these subjects received the serious attention of Western scholars. Warren Hastings rightly believed that, in order to rule the Indians with justice and sympathy, it was essential to gain a knowledge and understanding of their own laws and customs. Fortunately he found among those Englishmen who were working under him in India gifted men willing to undertake such work in addition to their official duties. Among these pioneers the names of Sir William Jones and Colebrook stand out prominently. Sanskrit texts were published and translated, and the work begun by these scholars was eagerly taken up by others in France and Germany, and it was only then that the science of comparative philology was initiated; for the close study of the Sanskrit languages led at once to a complete readjustment of all existing views on the origin of mankind—views hitherto based on the legend of the confusion of tongues at Babel. Thus the East, which had revealed herself so slowly and so reluctantly to the West, yielded up almost last of all the greatest of her secrets—the secret of India. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a further secret was revealed—the mystery of Tibet, and with this great discovery is for ever associated the name of *Csoma Körösi Sandor*.

* Being a Lecture delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society on June 12, 1928, the Earl of Ronaldshay in the Chair. (By permission of the Royal Asiatic Society.)

The time at my disposal will not permit me to give even a brief summary of what had hitherto been known of the Tibetan language. Let it suffice to say that the only European work on this language known to Csoma de Körös was Georgi's "Alphabetum Tibetanum," published in 1762. The genesis of this fantastic book is too curious for me to pass it by altogether.

The Tsar, Peter the Great, sent eight leaves of a Tibetan book to the Academy in Paris where it was made an object of close study by two French savants. One of them, named de Fourmont, made a translation of one of the leaves, having as his only aid the Latin Tibetan vocabulary composed by Father Dominique de Fano, a manuscript containing 3,000 Latin words with their Tibetan equivalents. Unfortunately there were many words in the leaf which were not to be found in the vocabulary of de Fano, but de Fourmont was not to be daunted by so slight an obstacle, and boldly called into his service the word which sounded most like the word he found in his text. This was, of course, a dangerous thing to do in the case of this particular language in which (more than in any alphabetic language) orthography plays a much more important part than pronunciation. In this manner he often took a terminal affix for a root, and cut words in two, giving one half to the preceding word and the other to the word that followed. This so-called translation was reprinted as being exact by one scholar, criticized by a second, and published with textual corrections by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum." Remusat says of these performances "at first one had admired the profound erudition which had enabled de Fourmont to recognize the language in which these leaves were written; later Georgi was praised for having corrected the text and the translation. I do not know how anyone can translate or correct a text which one is not able even to read. There was nothing to admire in all this; interpreters, panegyrists, commentators, and critics were none of them capable, I will not say of reading a line, but of even spelling out a syllable of the passage which they were all discussing."

In spite of all, this leaf became famous and these interpreters even more famous throughout learned Europe. Such was the origin of the only book at the disposal of Csoma when he began his Tibetan studies.

If a Biographical Dictionary were to be written containing the lives of all the great pioneers of Oriental studies, one of the most romantic and inspiring names in the work would be that of Csoma de Körös. And yet it would be one of the least familiar. For those same qualities which enabled him to travel like a *bhikshu* and live like a hermit for so many years prevented his ever talking much about himself or publishing anything in the shape of an autobiography. The man who could travel alone, and mostly on foot, from Bucharest to Lahore without money or baggage, and not wish to give the world an account of his

experiences, certainly possessed a nature cast in an uncommon, or shall we say unmodern, mould.

What little we know of that remarkable journey would probably never have reached us had not the Government of India in a manner forced out of Csoma a Report by way of accounting for the sudden appearance of a solitary Hungarian on the North-West Frontier.

Alexander Csoma was born in the village of Körös, whence his name Körösi or de Körös, Transylvania, on April 4, 1784. In about 1799, he entered the College of Nagy Enyed as a student, and in 1807 he first embarked on his higher academical studies, which included three years in the University of Göttingen, devoting his time chiefly to Oriental languages and history.

"Among other liberal disciplines," Csoma writes in his Report to Government, "my favourite studies were philology, geography, and history. Although my ecclesiastical studies had prepared me for an honourable employment in my native country, yet my inclinations for the studies mentioned above induced me to seek for a wider field for their further cultivation. As my parents were dead, and my only brother did not want my assistance, I resolved to leave my native country and to come towards the East, and, by some means or other procuring subsistence, to devote my whole life to researches which may be afterwards useful to the learned world of Europe in general, and in particular, may illustrate some obscure facts in our own history."

I would in passing refer to the amazing command of the English language Csoma already possessed before he came to reside in Calcutta.

In his Preface to the Dictionary, he writes :

"He begs to inform the public that he has not been sent by any government to gather political information, neither can he be counted of the number of those wealthy European gentlemen who travel at their own expense for their pleasure or curiosity, but is only a poor student who was very desirous to see the different countries of Asia, as the scene of so many memorable transactions of former ages, to observe the manners of several people and to learn their languages."

It is quite natural that, of all the European nations, the Hungarians should be the most prone to travel in Asia in quest of their ancestors. For, with the exception of the Basques and the Finns, all the other nations of Europe have, as it were, been accommodated with an origin and birthplace, while the brave Hungarian race had been left in the cold.

It must be remembered that the well-established groups of Aryans and Turanians were ill-defined in Csoma's day, and the instinct which led him to look for his ancestors in Mongolia was all the more remarkable. It should not be forgotten that it was the merest accident that led Csoma to take up the study of Tibetan. His original intention was to penetrate into Chinese Turkestan, where he would have found

the linguistic affinities for which he was looking. But the road to Yarkand was closed: and Fate decided that not he but another Hungarian should reap Fame in the deserts of Taklamakan.

On January 1, 1820, he set out from Bucharest "lightly clad, as if he merely intended taking a walk," and, travelling alternately by ship and on foot, via Sophia, Enos, Rhodes, Alexandria, Cyprus, Beyrout, Latakia, Aleppo, Mosul, Baghdad, Teheran, Meshhed, Bokhara, Balkh, the Bamian Pass, and Kabul, reached Lahore on March 11, 1822. The exigencies of time will not permit of my enumerating the all too scanty details which have reached us regarding this adventurous journey, for my chief object this evening is to show you Csoma, the pioneer of Tibetan studies rather than Csoma the traveller. This was almost the identical route followed by Arminius Vambéry forty years later as far as Bokhara in the disguise of a dervish.

From Lahore he retraced his steps and finally reached Leh in company with Mr. Moorcroft on August 26, 1822, and it was here that his interest in Tibetan was first aroused. Csoma himself writes as follows: "We arrived in Leh on August 26, and in September, after Mr. Trebeck's arrival from Piti, Mr. Moorcroft gave me to peruse the large volume of the "Alphabetum Tibetanum" . . . wherein I found much respecting Tibet and the Tibetan literature, and being desirous to be acquainted with the structure of that curious tongue, at the departure of Mr. Moorcroft from Leh, I begged leave to remain with Mr. Trebeck, who obtained for me the conversation and instruction of an intelligent person, who was also well acquainted with the Tibetan and Persian languages: and by this medium I obtained considerable insight in the Tibetan."

Csoma continues: "During the winter in Kashmir (1822-23) . . . considering what I had read and learned on the Tibetan language, I became desirous to apply myself, if assisted to it, to learn it grammatically so as to penetrate into the contents of those numerous and highly interesting volumes which are to be found in every large monastery."

Mr. Moorcroft, on learning Csoma's wishes, gave him every assistance in the shape of money and recommendations, and thus Csoma was able to apply himself seriously to the language and literature of Tibet under the guidance of learned Lamas, residing at various times in Ladak, Leh, and Zanskar.

In this same report Csoma thus describes his method of study:

"During my residence in Zanskar, by the able assistance of that intelligent man (the Lama) I learned grammatically the language, and became acquainted with many literary treasures shut up in three hundred and twenty large printed volumes, which are the basis of all Tibetan learning and religion.

"These volumes, divided into two classes, and each class containing other subdivisions, are all taken from Indian Sanskrit, and were

translated into Tibetan. I caused to be copied the contents of these immense works and treatises in the same order as they stand in the printed indexes. Each work or treatise begins with the title in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and ends with the names of the authors, translators, and place wherein the author has written or the translation was performed. As there are several collections of Sanskrit and Tibetan words among my other Tibetan writings, I brought with me a copy of the largest, taken out one of the above-mentioned volumes, consisting of a hundred and fifty-four leaves, every page of six lines."

In the second report, dated May 25, 1825, we read :

"It was this man (the Lama) . . . who in the course of three months after my arrival at that place, Zanskar, wrote down at my request some thousand words arranged after certain heads, and since he had many books with him containing collections of words and could easily procure others from the neighbouring monasteries, he gave me much account of technical words used in arts and sciences, that I acquired sufficient information to be interested in the Tibetan literature, and to pursue in certain order the study I was engaged in. . . .

"In a word, there is a full enumeration of whatever we can meet within the region of the elements, as they are called—namely, earth, fire, water, air, ether—and in the intellectual kingdom. These were all arranged after my direction and plan.

"Besides this vocabulary of the most necessary words which I have now with me, all written by the same Lama in the Tibetan capital character, I have another large collection in Sanskrit and Tibetan (the Sanskrit also being written in the Tibetan capital character, as they early adapted their alphabets to express properly every Sanskrit word) copied from the Stangyur Do division, ninety volumes from the two hundred and twenty-third leaf to the three hundred and seventy-seventh, consisting of sixty sheets of common Cashmerian paper, having writing but on one side, and having on every page thirty-two lines. This vocabulary, arranged after certain matters or subjects under general heads, contains many thousand words of every description: several distinctions and divisions highly interesting in order to understand better the whole system and principles of the Buddhist doctrine."

Csoma continued his studies in Tibetan, chiefly at Kanum, until 1831. Dr. Gerard, of the Bengal Medical Service, while touring the Himalayan districts for the purpose of introducing vaccination among helpless peoples who were seriously stricken with smallpox, found Csoma in this place in 1828, and in a report to Government incidentally gives the following description of Csoma and his surroundings :

"I found him at the village of Kanum, in his small but romantic hamlet, surrounded by books, and in the best health. He had not

forgotten his reception at Sabathu, and was eager to manifest a feeling springing from gratitude. A year and more had passed since we met, and he seemed glad and proud to show me the fruits of his labours. He had been most persevering and successful, and were not his mind entirely absorbed in his studies, he would find a strong check to his exertions in the climate, situated as he is and has been for four months. The cold is very intense, and all last winter he sat at his desk wrapped up in woollens from head to foot, and from morning to night, without an interval of recreation or warmth, except that of his frugal meals, which are one universal routine of greasy tea; but the winters at Kanum dwindle to insignificance compared with the severity of those at the monastery of Yangla, where Mr. Csoma passed a whole year. At that spot he, the Lama, and an attendant were circumscribed in an apartment nine feet square for three or four months; they durst not stir out, the ground being covered with snow, and the temperature below the zero of the scale. There he sat, enveloped in a sheepskin cloak, with his arms folded, and in this situation he read from morning till evening without fire, or light after dusk, the ground to sleep upon, and the bare walls of the building for protection against the rigours of the climate.

“The cold was so intense as to make it a task of severity to extricate the hands from their fleecy resort to turn over the pages.

“Some idea may be formed of the climate of Zanskar from the fact that on the day of the summer solstice a fall of snow covered the ground, and so early as the 10th of September following, when the crops were yet uncut, the soil was again sheeted in snow; such is the horrid aspect of the country and its eternal winter.

“I have mentioned the above as a proof of the assiduity of Mr. Csoma, who collected and arranged forty thousand words of the Tibetan language in a situation that would have driven most men to despair. He has already nearly completed the dictionary, and the vocabulary is far advanced, and both, as well as I may venture to judge, exhibit singular industry and research. He told me with vivacity that he has acquired a sufficient knowledge of Tibetan to enable him to accomplish his objects, even if he should be deprived of the Lama's services by sickness or other causes. He, the Lama, has, however, engaged to remain for two years longer, and from his great erudition, being acquainted with the refined and court languages, and learned in history, his resources will long prove an acquisition to Mr. Csoma. He exhibits a singular union of learning, modesty, and *greasy habits*; and Mr. Csoma in this last respect vies with his learned companion, which is not very strange in such a country.”

In April, 1831, Csoma at last realized his long-cherished desire of visiting Calcutta. Mr. Duka, his biographer, writes: “On the 5th of May he reported himself to Mr. Swinton, the Secretary to Government, and

placed all the literary treasures in his possession at the disposal of the authorities."

From 1831 to 1835 Csoma remained in Calcutta engaged in the publication of his famous Dictionary and Grammar. He was also employed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal to make a *catalogue raisonné* of the Tibetan works forwarded from Nepal by Brian Hodgson.

On December 26, 1832, H. H. Wilson writes that, besides the Dictionary and Grammar, a translation of a Tibetan Vocabulary, containing a summary of the Buddhist system, was ready for publication and at the disposal of the Government, "to whom the author considered his works to belong, in return for the patronage it had been pleased to afford him.

"Should it be the pleasure of Government to defray the cost of publication, which has been estimated at three thousand to four thousand rupees, Mr. Csoma will be happy to conduct them through the press in Calcutta; or he is willing, should the Government think it proper, to send them through me to England, where, perhaps, the Honourable Court of Directors or some literary association may undertake their publication."

Government agreed to defray the cost of publishing the Dictionary and Grammar, the former in January and latter in December, and these duly appeared in 1834.

In forwarding a copy of the Dictionary to Government, James Prinsep, who had succeeded H. H. Wilson as Secretary to our Society, writes as follows :

"The Dictionary and Grammar now submitted form but a small part of the works Mr. Csoma has executed while in Calcutta. A catalogue and analysis of the voluminous MSS. received from Mr. B. H. Hodgson of Nepal, and a valuable and most extensive polyglot vocabulary of which M. Remusat attempted a small portion in Paris from Chinese works, and several minor translations are deposited with the Asiatic Society. The vocabulary would merit well to be printed, but the expense would be considerable, and the author is averse to the further detention which its publication would entail on him at the present moment."

We gather from the remarks above that it was Csoma's anxiety to be off again on his travels that prevented his undertaking the publication of this Vocabulary. There can be no doubt that Government would have sanctioned the cost of production, which would have been small compared with that entailed by the printing of the Grammar and Dictionary. It is at least a satisfaction to feel that the non-appearance of this Vocabulary during Csoma's lifetime was not due to any lack of encouragement or support on the part of the Society or the Government. Still, the charge against the Society for leaving this precious MS. untouched for so many years in this destructive climate is one not easy to meet.

In 1835 he again set out on his travels, reaching Maldah in January, 1836. Early in March he was in Jalpaiguri, and after a sojourn of nearly two years in Eastern Bengal and in the neighbourhood of Sikkim, Csoma returned to Calcutta. During this period he seems to have been chiefly engaged in learning Bengali and in perfecting his knowledge of Sanskrit.

From the end of 1837 to the beginning of 1842 he again resided in the Bengal Asiatic Society's building, and as Librarian to the Society was chiefly engaged in arranging the Tibetan works. He also at this time wrote and published a number of articles in their Journal, and was furthermore employed by Dr. Yates and other missionaries in the translation of the Liturgy, the Psalms, and the Prayer Book into Tibetan.

We have the accounts of two eye-witnesses of Csoma's mode of life in Calcutta, both of which are, I think, of sufficient interest to be quoted in full.

One is from an article which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, by M. Pavie, who writes thus :

"I saw him often during my stay in Calcutta, absorbed in fantastic thoughts, smiling at the course of his own ideas, taciturn like the Brahmins, who, bending over their writing-desks, are employed in copying texts of Sanskrit. His room had the appearance of a cell which he never left except for short walks in the corridors of the building. What a pity it is," continues Pavie, "that a scientific mind like his was so little given to writing except on his special study: but under the influence of ideas of a peculiar kind he accomplished that laborious and useful task which constitutes his glory."

The other account is by an Hungarian artist, Mr. Schoefft, who lived in India and knew Csoma well. In a letter written in March, 1842, he says: "I was on very friendly terms with Csoma during my stay in Calcutta, where I found that the people of that city had much clearer ideas about Hungary than before, for which, doubtless, we are indebted to Csoma. Nevertheless, the truth must be told, that I never saw a more strange man than him. He lives like a hermit among his Tibetan and other works, in the house of the Asiatic Society which he seldom leaves. Of an evening he takes light exercise in the grounds, and then he causes himself to be locked up in his apartment: it therefore invariably happened that when, during my evening rides, I called on him, it was necessary for me always to wait till the servants produced the keys to unlock the door of his apartment."

It is a very remarkable circumstance that during these five years, 1837-42, he made, as far as we know, no effort to publish the Sanskrit-Tibetan Vocabulary.

Csoma undertook his last journey in February, 1842, when he was fifty-eight years of age. Travelling via the Terai he reached Darjeeling

on the 24th of March. On the 6th of April he was taken ill with fever contracted on the journey, which in six days terminated fatally. "His effects," we are told, "consisted of four boxes of books and papers, the suit of blue clothes which he always wore and in which he died, a few sheets, and one cooking-pot. His food was confined to tea, of which he was very fond, and plain boiled rice, of which he ate very little. On a mat on the floor with a box of books on the four sides, he sat, ate, slept, and studied, never undressed at night, and rarely went out during the day. He never drank wine or spirits, or used tobacco or other stimulants."

Csoma was buried in Darjeeling, on a spur of land overlooking those eternal snows he was never destined to pass, and over his grave the Asiatic Society raised a pillar. Curiously enough, nothing else was ever done by the Society to perpetuate his memory until 1910, when a bronze replica of the marble bust presented to the Hungarian Academy by Mr. Joseph Rust was sent to Calcutta and now adorns the hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In that same year his grave was restored and the inscription recut.

In speaking of Csoma's life, I have mentioned only three of his works—namely, the Grammar, the Dictionary, and the Vocabulary. Besides these works, however, Csoma contributed to the earliest numbers of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and to the last volume of the "Asiatic Researches" a larger number of articles dealing with Tibetan Buddhism and kindred subjects.

The most important of these was undoubtedly his analysis of the *Kangyur* and the *Tanjur*, the Buddhist Canon of the Tibetans, and, in describing the contents of these works, Csoma revealed to his contemporaries a hitherto unknown episode in the history of human thought.

I cannot do better than quote a striking passage from Sir William Hunter's remarkable essay entitled "A Pilgrim Scholar":

"The result of his life was to open up a vast field to human enquiry. Csoma, single-handed, did more than the armies of Ochterlony, and not less than the diplomacy of Hodgson, to pierce the Himalayas and to reveal to Europe what lay behind the mountain wall. He has suffered the fate allotted in this world to the pioneers of knowledge. Other men have entered on his labours. They have built their easy edifices from the materials which he with a life's toil amassed; the meaner translating sort, as usual, not fearing to patronize the dead master."

The next great secret to be revealed was that of Chinese Turkestan, and the credit for this is shared by several scholars.

In the story of Central Asian exploration no name stands out more prominently than that of Aurel Stein, of whom I shall speak later on.

There were two other Hungarians between Csoma and Stein who

also made a name for themselves in connection with Central Asian studies—namely, Ujfalvy and Arminius Vambéry.

Ujfalvy was born of Hungarian parents in Vienna in 1842, and died in Florence in 1904. In 1877 and 1878 he accompanied a French scientific expedition in Russia, Siberia, and Turkestan, and on his return was given charge of a course in Oriental history, geography, and law at the *École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes*.

Following a new voyage to Cashmir and Tibet, he brought back important ethnographical collections, which he presented to the State, who had to refuse the gift owing to proceedings instituted by his creditors.

In 1880 he was sent on a scientific mission to Central Asia. Hardly had he returned from this voyage of exploration than he set off again for the same country in order to make a particular study of the Bashkirs and Kirghiz.

Arminius Vambéry was born at Szerdahely in 1832, and died in 1913. A strong desire for Eastern travel led him to Constantinople, where he applied himself to the study of Oriental languages. In 1868 he issued a German-Turkish Dictionary. He was made corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy, and in 1861 he received a travelling stipend of a thousand florins. In 1862-64 he travelled in the disguise of a dervish by routes unknown to Europeans, through the deserts of the Oxus to Khiva, and thence by Bokhara to Samarkand. His position precluded him from making instrumental observations for the purposes of geography, but was eminently favourable to an insight into the customs and language of the peoples visited. His valuable "Travels and Adventures in Central Asia" was written out in three months from meagre pencil notes on scraps of paper. As a result of his experience he wrote much in favour of British influence in the East as against the rule of Russia. In his periodical and other writings Vambéry supported the idea that the rule of England in the East is most beneficent, that of Russia the least so.

The name of Vambéry was at one time a household word in this country, both on account of the popularity enjoyed by books of travel, and also on account of his frequent letters to *The Times*, whereby he was wont to enlighten the British public on matters connected with the Near and Middle East.

Of *Sir Marc Aurel Stein*, a Hungarian by birth, whom we are proud to claim as a British subject, I feel I can tell you nothing you do not already know. I cannot, however, let pass such an opportunity as is now offered of paying him my tribute of admiration. By a curious chance the post which took me first to India, the Principalship of the Calcutta Madrasa, had just been relinquished by Stein. It had long been the policy of the Government of India to give this Principalship whenever possible to scholars rather than to mere educationalists, and

the list of Principals includes such names as those of Sprenger, the biographer of Muhammad; Blochmann, who rendered such signal services to Indian Muslim history; and Hoernle, the eminent Sanskritist, who was one of the first to work at Stein's documents. These men were all scholars of the armchair type, in whose ears the call to adventure never sounded. But with Stein it was quite otherwise, for although he yields to none as a profound Sanskrit scholar, archæological discovery was his constant ambition, and it was sheer waste of his special gifts—not to mention his almost superhuman physique—to tie him down to administer a college in the suburbs of Calcutta. Not that Stein ever failed to do well whatever task he set himself to. We may all indeed be thankful that the authorities in India lent willing ears to his demands and gave him the opportunity of making those wonderful and often perilous journeys into Central Asia, the results of which have revolutionized our conceptions of Asiatic history, and placed the learned world under a permanent obligation. His excavations in 1900-01 at ruined sites in the Taklamakan Desert around Khotan first revealed fully the great historical interest of that ancient culture which, as the joint product of Indian, Chinese, and classical influences, once flourished in the oases of Chinese Turkestan. They also showed the remarkable state of preservation in which even the humblest relics of a civilization extinct for long centuries might survive under the sands of a region vying with Egypt in its extreme dryness of climate. By his second journey he succeeded in extending these systematic explorations farther eastward for nearly a thousand miles in a straight line. There, along routes which from the last centuries B.C. onwards linked China with the kingdoms of Central and Western Asia and the classical world, are scattered ruins which yielded up plentiful relics throwing light on the early history, arts, and everyday life of regions, the past of which, except for rare references in the Chinese annals, seemed lost in darkness.

During 1906-08 he carried out further explorations in Central Asia and Western China; and during 1913-16 he made a third expedition in Central Asia and Persia, all of which bore the most fruitful results.

Seldom has there been seen combined in one individual such qualifications for exploration. We may perhaps be allowed to call Stein a superman: scholar, historian, geographer, and athlete all in one, this great Hungarian is the pride of two nations and the wonder of all.

REVIEWS

TURKISTAN DOWN TO THE MONGOL INVASION. By W. Barthold. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, New Series V. 10 × 6½. Pp. xix + 513. Chronological Summary of Events. Bibliography. General Index. Map of Central Asia. London: Luzac and Co. 1928. 25s.

Since the days of Deguignes, of d'Ohssen, of Howorth and of Yule—still our principal authorities on the medieval history of Central Asia—a vast amount of new raw materials in the shape of ancient monuments and documents has been discovered; and, largely based on data therein contained, Professor Barthold has rewritten in great part a history of the region now known as Russian Turkistan, at a highly interesting period—that between A.D. 683, when the Arabs first spread to Transoxiana, and A.D. 1225, when the rule of the Mongols became firmly established in all the lands watered by the Oxus and the Jaxartes.

Professor Barthold's work first appeared in Russian in 1900. The present volume, which has been published under the auspices of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, is a sympathetic English translation, but revised and amplified by the author.

The volume has three main sections—viz., (1) Sources of Historical Data; (2) Historico-Geographical Description of Turkistan; and (3) History.

Under "Sources" are passed in review an array of Arab, Persian, and Chinese annalists, their writings being examined from the point of view of requirements of historical criticism. The section devoted to geographical survey—evidently the result of a vast amount of research among the early Arab geographers—describes Turkistan as this country was in the Middle Ages. None could have written on this subject in so masterly a fashion but one who knows from personal observation every inch of Russian Turkistan as it now is. As this section contains a great number of ancient place-names whose position the ordinary reader will have difficulty in determining, it could have been desired that there were a skeleton map of Turkistan, whereby ancient place-names could be traced to their modern equivalents, however approximately.

The historical portion of the work, which has been aptly summarized by Sir Denison Ross in the Preface penned by him as "an inquiry into the factors which determined the course of history of the country prior to

the arrival of the Mongols, the circumstances of their appearance in Turkistan and the manner in which they conquered the country," is divided into three chapters, headed: "Central Asia down to the Twelfth Century"; "Qara Khitays and Khwarazm Shahs"; and "Chingiz Khan and the Mongols."

Here we have a treatise embodying the result of much patient and meticulous research, and giving, moreover, full details of the raw materials, often recondite, whence the author extracted his information; and certainly Professor Barthold's writings will be a real benefaction to future historians of the West; not to mention the obligation under which they should place the Turanian world of the East, by a truer and more subdued presentation of their past than ever attempted before. Professor Barthold, however, writes as a scholar for scholars already versed in historical lore: no attempt is made by him at "popularization," which the reviewer, not being a scholar, would fain to think to be a pity. None the less, even the average reader will find much in the work to interest him.

Take, for instance, the Arab invasion of Turkistan in the seventh century. It is commonly known that, in that undertaking, the invaders were urged on by a taste for raiding and a lust for conquest, for booty and tribute, as much as by religious fanaticism. But once they had established themselves as rulers in Turkistan, what was the means they adopted to gain adherents among the aboriginal Iranian population? It is curious to notice how a discrimination in taxation can be made quite as effectual as the sword and the whip. To quote Professor Barthold:

"The subject population suffered chiefly, of course, from the licence of the Arabs and the rapacity of their viceroys. Sometimes the interests of the treasury and the authorities came into collision with religious interests, in the name of which the conquests had been undertaken. Here, as throughout the Arab Empire, the greatest difficulties were presented by the question whether *kharāj* should be collected from the natives who had embraced Islam. This question was solved differently at different times, according to the predominance of one or other tendency; but the natives could not, of course, remain indifferent to these fluctuations. The most pious of the Umayyad Caliphs, Omar II., disallowed not only the levy of taxes from the converts to Islam, but also the subjection of the new converts to the ordinance of circumcision."

And further:

"Ashras himself was convinced that in the *kharāj* lay the strength of the Muslims, and ordered freedom from taxation only for those of the newly converted who had undergone circumcision, who fulfilled the ordinances of Islam and could read a *sūra* of the Koran. The reply was made to him that the natives had genuinely embraced Islam and had begun to build mosques, so that all the people had become Arabs, and that no tax could be levied on any. This was followed by the decision: Tax those who were formerly liable."

Equally interesting is the author's character-sketch of the great Mongol Emperor:

“Like all conquerors Chingiz Khan could calmly exterminate people by thousands if he considered it necessary for the consolidation of his rule; but in none of his actions of which we have at all reliable information is there any sign of useless or stupid cruelty. . . . The great organizing faculty of Chingiz Khan deserves all the more attention in that, to the end of his life, he remained a stranger to all culture, spoke no language but Mongolian, and, of course, considered the organization of the empire only from the point of view of the dominion of nomad conquerors over civilized peoples, whom God Himself had delivered into Mongol hands in order that they should derive revenues from the labours of the conquered and for this object alone should protect them. . . . Chingiz Khan worked only for himself, his descendants, and his closest adherents; there is no evidence of any sort that he was open to the idea of labouring for the good of the whole nation, even in the form in which this idea found expression in the Orkhon inscriptions.”

“Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion” is replete with historical sidelights like the above. But space forbids a further reference to them. Suffice it to say that Professor Barthold’s work distinctly widens our knowledge of medieval Central Asia; further that, considering how the history of the existing races of Russian Turkistan—be they Kazaks, Kara Kalpaks, Turkomans, Uzbeks, Tajiks or Kirghiz—is rooted in the history of the various Arab, Turkish and Mongol invasions dealt with by Professor Barthold, his writings should well repay a study by those interested in the possibilities of a Pan-Turan Movement.

G. MACARTNEY.

THE FELLAHIN OF UPPER EGYPT. By Miss Winifred S. Blackman.
9×7. Pp. 331. Illustrations. Harrap. 1927. 15s. net.

The recent multiplication of books on the Near and Middle East has been remarkable, but their output has been justified by the undoubted interest in Eastern affairs displayed by the public. Thrilled by the exploits of Lawrence or impressed by the erudition of Gertrude Bell, English readers will extend a fitting welcome to this book on Egypt from the capable hands of Miss Blackman. Her brother, Dr. A. M. Blackman, is not unknown as an Egyptologist, and Miss Blackman herself is research student to the Oxford Anthropology Committee and was in charge of the Percy Sladen Expedition to Egypt from 1922 to 1926. In this capacity she has spent about six months annually for some years among the fellahin of Upper Egypt: she has studied them conscientiously from the anthropological standpoint, and as the first (but not the last) result of her labours has produced a unique and valuable account of their customs, beliefs, folklore, and superstitions.

Her investigations will deserve the gratitude of those interested in the Egyptian people themselves, the bulk of whom, today as ever, are the fellahin, or peasants. To the Englishman living in Cairo the latter often remain practically a sealed book: if he mixes with Egyptians, it

will chiefly be with the educated classes, who are so obsessed with the emulation of Western culture, that they have discarded their ancestral beliefs and folklore as mere pabulum for infants. But the peasant represents the continuity of Egyptian life, wherein his psychology reflects the unchanging desert and the undeviating Nile, whose recurrent floodings may suggest the passionate emotions of the Sayidi or Upper Egyptian temperament. Also, as among country folk elsewhere, the conservative element is implanted in the feminine breast, and it is the women of Upper Egypt who scrupulously observe the minutiae of their traditions and customs, blending therewith an inborn strain of shrewdness and common sense.

Herein Miss Blackman has an advantage over most other investigators in the same field, for she enjoys the sex privilege of entering the homes of the women, witnessing their habits and customs herself, and talking with them on terms of intimacy absolutely denied to the male. The result is important and illuminating, for it enables the author to reveal the often dominating part played in Egyptian peasant homes by the women. The Englishman, even the Anglo-Egyptian, may imagine, because he never meets and rarely discusses Moslem women, that they lead a colourless and "door mat" existence in the seclusion of the harim. He will learn from this book that the wives, though apt to be amazingly ignorant, yet by their personality and character often exercise a despotic influence over their luckless husbands; he may, in fact, be surprised to find Miss Blackman remarking, "I am often inclined to think that it is the poor, oppressed Egyptian *man* who has a claim to my sympathy and that the overruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth." Incidentally, this female camaraderie has enabled the authoress to take a number of quite unique photographs, such as those of the "women creeping under the *tób*," the "fertility rite" with candle and jar, the "woman leaning on a sieve at her confinement," and others which could naturally have never been taken by a man. Your reviewer can recollect trying to photograph Upper Egyptian women under conditions not involving any intimacy, but the very sight of him and his camera invariably provoked a panic resulting in shrieks and dispersion.

Miss Blackman's numerous stories of beliefs and customs, collected with meritorious care, will not only interest the anthropologist, but will also explain certain matters to the curious or even incurious Englishman in Egypt. He has noticed, perhaps, when touring the provinces, that the women usually walk with the skirt of their garments trailing in the dust: doubtless he thought this a slovenly or insanitary habit, but now he reads that the real motive is not only to conceal the ankles, but also to prevent footprints being left, on which a magician could practise his wiles. Again, whether an English official, hot on the track of crime, ever resorted to divination by a copy

of the Qorân turning on a string to detect the culprit (as here described) is difficult to say; but he and his colleagues would probably endorse the views Miss Blackman expresses on the difficulty of obtaining evidence in criminal cases owing to the terror inspired by the law of vendetta or blood revenge. On this point she says:

“The law of blood revenge is one of the greatest obstacles to justice with which the police officials have to contend. It is most difficult to obtain evidence, because the witnesses know that, should what they say result in the criminal’s conviction, his relatives will certainly take revenge. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that criminals sometimes escape punishment, in spite of the skill and patience displayed by many of the officials in unravelling the mass of conflicting evidence.”

And later on she pays a compliment to the officials of the Ministry of the Interior by observing that

“Foreigners who have little or no knowledge of the customs prevailing among the peasants are inclined to be too severe in their criticism of the Egyptian officials when they fail to obtain sufficient evidence to convict almost undoubted criminals. But English officials who have lived in the provinces of Egypt and in close contact with the people realize how difficult a matter this is. To my mind the wonder is not the number of crimes that go unpunished for lack of evidence, but the number of criminals whose crimes are detected and who are brought to justice.”

As regards the transliteration of Arabic names, it seems a pity that in a book exclusively about Egypt the system adopted in that country by most Government offices and other authorities should not have been followed. Miss Blackman refers us (p. 317) to that admirable work by Mr. J. S. Willmore “The Spoken Arabic of Egypt,” but why not follow his excellent transliteration system throughout? True, the rendering in English of the Arabic letter ق must always be conventional; but the convention of Q, strongly supported by Mr. Willmore, has been regularly used in Egypt for years, and it hardly seems an improvement to introduce the K in its place. Also, in Upper Egypt, the sole scene of Miss Blackman’s labours, the ع is pronounced as a guttural G, and she might have reproduced the vernacular more nearly by adopting the G, especially in words like *gulla*, *gibla*, *gâdi*, etc., which are regularly used by the inhabitants of those provinces. But we are grateful to her for always insisting on the correct plurals of Arabic words, an example that might be followed by other modern writers on Egypt and also by Anglo-Egyptians, who have a slack and execrable habit of merely adding an “s” to Arabic words and evolving such hybrid plurals (*sic*) as *nabbûts* or *mâlids* or *afrîts*.

The contents of the book are kept severely within its anthropological limits, and the reader who looks for information about Egyptian history, politics, religion, or administration will be disappointed. Miss Blackman intuitively respects the maxim about the honest cobbler—*ne*

sutor supra crepidam—and sternly refuses to be lured aside to discuss political or other topics. This doctrine is occasionally carried almost to excess, as, for instance, on p. 25, where the Copts are mentioned for the first time, nothing is said about their history or descent from the Ἀιγύπτιοι of classical and dynastic times. To the expert this is, perhaps, unnecessary, but if the book is “to interest the general public” (as the preface states), can it be assumed that all English readers are *au courant* with the past and present vicissitudes of the Egyptian Copt?

In his foreword Dr. Marrett says that Herodotus, father of anthropology, might have been surprised to learn that he was destined to number daughters among his intellectual progeny. The Halicarnassian, however, wrote with a twinkle in his eye and, whatever value be placed on his stories, we enjoy them for being such “jolly good fun.” This element is somewhat to seek in the stories under review; they provide no “jolly good fun,” and at times one sighs for something in lighter vein or a gleam of humour. But, regarded as a work of reference to be consulted on definite points, the book constitutes a valuable addition to our knowledge of the anthropology of the Egyptian peasant, and the scientist will look forward with interest to the larger volume promised by Miss Blackman as the result of her further researches in the Nile valley.

C. A. G. M.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE IN INDIA.

The outstanding merit of the report, issued by Lord Linlithgow and his colleagues after two years of labour, is that the rural problem in India is visualized as a whole. Agriculture cannot be treated apart from the agriculturist, and many of the defects in the art are due to the limitations of the man. The peasant's personal character and cheerful temper are not discussed in the report, and those who read the depressing account of the conditions in which he lives and works might forget his virtues. Englishmen who are familiar with the Indian villager sincerely like him, and the critical, if not obstructive, attitude which they sometimes adopt towards projects of political reform is due to a desire to protect him from his urban fellow-countrymen. Undoubtedly, however, he is ignorant and usually illiterate; short-lived and combative; stubborn and indebted; but in the end the villager is India, if politicians (in England as well as in India) will allow us to remember the fact. The Commission is therefore clearly right in examining the rural problems of human health, education and finance, no less than those of crop-raising, cattle, or irrigation.

It is impossible to discuss within the limits of this note more than one or two of their recommendations. However unpopular the

statement may be, India has only during the last fifty years enjoyed a "modern" and national government; prior to this period her government was for many centuries unprogressive and disorderly, while even under British rule the administrator was long content with local and empirical improvements. Science and research have for fifty years been discussed and professed, but first-class men and well-equipped institutions have been few because they are costly; co-ordination of effort has also been lacking. The Commission make it clear that if the Government really wish to secure progress in agricultural knowledge, they must provide staff and equipment and pay the bill. The agricultural and veterinary services are to be enlarged and more generously paid (nothing extravagant is suggested), research officers and institutes must be adequate in number and efficient, provincial research committees will collaborate with a Central Council of Agricultural Research, and the latter should include three whole-time and competent members to ensure that the Council's schemes are not laid to sleep (as those of the Board of Agriculture frequently are) from one meeting to the next. A grant of Rs. 50 lakhs as the nucleus of a permanent fund at the disposal of this Council is also proposed. Now it is possible to create an engine of fine appearance, which will not function for lack of (1) oil and (2) connecting rods. If the permanent fund and the three whole-time members are subtracted from the proposed scheme, the Council will not function, but a splendid "gesture" will have been made. It appears to be suggested in the Indian Press that these items are not likely to be passed by the Government or the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Apart from research, the Commission take a conservative line while supporting a number of detached progressive ideas. They disapprove of elevators for India, but endorse the policy of the agricultural departments as to selection of indigenous plant-varieties or strains of animal-stock, in preference to importation and cross-breeding. The success already attained in the improvement of cotton, wheat, and a few other crops is described in the (1927) review of Agriculture in India, where the annual profit to the country from the use of selected seed is estimated at Rs. 10½ crores. Success with cattle has been less marked, but the Commission, while approving the policy of selection, omit to mention the strongest argument for it—viz., that while European cattle are liable to bovine tuberculosis, Indian cattle are immune. The attempt to evolve a dual-purpose breed of cattle is discouraged, and some surprise may be felt by those experts in animal husbandry who have devoted years of study to the question. We are to continue to breed male buffaloes without endurance and cows which give no milk! It is true that the ploughman's ox is the prime necessity of the Indian countryside, but he

pays a high price for it on these terms, and livestock officers may be inclined to strive for a dual-purpose animal as before.

The system of land tenure was excluded from the terms of reference, but some interesting recommendations which concern the land are made. Restrictions on the alienation of land by agriculturists have been imposed in several provinces, with consequences which are welcomed by the rural and denounced by a vocal section of the urban population. The Commission courageously propose legislation to the effect that all mortgages (with possession) of agricultural land be automatically terminated after twenty years of currency. A draft bill on these lines will stimulate liveliness in the legislative bodies; the law will confer great benefits on the cultivator. Renewed efforts towards a system of volumetric supply of canal-water are also urged on the Irrigation Department. A curious fatality has hitherto attended applications for supply by volume, except in the case of one or two important landowners, but small cultivators would welcome any equitable scheme which removed the necessity for frequent visits by the minor officials of any department. Lastly, the subdivision and fragmentation of agricultural holdings are discussed in a special chapter, and while the voluntary method of consolidation, which has been adopted in the Punjab, is commended wherever there is hope of success, legislation for this object is also held to be feasible. The danger in all legislation which interferes with land-holdings is that its ultimate administration rests, despite the vigilance of the superior officers, in the hands of low-paid men in the villages, and injustice may result. Compulsion has been used in Europe, and while enlightened peasants in France, Germany, and Scandinavia may have been competent to defend themselves, the weaker peasants of England were not. A certain anxiety as to compulsory measures in India may reasonably be felt.

In a country of illiterate peasants the direct action of Government is limited by caution and uncertain in its efficacy. The Commission therefore lay stress more than once on the importance of utilizing the co-operative agency for conveying to the people the results of research. The growth and present condition of the co-operative movement, represented by 90,000 societies, justify optimism as to its future, if prudent supervision of the societies and thorough training of the staff are assured. Co-operative advisers are not required to be experts in technical subjects other than Co-operation, but must be in full sympathy with the people and trained in the method of persuasion ("adult Montessori") which they are to employ. Thus equipped, they can organize the people to test for themselves the conclusions announced by the agricultural and veterinary experts, and the experts will greatly economize their own time by addressing an organized group of cultivators in preference to isolated units.

Relief from indebtedness is, of course, a preliminary to agricultural improvement. A bankrupt will not listen to a skilled adviser: he has nothing to gain. The Commission have no striking changes to put forward as regards the credit societies, but are impressed by the value and the dangers of band mortgage banks. These should, in their opinion, be co-operative, and the unfortunate example of the Agricultural Bank of Egypt is quoted as a warning against the grant of uncontrolled mortgage credit to illiterate and unpunctual Oriental peasants. Under co-operative guidance, on the other hand, banks can perform excellent service in the discharge of old debt and the execution of agricultural improvements.

The report is full of wisdom, though its judgments occasionally hedge, or are at conflict within themselves. A mixed team will not always run without jibbing, and Lord Linlithgow is to be congratulated on driving it home to a single stable. The harness may be a little strained, but there are no breaks—no minutes of dissent. The Simon Commission has to consider the peasant as a citizen and voter; he will serve little purpose in either capacity if he is loaded with debt and using the agricultural methods of the Stone Age. The Linlithgow report is a sound guide on the forward road, but the Indian Government drives a still more restive team, and we can only hope that they will be able to hold the legislature to the track.

C. F. S.

L'AFGHANISTAN : GÉOGRAPHIE, HISTOIRE, ETHNOGRAPHIE, VOYAGES. Par Raymond Furon. Ouvrage accompagné de 3 cartes, 1 plan et 28 photographies hors-texte. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 132. Paris: Librairie Scientifique Albert Blanchard. 1926. 35s.

The recent visit to England of the King of Afghanistan is so fresh in the public mind that many will read with interest this little book by M. Furon, a French professor in the service of the Afghan Government. The book sets out to give in the somewhat staccato style of a guide book a general idea of this still little-known land, which M. Furon describes in his Introduction as a backward country where two civilizations, the Eastern and Western, contend for mastery; without roads, yet daily using 7-ton lorries; employing large numbers of foreigners where five years ago strangers were absolutely forbidden; having a ruler with ultra-modern ideas governing a population stubborn or indifferent.

Details of the geography, geology, and climate are followed by a brief history of Afghanistan, for the details of which the author acknowledges his indebtedness to English writers. A good description of the buildings and bazaars in Kabul is given, illustrated by an inadequate sketch plan which could hardly convey much idea of the layout of the town to those not already acquainted with it. There are also chapters devoted to the houses, customs, clothing, and intellectual life of the people. As M. Furon mentions in his Introduction, progress in Afghanistan has been very rapid during the past few years, particularly in the organization of the various departments of State, justice, transport, etc., and as the book is dated December, 1925, it is already a little out of date in many details. However, it is a carefully compiled record of facts relating to the country and

its people which will be found most useful to anyone visiting Afghanistan for the first time.

He has a chapter on Afghan public festivals, but devotes only one page to the description of the annual Independence Celebrations at Paghman, an event which never fails to impress the foreign observer with the efficiency of its organization and the whole-hearted enthusiasm of the Afghan participants. It is unfortunate that M. Furon has chosen such an impersonal manner of presenting his picture of the country. He lived in Afghanistan for two years and was in constant touch with the Afghans, and, had he wished, could have given us a really intimate account of Afghanistan from within.

He is perhaps at his best when describing his travels and gives an almost racy account of his first journey by road from Peshawar to Kabul, though a description of the delightful old Moghal garden at Nimla would have been welcomed. The journey into Turkestan and Badakshan is interesting and is illustrated by some excellent photographs.

I often think that there must be something in the dry air of Afghanistan which sterilizes the descriptive powers of European writers. One and all fail to describe adequately the charm of her plains, ringed by snow-clad mountains, hillsides purple with the blossom of Judas trees, gaunt rocky summits and bare deserts glowing with colour in the evening under wonderful sunsets, laughing children with fair rosy cheeks playing in the cool fragrance of the almond trees in gardens watered by a network of silvery streams which reflect the luxuriant masses of wild mauve and purple petunias. These things possess a charm and beauty which remain in the mind long after the memory of more concrete beauties has faded. Perhaps the vast desolate tracts of the country communicate their aridity to the ink of the stranger, for we yet await a book on Afghanistan with an intimate and complete description of her history and people, towns and customs, touched with the splendour and colour inseparable from the East.

L. W. A.

THE PUNJAB AND ITS LAND RECORD.

THE LAND OF THE FIVE RIVERS. By H. K. Trevaskis. Oxford University Press. 15s.

A traveller once wrote about a road. He described all the persons who had passed along it in former ages, the nature of its surface, the maintenance of its hedges, the taste of its dust. On the last page he wrote: "Some day I will tell you where the road leads to, and what were my own experiences as I travelled on it," and therewith he ended his book. Mr. Trevaskis confronts us with a similar disappointment and consoles us with a like promise. The foundations of the Punjab are disinterred, the mixed pedigrees of its inhabitants are shamelessly discussed, the anatomy of its land tenures is opened to view, but when we approach our own time with an enthusiasm kindled by pungent criticism of the past, the veil is drawn, there are no more scandalous disrobings, and the reader must repress his curiosity until his author shall be free to speak. Vigorous and interesting as is therefore the history of the Punjab, which ends at the year 1890, it resembles "Mother India" in presenting a number of true facts in a misleading perspective. Perhaps we are too busy, possibly too indolent, to draw our own inferences, but there can be no question that everything said (especially the *obiter dicta*) by Mr. Trevaskis would have double force if his narrative were continued to the present day. Meanwhile—we have the promise.

The task of governing India has justly been compared with that of the

Romans. Diversity of race, climate, tradition, and civilization among the subjects added in each Empire to the difficulties of wide extension. Mughal officers in India were therefore content to standardize the method of tax-collecting, without pursuing ideals of national welfare, but the more upright Roman governors—Cæsar, Pilate, Gallio—were driven by conscience not merely to raise revenue, but to base their government on principle. The British found the great Mughal machine of land revenue still working in a noisy and irregular fashion, and occupied themselves with repairing and oiling it rather than with building a new machine on other principles. They also, however, believed in principles of government, and as Mr. Trevaskis points out, the earlier British authorities were influenced by legal theories as to ownership and transfer, not always for the best, and during 150 years their successors have striven to avert certain consequences of introducing European principles of law into a country accustomed to flexible ideas of justice. The Romans refrained until a late period from thrusting on provincials the legal privileges to which only Romans were entitled, and thereby saved themselves from misinterpretation of native law. The Mughals limited themselves to filling the Treasury, leaving the local officers to accept for administrative purposes such non-Muslim law for non-Muslims as they found useful. The British, on the other hand, insisted on cash payments, individual ownership, and free transfer, and had further an annoying desire for punctuality. So alien were these conceptions from the minds of the rural population, that a small group of commercial castes, who alone adapted themselves to the new régime, rapidly acquired power and prosperity, and in the Punjab, the home of the military peasant, the efforts of district officers since the annexation, and the legislation of the last thirty years have been directed to restricting the undue dominance of this non-military group. Moneylending was their means of establishing a claim, the lawyer became their agent in recovering what was due, and the British courts facilitated a process of legal pillage, for which they might have been ideally designed. The story is not continued into the age of remedies, the Alienation of Land Act, the formation of Co-operative Societies among the poorer classes, and perhaps—some day—a Moneylenders Act! And because these things do not come into the picture, its perspective is queer.

Mr. Trevaskis clearly shows that, despite errors of policy and interpretation in respect of land tenures and assessment, the Revenue Record of the Punjab is one of its most precious possessions. A Danish lawyer, familiar with the mortgage banks of Germany and of his own country, described the Punjab revenue system as only inferior to the German *Grundbuch* (a Revenue Record which establishes an absolute title at law), but superior to every other cadastral record of which he had heard, and a thoroughly sound basis for a land-mortgage system. For this rich inheritance the Punjab may thank first the Mughals, and secondly the revenue officers, British and Indian, who have compiled, reviewed, and renewed it for eighty years.

Mr. Trevaskis makes use of numerous quotations, frequently of considerable length, but does not always assign them to a specific authority. Similarly he refers at the end of a paragraph to several authors, leaving the reader to discover or guess how much of his material is drawn from each. The result is to make a book eminently readable and pleasant, though less serviceable to the exact student. The author perhaps acts on principle in splitting his infinitives, but is incautious in some of his minor statements. Thus it is not correct to say (p. 6) that an invader on the last ridge of Afghanistan sees the vast plain of India before him: this is an old saying, but geographically is 50 or 100 miles astray. Nor can it properly be argued (p. 74) that cows became

sacred because the slaughter of oxen by raiders was disastrous: the prime sanctity should then have been attached to oxen. The suggestion (p. 114) that but for Aurangzeb the Hindu religion might have absorbed Islam is picturesque, but makes inadequate allowance for the support of pure Islam by other countries. An excellent yarn (p. 200) deals with Nur Jahan and goitre in the Kangra Valley, and suggests that Mr. Trevaskis has other tales to tell. We are grateful to him for his book; it deals in an attractive manner with a subject which might easily be dull, and we look forward to its successor.

C. F. S.

THE GURKHAS. By Major W. Brooke Northey and Captain C. J. Morris. With a foreword by Brigadier-General the Hon. C. G. Bruce. 9×6½. Pp. xxxi+268. Illustrations and map. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head. 18s.

This is an interesting and valuable account of the country and people of Nepal which brings up to date the history of that little known and inaccessible state.

It is a book which should be read by students of the outlying races of the Indian border, and is worthy of careful study by all officers of Gurkha regiments.

It is written with a sincere admiration of the people, and no pains have been spared in consulting past authorities and publications bearing on the subject, and it is rightly dedicated to the enlightened gentleman who for many years has ruled the country and directed with so much skill its foreign policy during difficult times.

The foreword is written by that expert on Nepalese tribal customs and languages, Brigadier-General C. Bruce, C.B. The book begins with the past history of the country so far as it can be gathered from the scanty and very often deliberately inaccurate accounts of Indian historians, and gradually authenticated events occur more or less vouched for by references from various sources and historians of neighbouring countries, until through the mist of folklore and tradition emerges a reliable account of recent years, ending appropriately with the fine record of a fighting race in the Great War.

The visitor to Nepal passes through the malarial jungle of the Terai, along the foothills by stony tracks, gradually ascending the outer Himalayas till he reaches the Chandragiri Pass and stumbles down the thousand or so steps (or did when I visited the country) until with aching knees he reaches the floor of the valley where are motor roads, piped water-supply and electric lights, modern palaces, and prehistoric temples, a sign of the enlightened policy of its rulers and the conservative ideas of a government which directs the progress of the country in a manner best suited to its conditions.

The past history of Nepal is the history of all states: the incursion of invading conquerors, both from Tibet and India; the struggles of robber barons and petty princes; the gradual absorption of the smaller by the larger states until under some leader of exceptional ability the whole country is united under one rule; the spread of the young, virile nation outwards until its borders march with those of settled powers, when encroachment is stopped and consolidation takes place; murders, marriages, and family ambitions—we can compare the course of events in our own or any country's history.

Follows a chapter on the people and their speech, showing the diversity of tongues and the reason, the hilly nature of the country where often two neighbouring valleys speak different dialects; how invaders from the north brought down the Mongolian language and those from India brought up the

Indo-Aryan ; and how both mingling have formed the present administrative language, the *lingua franca* of the whole country. The religion of Nepal is described as a curious blending of Hinduism and Buddhism, though the rulers of Nepal are strict followers of the Hindu faith in all its details, and now undoubtedly Hinduism is gradually increasing in popularity.

The political situation of Nepal is rather curious in that it enjoys complete independence, quite different from the position existing between the Government of India and the Native States. Again, Nepal receives an annual tribute from Tibet, and before the latter country had shaken off the suzerainty of China had commercial intercourse with China through Tibet.

The King of Nepal is the Maharajadhiraj, but the actual government of the country is in the hands of the Prime Minister, who is called the Maharajah, a system very similar to that which previously existed in Japan.

Nepal being essentially a military country, a full description of the military system is given, together with the fighting value of the different tribes and castes.

The second part of the book concludes with an interesting account of the people, their customs, clothing, dances and amusements, slavery and labour problems, followed in the succeeding chapters by a detailed account of each of the different tribes inhabiting the country, an account which is valuable to the student but not of important interest to the general reader.

The book is profusely illustrated with excellent photographs, and at the beginning contains a clear outline map showing the main geographical features and tribal divisions.

There is one point on which I think the authors have not laid sufficient emphasis, and that is the difference between the native of India and the Gurkha. This difference may be summed up in the one word "Patriotism." In India patriotism cannot be said to extend beyond the tribe, often not beyond the village. Love of country in Nepal is more the love of country as understood in Europe. Time after time have I heard the Gurkha soldier praise his country as the one country worth dying for. In 1917, in frequent conversations with the Commander-in-Chief of the Nepalese troops, then on service on the North-West Frontier of India, his most constant theme was of the future of Nepal, its difficulties, and the possibility of attack from the north. I saw no reason for this alarm, and stated that the Government of India would guarantee immunity. The startling reply was: "Yes, but you guaranteed the integrity of Belgium." Surely a country which can breed such sturdy soldiers and far-seeing statesmen has an importance which the Government of India, harassed by internal sedition and threatened by external attack, would be well advised to bind to itself with bonds of a common interest.

W. BEYNON.

AN UNFREQUENTED HIGHWAY. THROUGH SIKKIM AND TIBET TO CHUMOLARI.

By John Easton. 10 x 8. Pp. 133. Illustrations. London: Scholartis Press. 1928. 21s.

A pleasantly written account of a trip from the plains of India to Phari Dzong in Tibet. And as I read it I said, "Oh! don't I know!" Back came all the memories of 1903-4—the winter in Natong; the daily convoy of Nepalese coolies piling supplies into Chumbi; the daily thunderstorm; the flash of lightning that entered the pony shed, missed four men playing cards, and killed the industrious apprentice cleaning his harness; the Chumbi Valley, and the first advance to Phari (I have lodged in some foul places, but Phari Dzong was the foulest); the march to Shassa, and the return to Phari when the rearguard crossed the Tung La as the snow began to fall, and the next morning the yak

transport was only mounds of snow, with the yaks warm and comfortable underneath, and—I'd go there again tomorrow.

The writer is evidently a traveller of the right sort; he describes the discomforts and pleasures of travel in high places with the right touch, neither exaggerating the one nor unduly extolling the latter, and one feels that he would be a pleasant companion to take into the wild places.

Evidently the roads into the Chumbi Valley, via the Natu La or the Dzalip La, have not improved—indeed, they must have deteriorated since the return of the expedition in 1904, as by the end of that year they had been made into good mule roads, though the staircase from Ledonchen to Jeyluk was the same nightmare it evidently is now.

The description by Mr. Atkins of the ascent from Rangpo to Gnatong was, however, of the 1888 vintage, not 1903, but then stories in the army, like old soldiers, never die.

Another thing which has not changed is the character of the muleteer and his mule, both wonderful and eminently suited to their surroundings, and efficient so far as Eastern men and animals can be efficient.

A map would be an improvement, but without it the reader can follow the writer march by march from Rangpo to Gantok, across the Natu La, up through the Chumbi Valley to Phari, and back via Dzalip La to Natong, and so to Kalimpong. Throughout one never tires of his description of peoples and scenery, and interspersed are enlightening references to recent historical events leading up to the flight of the Dalai Lama to India, his return, and the eviction of the Chinese from Tibetan territory.

Altogether a delightful book, not the least delightful part of which are the excellent photographs.

W. BEYNON.

THE CULT OF THE PEACOCK ANGEL. By R. H. W. Empson. Commentary by Sir Richard Temple, C.B., Vice-President R.A.S. Pp. 235. Illustrations. H. F. and G. Witherby, High Holborn.

Those who have some knowledge of Iraq will at once recognize in this rather unusual title a treatise on their old friends the Yezidis, though others, who have no such acquaintance with them, may be pardonably puzzled by so novel a concatenation. A good deal has been written upon that strange folk and their religion in times past, but writers have usually suffered from the "complex" that besets writers on religious subjects, and had a case to prove. They are apt to have some pet heretic or heresy of old days, and to be desirous of showing that such early perversion is really the primitive form of the religion with which they are concerned. So writers on the Yezidis have been anxious to find that they are either primitive Gnostics or early Manichæans, or—to quote an instance given by Mr. Empson—have been sure that they must be the descendants of the ancient Assyrians, "because they are so hairy." Hence, in the book we have under review at present, it is a real relief to find a writer, without too many theories, who is content to put down, from his own enquiries, facts as to what the Yezidis are, do, and teach, and does not ram his own conclusion down the throat of his reader.

This book is a painstaking gathering of facts and is very useful as such. We do not mean that Mr. Empson has no opinion as to what the Yezidi is. He does not disguise his belief that they are a survival of primitive paganism, still existing in its own land, though he would admit, of course, that in the course of its long history this form of religion has borrowed much from other faiths. From Christianity it has taken a reverence for the person of Christ and

has assigned him a place among its leading figures. (By the way, Mr. Empson is a little unkind to Christianity in saying on p. 57 that "A Yezidi bride must make obeisance at the shrine of every idol she may happen to pass, *even though it be a Christian church*"!) It has borrowed from Islam, linking up its name—which is probably a Persian word for God—with that of a famous or infamous Khalif of Islam, and also drawing much from Shiah and other heretic teachers in the faith. It has borrowed, as is natural in a form of primitive paganism, from older religions too, for it is at least possible that the name "Malik Taus" should really be Tammuz and that the resemblance to the Hindustani word for peacock is mere coincidence.

Sir R. Temple, in his interesting "Commentary," brings profound knowledge of Indian parallels to bear on the question of Yezidi origins and denies that they are really worshippers of the devil at all, making them merely dissenters (Shiahs) of rather extreme views.

Of course, the habit of propitiating a malignant and active spirit is very widespread, and if we call all who do so "devil worshippers," we shall find that cult general indeed! So many tribes think that the Great Good Spirit is remote and perhaps a bit lazy. The little and not-so-virtuous spirit, who knows you and can be bribed, is the one to have for friend. "The judge is a great man, but do thou give thy present to the clerk."

Still, as in this case the inferior and malignant spirit whom the Yezidi reveres happens to be the Sheitan of Christianity and Islam, it really is the devil whom they worship, and if they are to be counted as only rather extreme Shiahs, then Christians would seem to be quite moderate ones!

They are not properly dualists. Dualism implies two equal and original powers, of light and darkness. Their Sheitan, if the ruler of this world *pro tem.*, is a fallen spirit, who will be redeemed some day—have not his tears put out the flames of hell?—and his power is derivative and only transitory, if prolonged. To revere this ruler of the age is not dualism.

The reviewer would like to join with Mr. Empson in his appreciation of the attractive and dignified character of the Yezidi when he is given a reasonable chance. In his own Sinjar mountain he has often shown himself a good fighting man, though, strangely enough, he does not shine as a soldier. The effort was made to enrol companies of Yezidis in the "Assyrian Levy," where the Christians would not outrage devil-worshipping susceptibilities by "taking refuge with Allah from Satan the stoned," and where men of different faiths that have suffered together might get on in comfort. Unfortunately, the Yezidi was found "too utterly stupid"—we quote officers of the Levy—for the purpose. It seems most improper that the devil should thus fail to endow his votaries with even worldly wisdom, but so it was. We presume that the stupidity was a result of the horror of the Yezidi hierarchy for anything that resembles education. The efforts made by authority to establish schools in the Sinjar were frowned on by these ecclesiastics, and it must be owned that floods and earthquakes seemed to indicate that some power at any rate disliked the innovation, for those youths who were profane enough to come to school were drowned for their pains.

Still, even in his uneducated state, the Yezidi is loyal and friendly to the British in a way that the Oriental, on whom we have succeeded in forcing the education that we think good for him, seldom seems to be! One may hope that under a benevolent Government better days may be in store for this strange little "millet." At least they have power of fidelity, for there is no faith in the whole world that has produced in the past so high a proportion of martyrs to the number of its adherents as has this worship of the devil. W. A. W.

EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN LANDS. By Colonel P. H. Massy, C.B.E. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. xii + 261. Illustrations and maps. London: Messrs. Routledge. 12s. 6d.

This book, in so far as it deals with Turkey, falls into two main divisions. In the first, Part I., Colonel Massy relates his experiences in Eastern Asia Minor some thirty years ago. Cruel oppression of the Armenians, consequent on the orgy of massacre which marked the years 1894-96, was still continuing in that region, and Europe showing no inclination to act by concerted pressure on the Sublime Porte in defence of that unhappy people, Great Britain took the matter in hand unaided by endeavouring to give what relief and protection was still possible to many scattered Christian villages in the midst of hostile populations. Her method was to despatch a small band of British officers with Consular rank to portions of Asia Minor most in need of a controlling hand. One of these officers was Colonel Massy. From his Consular headquarters, first Adana and later Erzeroum, he showed for several years incessant activity in visiting threatened centres, and also in using the opportunity for conducting surveys of the less known districts and generally increasing our knowledge of the prevailing political, social, and geographical conditions. His intimate familiarity with the Turkish language, combined with an inborn tactfulness and with a rare power of entering into the mind of the indigenous races and of the Turkish officials with whom he came into frequent contact, enabled him to pursue his enquiries in the most inhospitable mountain fastnesses, as well as amongst the more populous places resorted to by Turks, Circassians, Armenians, and Kurds, which he traversed in the course of his many expeditions. These are recorded in a light, chatty narrative, carrying the reader willingly along, and replete with incidents and anecdotes illustrative of the manners and customs of the place and period. Very different is the scene depicted in the later chapters, comprised in Part IV., when the author returns to a changed and scarcely recognizable Turkey in the course of a visit to the Levant in the year 1925. In an interesting preface Sir E. Denison Ross gives reasons for regarding as more extensive even than those in China the changes which in our day have transformed the face of Turkey.

In Parts II. to IV. Colonel Massy shows how nowadays an ordinary traveller can be easily conveyed by train all the way from Cairo to Constantinople. The railway journey is interrupted, it seems, only to cross the Suez Canal and the Bosphorus. Anyone following the Colonel's route would do well to take with him as a companion a copy of the book under review. It recalls at each interesting stopping-place the most noteworthy historical particulars, and it points out, not at all in the guide-book style, the mosques, churches, antiquarian remains, and natural features most deserving attention.

The first stage of the journey is from Cairo by way of El Kantara on the Suez Canal to Jerusalem in a comfortable train provided with sleeping-cars. Rightly indeed is the reader reminded of the brave army which traversed the sandy North Sinai Desert under very different conditions in the Great War. The Turks advancing to the Suez Canal had laid down palm branches and mats on the sand for their heavy guns to pass over. The engineering skill of General Paul improved on this method by means of a double layer of wire netting pegged out tightly on the sides. Some 700 miles of it, we are told, were imported from Australia. The easy conditions brought about by the Allied victory in Palestine under British leadership are shown in the following passage:

"Every spot of interest in the Holy Land is now within a few hours from Jerusalem by car, on roads as good as any in Europe, and Amman, the capital

of Transjordan, and Beyrout are easy of access in a short day's run through beautiful scenery."

The author goes into some detail over the educational facilities now open to Arab, Christian, and Jew. The new Jewish settlements, he tells us, are for the most part round Jerusalem, or on the more fertile soil of Northern Palestine; this line of country he visited by motor-car in an instructive round under Zionist auspices. He derives from his trip the impression that the immigrant Jews are well provided for, and set a good example to their Arab neighbours by hard work at their new avocations of farming and afforesting. He alludes, of course, to the possibilities of friction with the Arab population. Mount Carmel and the country around Lake Tiberias are specially recommended for their historical interest and the many beautiful views which they contain. Leaving Jerusalem again by motor for Transjordan by way of Jericho and the Dead Sea, the Colonel proceeds by railway, passing along the Hejaz line from Amman to Damascus. Making friends with the French frontier officers in Syria, he is enabled by their favour to traverse 300 kilometres of wild country around the Hauran or Druse mountains to Damascus. Everthing seemed peaceful, but within a few days the serious rising against French authority commenced in this very district, and proved for many months a source of great embarrassment to France. He hesitates to join in the outcry against General Sarrail, who was recalled. The revolt, so destructive to life and property in Damascus and elsewhere, he ascribes to the reluctance of the population of Syria to accept any form of centralized domination, in view especially of promises of complete autonomy which they conceived had been made to them.

The author describes the beautiful country in the region of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. He dwells with special delight on the ancient ruined cities Jubail (Byblos), Baalbeck, Palmyra, and others.

Re-entering Turkey, he follows the railway to Angora. The new capital is gradually assuming the necessary features of a government centre, and should develop before long into a pleasant and healthy city, conveniently situated for the administration of what remains of the old Turkish Empire. Colonel Massy is rather favourably impressed with it, having found the inhabitants friendly and affable. He speaks well of the new Turkish army and its air equipment. Asia Minor is well suited for flying, with its open, treeless plains and the general absence of wind.

We are next introduced to Constantinople, as the city and its beautiful surroundings appear today in their new and somewhat depressing aspect, after being degraded from the rank of an Imperial capital. It is good to learn that the shores of the Bosphorus, and especially the British Embassy at Thesapia, are still plentifully provided with shady gardens. This narrow strip, the Colonel remarks, has been the scene of battle between East and West throughout the centuries, and who can say, he asks, if the agelong conflict be really at an end?

Leaving the beaten track, it is interesting to follow him from Smyrna successively to each of the Seven Churches of early Christian days. Here early Church history chiefly claims his attention.

Part V. takes us back into Europe, but those who have followed the author so far will be lured on beyond the strict sphere of the Central Asian Society by his descriptions of modern Piræus, Athens, and Corfu, whence a Yugoslav steamer takes him up the Albanian, Dalmatian, and Croatian coast until Italian territory is reached on the Istrian peninsula. He visited on the way the Italian city of Zara, uncomfortably sandwiched into a purely Slavonic region, besides the more important Slavonic ports such as Ragusa and Spalato. The intricacies of this important strip of coastline skirted by innumerable islands can

only be realized by constant reference to a map. They must be mastered for an adequate understanding of the causes of the perennial friction between Italy and Yugoslavia, so largely concerned with questions affecting the control of the Adriatic Sea. Colonel Massy is an admirable guide in these historic waters and adjoining lands. His description of a drive from Ragusa over Cattaro to Cettinje and back will make all who read it desire to visit that wild and romantic region. Anything like an analysis of these journeys is precluded by necessary limitation of space, but enough has perhaps been said to show that the author of this attractive travellers' companion is himself all that a traveller should be—namely, one who traverses lands differing profoundly in race, religion, and natural features, with a love of sport and adventure, much more than a mere smattering of archæology and history, a mind seeking friendly intercourse with the inhabitants and sympathizing with their wants and aspirations, a true lover of nature in its varying aspects, and a demeanour towards all whom he meets which must assuredly confirm and enhance everywhere the respect, and in not a few places the affection and gratitude, with which his country is regarded in the regions of the Levant.

MAURICE DE BUNSEN.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE. By A. and G. L. C. Howard.
India of Today Series. Oxford University Press. Rs. 2/8.

This volume is welcome though belated. Mr. and Mrs. Howard are full of knowledge, and perhaps find a difficulty in selecting and presenting the very simple facts which a reader of this series will require. Such simplification is always distasteful to the expert, since it involves an overstatement or an understatement of the truth.

The three principal problems of agriculture, as viewed by the authors, are (1) the improvement of the seed and the crop, (2) the preservation and enrichment of the soil, and (3) the enlightenment of the cultivator. Seed selection has already resulted in an increase of the producer's income from cotton by £5,600,000 and from wheat by £2,500,000 per annum, but inadequate progress has been made in protecting the soil from erosion, and in enriching it with a suitable manure. A thorough system of surface drainage is recommended to prevent erosion, and the use of a manurial compost, prepared by the cultivator in his house, is preferred to artificial fertilizers. More stress might have been laid on denudation of the land as a cause of erosion, and on afforestation as a remedy. A scheme has been approved for co-operative afforestation in the Siwaliks for this very purpose.

The cultivator, as explained by Mr. and Mrs. Howard, is illiterate and unprogressive. They recommend general education, and herein they will find general support. The conservatism of the peasant is, however, to be attributed less to his illiteracy than to his indebtedness; why should he produce more, when no output can overtake the compound interest on his debt?

The book is full of information and of value, and will maintain the reputation of the series.

C. F. S.

THE HISTORY AND ECONOMICS OF THE LAND SYSTEM IN BENGAL. By K. C. Chaudhuri. The Book Company, Calcutta. Rs. 5.

Liberal opinion in India is crystallizing into a definite condemnation of the Permanent Settlement, which set up the Zemindars as owners of the land and masters of the cultivators. Mr. Chaudhuri has given a clear though slightly *ex parte* account of the origin of this system and of the evils—sub-owners

and rack-renting—to which it gave rise. His statement will supply useful ammunition to the partisans of the depressed peasantry. He correctly argues that the Tenancy Act of 1885 has not solved the problem by establishing dual ownership and securing a judicial control of rents, and he favours, on the analogy of Ireland, the expropriation and compensation of the Zemindar. Bengal reformers may conceivably be driven to this heroic measure, since there are few signs of improvement in the landlords. It is, however, imprudent to weaken a good cause by evading the arguments against it. Mr. Chaudhuri is altogether too casual. The conservatism of the peasant when converted into a proprietor can certainly be modified by education, agricultural production can be enhanced by research and teaching, and industries may employ some of the surplus population. But these remedies are gradual, and it is still more hasty to assert that birth-control will prevent the subdivision of holdings, and that wealthy peasant proprietors will sell their land and will not continue as idle landlords. These are pious hopes, on which no reliance can be placed in the near future.

The suggested expropriation is apparently to result in no increase of the public revenues, and the Permanent Settlement is to be continued with the peasant. Reformers will find their financial progress hampered by this over-generous policy.

The book is interesting but poorly bound, and full of lamentable proof-errors and printing-errors.

C. F. S.

THREE NEW BOOKS ON HINDUISM.

1. HINDUISM. By Swami Vivekananda. Mylapore, Madras : Sri Ramakrishna Math. N.d.
2. SRI KRISHNA, PASTORAL AND KINGMAKER. By Swami Ramakrishnananda. Mylapore, Madras : Sri Ramakrishna Math. N.d.
3. COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN VEDANTISM. By Professor Mahendranath Sircar, Sanskrit College. Oxford University Press : Humphrey Milford. 1927.

The first two of the above books, published by the Ramakrishna Mission of Madras, are clearly Hindu propaganda, intended to further the objects of the Mission. Their use is to confirm the conviction of the already convinced, and the arguments they contain are neither scientific nor learned, though the language in which they are couched is often eloquent. Swami Vivekananda is a well-known revivalist, and his views in "Hinduism," which is a republication of old lectures, are not likely to be of much use to scholars, however "elevating" they may be to the congregations that have listened to them. "What I want to propagate is a religion that will be equally acceptable to all minds—it must be equally philosophic, equally emotional, equally mystic, and equally conducive to action." Brave words indeed, if only they were practicable. "Sri Krishna" is a rhapsody, giving an idealized life of Krishna, culled from sacred books, for the edification of his votaries.

The third volume, on "Vedantism," is of a very different class, as it is a serious study of serious Hindu philosophy. "My apology for publishing and presenting this volume is the dignified position that Vedantism occupies in the history of thought and in the field of Indian Culture." Thus does the author commence his preface, and then on p. x he writes : "Vedantism is the philosophy of the self-conscious. It is pre-eminently the search for the self"—this is to say, it is the educated Hindu's method of seeking the mystery that confronts the philosophy of all the thinkers that the world has ever produced, from the savage to the most highly civilized and educated. The author then takes us conscientiously through the varying views of the great commentators—Shankara

Ramanuja, Madhva, Vallabha, Jiva Gosvami, Nimvarka, and many another, contrasting them on occasion with European writers, Spinoza, Bradley, and so on. He thus fulfils the claim that his title sets up, and gives a truly comparative account of a great Indian philosophy, which cannot but be of value to any scholar who may peruse it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

TIGERS, GOLD, AND WITCH-DOCTORS. By Bassett Digby, F.R.G.S. Pp. 341. Illustrations. London : John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd. 1928. 12s. 6d.

Any book is welcome that will shed further light on Siberia and Mongolia, for, as Mr. Digby rightly points out, our knowledge of these regions is strictly limited—though not, we think, limited to the efforts of the “American and Japanese” to straighten out the “grand old mix-up out there at the end of the recent World War.”

The author commences his book by whetting the curious appetite with a list of strange things found out in the course of his wanderings which he proposes to describe. It must be confessed that the actual recital does not always satisfy the enquirer in these particulars, and that the narrative sometimes wears thin just when the reader is becoming hopeful of a deeper interest, but, nevertheless, the account is that of an observant and determined wanderer, which may be studied with advantage by anyone interested in Northern Asia. The Lake Baikal region is particularly well dealt with, while there is a very good chapter on Arctic Siberia, and much of interest regarding the early exploration of Siberia in a chapter curiously entitled “Vodka and Windows.” There is an interesting ethnological chapter, “Siberia’s Indians”; but the author’s theory that some of the inhabitants of North-East Siberia came originally from Turkey, because they use many Turkish words (pp. 1, 100), appears to be a strangely hazardous one, at direct variance with that usually accepted.

The most serious criticism of the book, however, is the absence of either a map or an index, the first being surely a lamentable omission in a book of this kind.

The photographs are very good.

G. V. B. G.

THE CONFLICT OF OLD AND NEW IN CHINA.

CHINESE REALITIES. By John Foster. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 240. Edinburgh House Press. 2s. 6d.

THE DRAGON SHEDS HIS SKIN. By Winifred Galbraith. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 221. London : Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.

WITHIN THE WALLS OF NANKING. By Alice Tisdale Hobart. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 243. London : Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.

These are three notable additions to recent publications dealing with China and her latter-day problems. In “Chinese Realities,” Mr. Foster visualizes China as an old ruin, which inexperienced Youth is endeavouring to rebuild. How will the design, the foundations, and materials of the new edifice compare with the ancient structure? This is the question he sets out to answer, and, in doing so, he dissects the several movements—social, economic, and political—which form the component parts of Chinese “nationalism.” We gather, as we read, some conception of the extent of the revolt against the past. “To old China that which was old was good, that which was oldest was best : to young China, everything old is suspect ; only the very newest ideas receive a welcome.”

The family ideals and relationships on which old China's civilization was based are fast disappearing, and, whether in regard to society or industry, their place is being taken by a national consciousness and class organization. Mr. Foster stresses the point that the West is largely responsible for this momentous change. "Old China bade us keep out—and we came in : old China struggled against the inrush of new ideas, but they prevailed." All the "isms" of young China have come from the West, even patriotism. All his education has been filled with Western subjects and conducted on Western lines. He could not learn mathematics without the aid of our symbols, nor medicine without our terms. And the result ! "Severance from the historic past, lack of adjustment to new and larger relationships, absence of any determined philosophy of life : these are characteristic of young China, and first essentials to any understanding of the situation today."

Two out of the eight chapters of his book are devoted by the author to a consideration of the religious aspect of the nationalist movement, and particularly to the effect on missionary work of anti-Christian propaganda. Amongst some useful appendices there is a detailed analysis of Sun Yat-sen's "The Three People's Principles," that extraordinary mixture of facts and garbled history which has become "almost a Bible," and is read in all schools throughout China.

How the "Three Principles" came to Changsha, disturbing the peaceful atmosphere in which she worked as teacher in a girls' school, is recounted by Miss Galbraith in "The Dragon sheds his Skin." There is rare charm in some of her chapters, notably "The Flood" and "The Call," and the incidents described have the additional merit of being true.

Miss Galbraith's reflections on the paradoxical nature of the Chinese character denote shrewd observation, and, as we read her experiences, we are irresistibly reminded of Lady Hosie's pleasant volume, "Two Gentlemen of China." We get the same clear pictures of a Chinese interior (in this case, the home of the Tsengs, direct descendants of the famous general who helped to crush the Taiping rebellion), the same details of family routine and obligations, set down with humour and kindly understanding.

Mrs. Hobart was *châtelaine* of the house on the now famous Socony Hill, "Within the Walls of Nanking," when the Nationalist forces occupied that city in March, 1927. With her husband—agent of the Standard Oil Company—she had previously witnessed at Changsha "the tyranny of a community given over to hate and license," and the move to Nanking was intended to afford them much-needed rest and relief from anxiety. Disillusionment was almost immediate. Every day brought news of fighting and outrage creeping nearer and nearer ; the servants were restless ; and a sense of coming evil was in the air. With the arrival of the Southern troops, a number of British and American friends were driven to seek sanctuary on Socony Hill, whither they were shortly followed by Nationalist soldiers intent on killing and plunder, and Mrs. Hobart's dainty home was very nearly the scene of a terrible tragedy. No one will read unmoved her account of that grim experience. We marvel at the American Consul's restraint under intense provocation, and are relieved when he at last permits the four sorely-tried American sailors who are with the party to use their weapons in self-defence. Within signalling distance, fortunately, lay the *Emerald* and the *Noa*, British and American gunboats, and a shell-fire barrage from these ships enabled the refugees on Socony Hill to escape without loss of life. Other foreign residents—over one hundred—were still in the city, at the mercy of the Southern soldiery. It was not until late in the afternoon of the next day, after threats had been made to shell the city, that there came "filing

out of Nanking . . . the British Consular party with their dead and their wounded. Then a much larger party—Americans, men, women and children. . . . Down they come . . . to the gunboats, mourning the destruction of their life's work, their dishonour, their dead." A sad and a humiliating picture!

Mrs. Hobart's graphic narrative is preceded by a poem from the pen of Mrs. Florence Ayscough, who seeks to prove that China's troubles for the past twenty years have been due to the abolition of the old Civil Service examinations, and the shattering, in consequence, of the entire administrative system of the country.

F. W. C.

A TOUR IN SOUTHERN ASIA (Indo-China, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon, 1925-1926). By Horace Bleackley. The Bodley Head. 12s. 6d. net.

The casual visitor to strange lands cannot be expected to get a deep view into things, but his impressions are valuable, especially when he is a trained observer and visits more than one country so that the points of difference, as they strike a visitor, may be brought out. In this book one looks for a comparison of the contacts of various Western races on very similar Eastern peoples. Mr. Bleackley saw France in Indo-China, Holland in Java and Sumatra, Great Britain in Malaya and Ceylon.

He records and comments on, for example, such diverse subjects as mixed races, standards of government (particularly as measured by the style and state of the Governor), education, agriculture, religion as shown in the lives of the people, and in each case, though a longer and closer knowledge would have modified his views, there is the corrective applied in the neighbouring country. What an advantage it would be to, say, Indian administrators if they could get study-leave to Cochin-China or Batavia, or both!

Particularly interesting is the account of the status of the mixed Eurasian populations. Then our treatment of the ruined cities of Ceylon is compared with the Dutch at Borobudur and the French at Angkor-Vat. The description of these places, particularly of Angkor, with its "frieze of life-sized elephants," makes one determine to go there, and there can be no higher praise. It is unfortunate that Mr. Bleackley could not compare with the work of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India.

One thing that strikes a visitor to these countries is the difference in the trade policies pursued. A striking example is in the rubber trade. At the time of the visit the East was at the top of a boom. Restriction paid for by Malaya was benefiting Java; it would be very interesting to know what the Dutch really thought about it all. In Malaya Mr. Bleackley found "the prosperity of the rubber trade seems to be assured for many years" (the universal view in Malaya then). The extract indicates the limitations of the book.

The different way the various administrations tackle "situations" is well brought out in accounts of "l'affaire Bardez" in Indo-China and the mutiny in Singapore. If for nothing else, we should be grateful to Mr. Bleackley for a vivid account of one of the most brilliant sideshows of the War. So well was this mutiny taken in hand that it has been almost forgotten west of Suez, and apparently people in Singapore consider it as part "of the day's work." It is a good thing to get the facts down on record.

As is usual in travel books, much space is devoted to the amenities of the journey. In the excellent index the entry "Food" takes first place, followed closely by "Hotels" and "Houses." It is possible to see how differently French, Dutch, and British settle down to exile.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Bleackley, when he pays another visit out East, will find time to visit India. His views on British administration in Eastern countries are perforce one-sided if he has not seen India. Our declared policy in India is to associate the Asiatic in the administration. The policy cannot but be followed to a greater or less extent in neighbouring dependencies, and for anyone to criticize the working of the policy without visiting India is, to say the least, misleading.

LIFE AND TIMES OF C. R. DAS. By Prithwis Chandra Ray. 8½ × 6. Pp xv + 313. Illustrations. Oxford University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1928. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Humphrey Milford, of the Oxford University Press, has recently published a book, purporting to be "A personal memoir of the late Deshbandu Chitta Ranjan, and a complete outline of the history of Bengal for the first quarter of the twentieth century." The volume is a finished specimen of the printer's art. The setting out of the material and the proof reading alike have been faultless, and the illustrations, all of which are from photographs, are excellent.

The book is a disappointment. Of the biography of Deshbandu there is very little, and of the history no clear consecutive account. The thread on which the chapters which compose the whole is strung seems to be neither the life of the hero nor the times in which he lived, but the principles and politics of the author as justified by both. But the book is well worth reading. Less by what it says than what it implies, by its atmosphere rather than by its matter, the volume affords a graphic and almost startling picture of the difficulties with which the administration in India of today has to cope.

Ex-editor of the *Bengalee*, Prithwis Chandra Ray is a man of wide reading and deep thinking, the son of a race whose passions are easily fanned, whose prejudices are deep-rooted. He seems dragged now towards the cold north of logic, now to the passionate south of unreasoning sentiment. He writes as one might write who wore spectacles, one lens of which was clear, the other coloured; and from chapter to chapter the reader is never sure which will prove the master eye. And with all this there is a clearly defined, if at times a somewhat aggressively patronizing endeavour to be just to Great Britain and the services she has rendered to the Motherland of his dreams and his adoration.

Here is the picture he faithfully gives of Bengal as it was when it passed under British rule.

"Not till the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1859 and its first amendment in 1885 were the Bengal peasantry anything better than mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. They were very much like the Irish cotters and the Egyptian fellahin, practically serfs, having no right in the land they cultivated and the holdings on which they lived. On the top of this, they were more often than not rack-rented, and made to pay special contributions on the marriages and *sradhhs* of their landlords' sons, daughters, and relatives, whether they had a crop or not. When in a lean year they were unable to pay their rents, they were brought in batches to the zemindar's office and were subjected to physical torture. The life of the Bengal peasant was surrounded by a dark cloud, and he had no incentive to make any improvements on his land, or even to live the natural span of his life."

Logic insists that Great Britain must be credited with responsibility for the change which has come over the scene.

"It must be admitted that the administration in the country in the latter Victorian era was sometimes punctuated by acts of benevolent despotism, such

as Lord Ripon's repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, the Rendition of Mysore, the inauguration of a scheme of local self-government, the Ilbert Bill (a bill intended to remove the disqualifications of the Indian magistracy to try European offenders), the revision of the Indian Councils Act in 1892, during Lord Lansdowne's viceroyalty, and the effort of Sir Andrew Scoble to raise the 'age of consent' in India." And again elsewhere :

"British rule may be held responsible for many of the evils of present-day life, the abandonment of plain living and high thinking, our lost arts and industries, our enfeebled physique, and incapacity to resist the germs of plague, cholera, malaria, and hook-worm, the growing habit of living beyond our means, and the keen struggle to keep an exaggerated standard of appearances, our intellectual dead level, our revolting ideas of private and public morality, our Penal Code, Evidence Act and 'lawyer government,' and our divorce from the realities of an old-world life. But no one will deny that working in so many different ways, and with such steadfast pertinacity, British rule has built up a nation here out of chaos and anarchy." . . . "It has turned vast arid tracts into fertile soil, waving with golden harvest, brought out untold treasures from the bosom of the earth for the service of men, and has connected one province with another with a network of railways, canals, and telegraph wires. . . . Whatever the character of the British Government be, and however culpable may have been its neglect of our interests, and whatever evils it may have wrought in India, it would be 'satanic' to snap our connection with it."

But while reason and his innate sense of justice thus urge him to accord some measure of appreciation to the work of the British in India, there is an undercurrent of antipathy, a magnification of occasional mistakes, and an ignoring of continuous policy, a scorn of all who do not see as he sees, which it is important that those to whom the future of India is an anxious concern, should realize, because it is so typical of what the fairest minded of her sons are thinking. Lord Curzon's viceroyalty was distinguished by his "blazing indiscretions." With the individual revolutionaries, the fruit of those self-same "indiscretions," he has a scarce veiled sympathy, while of those of his fellow-countrymen who had the courage to face the obloquy of the nationalist press and enter the first councils he writes thus : "Many courageous and independent men seeking election withdrew their candidature at the desire of Mr. Gandhi, and left the field open to a small minority of placemen, title-hunters, and aspirants to office in the new order of things. With this group weak-kneed landlords, indifferent lawyers, and taluqdars, mealy mouthed bankers and merchants threw in their lot, with a handful of Liberals of the old school who still clung to and pinned their faith on *Ap-ki-waste* principles of self-aggrandizement."

This is the writing of a pamphleteer, not the chronicling of a historian. The arrangement of the book, too, is not happy. The views of the author, the history of the times and the life of Deshbandu, which, with more careful planning and clearer thinking, might have been worked into a harmonious whole, run through the volume as three main topics somewhat confusedly jumbled together.

The picture of the life and character of Deshbandu collected from the various chapters is not attractive. Son of a Calcutta solicitor. he failed for the Indian Civil Service, and was called to the Bar. For many years life was a most difficult struggle, so much so that at the age of twenty-six he found himself, with his father, in the insolvency court. Two years later his successful defence of Aurobindo Ghose brought his name prominently before the public, and when, in 1914, his client succeeded in the Dumraon succession case, his

fortune was made. His earnings at this period are said to have reached nearly £50,000 a year. But as he earned so he spent; his fortune was frittered away in luxurious living, and he fell into evil habits, which he scarcely attempted to control till, in the last few years of his life, the influence of Mr. Gandhi's asceticism made itself felt. In character he was unstable—a blend, typical of the times, of strength and timidity, tenacity and hesitancy, sometimes inspired with caution, sometimes fired with the spirit of revolt.

In politics he was quick to observe the changing currents of public opinion and to keep himself in the van. Up to the closing era of his life he was the prow rather than the helm of his vessel. Thus it is that Tagore considered that the greatest gift which Deshbandu had left for India was the "creative force of a great aspiration," and with this verdict our author concurs.

We think otherwise. At least to the British statesman in India, the importance of the work of Deshbandu was the part he played in the rejection by Nationalist India of the Ghandi doctrine of non-co-operation, and the substitution of a policy of obstruction within the Councils. It is true that there were many contributory causes to this change, and it would be inaccurate to lay the whole responsibility on the shoulders of the leader; but nevertheless he was the leader; it was he who gave concrete expression to the thoughts that were stirring in the minds of the rank and file, and it was he who successfully founded in the Assembly that party which is to this day the strongest unit of the many groups that exist therein. This was his achievement, and it was given to him as he brought it to completion to attain a mastery over those defects of life and character which had marred his earlier days. His superabundance of wealth vanished, his acerbity mellowed, his intangible yearnings for a swaraj which he could not even define became consolidated into a programme of practical politics, which he could hope to press with the weapon of reason rather than revolt. And then he died.

India is a land of rapid development, and it is pathetic to consider how closely the policy of C. R. Das, as enunciated in 1917, agrees with the accepted policy of government today. It is worth while to take his ten points in detail.

"1. We must give heed to the lessons of history."

With this there can be no quarrel, provided that the lessons be heeded fairly, and that sober history and not the truth-free fables of a romantic golden age be the subject of our study.

"2. We must abandon the path of European industrialism."

Government is endeavouring to stimulate the cottage industries of the provinces, and where mass production is possible, to secure by its Factory Act and Workmen's Compensation Act that the evils of the early phases of industrialism in Europe be unknown here.

"3. We must stop the decay of villages and the consequent congestion of the cities."

To this end Government would willingly co-operate in any reasoned programme.

"4. To do this we will have to rehabilitate our villages."

The life of the district officer is spent on such a task.

"5. But our villages can only be rehabilitated if we make them sanitary, and thus enable the peasant to pursue his avocations free from disease."

No government, and no district, but will gladly avail of all the help in persuading the villager to better living, and in obtaining funds for village improvements which unofficials will afford them.

"6. We must train up the agriculturist in the ways of useful handicrafts."

With this object industrial schools have been established in various rural centres, and schemes for assisting villages are in being everywhere.

"7. We must enquire into the commercial products of Bengal in the past.

"8. We must start small business concerns all over the country with a view to producing those articles for which our people have aptitude and skill."

As a broad statement of policy there is nothing here novel or questionable. The language is a little more grandiose, but in effect it is little more than a restatement of the policy adopted of encouraging cottage industries.

"9. We must stop importing foreign commercial products, except such as are absolutely essential.

"10. We must provide cheap capital for such industries as have a reasonable chance of being profitable, and with this end in view we must start banking institutions in the different districts."

The Government of India consistently works to establish a favourable balance of trade, and co-operative banking has been for years past one of its pet children.

This book is a book to be read. Nothing that has yet appeared will bring home to the reader at home how closely allied in temperament is the Indian politician of today with the Irish politician of yesterday.

Nor can anyone who has studied the Government of India by the Indian Civil Service fail to realize how ignorant the town-bred Indian politician is of the life, manners, institutions, and advancement of his countrymen in the villages. The bitter truth is that what is sought is not prosperity, but power, and that without provision made for defence, in spite of the fact that every constructive movement which their leaders have heretofore initiated, whether it be non-violent non-co-operation, or national education, has miserably failed. Swaraj to the average provincial politician is government of the people, by me, for myself. "Haste," says the Arab proverb, "is of the devil, Patience of Allah." And the volume under review makes it abundantly clear that only by a patient pooling of the experience of her administrators and the keen ambitions of her educated classes will India find that path of contented advance on which all wish to see her feet steadfastly set.

C. C. G.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ALÍ IBN ÍSÁ, "THE GOOD VIZIER." By Harold Bowen. Cambridge University Press. 1928. 25s.

This book is far more than a mere biography of "that great one," as 'Alí was reverentially described by the drunken Buwayhid, for Mr. Bowen amply fulfils the promise of his title by giving us a detailed history of the 'Abbásid court during the lifetime of the Good Vizier—a period of half a century of uninterrupted decline and decay, of greedy, inefficient, and savage ministers among whom 'Alí ibn Ísá stands forth as the sole example of an administrator who placed the interests of the State before his own. The popularity which he earned by his efforts on behalf of the peasantry and the humbler citizens of the capital was powerless to protect him from the resentment of the great and powerful, whose selfish and impatient greed would not await the restoration of prosperity by that rigid economy which was the only method by which it could

be attained. Often as he was called upon to deal with an apparently hopeless situation, in which none could discern whence the means of continuing the most essential services of the State could be drawn, he was never permitted to complete his task, for they could not long endure his husbandry of the public resources and his intolerance of corruption.

In the early years of his public service the Caliphate was yet a great empire, but during his long life it sank gradually towards its virtual extinction—the capture of Baghdád by the Buwayhids—which he just lived to see.

¶ In an introduction of no more than twenty-four pages, Mr. Bowen provides even the reader ignorant of Eastern story with a view of Islamic history which will enable him to understand and appreciate the more detailed account of the state of society during 'Alí's lifetime. Early differences between the Indifferents and the Zealots; later disputes between Arabs and foreigners; the growth of Persian and other foreign influence; the conflict between philosophic rationalism and the bigotry of fundamentalists, with the establishment of a Prætorian Guard of Turks and Berbers as its result; the disaffection of the Shí'ahs, whether "Twelvers," "Seveners," or Zaydites; the menace of the Carmathian heresy; the gradual rise of nationalism, finding its expression in the establishment of local dynasties; the position of non-Muslims in the lands of Islám; the complications arising from the status of slaves; and the details of an administration based on the system of the Sásánids of Persia, are all briefly but lucidly discussed and explained, and introduce the reader to the condition of the Islamic world when "the various elements of which the 'Abbásid civilization was composed were ready to fuse into a whole. Religion from Arabia, thought from Greece, manners and government from Persia, vigour from the Turks, working in harmony (as they did for a short time), "they made Baghdád in the tenth century of our era the intellectual centre of the world": this was "the unique epoch of the blossoming of Islám."

Mr. Bowen has given us a most instructive book, the fruit of diligent and scholarly research, the results of which are presented in a most attractive form. The picture which he draws of the state of society under the later 'Abbásids may appear to those unacquainted with Eastern history to be too sombre, but it has had its counterpart in ages much later and therefore, presumably, more enlightened. The pages, as one would expect in a book emanating from the Cambridge University Press, are marred by very few typographical errors, and one of these, as it occurs twice, can hardly be attributed to the printer—viz., *Transoxania* for *Transoxiana*.

The book is one of the most valuable of recent contributions to Islamic history.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

The Athenæum,
September 24, 1928.

NOTES

THE PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRAQ

DR. W. A. WIGRAM, wishes it to be understood that he was attempting to make some of the problems and difficulties of the administration of Iraq clear to an English audience. It was not his intention to make any attack upon the country, or upon the administration of it, and if any statement of his has given pain to any individual, or is unjust to him, he can only express his regret.

THE RUSSO-GERMAN EXPEDITION TO THE PAMIRS

The Russo-German expedition reached its main camp above the Tainmas glacier on August 22. The explorers started from there for their first high mountain camp. Preparations were made for further camps at a height of 5,000 to 6,000 metres. The great exploring ascent is fixed for the beginning of September. Schmidt, Krylenko, Otto, and Dorovejev are attempting to cross the passes from the Tanimas side.

AFGHANISTAN

In his autobiography the late Amir Abdur Rahman wrote: "I do not believe in the word 'impossible' when applied to any matter; in fact, there is no such thing as impossibility." Would he have believed that a quarter of a century after these words were printed, his yearly Jirga should have become a National Assembly, with 150 members, elected for a period of three years? The franchise for the Assembly is very wisely restricted, and foreigners resident in or naturalized in Afghanistan, Afghan residents in other countries, and illiterate persons, together with the army and Government functionaries, are not allowed to vote. That one of the first acts of the new Parliament should be to bring in compulsory military service for three years throughout the country is quite in accordance with the spirit of the late Amir, who, when a telescope was brought to him with the explanation that he would be able to see the geography of the moon, said: "Blow the moon! What is the use of the moon to me? Can't you make a gun of it?" (Sir M. Durand on Abdur Rahman, *C.A.S.J.*, 1906). Twenty Afghan officers are coming to London next month to study British methods, while about 200 are already on the Continent and with the U.S.S.R.

It is much to be hoped that the film which was recently made of the national rejoicings at Paghman may be shown in this country, for although under the guidance of its present sagacious and plucky ruler Afghanistan will make great material progress, she must perhaps lose some of her picturesqueness.

The Kabul-Tashkent air service has run successfully for a year, and it is now proposed to make a new line from Kabul to Moscow, running through Tashkent but not through Teheran, which will bring Kabul within three and a half days' journey from Berlin. The service is to be organized by the *Dobroliott*, the volunteer air service of Russian Central Asia. The present line through Teheran takes four and a half days.

PERSIA

At the same time as she is starting her National Bank, Persia is making numerous commercial treaties with Western European countries: Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and France are among them. M. Oveissi has been appointed Director of Commerce.

ASSYRIANS

The Assyrians in Russia, numbering some five thousand, are preparing to start their colonies in Transcaucasia. They have kept their old organization unchanged.

THE SEVENTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

THE Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Oxford during the last week in August under the presidency of Lord Chalmers, was attended by nearly seven hundred students of Oriental literature, history, archæology, philosophy, religion, philology, and art.

The delegates from Governments, universities, academies, and learned societies in all parts of the British Empire, in Belgium, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Indo-China, Lebanon, Morocco, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, the United States of America, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Algiers, Syria, Jugo-Slavia, Latvia, Switzerland, Russia, and the Vatican were welcomed at an inaugural meeting in the Examination Schools on the evening of Monday, August 27, by the President, who, after extending a fraternal greeting to every Orientalist who had journeyed to Oxford to contribute to the world's growing knowledge of things Oriental and to enjoy personal converse with fellow-workers in his or her particular branch of Orientalism, continued his address as follows: "Our hope and aspiration for all visitors to this Congress, this œcumenical council of Orientalists, is that their visit may not only be pleasant in itself, but may also be fruitful for the advancement of the studies which we severally delight to pursue. Bountiful as has been the harvest of last century's achievements in the Oriental field, let us yet join in the hope—the very confident hope—that our present century may garner a still more bountiful harvest of scholarly knowledge of all that the immemorial East can illuminate in the rise and growth of the civilization and the culture of mankind."

On the following morning the business of the Congress began. It is impossible here to give even a bare list of the numerous papers in English, French, German, Italian, and Portuguese, on the various branches of Oriental learning and art read in the eleven sections of the Congress presided over by Professors S. H. Langdon, F. Ll. Griffith, F. W. Thomas, W. E. Soothill, G. A. Cooke, D. S. Margoliouth, and Sir Michael Sadler. These papers were read in the morning at the Examination Schools, and in the afternoon at the University Museum; and members, besides attending to what may be styled the routine work of the Congress, were privileged to visit, by special invitation and under expert guidance, the Lewis Evans collection in the old Ashmolean Museum, the Pitt-Rivers Museum, the Ashmolean, the Clarendon Press, and the Bodleian, where the cream of a beautiful and valuable collection of Oriental manuscripts was specially displayed for their delectation. There can have been few Orientalists who were not embarrassed by the abundance of the intellectual and artistic pabulum set before them, and by their inability to emulate Sir Boyle Roche's bird.

The social side of the Congress was the care of His Majesty's Government, who on Wednesday, August 29, entertained the delegates at luncheon in the beautiful hall of Christ Church, and of hosts and hostesses who maintained the best traditions of Oxford hospitality. The delegates and members of the Congress were entertained at garden parties or receptions at Wadham College, at the invitation of the Warden and Mrs. Stebbing; at Magdalen, by Dr. and Mrs. A. E. Cowley; at New, by Professor and Mrs. D. S. Margoliouth; at Toot Balden, by Professor and Mrs. C. G. Seligman; and at 1, Bardwell Road, by

Mr. and Mrs. W. Buckler. Many also enjoyed the hospitality of Professor and Mrs. F. W. Thomas, and the enjoyment of all the hospitality which they received at Oxford was enhanced by the delightful setting in which it was dispensed. No more impressive surroundings for a gathering of scholars and students could be found in the world, and the effect which the stately and beautiful Colleges and Halls of Oxford produced on visitors from beyond the seas was a source of pleasure and pride to all Britons.

The last social function of the Congress was a banquet on Friday, August 31, held, like the luncheon on Wednesday, in the splendid hall of Christ Church, and the proceedings terminated on the following morning with a meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Congress, followed by the final General Meeting.

All members of the Conference owe a debt of gratitude to the General Committee and the Organizing Committee for all that was done by them to make the Congress the unqualified success which it was, and for their fulfilment of Lord Chalmers's hope that the visit of the members to Oxford would be pleasant in itself. Nothing that could tend to their comfort and to their enjoyment of the visit was left undone.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

LIBRARY NOTICES

The following books have been received for review :

- "Turkestan : Down to the Mongol Invasion," by W. Barthold. Second edition. Translated from the original Russian and revised by the assistance of H. A. R. Gibb, M.A. $9\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. xix+513 pp. (Oxford University Press for the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. Published by Luzac and Co. 1928. 25s.)
- "The History and Economics of the Land System in Bengal," by K. C. Chandhuri. With a foreword by Sir P. C. Ray. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{8}''$. xix+148 pp. (Calcutta : The Book Co. 1927. 5 rupees.)
- "Tigers, Gold, and Witch-Doctors," by Bassett Digby, F.R.G.S. Illustrations. $8\frac{1}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. 341 pp. (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head. 1928. 12s. 6d.)
- "An Unfrequented Highway : Through Sikkim and Tibet to Chumolaori." $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8''$. 133 pp. Illustrations. (London : Scholartis Press. 1928. 21s.)
- "The Cult of the Peacock Angel," by R. H. W. Empson. A short account of the Yezidi tribes of Kurdistan, with a commentary by Sir R. Carnac Temple, Bart., C.B., F.B.A. 8vo. 235 pp. Illustrations. (London : H. F. and G. Witherby. 1928. 15s.)
- "Chinese Realities," by John Foster. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. 240 pp. (London : Edinburgh House Press. 1928. 2s. 6d.)
- "L'Afghanistan," by Raymond Furon. Geographie, Histoire, Ethnographie, Voyages. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Illustrations and Maps. 132 pp. (Paris : Librairie Scientifique, Albert Blanchard. 1926. 3s.)
- "The Dragon Sheds his Skin," by Winifred Galbraith. $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{8}''$. Illustrations. 221 pp. (London : Jonathan Cape. 1928. 7s. 6d.)
- "The Constitutional Law of Iraq," by C. A. Hooper. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. 277 pp. (Baghdad : Mackenzie and Mackenzie. 1928. 10s. 6d.)
- "Indian Agriculture," by A. and Gabrielle L. C. Howard. India of Today Series, vol. viii. $7'' \times 5''$. 98 pp. Illustrations. (London : Humphrey Milford. 1927. 3s. 6d.)
- "Within the Walls of Nanking," by Alice Tisdale Hobart. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. 243 pp. (London : Jonathan Cape. 1928. 6s.)
- "Palestine : Old and New," by Albert M. Hyamson. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xii+287 pp. Illustrations and maps. (London : Methuen and Co., Ltd. 1928. 7s. 6d.)
- "Eastern Mediterranean Lands : Twenty Years of Life, Sport, and Travel," by Colonel P. H. H. Massy, C.B.E. $8\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. xii+261 pp. Illustrations and maps. (London : G. Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1928. 12s. 6d.)
- "The Ghurkhas," by Major W. Brook Northey and Captain C. J. Morris. With a Foreword by General the Hon. C. G. Bruce. $9'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. xxxi+268 pp. Illustrations and maps. (London : John Lane, The Bodley Head. 1928. 18s.)
- "Comparative Studies in Vedantism," by Sircar Mahendranath, M.A., Ph.D. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. xii+314 pp (London : Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1928. 10 rupees.)
- "Palmyrena," by Alois Musil. A Topographical Itinerary. American Geographical Society Oriental Exploration and Studies, No. 4. $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$. xiv+367. Illustrations and maps. (New York. 1928.)
- "Poems of Poure-Davoud. With English translation by D. J. Irani. $10'' \times 7''$. (The Pestonji D. Patel Memorial. Iranian Series, vol. i. 1928.)

- "Life and Times of C. R. Das," by Prithwis Chandra Ray. Being a Personal Memoir of the late Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan and a complete outline of the History of Bengal for the first quarter of the twentieth century. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 6". xv+313 pp. Illustrations. (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1923. 12s. 6d.)
- "Sri Krishna": Pastoral and King Maker, by Ramakrishnananda Swami. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". viii+113 pp. (Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. 1928.)
- "Hinduism," by Vivekananda Swami. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 114 pp. (Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. 1928.)
- "The Land of the Five Rivers," by Hugh Kennedy Trevaskis, I.C.S. An economic history of the Punjab from the earliest times to the year of grace, 1890. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " \times 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". xx+372 pp. (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1928. 15s.)
- "Nepal," by Perceval Landon. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Vol. I., xxiii+358 pp.; Vol. II., vii+363. Illustrations and Maps. (Constable. 1928. £3 3s.)

Papers recently added to the Pamphlet Library: From the *Geographical Journal*—"Some Valleys and Glaciers in Hunza," by Captain C. J. Morris.

The following articles on Asiatic subjects have appeared in the quarterlies:

September:

- Fortnightly Review*: "Egypt without Zaghul," by Owen Tweedy.
- The Round Table*: "The Task of the Simon Commission"; "China in 1928: A Bird's Eye View from the Scene."
- The English Review*: "Shangai: Exit the Model Settlement," by J. O. P. Bland.
- The Contemporary Review*: "Egypt Today," by Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.; "Syria—Yesterday and Today," by H. Charles Woods; "Indian Village Uplift: A Visit to Gurgaon," by Lady Hartog.
- The National Review*: "The Unequal Treaties," by G. W. Woodhead, C.B.E., Editor of "The China Year Book."
- The Nineteenth Century and After*: "The Welfare of the Indian Agriculturist," by Colonel Aubrey O'Brien, C.I.E., C.B.E.

Lectures for the autumn session are as follows:

- October 17, at 5.30 p.m.: Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, "The Indian States and the New Constitution."
- October 31: Mr. Eric Teichman, C.M.G., etc., "The Road from Peking to Lhasa."
- November 7: Ameen Rihani, "Ibn Sa'ud of Arabia."
- November 28: Mr. W. E. D. Allen, "Georgia."
- December 12: Captain McCallum, "By Car through Asia."

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