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The subject is of great importance to theologians. Mr Browne's account of the Crusades is written from the point of view of Asia, and does not regard its Islamic populations as uniform.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

BLAZON OF ARMS

"Vert a chevron engrailed cotised engrailed Or between three crescents Argent, on a chief of the second, the horns of the Ovis Poli proper.
<u>Crest</u> In front of the rising sun Or, the horns of the Ovis Poli proper as in the Arms."

THE FOUNDING AND PROGRESS OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

(In which is incorporated the Persia Society)

THE founder of the Central Asian Society was Mr. A. Cotterell Tupp, a member of the Indian Civil Service. He had taken a special interest in all Central Asian questions since 1866, when he had travelled up to the Pindri Glacier and to Milam in the Himalayas. He had collected an excellent library dealing with Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, Afghanistan, the Himalayas, and Russian Turkestan, and the idea was gradually formed in his mind of the importance of a study of these subjects and of English policy in relation to them. This developed into a scheme, to quote his own words, for " the formation of a society which should afford—

" 1. A place of meeting for all those interested in Central Asia; and

" 2. Opportunities for lectures and discussions on any subject related to it."

Mr. Tupp discussed this question with the present Sir Francis Younghusband in February, 1901, who, a month later, wrote to say that he would be happy to join in forming the projected Society. He subsequently discussed the whole subject in detail with Mr. Cotterell Tupp and Colonel Algernon Durand, with the result that, in October, 1901, the Central Asian Society was established " for the consideration of Central Asian questions from their political as well as from their geographical, commercial, or scientific aspect."

The first meeting was held on December 13, 1901, at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, at which General Sir Thomas Gordon was elected President, with Major Younghusband as Honorary Secretary and Mr. A. Cotterell Tupp as Honorary Treasurer. The first lecture was given by Mr. H. F. B. Lynch on the " Persian Gulf," on January 13, 1902. Major Younghusband was almost immediately succeeded by Mr. (now Sir Edward) Penton, who has served the Society practically from its foundation as Honorary Secretary or as Honorary Treasurer until the time of writing, a remarkable record of service.

In 1908, in the seventh year of the existence of the Society, Mr. Cotterell Tupp wrote: " It will hardly be denied that we have justified our existence; but we have not met with as much support as we might reasonably have anticipated. Our numbers hover about the round hundred."*

At the outbreak of the Great War the membership of the Society showed no increase in spite of the good work that it accomplished and the fact that men of the highest distinction, such as Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir Mortimer Durand, presided over its meetings.

After the Great War the membership slightly increased, but the needed impetus was given by Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate, who was elected Honorary Secretary in 1918. Supported by Lord Carnock, to whom the Society owes a special debt of gratitude, the membership had risen to 700 when Colonel Yate retired in 1923. Throughout this period he had been helped in his strenuous efforts to beat up suitable recruits by Mr. G. Stephenson.

The Society is especially indebted to the Royal Asiatic Society for the use of its rooms and to its Secretary, Mrs. Frazer, who ably managed its affairs for many years. In January, 1921, the Society appointed its own Assistant Secretary, Miss Noel Kennedy, a niece of Mr. Cotterell Tupp, who as Secretary still renders it service to-day. The premises at 77, Grosvenor Street were acquired in 1929, and an excellent library is being accumulated.

In 1911 the Persia Society was founded mainly by Lord Lamington, Mr. H. F. B. Lynch and Professor E. G. Browne. Excellent lectures were given, many of which were printed. But, after the Great War, it struck members of both the Persia and Central Asian Societies that, in view of the lack of interest shown in the Persia Society by the Persian Legation, it would be preferable to amalgamate.

This was effected in 1929, at which date the members of the Persia Society numbered about 250, a large proportion being members of the Central Asian Society. The balance of the Persia Society's Funds (about £375) was placed in a separate trust, to be administered for the following objects by a special Committee, which should include two or more members of the Council connected with Persia;

(*a*) The promotion of the sympathy existing between the British and the Persian nations, by means of personal intercourse, lectures, and the circulation of the news from Persia.

* The quotations in the above outline of the foundation of the Society are taken from the first printed documents issued by it.

(*b*) The encouragement of the study of Persian literature.

(*c*) The study of all questions of common interest to Britain and Persia, artistic, scientific, industrial, economic, and educational.

(*d*) The exhibition of Persian arts and handicrafts and assistance at such exhibitions.

On April 15, 1931, the Society was honoured by His Majesty, who was graciously pleased to Command that the Society shall in future be known as "The Royal Central Asian Society." Some two years later the Council decided that this honour should be implemented by a coat-of-arms, a crest, and a motto. Mr. Omar Ramsden, a member of the Society, generously offered his services "to prepare the necessary designs and working drawings for a die or block as a free gift." For the coat-of-arms charges were taken from the shields of Viscount Allenby, the President, and of Lord Lloyd of Dolobran, the Chairman. It was decided that the *Ovis Poli* should constitute the crest of the Society, and Countess Roberts graciously gave her consent for the "record" specimen in her possession to serve as the model. As an Italian member, the well-known Central Asian explorer Sir Filippo de Filippi wrote: "The Ovis Poli is as much the heraldic beast of Central Asia as the white bear is of the Arctic or the lion of Africa." The motto *Cornua levat super terras* or "He raises his horns on the Roof of the World" was decided upon.

The fee to the College of Heralds was approximately £80, and the splendid response of members proves the vitality of the Society. Within a very few weeks more than £80 had been collected, several members generously offering to increase their subscriptions if needed, and the total sum received was £120. The surplus has led to this record of the Society being drawn up and bound in a Golden Book, which can be added to when events of importance justify such action. Placed with the Royal Grant and containing a list of subscribers to the fund, it is hoped that it will interest present members and be of especial interest to the generation which will celebrate the centenary of the Royal Central Asian Society in October, 2001.

To conclude, the Society to-day numbers some 1,450 members. While dealing specially with Central Asia, it, generally speaking, embraces the whole of Asia, although it is unwilling to overlap other Societies by discussing questions concerning the plains of India. It should, however, be noted that its interest in the land frontiers of the Indian Empire is deep. It also perforce is interested in European Russia, in view of the reaction of the government of that country on Asia;

and finally the Moslems of Egypt—their problems and their art—are studied.

The Society can claim that its lectures and its quarterly journals are unsurpassed, and it only needs more members and more funds to render still more valuable services at a time when accurate information on the many complex problems of Asia is essential for the peace and progress of the world.

P. M. SYKES.

BROADCASTING (VERNACULAR) IN RURAL ASIA

By C. F. STRICKLAND, C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.)

Abstract of a lecture given on October 4 at the Royal Society's Hall, Sir Francis Younghusband in the Chair.

MODERN science has given us several powerful agents which are affecting the life of the community, but, in my opinion, none of the new inventions has the potential power of broadcasting. Through broadcasting, European governments may be able to solve some of the political and educational problems with which they have been vainly struggling, and even more is this true of governments in such continents as Asia and Africa—continents with a widely scattered indigenous population largely illiterate and predominantly rural. It is of the practical value and the possibilities of vernacular broadcasting in the rural areas, the estimated cost, and the means through which we may bring it into use in India and the Arabic- and Persian-speaking countries of the Middle East that I propose to speak.

The peoples of Asia differ in speech and race, but, with the exception of Japan, they have this in common—a great proportion of the population in all Asiatic countries is rural and illiterate; it is not necessary to tell this audience of Indian villages cut off by bad roads, by great distances, and often by jungle from the nearest town and from any intercourse with the outside world, and of the backwardness of the peasantry; throughout Asia the conditions are more or less alike. Throughout Asia also during this last ten years changing conditions have made themselves felt; the outside world is beginning to press in, and the peasant is unsettled and does not know how to face it. There are three evils of village life which are increasing with alarming rapidity. The first and the most dangerous is boredom. Every villager is beginning to find his life dull, but the villager with a little education finds it desperately dull. I would name this general boredom of the villagers as the most dangerous of the three growing evils, because there is no more explosive material in the world than a disillusioned peasantry, and governments who face this fact and give the peasant something to think about, some help in earning a better living, and

some amusement, will be turning many individuals who would otherwise be a political nuisance and danger to the State into useful members of the community.

Secondly, by broadcasting we can help the villager with another problem, the management of his income. Until this century the Asiatic village was more or less self-contained and self-sufficient. The villager wove his own cloth, grew his own food, and looked for little from outside; now, however, mass production and world trade have introduced cheap luxuries, cheap ornaments (always a cause of Asiatic extravagance), cheap novelties; and the peasant, dazzled by the multitude of petty luxuries, buys without thought of the total cost, often merely because his neighbour buys. In consequence all over the Middle East and India indebtedness is increasing. Cannot instruction and warning by broadcasting help them here? I will discuss the sort of programme we want later, but it needs little imagination to see what could be done to improve the peasant's management of his money, to promote the improvement of his produce, and to aid in marketing the village's surplus goods.

But perhaps the evil which the villager himself finds most disturbing is the wave of moral change which is taking place in the mind of the East. The East is changing far faster than the West, and whereas it would seem incredible to an older generation to question the foundations of its belief and its agelong moral principles, the younger folk no longer accept them as necessarily true, and in questioning them are losing their foothold. In Asia more than elsewhere the young are becoming dangerously insurgent against all belief and tradition; we have to find some way of stiffening them, some way to give them the steadiness and support they must have if they are to steer over the shoals ahead. Schools are being multiplied, but it will take a century or more before literacy becomes general, and the world will not stand still in the meantime. Think how difficult this makes things for Oriental governments. There can be no comparison with Europe or America. In Denmark, for instance, if Government wants to give special advice to farmers, a pamphlet is sent round; in India the people cannot read, and only a laborious process of touring and talking will make any impression at all. Nor can we secure any real result until we can educate the women and bring them in on our side. If only this could be done, the battle would be won; and how can we do it except by broadcasting direct to them in the villages, giving them special talks on their own subjects, on the health and sanitation of the village, and

the bringing up of children, and so on? I will not go into politics, but it is evident that under the future Constitution a great deal more power will be in the hands of the villagers, and there is no means at present of instructing them. The ancient village council has broken down and modern life has built nothing in its place. Can we reinstate the village panchayats, not in their old form, which would lack the necessary authority under a modern legal system, but in some new form? These are the most prominent of the evils which must be faced and mitigated. The evils I have spoken of have been realized by Oriental governments for a long time, and they have been attempting to combat them with great effort, and I think on the whole with very little success. You remember, some of you, the toil of going from village to village, the effort to explain, say, for example, sanitation or co-operation, how one felt that it would take many months of teaching, repeating the same words again and again, giving the same talks, before there would be any real result; the waste of time in going from one village to another, and the knowledge that as soon as one left everything one said would be forgotten. No one would carry it through, for there was no leader and no village organization with sufficient authority and knowledge. Governments tend to lack imagination—they are too busy—and nowhere but in Russia has any serious effort been made to introduce broadcasting into village life. Oriental governments too are loath to spend money until they are assured of results. They demand, naturally, that the value of rural broadcasting be proved, but this cannot be done unless a government will first spend money on a thorough experiment on sound lines. They also demand evidence of practicability, and I admit that the greatest difficulty will be to find a really good announcer who will make broadcasting real to the villager. We all know how friendly and familiar the B.B.C. voice seems when we turn on our radios to hear the news, and how welcome, in the Empire broadcasting, is the sound of one's native tongue from home. So it must be with the villager: the "voice from the box" must be the voice of a friend; the whole village must listen to him easily; the peasants must take him as their guide, their mentor, their entertainer. Now in village broadcasting we are hampered in our choice of announcers, for it is essential that all programmes should be given in the dialect of the district which they serve. Consequently we do not want large central stations, but stations with a 25- or 30-mile radius. The news too must be such as will interest the villager—news of fairs, local news, blocked roads, floods, markets and market prices, and the news bulletin on general subjects would

include the contradictions of false rumours. Those of you who served in India through the War will remember the absurd rumours which were put about and which were widely believed, for there was no way of contradicting them.* There would also be talks in the evening on health, on sanitation, on agriculture, interspersed with amusement of some kind; talks always practical and very simple and perhaps repeated twice over in the same words, for simple people need this reiteration; and at certain stated hours in the daytime the radio would be turned on to give lessons in the school. One can imagine all sorts of ways in which a clever announcer could work. But it is here I foresee the greatest difficulty: the right man will not be easy to find. We have a limited choice owing to the need for exact knowledge of the local people and their dialect.

To turn to the practical side: I do not propose that all the benefits of broadcasting should be given entirely free. The individual peasant cannot afford a receiving set. There must be a common receiver for the village, simplified and strong, receiving on only one wave-length (so that there is no complication of tuning in) and installed in the house of a schoolmaster or headman, with a wire carried to a loudspeaker in the schoolhouse or some other public place, where the people would listen. And for this communal receiving set the village as a whole would pay an enhanced fee, to buy the receiver by instalments and provide free maintenance. It is possible that at first there should be a six months' free installation, but that after that each village should bear the greater part of the cost. So far as we in the Indian Village Welfare Association can estimate, the total cost per head might be about 1s. 6d. for each household for the first five to seven years, while the price of the receiver is being paid off, and after that perhaps half as much annually for maintenance alone. This might be recovered, if a popular vote so desired, as a cess added to the land tax, or a special " co-operative broadcasting society " could be formed, or the village panchayat or council (where established by law) might levy a rate. It would be the task of Government to maintain the transmitters; they would also supply a communal receiving set in each village, keep it in order, and pay for renewal of batteries. The village would merely send the battery by hand to be recharged, and could have this done at the nearest garage. This seems a difficulty in an isolated village, but if the villagers really want their wireless they will manage it. They will have two batteries, and use one while the other is away. The net cost to

* See *The First Elections in the N.W.F.P.*, p. 66.

Government, after deducting four-fifths of the license fee, as in the case of the Indian Broadcasting Company, might be about Rs. 5,000 per Indian district—*i.e.*, £400 for each area the size of an English county. It would save time and trouble in the issue of police information, perhaps even enable the police to be reduced, and would save the time and travelling costs of experts in every department, who have now to travel and talk continually in a way in which there must of necessity be much wasted effort. It is the easiest and most practical way to teach an illiterate people, the only way to deal with great distances and the retiring nature of Oriental women.

Mr. Strickland then gave a short review of the broadcasting stations already at work in Asia. Ceylon was the first in the field in the Empire; Egypt was now starting, and there were other stations, but mainly for urban populations; Russia had gone ahead, and from the first the Soviets had seized the opportunity afforded, and their big stations gave special hours for rural programmes in the various languages of the U.S.S.R. A big station had been erected at Mukden, but he did not know if regular programmes were broadcast, or if it had been used at all. As a whole, Asiatic countries were backward in seizing their opportunities.

Mr. C. G. Graves*: I certainly shall not attempt to criticize Mr. Strickland's paper, for we are convinced that the problem of broadcasting in the vernacular in the East should be studied and handled by people who are personally acquainted with the situation. The B.B.C. has kept a close contact with the movement he has described and are very sympathetic to it. I don't think, however, that at the present moment we should serve any useful purpose by co-operating through our Empire service, for this latter must be primarily for the benefit of the British population in India and for the educated native. It is obviously impossible for us to attempt vernacular broadcasts from this country. We have, however, said that as soon as the organization that is doing such good work in India is ready to operate an experimental station which has Government sanction, we will supply a transmitter, and we are only waiting the word "go" to put that offer into effect.

I was very interested to note Mr. Strickland's reference to Ceylon, for we at Broadcasting House are very well aware of the excellent work that is being undertaken there, and the example offered by this Colony

* Of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

is a very fine one. It has shown what can be done by the combined efforts of Government and an enthusiastic amateur Radio Society. I am not sure, however, that it is a wise course to endeavour, as they are, to broadcast both in English and the vernacular.

Mr. Strickland mentioned Egypt and the service that is shortly to open there, and you will doubtless be interested to know that we have been doing all we can to help the newly appointed Director of Programmes, who spent some time with us before leaving for Cairo.

Once more, may I repeat that the B.B.C. are keenly interested in the work for broadcasting of the Indian Village Welfare Association in India, and will give all the assistance that lies in their power.

Mr. Harper: I should like first of all to say that I support wholeheartedly all the remarks made by Mr. Strickland, and I speak from very considerable experience of the benefits of broadcasting in the neighbouring country of Ceylon, where we commenced a broadcasting service about nine years ago. I think we were the first of the Colonies to commence such a service.

We started in a very small way and gradually developed our resources and programmes until we were able to devote a considerable portion of the available time to vernacular items, including talks on many subjects of general interest, medical, agricultural, religious, and Oriental music.

Later, when schools broadcasting in this country had proved a success, we followed the home example and started a similar service in Ceylon, which has steadily improved and is now regarded as an integral part of the scheme.

As the service developed, opportunities were given whenever possible for the villagers to listen, especially to the vernacular programmes; generally this was done by a European in the district lending his receiver for the purpose, but the Broadcasting Department also organized many of these demonstrations, all of which were very enthusiastically received and proved very clearly the benefits which the service could give to the villagers.

As a result I made several appeals to the generosity of local residents to provide receivers for the purpose outlined by Mr. Strickland, and I think it can be taken for granted that when the financial position of the island improves Government or private individuals will assist in providing such facilities and organize adult educational broadcasting, as the schools broadcasting has been done.

I agree with Mr. Strickland that it is desirable when possible to

separate the rural service and make it quite distinctive from the usual one broadcast from a large town if it is to have the greatest effect. If carried out on the lines advocated by him, I am convinced that the results will be of tremendous value and fully repay all the time and eloquence which Mr. Strickland is devoting to it.

A MEMBER: I should like to know how large a district Mr. Strickland's broadcasting station would serve if it is only to cost Government £400. Also it seems to me that recharging the batteries will be a great difficulty. Our villages are, many of them, separated by long distances and bad roads from the nearest town and garage, and batteries are heavy things to carry.

Mr. STRICKLAND: The station I have been describing would serve a radius of about the size of an English county. With regard to the second point, once the villagers learn to appreciate their wireless I do not think there will be any hesitation in having the batteries refilled, though at first it may be necessary to keep them up to the mark.

Colonel SMALLWOOD: The Mukden station when it was put up was considered to be very up-to-date, but I do not think that any programmes have ever been sent out from it. Has the League of Nations been asked to help in the matter of broadcasting?

Mr. Strickland said that as far as he knew the League had not been approached.

Colonel HARDINGE: I should like to contribute a few words concerning the technical aspect of the subject of Mr. Strickland's very interesting and convincing address. In so far as India is concerned, this has been very thoroughly studied by competent experts, and as a result it is satisfactory to know that the creation of rural broadcasting services such as are contemplated by Mr. Strickland is now entirely feasible. This fact is largely due to very recent technical developments which have rendered it possible to design specially for the purpose a receiving equipment which can be put into an Eastern village among entirely unskilled people; since once installed, adjusted, and locked, there will be nothing for the person in charge to do beyond switching on before the programme is due to commence, and switching off when it comes to a close. There will be no exterior tuning knobs, and the receiver will contain no dry batteries which run down and have to be periodically replaced, their place being taken by what is called a "rotary converter"—an extremely robust and "trouble-free" little machine comparable with the magneto on a motor-car, which functions for months in all weathers without attention. The only necessary source of power will

be derived from a robust type of low-tension battery similar to that used on motor-cars, the handling and charging of which is well understood to-day at garages throughout the East. It is entirely due to the fact that practically automatic and "trouble-free" receivers of this nature can now be supplied, thanks to quite recent discoveries, that rural broadcasting services are now a practical proposition, both technically and economically, since these special receivers can be maintained in running order at comparatively low cost.

In testimony of this being an accomplished fact, and not because I wish to advance the cause of any particular commercial interest, I am in a position to state that I have the quotation of a well-known wireless firm of repute and possessing considerable experience of Indian conditions for just such a village receiving equipment as I have described, and also for a complete broadcasting system comprising several transmitters, each with the necessary studio equipment, and all the receivers, loudspeakers, and batteries, to serve a hypothetical district consisting of one urban and ten rural divisions, in which 1,100 loudspeaking receivers are to be installed; and the total sum quoted for the entire system, landed in India, duty paid, and installed, is a little over £43,000. The total area thus provided for is about 15,000 square miles, or approximately that of a civil district in India. One high-power transmitter to serve the same area (which it would not do so satisfactorily for reasons explained by Mr. Strickland), *without* any village receiving equipment, would probably cost round about £50,000. Surely these facts are sufficient to definitely establish the superiority, for rural conditions such as those so ably set out by Mr. Strickland, of a broadcasting system consisting of many comparatively small areas, each served by a low-power transmitter, rather than fewer areas served with greater power.*

* A demonstration of the type of receiver to be used experimentally in broadcasting in rural India was shown at a meeting of the Indian Village Welfare Association on November 13.

In introducing it, Colonel Hardinge said:

"The greater the illiteracy and consequent backwardness of a people, the greater may be the benefit to that people of a broadcasting service. The potentialities of such a service among the nearly 300,000,000 Indian peasantry are, therefore, incalculably great. Ignorance of simple facts relating to health, sanitation, the advantages of modern agricultural methods—such are some of the reasons underlying the almost universal state of impecuniosity in which the Indian peasantry exists. The lower the standard of living resulting from such ignorance, the greater is the opportunity a broadcasting service affords for raising that standard.

"Many broadcasting stations will be needed to give rural India such a service. The area of India is approximately that of Europe, excluding Russia. The Punjab

Sir JOHN THOMPSON proposed a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and spoke of the value of the work done by Mr. Strickland during his service in the Punjab, work which gave him such good experience that he was called in to advise on rural reconstruction in other parts of Asia and Africa.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND closed the lecture by stressing the importance of rural broadcasting, thanking the Lecturer and speaking of the great interest with which all members would follow the experiments in vernacular broadcasting.

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is three-fourths the area of Germany. Bengal and the Hyderabad State are each larger than the combined area of England and Scotland. India, like Europe, is peopled by numerous races having different customs and speaking more than 200 different languages. Atmospheric conditions in India are less favourable for broadcasting than is the case in the temperate zone. For all these reasons, the scope of each broadcasting station's service in India must needs be strictly limited, and it appears clear that the rural population will best be served by a large number of broadcasting stations, each of comparatively low power, rather than by fewer stations of high power. Moreover, it is readily demonstrable that the former is also the less expensive alternative.

"If the rural programmes are broadcast upon a wave-length in the normal broadcasting wave band (200 to 500 metres) it will be practicable to adopt a 'fixed wave-length' receiver for community village use, which would not be practicable in the short-wave band, the tuning of short-wave receivers being too critical. A receiver which needs no tuning, the sole control of which is an 'on-off' switch, demands no skill in handling, and is of the simplest possible description. Further, by utilizing a rotary converter as the source of high-tension supply, the need of perishable dry batteries is done away with. The sole source of power then consists of a low-tension battery of large capacity, the periodical re-charging of which is the only essential to maintain the receiver in running order. Such a receiving equipment, designed by Mr. E. Harper, M.I.E.E., M.I.R.E., late Chief Engineer and Controller of Broadcasting to the Government of Ceylon, specially for community village use in India, will now be demonstrated."

A SHORT JOURNEY THROUGH NORTH-WESTERN KANSU AND THE TIBETAN BORDER COUNTRY

By JOHN SCOTT

Lecture given on October 17, Mr. G. E. Hubbard in the Chair.

I HAVE been asked to give an account of a month's holiday journey, which my wife and I made in April and May this year in Western Kansu and the border country of North-Eastern Tibet. I am afraid I am not qualified to discuss weighty and learned matters, which such an audience of Central Asian experts would seem to call for, and I hope will not be disappointed if I simply try to tell you plainly where we went, what we saw and what particularly struck our notice in this rather out-of-the-way corner of Asia. If I can succeed in taking you in imagination out of the smoke and grime of London into the sunshine of Kansu I shall have achieved my purpose. After I have finished, we are going to show you a film, which my wife took during the journey and which we hope will give you a better idea of the country and the people than I can.

We are both very amateur travellers, and this was our first experience of the far interior of China. We could never have made the journey had it not been for the kindness of our friend Mr. George Findlay Andrew, of the China Inland Mission and Field Director of the C.I.F.R.C.—a member of our Society—who asked us to accompany him on a visit which, with Mrs. Andrew, he was making to Kansu on Famine Relief and other business. To him we owe the opportunity of making this journey, as well as the abundant hospitality we received at various C.I.M. stations on our road.

Mr. Andrew is, of course, very well known as an authority on North-Western China and especially on the Moslems of Kansu, about whom he addressed our Society a year or two ago. He has lived in the Province for many years, both as a missionary and as a Famine Relief administrator, and his name "Gnan Moussu" is a household word, as we found wherever we went.

Foreign visitors are never very welcome in Kansu, and at the present time I should say it would be impossible for any foreigner, however fluent a Chinese speaker and however experienced a traveller,

to go to Kansu unless he were in company with someone well known both to the officials and the people. The experience of one or two, who have tried it during the past few years, bears this out. You can, therefore, understand how exceedingly lucky we were, wishing to visit Kansu, to get Mr. Andrew's invitation to accompany him, and how eagerly we accepted it.

We travelled from Nanking by the Pukow-Tientsin and the Sino-Belgian Lung-Hai railways as far as the western terminus of the latter at Tungkwan, a city on the bank of the Yellow River, where it takes its big turn to the east at the junction of Honan, Shansi, and Shensi Provinces. The line is being carried on westwards, and by the end of this year will have reached a point only some forty miles from Hsian. From the railhead at Tungkwan we had ninety miles to go by road to Hsian, but unfortunately we found that two days before our arrival there had been a heavy fall of rain, the first for many months, which had made the road almost impassable, and the car which was to have been sent from Hsian to meet us had not arrived. After considerable negotiations with a not too helpful magistrate at Tungkwan we managed to procure what was apparently the only vehicle available in the town, a very ancient and dilapidated Dodge motor-bus, and in this the four of us eventually set off, fondly expecting to reach Hsian that night in time to catch the aeroplane in which we were to fly to Lanchow the next morning. Alas to our hopes! the road, normally feet deep in dust, was a quagmire of mud, and the bus proved to be even more dilapidated than it had appeared. We broke down eight times that day, most of which we spent alternately trying to patch up a magneto and carburettor in the last stages of decay and heaving the bus out of bogs, and when darkness came on we rattled into a roadside village for the night, having covered just thirty miles in eight hours. The village of Che Sui, in which we spent that night, lies not far from the foot of Hwa Shan, one of the five sacred mountains of China, a magnificent eight-thousand-foot pinnacle of rock standing up from a range of mountains. Hwa Shan is an object of pilgrimage to thousands each year from the northern and western Provinces, and can be climbed to the summit by a narrow path cut in some places out of the sheer wall of the cliff! There are many shrines along the path and a temple at the top of the mountain. Descriptions of the climb have been published by various foreigners; a good, if somewhat unvarnished, account is that in the diaries of General Pereira, published under the title of *Peking to*

Lhasa. On the road from Che Sui, some thirty miles out of Hsian, we passed close to the tomb of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, that Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty who, in the third century B.C., built the Great Wall of China to keep out the Tartars. The tomb is, as far as can be seen, merely a large grass-covered mound; to the best of my knowledge it has never been excavated, and I suggest that there lies a good field for an enterprising archæologist, for it must surely contain interesting and perhaps unique Ch'in dynasty relics. Not far from Ch'in Shih Huang Ti's tomb there are some natural hot springs, at which the old Empress Dowager is supposed to have stopped to take a bath in the course of her flight from Peking to Hsianfu in the summer of 1900, after the collapse of the Boxer rising. Passing travellers can bathe in these springs for a small charge, and I am told that the water is very clean and refreshing.

The whole length of the road from Tungkwan to Hsian was alive with transport of every kind carrying cargo to and from the railhead. Carts drawn by oxen, mules, and even by men, wheelbarrows and rickshaws, horses and donkeys, were piled high with cargo, that going westwards being mostly flour and other foodstuffs. This big movement of flour into what used to be a wheat-growing area is one of the most remarkable signs of the times, showing how Shensi Province has been desolated both by lack of rain and by extreme misrule. All along the road were half-deserted villages and houses pulled down to the bare mud walls so that the timbers could be sold for firewood. The fields have in many places been largely given over to the growth of the opium poppy, considerable tracts of which we saw. Fortunately the rains last spring were above the average and the prospects for this season's crops fairly good, and there were encouraging signs of life and prosperity slowly returning to the countryside. It is greatly to be hoped that the improvement of communications, which the coming of the railway will bring, combined with the great irrigation works now in progress under the auspices of the China International Famine Relief Commission, will at any rate mitigate the severity of the terrible famines, which have time and again ravaged the Province. Mr. Andrew, who directed the relief work during the last great famine of 1930, told me that he would rather die than go through such an experience again, and I can well believe him.

Hsianfu or "The City of Western Peace," the capital of the Province has at various times been, and in some respects still is, one of the most important cities in China. At the western edge of the Shensi plain,

in the gateway to the mountain country of the north-west, it stands on the site of the ancient city of Ch'ang An, so famous in Chinese history, and was the capital of the Empire during the great T'ang dynasty. Though it has now lost much of its importance, it is still a large city with a population of several hundred thousand, and has a magnificent city wall over forty feet thick, larger than the city wall of Peking itself. From the visitor's point of view the chief thing of interest in Hsian is the Pei Ling, or Forest of Tablets, a large collection of stone tablets on which are engraved Chinese classics and historical records. The whole of the Analects of Confucius are thus engraved on a series of these tablets, the original idea of this having been, I believe, to keep them on permanent record in case the written records might be destroyed or lost. In the Pei Ling is also the famous Nestorian tablet, which was found in 1625 at a place some distance out of Hsian and on which is inscribed a record of the Nestorian Christianity, which flourished in this part of China in the early Middle Ages. This tablet is, I believe, almost the only source of our knowledge of Nestorian Christianity, which in the T'ang and later in the Yuan dynasties exercised a powerful influence over the rulers of North China.

From Hsian we flew to Lanchow in a four-seater Junker monoplane of the Eurasia Aviation Corporation, which maintains a weekly service between Nanking and Lanchow via Loyang and Hsian. This is the first stage of the projected through service to Europe via Chinese Turkestan and Siberia, which is to be inaugurated as soon as negotiations with Ma Chung Yng, the young Moslem General who virtually controls Northern Chinese Turkestan, are completed. For the present he has refused to allow ground stations to be established at Suchow and Urumchi in his territory, and threatens to hold any aeroplanes landing there. When the through service is started it will be possible to fly from Shanghai to Berlin in, I think, six days. The service is operated by a German corporation under some sort of license from the Chinese Government; the pilots, mechanics, and ground technical staff are all Germans, while the office managers and staffs are all Chinese. The service struck us as being run with great efficiency, but it seems the greatest pity that all these air services throughout China should be getting into the hands of the Germans and Americans. The late Air Vice-Marshal Holt visited China in 1921 and selected routes and landing-fields for services, which were to be operated by, I believe, Messrs. Handley Page; but for some reason or other negotiations between Messrs. Handley Page and the Chinese Government broke

down and the British services never materialized. The people even in these out-of-the-way parts are becoming air-minded, and as a sidelight on this we saw, on our arrival at Lanchow, a Buddhist lama, in full regalia, getting into the aeroplane to fly to Peking on a pilgrimage. Our flight took us over the loess mountains of Eastern Kansu, which looked barren and inhospitable at that time of the year, but green and comparatively friendly when we returned a month later, and involved some flying at over 13,000 feet to get over the high passes. But we accomplished in four hours what by the ordinary means of cart and mule-back travel takes at least eighteen days' hard going, and the road along which we should have had to go was practically closed to traffic owing to the danger from bandits. While we were up in Kansu a foreign engineer working for the Famine Relief Commission was taken on the road, and some Chinese officials attempting the journey down from Lanchow in motors with a large military escort were badly shot up and robbed of all they had, a number of the escort being killed.

Lanchow is the provincial capital of Kansu, and is a fairly large walled city standing on the bank of the Yellow River, surrounded by bare loess hills. It is not an ancient city and is a place of no particular natural strategic or commercial importance, except as the seat of the Provincial Government, but it has in the process of time become the meeting-place for all the different peoples who inhabit the surrounding country. Every type gathers there, and in the streets you can see Chinese proper, bearded Moslems, Central Asiatics from further Turkestan, Mongols from the Gobi, Tibetans proper and men of the various Tibetan, semi-Tibetan, and aboriginal tribes from the high mountain country to the south—a truly heterogeneous and picturesque crowd.

After a night in Lanchow we left early the following morning for Hsining, a city some two hundred miles to the west on the old Tibetan border and at the eastern edge of the Central Asian grasslands, which we hoped to reach in two days. Leaving Lanchow, we went for some miles up the left bank of the Yellow River along the caravan route, Marco Polo's road, that leads away across Central Asia to Samarkand and on to the Caspian Sea; the largest and, to my mind, the most romantic highway in the world, which has been in regular use for centuries and was the first channel of communication between China and the West. A Sino-Swedish expedition, under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin, is at present engaged on surveying this route for the purpose of building a motor road. Near the road are remains of the

southern loop of the Great Wall, which is here reduced to a mere mud rampart, a few feet high, a sad come-down from the magnificent structure that one sees at Shanhaikuan or Nankow near Peking. After some miles we left the irrigated Yellow River valley, green with early wheat and gay with orchards of pear and peach blossoms, and struck into the barren loess mountains, brown and parched and dusty, more like Arabia or Palestine in the winter-time than anything I had imagined to exist in China. Here are no crops, trees, or vegetation of any kind, only an occasional small mud village clinging to the hillside and flocks of goats scraping a precarious livelihood. By the middle of the afternoon we came to the walled city of Ping Fan, the name signifying that it is at the border of the barbarian country, " Fan " meaning " barbarian "; it lies near the boundary of the new Province of Ching Hai, which was formed some fifteen years ago out of part of Western Kansu, the Kokonor district, and a slice cut off North-Eastern Tibet. Crossing the Ping Fan River we came into rolling, grassy downland, good pasture, not unlike the South-West of Scotland, on which were many herds of cattle, sheep, and goats with Mongol shepherds in attendance. This country, we were told, is a favourite haunt of bandits, but fortunately we met none, and after dark we reached the village of Malientan, where we spent the night in an inn. As the only room available in the inn was not large enough to hold six of us—our four selves and two China Inland Missionaries who were with us—I spent a by no means uncomfortable night in a horse-trough filled with straw, being only seriously disturbed when I was woken by the tail of a horse which was tethered to a nearby post swishing across my face.

The next day was a day of disaster. Starting at daybreak and crossing the Tatung River by the wooden ferry, we had a high range of mountains to cross before coming into the Hsining Valley. Within the last few years a military motor road has been built over a high pass in these mountains, taking a considerably shorter route than the old cart road which keeps to the lower passes, and up this military road we started. We soon found that it was a stiffer proposition than we had bargained for, the gradients being terrific, as much as one in three, and even when all but the driver had got out and numerous peasants and shepherds had been persuaded to help us in pushing and pulling, it was all our excellent Ford could do to make the top. When we got there, being then at a height of over 10,000 feet, we found ourselves in snow and slush, in which after several attempts we got hopelessly bogged. When we learnt that there were at least ten miles of snow

along the top of the pass, and it became obvious that we could not hope to get through that day, the only alternative to being benighted in the snow on the top of the mountain was to turn round and go back to Malientan, which we reluctantly did. We got back to Malientan late that afternoon and, having found the motor road obviously impassable for several days at best, we had to devise ways and means of getting on our way. Here again Mr. Andrew's ingenuity and knowledge of officials came to the rescue. He called upon the local *t'uan chang*, or major in charge of the troops quartered in the village, and eventually persuaded him to send a message through to the General in command at Hsining, who was a personal acquaintance of his. The General, hearing our plight, ordered the *t'uan chang* to provide us with a cart, riding horses, and an escort of an officer and four soldiers to take us on our way to Hsining until we met our own animals, which were waiting for us there and which would be sent back along the road to meet us. So early the following morning we set off riding Chinese Moslem cavalry horses, which, I believe, is rather a unique thing for stray foreigners to have done, and accompanied by our Moslem cavalry escort. This time we took the longer and lower cart road through the mountains, through which we went all day till in the evening we came through into the Hsining Valley, and spent the night in an inn at Kaomiaotze by the Hsining River. The next day we went along beside the river looking across the green and flowery valley to the bare foothills and beyond to the glorious snow-capped mountains of Tibet, a magnificent sight. In the afternoon we met our own animals, with our bedding and our servant, who had come out from Hsining to meet us, and said good-bye to our escort, cheerful and friendly if rather wild fellows, who went off back to Malientan. These Moslem soldiers are excellent horsemen and good fighters when roused; they are also better disciplined than the non-Moslem Chinese soldiers, as they have the religious tie to bind them to their officers and to each other. Going along the Hsining Valley we were on the caravan road from the Tibetan grazings, and met numbers of camel caravans making their slow progress, with sounding bells, laden with wool and skins, beginning their long journey of two months or so to Tientsin, whence they are shipped to the mills of Europe and America.

Some twenty miles out of Hsining we passed an aboriginal village. The history of these aborigines is lost in obscurity, but they were almost certainly settled in that region, in scattered communities, before the

coming of the Mongols, Tibetans, or Chinese, to none of whom do they bear more than a superficial resemblance. They speak a dialect of their own, and in appearance bear a distinct likeness to the Central American Red Indian, who is also believed to have originated in this part of the world. It would be interesting to know whether their two languages have anything in common.

We spent a day resting at Hsining. This is a walled city lying just within the old Tibetan border, and is the capital of the new Province of Ching Hai and the seat of the Provincial Civil Government. The Chairman of the Provincial Council, or Shihchang, is Ma Pu Fang, a young Moslem in the early thirties, a strong and somewhat ruthless character as befits a scion of the family which has in recent years produced such outstanding men as Ma An Liang, Ma Ch'i, and Ma Fu Hsiang. He has kept the Province in fair order, since he assumed control a year or two ago; though his relations with the Military Governor, his uncle Ma Shun Cheng, are at the moment none too cordial and trouble threatens. Further, there is a certain movement for independence among these Moslems, and a tendency to break away from Nanking and join up with their fellow-Moslems further west. The latter is much under the influence of Russia, which for years has tried to extend its influence into Kansu, but with very little success, for the Kansu Moslems are a sturdy independent people and make poor material for Bolshevik propaganda. We saw no signs of any Japanese whatever, and strong anti-Japanese feeling was very apparent.

Hsining is one of the main centres of the Kansu Moslems, of whom there are some two million in Kansu and Ching Hai. They are a people quite distinct from the Chinese both in race and religion; they are not of Mongol, but of Central Asiatic (almost of Arab) stock, and have immigrated into China from further west, bringing their religion with them. There are comparatively few real Chinese Moslems; those there are having mostly either been forcibly converted, often under threat of death, or having married into Moslem families. The Moslems of Kansu are not strictly orthodox in the Faith, I understand, and are divided in religious matters by many sects; but large numbers of them make the pilgrimage to Mecca each year, mostly overland, though a movement round by sea has been developing of recent years. Apparently the unorthodoxy of these Kansu Moslems does not cause the leaders of the Orthodox Faith any great concern, for I am told that a visit from an orthodox Mullah from the West is a rare event. Oddly enough, I

believe that the only Moslem missionary literature to be found in China originates from the British Mosque at Woking. The ordinary people are greatly under the influence of their Mullahs and Ahungs—a lesser sort of lay preachers—of whom there are a great number. Every village in Moslem districts has its mosque, and I should say that Islam, even if of a slightly unorthodox variety, is definitely a living force in Kansu. It is worth noting that Christian missionaries are able to make very few converts from among the Moslems. Their religion makes the Kansu Moslems conversant with the Arabic language which most of them can speak and many read up to a point. In Moslem districts all public proclamations are written in both Chinese and Arabic.

The Moslems are good business people and are also excellent soldiers, the Moslem cavalry in particular being much superior to any in China, for they are fine natural horsemen and horse-masters. Ninety-nine out of a hundred Moslems have the patronymic of Ma, meaning horse, so that a Moslem can almost always be distinguished by his name if not by his appearance. The recent history of Kansu is one of periodic Moslem rebellion, usually accompanied by great slaughter—for when the Moslems rebel they make a thorough job of it—followed by a gradual reassertion of authority by the Chinese, followed in time by another Moslem rising. In 1917, after China's entry into the War on the side of the Allies, a Moslem rising in sympathy with their brother Moslems in Turkey was only narrowly averted, though in this connection an interesting piece of minor history, not generally known, is that Ma Ch'i, the famous Moslem cavalry leader, at one period of the War offered to lead a force of his cavalry on active service for the Allies. This offer was transmitted to the British military authorities, who never acknowledged it.

In 1920 a great Moslem rebellion was brewing, which was to sweep across all North China, and, in the opinion of competent foreigners who were in touch with the situation, would have stood a very fair chance of doing so. This rebellion was nipped in the bud under the most extraordinary circumstances; for the leaders were assembled in a cave one night, actually completing their plans, when the great earthquake occurred and wiped them out as well as throwing the whole countryside into confusion. This earthquake was, I believe, the biggest that has ever been recorded on land; whole towns and villages were completely destroyed, several hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives, and mountains slid as much as four or five miles. The disturbance was such that it was several months before news of the disaster reached

the outer world. It is interesting to speculate how far that earthquake changed the course of recent Chinese history.

The day we spent at Hsining happened to be the occasion of an annual festival at a temple just outside the West Gate of the city. One of the features of this festival is an exhibition of fast-pacing horses. The horse of these parts is a beautiful little beast, standing twelve to thirteen hands, a perfectly made miniature horse with a strong strain of Central Asian blood in him. He is extremely strong and, though not particularly fast over a short distance, can cover very long distances at a steady pace or seven or eight miles an hour. It is easy to believe that Genghiz Khan's hordes covered a hundred miles in a day on these animals. The most valuable horses are those which can move at a fast ambling pace, causing the minimum of bumping to the rider, and competitions in this pacing are held at the festivals such as that we attended. The horses which are adjudged the best performers command a very high price. The origin of this pacing is this: in former days the officials used to ride about the country in their robes, with strings of beads and accoutrements hanging on them and with a large plume stuck vertically in the top of their official hats. It was considered that the officials lost face if their accoutrements jingled or their plumes wobbled while they were riding, hence the demand for horses on which they could sit perfectly steady whilst going along. At the temple festival there was also a most interesting military display of Chinese fencing, sword and pike play and singlestick, given by the Moslem troops, as well as the usual features of most Chinese fairs such as play acting, jugglers, acrobats, and musicians of all sorts.

Our intention had been to go on from Hsining to the Koko Nor (the Blue Lake), that great inland sea on the edge of the Central Asian grasslands, which is four days' march beyond. But the delay in reaching Hsining had left us short for time, and to our great regret this part of our trip had to be abandoned. We therefore struck south from Hsining and headed for the Lamassery of Kum Bum, half a day's march away. Our cavalcade now consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew, my wife and myself, a Moslem named Ma Lian Cheng, a Chinese servant, and two muleteers; Mr. Learner of the China Inland Mission at Hsining also came with us as far as Kum Bum. We had two horses, two riding mules, and a shantze or mule litter, carried fore and aft on the backs of two mules, which carried our baggage and in which one of us could sit. With these we did the rest of the journey back to Lanchow.

The name is a combination of two Tibetan words

meaning " ten thousand images," and was first applied to a miraculous tree which is one of the features of the Lamassery. The situation is one of great beauty, lying in a small valley, through which a stream runs dividing it into two parts. On either side of the valley are the sides of the hill and the white dwellings of the lamas, rising in terraces, and on the western side are many temples gleaming in the sun, chief among them the great gold-roofed temple of Tsong Kaba, by whom the Lamassery was founded.

The Abbé Huc, that intrepid and racy French Lazarite father, who with Father Gabet travelled from Mongolia to Lhasa and spent several weeks in the Kum Bum Lamassery in 1884, has given an excellent account of it in his diaries, which are published in an English translation by the Broadway Travellers series under the title of *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China.*

The Lamassery was founded towards the end of the fourteenth century by Tsong Kaba, the reformer of Buddhism, who was born in the neighbourhood, according to the legend, in somewhat miraculous circumstances, and after a youth spent in spiritual searchings came under the influence of a travelling holy man from the far West, who instructed him in all the doctrines recognized in the West. Adopting these doctrines as a basis, he proceeded to found the reformed or Yellow sect of Lamaistic Buddhism, which flourishes to this day over a large part of Tibet, alongside the Red or old Sect. Many of the rites of this reformed Buddhism bear such a close resemblance to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church that there are some grounds for supposing that the mysterious holy man from the West, who influenced Tsong Kaba and whose peculiar appearance so impressed the people that it has been preserved in tradition, may have been a Roman Catholic Father. When he made his decision to reform Buddhism, Tsong Kaba is related to have shaved off his hair and beard, from which sprung a miraculous tree, upon every leaf and upon the bark of which there are Tibetan sacred characters and texts. This tree is not unlike a large lilac, and we actually examined it in the Lamassery; the characters are certainly there, imprinted on the leaves and the bark, apparently by nature. In the Lamassery is also a gigantic image of Tsong Kaba, and pilgrims come from all over Tibet and Mongolia to prostrate themselves before it. The really devout pilgrim acquires great merit by prostrating himself all the way along the road, and some of them come prodigious distances in this manner, taking months to accomplish the journey. The rather less devout, however, are content with prostrating them-

selves round the outside of the Lamassery, round which there is a road, and any day numbers of them can be seen doing this. If they keep hard at it they can just make the circuit of the Lamassery between daylight and dark. Another way of acquiring merit is to turn a wheel on which prayers are inscribed; these prayer-wheels can be seen all over the countryside; and there are large numbers of them in the Lamassery. Every pilgrim gives them a spin as he passes, and the faster they can be made to spin the greater the merit which is acquired.

As is well known, Tibet is the land of lamas. It is ruled and administered by them, the Dalai Lama in Lhasa being the temporal and the Pan-chen Lama, who is at present in exile in China, the spiritual head of the country. One son in every family, usually, but not always, the eldest, is sent to a lamassery at the age of about eight, and becomes an acolyte, doing the menial tasks of the lamassery and receiving instruction from the lama masters; as he becomes older he can work his way up by degrees through the lama hierarchy. The lamas are their own artisans, workmen, and, when need arises, soldiers, and each lamassery is a self-contained community. The lamas live largely on offerings given both in cash and in kind by the people of their districts and by pilgrims visiting the lamassery; some of the larger lamasseries are very wealthy, as wealth goes in that country. At the head of every lamassery of any importance is a living Buddha. These living Buddhas are neither hereditary nor elected, but are chosen in a most peculiar manner. A living Buddha is supposed never to die, but to continue an uninterrupted chain of successive lives, and when a dying Buddha's body dies his spirit is supposed to pass immediately into the body of his successor. The problem is to find, as soon as possible after he is dead, the person into whose body his spirit has entered, and for this purpose the surviving heads of the Lamassery immediately consult the most renowned Churchun or augur. The Churchun recites various prayers, goes through certain ceremonies, and consults his books of divination, and then announces that the living Buddha has reappeared at such and such a place and in the person of a particular member of such and such a family. A deputation of leading lamas sets out for the place indicated, and there holds a public sitting, at which an examination of the supposed reincarnation of their living Buddha (usually a young child) is held. The child is made to tell them the name of the Lamassery of which he claims to be living Buddha, and the number of lamas in it, and he is put through a searching test by having to identify various books and other articles belonging to the

late living Buddha, whose reincarnation he is. Having emerged triumphantly from this ordeal, no doubt not without a certain amount of prompting, he is borne in triumph back to the Lamassery and there installed with great pomp and ceremony. We were not able to see the living Buddha of Kum Bum, but Mr. Learner, who knows him well, told us that he is a most intelligent and open-minded man. The majority of the lesser lamas are, of course, extremely ignorant and sunk in superstition.

In addition to the living Buddha most of the larger lamasseries have a Grand Lama, who is selected from members of the Royal Family. The administration of the lamassery and the superintendence of everything connected with prayers and religious ceremonies is in his hands; he governs the lamassery while the living Buddha merely reigns. Below the living Buddha and the Grand Lama are several subordinate officers, who see to the details of administration, keep the records, frame regulations, etc. Below them again come the lama-masters, the rank and file of the lamassery, who perform the ceremonies and rites and whose particular duty it is to instruct the acolytes who are attached to them and for a number of whom each is personally responsible. A certain number of lamas form the police of the lamassery. They are dressed in grey robes and carry leather whips, and they are continually on the move round the courts and streets of the lamassery, keeping order and arresting wrongdoers. These are tried by a tribunal of lama judges, who have jurisdiction in all questions of discipline; some of the sentences imposed are very severe, such as branding with hot irons. The great majority of the lamas are dressed in wine-coloured robes, but the higher ranks often wear brighter colours, and we saw some dressed in bright scarlet. Their food consists for the most part of a preparation called tsamba, made of barley meal and rancid yak's butter, which is made up usually into conical cakes; their principal drink is tea, in which is put rancid butter and salt, the taste of which is uncommonly nasty to a European palate. Many feasts and festivals are held at the lamassery and occasionally a devil dance. The most important festival of the year takes place on the fifteenth day of the first moon, and is known as the Feast of Flowers, an excellent description of which is given by Huc in his diaries, which I have already mentioned.

We spent a day and a night at Kum Bum, putting up at an inn in the Chinese trading station attached to the Lamassery. Most of the larger lamasseries have Chinese trading stations beside or near

them, where visiting pilgrims can stay and where they can buy their requirements.

We left Kum Bum on a two days' march to the most southerly and westerly point of our trip, a small city on the Yellow River named Kweiteh. On the first day we crossed a high mountain range by a pass known as La Chi Shan, which, although I believe it has never been accurately surveyed, is about 15,000 feet. For several hours, while crossing the pass, we were above the snow level, and towards the top both we and our animals felt the effect of the height quite appreciably. The path over these mountains is quite impassable for any wheeled traffic. Once over the pass, we went down a steep valley, which at its lower end is very arid and quite bare of vegetation; it reminded me rather of a miniature grand canyon. After passing through a small gorge at the foot of the valley, where there are some very remarkable rock formations, we came to the Yellow River and went along beside it for some fifteen miles across a bare, sandy plain, through which it runs at this point, till we came to Kweiteh. This is a small Tibetan walled city situated at the point where the Yellow River emerges from the high Tibetan mountains into the plain which I have just mentioned. It is a lovely little spot, set in an oasis of fruit orchards, which were in full blossom, while immediately to the south rise range upon range of high snow-capped mountains, 20,000 feet high or more. The Amne Machin range, which, though not actually visible from Kweiteh, lies at no very great distance to the south, has a peak which is believed to be higher than Everest; but this has never been proved, as the mountain is sacred to the Tibetans, who have never allowed any foreign explorer to approach it. These mountains are the home of semi-independent Tibetan tribes, wild people who every now and again come down and raid Kweiteh and the low country, and who have never been subjugated by the Chinese, although they are nominally subject to China.

We rested for a day at Kweiteh before retracing our steps north-eastwards. On our way back we were overtaken by a high wind and a violent dust-storm, which made travelling extremely unpleasant, and we were very glad to reach the shelter of a wayside inn. The wind and the dust continued all night, and, the inn being very far from wind or dust-proof, we had a disturbed and uncomfortable night.

The following morning, we struck eastwards through a steep and narrow valley into the mountains, and came at once into a complete change of scenery. For the valley, up which we climbed for ten miles or so, was covered thickly with magnificent pinewoods, quite unspoilt

and most refreshing after the barren country we had just left. A feature of this country is its extraordinary and sudden contrasts. In this valley it was almost impossible to believe that a mile or two away lay a bare and dusty desert. In this pine valley there are blue pheasants, which I believe are peculiar to this country; these birds are about the same size as the common pheasant, but are blue-grey in colour and have two small peaked "ears" protruding from the top of their heads; the Tibetans are fond of catching them and keeping them in captivity. Emerging from the valley, we came out on to a series of high grassy plateaux and ridges surrounded by high mountains, and across these we travelled for the rest of the day. We were travelling on an unfrequented road, and the people whom we asked by the way told us that the distance to the village where we intended to spend that night was a good deal less than it actually was; country people in the East have the vaguest idea of distance, and it is a common experience for travellers to be deceived in this way. About nightfall, after travelling continuously for thirteen hours and covering certainly over thirty miles, we fortunately came to a small Tibetan village called Tsa Pu, where we stopped for the night; we found, when we went on the next day, that we were a good ten miles short of an intended stopping-place, which we had been told was an easy day's march from Ga Rong. We found a good deal of difficulty in persuading anyone to take us in for the night at Tsa Pu, which was too small a village to boast an inn; the people in those parts can rarely have seen a foreigner, and were not unnaturally suspicious of four such strange-looking people arriving late in the evening. After we had eventually persuaded one of the bigger houses in the village to take us in, they were quite friendly; the whole family displayed a great curiosity over every detail of our equipment and our habits, and stood in the room watching us as we fed, undressed and turned in for the night. The country through which we were now passing is inhabited by a tribe of Tibetans who practise a primitive form of sun worship, a survival of the old Bonze religion, and the house in which we stayed at Tsa Pu had built into the rampart on its flat mud roof a small alcove about two feet square, in which at dawn and sunset a fire was lit and obeisance made to the sun. The prayer flag of the house flew from a small post stuck into the top of this alcove. It is rather interesting that the sacred symbol of these sun worshippers is the Swastika cross, the use of which has lately been so largely revived in the West, especially in Germany, where the sign is reversed.

Leaving Tsa Pu, we went on across the plateaux, descending about

the middle of the day into a lovely little valley filled with golden poplar trees, in the middle of which stood a small white lamasery, a Kum Bum in miniature, a really beautiful spot. On these plateaux across which we travelled for two days graze herds of yak and fat-tailed sheep, on the butter from the former and the mutton from the latter of which the Tibetans mainly live; the sheep's wool is of considerable value in the markets of the world.

At the north-eastern end of a big plateau we came to the city of Pa Yen Jung, an old military garrison city, where in Imperial days the Chinese Government used to keep a detachment to guard the former Tibetan border, which is quite near. Now, however, the border has been moved back further into Tibetan country, and troops are no longer stationed regularly at Pa Yen Jung, which has developed into a trading station to which the Tibetans come out of the hills to trade with Moslem and Chinese merchants. I must confess that Pa Yen Jung seemed one of the least attractive places I have ever seen. Standing on the bare plateau, at 10,000 feet or more, it is exposed to all the winds of heaven and must be terribly bleak except during two or three months of summer, when it is reasonably warm.

From Pa Yen Jung we left the plateau and dropped 2,500 feet in the day, going down into a green and fertile river valley, and spending the night at the private house of a very hospitable Chinese gentleman in the small city of Kan Tu, on the Yellow River, some fifty miles below where we had last left it at Kweiteh. At Kan Tu we came into the country of the Salar Moslems, a remarkable tribe occupying a small tract of country along the Yellow River and a few valleys leading from it. These Salars are a people quite distinct from the other Moslems of the Province. They were originally settled in the region of Samarkand, where they were noted for turbulence and became so obstreperous that about the end of the thirteenth century they were told to remove themselves. Legend relates that they were given a bag containing some earth from their native place, a cruse of water from a spring, and a white camel to lead them; and they were told to travel on until the white camel stopped, and the earth and water corresponded to what they had been given, which would indicate where they were to settle. After years of travelling across Central Asia they reached the Yellow River, when one day the white camel disappeared; after searching for it and failing to find it they bethought them of the earth and the water, and, comparing each and finding that both corresponded, they settled there and have remained to this day. The white

camel was, according to the legend, turned to stone, and can still be seen in the form of a white rock on the side of the mountain. On their journey the Salars brought with them two sacred volumes of the Koran, which have been kept in a mosque at the village of Kai Tze Kung, not far from Kan Tu. These volumes are especially sacred to the Salars, who have, as far as is known, never allowed any stranger to see them; but after leaving Kan Tu Mr. Andrew and our Moslem friend, Ma Lian Cheng, made a special detour to Kai Tze Kung, and, making friends with the mullahs of the mosque, were allowed to see the books for a few minutes and to photograph them. Mr. Andrew is probably the only European ever to have seen these historic volumes. The Salars have never intermarried to any extent with the surrounding peoples, and have preserved their very distinct racial type. The women still wear the big turban and the wide, heavily braided trousers which were in the fashion when they left their home in Samarkand six centuries ago. They have also kept in daily use the Turki language, which they brought with them from Samarkand, and until the introduction of compulsory Chinese education in very recent years were unable to speak or read Chinese; the older people cannot do so to this day. Their language, I am told, could be understood with ease by a modern visitor from the Samarkand region. They still retain their reputation for independence and for turbulence, and even their brother Moslems find great difficulty in governing them. There is a Chinese proverb which says, " Only a Salar can govern a Salar."

We crossed the Yellow River near Kan Tu by a bridge, which has the double distinction of being the highest bridge across the Yellow River, nearly 2,000 miles from its mouth, and the first bridge in the Province to be entirely designed, constructed, and financed by Chinese. It is designed to carry across the river a military road, which is being made through the principal centres of the Province from east to west, and appears to be a very competent piece of work.

After spending a night at Hsun Wa, a small city in the centre of the Salar country, we left the Yellow River again and struck eastwards into the mountains, going up a very barren valley and spending the night at a very small village, where the accommodation was the poorest and dirtiest we had yet found; this village stands at about 11,000 feet and is just below the snow level. The next morning we went on up the valley and crossed a 13,000-foot pass over the mountains called the Chio Wo Wan. The view from the top of this pass was particularly fine, and directly over it we came into a complete change

of country, descending into a steep and rocky valley filled with trees and many wild flowers. We found the large yellow alpine poppy in flower, and the whole hillside was covered thickly with azalea bushes, which, when in bloom about June, must be a wonderful sight. All the way down this valley were springs and streams of clear, fresh water, an unusual sight to us who are used to the muddy brackish water of Eastern China. In this valley we both saw and heard large numbers of pheasants and Kuala chi, a species of large red-legged partridge common in this country. Emerging at the foot of the valley, we came out on to open moorland, purple with a variety of small mountain plants and covered with hawthorn bushes in full blossom. In a small valley at the edge of this moorland we came to Pieh Tsan, the mountain fastness of General Ma Shun Cheng, the Moslem Military Governor of the Province of Cheng Hai. This place was his native village, which, when he had risen to eminence, he enlarged and developed until it is now a considerable stronghold. He has built himself, besides his official yamen, two large private houses, a large mosque, and a beautiful garden several acres in extent, set in a lovely sheltered spot in the hills, in which he takes great pride.

We had been invited by the General to stay with him for the night in one of his private houses; and, as we arrived too late in the afternoon for the full measure of Oriental hospitality to be prepared for us that evening, we had to undergo the ordeal of consuming a full dress feast of thirty courses or so with the General at 7 a.m. the following morning before our departure. General Ma Shun Cheng, a member of the predominant Moslem family and uncle of the young Civil Governor at Hsining, is a picturesque figure. Sixty odd years of age, he stands fully six feet, is very broad, and must in his younger days have been immensely strong; he has a strong face, with prominent nose and black moustache and beard, and a loud deep voice which often bursts forth in a hearty laugh—a strong and resolute man by all accounts, a real old-fashioned military mandarin and the virtual ruler of the Province.

Leaving the General's house the following morning somewhat exhausted by the abundance of his hospitality, we travelled on down a long and fertile valley until we came in the afternoon to Hochow, one of the most important cities of the Province and a big Moslem centre. A few miles out of Hochow we met on the road a party of some twenty horsemen, extremely well mounted, smartly dressed, and well set up, who stopped us and opened conversation with our Moslem companion.

After some minutes' talk they passed on, and we then learnt that they were bandits, their leader one of the best-known bandit leaders in the Province and well known to our Moslem friend, who had at one time employed him as a muleteer; they were, fortunately for us, not on the warpath that day, but were on their way to Pieh Tsan to make their submission to the General, who had offered them all jobs in his army. Hochow is a fairly large and formerly rich, though now a good deal impoverished, city, having suffered very badly from the depredations of the Kuominchum, the so-called Christian army, which was in control of the district for a couple of years and utterly laid waste the surrounding country, the best grain and fruit growing area in the Province. Many of the atrocities attributed to the Kuominchum, and vouched for by reliable foreign observers, are almost incredible, and this army, largely composed of the dregs of Central China, has been described as the biggest blight Kansu has experienced in living memory, famines not excepted. This part of the Province is only now beginning to recover from it under Moslem rule. In former years Hochow was a centre of Chinese administration, and Moslems were forbidden to live within the city walls, but this rule has been abolished of recent years and Hochow has now become a big Moslem centre.

There is nothing very remarkable about Hochow, and after spending a night there, we left for the final three days' march back to Lanchow. During the famines of 1929-30 great difficulty was experienced in transporting grain from the Hochow district, where some was available, to Lanchow owing to there being only a narrow path over the mountain which lie between the two. The Famine Relief Commission have since built an excellent road, which is now negotiable by carts and should later be available for motor traffic; along which we travelled. Immediately after leaving Hochow we passed through a village, in which there are the remnants of a tribe of Huns, direct descendants of the hordes which swept across Asia and Europe in the early Middle Ages and which played such a part in the final overthrow of the Roman Empire. These descendants are, I believe, still racially pure and quite distinct from the surrounding peoples.

Travelling for a day and a half over the mountains, bare for the most part, but with some grazing, we dropped into the valley of the Tao River at the crossing of Tang Wang Cheng. At this point is the village of that name, which is inhabited by two Moslem clans, the Tangs and the Wangs, who compose the entire population and who are on none too good terms with each other. We spent the night at an

inn kept by a member of the Wang clan. We did this because our friend Ma had a year or two before taken to himself a second wife belonging to the Tang clan, whom he had found unsatisfactory and sent back to her family; had we stayed in a Wang inn word would have been sent back to the girl's family, who would have descended upon us in search of their errant-in-law, but in a Tang inn he was perfectly safe. The village was almost completely razed to the ground by the Kuominchum in 1930 and many of the villagers killed; it is being gradually rebuilt, but is still half deserted and bears the marks of the rough treatment it received. Crossing the Tao River the next morning, we travelled all day over downlike country, grassy and green for the most part with some pretty villages in the valleys. Spending that night in a village on the hills overlooking the Yellow River, we dropped the next morning into Lanchow and the end of our journey. We spent four days in Lanchow, and occupied ourselves in exploring the city and attending numerous feasts given in honour of Mr. Andrew, one with the Deputy-Governor of the Province in his magnificent old-style yamen on the river bank.

Then, after a slight contretemps with the aeroplane on account of our excessive weight, we finally flew from Lanchow to Hsian and back by motor lorry and train to Shanghai the same way we had come up, after a month's intensely interesting and most enjoyable holiday.

The lecture was followed by a film.

A DISCUSSION ON THE ASSYRIAN PROBLEM*

The Case for the Assyrians

DR. WIGRAM: All men know that there has been lately rather serious trouble within the new state of 'Iraq in which the nation of the Assyrians has been involved. The sufferers feel that they have a special claim to our interest in the matter, and it is worth putting out the facts that show in what that claim consists.

To begin with, this nation was our ally in the war. There was no formal treaty made with them by us, but when they and the Russians were both fighting the Turk in the north and we in the south of the same strategic field, we sent up officers to them—Captain G. F. Gracey was one—to arrange a joint plan of action with them, a plan that they followed to their loss. This they rightly took as constituting an alliance, and when as a result of their acting on it they were later driven from their homes down to Western Persia and what is now called 'Iraq, we received them, organized them, and promised them a return to their country. The promise was made with the authority of our then generals in the land and by the staff officer who received the people, Colonel J. J. McCarthy. This was in the October of 1918.

Such return was quite feasible at the time, for the Turk was then " down and out " and willing to receive any order that we gave him with positive reverence. The Assyrians were of course eager to go, and the political authority in 'Iraq was willing to send them, both then and for months after.

Unfortunately the home Government intervened. In the making of the armistice with Turkey this small ally had been forgotten, and some sort of understanding made that we were not to advance beyond a certain line—a line that we crossed when our own convenience was concerned, however.

Hence orders were sent from home that the question of the Assyrian settlement must wait for the conclusion of formal peace with Turkey. They were put in refugee camps—at very heavy cost—and told to be patient. Meantime the men entered our service as soldiers and served us right well.

* October 23, 1933, Lord Lloyd in the Chair.

It took four years for our Government to make that peace with Turkey, and a dismal and disastrous hash it was when it was made. The long delay was fatal and the blunder colossal, and has been the cause of many other tragedies besides this Assyrian one; but the blunder was ours and no fault of our small ally's. Even when the peace was made at last, the question of the frontier between Turkey and the new state of 'Iraq—in which was included the settlement of these Assyrians—was still left open and referred for decision to the League of Nations. That body sent out a commission for the purpose and gave a ruling that its members now admit to have been a huge wrong.* It gave the province of Hakkiari (the Assyrian home) to Turkey and left the Assyrians in 'Iraq, where they did not wish to be and the Arabs did not want to have them. It did give, however, a definite promise to the Assyrians to the effect that they were to be settled as a homogeneous whole in their new home, where they should have their old rights—viz., local autonomy, their own officials, and the right to pay tribute, not taxes, through the Patriarch of the Church, who was also their tribal chief.†

The promise was foolish, very hard to fulfil, and very annoying to the new state of 'Iraq. But are the Assyrians to be blamed for saying: "Well, you have taken our country from us and given us this in exchange. It is a poor substitute, but we must accept it. Now we expect you to keep your promise and settle us as you yourselves say we ought to be settled." The province of Mosul was assigned to 'Iraq on these terms and accepted by that country, subject to a "mandate" to Great Britain to administer the whole for a period of twenty-five years, dating from 1923.

When it came, however, to implementing the promise of the League to the Assyrians, administrators said at once: "We cannot possibly put them in an autonomous area by themselves; we must put them where we can." This was not the promise made, and good judges say the promise might have been kept without difficulty. "I never felt such shame in my life," said one gallant officer to the writer, "as when I had to explain our breach of faith to my Assyrian soldiers." Perhaps the Assyrians ought to have been good children and said: "You cannot give us what you promised, or what the League has said we ought to have instead. Well, we shall be very grateful for anything that you choose to give." Unhappily, brave men who have been bitterly wronged

* Admission made personally to me at Geneva.

† *Wirsen Teleki Report: Turko-Irak Frontier* (C. 400, M. 147, 1925, VII., 90).

are not always reasonable, and they insisted on wanting what the League had said they had a right to. They would not be scattered tenants at will—which means slaves—among men who were their enemies of old and doubly their enemies now because they had served us. For the fact of the service is not denied even by their enemies. Every British officer who has served in the " Assyrian Levy " swears they are the equal of any troops in Asia. The Gurkha battalions from India frankly admitted them as their own equals. The Air Marshal demanded "either British troops or the Assyrian Levy" for the ground guard of his establishments in 'Iraq. By the admission of the then High Commisioner, it was the Assyrian force that saved the swamping of our rule in the Arab revolt of 1920 (Sir A. Wilson, *Mesopotamia*, p. 291), and they who (as the C.O. in the field, Colonel Cameron, declares) rolled back the Turkish invasion of 'Iraq in 1922-23, at a time when the 'Iraqi troops were utterly unfit to take the field themselves.

But this very fact caused the 'Iraqi to hate them—Christians who had now proved themselves to be as good as any true believers and who served the English. Of course, attempts were made to settle them, and some 15,000 out of 40,000 were given homes—of a sort, and a precious poor sort. If any Kurd liked to put in a claim for any land Assyrians could not have it.

They were not contented, however, and, being tribesmen, tried to present their grievances through their youthful Patriarch-Chief, Mar Shimun. Hence he was accused of fomenting trouble in the desire for temporal power, of disloyalty, and of caring only for his own family and kin. It is worth noting that the accusations are self-contradictory. Actually his demands amounted to this, far less than what the League had said was his due : " All must obey the law, but surely the ignorant who do not know Arabic may be permitted to use the mediation of their own Patriarch with the Government. That is our tradition and we think it ought to be respected. That is allowed to any Arab sheikh, and the claim will pass automatically as education grows." It is worth noting that the Authorities who blamed the young man for " trying for temporal power " also made a habit of applying to him to " use his influence with the Assyrian Levy and keep it loyal " when that necessary body began to partake the general discontent; and the man who was accused of " caring only for his own family " was offered a most liberal endowment for it by the Government of 'Iraq if he would be " reasonable "—and refused it. " I take no bribe to abandon my people."

The question was still open and uneasy when in 1932 (fifteen years before date) the "Mandate was closed" and 'Iraq declared independent. The Assyrians protested, warning the High Commissioner that their massacre would follow British withdrawal. The High Commissioner could not deny the danger, seeing that in his own tenure of office he had had to put a stopper on two such schemes; nevertheless, he assured the Patriarch that the influence of the British Ambassador—a post he was to fill himself—would suffice to avert any danger, and at Geneva Sir Francis Humphrys proposed the admission of 'Iraq to the League as an independent power, declaring that never had he known such tolerant and civilized Moslems, and that in any case the moral responsibility for any mishap would be upon Great Britain. Thus we left the problem, which we had promised to settle and which had proved too hard for us, in the hands of the raw administrators of a new Moslem state.

They got to work in their own fashion. Mar Shimun was invited to Baghdad to discuss the matter—and arrested on arrival. Subsequently he was deported, without trial, by an *ex post facto* law to Cyprus. Other leaders of the people were also interned, and those left gathered together and told, "Here are the Government terms; accept them or go."

Many elected to go, repudiating all idea of rebellion, and asking that the womenfolk might follow them. These men were deliberately goaded into an act of disorder, and—though our Foreign Office has made every effort to hide it—it has now to be admitted that a hideous massacre followed, and that these "tolerant" people sent round the word for a "holy war" against these Christians.

Can it be said that we have "played the game" by those to whom we gave promises and who served us because they trusted those promises? We have left them to the revenge of those who hated them because they served us, and the official whose blunders brought the disaster about has himself had to own that the moral responsibility is on us.

The matter has gone to the League of Nations, and they have declared that now a home must be found for these Assyrians outside 'Iraq. Even the 'Iraqi authorities agree in that, but a place has to be found. That point is under discussion now, and surely it is "up to us" to see that those whom we have betrayed do have a suitable home found for them even if we do have to pay down money to secure it.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Ernest Main, who had given a *résumé* of his views on the Assyrian question in the October issue of the Society's *Journal*, said that he had been asked to give a brief account of what he discovered when he went to Baghdad in August as special correspondent of the *Daily Mail.*

As it happened, he said, he flew out in the same aeroplane as Sir Francis Humphrys and the other officers who had been recalled from leave. Although he had left 'Iraq only a few months earlier, he found that the feeling had changed entirely. Members of the British community who had been pro-Arab were now anti-Arab, the difference in some cases being most marked, and there was a feeling of blazing indignation over the Simel incidents. So far as the foreign diplomats were concerned, they were awaiting the return of the British Ambassador.

Among the Arabs, Mr. Main continued, the feeling was definitely anti-British. The educated classes were distinctly relieved that the Assyrians had been dealt with. They did not gloat over it as did the lower classes, who, he said, " were in a state of Moslem exaltation quite new to me." This feeling, he thought, was due in part to the distribution by the Government of money to contractors to organize demonstrations, but much of it was sincere.

The speaker went on to describe the Christian attitude in Baghdad as one of great nervousness—they did not know what might happen next.

" Christians came to me," he said, " at my hotel late at night—they said they dared not come in the daytime—with accounts of what had happened. Partly it was real fear; partly I think it was that they did not want to miss the chance of pushing home some good Christian propaganda." The Jews were absolutely silent.

Mr. Main then visited the north. He found the British in Mosul highly indignant; they all stayed away from a great ceremonial parade of the 'Iraq army. The local Christians were not merely nervous; they were terror-stricken. " I have never seen anything like it," he said. " They would not go out at night, and the Christian taxi-drivers would not go anywhere unless it was safe." British people, he learned, had been stoned in the bazaars.

Giving details of the massacre at Simel, Mr. Main said his evidence was only second-hand, " but very good second-hand."

The crucial point in the situation—the question of the settlement of the Assyrians in a homogeneous mass or in scattered villages—came to a head in June-July. The Mar Shimun was taken to Baghdad, and the negotiations were then carried on by 'Iraqi Government officials, including British, on the one side, with Yaku Ismail, a prominent Assyrian generally recognized as a sound and honest man, on the other. The negotiations, for various reasons, fell through and Yaku led about 1,900 armed Assyrians into Syria. The part the French then played had never been explained, but they allowed numbers to come back into 'Iraq with their arms. These returning Assyrians, said Mr. Main, " by what I am satisfied was a foolish act of treachery," attacked an 'Iraq post and wiped it out. The 'Iraqis took this as an act of open rebellion. It was nearing the end of July, and the fighting, ruthless but not unfair, went on in the hills, the 'Iraqi army giving as good as it got and following up the pursuit of the Assyrians.

On August 9 and 10 the head-constable at the Simel police post suggested to Assyrians in the neighbourhood that if they wanted to save their lives and avoid being involved in the guerrilla fighting in the hills, they had better come into Simel. About 400 men did so, including many " friendly " Assyrians who were quite willing to settle on the 'Iraqi Government's terms. On August 10 these people were all disarmed, and on the 11th the army arrived.

Mr. Main continued: " I do not know whether the 'Iraqi General Officer Commanding, Bekir Sidky Beg [now Pasha], was at Simel: accounts vary, but I rather think he was not. The head-constable, having already disarmed the Assyrians, segregated them, and then the army set on them and massacred about 350. Some escaped into the houses and tried to change into women's clothes while the shooting was going on, but the head-constable went round, chased them out, and handed them over to the army.

" For five days nothing at all was heard of what had happened. There were, within short telephoning distance, 2,000 armed police who could easily have been called in had anything happened at Simel to justify police action. The Qaimmaqam at Dohuk, who was less than half an hour distant by car, and the Minister of Interior, who was in Mosul, knew nothing until the 16th. I was told also that the 'Iraqi judges in the Mosul Liwa had officially protested against the action of the army command in arresting people and sentencing them without trial, martial law never having been declared."

Mr. Main then described his return from Mosul to Baghdad. In

the interval Sir Francis Humphrys had been exercising a sedative influence, being backed in this by the principal neutral diplomats in the capital.

" When I got back to Baghdad I found things a good deal quieter. Christian merchants were beginning to take the line: ' These people are dead, let us keep quiet.' They feared that if there were any outburst of anti-Moslem feeling in Europe it might react on them. In this attitude they had the support of the British Embassy, which took the line that if anything happened in Europe which would rouse Moslem feeling, it would be a very serious matter for the British and foreign communities in Baghdad and the local Christians in particular. The British community personally were probably of the same opinion as before, but from a business point of view I got the impression that they were beginning to fall in with the Embassy, on the ground that the first essential was security and the maintenance of law and order. Among the Arabs feeling appeared to swing round in favour of Britain. When I left Baghdad they were beginning to appreciate that they must depend on British support at Geneva, and the general feeling was much more definitely pro-British than when I arrived a month earlier."

Captain MUMFORD: There is one aspect of Mr. Main's excellent address which I want to challenge. As a matter of fact, it is an aspect he has made very much more clear in his recent article in the *Journal* of the Society, the aspect which tends to throw a considerable portion of the blame for what happened last summer on the Mar Shimun. I challenge this because it is an attitude which is being taken up in certain high quarters. I contend that the attempt to make a scapegoat of the Mar Shimun, if such an intention is held by the Government, is unwarrantable and undignified. I do not know the Mar Shimun well enough to argue whether his motives are noble or selfish, but let us face facts honestly. It was *our* Government that decided when and under what conditions 'Iraq should enter the League of Nations. We opposed the opinion of the Permanent Mandates Commission, who said the Assyrians were in special circumstances and needed special safeguards. We went so far as to take the moral responsibility for the consequences, and lastly our Government was responsible for the recent attempt to settle them scattered amongst their former enemies. No one, whether pro-Arab or pro-Assyrian, questions the fact that the feeling between Arabs and Assyrians was abnormally bitter, and the reason for this was that they had been our levy soldiers, and therefore

the Arab Nationalists looked upon them as British soldiers who had kept them under what they considered to be subjection.

There may be in this room one or two who, notwithstanding this state of affairs, thought that the Assyrians might be safely settled among their enemies, but I challenge them to state that there was not considerable doubt on this point, and if there was this doubt, were we justified in gambling with their lives in the way we did? Without knowing any of the details or what went on behind the scenes last summer, I expect Mr. Main is perfectly right when he says the Mar Shimun deliberately wrecked the official settlement plan. He said it would mean extermination for his people, and there were many experienced people who agreed with that view. Can we blame the Mar Shimun for objecting to that plan? Can we say honestly that these Assyrians would not have been massacred, whether or not the Mar Shimun had acted as he did, if not last August, next year or the year after?

Sir John Simon said at Geneva on October 14 last: "To apportion blame is a barren proceeding." Perhaps the wisest thing he could have said, as the British representative; but, having said that, let us stick to it honestly and blame neither the Mar Shimun and the Assyrians nor Bekir Sidky and the Arabs. The responsibility for the situation is ours, and it is undignified for us to seek to throw the responsibility upon other shoulders. I quite agree that the less said about the past the better, but there is the future, and one can only hope that the Government will help to close a most unpleasant episode in colonial administration by helping to settle the Assyrians elsewhere. This can only be done with the wholehearted support of the British Government. If they are going to say, "Here are stiff-necked people, led by a selfish and unwise leader," there is little hope, and I trust that this meeting will dissociate itself from such a view.

It is said that the Mar Shimun has worked for temporal power. He has asked only for that amount of power which will enable him to safeguard the characteristics of his people. That is the very policy the British Government has encouraged in other parts of the world—on the North-West Frontier in India, and it is successful in Nigeria and other parts of the Empire. Why, then, should not the Mar Shimun ask for what we are giving to African and Indian tribal chiefs? I hope the tendency to criticize the Mar Shimun for what has happened will receive no support in this room.

Mr. Evan Guest: I have recently returned from 'Iraq after five

years' service in the Agricultural Department. During that time I have had no official connection with the Assyrian problem. I happened, however, to be at Mosul last summer on Government duty and also to be in the neighbouring parts of Kurdistan, and so came into contact with the Assyrian events in that way. The account which Mr. Main has given of the events which led up to the massacre at Simel seems to me to be fair and correct, and also unbiassed, which is more than one can say about a good many of the accounts one hears of these events.

As to the responsibility of the Mar Shimun, which the last speaker has raised, I recently had a conversation with Major Wilson, who has been Administrative Inspector of Mosul for three or four years, but was on leave when these events occurred, and he told me that he had continually warned the Mar Shimun and other Assyrian leaders that the policy the Mar Shimun was adopting was bound to lead to bloodshed. The Mar Shimun said that did not matter; he must persist in this fatal policy, and no amount of bloodshed would make him desist.

One continually hears that the Assyrians feared a massacre, and could not therefore agree to the terms offered by the 'Iraqi Government. At the time of Yaku's exodus into Syria I was in the village of Zawita quite close to Dohuk. One morning from the hillside I saw another village in the next valley and asked one of the Kurds who was with me about it. It turned out to be one of the Assyrian villages that had been entirely abandoned by the men who had gone with Yaku. Only the women and children had been left behind with their animals and goods. It seems to me surprising that if the Assyrians thought they were unsafe and would not be protected by the Government, they should have abandoned a village in this way. It is also worth mentioning that this and other Assyrian villages, though surrounded by Kurdish villages, remained unmolested for at least a fortnight and were not looted until after hostilities had broken out.

The only thing I could find wrong with Mr. Main's account was some of his dates. Actually the fighting did not occur until August 4 and 5; it was all over in a short time, and terminated with the massacre on the 11th. It seems to me important in considering recent events to make a clear division into two distinct phases. The first is the progress of events up to the time hostilities broke out, and the second what happened after hostilities were over. Taking the first phase, it appeared to myself and to others of the British community in Mosul that the 'Iraqi Government had been left in an absolutely impossible position when the Mandate was given up. It was very unfair to the 'Iraqi

Government to leave them with this question unsettled and was bound to lead to trouble. During last June and July, while the conferences were going on in Mosul, the local 'Iraqi officials acted with great patience and forbearance, although they were often provoked by the arrogant conceit of the Assyrians. I can give an example I heard at first hand. At one of these meetings the Assyrian settlement officer, Major Thompson, proposed to assign a certain portion of land to some Assyrians. One of the Assyrian leaders protested that it was not good enough for them. It was pointed out to him that the land was as good as many other lands in 'Iraq and better than that of the Kurds in the next valley. He replied that this did not bear on the case, as the Assyrians were superior to Kurds and Arabs. That does not make for peace; but in spite of such provocation the local 'Iraqi officials exercised great restraint.

After the massacres occurred our sympathies naturally changed round. This was at the second phase of events. We had felt before that the 'Iraqi Government should not be blamed for the deadlock with the Assyrians—I am not speaking of the British Government's responsibility—but we felt afterwards that by condoning the massacres with a veil of secrecy instead of instituting an immediate enquiry the 'Iraqi Government had virtually accepted responsibility. Finally, as Englishmen, what disgusted us most was that not only did the 'Iraqi Government try to hush everything up, but we also tried to hush it up. Up to the time I left 'Iraq, in the middle of September, no true account of the massacres had appeared in the Press, and we felt that some kind of censorship was being exercised in the British Press as well as in 'Iraq. Mr. Main has mentioned the attitude of the Embassy that if any action was taken or a British protest made, further massacres would occur. I felt with most people in 'Iraq that this convenient attitude was not entirely altruistic, since the Embassy might be considered responsible for the non-settlement of the Assyrian question before the termination of the Mandate, and if there were further massacres the Embassy might get the blame. I think that voices the opinion of most British people in 'Iraq.

Mr. Richard Coke: I am afraid the previous speakers have more or less covered the ground which I made a few notes about. I was in 'Iraq from 1920 to 1927 entirely on newspaper work, and therefore detached from officials or the official point of view, and I have no fish to fry, so to speak, except that of a man whose small reputation depends upon his connection with 'Iraq. I entirely agree with Dr. Wigram and Captain Mumford that the Assyrians have been seriously wronged, and the

responsibility does rest on the British Government, but there are one or two points to which I think attention must be drawn. One is that this is not a new question. It has come to a head this year, but those of us who were in 'Iraq six or seven years ago knew something would come of this question. I expect Mr. Main would bear me out in saying that the old hands in Baghdad were not surprised at what has happened. It is not new; it has been shelved from year to year. Now it has come to a crisis, and we can only hope something will be done about it.

The second point is that there has been a certain amount of criticism of a censorship of news from 'Iraq, and one speaker suggested it might be official. My own opinion as a newspaper man out there is that the censorship is not official, and has not been so except on the famous occasion when I cut across Sir John Salmond and had some news stopped. The censorship lies in the indifference of the British Press, which is a serious handicap not only to the British public, but to newspaper men in 'Iraq. If any man goes round London trying to sell news about 'Iraq he is told there is no interest taken in it. One great difficulty is that the British public must be roused to care about these people if anything is to be done.

The third point I should like to raise is one to which I tried to draw attention in one of my books some years ago: that of all the Near Eastern peoples the Assyrians are the most like ourselves. For years they were closely associated with the Church of England, as Dr. Wigram will bear witness. Their dispositions are curiously English and they are devoted to the English. I had charge of the Y.M.C.A. in Baghdad some time ago and we had difficulty in getting them to go to their own church. They wanted to go to the English church because the English went there. It was a rather touching form of loyalty. They almost eagerly threw off their own customs to follow their English officers. They are most amenable to English influences and are culturally and, if one may use the term, spiritually loyal to us, and I think it is important that we should do our best to see that they get a home where they have a chance of having peace and progress in the future.

Mr. Keeling: One rather important fact has not been mentioned, and that is that on October 14 the Minister of Finance (who was openly accused by *The Times* of having encouraged the massacre) made a statement at Geneva in which he admitted that excesses had unquestionably been committed by the regular troops, and that irregulars had been allowed to pillage the villagers. He added that the 'Iraqi Government

deplored these excesses, had done its best to restore confidence, and would compensate those who had suffered unjustifiably. I think this admission does stand to the credit of the 'Iraqi Government, and in view of it the conspiracy of silence, to which some speakers have referred, seems to have been a little superfluous.

Colonel McCarthy: I have been asked to give my personal testimony to the fact that I was authorized by our Government to guarantee the restoration of the Assyrians to their own country.

Either before or shortly after leaving Baghdad en route for Persia General Dunsterville got in communication with the Assyrians at Lake Urmia with the idea of getting them to join forces with us against the Turk. This they willingly agreed to do, provided we sent British officers to lead them, as they did not at that stage trust the Russians they had with them. This was about June, 1918.

It was decided to send a force of seventy-five British officers and N.C.O.'s to Lake Urmia, and I was appointed to command this special mission.

About this time (August, 1918) Flying Officer Captain Pennington flew to Lake Urmia with despatches from our headquarters at Hamadan. I did not see these despatches, but I was well aware that they contained confirmation of what had already been written and advised the Assyrians of our coming to join them. Seeing the aeroplane arrive, and receiving the news that a British force was in Persia and on the way to join them, no doubt the Assyrians received an exaggerated idea of our strength in Persia, and a false idea of their own security. Had they not depended so entirely on the assistance they were to receive from us, and had Agha Petros not taken practically the whole of his armed force to Sein Khale, there to take over arms and ammunition sent on in advance by us, the Assyrians would have looked more to their own resources, and would not have depended so much on our help.

They more than held their own in many engagements against the Turk; they had food, and by nursing their ammunition they could have held out against any likely attack from the Turk, who was not exactly full of fight at that stage and very soon after went out of the war altogether. Even if the worst happened and they had been driven out by an overwhelming force, which was not at all likely at the time, they could have fallen back on their mountain stronghold and could probably have got in touch with British troops on the Mosul side. They were certainly not driven out by a superior force, but stampeded by false reports circulated by the enemy; and thinking that Agha Petros had

deserted them, and, as stated above, having exaggerated ideas as to our strength, fled in our direction. Had I been able to join them at Urmia I am sure the stampede would never have taken place, but it must be remembered that we were a small force, living on the country, and General Dunsterville had his hands full at the time preparing his landing at Baku. His officers were employed on various jobs and could not be recalled at a moment's notice. There were two groups of Persian Levies which used up a considerable number of officers and N.C.O.'s, and our lines of communication extending from Baghdad to the Caspian Sea accounted for a great many more.

We had to rely mostly on local contractors (generally dishonest and unreliable) for our transport, so that the officers for the special mission I was to command were not available at a moment's notice, more especially as they had to be volunteers and specially selected.

When it was known that the whole nation was in retreat, I went at once with a portion of my force with the idea of turning back the fighting men and allowing the families to continue to Hamadan, and met them retreating on a wide front, the families on the main road, the men extended for miles on either side of the road covering the retreat. It was therefore quite impossible to get in touch at all with the bulk of the fighting men, being confined as I was to the main road.

Apart from being harassed by the enemy, every known disease seemed to attack these unfortunate people, and hundreds died from typhus, dysentery and smallpox, and others from exhaustion. It was a common thing to see children still alive, abandoned on the roadside, the parents probably dead. Wherever they camped for the night the ground next morning was littered with dead and dying. What these unfortunates suffered few people can realize. Some 10,000 were cut off by the Turks, and so far as I know have never been seen again.

Eventually what was left of the nation arrived at Hamadan. All those I met in the retreat had one idea, and one idea only, that they were going to Hamadan where they would join up with the British force promised them and return at once, drive out the Turk, and reoccupy their country.

This is precisely what they all had in their minds. A few weeks later, when I was raising the Assyrian contingent, with the help of Lady Surma, the men all thought they were returning home at once. Not only did they themselves think so, but they were definitely told by me that they would be taken back under British officers and that I was to command them. Surely there cannot be any doubt (and I am sure

that nobody holding any responsible post and on the spot at the time would dispute the fact), that this is what was intended when the fighting men were formed into a contingent, placed in a separate camp outside Hamadan where they underwent strenuous training under British officers, and were fed, and to a certain extent clothed by us.

I sent an officer to Teheran to buy back rifles and ammunition which had been sold in the bazaars by the Russian troops. All this was not done without proper authority, and these men were not being trained for the defence of Persia!

Again, when it was decided to march the contingent down to Mesopotamia, I was ordered to tell the men that it was only to have them properly equipped, and armed with Army British rifles instead of the various pattern rifles they had, and which would have made it impossible to keep them supplied with ammunition, should they meet with armed resistance when returning to their homes or after they got there.

It was never even suggested that they should be kept in 'Iraq and used for the defence of that country. They were, of course, eventually used for that purpose and greatly distinguished themselves in the field on several occasions.

I remained in command of the Assyrian contingent at Baqubah for six months after the Armistice was signed, and during the whole of that time the men were kept in strenuous training. It was explained to them that the reason for their being trained as soldiers long after the war was over was (1) in order to make them more efficient, not only to escort their people back to their own country, but also (2) to be better able to defend themselves when they got there. This was the explanation given me at G.H.Q., Baghdad, and passed on by me to the Assyrians by order of G.H.Q. This they understood, and never have any troops been more amenable to discipline than these wild Highlanders from Tyari and Tkhuma. The British officers who were seconded from various regiments for service with the contingent could not speak too highly of them.

The presence of the Assyrians at Lake Urmia right up to the day of the stampede certainly helped to prevent enemy agents from going backwards and forwards across Persia to the east; and during the latter part of 1918 they were a great protection to General Dunsterville's lines of communication between Kermanshah and Hamadan, and had we been able to join them at Urmia with a stiffening of British officers and machine guns there is little doubt but that we should have been able to hold Baku against the Turk.

In view of the facts that recent amendments to the British Arms Regulations legalized the retention by the Assyrians of their British Army pattern rifles, and the publication of a declaration that neither His Majesty's Government nor that of 'Iraq would object to their going to Syria or elsewhere if their hosts acceded to their desires and defrayed expenses; and the fact that the French Government did allow them to remain and fed and lodged them, it is difficult to see what offence they committed that they should be declared rebels and deprived of the rifles to which they were legally entitled.

As Dr. Wigram points out in his book *Cradle of Mankind*, life is hard in the Hakkiari Mountains; all cultivation is on terraces which are subject to constant danger of destruction by floods and avalanches. It therefore does seem that the only object the Turk had for acquiring this country was to deny it to the rightful owners. They cannot possibly have any other use for it.

It has been suggested that an arrangement should be made to settle the Assyrians as a whole in Syria, but I understand that, while the French Government is prepared to receive a certain number of them, they cannot accommodate the whole nation, or what is left of it. To divide the people in this way would be most unsatisfactory, and it is extremely unlikely that Mar Shimun and his people would agree to it. Nor would it add to British prestige in the East if we allow the French Government to relieve us of our responsibility and settle this question for us. Whatever happens they should be settled as a homogeneous unit, and not, as suggested by the 'Iraq Government, interspersed among their enemies or in Syria. If it should prove impossible to effect a homogeneous settlement, the Mandates Commission hoped that Turkey might be induced to give them back their home in the Southern Hakkiari district of which they had been deprived by an "error" in the League Council's decision of 1925, and this would appear to be the right solution to the problem. England should face the position and bring pressure to bear on the Turks, or even compensate them to give back Hakkiari to the rightful owners, or alternatively to settle the Assyrians as a homogeneous unit under their Patriarch in Kurdistan if it was thought that they would bury the hatchet and live peacefully with the Kurds.

Loyalty to the British Government caused these people to be driven out of their homes, and an error in the League Council's decision of 1925 deprived them of the right to ever return. The Mandates Commission of 1931-32 having admitted that these people have a special

claim upon the League, it seems impossible that the British Government will allow the matter to stand where it is at present, but will doubtless make every endeavour to have their country restored to them, as promised in 1918.

Captain GRACEY said: After hearing the speeches that have been made and my own name having been quoted, I thought that you would give me the opportunity of making a statement, though I came to the meeting without any intention of taking part. In regard, first of all, to what my friend Canon Wigram stated. He said, if I understood aright, that I was the Intelligence officer who went into that part of the world and guaranteed the security of these people and made to them a statement that they would be recognized as an independent people if they would fight in our cause. That, of course, is not true. I make this statement because everyone who knows me knows that for more than twenty years I have been working for and in the interests of the Near East Christians. Personally, I do not think that their cause will be advanced by trying to build it up upon statements which, to speak candidly, are not correct.

At the time in question I was a Staff Intelligence officer attached to the British Military Mission in the Caucasus, with its headquarters at Tiflis. When at Van in Turkey, a young American missionary came to me from Persia on behalf of the American missionaries in Urmia, requesting that I should go back with him and see the Mar Shimun (the deceased Benjamin) and do what I could to bring the late General Agha Petros and the Mar Shimun into amity. They had been quarrelling and causing a great deal of trouble and somewhat jeopardizing a very delicate situation in Urmia. At this point I want to make this statement: the Assyrians were already our allies, but they were not units in any British force. They had enlisted as an Assyrian unit in the Russian army that was fighting against Turkey and had joined up with the Russians months before I had visited them. My part was to try to make peace and to encourage the Assyrians to fulfil their part in the work which they had undertaken with the Russians; thus they would be helping to defend their own cause.

I make this statement because I think that it is only right that it should be made. I am anxious that everything that can be done to help the Assyrians should be done. I am not one whit behind my friend Canon Wigram in fervour, interest, and championship of their cause. I know that the British Government has let them down. The question is, Did I or did I not guarantee to the Assyrians that they would have

a common home established in their own country where they would be a free homogeneous people? I stand before you and definitely say I did nothing of the sort. What I did was to bring peace out of this quarrel and to tell the Assyrians that by fighting in the Russian army they would be defending themselves and working out their future welfare with the Russians, and that if they were successful, in all probability the Russians and the British Government would do something to see that justice would be given to them.

Canon WIGRAM said: I think Captain Gracey has not quite understood me. What I said was that he went to try to make a common line of action between the Assyrians and Russians and ourselves. I never accused Captain Gracey of guaranteeing their independence.

Captain BURTON: I think it is a mistake to consider these racial problems of the Middle East independently, for they are really closely connected. There are large districts in Eastern Anatolia, Western Persia, and Northern 'Iraq which have been occupied by Kurds, Armenians, and Assyrians living side by side for many centuries, sometimes under a very loose form of Government control and sometimes none at all. Various projects have been proposed and attempted in recent years to deal with the problem of settlement and administration of these peoples, but all, for various reasons, have been abandoned, and their ultimate absorption as citizens of the countries in the Middle East appears to be inevitable.

For many years past the districts inhabited by these races have been seriously drained by wars, massacres, famine, and deportations, and the removal of one of the most industrious elements remaining would only still further prejudice the future prosperity of those regions, and might create further difficulties for those inhabitants who remain. In view of the fact that we have in the past interested ourselves in the welfare of all these races, and held out certain hopes to them, it is necessary to bear in mind the effect of any action which might be taken in regard to the Assyrians on the Armenians and Kurds, as well as on the Governments of the countries concerned. All three races have a claim on our sympathies, and the Armenians have certainly suffered more than the Assyrians, and the Kurds at least as much.

The proposal to remove the Assyrians from 'Iraq, which may appear to be the most effective measure to adopt for their safety under the present circumstances, is not likely to ensure the fulfilment of the aspirations of all sections unless they are completely removed from the Middle East. The uprooting and transportation of an entire nation,

even such a small one, from an environment in which they have lived for thousands of years, is bound to be a very big experiment. It is obviously impossible to completely denude those areas of inhabitants, and the most hopeful means of peaceably settling these peoples under regular Government administration appears to be a policy of developing the country by the construction of roads and other public works, combined with the spread of education. Such measures would, it is considered, gradually lessen the powers and control of tribal and religious leaders, and bring prosperity to the people, who would soon realize the benefits of Government administration. The accomplishment of this ideal in countries where leading families naturally cherish the powers they have wielded so long, and where racial feeling runs high, is by no means easy. It is not, however, an impossible task. Leaders and people alike welcome the extension of schools and public works. With tact and patience the object can be attained. But one thing is quite certain—the unnecessary or excessive application of force in dealing with primitive people whose chief fault is ignorance can achieve nothing but to sow the seeds of hatred and distrust.

Major BENTINCK: We are discussing Assyrians this evening and not Kurds, and in spite of one or two speeches which I do not think were quite just to the Assyrians, I think everybody here is in sympathy with them, and the question that everybody wants to see settled is: Where are the Assyrians to go? Up to the present they have been scattered in Northern 'Iraq. In the hills there has been no room because the Kurds were there, and the plains were riddled with fever. I have lived in those plains, and Dr. Wigram has mentioned the effect the climate there has had on the Assyrian children. Before any agreement is made about where they are to go, I do hope the possibility of resettling them in their own country may really be considered, and that the League will not too quickly settle them or try to settle them in Syria, Cyprus, or South America.

Captain GRAND: The problem, however, is in three phases as far as I can see.

First there is the attitude of the Assyrians themselves. Are they prepared to go to what you may call a highly developed country like Canada or the United States of America, or somewhere like that, and in such a country to be bound by the regulations and the laws of the country, which would include possibly sacrificing their language, making it a secondary language, which perhaps is not very desirable? If they go to a less developed country, on the other hand, it may not be

so good for them. In most cases the security is extremely low; they will have little assistance as regards education or general progress. But they will probably get their autonomy. That is the problem from their point of view, and only the Assyrians can answer it.

Secondly, there is the finanical problem. The British and 'Iraqi Governments, I understand, have both promised to help, but I do not think either Government in giving that promise has much idea what it means. There are, I understand, 25,000 odd people who would require to be moved. I give that figure somewhat vaguely, but I think it is about right. Of these about 5,000, I think we can say, must be moved, and it is not simply a question of physically transporting them. When they are moved they have to be fed because they will not get land already tilled and ready for producing food. They have got to be maintained for about a year, and then they have to have tools and heaven knows what else. That money is going to run, as far as my calculations go, into something between £50 and £100 per head, depending on where they go, the sort of land, and so on. We must add transport and the cost of any land, and you see the problem is anything from a million pounds upwards. In these days of economy it is easier to give a promise to contribute than it is to extract a millon pounds from anybody, and this definitely is going to be one of the biggest problems that the Nansen Commission have to face. Sympathy is interesting, but cash is infinitely more powerful, and that will be the next phase.

The last point I want to make is this: If this does come off it is going to be about the biggest attempt at—the word "colonizing" is wrong; shall we say mass movement? since Moses, and it is going to take all the sympathy and all the foresightedness and forbearance of people in this country, the Assyrians, the 'Iraqi Government, and the country to which they are going. It is bound to go wrong in a number of places. People will go who are unsuited and will want to go home, but if it succeeds it will have been well worth doing.

Lord Lloyd: I deplore any tendency to make this a religious question; it is nothing of the sort. It may be a political question, an administrative question, or a racial question, but do not let us make it a religious question. I listened to Dr. Wigram, as we all did, with interest, and we all recognize the great services he has rendered to the Assyrians. I hope he will forgive me if I say that, apart from the rights and wrongs of the case, I regret if he makes controversial attacks on the High Commissioner and officials out there, because they have a difficult task, and I do not think it helps matters.

What we are concerned about is to get the Assyrians settled in a hill-country suitable to them where they can work out their advance in peace and quiet. That is the chief problem. They are an attractive and fine race and the Levies are first-rate fighting men, while their very affection for us is another factor. But at the same time we must remember that we brought the 'Iraqi State into being, and we left them a difficult legacy, and let us be as fair as we can to the difficulties of the 'Iraqi Government. Although we must deplore the atrocious massacre, it was a secular matter, and in a new State such problems are harder still to solve. The French Government was referred to, and my own opinion, for what it is worth, is that the attitude of the French Government was absolutely correct. They were embarrassed when the sudden raid into Syrian territory took place. The trouble really sprang from the impossibility of persuading the League of Nations to give an alignment of territory which would have enabled the Assyrians to go into an area suitable for them.

PACIFIC PROBLEMS AND THE BANFF CONFERENCE

The following is an abridged report of a lecture given by Mr. H. G. W. Woodhead, C.B.E., Editor of the *China Year Book*, on Wednesday, September 20, 1933, Mr. E. M. Gull being in the Chair.

THE Institute of Pacific Relations has been in existence about ten years, and was established originally in Honolulu. It holds bi-annual meetings, of which the Banff Conference was the fifth. The first two meetings were held in Honolulu, the third in Kyoto, the fourth was to have been in Hankow in China, but owing to the intense feeling engendered by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, it was found inadvisable to hold it in Hankow, and it was held in Shanghai.

The Conference had 137 delegates from different Pacific nations. It included delegates from America, Canada, Great Britain, France (for the first time), China, Japan, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch East Indies, and Hawaii. There were also observers from the International Labour Office and League of Nations. The Chairman of the Conference was Sir Robert Falconer, a former President of Toronto University. Of the delegations that assembled at Banff, the Canadian was by far the largest numerically, which was only to be expected as the Conference was held within the Dominion. The Canadian delegation was presided over by Mr. Edgar J. Tarr, a distinguished lawyer, and included a number of professors, several business men, lawyers, one or two publicists and politicians. The British delegation was led by Sir Herbert Samuel, the Independent Liberal leader, and if there was any criticism it was that Liberal elements preponderated. There were four Liberal M.P.s, or ex-M.P.s, one Socialist peer, and only one Conservative Member of Parliament; so that when questions such as that of the Ottawa Agreements came up, the audiences were given the impression that those Agreements were generally opposed, or at any rate that the majority opposed them.

The American delegation contained several distinguished politicians or ex-politicians, including Mr. N. D. Baker, Secretary of War in the Wilson Administration, and elected President of the Institute of Pacific Relations for the next few years. It contained, too, Mr. F. L. Polk, who had also been in the Wilson Administration. Both these

gentlemen are now practising lawyers. It contained a number of university professors such as Dr. Millikan, who won the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1923; Dr. Leith, who is one of the best-known geologists; Dr. Moulton, President of Brookings Institute; Dr. Shotwell and Dr. Jerome Greene. An interesting personality was Colonel Hugh Cooper, Engineer-in-Chief of the Dnieperstroy Dam project in Russia, and who, while a believer in the permanence of the Soviet system, urged that government, like engineering, was a matter for experts; a theory with which he found few of his audience to agree. The criticism of the American delegation was that business interests were not sufficiently represented.

The Japanese delegation was led by the veteran Dr. Nitobe, who is a politician and newspaper owner, and it contained a number of politicians and representatives of newspaper interests. Its members mostly were known for their Liberal views, and I do not think could be fairly regarded as representing the views of their own Government. They certainly throughout the proceedings, so far as I have heard, endeavoured to avoid acrimonious controversies with the Chinese, who on some occasions would have been very glad to have had such controversies.

The Chinese delegation was made up almost entirely of educationalists, and the absence of business and political representatives was noticeable. Its Chairman was Dr. Hu Shih, one of the most distinguished of living Chinese scholars.

The main discussions of the Conference were divided under two heads. First came the international economic conflict in the Pacific area, its control and adjustment. The second division consisted of problems of education.

Most of its work was done at what are known as round tables. At first there were four of these round tables assigned to the discussion of international economic conflict, and this lasted for approximately two-thirds of the time the Conference lasted. The Chairmen of these round tables were changed about halfway through the session. They were not chosen for their personal prestige, or because they were authorities on the subject matter, but for skill in stimulating and guiding discussion. I might say here that the national delegations do not participate in these discussions as delegations. No delegate receives any instructions or has any restrictions placed upon him as to the part he is going to take in any of the deliberations. He is entirely free to voice his personal opinion, and you might therefore find British delegates at a round table

expressing personal views opposing each other, and the same remark might be made of American delegates. The task of this Conference is analytical, though in the course of the sessions it is quite obvious that sometimes the overwhelming majority of those present at one particular round table incline to a particular view of the problem under discussion. But no resolutions are passed and no votes taken, except resolutions of thanks to the people who provide facilities and entertain delegations.

There seemed to be general agreement at all round tables that Japan's population problem could not be settled by emigration.

Nevertheless, the problem remained of finding occupation for some ten million Japanese who would grow up during the next few decades and must be found the means of earning their livelihood. The Japanese therefore contend that relief must be sought in further industrialization with its necessary corollary—namely, access to the raw materials and expanding markets for Japanese manufactures. On the question of Chinese population, differences of opinion were manifested among the Chinese themselves. The delegates at my table maintained that the Chinese population had never fully recovered from the decimation caused by the Taiping rebellion, and that the figures commonly given were very much exaggerated; but at another round table delegates claimed that the Chinese population was increasing by from eight to ten millions of souls per annum. In the case of China also it was generally admitted that emigration was no solution, and that the main object to be aimed at for the moment is some form of redistribution. The population of China, as most of you probably know, is not evenly distributed, and of course reference was made to the check to its redistribution caused by the practical annexation of Manchuria by the Japanese.

Animated discussions took place on questions arising out of the standard of living. There was some considerable difference of opinion as to how the standard of living was to be defined. It is quite obvious that you cannot just take the currency of one country and the currency of another, convert one currency into the other, and say *that* represents the standard of living in Japan and *this* represents the standard of living in England. The Japanese delegate maintained that mere wages could not be taken as a criterion, but that the population ought to be taken under the headings of (1) the minimum subsistence standard; (2) the minimum health and decency standard; (3) the comfort standard; and (4) the luxury standard. It appeared to be generally recognized that in comparing standards of living actual money earnings did not represent

the main factor; and it was recognized that the devaluation of their currency was a serious factor in Japanese competition.

Boycotts were discussed without much appreciation at first of their nature as practised in China, but subsequently on a more realistic basis. The suggestion that Chinese boycotts always followed upon some act of provocation was combated, and it was asked what remedy a boycotted nation had when subjected to this particular form of weapon.

An interesting proposal was put forward that tariffs should be considered rather with regard to labour than to capital, that the criterion should be the conditions of labour under which the articles were produced, and that in proportion as an industry bettered the conditions of the workers it should have the markets of the world opened to it. This proposal was considered impracticable. At all the round tables, however, there was opposition to the present position of protective tariffs, and to any move in the direction of economic isolation. Discussions took place as to the relative merits of state planning and state control of exports and imports on the one hand, and of international cartels on the other. These discussions revealed considerable differences of opinion, and it was pointed out by some delegates that the international cartel system did not necessarily take a keen interest in the consumer.

Questions of Chinese finances were touched upon, and default in railway and other lines referred to as an obstacle to financing on any purely business basis. There were differences of opinion among the Chinese delegates as to whether outside financial assistance was required; one delegate, at my table, advocating a policy of *laissez faire*, while another, at another table, was a strong advocate of League co-operation and foreign assistance in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of his country. We were given a very interesting account of the extent of the co-operation of League organizations in China by Miss McGoody, who came from Geneva as League observer. Scepticism was voiced as to the practicability of controlling international conflict by any form of international government. Some seemed to think that conditions throughout the world, and in the Pacific specifically, would probably get worse and eventually compel some form of international co-operation. Others thought that by nibbling at problems and endeavouring to educate public opinion as to their gravity, an improvement would be effected. Yet others said that if conditions got worse chaos would ensue, not International co-operation.

The second part of the round-table discussions was devoted to problems of education. It dealt with the influence of the press, the

cinema, and the radio in the formation of public opinion. No country seemed willing, judging from the statements of the delegates, to admit to a corrupt or controlled press, a fact which was rather surprising when many of us knew from first-hand knowledge the extent to which both the Japanese and Chinese press are under the control of the political party in power at the moment. The Japanese had a good deal to say about Soviet broadcasting. They maintained that Communist propaganda was being broadcast daily in Japanese from Soviet stations. As regards films, a lot of people seemed to think that the best type of films were not reaching China and other Eastern countries. Those that arrived were not calculated to enhance the prestige of the white races. In one case Sir Herbert Samuel pointed out that censorship of films in Great Britain did not necessarily mean that their export to other countries was avoided. He had had a complaint from the Governor of a British colony, and when he referred to the matter he found that the film in question had been condemned by the British Board of Censors. There was considerable criticism of gangster and other films which the Americans produce in such quantities. One proposal that may bear fruit was made; it was that there ought to be a special censorship for films intended for export in order to avoid the worst type of films getting into foreign hands. When purely educational problems were debated, all emphasis was laid on the desirability of training the growing generation in Asiatic countries, and Pacific countries generally, to being useful citizens rather than to imposing on them alien cultures and adding to the number of white-collared youths for whom no suitable occupation can be found. Interesting and informing addresses were given on this subject by delegates representing French Indo-China, by Dutch delegates referring to Java, and by New Zealand delegates referring to the Maoris.

Other tables took up questions concerning International Law, methods of adjustment and control in the Pacific area, currency and finance, and publications. Several topics which one might expect to hear of at a discussion on conflict did not come under review at any of the round tables as far as I know, such as extraterritoriality or the status of Shanghai.

By confining the major discussions to the economic conflict in the Pacific area, the Programme Committee averted the acrimonious arguments that would inevitably have ensued if the discussion had centred on political issues, and there were few actual clashes between the Chinese and Japanese delegations. Whenever delegates showed a dis-

position to concentrate on the political field they were brought back to the economic considerations. One result of this limitation was that it came to be generally recognized that Japan's action had been dictated as much by economic as by political considerations, and a conviction was engendered that she must receive a fair deal in the world's markets both for buying and selling if continuous friction is to be avoided. Some of the speakers, especially the Hon. W. G. Stewart of New Zealand, who had held office as Attorney-General and Minister of Finance, were very pessimistic regarding the outlook. At the closing session Mr. Stewart predicted a great war in the Far East as inevitable unless some early means of avoiding it could be evolved. His forebodings were not shared by the British spokesman, Sir John Power, who emphasized the difficulty that statesmen in any country in Europe to-day would experience in convincing their legislatures that war was the only settlement of any current dispute; and he felt sure that as time went on similar opposition would confront statesmen in the Far East.

The absence of a Soviet representative was deplored as limiting the extent of the enquiry into the relations of Japan and Soviet Russia, which are an extremely important factor in the question of peace and war in the Far East.

Some unofficial peace proposals relating to the Pacific areas put forward by the Japanese delegate met with open opposition from the Chinese, who considered that any such scheme was impracticable while Manchuria remained under Japanese control. After a Japanese delegate had expounded the suggestion that the American, Chinese, French, British, Japanese, and Russian Governments should be parties to a security pact for the Pacific, a Chinese delegate enquired why Manchuria was excluded. Was he correct in assuming that its existence as an independent state was expected to be ephemeral?

Apart from round-table discussions, three evenings were devoted to the National Recovery Administration in America. The first evening opened with a vigorous attack on the scheme from Professor Gregory, who predicted that it could only succeed by a progressive inflation of the American currency, which would involve the inflation of British and other currencies and bring the whole world off the gold standard. At the second evening session, Professor Moulton and Professor Lorwin, both Americans, expounded the N.R.A.A. from the American point of view; they admitted that it was an experiment, the success of which remained to be seen, and one of the American speakers, at least, expressed some apprehension lest the enforcement of this National Recovery

Administration programme should result in economic isolation of the United States.

Now, although the work of a Conference of this kind should be regarded as analytical rather than constructive, its educational reaction cannot, I submit, be entirely overlooked. Everyone, whatever round table he or she attended, felt, I think, that they had added greatly to their stock of knowledge of problems of the Pacific. The restraint, however, shown by both Chinese and Japanese delegations was perhaps calculated to minimize the tension existing between those two countries so far as the delegates of other nationalities were concerned. The Japanese seemed to be especially reluctant to be drawn into any very animated controversy, and would only hit back or talk back when they were practically forced into a position where something had to be said.

An interesting discussion followed.

THE FIRST ELECTIONS IN THE N.W.F.P.

IN December, 1931, the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province was announced by the present Governor of the province at a Durbar which was held at Peshawar. Two days later, Abdul Ghafar Khan and the Red Shirts declared a boycott of the reforms, in pursuance of the Congress programme. The announcement of the reforms was followed a few days later by wholesale arrests of all the Red Shirt leaders, and the most prominent of them were put in gaol.

The reforms were introduced in the province with considerable haste. A special officer was imported from the Punjab, who prepared electoral rolls for the whole province in about two months. Elections for the Frontier Legislative Council took place in the second week of April, 1932. The province had, in the meantime, been divided into various constituencies, and this narrative will deal with what happened on election days in the rural areas of Peshawar district.

The administrative district of Peshawar was divided into seven Muslim rural constituencies. Peshawar city and the cantonments and the non-Muslims had their own constituencies.

Owing to a shortage of election officers and police, elections in the various constituencies took place on different dates. The first elections were held on April 7, 1932, and in the last constituency voting finished on April 12. Thus elections lasted a week.

Franchise was conferred, roughly, on all males above the age of twenty-one who paid land revenue of 10 rupees a year, or owned property worth 600 rupees, or had attained a certain standard of education.

Owing to the haste in which the electoral rolls were prepared, there were naturally many mistakes in them, and many persons who were entitled to vote were omitted, while many without the requisite qualifications had their names on the register. Roughly speaking, on the average, in a village containing a thousand able-bodied men, about a hundred had their names on the electoral roll.

The Province had never seen an election previously, and 90 per cent. of the voters had never even heard of such a thing. To them, therefore, the vote did not convey any intelligible meaning. They could not

understand what a vote stood for. The candidates who stood for the various seats, and their agents, had very little time to explain the meaning of a vote to the electors, and in any case it was impossible for them to reach the voters, who were scattered about in various villages at considerable distances, in the short time at their disposal. There was no Press worth the name, and the electors being illiterate, pamphlets and posters were useless. Public meetings were prohibited on account of Red Shirt activities.

There was only one organized political party in the province—namely, the Red Shirts—and they had declared a boycott of the elections. Their prominent leaders were clapped in gaol, but the rank and file and the smaller leaders remained in the villages. Their organization could not be broken up, and although they gave up the wearing of red shirts in public, they continued to hold secret meetings and to carry on a very active propaganda. Their emissaries went from village to village and directed the members of their organization to prevent the voters from taking part in the elections by every means at their disposal.

Religion plays a very prominent part in the life of the residents of the province, and the Red Shirt movement had also a quasi-religious hold on the uneducated part of the public. It was therefore the easiest thing in the world to proclaim that elections were against religion and that any person taking part in them would be committing a heresy. The Red Shirts, therefore, took full advantage of this opportunity, and declared that voting was sinful and was introduced by the "Satanic" Government in pursuance of its anti-Islamic policy.

Abdul Ghafar Khan was a very popular personage at the time, and was considered a sort of hero by the vast majority of villagers. They were told that whoever fixed his thumb impression to the ballot paper would be signing the death warrant of Abdul Ghafar Khan. The counterfoils of the ballot papers had to be signed by the voters, and those who could not write had to fix their thumb impressions to them. It was therefore given out that their signature meant the signing of Abdul Ghafar's death warrant, for which the Government needed a sort of referendum and had devised this method for obtaining the necessary authority. The electors were also told that their signature on the ballot papers would be followed by heavy taxation and other dire consequences.

The Red Shirts had more than three months for this propaganda, and when the elections became nearer their propaganda became more intense.

Polling stations were fixed at the police stations in the district. It was impossible to send police to the villages, and no one had thought beforehand of posting police on the few roads that existed or of arranging flying squads. On election days the voters had to walk several miles, or in some cases, where there were roads, had to go by lorries and horse vehicles to the polling stations.

The Red Shirts had announced picketing of the polling stations, and one or two days before the election at each polling station they blocked all the roads and paths leading to them. The villagers from most of the villages joined them because of the religious colour which was given to this work, and the riffraff and all the hooligans naturally took the most prominent part in it.

Owing to the propaganda, a major portion of the electors decided not to take any part in the elections. Another portion refused to vote on account of timidity. They had no desire to come into conflict with the Red Shirts. There were therefore only about 10 to 15 per cent. of the electors who were willing and had decided to take part in the elections.

The writer happened to be one of those who had decided to take part in the election, and one day previous to the polling he was at a village about six miles distant from the polling station. News arrived in the afternoon that the road to the polling station was being picketed. The writer went in a motor-car, and at a distance of about two miles, at the junction of two roads, he found about five hundred persons sitting in the middle of the road, completely blocking it. No argument could persuade the pickets to allow the writer to pass, and he therefore had to return to his village. At midnight the writer attempted again, this time accompanied by a couple of lorry loads of other voters, in the hope that the pickets might have moved away for the night. He however found that their number had doubled and that they had blocked not only the road but all the paths in the vicinity. Some of the pickets were also armed with daggers and pistols, which they were displaying with threats. The writer and his companions had to return once more.

One companion of the writer slipped from the lorries in the darkness and entered the crops on the roadside. Some of the pickets discovered this after a short time and began to chase him. A regular hunt began in the darkness, and the quarry had to run for his life. He told the writer in the morning that he had to lie for hours in the crops with voices all around him shouting death to him at sight. He managed to

reach the polling stations at 6 a.m., badly bruised and his clothes torn by the thorns and hedges. He covered the distance of about four miles in six hours.

The writer started for the polling station once more in the morning. He found a police party proceeding in a lorry to the polling station, and decided to follow at close distance. When they reached the pickets they found a huge crowd on the road. The police lorry attempted to pass through the crowd, which gave way, but shortly after started a fusillade of brickbats and stones. The writer's car was badly hit and all the glass was broken. The writer and his companions in the car, however, escaped injury. The police had to open fire on the pickets, and it was only after twenty or thirty shots that the crowd gave way and the road opened sufficiently to allow the police and the writer to reach the polling station.

The experience of many others who had to reach the polling stations by motor-cars or lorries was similar to that of the writer. Many had to return to their villages and many were held up by the Red Shirts and kept under arrest till the end of the day.

Those who had to walk to the polling station by country paths or had to come on horseback had most harrowing experiences. A prominent khan was thrown from his horse near Rustam, dragged on the ground, and severely beaten. Another's jaw was broken by a brickbat. Another khan had to be carried home on a stretcher. Hundreds of others received minor injuries and lost their turbans. The Red Shirt pickets stopped at nothing. They would first stop the voter and endeavour to persuaded him to go back. If he insisted on going forward they would threaten him. If that proved of no avail then they would use physical force. Insults and abuses were prolific, and every voter who tried to go to the polling station had a tale to tell in the evening. A number of motor-cars and lorries were damaged, and all traffic on the roads had stopped altogether.

The boycott of the elections was thus enforced with a thoroughness which surprised everybody. At some polling stations only a very few votes were recorded. At one place, out of a thousand eligible voters only six managed to reach the polling station.

The results of the elections were thus surprising. Candidates with strong followings were defeated, and others who would have probably forfeited their deposits if the elections had been free found seats in the Legislative Council.

The first elections in the North-West Frontier Province will there-

fore always be remembered by those who took part in them. They created such an apprehension in the minds of both candidates and the voters that in the District Board elections, which followed a few months later, in many constituencies no candidates were nominated and in nearly all the constituencies elections were uncontested.

THE JAPANESE TRADE MENACE*

By LENNOX B. LEE

Chairman of the Calico Printers' Association.

WHEN delivering my annual address to the proprietors of the Calico Printers' Association, I had not contemplated an oration to the members of the Royal Central Asian Society, which has amongst its members many who have travelled in the Near and Far East, and have come into contact with the leaders of commerce in those regions. Neither had it occurred to me that anyone outside those immediately concerned would be interested in the Japanese trade menace, particularly in view of the difficulties which confront the enquirer. I say this with all deference because statistics are inseparable from the subject and figures are not always easy to follow. Not only do they frequently confuse, but more often they are capable of presentation in such a way as will suit most arguments. It is, of course, the facts behind the figures that matter.

May I explain that the Japanese trade menace served a purpose in my argument for three main reasons. Firstly, it is uppermost in the minds of manufacturers who meet Japanese competition in nearly every market of the world. Secondly, it aptly illustrated my criticism of the way in which our official trade relations with other countries are handled; and, thirdly, it enabled me to show up the inertia and want of vision which has handicapped Lancashire for so many years. It is perhaps only right to add that some explanation of the inertia is to be found in the fact that the generation which in the ordinary course of events would have provided potential leaders of industry was almost wiped out during the war, and those who have since been carrying on are those who, like myself, are no longer in our first youth and are hardly the men to face its reconstruction with equanimity or with the application and energy which is essential.

As there are many similarities between our industrial evolution and that of Japan, a retrospect of the history of this country during the early part of last century may help to realize the true proportions of the so-

* Paper given on November 9, 1933, Mr. E. M. Gull in the Chair.

called menace when, following the Napoleonic Wars, most, if not all, European countries were exhausted, both financially and physically, and Great Britain, although herself crippled, rapidly advanced from a primitive industrial condition to a position of the first importance. I need not, of course, remind you that in addition to taking advantage of its environment there were several important factors which were auxiliary to the course of events in this country. The industrial history of Great Britain during the close of the eighteenth century is largely a story of how the nation realized the value of its resources. In the cotton section, in particular, inventions of a far-reaching importance rapidly followed each other. Kay's flying shuttle more than doubled the weaving capacity and, consequently, the demand for yarn; Hargreaves' spinning jenny, followed by Arkwright's "water-frame" and later by Crompton's "mule"—a combination of the two—more than counterbalanced the increased demand and, technically, the productive structure was ready for Cartwright's power loom, which appeared a little later. In 1813 there were only 2,300 power looms in existence; twenty years after there were upwards of 100,000, and it was then that England discovered and revealed to the world what could be done by power-driven machinery. Reference to another aspect will complete the analogy. Everyone in a position to make money did so without thought of responsibility. Gain prompted the manufacturer to begin early and stop late. Conditions and earnings of labour, more particularly as they affected child labour, were deplorable, and those who might have put an end to those conditions did little to mitigate them.

I mention these facts because, in my view, the history of this country has been repeated in Japan except that there has been no waiting upon inventions to supplant major processes of hand labour; moreover, the development of artificial silk has reacted upon her former silk trade. But they have been able to start with machinery as up-to-date as that possessed by the industries of any country. Great Britain, as in 1815, has been involved in a vast and exhaustive war, carrying most of its Allies and their commitments, and, in the fifteen subsequent years of severe taxation, without any clearly defined industrial leadership, she has been in a state of the deepest depression, almost amounting, in some trades, to chaos. The reasons are obvious, but it is not my purpose to discuss them to-day, except to trace their relationship to the growth of Japanese competition. Japan, on the other hand, was only interested in the war to a limited extent, and both during that period and since she has taken advantage of our vacillation in foreign affairs

and has pursued a bold and clear-cut policy. Her national ideals go far to explain the extraordinary progress she has made. From a feudal State she has, by the ability and enterprise of her industrialists, supported by the intelligent and sympathetic encouragement of her rulers, been transformed into a modern world power.

Japan covers an area of approximately 140,000 square miles, and at the 1930 census its population was nearly 64½ millions; in comparison with the British Isles, with an area of 121,000 square miles and a population of 48 millions, the density of population per square mile in Japan is slightly greater than that of Great Britain. Its peoples are intensely patriotic, hard working and cheerful, and the social coherence is strengthened by the family system, which not only comprises the same kith and kin, but also extends to other social relationships. This nation-wide kinship has had far-reaching effects upon the evolution of its industrial organization. Its influence is to be seen in every direction: in the relations between employer and employee, in the development of welfare institutions, and, what from our point of view is perhaps of the greatest importance, in their methodical charting of industrial policy.

An illuminating sidelight on the growth of Japanese competition is provided by the statistics relative to population in connection with land under cultivation for rice growing. Rice is their staple food, and when it is remembered that the population during the five years prior to 1930 increased at the rate of nearly 1,000,000 per annum, and that the annual increase of rice land was only from 25,000 to 35,000 acres, or approximately one-fourth of what is estimated as necessary for their requirements, it will be realized that the problem of food supply is of pressing importance. To live, therefore, Japan, as she has no great wealth in natural resources, must not only import food, but most raw materials, and to pay for these she must export. The extent to which her commerce has increased is illustrated in the expansion of the country's exports, which in 1931 were nearly double those of 1913. Contrast this with the position of our own country, whose exports have shown a diminution of approximately 25 per cent. during the same period, and you see the picture in its true perspective.

Brief reference has already been made to the concentration of capital, and, whether we take the view that it is good or otherwise, we cannot overlook its importance. The fact that nearly three-quarters of the Japanese production and distribution is in the hands of about half a dozen industrial groups, virtually family concerns, is a big advantage

in the struggle for world markets. The organizations of capital thus built up constitute by far the most powerful commercial element in Japan to-day. No policy of State is likely to be realized unless these organizations are taken into account. Japanese industry and commerce are different in degree, if not actually in character, from anything of the kind that exists in any other country. The Krupp and Stinnes interests in Germany at their best were perhaps the nearest analogy, but even these were never so intimately interlocked with the whole fabric of national life as are those in Japan. The outstanding example is that of the firm of Mitsui, which controls a capital of over 900,000,000 *yen*. There is scarcely a commodity in the production and distribution of which this company is not interested, and it must be realized that the whole of this powerful machine, and other concerns little less dominating, such as the Mitsubishi and the Sumitomos Companies, are directed not only in adjusting the productive elements to a common policy, but in framing its trading with the same resolute purpose—an invaluable asset to any country, especially to those aspiring to a leading position in world trade.

So far I have confined myself mainly to a general consideration affecting Japanese organization. There are, however, important influences which cannot be omitted in even the briefest of reviews. I refer to the parental attitude of the State towards commerce, the low wage costs, the depreciated currency, and the importance attached to inculcating by propaganda the national or, if you like, the war spirit. The State supports banking operations, lends money to enterprises, stimulates by subsidies the formation of export associations, and has assisted in ousting the British firms to whom they owed the development of their export trade. Recently the Department of Commerce and Industry established a Bureau of Foreign Trade, and under the latter's auspices Trade Commissioners were despatched abroad for the purpose of finding openings in countries in which Japan had not previously broken satisfactory ground, and of these five were for textiles.

The co-ordination of shipping, and its subsidization by the Government, is another means adopted for enabling manufacturers to undersell their foreign competitors. Apart from the boom years 1915-18 and 1920, Government shipping subsidies have exceeded the other net earnings of the recipient companies. Before leaving this question of Government assistance, mention should be made of the alertness with which its emissaries in foreign countries seize every opportunity for promoting the welfare and extension of their trade. A case in point came

before my notice in connection with the Argentine exchange restrictions. Following protracted representations from British exporters of the unfair allocation of exchange quotas, the British Government, after a lapse of twelve months, obtained a more equitable share. Within three weeks the Japanese Government replied by sending a mission to the Argentine to arrange a basis of reciprocal trade, and obtained exchange to the extent of 60 per cent. of the value of all purchases from the Argentine, and, as large importers of wool, the Japanese used this weapon to secure an increasing quota for the benefit of her industries. Why should it take Great Britain twelve months to arrange exchange which the Japanese can do in three weeks? There can be no doubt that the action of the Japanese in putting up a smoke screen of specific assurance while preparing to seize Manchoukuo and Jehol was merely a part of her economic policy of increasing her dominion over markets and so securing control of the Customs, primarily to our disadvantage, as was done in the case of Korea.

As wages and hours of work are merely the two sides of the same picture, it will be a convenience to discuss the two at the same time. Japan's labour conditions, long hours and low wages, have played a vital part in the extension of her trading activities. Be it remembered that the hours of work in Japan are governed by statute, but the elasticity of the statutory regulations makes them little more than pious aspirations. One of the provisions of the Japanese Factory Act empowers factory owners to cause overtime to be worked "to meet temporary pressure of work," and permits are issued by the authorities for this purpose. During the last few years the issue of these permits has increased at a very rapid rate. In 1927 the number was 2,745; in 1930 it reached 10,152, nearly 70 per cent. of which, I may mention in passing, were for the textile industry. In most factories two and in some three shifts per day are worked. In a joint report by the British Commercial Councillor and the Acting Commercial Secretary in Japan, which was published this year, figures are given of the average daily wages paid in the principal Japanese industries. The figures will give you an indication of one of the difficulties confronting Great Britain in meeting their competition. In the cotton trade, female operatives in the spinning section receive in *yen* the equivalent of 10¾d., whilst weavers receive 9½d. per day, our comparative figures being 5s. 3d. and 5s. 9d. Linked with this question of wages is that of output per operative. In 1926 the average annual output per weaver in Japan was 22,300 yards, the corresponding figure for 1932 was 51,300 yards. At the present

time the annual average production per weaver on full time in Lancashire is approximately 34,000 yards. The introduction of automatic and semi-automatic machinery has naturally multiplied the output in Japan. It is not uncommon to find Japanese girls running as many as twenty looms, whereas, after discussing the question for the last twenty years, labour in Lancashire still fails to appreciate the disadvantages which the adherence to a four-loom system entails. Not only has production per operative increased, but actual earnings have been reduced, so that the effect on labour costs has been twofold. A distinctive feature of the conditions of factory labour is its dormitory system, which makes comparison with conditions prevailing in this country difficult. Labour for the factories comes from the agricultural districts where poverty abounds, and consists of peasants' daughters between fourteen and eighteen years of age, who are recruited by agents, the parents being paid sums varying from 5 to 25 *yen*. The system is in essence one of indentured juvenile labour; they receive from 3s. to 4s. per week and are housed in compounds. Their compulsory education and their training as apprentices has made them more intelligent and attentive than Indian women workers, and physically they are far stronger than the Indian workman.

No review of Japanese competition would be complete without reference to the depreciation of the *yen* which followed our departure from the Gold Standard in September, 1931. However much the factors to which I have referred may have aided Japanese competition in the past, they are not sufficient to account for the violence of the attack which has taken place in the last two years, and for one explanation we must look to the falling value of the *yen* since Japan reimposed the gold export embargo. It may be useful to remind you that in December, 1931, the value of the *yen* was 2s 8d.; in December, 1932, it was 1s. 3d.; and last month it was 1s. 2d. The pound, in relation to a currency with a gold backing, is at present worth about two-thirds of its par value. If, therefore, we were to return to parity with gold the value of the *yen* would be 9d. The severe reductions in Japanese export prices expressed in gold or sterling currencies undoubtedly gave an impetus to Japan's export trade, and the phenomenal increase of her exports, both in range and quantity, since December, 1931, is in a large measure due to this cause. Whilst a depreciated currency may assist the export trade, imports have to be paid for with the same currency, and, though it may be a coincidence, it is remarkable that for some months before Japan's departure from gold, her imports, particularly of raw materials

such as cotton, were exceptionally heavy. The subsequent depreciation of the *yen* in effect made these raw materials proportionately cheaper. An interesting aspect of this currency manipulation is that Japan has not an export surplus, and therefore anything which restricts her imports will find its reflex in a lessened demand for *yen*. If there is a reduced demand for the currency, its value must fall until it gets to such a level as will again make export prices competitive. How far this process has been responsible for the present position it is difficult to say.

May we now consider more particularly the bearing of Japanese competition upon the cotton trade of Lancashire, and I will outline briefly the course of Japan's exports of cotton piece goods into markets in which Lancashire was previously predominant. China, no doubt on account of its geographical position, was the first to receive attention, and a considerable trade was built up. Following acts of aggression by the Japanese, boycotts, which in China are a time-honoured method of counter-attack, seriously interfered with Japanese trade, and these successive boycotts are reflected in the fluctuating export figures. The rapid extension of productive capacity and the diminished demand from China compelled Japan to look elsewhere for an outlet, and this was found in the Straits Settlements, whose imports rose from under 16 million square yards in 1928 to over 82 million square yards in 1932—an increase of nearly 417 per cent. The Philippines and the Dutch East Indies were next in the order of attack, the latter between the years 1928 and 1932 more than doubling its imports. Rangoon and India were next invaded, British India, notwithstanding the discriminatory duty against Japan, taking, in 1932, 644 million yards, as compared with 357 million yards in 1928. Much the same is now true of other markets, including British Colonies and Protectorates. In Australia, for instance, during the same period the imports rose from 12 to 36 million yards, or by 200 per cent. The most phenomenal increase, however, has been in Africa, where, excluding South Africa, more than six times the yardage taken from Japan in 1928 was imported in 1932. To summarize, Japan has increased her total exports of piece goods from 1,400 million square yards to 2,000 million square yards in the last five years, whilst the United Kingdom's have fallen from nearly 4,000 million square yards to 2,000 million, and the disparity for 1933 will be still more alarming. These figures exclude artificial silk fabrics, Japan's exports of which have risen from 47½ million square yards in 1929 to 152½ million in 1932. It is significant that in all the conversations that have

taken place she has been reluctant to discuss the question of artificial silk fabrics and has resisted the suggestion that these should be included in any quota arrangement. If the present rate of increase in the production of artificial silk is maintained, within five years it will be equal in volume to to-day's international trade in cotton goods, and, as Japan is now able to sell artificial silk goods at 40 per cent. below the British price for the equivalent article in cotton, the progressive increase in the export of these fabrics from Japan will be continued at an even greater rate, with the inevitable result of a greatly diminished demand for this country's cotton productions.

Hitherto Lancashire has largely relied upon her technical knowledge to redress the advantages possessed by her rivals. The great expansion of cotton exports from Japan which began during the war and has continued since shows, however, that some modification of this too comfortable view has become necessary. According to information which I received from an expert who went to Japan in 1930 to make first-hand investigation, the relative costs of producing a standard piece of grey cloth of 126 yards in England and Japan respectively when cotton was 6¼d. per lb. were 31s. 7d. and 8s. 10d. Japan's spectacular success has been due to the added advantage in price resulting from the depreciated *yen*. In the Far Eastern markets, for example, their prices before December, 1931, were about 25 per cent. below those of Great Britain. Subsequent to that date they have fallen with the *yen* by approximately an additional 25 per cent. The question may be asked, Why was it necessary to reduce prices so much below other suppliers? And this brings me to my next point—namely, Japanese trading methods.

One of the characteristic elements in Japanese trading is the readiness to take a risk—a propensity to which the British manufacturer would apply the term "gambling." Cost, which is to us a primary and all-important consideration, is quite secondary to the Japanese so long as their exports can be expanded. They must have volume, and in order to secure this prices are lowered to a level which will secure the bulk trade. When the world economic depression began, the necessity for lowering prices to maintain volume became more pronounced, and, as a result, they not only took business from all competitors, but actually created a new class of trade. Originally the Japanese exporters financed their business by selling their goods through British and native dealers, who paid for them in cash by means of credits from European, particularly British, importers. Later the exporters formed themselves into large associations, who, finding it more and more difficult to get cash

against documents, gave credit up to sixty days and, in some cases, up to ninety. Cash to them is of very real value in their operations at home, and even in their credit terms they usually include for earlier payment a discount at a higher rate than the current bank rate. In markets where European importers refused to deal in their goods the Japanese established their own agencies. Under present conditions, and with her prices so much below those of other suppliers, she is able to dictate terms and to adopt methods which importers and dealers would never tolerate from other countries. Identical marks are adopted for the same qualities, which are sold indiscriminately, and the competition so created has reduced the importer's profit to a minimum. Of the more unscrupulous methods adopted by the Japanese, that of copying registered designs and labels has been the most vexatious. They send representatives to dealers with cuttings of patterns and solicit orders without informing the buyer that they are registered, and as the Japanese are seldom domiciled in any country for long the only redress is by taking action against the dealer, who pleads ignorance and invariably gets away with it, which in effect means that our registered designs and trade marks can be pirated with impunity.

They have many other such methods, but we have to recognize that neither they nor the exchange can account entirely for the rise in Japan's export of cotton goods. When the exchange factor has been disposed of, Japan will still be left with advantages in costs of production which she possessed before her departure from the Gold Standard. Up to 1930 a large part of her reduction in costs arose from the bringing of her industry up to European standards of efficiency. She profited by the experience—both the achievements and the mistakes—of other countries. Notwithstanding the world trade depression during the last three years, the work of overhauling her productive machinery has with characteristic thoroughness been continued, and in the spinning industry, for example, the leading firms last year were paying up to 40 per cent.

For many years past I have stressed the importance of cost of production and of marketing, which is of the essence of the problem. This aspect of the question was also recognized by the Cotton Enquiry Committee when it recorded its opinion that, "after making all allowances for the disadvantages which have their causes outside the cotton industry . . . we are satisfied from the evidence laid before us that the British Cotton Industry has failed to adapt its organization and methods to changed conditions, and has so failed and is failing to secure

that cheapness of production and efficiency in marketing which alone sells staple goods in the East to-day."

The Committee also did not disguise the fact, which had long been obvious to competent observers, that the chief causes of failure were the multiplicity of independent units in all sections of the industry, the reluctance of both employers and employees to relinquish traditional methods of production and the lack of co-operation between the producing and distributing branches of the trade. The urgency of the need for drastic reconstruction, both as regards economic structure and manufacturing technique, is greater to-day than ever. The reorganization required to meet modern conditions is twofold—the consolidation of approximately 2,000 to 3,000 units in order to take full advantage of technical improvements and the economies of mass production, and the development of a system of marketing through the co-operation of merchanting concerns. If competition is to be met successfully, concerted action in all sections is essential, and if Lancashire would only rely less on Government conferences and take the initiative herself in working out with the backing, instead of the leading, of the Government, a scheme such as I have indicated, there would be less need to fear competition on even terms in any market. There must, of course, be the necessary drive, hard work, absence of labour disputes, and, above all, vision. Any scheme of reorganization must also provide for the extension of research. A united industry would not only make co-operative research more comprehensive, but would also reduce its cost and increase its efficiency. The criticisms on this country's conduct of the Great War are as applicable to Lancashire in its attitude to the industrial crisis as anything can be. The industrial brass hats, however, are apparently far more interested in taking each other's business than in combining against the common enemy. The industry so far has, unfortunately, disregarded the findings of the Cotton Enquiry Committee, and, notwithstanding the veiled hint at the possibility of compulsion if voluntary methods failed, the Government, apart from sending a mission to the East to find out what was already known, has done nothing to implement the Committee's recommendations, and to-day we have the humiliating spectacle of a British delegation, at the behest of the Government, going cap in hand to the Japanese and, in effect, suggesting that they should voluntarily surrender to this country some of the trade taken from us by the use of skilful, if unscrupulous, methods. I cannot believe that Japan will make any concessions unless it be to secure British recognition of the Manchurian situation, which

would at once result in a Chinese boycott against our goods. But, be that as it may, the fact remains that whatever terms are arranged they can never be lasting so long as our obsolete systems perpetuate the disparities in relative costs. Why should the impoverished native, like the British taxpayer, be merely a milch cow, only able to purchase his requirements at excessive prices in order to bolster up Government inefficiency and the unwillingness of Lancashire to take the obvious and essential action without which her costs cannot be reduced to a competitive basis? The British Economic Mission which investigated the position in the Far East, after urging all sections in Lancashire to consider how costs could be reduced, stated their unqualified belief that (to use their own words), "from what we have seen in the East the position will tend to become worse unless it is faced unflinchingly. It is of little use to maintain anomalies in wage lists or in present piece prices if their maintenance involves less employment and reduced earnings for the operatives in Lancashire. Similarly, it is of little use for any section of producers or merchants to maintain or attempt to maintain uneconomic systems, if, as a result, our export trade in cotton piece goods—once the pride of Great Britain—continues to decrease. At every stage, from the purchase of the raw cotton by the spinners up to and including the packing of the finished cloth, Japan has an advantage in costs over Lancashire. The advantage at some stages may be small, but the cumulative effect is considerable."

I have dealt with the question in a very general way, and, although it has not been possible to avoid going into a certain amount of detail, I claim no such knowledge as that with which the old lady credited the parson when, after hearing him preach on "Sin," remarked that "What the parson doesn't know about sin isn't worth knowing!" Neither have I had any desire to follow the path of an eminent divine and leave in your minds the impression that the outlook is wholly gloomy, for it is not too late for this country to take measures, provided they are not half measures, to save much of its export trade.

I finished my address on September 19 by saying that the danger of the present negative policy is that if we do nothing long enough there will in the end be nothing that we can do, and that, in my opinion, epitomizes the truth about the existing situation.

May I in conclusion thank you for the patient way in which you have listened, and also express my appreciation of your kindness in giving me an opportunity of putting my views of the position before you.

RECENT EVENTS IN SINKIANG

THIS article endeavours to give some account of recent events in Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang up to the end of September, 1933. It must, however, be realized that an accurate conspectus of the history of the last two years is difficult to give, as trustworthy and complete information is unobtainable. The troubles in Chinese Turkestan date from the murder of Yang, the capable and experienced ruler who was assassinated at Urumchi, the capital of his province, in July, 1928 (vide *R.C.A.J.*, Vol. XVI., Part I., p. 87, and Part III., p. 407). His successor was Chin Shu-jen, an almost unknown man who was elected by the provincial officials immediately on the death of the old Governor. Chin had shown energy and resource when Yang was murdered, and his elevation to be Chairman, as the head of the province is now thus ludicrously described, was not unreasonable.

But his appointment was a break both in tradition and in policy, and his predecessor, a shrewd experienced autocrat of the old school, was not an easy man to follow.

It is manifestly unfair to blame Chin for all the disasters that have overtaken the Chinese in their far western territory. His advisers must share the responsibility, especially as the new Governor never enjoyed the free exercise of appointment which old Yang always exercised. The province of Sinkiang has in the past been constantly exposed to the attacks of the Tungans or Chinese Moslems, who are most numerous in the neighbouring province of Kansu, and who have been settled in Sinkiang, chiefly in the north, by the Chinese; and no traveller can have failed to see the signs of previous insurrections and incursions. The ruined houses, the abandoned but fertile fields, as well as the constant friction between Tungan and Chinaman, are eloquent of the seriousness of the problem. The Tungans in Sinkiang are, in all truth, a turbulent minority, and the troubles of the province have usually been due to them.

The Tungan is not a pure Chinaman and possesses qualities which his rulers lack. He is unpopular with all races, Moslem or otherwise, but he is hard, capable, unscrupulous, and thorough, and whatever else he may be is certainly a man, bold, enterprising, and revengeful. The Tungans of Kansu, living in an arid and harsh country, have always been a menace to Sinkiang, and the old Governor, Yang, made

a practice of buying them off. In fact, he behaved very much towards the Tungans as the Government of India does towards the Pathan tribes. In both cases the danger is due largely to economic reasons, and the payment of money suits all parties.

The primary cause of the present rebellion was, however, the seizure of the independent Khanate of Hami or Kumul on the death of the prince or wang, Maqsud Shah, in November, 1930 (*R.C.A.J.*, Vol. XX., p. 214).* This small native state, which had always been on good terms with its Chinese suzerain, was taken over in the most callous and foolish manner. Three ambans were appointed, the young heir of the wang or prince was retired to Urumchi, and the Kumuliks, a hardy, active race, rose in revolt.

The Chinese army met with overwhelming disaster, which was the natural corollary of sending an untrained mob of tottering Methuselahs and unweaned children to fight mountaineers. No one who has ever seen the armed forces of Sinkiang would say that this description is unfair.

The Kumuliks called in the help of the Kansu Tungans, ever eager for a fray, who, under Ma Chung-Yng, entered the province in 1931, and put an end for the time being to Chinese authority.

The provincial government thereupon lost its head completely, and as it had already lost face, apparently its intelligence went therewith.

Chinese diplomacy has been marked, in the past, by a certain deliberation and reason, and whatever absurd mistakes it may have made they have been due to that curious mixture of ignorance, puerility, and arrogance which are a recognized feature of the Chinese mind. Nevertheless, in dealing with their subject races, the Chinese have often shown great statesmanship and ability, but these qualities were now absent, and the Chairman or Governor declined to buy off the Tungans. It is said that they only asked at first for 40,000 silver taels, a small sum, but silver is not very plentiful in Sinkiang, and in any case it was only an instalment.

The local government then called on the Torgut Kalmuks of Karashahr to assist them. These Mongols possessed the only trained military force in the province, and had been used by Yang in 1927 when the Tungans had threatened Kumul or Hami. They had done very well, and were certainly a soldierly and useful body of mounted troops.

The head of the Torguts was Seng Chen Rinpoche, the Norin

* Read Maqsud, not Mahsud.

Gegen, or "Lion-like Inspired One," a man of about forty-two, cultured, amiable, and highly venerated. Not only was he the Regent of the Torgut Kalmuks, as his nephew, the young wang, was still a minor, but he was the spiritual head of all the Mongols of the province. He had been to Lhasa, was wealthy, able, and influential, a Knight of the Swedish Order of Gustavus, and certainly the most important non-Chinese personage in the province.

At about the same time that the Chinese endeavoured to seize the principality of Kumul, they had foolishly tried to take control of the Torguts. Chinese ambans had been appointed to administer the nomads, and the assassination of the Regent had been arranged.

It may be observed parenthetically that the Chinese had hitherto shown good sense in the management of their nomadic subjects, and had ruled them lightly. Indeed, they had displayed an even undue forbearance towards the Mohammedan tribes. The Kalmuks are more docile than the Kirghiz or Kazaks, as they feel they have more in sympathy with their Chinese rulers than with their Moslem fellow-nomads.

This plot against his life and his nation was discovered by the Gegen, who protested strongly, but received no satisfaction beyond a disclaimer that nothing was intended. As a matter of fact, the Chinese intentions were common knowledge, and admitted on all sides. Consequently he refused his help, and few can blame him for doing so. Not long after, early in 1932, the Chinese asked the Regent to come to the capital to discuss matters. So with his nephew, now of age and married to a lady of Peking, the Gegen set forth, and in due course arrived in Urumchi and went to pay his respects to the Governor at his yamen.

There the party sat drinking tea in the little anteroom which was cleaner and fresher than in the days of old Yang, and waited for the interview with His Excellency. It was a long wait, the longest that the Lion Gegen had ever had.

He was after a while invited to go outside, and with him went his two chief advisers, Oreget and Baldan Guode. There, under the dirty walls of the yamen, he was made to sit on a red carpet, a tribute to his rank, whilst by his side, but on the bare ground, sat his two confidants. It took but a few seconds, and all three were at once shot through the head with a revolver.

So perished a brave and innocent man, a victim to the stupidity and timidity of an incompetent administration. His nephew was spared.

The Provincial Government had now made a new enemy, and had alienated all the Mongols of the province, who were now indifferent to the fate and fortunes of the Chinese.

The next action of the Chairman was to enlist a number of White Russians to attack the Tungans and Kumuliks. About 1,500 were so enrolled, drawn from the districts of Kulja and Chuguchak. The revolt by now had spread to Turfan, and undoubtedly the Russian troops alone saved the capital from pillage and massacre. The Soviet representative protested against the employment of these White Russians, but matters were too precarious for diplomatic objections. As a matter of fact, the employment of these Russians was singularly unwise, even though they did attain the immediate object. Indeed, the rebels in January and February, 1933, came up to the very gates of Urumchi; the city was besieged from January 20, and on February 21 the outlying western suburbs were looted and the inhabitants massacred. In March Chinese troops arrived from the east, who, after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, had retreated into Soviet territory, where they had been disarmed. They were, however, allowed to cross Siberia and enter Sinkiang at Chuguchak. They were commanded by Generals Ma Chan-Shan and Su Ping-Wen, and 6,000 went to Urumchi and 3,000 to Kulja (Ili).

Events began to move with great rapidity, and came to a crisis on April 12, 1933, when the White Russian troops, dissatisfied with their terms of service, or else for less satisfactory reasons, attacked the Governor's yamen, and there was much fighting. A number of officials were captured, but the Chairman himself escaped by car, and reached Chuguchak, and finally arrived at Tientsin, where he is now living. It is said that on his flight he behaved with odious cruelty, and that at Sanju, Ho-To-Pi, and Manas on his way to the frontier he caused a number of old men, women, and children—all White Russians—to be slaughtered. This may, however, be but the valedictory curse on a defeated ruler. The successor of Marshal Shin was old Mr. Liu Min-San, President of the Board of Education of Sinkiang, a great friend and confidant of the former Governor, Yang, and a mandarin of the old school. If he is not too old, and not a mere cypher, he should make an excellent ruler of the conservative type, just the kind that is needed by the province. The military chief is now General Shen Shih-Tsai, aged forty, who arrived in Sinkiang some four years ago and was educated at a military school in Japan. But although the capital had been saved, the province was far from being at peace.

In May, 1933, Ma Chung-Yng, the young Tungan General, came from Suchow in Kansu and defeated General Liu Hai-Ju, the Chinese commander at Gucheng, east of Urumchi. General Liu was an adherent of the old régime of Marshal Chin, and seemed to have played a lonely and ill-advised rôle.

Although the Tungan General had but 3,000 Chinese and 1,000 Tungans, with only one rifle for four men, yet he routed the 6,000 men of General Liu, and took a large quantity of rifles, so it was clear that in China at any rate an unarmed force could deal with a well-armed mob. The White Russians, however, aided by the new Chinese troops from Manchuria, defeated the Tungans near Guchen on May 29, being commanded by General Shen, whose Japanese training had clearly benefited him.

On June 14 Ma Chung-Yng with 1,000 men retired to Turfan, which, it will be remembered, had been the chief focus of revolt after Kumul. There he collected all the rebels of the province, as well as the adherents of the old régime of Marshal Chin, who had nothing now to hope for. Among these were the troops of General Ma Shi-Min from Kucha and Aksu.

The centre of disturbance now moved south. The position was that Chinese rule was, by midsummer, 1933, established more or less firmly north of the Tien-Shan, but that south of that range of mountains the whole province was lost to the provincial authorities.

The leader of the Kumuliks was, and is, Khoja Niaz Khan, who has certainly shown more constructive sense and political ability than anyone else in the province, no matter of what race or religion. He made a pact with the Chinese which incidentally the latest reports say they have broken, a bad augury for the future. Ma Chung-Yng followed suit, and early in July offered to make terms, suggesting a high military appointment for himself in the east of the province, at Barkul and Kumul, contingent on the withdrawal of his forces to that area. As a number of the worst of the local (Sinkiang) Tungans, estimated at 5,000, had retreated to the neighbourhood of Karashahr, it would appear desirable to make some compromise with this young General. Thus at the end of September, 1933, the state of Northern Sinkiang may be described as follows: The Kasak and Kalmuk nomads between Kulja (Ili) and Urumchi are neutral, and have not yet declared their sympathies. They are, in fact, sitting on the hedge, and that is the wisest thing they can do. The Kalmuks have had some fighting with Tungans and have lost several of their leaders, and are inclined to side

with Khoja Niaz Khan and with the Chinese. In the Ili valley proper the Chinese are in power. In the Urumchi area the provincial government carries on its functions, but with no real control. Communications are open to Chuguchak. The east of the province—viz., Turfan, Kumul, and Barkul—are nominally obedient to the provincial Governor, whilst the north part, the Altai, is said to be in the hands of the Kirei Kasak chiefs, which is the best thing for it.

Khoja Niaz Khan is virtual ruler of Guchen, Kumul, and Hami, and is now hostile to the Tungans.

The province south of the Tien Shan is in a deplorable state. It should be borne in mind that it is Southern Sinkiang, best described as Kashgaria, which alone matters, seeing that the wealth and commerce of the country are concentrated there, and that the great majority of the revenue comes from it. Consequently without possession of Kashgar and other trading centres, and deprived of the products of the fertile belt of the oases round the Tarim basin, the northern parts of the province first starve and then collapse. It is evident, therefore, that without the re-establishmet of their rule in the south, the position of the Chinese authorities is precarious. Kashgar, the most important town in the province, has been naturally the centre of the rebellion, and there are five different armed bodies concerned. The Andijanliks or Turkis from Russian Turkestan resident in Chinese territory, the Turkis, chiefly from Artush, and the Kirghiz from the South-West Tien-Shan, oppose the Chinese and Tungans, who, having at last become allied, were at the end of September besieged in the new city of Kashgar.

This condition of things has not been reached without great misery to all concerned. The Tungans at first allied themselves with their fellow-Moslems, but the jealousy, treachery, and complete incapacity of the latter compelled them to throw in their lot with the Chinese.

The evil genius of the movement has been the Kirghiz army. These nomads were armed by the ex-Taotai of Kashgar, Ma Shao-Wu, himself a Tungan and a man from whom all the Kashgarliks expected great things, and not without reason. His advisers, or such as dared offer suggestions to one who never took advice, begged him to reconsider his decision, but he refused; and it is largely thanks to his own action that he is now besieged.

The Andijanliks, largely Communists and more politically-minded than the Kirghiz, are almost as great an obstacle to peace.

The Khotan district has distinguished itself for its murders and savagery, and matters there are distinctly ominous.

Things are better in the area between Aksu and Kuchar, but it should be remembered that the population is less in the north than it is in the south of Kashgaria, where Yarkand, Kashgar, and their adjacent oases hold a large and thriving population.

The Tungan leader in the south is Ma Chang-Ts'ang, now besieged in the new city of Kashgar whence he makes sorties on the besiegers with great effect. Indeed, it is only in numbers that the Chinese and Tungans are at a disadvantage, as the unruly mob that surrounds them has run short of ammunition, and is at a loss to procure more.

The Kirghiz leader is Usman Ali, an opium addict, whilst the Turki party was under Timur. The latter used to keep a serai at Toksun, near Turfan, and, alone of all the local leaders in the south, has shown signs of political sagacity. He was much in the favour of the Tungans, but the pressure from his own party coupled with the anti-Tungan feeling ended in his undoing. On August 8 the Kirghiz left the neighbourhood of Kashgar, partly for political reasons, but chiefly to visit their homes and deposit their loot, and the next day, on his return from speeding his doubtful allies on their still more dubious way, Timur's motor was stopped as it approached Kashgar, and of the five occupants he and three others were shot by Tungan soldiers.

With bazaars shut, traffic at a standstill, money wholly absent, and bands of marauders roaming the country, the plight of the peasantry is truly lamentable. Whatever the Turki may be, he knows little of politics, and cares nothing for the arts of government. All he wishes is to be left alone, at peace, in his oasis.

Undoubtedly the one hope cherished by every Turki, rich and poor, is for the speedy return of the Chinese.

The administration of their former rulers was by no means perfect, but at least it gave the country a settled, definite rule, as taxation was not really high, and the people were left more or less alone. Above all, the Chinese gave their subjects one priceless gift, law and order.

The new Moslem rulers have pillaged and looted in a way that the unhappy traders and farmers never deemed possible; and in return for all this exaction and oppression there is no benefit whatever to anyone. The consequence is that the bowels of the Turkis yearn for the Chinese with the strength and longing of a parent for the return of an only child. They feel, and rightly, that there will be no peace or repose

until the Chinese return, and certainly all who know the country or are interested in its future must share their view.

The Chinese in the past, notably after the reconquest of the country when the rule of the Amir Yaqub Beg Be-daulat ended, treated the people with leniency and moderation. It is devoutly to be hoped that the same generosity will be shown when the country is again administered by the Chinese. The flag of China is flown, and the laws, customs, and procedure of that country are continued by the new and numerous pretenders to power in Kashgaria, and the Chinese ambans will find but little change in the external forms of administration. If, however, a military occupation, accompanied by the worst features of such a régime, is introduced, then the outlook both for China and for Turkestan will indeed be sombre.

A LETTER FROM TEHERAN

November 15, 1933.

THE last twelve months have been eventful.

In November, 1932, the Government precipitately cancelled the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's Concession. Concurrently with the cancellation the Government intimated that they were prepared to negotiate a new Concession. Sir John Cadman and a body of experts, with opposite numbers briefed by the Government, soon arrived. The discussions terminated in four weeks and a new Concession satisfactory to both sides was drawn up. It was ratified by the Majliss on May 28, and Royal Assent was given on May 29, 1933. The company received an extended lease of life, by thirty years, making a working period of sixty years in all, and the Government received substantial benefits.

The next item of major importance was the conclusion of a contract for the completion of the Trans-Persian Railway. In May, 1933, a contract was signed with a Danish-Swedish Consortium for delivery of the Northern Line by March, 1937, and the Southern Line by March, 1939.

The Northern Line, Bander Shah to Teheran, will be about 460 kilometres in length, of which 127 kilometres, Bander Shah to Shahi (Aliabad), was completed before the Consortium undertook the work. This latter section has been in commission for some time, and a passenger train is run in one direction every day. Freight trains are run to suit the requirements of trade and construction requirements. The Southern Line, Bander Shahpour to Teheran, will be 1,000 to 1,100 kilometres in extent, of which 250 kilometres, Bander Shahpour to Salehabad, was likewise completed before the signing of the new contract. There is also a passenger train in one direction every day on this section, and freight trains to suit trade and construction requirements. The Consortium known as "Kampsax" act as consulting engineers to the Government. The survey is in their hands and the ultimate alignments decided by them. They do not undertake the constructional work. Construction is put out to tender, and the Consortium arranges the tenders, and, conjointly with the Government, concludes the agreements.

On the Northern Line the direction followed is Bander Shah,

Ashraf, Sari, Shahi (Aliabad), Shirgah, Zirab, Loab, Amirieh to Firouz-Kuh, thence to Teheran. Work is now actively progressing between Km. 127 (Shahi) and Km. 249, and rails have been laid as far as Km. 127. It is expected that they will be laid as far as Km. 187 during the current Persian year ending March 20, 1934.

From Km. 187 to Km. 249 the work is beset with enormous physical difficulties. This section, which entails the climb to the plateau and culminates in the ascent of the Dougal Pass, 6,900 feet, has been entrusted to Italian and Austrian firms. It is estimated that to reach the top of the Pass it will be necessary to bore 55 tunnels and construct at least sixty bridges. In its climb to the plateau the line will follow more or less the valley of the River Talar.

The survey from Firouz-Kuh to Teheran is in progress.

Apart from the difficulties of construction, those of feeding and housing the eight to ten thousand workmen are of no mean order, and the problem of maintaining a large body of men in good health in the malarial forests of Mazanderan is also of paramount importance. The enervating effect of the hot and humid Caspian summer has a marked effect on the vitality of manual workers, and every care is being taken to guard this army of labourers from sickness.

Work on the Southern Line commences at Salehabad (Km. 250), to which point the line is at present in commission. The direction followed is, Bander Shahpour, Ahwaz to Salehabad (completed), thence Burujird, Sultanabad, Koom to Teheran. It is expected that rails will be laid 50 kilometres beyond Salehabad by the end of 1312 (March, 1934). The ascent to the plateau, although not so severe as on the Northern Line, will entail a rise of some 4,000 feet, and the alignment will follow the valley of the River Diz. The section Burujird to Teheran is now under survey. Three to five thousand workmen are employed on this Southern Line.

For the year 1312 (March 21, 1933 to March 20, 1934) the Majliss has voted a sum of Rials 175,000,000 (£2,200,000) for railway construction. Of this, a sum of Rls.60,000,000 (£750,000) has already been expended on the purchase of rails from Russia. Deliveries are now being made at the northern and southern ports.

Tenders have been invited for a concrete jetty at Bander Shahpour.

The railway project with its heavy drain on the country's resources is not without its critics, but at least it is providing work for 15,000 workmen who in these depressed times might otherwise be without means of subsistence.

The Monopoly Law is still with us. In principle it remains the same—*i.e.*, that imports can only enter the country against production of a certificate of the export of Persian produce, but in application it has altered considerably. The import quotas have been increased and the list of prohibited articles considerably modified, permitting of the entry of many commodities hitherto prohibited. Supporters of the law claim that it has saved the country, opponents that it has ruined trade. Arguments are generally coloured by the manner in which the law has affected the individual, but it is undoubtedly true that the measure has stimulated exports and encouraged home industries. A cotton spinning mill is now in operation at Shahi, and the finished article, although not up to the standard of Lancashire, satisfies requirements. Six other mills are in course of erection in different parts of the country, the machinery for which is of British manufacture.

Two sugar refineries, at Karaj and Kahrizak, are producing, and a contract for the erection of six others has been concluded with a Czechoslovakian firm. It is expected that two of the six will be completed by September, 1934.

A cement factory is in course of construction near Teheran, and a second one is to be placed in Khuzistan.

Apart from major industries a host of minor ones has sprung up. Champagne and scented soap are both produced in Teheran! The latter washes well.

The Russian situation is also still with us. ("Situations" are endemic.) The bureaucratic control of Russian purchases in Northern Persia enables the Russians to fix their prices as suits their mood, not always tempered by economics or equity.

This year an agreement could not be come to, and the merchants refused to have any dealings whatsoever with Soviet institutions unless better terms were offered. A stringent boycott of Russian trade followed, and the Soviet commercial institutions, being totally unemployed, were closed down and the personnel returned to Russia. Meanwhile the rice in Gilan and Mazanderan awaits a market and stomachs in the Caucasus, if report be true, await the rice. Cotton from the north would in the normal course of events have suffered the fate of the rice, but the Japanese came to the rescue. Large quantities have been bought by them and shipped by the south. It was not that they particularly desired Persian cotton, but they wanted to place their own goods in the Persian market. The Monopoly Law precluded the free import of their goods, and they overcame the difficulty by purchasing

and exporting raw cotton and importing against it. Despite the distance from the Caspian provinces to the southern ports, it is said that the cotton was exported at a profit owing to the abnormally low rates for transport that have prevailed throughout the year.

It was hoped that the visit to Persia in September of Karakhan, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, would provide an opportunity for arranging a solution to the trade deadlock. His Excellency arrived, was fêted, and returned to Russia without solving the problem.

In September a change in the Cabinet occurred. Mokhberus Saltaneh tendered his resignation as Prime Minister and the Shah appointed Foroughi to succeed him. Four members of the old Ministry were included in Foroughi's new Council. Taqizadeh, a well-known figure in Persian administrations for many years, found no place in the new Cabinet. His Highness Mohamed Ali Khan Foroughi, the new Prime Minister, has held many important posts and portfolios. He is a statesman, a scholar of repute, and a great patriot, and is held in the highest esteem alike by his countrymen and foreigners. It is fervently hoped by the mercantile community that he will employ his great powers in the task of settling the Russian trade dispute.

The widening of the thoroughfares continues, and in its train the demolition of many old landmarks. One result of the demolition of old property is its replacement by a new and characteristic type of architecture with a decided Sassanian influence and the stucco so popular some years ago has given place to fired brick decorated with panels of tile work. Some of this modern tile work is exquisite. There are two panels flanking the north gateway of the Shah's town palace that would give the blush to any of the famed tiles of Isfahan.

The summer, for Teheran, was fierce, and the temperature in July rose to 105·6, a record for thirty-five years. Fortunately there was no lack of water. The northern part of the city is now supplied from Karaj. Water is run off from the river above the village of Karaj and led through underground channels and a canal some thirty odd miles to Teheran.

Several parties climbed Demavand during August, and it is worthy of record that a lady, Mrs. Summerscales, wife of the British Consul, reached the summit.

It seems a pity that the height, estimated variously from 18,600 feet to over 20,000 feet, has never been accurately determined.

THE RISE AND FALL OF TEYMOURTACHE

Abdul Hussein Khan Teymourtache died of heart trouble on about October 3, 1933, at Tehran, in the new prison formally opened by him at the time of the abolition of the Capitulations. His rise and fall were outstanding features of the present régime in Persia, and he played a great part in the modernist and Nationalistic movement of recent years in Persia, attaining a position as Minister of Court, equal to that of the Grand Wazirs of former days.

He was of good family, owing land in Khorassan, and received a first-class education in the Military School of Petrograd. As Member of four consecutive Parliaments, his marked ability and address soon marked him out for selection as Governor and Governor-General, in which capacities his firm and resolute control of local government marked him out eventually for selection as Court Minister, when H.I.M. the Shah decided to exercise more direct control of Government through a Ministry of Court.

At that time he was regarded as Anglophobe with leanings to Russia. With the growth of the Nationalist Movement he rapidly assumed the leadership of what might be termed the Young Persia Party. His strong personality, striking presence, quick wit and resource made him an excellent medium for the execution of His Imperial Majesty's plans of reform, and his generosity and hospitality gave him a temporary popularity.

With full royal support and unquestioned authority he began to be regarded as the power behind the throne, and this led to his eventual downfall. He had Liberal and advanced ideas on education, equal rights for women, and Westernization generally, which earned him the gratitude of the younger generation. He was instrumental in founding the leading Persian Club of to-day on Western lines, and inspired the formation of numerous clubs and societies.

In 1932 he visited various European countries, and his enemies profited by his absence. Adverse reports circulated and the news of the royal reception accorded him in Russia aroused suspicion as to his personal aims. Dismissal followed shortly on his return, and inquiries instituted into his past activities terminated in his arrest. He was sentenced to refunds of about £16,000 and ten years' imprisonment on charges of bribery and corruption, and died within a few weeks of his final sentence.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN PALESTINE

Arabs and Jews

By I. CHIZIK, M.A., Ph.B.

THE awakening of Palestine marks not only a remarkable progress in its economical, industrial, and social conditions, but of equal significance is also the swift growth of political theories and parties among the Moslems, Jews, and Christians who constitute the Palestinian population. The superficial contact with the West, which existed for a long time, became effective economically and socially only after the war. The revolution in rapid communication, the new means of transportation, especially the motor-car and aircraft, helped to awaken the people of this country from their comfortable slumber. The new means of communication were followed by capital and capitalist undertakings, which opened new types of economic activity, and thus led to the rise of new social classes—namely, the middle-class merchant, the urban intelligentsia, and the city labourer.

Politically the country has, likewise, undergone a great change: it has passed from a chaotic, disorganised Ottoman administration to the control of the League of Nations through its mandatory power—Great Britain. The people of Palestine, however, do not as yet participate in the government of their country, and the present administration, which consists of a High Commissioner, the Executive Council (composed of the High Commissioner, the Chief Secretary of the Administration, the Attorney-General, and the Treasurer), and the Advisory Council (which consists of the members of the Executive Council and five other heads of departments), is practically all British. But although the inhabitants of Palestine have not a voice in the administration of the country, they exercise great freedom in the management and direction of the internal religious, social, and economic affairs of their respective communities as provided in the Palestine mandate. It is here as well as in their relations and attitude towards the Mandatory Government and the future of the country that the parties are formed, grow, and fight first to control their own community affairs and then the country as a whole. These communities are, according to their numerical

strength, the Moslem community, the Jewish community, and several Christian groups.

I will start with the Arab parties.

The Arab population of Palestine, both Mohammadan and Christian, may be divided into three main categories, which differ from each other in their manner of living, dress, and occupation.

The first category consists of the wandering nomads or semi-nomad tribes, the Beduin. They are called by the Palestine inhabitants "al-Arab." They are the descendants of the Arab people who conquered the land in the seventh century, and constitute the purest Arab stock in Palestine. The Arabic language and the Mohammadan religion, which the Arab conquerors introduced, became predominant and remained so up to the present time. Their mode of living has not changed much from that of the earlier generations. In general they resemble more the typical dark-complexioned Jews than the Moslem inhabitants of the villages and cities, who are a mixture of many races. They speak the original pure Arabic, resembling the language of the Koran, richer in noun and verb forms than the language spoken by the villagers and the city people. They dwell in tents made of goat's hair. Some, however, live in caves not far from the water.

The Palestine Beduin are divided into two classes. The Shepherds ("Maaza") who represent the majority, also cultivate the land to a certain extent, and in certain places it is hard to make a distinction between the "Maaza" Beduin and the Fellahin. The other class, the Camel Breeders ("Djammalin"), roam through the desert and return now and again, usually every spring, when the water becomes scarce. On the whole, this class, which comprises the real Beduin, with all their good and bad characteristics, is very poor, existing mainly on the milk and meat of their camels. It is for this reason they are constantly "on the go." Every tribe is true to itself, and is led by a "Sheikh" or "Amir" and the elders of the tribe.

The pure Bedu despises peasantry or any kind of work. He likewise despises the Fellah who is tied to his land and is subjected to the Government yoke. He therefore boastingly declares that the Bedu is the ruler of the land, while the Fellah is the donkey of the land. Their number is 60,000, according to the official census of 1931, which is 44,000 less than the number of Beduin estimated nine years earlier.

The great majority of the Beduin are Moslems, but are less religious than the settled Arab population. They really don't understand their religion and are ignorant of all the rules it implies. The Beduin

in general do not participate in politics and are influenced by the city leader to take any action if there is an opportunity to loot and rob.

The majority of the Arab population is made up of Fellahin—peasants and farmers who dwell in the villages and whose names are derived from their occupations.

Unlike the Beduin, the Fellahin differ from each other in their religion and race, especially in the northern part of Palestine. In every district there are about three or four different national religious groups who live in separate villages or mixed in one village. The great majority are Arabic in their language and orthodox Moslems in their religion. More than two-thirds of the inhabitants in the villages are Sunnis.

There is little resemblance between them and the Arabs of the Arabic stock. There are many views as to the origin of these Fellahin. The invading Arab tribes under the Calif Omar in the seventh century did not annihilate the agricultural inhabitants, because there were farmers among them, and their aim was in the main the spreading of Islam and the levying of taxes on the conquered people. The Arabs did not work the land themselves; they became the owners and settled mostly in the cities. The village inhabitants accepted Islam and learned Arabic. The heavy taxes were obediently paid to their new masters. Most of the present Fellahin are the descendants of these early farmers whom the Arabs found in the seventh century and converted to Islam. But who were these early farmers? Several scholars think they are descendants of the Canaanites, basing their assumption on the fact that remnants of the Canaanite cult are still observed by the Fellahin. Among these are the sacredness of graves dedicated to the memory of prophets, historical heroes, and others. Another resemblance to the Canaanites is the commercial instinct of Fellahin.

Another view is that of Mr. Ben Gurion, who thinks that a great number of the Fellahin are descendants of the Hebrews. He says:

> " The rural population that the Arab invaders found in Palestine in the seventh century was none other than the Hebrew inhabitants who remained in their land in spite of all the persecutions and oppressions of the Romans and Byzantine Cæsars. A part of them took over the Christian religion, but the majority remained faithful to the religion of their fathers, and rebelled from time to time against their Christian aggressors. After the Arabian conquest, the Arabian language and the Moslem religion spread slowly among the inhabitants. The underlying principles of the Mohammedan religion were closer to the heart of the Jewish masses than those

of Christianity. It was enough to declare that there was no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his messenger, and be accepted as a member in the Moslem community with equal and full rights."

The others, Ben Gurion says, are a mixture of the different groups who immigrated continually into Palestine. In the twelfth century there was an immigration of Persians, who were Shi'ites, into Palestine, who, likewise, settled in the northern part of the country. Their descendants are called now Metawly. The Circassians came to Palestine after the Russians had conquered the Caucasus. They number only about a thousand. Likewise, many Serbians, who are Moslems of Bosnia and Herzegovina, immigrated to Palestine (Cæsarea) after the Austrians had conquered their country in 1878.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century there was an immigration of Moslems, numbering about two thousand, into Palestine from Northern Africa and Algeria. Their country was then conquered by the Christians, and they preferred to live under the Crescent (Turkish rule) rather than under the Cross. They settled mostly in Galilee. They were called "westerners" in Palestine.

In the hot Jordan Valley may be found Sudanese pure or partly mixed with Arabian blood, who were brought there by the Egyptian, Ibrahim Pasha, who ruled Palestine in 1832-40. The Druses, who number about 7,000, inhabit the villages in Northern Galilee and around Haifa. They came to Palestine for the first time in the sixteenth century. The Druses differ from the Arab Fellah in that their skulls are short and high. They are distinguished in their religious zeal and hatred toward any government yoke. They are brave and industrious. They began to immigrate into Northern Palestine from their homeland—Syria—soon after their religion was founded, when the influence of their leader Fachr-ed-Din spread also to Northern Palestine. In Palestine, the majority of the Fellahin are Moslems, who number 512,514, while the Christian Fellahin number only 21,318 (1931 Census).

We have seen before that the invading Arabs became the owners of the land and the usurers. These landlords leased their land, usually through an agent, to the Fellahin for a rental, which varies according to the quality of the soil, of from 20 to 33 per cent. of the gross yield in kind. When the Fellah receives grain for seed also, the rent often rises to 50 per cent. of the gross income. No wonder then that the peasants are very poor and their standard of living very low!

Under such conditions the Fellah did not have much time to turn

his attention to other matters of civilization. Ignorance and poverty were, and to a certain extent still are, all bliss. This condition, however, is changing under the present circumstances, and the participation of the Fellahin in the economic and political life is increasing constantly.

To the third category belong all those who live in the cities. They are called " Madania " (madina means city in Arabic). Their occupation is urban in character—namely, commerce, crafts, and some agriculture, especially in plantations near the cities. The ruling language is Arabic, but not all those who speak Arabic are Arabs. The number of " pure " Arabs who are related to the conquering Arab families in the days of the first Califs is small. The urban population is of quite recent growth. In the beginning of the nineteenth century there were less than 80,000 people in all Palestinian cities put together. According to the Government Census of 1931, the urban Mohammadan population is 184,438 and the Christian 69,289.

The labour element (working men who subsist on their wages only) in the cities is very small, but steadily increasing. This class is composed of unskilled workers like porters, boatmen, and carriers, stone-masons, road-workers, etc. They are as yet unorganized. The great bulk of agricultural labour is more or less of a seasonal character. These are Fellahin who leave their homes and go to cities to be employed in all kinds of work to increase their meagre income. This is especially true in the plantation districts where they are employed in the Jewish plantation colonies.

An important element of the Arab population in the cities is the Effendi class, owners of large estates. They occupy themselves in some kind of business, investing their surplus money in mercantile enterprises. They are also the moneylender class and are interested in politics. The intelligentsia, composed of the liberal professionalist, lawyers, journalists, doctors, dentists, and clergy leaders, together with the officials employed by the Government, and the former officials of the Turkish Government, form the vocal group in local politics, and are the decisive element of the Palestinian Arab population. This new class, the middle-class, is growing very rapidly with the progress of industry and commerce of the country.

These three main categories of the Palestine Arabs were for centuries disunited and constantly quarrelling. This tribal feud has not yet disappeared completely.

THE ARAB PARTIES IN PALESTINE DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Struggle between the Keisites and the Yemenites

The old struggle between the northern tribes of Arabia, who were called Keisites (descendants of Kais-al-ilan), and the southern tribes, called Yemenites, was spread all over the conquered countries and was also brought into Palestine. After the Arabian conquest, the Palestine inhabitants were divided into two groups, Keisites and Yemenites, who fought each other pitilessly. These wars stopped for many generations after the Abbassid Conquests in A.D. 750, although the differences between them continued to rankle, but broke out with greater vigour in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Not only were Moslems divided to Keis and Yemen, but also the Christian Arabs and the Druse tribes in Northern Palestine and Syria. In 1711 a war broke out between the two sects of the Druses in which the Keisites emerged as the conquerors.

In Palestine the villages were divided into groups and were called after the name of one tribe, like the "sons of Hasan," the "sons of Malk"—"Harith," "Saab," and others. Usually a whole district of villages used to be either Keis or Yemen, but sometimes the inhabitants of one village followed one group and the others the other group. In the village the people were divided into large clans called "Hamula," according to blood relations. The members of one Hamula were responsible for each other. The whole Hamula must take revenge for any killed member from the killer or the killer's Hamula. In case the latter was not found, this blood feud went over from generation to generation until a settlement was reached between the two Hamula. The strongest Hamula appointed the Sheikh of the village, and his sons inherited his position after him. The relations between the Hamula were not kindly, especially when they belonged each to one of the two sects, Keis or Yemen.

One of the greatest struggles between the Keisites and the Yemenites was in the days of Mohammed Aga (also called Abu-Nabut), Governor of Jaffa (1810-1820), who, together with Haj Mustafa Abu-Ghosh, the Sheikh of the Yemenites, fought the Keisites, his enemies. Struggles of that kind occurred very frequently, and the Turkish Government was helpless. In general, the Turkish Government did not interfere in

these fights. On the contrary, the Turks themselves stirred up the Sheikhs to fight each other so that they would not revolt against the heavy taxes levied upon them.

This disorderly situation was changed to good in the days of Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mohammed Ali, the Egyptian who came to Palestine in the year 1831. He brought in order by force. The military service and the heavy taxes which were levied upon the inhabitants aroused them against this new order to which they were not accustomed. This dissatisfaction culminated in a general rebellion, known as the Rebellion of the Fellahin, in the year 1834. The rebels conquered Jerusalem, but were soon defeated by Ibrahim Pasha, and order was restored in the country. The fights between the Sheikhs recurred after the retreat of Ibrahim Pasha, but the Turkish rulers, among them Mohammed Pasha Kubrusuli (1846), who succeeded in arresting several of the leading Sheikhs and sending them away to Damascus, restored order again. And so, little by little, with the strengthening of the Turkish Government and the establishment of its prestige (especially after the Crimean War) came an end to the rule of the Sheikhs and the long struggle between the two Arab parties quieted down for a while. But the sectarian animosity did not disappear altogether. Even to-day wars between two villages (especially those which are far from the control administration) is a common phenomenon. This is a handicap to national unification and common action of the Palestine Arabs. However, the rise of nationalism in the neighbouring countries, especially in Syria, the cradle of modern Islamic nationalism, had its influence also among the Palestine Arabs. The world war, with its ideology of self-determination and freedom for the smaller nations, had its influence on the Arabian countries, including Palestine; the Arabs were, however, soon disappointed and began immediately to organize Moslem-Christian organizations to combat the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration. This revival of political action began mostly in the cities, as organized by the important leading families and the Moslem-Christian associations which sprang up after the British conquest. The great bulk of the inhabitants was as yet indifferent to the whole movement.

The organization of the Palestine Arabs was formed in February, 1921, after the Palestine Arab Congress was called in Haifa. The Congress voiced its protest against the Balfour Declaration and demanded a National Government with a Legislative Assembly. The Congress elected a permanent committee to carry out the negotiations

with the Government, both in London and in Geneva. Some of the delegates at this Congress demanded the unification of Palestine with Syria, others favoured the entrance of Palestine into an Arabian Federation. All delegates were united in the demand to abolish the Balfour Declaration, the British colonial rule, and the Mandate.

In this Congress, 1921, an executive was elected and foundations were laid for a permanent organization. A fourth Congress was held in the same year. The fifth Congress in 1922 resolved to boycott the elections to the then proposed Legislative Assembly. The following Congress in 1923 rejected the proposed Legislative Council and the Arab Agency. This non-co-operative policy, however, was unsatisfactory to many elements and the Arab executive no longer represented the great majority of Arab opinion. The Executive Committee, which was previously supported almost with unanimity, was now attacked by the Arab Press for not attaining any results in its policies. The Arab national party, with some of the leading Arabs at its head, tended towards co-operation with the Government and the acceptance of moderate counsels. The demands with regard to the outcome of Zionism were, however, not changed.

These Arab nationalists began to consider the steps to be taken to secure from the Government the establishment of a Legislative Council, whose members should be elected, not appointed either by the Government or by the leaders of organizations and factions. The trend of political thought thus has been towards co-operation with the Government, a reversal of the former attitude, which rejected the successive propositions made by the Government—a Legislative Council, an Advisory Council, and an Arab Agency parallel to the Jewish Agency provided for in the Mandate. While the method is to be co-operation with the Government, the object is the creation of a body representative in a genuine and a modern sense of the people of Palestine. Preparations were begun to convene a new Congress.

The Arab Press, therefore, occupied itself for months with a campaign in favour of convoking the Seventh Arab Congress, to be achieved only by allaying the difference of opinion prevailing between parties, families, and leading personages. The movement was at first sponsored by one of the leading families and its partisans, who had lost the influence and prestige they had possessed in the past. Their opponents refused to respond to their invitation to co-operate with them in preparation for the Congress. So long as they were leading there was no confidence that the Congress would be general and widely

representative and convened on the basis of a proper method of election of delegates.

Only after lengthy negotiations between the leaders of the factions an understanding was reached which gave the guarantee that the influence of no one faction or family would be paramount at the Congress.

Until a short time before the convening of the Congress, the negotiations took into consideration only the Moslem opponents of the old Arab Executive. The Christian section of the Arab community had been alienated by the suspicion that an active propagandist movement against it existed among the Moslems. The suspicion was strengthened by the agitation aroused among the Moslem population against the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem.

Finally all obstacles were overcome. The Seventh Arab Congress assembled in Jerusalem on June 20, 1927, and lasted two days. It was attended by Moslem as well as Christian delegates, the latter having agreed to participate on condition of receiving adequate representation in the Organizing Committee, in the Congress itself, in its Commissions, and in the Executive to be elected by the Congress.

The resolutions adopted were all protests against the policy of the mandatory power and the Zionist movement.

One-half of the Moslem members of the new Arab Executive were of the Husseini party and the other half belonged to the former opposition party. Eight of the twelve Christian members were also of the former opposition party.

At the meeting of the new Executive Musa Kazim Pasha was elected President.

The three secretaries, together with the President, are the Executive Managers of the Committee, whose functions consist in the carrying out of the resolutions of the Committee. This Executive is still existing, but its influence is waning with the rise of new parties and activities of individuals, such as the Mufti as head of the Moslem Supreme Council, which is of no less importance in the social and political life of the Palestine Arabs.

Although there was an attempt on the part of many Arab nationalists to lessen the unlimited influence of the Moslem clergy, religion is still an essential factor among the Moslem masses, and the religious heads have as much influence as the modern nationalist political leaders.

The Moslem Supreme Council was created by the British Administration in November, 1921, after a long series of negotiations and con-

ferences with the Muftis, Ulema, and other Moslem notables concerning the control of the Moslem religious courts, the administration of Moslem Waqfs and other charitable endowments, and the supervision of the educational institutions. According to the Regulations, which were approved by the High Commissioner and published in the official Gazette, December 20, 1921, the Council is composed of a President called "Rais al-Ulema" and four members, two of whom represent the district of Jerusalem and the other two represent the districts of Nablus and Acre respectively. The Rais al-Ulema, the Grand Mufti (Haj Amin al-Hussaini, who was elected in 1922), is the President of the Council. The other members are elected for a period of four years by an electoral committee. The headquarters of the Supreme Council are in Jerusalem, and its members receive salaries from the Government for their services in the Sharia Courts. They also receive allowances from Waqf funds for their work on other Moslem affairs. The duties of the Council are: (*a*) To administer and control Moslem Waqfs and approve the annual budget of the Waqfs; (*b*) to nominate, subject to the approval of the Government, and to dismiss the officials of the Moslem religious courts; (*c*) to appoint the Muftis, the Directors of Waqf, and other Waqf officials, and the subordinate officials of the Sharia Court; (*d*) to control the various Waqf committees; (*e*) to enquire into all Moslem Waqfs, and to bring to the attention of Government all claims to properties which are alleged to be Waqf.

The Moslem Supreme Council exercises a powerful influence over the Moslems of the country, especially on account of the financial resources at its disposal, one chief source of which is the tithe. In addition to the large Waqf income (about 50,000 Palestinian pounds per year), the Council collects large sums from Moslems all over the world for the restoration of the Haram as shariff in Jerusalem, and "Emergency Funds," as was the case after the 1929 riots. The Grand Mufti, being the religious head, is influential not only among the Palestinian Arabs, but also among those of the neighbouring countries. This, together with the large financial resources which are practically under his control, are sufficient reason to make any Moslem desirous to be the Mufti, or at least to be a member of the Council.

There were no friendly relations between the Mufti and his group and the Arab Executive. The Mufti carried on politics on his own account. His main activity centred round the Wailing Wall conflict which led to the August, 1929, riots. There was a strong protest against the way in which the uncontrolled Waqf funds were adminis-

tered, and an opposition to the Mufti began to take a definite and a practical form. Several of the Arab newspapers, among them *Al Carmel* and *Al Sirat*, conducted a vigorous campaign against the Mufti and his clique. Dissatisfaction arose even among the members of the Council, and Ragheb Bey Nashashibi, Mayor of Jerusalem, the head of the accounting department, joined the opposition. But the developments in Arab politics favoured the Mufti. When the collection of funds for the purpose of sending the delegation to London failed, the Mufti, as the head of the Waqf, was the only person who could provide the delegation with the needed funds. Once more he emerged the winner, and assured himself to be not only one of the delegation, but that the delegation would act according to his wish. Another move to strengthen his position in and outside Palestine was the calling of the Pan-Islamic Congress held in Jerusalem. He was elected President of this new institution and so controlled the resolutions—the most important of which was the establishment of a Moslem University at Jerusalem. The convening of the Pan-Islamic Congress awoke the opposition to the Mufti to greater activity. They realized that his strength lay in his connection with the outer Islamic world. They followed his way. They issued several proclamations—they sent congratulatory messages to 'Iraq in connection with the expiration of the Mandate there. But the main activity of the opposition still is the war against the Multi. In the political field they demand the establishment of a Legislative Council and the election of a new Moslem Supreme Council.

One of the leading oppositionists, Auni-abd-el-Hadi, organized in 1932 an Istiklal party (meaning independence) in Palestine. This party has Pan-Arabic rather than Pan-Islamic sympathies. It aims at the unification of Palestine with 'Iraq and Syria into one Arabian independent nation. The latest party organized only very recently is called " Al Aslah." The leader and the headquarters of this party are in Nablus.

The impression that one gets from these internal conflicts and criticisms is not a negative one. The strong nationalistic revival of the Palestine Arabs does not disappear in the separation which exists among the Arabs, between the Mufti and the opposition, the difference between the Moslems and the Christians, the traditional feud and quarrel betwen the Fellahin and the Beduin, and the internal conflict among the rich families. It is true that there is lack of leaders, that large masses of the people are not represented, but this will

eventually come too. Whatever the internal conflict may be, the fact is that the nationalist political movement succeeds in gathering around it great masses; this in itself is sufficient proof of the existence of a national will and a political movement. The demand for self-determination and self-government is sufficient to blur all class differences and conflicts. The Arab intelligentsia is capable of accomplishing national unity against both the British Government and the Zionist movement. An advance has been made in the participation of the Arab population in its political affairs. The people in the cities increase their participation in the municipal elections. The Fellah, too, is beginning to "talk politics." The people in the villages, although largely illiterate, have yet the shiekh, the teacher, or somebody else who reads aloud the newspapers, and for the printed word they have a great respect. The communists, too, are propagating actively among these people, and the village dunghill is no more a place for dreamy discussions about heroes, pilgrims, or other legends. It is now a place where "politics" are discussed.

Moreover, the Fellahin are trying to organize themselves by themselves on both the northern and southern parts of the land. Contact with Jewish colonization has awakened them to realize their own condition, and to demand its improvement. The obedience of the Fellahin to their Effendis is not as it used to be. The conferences of the "agricultural party" in Acre and of the southern farmers at Ajur near Hebron in April, 1930, are only the beginning of this organization. The great mass of Arabs do not grasp fully the meaning of "politics" nor even nationalism in the Western sense of the word, but they sense and feel it and will soon also understand it. The active participation of the actual majority of the Palestine Arabs in Palestinian affairs may be a great help in improving Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine.

Arab women too are now beginning to participate in the political movement. On October 26, 1929, a Congress of the Palestine Arab women, mostly Christian, was organized in Jerusalem. This movement does not embrace as yet within its ranks the masses of Arab women. It is fostered by individuals. But the participation of the Arab women for the first time in this country is in itself sufficient evidence of the awakening of public opinion among the Palestine Arabs. The Arab workers' organizations are also advancing very fast. The railroad workers are organized together with the Jewish workers. In the cities they are fighting against exploitation and are

demanding an eight-hour work-day. The first strikes in Haifa and Jaffa occurred in October, 1926. The strikes (which lasted twelve days) ended after the owners agreed on a nine hours' work-day instead of twelve to fourteen hours. Another successful strike was that of automobile drivers against the Government tax on petrol. Their organization is, however, greatly impaired by the destructive activities of the Palestine communists. It is not hard then to arrive at the conclusion that Palestinian Arab nationalism is awakening, more especially among the youth and their political parties, and that these will gradually become modern in form and character.

THE JEWISH POLITICAL PARTIES IN PALESTINE

With Special Reference to the Jewish Elected Assembly

The Jewish parties in Palestine are only parts of larger parties in the Zionist movement throughout the world. The theoretical ideologies of most of these parties was formed outside Palestine, and the differences and divisions between them—until recent years—were very vague and imperfect. The main idea of all those who became Zionists was the establishing of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, the revival of the Jewish people; in this all parties were and are united. But all the actual problems which arise of such an undertaking were strange and unreal to them as long as they remained outside Palestine. It was a different thing altogether to those who came to Palestine and were faced with the task of actually building up the revived National Home. Here differences occurred and reoccurred with the beginning of the constructive period which followed the Great War. The conflicting interests in the community became more acute, and class and party distinctions began to be strongly emphasized. These competing programmes, however, were and are a sign of the many efforts to interpret the revived national sense, the national will to live. Before beginning to state the programmes and the differences between these parties, I shall give a short history of the growth of the Jewish community in Palestine, the so-called "Yeshub," with whom we are mainly concerned in this lecture.

Although belonging to one race and religion and united with one hope and ideal, Palestine Jewry represents a conglomeration of people from all over the world. It is the different background, habits, manners,

dress, language, and general outlook on life of these people which characterizes this group, the Palestine Jewry of to-day.

The Palestine Jews are divided into two main categories—namely, (*a*) *Ashkenazim*, and (*b*) *Sephardim* and Oriental Jews. The Sephardic Jews came to Palestine through Turkey after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. They speak the " Ladino " language, which is a form of old Spanish with many Arabic and Hebrew words. They took over the native dress of the Arabs and adapted themselves to their manners and way of living. To them we may add Moroccan Jews who came from North Africa and whose language is true Arabic with a Berberic pronunciation, and those Jews who came to Palestine from Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Kurdistan, Caucasus, Bukhara, and who speak their respective languages.

The second category, the Ashkenazim, are those Jews who came to Palestine from Eastern, Central, and Western Europe, and since the Balfour Declaration also from North and South America, South Africa, and Australia. Most of those who came after the war were Zionist youths who had the moral and financial support of world Jewry to renew their national life and aspirations. The latter category is increasing rapidly, in view of that constant influx of new immigrants from Eastern and Western Europe as well as from the U.S.A.

According to the official census of 1931, the Jews in Palestine numbered 175,000, or about 17 per cent. This number is, however, not correct, because the census was boycotted by one of the leading political parties, the Revisionists. Taking this, as well as the new influx of immigrants since the census, into consideration, we are safe at estimating the present Jewish population at about 200,000. About 46,500, or 25 per cent., of the above number live in agricultural settlements, thus forming the highest proportion of rural population known in any Jewish community in the world. This justifies the Zionist claim that the Palestine settlement will regenerate the economic and social structure of the Jews by creating a sound rural basis which they lack elsewhere.

Both the rural colonies and the urban settlements were from the very beginning independent, self-governing bodies. In addition to the civic functions of education and health which were left completely to their control, these settlements which were left to wrestle with the uncultivated, rude soil unaided by the Government had also to manage many other problems like those of lighting, cleaning, water supply, public security, the levying and collection of taxes, and the carrying

on of negotiations with the Local and Central Government in London and the League of Nations at Geneva. Old customs and old rules had to be readjusted; new formulas and principles had to be worked out. In short, the conditions were favourable to the advancement of the community idea. " The Jews had to look after themselves; they were thereby given an opportunity to show of what achievement they were capable in shaping the conditions of their existence. It was as if the conception of a Jewish state survived its impact with the reality of Palestine, as of an already populated country controlled by a foreign power. There was an element of statehood, unacknowledged but real, that entered into every Jewish settlement. This consciousness of oneness pervaded these colonies even when they could be counted on the fingers of two hands."

Thus the first attempt to reorganize Palestine Jewry was made at the Zichron Jacob Conference in 1903 under the initiative of M. M. Ussishkin, who is at present the head of the Jewish National Fund, and who headed the list of the " General Zionist Party " at the last elections to the Elected Assembly. Another attempt was made in 1917 at a conference in Tel-Aviv. That time the southern half of Palestine was already occupied by the British forces, and there was an imperative need for an authoritative body to represent the Jewish community. In this conference all local communities and organizations of the occupied area were represented and participated. But it was only three years later that the first democratic elections to the Asefat Ha-Nivharim (Elected Assembly) took place. The Elected Assembly met in Jerusalem on October, 1920, representing the whole adult Jewish population of both sexes, except the considerable small fraction of the ultra-orthodox non-Zionist group, the Agudath-Israel. In this Assembly the General Council (" Vaad Leumi ") was elected and re-elected twice at subsequent sessions of the Assembly. This body represented Palestine Jewry before the Government, the Zionist institution, and settled internal matters, but until 1926 the communal organization was not as yet legalized, and the General Council had to busy itself in this task. In 1922 the Assembly prepared the statute and presented it to the Government. Negotiations with the Government resulted in the issuance of the community ordinance in 1926.

After all these problems were settled the preparations for the elections to the " Elected Assembly " of the organized Jewish community were executed; the elections took place on January 5, 1931.

The internal and external condition and situations, both economic

and political, that had developed in Palestine since the last elections to the Assembly in 1926 created unrest, dissatisfaction with the Zionist leadership, and desire for "revision" of the methods implied on the part of many groups. Disorganization and disunity began to prevail. The intrigues between the parties and the leaders created a state of anarchy, making it harder to face the problems which were daily becoming more complicated.

This Sephardic group, which felt that it was not represented rightly and that its interests were neglected, demanded in the beginning a number of seats in the Assembly regardless of the number of votes cast. They were granted 15 seats out of the total 71 seats. There were three lists of candidates representing the Sephardim: that of the "general Sephardim" was the first; the second group sympathized with the labour movement; the third was revisionistically inclined. The Yemenites were also granted 3 seats at the beginning. They did not have different factions, but instead there was a race between candidates. The Yemenites had made an agreement with the Labour Party already at the very beginning to side with them in all economic and political questions; religious matters were not included in the agreement.

The farmers, mostly the orange and vine growers, insisted also on a disproportional quota of representation for their own class, basing their demand on the economic weight and importance of their class. This demand was not fulfilled, but instead an agreement was made granting them 3 seats among 23 seats of the General Council, regardless of what their representation would be in the Assembly. All groups of the Left and Centre agreed to this compromise, even though it meant a "sacrifice" on their part, since it was clear that the farmers would not be entitled to 3 seats in the Council. The Revisionists, who hoped to win the election *en masse*, objected to this compromise because "they could not make any promises before the results of the elections were known." It was clear from their objection that they wanted the farmers to agree to their political programme. The farmers refused, and their list did not appear. With the granting of 18 seats to the Oriental groups (15 to the Sephardim and 3 to the Yemenites) there were left 53 seats to be fought out between the Ten Lists representing the Ashkenazic category, which is (as we have seen) seventy-one per cent. of the Jewish population. These lists were as follows: on the left was the Labour Party—the Left Poalezion.* The Left Poalezion

* The Left Poalezion are followers of the Marxist Poalezionistic programme. According to this programme, Poalezionism does not aim at establishing a Jewish

list of the name of Borochov. The Shomer Hazair and the Proletariat (Communist) list. The last four were minor labour factions that chose to be independent politically, in opposition to the main (labour) body. The " Bourgeoisie " was also divided into five groups—namely, the Revisionists on the extreme right, the General Zionists, the Mizrohi (orthodox Zionist Party) and the Mizrachi workers, the women's organization, and the Baalei melacha (the Traders).

It was clear from the beginning that the " fight " would rage especially between the Revisionist faction, which rose with the wave of Zionist disillusionment, and the general Labour Party. What was then the programme offered by each of these two parties to the voters? Time allows me to deal only with the background and programmes of the four largest parties. Chronologically the labour movement was the first to be organized on actual party lines with a definite aim and programme. I shall consider them first.

The Labour Party

It will take too long to relate the evolution of social Zionism in the Diaspora. In short, to the Jewish worker socialism served a double purpose. He saw in socialism a solution to two " abnormal " conditions with which he was confronted: that of his own people and that of the capitalistic system in general. The Jewish worker joined the socialist labour movement of all countries and people in declaring a war which aims to liquidate the capitalistic system, and create in its stead the socialist society. The Jewish socialist did that for the sake of socialism as such, independent of his particular abnormal Jewish position. But while some of them believed, and many still believe, that the Jewish problem will be solved with the establishment of socialism others failed to see a solution of their particular problem as Jews in a socialistic world society, as long as the Jews remained homeless; or, as one of their leaders, B. Locker, puts it: " If the content of socialism is the full development of all creative abilities of all parts of humanity, then it is incomplete as long as the Jewish nation alone remain homeless." Their class consciousness and national consciousness were synthesized. They became Zionist because in Zionism they found an opportunity

State, but at securing a Jewish territorial workers' centre, which can, and must, be achieved through the class struggle of the proletariate of the capitalist order. Any participation on the part of workers with any capitalistic groups, Zionist or non-Zionist, is a betrayal of the workers' cause.

to progress and create as all the other nations. They thought, however, and still think that socialism is the way to the realization of Zionism, and that "Zionism is the direct road towards the rule of socialism in Jewish life."

Thus they turned eastward toward Zion, toward Palestine. Here they found an open field in which to develop their socialistic and nationalistic ideals. Here they could strive once more to reconstruct the new society based upon the foundation of labour and equality, where "there should be no room for people who bask in luxury side by side with those who perish in starvation." They longed to live once more a natural, healthy life, a life of work and creation on their own soil—work which would transfer the masses from unproductive professions in the city to productive toil in the fields; work which would renew man and society. The return to nature and creative work became the elixir of life to the socialistically-minded Jewish youth.

These ideals are best expressed in the teachings of the Labour philosopher, A. D. Gordon. He (although not regarding himself as a socialist), as most of the Palestine socialist leaders of that time, stressed labour, and especially agricultural labour, as the only means through which the individual and the nation can reach its perfection. "... Work in all forms, but above all and more than all, work in the fields; elimination of all exploitation of the labour of others, agricultural life on a co-operative basis." This means a complete change in the life of this transplanted group—a new way for earning a livelihood, a new way of life. For such a revolutionary change in the new social structure there are needed fanatics, as Gordon terms them; fanatics who will undertake to realize the great human ideal in their own land, where they will live according to standards set by themselves and worked out by their own efforts. These fanatics were found. The immigration of these youths began in 1898, and was greatly increased after the World War.

But strange as it may seem, they found a scoffing irony and cynicism on their arrival. The early settlers, who used cheap labour in their plantations and fields, laughed at their earnest desire to become workers. The youths were unwelcomed and unguided in their indescribable hardships. They were forced to tramp from one colony to another for a week's or even a day's work. However, none of all the plagues of Egypt that confronted them could weaken their enthusiasm and their determination to build up a community of free men on free soil. Indeed, it was that period of fiery zeal with its beauty and

force that drew the tens of thousands of Chalutzim (pioneers) to Palestine after the war. They, together with the earlier enthusiasts, comprise the labour movement of to-day, the backbone of Palestine and of Zionism.

These early workers were, however, divided into two groups, one more socialistic than the other. But the new impetus that was given to the Zionist movement after the war caused these two groups to unite.

The leaders felt the responsibility of their task and realized that unless they organized into one strong body they would be unable to absorb the tens of thousands of pioneers who were awaiting their signal throughout the world. In order to receive this vast wave of immigration there would be necessary not only sound financial resources in the form of a national fund and a national property, but also a will, a spirit, an understanding of mutual relationships. The new settlers would need guidance in orienting themselves to new work, a new climate, a new language—an entirely new culture. This great task could be accomplished only by the worker. On him depended the foresight and the planning. With the new immigration, cities would grow and new industries would spring up. Telegraph, electricity, roads, and railroads would develop. For these and similar undertakings an army of workers would be needed; to protect their interests, oversee their agricultural settlements and encourage cultural and hygienic advancement a strong united working movement was a vital necessity.

The leaders grasped the situation immediately and set to work on their problems. They called a conference and thus the " Federation of Jewish Labour " was created in December, 1920, with 4,433 members. In 1932 there were 34,000 members in the F.J.L., who, together with their wives and children, constitute about one-third of the Jewish population in Palestine.

The strength and pride of this organization lies not only in the number of members, but in the series of economic, political, medical, and educational institutions which were created by these members and which are admired by everybody in and out of Palestine.

One of the earliest and most important institutions is the Workers' Sick Fund (" Kupath Holim "), which maintains hospitals, clinics, dispensaries, convalescent homes, and scores of physicians and nurses.

The educational institutions (" Vaadat-Hatarbuth ") are of major importance to the Working movement in Palestine. They provide the adult workers with educational and cultural food, but they are especially important in relation to the younger generation, the workers of to-

morrow. Strong emphasis is laid on the nursery, especially in the villages and co-operative settlements. The labour movement has a dramatic society, a daily newspaper and other periodicals of its own. Sports too are not neglected. They are under the supervision of the workers' sport club, Hapoel.

The co-operative wholesale and retail society called "Hamashbir" (the Provider) was organized in 1916 as a protest against the high cost of living and the hunger cry of the workers during the war. With an original capital of £60, it supplies to-day the workers with goods and commodities and sells the produce grown in the workers' settlements, with a yearly turnover of £130,000 to £200,000. This society, intending in the beginning to provide grain for the workers, is now a sound and powerful economic institution. Their chain of stores all over the country renders great service to the population as a whole.

The Bank Hapoalim (Workmen's Bank) is another financial institution which expresses the creative spirit of the labour movement.

The Loan and Saving Fund was founded in August, 1925, in Tel-Aviv with the help of the Workers' Bank. Its purpose was to help the members in case of emergency or unemployment. This fund is organized in all the cities and settlements. The workers' insurance company, *Hasneh*, was founded in December, 1927, as well as other important institutions. The products of the workers' settlements are sold through a special co-operative marketing association called Tnuvah (the produce). It is this background of a compact economic organization which gives the G.F.J.L. its present degree of united strength. The socialization of the national possessions is thus realized, not through a mere political action in the legislative bodies, but through a direct activity by the workers' movement.

Jewish Labour Policy

There are two driving forces within this labour movement, the social and national impulses, the fulfilment of Zionism on a socialist basis. In the first place, they insist that a large and steady immigration into Palestine, in the interests of the development of the National Home, is a primary condition for the realization of Zionism. "Immigration enlarges the scope of labour, raises the economic and cultural standards, introduces national and private capital, and facilitates the reconciliation of economic and cultural values which is of such great importance to the country and to the population as a whole." In the matter of colonization, the G.F.J.L. advocates the nationalization of

the land, a national fund for the establishment of settlements, self-work and no exploitation of hired labour, and freedom of the settler to choose the form of colonization, whether on a private or co-operative basis. The labour movement does not believe in class struggle for its own sake, but they are determined to protect the worker's interests and his right to work and live in Palestine. They are not against private capital as such; they accept the practices of private business enterprise. "As long as there is private capital in the world," they say, "it will also exist in Palestine." Moreover, they see a blessing in capital so long as it provides an opportunity for Jewish labour and Jewish immigration. They are against and will fight "that capital which will exclude Jewish labour and deny it proper working conditions." They believe that Palestine must become a co-operative commonwealth in which the great public utilities are publicly owned and the rest of industry and business is managed by producers' and consumers' co-operatives.

In its relationship with the Palestinian Government the demands of the labour organization are numerous. They can be summarized as the following: Active assistance in increasing Jewish immigration; adequate allocation of uncultivated State lands for close settlement; tariff reform; lightening of fiscal encumbrance on settlers during the initial period; allocation of a proper share of employment on Government and municipal works to Jewish labour; assistance in securing wide markets for agricultural and industrial products; legal protection of labour with special reference to women and children; proper factory inspection and care of workers' health; inclusion of a fair wage clause in all Government and municipal contracts raising the wage standard in public works; governmental assistance to the Arab peasant for the improvement of his farming; extension of the system of elementary education in all parts of the country—in short, material assistance for a speedy increase of the Jewish population by immigration and settlement and for a steady raising of the standard of life of the Arab masses. By labouring to raise the standard of living of the Arab workers and the preventing of cheap labour, they are transferring the standard of the Western labouring classes to the East, and improving the condition of the masses as a whole.

In regard to the Arab problem, the G.F.J.L. considers the Arab population "as an integral element" of Palestine. The General Federation of Jewish Labour has always been friendly towards the Arab worker as a "compatriot and fellow-worker." It follows that the Jew

must help him to improve their working conditions, increase his wages, and admit him into membership. For this purpose a newspaper, *Etahad el Amal* (Workers' Unity) was published by the Federation in Arabic. In spite of all the recent political complications, friendly relations have been established with the workers. They have been aided in forming unions and clubs, especially among the railway and postal workers. The Arab receives medical care from the workers' sick fund, and is free to attend the numerous public schools. This policy of close relationship and conciliation with the Arab masses is of vital importance in bringing the two races to a mutual understanding.

The G.F.J.L. holds the opinion that self-government should be developed gradually, in agreement with the articles of the Mandate of the Balfour Declaration. Autonomy should take place first in the towns and villages. Every community should have the right to conduct its internal matters, educational and cultural.

The General Zionist

Talking about the General Zionists, it is necessary, in my opinion, to disassociate the Palestine General Zionist Party from its parent party outside of Palestine. While many General Zionists who are not in Palestine can proclaim that they are " socialists in their general political outlook, and are anxious to apply socialistic principles in the realization of Zionism," many of them adopt a different attitude altogether when they come to the country. The general Zionism of the Diaspora stands for the principle of Jewish labour in Palestine, and considers any departure from this principle as treachery to the ideals of the Zionist movement. Yet in Palestine many of them concentrate on personal profit making, even if this means a virtual boycott of Jewish labour. In fact, some of these General Zionists have made the struggle against the Jewish workers a part of their general Zionist programme. " The General Zionist Party desires officially the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home under all conditions, and in all circumstances of economic, social, and political vicissitudes," but the economic interests of the individuals who make up this party are somehow not in complete conformity with the fundamental ideal of Zionism. Although they do not oppose the national colonization work of the workers and the national funds, they prefer private Jewish enterprise and the middle-class immigrant. They demand the colonization of the middle-class families instead of the collective colonization of workers. The

pioneer movement, they say, must not be, from an ideological point of view, political.

In general, there is no definite programme that can be identified with this party. They stand for the rebuilding of Palestine in the fullest and quickest possible way. This, they say, should be the ultimate aim of every Zionist, who should not, at the present stage, affiliate himself to any particular party. It embraces such a varied element—with different social and economic interests—that we can justly say that they are all those who do not belong to the Labour, Revisionist, or Mizrachi parties. I think, however, that this party will soon be organized on definite lines. It will oust all those who are doubtful, and it will be the centre party with an economic and social programme similar to that of all other centre parties in Europe. The members of this party consist of the merchants, the orange growers, and a number of the free professionalists and educators. The gulf between these general Zionists in Palestine and the general Zionist outside Palestine, especially those of England, Germany, and the U.S.A., is rapidly widening and they must soon separate into two parties—Group " B " as distinguished from Group " A," the general Zionist outside Palestine.

The Zionist Revisionist Party

The Revisionist Party is the youngest among the different Zionist factions, and is inseparably linked with the name of Vladmir Jabotinsky, the father of this party. Without him the party could not exist. Revisionism is a faith in a man, in a leader and his ideals; Revisionism and Jabotinsky are, therefore, inseparable. The party was first organized in 1923. In the beginning the movement of Revisionist was only political in character—a "back to Herzilian Zionism" movement. But when the number of Revisionist followers increased, and the movement was criticized as childish and as having no constructive programme whatsoever, the leaders began to formulate their political, economical, and social programmes as the basic principles of Revisionism. This progress was adopted at the Fourth World Revisionist Conference at Prague, August, 1930.

In Palestine proper the Revisionists found at first but a few followers, members of the professional class, young doctors, lawyers, engineers, and " unsatisfied leaders " in general. But the strange situation in Palestine soon proved to be favourable to the quick development of this young movement.

The main protest and opposition raised by Vladmir Jabotinsky, who,

like other fascist leaders, is an ex-army officer, and his followers was against what they termed the "Achad Haamist" policies of the Zionist leaders, who not only disbelieve in the possibilities of creating a "Judenstaat" to a certain measure, but are even hostile to the ideals of political Zionism. The Revisionists considered and still consider themselves followers of Herzelian Zionism, the object of which is to create "a self-governed Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine." This political independence of the Jewish people, they claim, was the object of Herzel's Zionism, and was formulated at the First Zionist Congress, but was ignored by the Zionist leaders, the so-called "Achad Haamist" people, who adopted a policy of "keeping silent about the sole aim of the Zionist movement, which is the creation of a Jewish majority in Palestine west and east of Jordan."

Moreover they thought the whole system of colonization and immigration as carried out by the Zionist organization was unsound and needed revision; such criticism could not be offered without at least attempting to formulate what reforms were necessary and what measures should be taken, so that the Revised Zionist policy be realized. This they did. The basic principles of the Revisionist Party as adopted in the four Revisionist World Conferences (April, 1925; December, 1926; December, 1928; and August, 1930) can be summarized as follows:

The aim of Zionism is "the gradual transformation of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth—that is, into a self-governing Commonwealth under the auspices of an established Jewish majority on both sides of the Jordan." This, they claim, is the only possible interpretation of the term "National Home," the Basle Programme, the Balfour Declaration, and the Mandate, and is the only "unalterable Zionist objective." In order that this majority principle be carried out, there is an urgent need to transfer speedily to Palestine the Jewish masses. The Jewish majority in Palestine should be reached within twenty-five years by an average annual immigration of 40,000, and if Transjordania is to be included, the number of new settlers must be between 50,000 and 60,000 per year. Such a systematic mass immigration is imperative if there is ever to be a Jewish majority in Palestine. The Revisionists, point out the Arabs, because they are a polygamist and a primitive race, will, under the constant improvement of the sanitary conditions of the land, within a period of twenty-five years increase to about 1,200,000.

In the economic field they say that a basic reform of the economic

structure of the country is possible only when fundamental changes in the political situation are carried through. A mass colonization will be possible only when the Government establishes a colonization régime, " which shall be charged with the positive task of creating the conditions necessary for a Jewish mass colonization," or, as Jabotinsky puts it, " The creation of a majority is a State enterprise; mass immigration is essentially a State business."

Three main steps are to be taken by such a colonization régime. The first in this direction should be the opening up of the country east of the Jordan. " Transjordania is an inseparable part of the territory of Palestine, and, similarly to other parts of the Jewish commonwealth, is to be included in the sphere of Jewish colonization. All the provisions of the Mandate must be extended so as to apply also without exception to Transjordania."

The second step is a " Land Act," an agrarian reform applying to both shores of the Jordan. The present system of colonization which is based on buying land from private owners for unheard-of high prices is ridiculous and unpractical. The problem of colonization cannot be solved by granting Jews leases of the so-called " State Lands," because these " State Lands " are insignificant. Therefore the Revisionists' programme demands the transfer of all waste lands to the State (under a scheme including reasonable indemnity to their present owners) and the creation of land reserve for agricultural settlement.

To facilitate the urban colonization a basic tariff and tax reform is essential. This reform must be in accordance with the requirements of production in the country and with the object of facilitating in every way the economic absorption of the new settlers.

A third step in their suggested reform plan is the launching of a National Loan. " An official guaranteed Jewish National Loan shall be issued on the security of the Land Reserve Fund."* The present system of colonization carried out by the Zionist organization, based on the principle of a Palestine budget raised by the two institutions Keren Hayesod and Keren Hakayemith, is insufficent and inadequate, and seems to the Revisionists to be the " origin and source of all the ills of Zionist colonization." This budget institution has demoralized the settlers, restricted the scope of colonization to the utmost, absolved the Palestine Government from the natural duty of supporting schools and hospitals, enslaved the Zionist organization and turned it into a money-collecting machine. The Palestine Budget must be, therefore, abolished

* *Basic Principles of Revisionism*, p. 6 (*e*).

and a "Jewish colonial trust (with a capital of $2,000,000) must become the main instrument for the entire colonizing work of the Zionist organization."* "The colonization" (both agricultural and urban) "must proceed on the basis *of private initiative and credit.* The Zionist organization shall not engage in direct colonization, but only assist private initiative."†

This last demand of the Revisionists is a complete contrast with the Zionist policy, and especially with that of the Labour Party. This is one of the main conflicts between these two groups. The money of the Keren Hayesod should be employed solely in the creation of permanent values (buildings, etc.) and for the creation of a credit guarantee fund providing Palestine and world capital with security for private credit.

The Keren Hakayemith, the Jewish National Fund, shall "unify all land purchase." Jews should acquire land in Palestine exclusively through the office of the J.N.F., but the land purchase in general shall proceed mainly by way of private initiative, private property, and credits.‡ The J.N.F. may buy new lands, but only under "certain limits." This newly acquired land as well as the old land already in its possession must serve completely as mortgages. The main resources of the J.N.F. must be utilized in exploiting the water reserves of Palestine, in preparation of the soil, and in granting workers without means about 40 per cent. of the amount necessary for the occupation of a farm as independent settlers.¶

In general, the Revisionists restrict and limit the colonization activities of the Zionist organization. No more shall it guide and direct the colonization work. Its influence must be abolished. Its main activities will be those of informing and training the new immigrants, preparing the soil, and erecting cheap buildings, and its money shall go into the Agricultural Bank and a credit guarantee fund. The colonization must be on the basis of private initiative and credit. "The small owner of real estate is the best colonizing material and the surest foundation of the Jewish Commonwealth."||

* *Ibid.*, p. 10 (*c*). † *Ibid.*, p. 18. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¶ *Basic Principles of Revisionism*, p. 22.

|| These limitations of the activities of the Jewish National Fund are a challenge to the most beloved Zionist institution. By making the J.N.F. a mere agency through which individuals buy land, they abolish the significance of the most important feature of the fund, mainly the securing of the land as the perpetual property of the Jewish people as a whole, in whom the supreme sovereignty over the land is vested.

In the field of education and health the Revisionists demand that the Jewish educational medical and sanitary institutions should become State institutions, the maintenance of which is the duty of the State and respective municipalities. Moreover, the educational programme of the Zionist schools is not nationalistic enough, and is inadequate from the point of view of the tasks of the national renaissance and the present conditions of the country. More attention should be given to the physical and militaristic education of the young generation. The Revisionist programme calls also for a revision of the Hebrew spelling and punctuation for use in secular literature, the composition and publication of textbooks and manuals " in accordance with the revised educational programme."

In the social problem the Revisionists oppose any class struggle. To them the main purpose is the establishing of a Jewish Home, a Jewish State, whatever its social form might be. They, too, are striving for " a better social form," but the primary thing is that " the land should be ours " without any conditions. The Revisionists are first of all Zionists, who strive to become a normal people. They view Palestine as they would any other nation. They do not consider themselves as carriers of a certain mission—especially not the socialistic mission. " If Palestine must become capitalistic like the rest of the world, it is not a hindrance in my fight for a Jewish State." Under such conditions there is no place for personal or group interests; they must be subordinated to the interests of the State.

The Revisionist considers the existence of the Labour Party in Palestine as an abnormal phenomenon which through its " reactionary political policy " demoralizes the whole Zionist movement. They, therefore, strive to replace the class struggle idea with the ultimate idea of the State. In the problem of defence the Revisionist demands that " the Jewish Regiment which existed in 1917-1921 shall be re-established as an integral and permanent part of the Palestine Garrison." The police force, they say, even after its reorganization is incapable of protecting the Jewish settlements and neighbourhoods from concerted mass attacks. The only instrument capable of suppressing these attacks is a military garrison.

The Palestine garrison (and it is evident that Palestine cannot remain without a permanent military garrison) should be a British garrison, some of the units of which should consist of Jews, not recruited exclusively in Palestine, as was the case during the war and the immediate post-war period (the Judean Battalions, 38th, 39th, and 40th Royal

Fusiliers). Palestine must not be protected solely by British youths. The pioneers must protect themselves with their own people, and not with those of a different race. The largest share of the expenditure of such a garrison, of course, must be provided by the Palestine Treasury. The remainder will be borne by the Zionist Jewry, which is ready and desirous of making every effort necessary to secure the safety of the Jewish population in Palestine. In the reorganization of the police the Revisionists demand that Jewish policemen only be stationed in Jewish settlements and in neighbourhoods having a mixed Jewish population. The Jewish policemen should be treated and trained as separate units, with due regard to the Hebrew language and Jewish holidays.

The Revisionists reject any proposals for the establishment of self-governing institutions for Palestine as long as the Jews are not in the majority.

"The establishment of representative institutions in Palestine is admissible only on condition that, from the first moment of their existence, a Jewish majority is guaranteed in the composition of these institutions on a proportion corresponding to the numerical ratio of the colonizing nation to the population at the time."*

Their main objection to this is based on the conviction that any such an assembly with a great Arab majority will consequently become a powerful instrument which will obstruct the progress of the Jewish National Home through its legislative powers by limiting the immigration and settlement. The Revisionist, therefore, demands that for the time being the British Government and its representatives in Palestine should retain the complete power of legislation and administration.

In connection with the Arab problem, the Revisionists are convinced that their colonization programme with its Land Reserve principle, the object of which is to make possible a Jewish majority and benefit the labouring Arab masses, can be attained peacefully without the displacement of the Arab population. However, the political aspirations of the Jewish people do not coincide with those of the Arab national movement.

"The Arab imperialism and egotism, which endeavours to hold as much territory as possible without being able to develop it, should be exposed and opposed."

The attitude in connection with an attempt made on the negotiations for a Jewish-Arab round-table conference is one of complete opposition.

* *Ibid.*, p. 7 (*b*).

In short, the Revisionists are against any negotiations with the Arabs as long as the latter do not recognize the Balfour Declaration.

With the British Government the Revisionists seek a "sympathetic understanding." They are sure that the British people were not told the entire truth about the Zionist aim, mainly the attainment of a Jewish majority on both sides of the Jordan, which will politically be of great assistance to the British interests in the East.

The British Government must co-operate actively and systematically by means of adequate legislative and administrative measures. In case the British should fail or prove unwilling to fulfil this requirement laid down in the Mandate, it will thereby lose its formal and moral right to the mandate over Palestine.

The Revisionist attitude to the enlarged Jewish Agency was a negative one from the very beginning, especially because they held the Zionist organization to have transferred its sovereign rights to the control of the people who openly and straightforwardly stated that they were neither Zionists nor Jewish Nationalists. It endangers the Mandate, and it is not a democratic organization, because the political ideals of Zionism cannot be protected by people who do not believe in them. The original attitude has not been changed, especially after the Jewish Agency "had failed to introduce new methods and ideas or political and financial forces into the movement." The Revisionists continue their fight to restore the sovereignty of the Zionist Congress as the sole bearer of the Jewish Agency function. Last year, however, this party was divided into two factions. Those who separated from the main body did so because they oppose the Dictatorship of Mr. Jabotinsky. They call themselves the "Jewish State Party."

The Mizrachi (Orthodox Zionist) Party

The Mizrachi (which is an abbreviation of the words Mercaz Ruch'ni—Intellectual Centre) is a religious national organization officially organized in 1902 at Vilna under the leadership of Rabbi Reines, shortly after the Fifth Zionist Congress.

The practical and effective programme of the national movement which found its expression in political Zionism appealed greatly to many religious leaders, who had long realized that "in the lands of exile it is impossible for the soul of the nation, which is the sacred Torah, to retain its virility and for the commandments to be properly observed in all their purity" and that only Zion was "the one environ-

ment open to Israel's needs." Teachings of this kind by prominent religious leaders since the twelfth century helped immensely to create a widespread movement among the pious Jews for the upbuilding of Palestine and thus solving the problem of the "national survival in these as well as in future days." No wonder, then, that the "Chovevei Zion" (lovers of Zion), the forerunners of Zionism, and later the Zionist movement found among its followers many of the most celebrated Rabbis and religious leaders of the day. But as soon as they grew aware that "the irreligious ones were acquiring an undue importance . . . and were managing the affairs of the movement in a manner to suit themselves without giving a thought to traditional Judaism and its needs, which they considered to be the basis of Zionism," they demanded from the Zionist movement a statement of its stand with regard to the religious question. Their main objection was against including educational work in the Zionist programme, since they realized that they would never consent to the new form of education and that the cultural work would only serve to "estrange the orthodox element." The official reply on their first demand that Zionism stands only on a national basis, and that the question of faith is purely a personal matter, satisfied them. But when the Fifth Congress adopted or rather included education in the general programme of Zionism, this traditional element organized itself into a separate faction within the general movement. The regulations of the movement maintained in general the Zionist principles, with special emphasis on Mizrachi cultural tendencies. Zionism was to them not only the return to Palestine, but the return to Judaism, the revival of the Hebrew language, the Jewish Sabbath and the Jewish law, the Torah, which is an integral part of the Jewish nation, the *raison d'être* of all Jewish existence. Their slogan became now "Eretz Israel for Israel in accordance with the law of Israel." The programme in its present form is as follows: "The Mizrachi is a Zionist, national, religious federation, striving to build a national home of the Jewish people in Palestine in accordance with the written and traditional law."

The work of the Mizrachi in Palestine, beside the organization and propaganda work, includes mainly the following: religion, education, immigration, colonization, and labour. In the political field they co-operate in almost every question with the Revisionists, and together with them they form the extreme right of the Zionist parties.

The Elected Assembly

Out of the 90,000 people registered in the book with the right to vote, 48,500 participated. Polling was held in as many as 111 centres. In spite of the fact that the arrangements in regard to the distribution of voting cards was not as well managed and many citizens were deprived of their right to vote, the majority cast their ballots. The Labour Party polled over 22,543 votes, or some 47 per cent. of the total, thus granting them 31 seats in the Elected Assembly.

The Revisionists came out second with 10,066 votes and with 15 seats in the Assembly. The Centre (General Zionists, Mizrachi, Sephardim, and women's organization) had 18 representatives.

This session "is sure to be remembered for the divergence between its sensational elements. For it is not the outwardly dramatic developments culminating in the walking out of the Revisionist faction that will assure this Assembly its place in the history of Palestine Jewry, but the solid, howbeit unobtrusive, piece of work which it did towards cementing the foundations of communal autonomy and filling its framework with live content."

The practical local problems on the agenda of this session were the organization of the communities, the Budget of the National Council, the transfer of Education and Health from the Jewish Agency to the Knesseth. With regard to the community organization definite resolutions were adopted, while the Budget of the National Council for the next year was fixed to be collected from taxes which the Knesseth has the right to levy upon its members. The transfer of health work to the hands of the Knesseth was also adopted without much controversy.

The opposition came from the Revisionists, who insisted that a larger participation of the Government was compulsory and demanded the transfer of all the hospitals to the municipalities. The Mizrachi opposed the municipalization of the hospitals from a religious point of view.

Greater difficulty and objection arose with the question of transferring the education from the Jewish Agency to the Knesseth. The labourites who championed this transfer found but few allies among other factions. The Mizrachi group was divided on the matter, while the Sephardim, the Revisionist, and the women's lists were definitely against the transfer. The Revisionists declared that the whole burden of Jewish education must be shifted to the Government, but until then it should be left in the hands of the Jewish Agency. The objections

to the transfer were based especially around the inability of Palestine Jewry to assume the financial burden and the idea that the Jews as a whole ought to provide the means and determine the course of education of the young generation, which is "the asset of the whole Jewish people." Another group that objected to the transfer was that of the Teachers' Union, which conducted a campaign against the transfer "under any shape or form." Their attitude influenced the debate considerably. Those who advocated the transfer insisted that the funds raised abroad should go mainly for colonization and economic enterprises, pointing out that unless a change takes place the whole Budget will in the course of time (with the gradually increasing number of Palestine Jews) be swallowed up by Education and Health at the expense of colonization. The resolution adopted affirms the principle of transferring the Zionist school system to the control of the Palestine Jewish community.

The climax of the session was reached when the political questions on the agenda came up. There were three main political questions—namely, that of the Legislative Council (proposed in the Passfield White Paper); the negotiations with the Government in London; and the Round-Table Conference of Jews and Arabs. The last question is immensely important, since it was the first time that a political agreement with the Arabs was discussed openly as a basis for a rational Zionist statehood. It was also the first time that a demand was made for changes in the constitutional régime of Palestine on the basis of an absolute equality between the two nationalities, the Jews and the Arabs, who have to live together in this land.

In regard to the first question—the Legislative Council—it was agreed by a great majority (Revisionists did not vote) to endorse the proclamation of the National Council from October 23, 1931 (issued on the next day of the appearance of the White Paper). This proclamation states that: "We will not participate and we will not recognize any parliamentary institution which is apt to interrupt the rebuilding of our land." The crisis broke out with the question regarding the participation in the negotiation with the Government in London. The Labourites suggested that this question should be decided in the National Council on account of the lack of information as to the actual situation in London. The suggestion was accepted. Upon this defeat the 15 Revisionists' representatives left the Assembly declaring that this decision was "a danger to the Yeshub and to Zionism." The National Council of 23 members was then elected, giving the Labourites 11 seats,

Sephardim 4, General Zionist 3, Mizrachi 3, women 1, and Yemenites 1. Thus was laid the cornerstone for the organization of the Jewish community in Palestine on the basis of the official ordinance for the Jewish autonomy in Palestine.

The Brit-Shalom Society

In the year 1926 several articles on the Jewish-Arab question appeared in Jerusalem written by a group of people calling themselves the Brit-Shalom (covenant of peace) Society. This group, about fifty in number, attracted great attention amongst both Jews and Arabs because it included among its few members prominent personalities, several of whom stood at the head of the Zionist colonization and educational activities in Palestine, people who had lived in the movement for many years, and knew it and its problems.

The main purpose of this group was and still is to bring an understanding and a closer co-operation between the Jews and the Arabs. The rise of Arab nationalism and the struggle between Europe and Asia, they say, demand close attention and a change in the course of Zionist policies. They criticized the Zionist leaders for having neglected the Arab problem in Palestine and seeking co-operation and assistance in the West instead of coming in closer contact with the people of the East, among whom the Jews have to live. By siding with Europe against Asia, Zionism suffered great losses, because "Zionism is the first to suffer when hostilities break out, and is always thrown by Europe as a sop to Cerberus when Asia has to be appeased."*

Therefore Zionism must not look any more on the West and rely on war-time declarations given by the Western world. The Zionist movement need not look after political gains. Any successful conquest to be attained in London or Geneva will not revive the Zionist movement, nor will any political gesture help if the movement continues its old policies of seeking "conquests." The conquest of Geneva (Palestine mandate), they say, brought the White Papers, the MacDonald letter to Weizman (February 13, 1931), and blocked the way to the Arab neighbours. Moreover, the Zionist political gains affected badly the condition of the Jews in the Islamic countries and thus became an obstacle for the immigration and colonization of the Jews in the Arabian countries in general and in Palestine in particular. To improve this attitude of the Arabs, Zionism must change its whole political and

* *Notes and Comments: Jewish-Arab Affairs*, p. 2. Published by the Brit-Shalom Society, Jerusalem, June, 1931.

moral outlook and prepare for a new advance in a different direction. Interviews with kings, princes, and even ministers of state are not an adequate basis for a Jewish foreign policy. The Zionist movement must seek an Arab agreement for Jewish colonization and immigration to Palestine and the other Arab countries. "Our ultimate goal is to build up a strong Jewish centre in Palestine and to encourage Jewish immigration into all parts of the Middle East. The prerequisite of the success of any such movement is the consent of the Arab peoples; and to secure this consent—to get a new charter, a new 'Balfour Declaration' from the Arabs—must be the goal of a new Zionist advance."*

After the riots of August, 1929, they aroused a sensation in and out of Palestine by not only agreeing to a democratic parliament for Palestine, but by demanding it together with the Arabs. The only reservation they made to such a parliament was that immigration and colonization, "which are of vital importance to the Jews," shall not be handed over to the majority decision of the parliament.† The Brit-Shalom also criticized the "Tnuva" marketing co-operative for prohibiting the purchase of products from the Arab villages, and the "Totzeret Haaretz" (home produce) campaign which is synonymous with "Totzeret Yehudit" (Jewish produce), and advocated the purchase by both Jews and Arabs of Palestinian produce, both Jewish and Arab, in preference to foreign produce.

These frank concessions to the Arabs and the minimization of Zionist aspiration to a "mere minority group with minority rights" in Palestine, as in all other countries, called forth great indignation on the part of all Jewish parties, including the Labourites, who criticized the Brit-Shalom not for its desire for peace with the Arabs, but for "the price it was willing to pay." Not only did the Jews disapprove of them and their "tactless" programme, but even the Arabs, who should have accepted them with open arms for their frank and open denial of Zionism, looked at them with suspicion. The Arabic *Filastin* calls the Brit-Shalom Society a "department for Zionist misleading." Nevertheless they worked out a programme for administrative, political, economic, and educational co-operation between the Jews and the Arabs, based on the programme of Zionism as recognized in the Balfour Declaration and in the Mandate. The main idea of this Society is—

* *Ibid.*, p. 3.

† "Racial Rights in Switzerland, Finland, and Palestine," *Jewish-Arab Affairs*, p. 39. Published by the Brit-Shalom Society, Jerusalem, June, 1931. Mr. Joseph Lurya, one of the leaders of the Brit-Shalom and for many years head of the Zionist Educational Department, suggests that the parliament should be bicameral:

"that Palestine should be neither a Jewish State nor an Arab State, but a bi-racial State in which Jews and Arabs should enjoy equal civil, political and social rights, without distinction between majority and minority. The two peoples should each be free in the administration of their respective domestic affairs, but united in their common interests."

As a political group, they are as yet insignificant and ineffective. Whether they will develop into a political party is hard to say because, as previously stated, they find little co-operation from either side. The fact that they are an ultra-intellectual group does not change the situation. The Zionists, whether Revisionists or Labourites, will never limit themselves to create a "spiritual centre" in Palestine which will be "just another minority group of Jews, this time in Palestine." So far they are not represented as a group in any of the political institutions in Palestine. Their activity expresses itself in literary propaganda, spreading their ideas in a Hebrew monthly called *She'ifotenu* (Our Aspirations), and an English supplement published occasionally under the name *Jewish-Arab Affairs*. They have a larger following outside of Palestine—but whether that will have any influence in settling the issues in Palestine is very doubtful.

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one house elected on a democratic basis, the other composed of an equal number of Jewish and Arab representatives. No law would be valid unless passed by both houses. Such a parliamentary form of government would safeguard the racial rights of the present and any future minority in Palestine.

A NOTE ON ONE CAUSE OF THE RECENT DISTURBANCES IN PALESTINE

THE British public is perhaps puzzled at the events now taking place in Palestine. The explanation is to be found in the facts brought to light by Sir John Hope-Simpson in his *Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development* in Palestine (printed in H.M.'s Stationery Office, 1930, Cmd. 3686). The pages quoted below refer to this Government Publication.

As Sir John points out, " the Jewish Agency, and Jewish community in general, are insistent in pressing their claims to all lands in the ownership of the Government " (p. 56). Lands obtained from the Government, or bought from private owners (frequently absentee landlords) become forbidden territory to the Arab inhabitants of Palestine, for the Zionist colonies practise a permanent and systematic boycott of Arab Labour. When land is obtained by the Jewish National Fund, the peasants are evicted. The Zionists then import Jewish Labour from abroad (mainly Poland), up to the quota allowed by the Government, and these labourers are installed on the land, whilst its original inhabitants look on starving outside an invisible ring fence. The aim of Zionism is the systematic expropriation of the land from the natives of Palestine, who are to be squeezed out of their own country and compelled " to trek along " elsewhere.

In proof of this position, Sir John Hope-Simpson gives samples from three types of Zionist leases, all of which contain a clause forbidding the employment of non-Jewish labour.

Extract from a Keren-Kayemeth Lease.—" . . . The lessee undertakes to execute all works connected with the cultivation of this holding only with Jewish labour. Failure to comply with this duty by the employment of non-Jewish labour shall render the lessee liable to the payment of a compensation of ten Palestinian pounds for each default.

" The lease also provides that the holding *shall never be held by any but a Jew* " (p. 53).

Keren-Hayesod Agreement (Article 7).—" The seller hereby undertakes that he will during the continuance of any of the said advances reside on the said agricultural holding . . . and that, if and whenever

he may be obliged to hire help, he *will hire Jewish workmen only*" (p. 53).

An Emek Colony Agreement (Article 11).—"The settler undertakes to work the said holding personally, or with the aid of his family, and *not to hire any outside labour except Jewish labourers*" (p. 53).

Yet the manifesto recently issued by the Vaad Leumi (the National Jewish Council in Palestine) and published in *La Bourse Egyptienne* of last Tuesday (October 31, 1933) has the effrontery to assert that "les habitants des villages arabes situés à proximité des colonies juives . . . *n'ont plus besoin* de travailler dans les fermes juives . . ." whereas the above agreements show that the owners of these Jewish farms have *contracted not to employ them.*

But let Sir John Hope-Simpson speak. Here are his comments in the above-cited Blue Book:

"The above-quoted provisions sufficiently illustrate the Zionist policy with regard to the Arabs in their colonies. Attempts are constantly being made to establish the advantage which Jewish settlement has brought to the Arab. *The most lofty sentiments are ventilated at public meetings and in Zionist propaganda.* At the time of the Zionist Congress in 1921 a resolution was passed which solemnly declared the desire of the Jewish people to live with the Arab people, to develop the homeland common to both into a prosperous community which would ensure the growth of the peoples. This resolution is frequently quoted in proof of the excellent sentiments which Zionism cherishes towards the people of Palestine. *The provisions quoted above, which are included in legal documents binding on every settler in a Zionist colony, are not compatible with the sentiments publicly expressed*" (p. 54).

"*The effect of the Zionist colonisation policy on the Arab.* Actually the result of the purchase of land in Palestine by the Jewish National Fund has been *that land has been extra-territorialized. It ceases to be land from which the Arab can gain any advantage either now or at any time in the future.* Not only can he never hope to lease or to cultivate it, but, by the stringent provisions of the lease of the Jewish National Fund, he is deprived for ever from employment on that land. Nor can anyone help him by purchasing the land and restoring it to common use. The land is in mort-main and inalienable. It is for this reason that Arabs discount the professions of friendship and good will on the part of the Zionists in view of the policy which the Zionist organization deliberately adopted" (p. 54).

"The principle of the persistent and deliberate boycott of Arab labour in the Zionist colonies is not only contrary to the provisions of that article of the Mandate, but it is in addition *a constant and increasing source of danger to the country* " (p. 55).

"The present position, precluding any employment of Arabs in the Zionist colonies, *is undesirable, from the point of view both of justice and the good Government of the country.* As long as these provisions exist in the constitution of the Zionist organization, in the lease of the Keren-Kayemeth and in the agreement of the Keren-Hayesod, it *cannot be regarded as desirable that large areas of land should be transferred to the Jewish National Fund* " (p. 56).

The previous paper and the first review should be read in connection with this note.

REVIEWS

Reports on Agricultural Development and Land Settlement in Palestine. By Lewis French, C.I.E., C.B.E. $13\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 112. Map. Jerusalem: Issued by the Palestine Government. December 23, 1931. 2s.

If only idealists would limit their dreams to the realm of economic possibilities they might find more favour with practical administrators. But when dreams relate to agriculture they are apt to get far away from stern realities. There is an Arcady in every unoccupied acre, a home in every waste, and spiritual peace (with food and raiment) in every desert. The experienced administrator is unsympathetic when he points to the teachings of history or to the amount of rainfall or, and perhaps especially, to the lack of markets. It may be that it is to the intense urban-mindedness of to-day that must be ascribed the neglect of the lessons of agricultural history, or it may be that modern idealists are too busy to read.

In old settled countries, such as Palestine, agriculture will usually be found to be in a state of equilibrium consequent upon long acting factors. If a precarious rainfall is a dominating element, population is apt to concentrate within the more favoured localities and vary in density with the rainfall; the size of holdings will thus vary inversely with the rain and the intensity of cultivation directly with it. Where holdings are small—and the Census Report suggests eighteen acres per family as the average—the cultivator works, not for profit nor for "adequate return," but for food for himself and his family; he seeks not a wage but a living, not a cash income but sustenance.

His intensity of cultivation is not the result of philosophic choice, but of the stern necessity for extracting a sufficiency of food for his home; over a large area high rainfall, smallholdings, and intensive cultivation with a dense population are linked together by natural causes, man merely being responsive. Conversely, larger holdings and extensive cultivation are associated with lands with low rainfall and no artificial aids to irrigation.

The idea that Palestine offered on its soil wide scope for immigrants should have been received with caution, while it should not have been difficult to foresee that a disturbance of the old equilibrium by increasing one factor only—the demand for land—would lead to widespread upheaval of the old order. Idealists, however, bolted with their dreams and sent into the country thousands of immigrants supported with ample funds. There was sufficient business sense behind the movement to see that the funds were not wasted on bringing under the plough that million acres which the old cultivator class had left; at least, not to any great extent. The simpler expedient was adopted of finding land by purchase from existing owners; and as this was required expressly for the purpose of finding homes and work for the new immigrants, the former occupiers, whether owner or tenant, were divorced from their old source of livelihood.

To the economic problem it is immaterial whether the immigrants were Jews or any other people; they might with equal influence on the situation have been Arabs from Transjordania. Far more important economically than their race was the fact that they were backed by considerable funds and so were enabled to

introduce an effective demand for land, and to this extent upset the old balance. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the Government of the day, in succession to Turkey, was not in complete control and was not possessed of all the information which an up-to-date administration fortifies itself with. This is important, as previous experience of tracts salved from the blight of the old Turkish régime has shown that they can support a larger population as soon as the usual amenities of a civilized administration have been provided, and the marked increase of Arabs disclosed by the census suggests that the usual result is following upon the improvement of communications by road and rail, post and telegraph, the security for commerce, and all that comes from the establishment of fair law and decent order, including the creation of a suitable field for investment of capital. If the new immigrants had filtered in as opportunities opened for their absorption, they would have fitted in with the changing order and there need have been no dislocation; but they were in a hurry and had behind them the means to secure land for themselves from the old proprietors instead of having to search for the openings which the rapid development of the country was creating.

That the old occupant was willing to be tempted to sell for ready money need cause no surprise; under the old Turkish régime land was apt to be regarded as a liability rather than as an asset, for it carried the risk of military and other service, and amongst a poor people struggling for their daily needs there is always a powerful urge to enjoy the wealth suddenly offered to-day and let the morrow take care of itself. There was too much money behind the Jewish immigrant, with the result that his incursion has led to the appearance of a new class of landless Arabs divorced from their ancient means of livelihood. These have not to any extent found their way on to the vacant acres, while their numbers tend to be increased by the demand from the Jewish organizations for land and yet more land.

It would be easy to exaggerate the problem, and when the papers record accounts of riots and disturbances it is well to remember that Palestine is somewhat larger than Wales with half its population, that the landless Arabs number but a few thousands, probably far less in numbers than the rabbles led by agitators in the towns, and that, however much the Jews may confine their employment to their fellows, the influx of new capital should create new demands for labour. For the sake of perspective, it may be mentioned that the country has a population of a single Indian district with double the cultivated area.

With Arabs protesting against the results of their own actions and Jewish organizations claiming that the country should provide more homes for Jews, the appointment of a Director of Development was an obvious and eminently sensible measure, and the country was fortunate in securing Mr. Lewis French, who as a member of the Indian Civil Service had had considerable experience of the great Punjab colonies. It is now proposed to embark upon a detailed survey of all lands that might be available or that could be made available by closer settlement, and further to devise measures for improving the economic position of the old Arab cultivator class still on their lands. Unfortunately, Mr. French found himself lacking the aid of all the accumulated resources of an efficient administration; the new governors of Palestine inherited from their Turkish predecessors little in the way of records, maps, or detailed information, and, even with all the goodwill and energy they are now showing, it will take some years to complete accurate maps and cadastral surveys, and longer to secure a reliable estimate of what the country produces on the average of a series of years. In framing his reports, Mr. French has thus been severely handicapped, and he has

had to rely largely upon the results of personal observation by himself and others without the check which carefully compiled statistics and accurate maps provide.

It is not surprising that he has swept away the vague ideas of sentimentalists; the large State domains have been found to be encumbered by right holders or contracts, and there is no land there either for colonization or resettlement; outside these areas there is no cultivable land not already subject to cultivation or occupancy: the expropriated Arabs have found no lands to settle on. If a larger population has to be placed upon the land room can only be made for them by reducing the holdings to a smaller size and to teaching or inducing the new settlers to devote their areas to intensive cultivation.

On this policy of "closer settlement" Mr. French has some interesting considerations to put forward, but it is not clear whether he appreciates the difficulties inherent in attempting to alter by human agency the state of agriculture resulting from centuries of interacting factors. Normally population increases, if at all, by slow and gradual stages, and the pressure towards more intensive methods is gentle and steady, and men are able to adjust themselves to it without much disturbance. But this is a different matter from a sudden and large increase of population and from a change to intensive cultivation by edict. Agriculture is not run on those lines, and any attempt to speed up change will be fraught with serious danger.

Mr. French considers that in order to make room for the new immigrants the cereal-bearing lands should be selected for conversion into citrus-bearing, and he suggests that model holdings of about five acres might be arranged; of this area half should be devoted to citrus and of the remainder one-half should be irrigated and the rest left dependent upon rain. In normal seasons the two and a half acres of foodstuffs should suffice for the barest requirements of a family, while the citrus under favourable conditions should provide cash for the most necessary purchases, taxation, and so on. But in the absence of subsidiary industries or some extraneous sources of income, such as service civil or military, there will be desperate poverty, which will tend to increase with the population unless some profitable outlet can be found for the additional labour. It is further somewhat doubtful whether cultivators accustomed to extensive cultivation can be trained or induced to become successful horticulturists by order; the fatalism, almost inevitable with a people dependent for ages upon the vagaries of the seasons, does not easily give way to a realistic appreciation of the dominating influence of human industry and skill under conditions of artificial irrigation.

Mr. French sees very clearly the limitations upon a changing agriculture imposed by the demands of the market; but he concentrates upon citrus because he can see no other crop suitable to the conditions. Here there is need for caution. Other countries besides Palestine are turning their lands to citrus, attracted by the recent rapid rise in the demand, and there is serious risk in making this industry the sole plank for a policy of closer settlement. It seems as though once more the lure of the foreign market was distracting attention from the one at home, and in this connection the results of the recent census are of special interest.

It disclosed an increase of 36·8 per cent. in nine years, and as no less than 46 per cent. of the whole live in towns, and, further, as 85 per cent. of the Jews are urban dwellers, there is a strong suggestion that future immigration will increase the market for home produce, specially foodstuffs; it is difficult to avoid the prophecy that the better policy would be to concentrate upon the rapidly increasing home demand rather than on growing citrus for a highly competitive foreign market. Orchards require heavy initial capital which would be lost if

the land had to go back to the plough, and it is only in special cases that it pays to buy imported food with exported agricultural produce. Unless some great improvement in irrigational facilities can be achieved, the country will soon be hard put to it to feed its own people, and here the relevancy of a passage in the July number of this Journal (p. 449) is striking:

"There is thus every prospect of a continued expansion which will lay a heavy burden on the capacity of so small a country, and it should be noted that the expansion is not due, for the most part, to the entry of new settlers, but to the philoprogenitiveness and fertility of those who are already resident in Palestine."

It seems clear that the replacement of an effete and blighting administration by an enlightened and beneficent one is producing the usual result, and that the problem of Jewish immigration will pale before the greater one of Arab increase. This will not make any the easier the task of the Director of Development, but it should point to the necessity of increasing home food irrespective of whether the cultivator be Jew or Arab.

Considering the enormous difficulties, Mr. French is to be congratulated on the industry and care which he has brought to the compilation of his reports; it is to be hoped that the administration will avoid any land mortgage proposal which would leave the Government liable to resume lands in default of repayment; whatever a private banker may do a government, such as that of a mandatory, should not be forced to expropriate its own subjects to recover its loans. Of the scheme outlined the financial unsoundness is clear, the political unsoundness is glaring.

There is one other matter on which comment may be made: Mr. French seems optimistic enough to think that it is financially possible to purchase lands under cereals and to resell for his model holdings. In the absence of the relevant statistics it is not practicable to compare the agricultural value of land with the actual sale price, but it is unlikely at this date that the former is not the lower, in which case there would be small likelihood of the State recouping its expenditure. Resettlement of the landless Arab is going to be a slow process, and it will almost certainly prove more expensive than the Palestine Administration will be able to afford from its own resources.

H. CALVERT.

Native Education: Ceylon, Java, Formosa, the Philippines, French Indo-China, and British Malaya. By the Hon. H. A. Wyndham. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

This is a book of a little over two hundred and thirty pages, not including the excellent bibliography and index, which occupy another thirty or more. The author's aim is clearly stated in the preface: "Problems connected with the administration of colonial Empires . . . are seldom discussed from the point of view of the experience of the past. . . . Similarly, colonial problems are seldom studied comparatively. . . . An attempt is made in this book to deal, both historically and comparatively, with certain aspects of the problem of education in six territories."

Considering the limits of space, the work is amazingly well done. Every page is packed with reliable information. The author wisely gives the background of land tenure, social organization, industry or trade where these are required to make clear the educational problem. Naturally the condensation makes the book

one for experts, and results in some things being left out that many would like to see included. There are few pages that will interest the general reader, though there are exceptions to this, as in the description of the Dutch school in Formosa on page 139, or of the attempt to combine ancestor worship and Christian practice in Annam on pages 160 and 161. For those who are engaged in colonial administration or education the book is most valuable. It bristles with points. To give some of these, torn though they are from their context and so less valuable, may best indicate the riches of this mine of accurate information and experience:

"Until female education was taken in hand the progress of male education would be slow." (Ceylon.)

"The Government, in spite of its more extravagant expenditure, found competition with the schools of the missionaries very difficult owing to the more effective and personal superintendence which the latter could exercise." (Ceylon.)

"They"—industrial schools—"were too English in their conception and their methods were applied without proper regard for local conditions." (Ceylon.)

"Their education policy also had encouraging results. It was based on the principle that educators should be qualified to teach in the vernacular of the educated." (Dutch.)

As an American writer observed: "The free and trusted association of boys with girls was not allowed and not practised in the Philippines until American ideas and practices rapidly modified these customs."

"The prominence given to health in the Director of Education's annual reports is in contrast with the space allotted to the same subject in the reports of other countries." (Philippines.)

"The time has come, however, when the supply of pupils from English schools is beginning to exceed the demand for clerks, and when a Cambridge or a Standard VII. certificate will no longer assure a competency to its holder. . . . The bulk of the inhabitants must turn to agriculture and other industries, and their education must be designed to equip them to do so." (Malaya.)

"As a further inducement the privilege of free education in a government English school is accorded to them if they pass Standard IV. in their vernacular school before their eleventh birthday. This has had the effect of inducing parents . . . to send their children to the vernacular school at the age of five or six." (Malaya.)

These quotations will serve to show the questions raised in the history recorded by Mr. Wyndham. He rarely even indicates his own view, but we have methods of giving grants, questions of land tenure, of the administration of justice or taxes, and of employment all brought before us. Many problems emerge in the course of the narrative; some solutions are seen. Everywhere education of the East by the West is seen to be revolutionary. Can it in no way become more evolutionary? Nowhere, in these lands surveyed by Mr. Wyndham, have the peoples of the country been associated as partners with the foreigners who seek to direct the education of their children. The assistance of chiefs and people has been sought, but it has been desired to assist in carrying out a policy which may be English, Dutch, Japanese, Spanish, or French, but which does not originate with the people of the land.

The fact is clear that the education reviewed in these pages does not in any satisfactory measure lead to employment. This seems inevitable if educational policy is largely dominated by foreigners. At any one time in any country the bulk of employment must be along the lines of ordinary inhabitants, and not in the service of foreigners. Foreigners, however, have their minds centred chiefly on the employment they see under their noses and understand. Thus the Cam-

bridge Certificate schools cater for the clerkly vocation above all others. Special industrial schools are "fashioned too much on the experience of Holland," or it may be of England. A real share in the direction of education by the people of the country to be educated would lead to the avoidance of many such mistakes, to a widened appreciation of what education might do in each place, to evolution as against revolution. Frequently, too, the cold recital shows how policies and measures taken with one object in view result very differently in practice. At other times indigenous institutions or administrations have been undercut before this value was perceived. Repentance has then come too late. Over and over again the lesson has been recorded that an inferior government working with a people's understanding and goodwill is to be preferred to a better one without that goodwill.

In reading these crowded pages it is almost impossible to avoid the thought that Portuguese, English, Dutch, French, Japanese have been too much obsessed with the value of their own "kultur," too little respectful to that they would displace or redirect. Mr. Wyndham does not point out any such lessons from his facts; he leaves us to draw these for ourselves. Many of us as we read will differ as to what the lessons are, but all engaged in the work of education or administration in the Colonies will get something of help and suggestion.

A. G. FRASER.

The Indian Tangle. By Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E. With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Earl Winterton, P.C., M.P. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 255. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.

Sir Albion Banerji's essay on Indian politics, though it shows little, if any, constructive thought, nevertheless merits careful study. As a Brahmo-Samajist, a non-Hindu, though belonging to a good Brahmin family, he is in a position to watch the Indian political conflict in a spirit of detachment; while his long and distinguished service as a member of the Indian Civil Service both in Madras and in several Indian States has given him a unique opportunity of studying Indian problems.

Sir Albion obviously does not believe in Indian nationalism. For the sub-continent, in his opinion, nationalism is a contradiction in terms. Should British rule disappear, India would split up into political units based on language, culture, and race origins. He practically recognizes that the main impulse in nationalism is a desire to seize power from the British. What seems to impress him most is the complete absence of any religious tinge in a movement among people whose lives are ordered throughout by religious observances. For this he censures both Mr. Gandhi and the Hindu leaders. Hinduism is, he contends, a creed outworn; Brahmanical culture is no longer a living force. Hindu society must be reconstructed, religion purified, if India is to find her soul. He challenges anyone to define what Hinduism to-day stands for. The orthodox Hindu holds tenaciously to the customs of his caste: he cannot explain why he worships any particular deity. To induce the right spirit religion should be taught in the schools. Sir Albion, however, does not explain what religion he would teach while Hinduism evolves a nobler creed and way of life.

Communalism is painted in lurid colours. India is faced with a religious intolerance springing from political rivalries and jealousies which no government, however constituted, can meet without special powers. The country must be

governed by force: representative institutions of modern type are unsafe. A strong All-India police force under the direct control of the Viceroy is essential if the danger is to be exorcised.

A dozen years ago Sir Albion Banerji, discussing Mr. Gandhi, told the present writer that the British Government would have to send a hundred thousand British troops to India if they dared arrest India's politician-saint. Sir Albion is no longer a votary of the Gandhi cult. He criticizes Gandhi's attitude towards religion and imputes to him the desire to establish a dictatorship. He does not approve of the use he is making of the outcast problem. No orthodox Hindu is in earnest with regard to the uplift of the outcast: Sir Albion can see no advantage in allowing to him temple entry unless he is also admitted to social equality. And, he remarks, are the Hindu temples so sanctified that the outcast would derive spiritual benefit from worship at their shrines? Gandhi has leagued himself with capitalism which is the antithesis of the *charka*: the village money-lender, the worst example of capitalism, is his ally. His latest fast was a piece of theatricalism, exhibiting "the picture of a man with an iron will gradually vanquished by the stupendous vanity of his own importance." All well-wishers of India would be relieved to hear that Mr. Gandhi had abandoned politics and that he was practising real and earnest abnegation in the last stage of "Brahmacharya."

Sir Albion is not a strong supporter of democracy. Nevertheless he approves the White Paper. The British connection must, above all, be maintained. That is India's one hope of salvation. Without it chaos and disaster would assail the land and India would break up into fragments unable to withstand the inevitable invasions from both East and West. There would be in such case a Moslem empire in the North-West, and in the East an empire with a Mongolian infusion and a new creed in the form of Buddhism. The White Paper practically constitutes the Viceroy a dictator: this is inevitable in the circumstances.

The Indian Civil Service must go. Here he is probably right. It is useless to grant responsible government and then to place between that government and the realities of everyday life a solid barrier of bureaucracy. One might advocate in its place a *corps d'élite* to be used mainly in an advisory capacity.

Sir Albion has many objections to the White Paper, mainly on the question of safeguards. Despite his view of the dangers of democracy, he demands that Britain should surrender her monopoly of control to the Indian politician. Might not this mean giving power to the godless Congress of which he so strongly disapproves? How in such circumstances the British connection is to be maintained he does not explain. Britain's rôle would appear to be that of a disinterested friend, giving her services voluntarily to India and entirely indifferent whether her special economic interests were overridden or not. Whether a partnership on such terms is possible is a difficult question to decide. There is something to be said for Sir Albion's view that an Imperial Parliament in which all the Dominions and India would be represented might help to solve it. The whole tenor of Sir Albion's thesis suggests that in present conditions a strong impartial authority at the centre is essential. Is that possible if the monopoly of control is completely surrendered? There must be some give and take: a political truce as Sir Albion himself suggests. In the circumstances it can hardly be a dictated truce as the Indian politician and perhaps Sir Albion would seem to expect.

W. P. BARTON.

The Key to Freedom and Security in India. By an Indian Student of Political Science. With a Foreword by Professor Arnold Toynbee. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 297. Oxford University Press. 6s.

This admirably written and arranged work is distinguished by its scientific and impartial handling of a question which is generally treated in a partisan and empirical spirit. The book reviews the major problems surrounding the projected constitutional changes in India, and seeks "to penetrate behind the subjective veil of personal opinions and sectarian feelings as they find utterance in the rival claims of conflicting partisans; it aims at reaching the core of the actual needs of the various peoples on whose behalf or in whose interests claims are made."

In his suggested solutions of the problems of the Franchise, the Communal Question, Defence and Finance, the author bases his recommendations on the great principle too often lost sight of by Indian administrators and reformers—namely, that of beginning reform rather from the bottom than from the top. In his view, the present tendency is to replace the existing benevolent British autocracy only by a less benevolent Indian one, largely representing the moneyed classes, who will see to it that the franchise is not extended to any elements which might threaten their power. He advocates a graded franchise implemented from the bottom by giving the Indian villager an active and executive interest in the only matter which he can be expected thoroughly to understand—that is, the affairs of his own village. In this way only, he believes, can the Indian peasant be weaned from crass ignorance and indifference to take an intelligent interest and an active part in local and ultimately in central government.

While his treatment of administrative and communal questions is in every case suggestive and thoughtful, the author is on less sure ground when dealing with defence. After making out a good enough case against the tendency to exaggerate the menace to India from without (his statement that Russia is a member of the League of Nations, however, destroys confidence in some of his other assertions), he proceeds to make some recommendations which no military expert could countenance. He proposes to remove the present lack of responsible consciousness on the part of the Indian populace with regard to defence by creating an armed civic guard which, while permitting the reduction of the existing regular forces designed to deal with internal security, would eventually constitute a second line available for use in a national emergency. In place of the impartial element of British troops so useful in dealing with communal disorders, the author suggests the employment of non-communal elements such as Parsis, Anglo-Indians, and Indian Christians. Experience has repeatedly shown that troops employed in aid of the civil power, police measures having proved inadequate, require to be very highly disciplined indeed. The use for this work, in the author's own words, of "picturesque, old-fashioned infantry, equipped and trained in the simpler style and manner of former times," would really be unthinkable in the present state of India, and the possible loss of life and subsequent political recriminations need not be dwelt upon. Apart from this, the chapter on defence contains much valuable plain speaking and food for thought.

Taken as a whole, this book is an extremely able and valuable work, well *documenté* and supported by informative appendices. The author has most skilfully concealed his own political views, and the excellence of his English style and the temperate logic of his arguments are a welcome change from the violent polemics with which the utterances of Indian publicists and reformers have unfortunately become associated.

G. E. Wheeler.

Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross. The Broadway Travellers Series. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power. 9″ × 5¾.″ Pp. xxxviii + 293. Maps and illustrations. London: Routledge. 1933. 12s. 6d.

Few episodes in the reign of Queen Elizabeth are more romantic than that of the mission of Sir Anthony Sherley to Shah Abbas of Persia, and in the book under review we have for the first time a full account of it drawn from many sources.

Sir Anthony Sherley was the second son of Sir Thomas Sherley of Wiston, Sussex, who, in 1596, led an expedition to the West Indies. In 1597 he served under the Earl of Essex, who failed to capture the Spanish treasure-ships at the Azores. At the end of 1597, accompanied by his brother Robert and a military mission consisting of twenty-four officers and men, he was sent by his patron Essex to aid Don Cesare d'Este, who was defending Ferrara against the Pope. Upon reaching Augsburg news was received that the Duke of Ferrara had submitted to the Pope, and so, bitterly disappointed, the adventurers proceeded to Venice, where they remained for some time. At this city Sherley met a Persian merchant who was purchasing " English cloth both wollen and linen," and heard much about " the royalty of the Sophi, his King." Shortly afterwards a certain Angelo, " born in Turkey, but a good Christian who had travelled sixteen years, and did speak twenty-four kind of languages," appeared on the scene and gave such glowing accounts of Shah Abbas that Sir Anthony decided to undertake an expedition to distant Persia.

We have an excellent account of the dangers incurred in the voyage to Palestine. At Aleppo the travellers were hospitably received by the English Consul and merchants about the city, but were unable to walk without being assaulted. They thence crossed the desert to the Euphrates at Bira, where they joined a Turkish ambassador, who was bound for Baghdad, travelling in a flotilla of boats. While floating down the Euphrates " we did commonly see every morning great lions come down to the river side to drink." The Arabs were hostile and " would follow us most part of the day . . . slinging stones at us." Landing at Falluja, the Englishmen reached Baghdad, where the Customs seized their property. Fortunately the Turkish ambassador had taken charge of part of their goods and thus saved them from utter destitution. Sir Anthony treated the Viceroy with tactless discourtesy and narrowly escaped being sent in chains to Constantinople. However, he was saved by an Armenian favourite of the Viceroy who " did labour very much on Sir Anthony's behalf." Finally, the Englishmen were permitted to leave for Persia with a caravan of merchants, " who were very glad of our company . . . because there are many thieves which lie in the way very strong. Crossing the Persian frontier, upon the sudden, we found such an alteration of the country and people that we were overcome with joy." Everywhere the travellers were hospitably received and made their way to Casbeene (or Kazvin), where Shah Abbas was due to arrive on his return from his victorious campaign against the Uzbegs in Khorasan. Notified of the arrival of the English knight, the Shah invited him to meet him with the Governor of Kazvin at four miles from Kazvin, this being the Persian custom of *istiqbal*. Upon riding out from Kazvin they first met " twelve hundred horsemen, carrying twelve hundred heads of men on their lances, and some having the ears of men put on strings and hanged about their necks." The Shah was seen " riding alone with a lance in his hand . . . being a man of low stature, but very strongly made, and swarthy of complexion." Shah Abbas was delighted to meet the English knight and " embraced Sir Anthony and his brother, kissing them both three or

four times over, and taking Sir Anthony by the hand, swearing a great oath that he should be his sworn brother." Among the events recorded at Kazvin was a polo match of six-a-side in which the Shah took part; "and ever when the King had gotten the ball before him, the drums and trumpets would play one alarum." I would mention that I have struck goals at Isfahan between the old stone goal-posts, which are still standing in the Royal Square.

The Shah lavished gifts of horses with rich equipment, tents, transport animals, and money upon his guests, who accompanied him to Kashan, "spending the time by the way hawking and hunting." Approaching Isfahan, the newly created capital, they found the army drawn up to salute the Shah. Later the citizens greeted the victorious Abbas; "they made a way of taffety and satin lying upon the ground for the King's horse to ride upon." At the sham fight given by the army "the soldiers were not so perfect as the King did expect they should, whereupon he presently ran in among them . . . and gave four of them their death's wound."

Throughout his visit Sir Anthony Sherley was treated with extraordinary honour and affection by the Shah, who finally decided to despatch him to the princes of Christendom as Persian ambassador. Abbas at this period had received an envoy from the Sultan with whom Persia had made a peace treaty in 1590. The Turkish envoy demanded, among other things, that the province of Khorasan should be restored to the Uzbegs. Probably thanks to Sherley's influence, the peace treaty was denounced and the Turkish envoy was dismissed. After this, aided by Robert Sherley, the Shah set to work to reorganize the Persian army into a force which defeated the army of the Sultan some four years later. The importance of the rise of Persia as a military power capable of crossing swords with the formidable Turkish army afforded great relief to Europe. Busbecq, as the ambassador of the Emperor Ferdinand rather more than a generation later, considered that in this fact lay the only hope of salvation for Europe. We thus owe the Sherley brothers a deep debt of gratitude. Anthony Sherley was given credentials couched in the most flattering terms. He was also recommended to the Czar of Muscovy as a traveller bound for Europe. It is interesting to note that at that period and indeed for many years afterwards, Russia was not considered a European Power by Persia. The English knight now quits Persia, to which country he never returned. His later career, which lies outside Asia, is faithfully dealt with by Sir Denison Ross and makes interesting reading.

To conclude, this important work is illustrated by well-selected old prints and by copies of Persian miniature paintings. There is an interesting map of Persia, dated 1724, in addition to a route map.

P. M. Sykes.

The Shîite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Irak. By Dwight M. Donaldson. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xxvi + 393. Illustrations. Luzac's Oriental Religions Series. Vol. VI. London: Luzac. 1933.

Professor Donaldson's study of the Persian Shias and Shi'ism has been published at an opportune moment. Not only is the general public in the West evincing a great interest in the religions of other nations, but also among students there is at present a tendency towards research and study of the history and religion of the Shias, the section of the Moslems who followed the teachings of

the descendants of the Prophet Mohammed. Professor Donaldson's commendable work contains many stories and legends prevalent in Persia to-day concerning the lives of the Imams, and numerous quotations from Arabic and Persian historians, which students will find invaluable in their study of this particular branch of Islamic history.

The book opens by presenting the question of the Succession from the Prophet. Concerning the formation of the "Caliphate" immediately after the death of Mohammed the author writes extensively. Did the Prophet appoint a Successor before his death, and were the three Companions who became the first three Caliphs justified in not recognizing the nearest of kin of Mohammed as the lawful Successor? These are questions that since Muir's *Caliphate* was published half a century ago few historians have debated in detail, and with which Professor Donaldson now deals by giving a wide range of arguments for and against the issue. His opinion seems to be that, while it was not altogether wrong on the part of the Sunnis to *elect* a Successor or Caliph, the Shias might be justified in acknowledging only Ali as their first Caliph and Imam, since they primarily based their claim on the accepted law of lineal descent. He does not commit himself, perhaps wisely, to an outspoken decision on this important subject, but leaves the reader to judge for himself from the authorities quoted and from the events described during the century that followed the Prophet's death. He takes the same attitude with regard to almost all the other points concerning the lives of the Imams that have been debated by the ancient chroniclers. In treating of the earlier stages of Islam, however, he shows a certain preference for Sunni authorities, whereas from the period of the sixth Imam onwards there is a decided acceptance of Persian contentions.

The author gives the lives of Ali, Hasan, and Husein, the first three Imams, with many details regarding the question of Succession, ending the last with a good description of the famous head of Husein, which played such a major part in the early vicissitudes of the Shias. This head of Husein, which was first severed from its body at the massacre of Kerbela, was taken to Kufa, from there sent to Damascus, and finally buried at Ascalon. It was shortly after exhumed and reinterred in Egypt. Over its last resting-place a shrine was built, which to-day lies in the Mosque of Husein in Cairo. This is one of the most noted centres of pilgrimage for Egypt and the surrounding countries, and the days for homage are Thursdays for men and Saturdays for women. Pilgrimage may be made in any week in the year, and not, as Professor Donaldson seems to suggest (p. 87), on the authority of Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, that only during the month of Muharram are there particular days "when dervishes go solemnly round a sacred tomb that is said to contain the head of the martyred Husein." His descriptions of the five sacred towns in 'Iraq and Persia—Najaf, Kerbela, Mashad, Kazimain, Samarra—are vivid and detailed. The author has paid special visits to these places in order to be able to give a better account of their history and present-day appearance, while he has lived at the modern town of Mashad for the past sixteen years.

After Husein the Imams ceased to play an important part in political history, and during this period of their seclusion in Medina Professor Donaldson comments that the books he has consulted "represent what is actually taught and believed rather than what can be historically determined" (p. 111). But during the life of the sixth Imam, Jafar Sadik, when with the rise of the Abbasids and the founding of Baghdad the Shias became politically prominent, the author's account of the relations of the Imams with the Abbasids makes the reading again historically interesting. Here Professor Donaldson refrains from a justifiable

explanation (p. 153) as to why the fourth son of Jafar, Musa, was considered by the Persians to have succeeded him, instead of his eldest son Ismail. The Persians recognized the descendants of this Musa (" Moses ") as their lawful Imams, and Professor Donaldson makes an attempt to uphold this view as against the contention of the Ismailis that the descendants of Ismail were the rightful Imams. Perhaps the author's reason for this partiality is his long stay in Mashad and his liking for the Persians. However, he remarks (p. 164) that Musa had " numerous concubines and no legal wife," and that one of his eighteen sons (Musa had also nineteen daughters), Ali Rida, who was regarded as the 8th Imam, " expressed his strong preference to be free from all secular administrative duties " (p. 166). Regarding this it must be noted that the supreme temporal and spiritual dignities in Islam were considered the inviolable rights of the Imams by their followers. The claim of the Persians on behalf of Musa and his descendants is further weakened by the author in the stories he relates regarding Mohammed Taki and Ali Naki, their 9th and 10th Imams respectively. These two Imams are recorded as of their own accord addressing the Abbasid Caliph as " Commander of the Faithful " (pp. 191, 211). This was one of the three main titles of the supreme head of Islam, and its use would suggest a renunciation by the Imams of their rights. With regard to Mohammed Taki, the author writes (p. 190): " He was living in Medina at the time and there were many Shiites who took account of his youth and were in doubt as to whether he was really the Imam (his father had left Medina before he was born). However, a number of the learned and prominent men from all quarters came to the annual pilgrimage, and they were so impressed with him that their doubts were dispelled," but volunteers no information as to any authentic reason for Taki's claim to the Imamate. He makes a final attempt to uphold the Persians' recognition of Musa and his descendants in the view he holds regarding the 12th Imam. This Imam, according to a noted chronicler who lived in the tenth century (Ibn Hazm, *Kitab el Milal wan Nihal*, J.A.O.S., 1909, p. 76), never lived, for his father had died without offspring. The reason the author gives (p. 230) for the Persians' belief in an imaginary 12th Imam (because of which they took the name of " Twelvers ") was due to their wish to have an Imam whose " return " they could expect, and who could have the name and patronymic of the Prophet and the title Messiah. These names and title are therefore ascribed to the 12th Imam, about whom there is nothing known except legends. Professor Donaldson states (p. 358) on the authority of later Persian historians: " When the 12th Imam of the orthodox Shiites disappeared in about A.D. 874, this doctrine of the ' hidden Imam ' that had been developed by the Seveners was appropriated by the Twelvers." Since that date the Persians have earnestly believed in the return of their 12th Imam that he might bring justice and equity to this earth.

The author devotes a large section of his book, which was originally written as a thesis on *The Twelve Imams* at the Kennedy School of Missions in Hartford, to the history and legends of these Imams and their shrines, and a part of it to the Shia traditions and the Imamate. The chapter on " The Doctrine of the Imamate " (pp. 305-319), which is comprised of a translation from the Persian Majlisi's *Hayat el Kulub* (A.D. 1699), deserves special attention. It is practically a complete exposition of the views held by the Persians on this subject, giving such fundamental doctrines as: " The Imamate is on the authority of God and the Apostle and is not to be determined by the appointment or choice of men " (p. 314); " The office of the Imam is like that of the Prophet in that each has the function of complete authority over all the followers of the Faith in matters of religion and of the state. The people themselves are incapable of judging who

is worthy for this responsible office" (p. 316); "Our faith has had no other such real need as for an Imam. Muslims have required of God no other such favour as the existence of an Imam" (p. 318). In giving his description of the doctrines of the Persian Shias, Professor Donaldson makes no reference to the other scores of Shia sects and their teachings, with the exception of mentioning a few of the main ones, such as the Keisanis, Zeidis, and Ismailis. Even as regards the doctrines and histories of these sects he sends his readers to other writers (pp. 101, 153, 284, 293). He does not give the chief reason (pp. 114-7) why the position of Jafar Sadik became secure as the 6th Imam of all the Shias proper (see Tabari, *Annales*, ii., 1698 *ff*.).

Some of his statements might also be criticized: "First Umar struck Ali and then they came to grips, when Umar threw Ali down and broke his sword" (p. 13). Ali on this occasion shut himself in his house (when Omar came to use force against him to recognize Abu Bekr as Caliph) and did not come out to see Omar (see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, ii., p. 85. "The head of Husein was brought in (at Damascus) and cast before the Caliph (Yezid)" (p. 102). The head of Husein was cast before Ubaidullah, the Governor of Kufa (Muir's *Caliphate*, p. 311). "Mashad (pop. 130,000) . . . is the largest of the sacred cities of Islam" (p. 187). The place of Mashad in the order of the sacred cities of Islam is as follows, if their *sizes* are to be taken into consideration: Cairo, Mecca, Fez, Mashad. "There occurred the widespread and somewhat mysterious rise of the Karmathians, who in the year 929 slaughtered the pilgrims at Mecca" (p. 256). The rise of the Karmathians was the result of deliberate planning for many years, during which time they were very well known in all the chief Islamic countries. "It was the first time in the history of Islam that the Shiites had had the advantage of a sympathetic dynasty . . . Buwaihid period (A.D. 932-1055)" (p. 284). The Fatimi Caliphs of Mahdia, Mansuria, and Cairo who were Shias reigned uninterruptedly from 909 to 1171.

Professor Donaldson has chosen a difficult subject in the history and religion of the Shias, and he has certainly succeeded in giving an excellent account from the Persian point of view. He has also included six well-reproduced illustrations in his book, three of which—air views of the sacred cities of Kerbela, Samarra, Kazimain—show the shrines in those cities which the ordinary traveller is forbidden to enter. His study should be read by all who are interested in the history and tenets of the "Twelvers."

P. H. MAMOUR.

Ibn Yamin: Persice Ibn-i-Yamin. 100 short poems, the Persian text with paraphrase. By Brigadier-General E. H. Rodwell, C.B., I.A. (ret.) 10¼" × 7". Pp. xiv + 48. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner. 1933. 12s. 6d.

Some years ago General Rodwell brought out what is, in my opinion, the best and most complete work on Omar Khayyám, in a volume which I value highly and often consult. He is now dealing on the same thorough lines with Ibn Yamin, who, if not one of the greatest of Persian poets, yet makes a distinct appeal to European readers. Born some two centuries later than the bard of Nishapur, both poets claimed Khurasan as their birthplace. There is some agreement between the two poets, as the extracts that I shall quote will show, and

certainly, for common sense and humour, Ibn Yamin is almost a modern in some of his pithy verses. Take his verse on freedom:

> "A freeman is a king, so hold the wise,
> And he's a king who is from cravings free.
> The dust of freedom's threshold for sore eyes
> An ointment makes, so think the wise with me."

This simile used reminds me forcibly of a Persian saying, which runs: "The dust of a flock of sheep is ointment for the eyes of a wolf."

His verse on Fate is also worth quoting:

> "Your daily bread is fixed—your years also—
> By not one hour too fast, nor second slow.
> For everyone is fixed what is to be,
> If this suffices not, there is no remedy.
> Where shall you find who lives as he thinks due,
> Beneath the vaulted heaven of sombre hue?"

Here we have the Moslem view as laid down in the Koran that Allah provideth for all, while as to the second line of the quotation, is it not written in the Koran, "They shall neither retard nor advance it an hour"?

The verse on "Home, Sweet Home" appeals to all men down the ages:

> "To each as Heaven seems his native land,
> Where he may rest from troubles wholly free,
> Where he apart from all the world may stand
> And power and palaces unmoved may see."

Continuing our survey, there is a delightful verse on the simple life:

> "He who enjoys this world's amenities,
> And needs no help against asperities,
> And has a cottage too where he may dwell,
> From which besides one cannot him expel,
> Is in this world, of his own time—a king,
> And looks not for a crown—or anything."

We next come to a verse on the benefits of travel, which is particularly worth quoting:

> "My heart! If dangers great in travel be,
> How can one travel and no dangers see?
> That which is gained by travellers who roam—
> Where can they gain as much who stay at home?
> If like a shadow men a grotto love,
> How can they see the sun and moon above?
> And he who fears into the sea to dive,
> Whence hopes he pearls and jewels to derive?
> And if a well-skilled man stays in his home,
> From all his skill what benefit can come?
> The falcon that his eerie ne'er deserts,
> His power to capture game in vain asserts."

A final quotation shows the poet at his best, and here we may perhaps trace the influence of Omar Khayyám:

"Take care! The world is passing by. My heart!
And quit this bed where fools do lie. My heart!
For every violet that blooms from earth
Was once a mole on cheeks of former birth,
Musk scented, that bespoke a beauty's worth.

And every hyacinth from out the ground
Was once a ringlet that some forehead bound
Of sweeter scent than ambergris. My heart!
So make the most of time and do your part.
For many skulls of Monarchs have been passed
Through the hot flame of Potter's workshop blast."

To conclude, we are most grateful to General Rodwell for making the work of Ibn Yamin accessible to the general public, while a word of thanks is due to the publishers for the attractive format and printing of the book.

P. M. SYKES.

Caravan Cities. By M. Rostovtzeff. Translated by D. and T. Talbot Rice. Pp. xiv+232. Plates xxxv., six figures in the text. Five maps and plans. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1932. 15s.

In *Caravan Cities* Professor Rostovtzeff has applied a fund of learning to a most intriguing subject, and has produced a book which deserves to be read by all serious students of the Middle East. The four cities which he has selected for his study are Petra, Jerash, Palmyra, and Dura. The task of describing these cities and the caravan trade with which they were associated has been by no means an easy one. In the first place, the history of the period is only to be derived from a complex variety of sources, and its elucidation in a compact form is liable to tantalize the scholar, because space forbids a fuller description of the evidence, while the uninitiated may find himself baffled by the unfolding of the progress of the many different dynasties that he is called upon to consider. Further, the author has more than once had to beware of poaching on preserves belonging to workers still engaged in excavating their own sites. On the whole these difficulties have been successfully overcome; and if occasionally the subject-matter requires a concentrated attention, this is due to the inherent complexity of the subject, and not to any defect in exposition. One is, however, bound to criticize the absence of an adequate map, to illustrate the historical survey given in the first chapter. The general reader should not be expected to go to the trouble of fetching an atlas in order to refresh his memory on the whereabouts of the Minnæans and the Gerrhæans, and the addition of an abbreviated Seleucid, Ptolemaic, and Parthian king list would have been a help.

Mr. and Mrs. Talbot Rice are to be congratulated on producing an eminently readable translation, which never obtrudes itself as the rendering into English of a foreign tongue.

Professor Rostovtzeff describes a caravan city as one "brought into existence solely by caravan trade," a description which is probably true of all four cities, and which accounts for much in their chequered careers. None of these cities had sufficient natural resources to make their existence a necessity: all of them,

with the exception of Dura, lay somewhat away from the regular beaten track, so that when they fell, they fell with a crash. The moral to be drawn from the account of their ephemeral histories is perhaps that no one chooses a desert route if there is a more fertile one available. Of the desert, the author quite rightly says that, "like the sea, it not only divides; it also joins." But the learned Professor himself was clearly impressed with the difficulties of negotiating a sandy, or even a gravel, waste. "More dangerous even than the Bedouin is the desert ... if there is a breakdown. . . ." Thus speaks the traveller of to-day. Can we be surprised, then, that it required some special inducement for the ancient caravan to take the Akaba-Petra route, or the track from Dura to Palmyra? What these special inducements were the author describes to us in his historical survey.

The period at which Petra first becomes of importance seems to be that during which the Seleucids and the Ptolemies were fighting one another for possession of the land that lay between them. Petra itself lay close to what was probably a very old caravan route for South Arabian and even Egyptian traffic, penetrating northwards into Syria and beyond. Now that the main coastal road was a seat of warfare, the volume of traffic seeking the less trodden desert hinterland must have rapidly increased. The Nabatæans, who were no doubt partly of the desert, and therefore natural guides in the desert, seized their chances with both hands, and found in Petra, lying just off the beaten track, a natural treasure-house which they exploited to the full. Inscriptions make it probable that the Nabatæans controlled as early as the first century B.C. the whole of the caravan route between Petra and Damascus, together with the towns that lay upon it. Indeed, even since the publication of this book Mr. Horsfield has discovered yet another Nabatæan site at Bayer wells, north-east of Maan. The rise of Jerash also coincides with the increase of Transjordanian trade.

With the beginnings of Palmyra we are brought into contact with yet another important dynasty—that of the Parthians. By 140-130 B.C. lower Mesopotamia was already Parthian; in the first century B.C. Parthia was bent on the conquest of Syria, and Hellenism, represented by the Seleucids, was equally bent on keeping her out. The establishment of a number of independent local dynasties in the neighbourhood of the upper Euphrates probably added to the inconveniences experienced by travellers on the already war-infested northern route, with the result that the dangers of the Palmyrene desert probably appeared trifling to the unfortunate caravan. We may also suspect that the commercial-minded Nabatæans, who had by this time already extended their rule to Damascus, seized the further opportunity of prolonging their caravan routes to Palmyra. On the Mesopotamian side the natural starting-point for Palmyra was Dura, by now a Parthian frontier fort. Trade therefore passed into the northern desert route, and Palmyra became a liaison for the caravan between the hostile powers of East and West.

The subsequent history of caravan trade on these routes becomes entirely subject to the dictates of Rome. Pompey was aggressive, Augustus pursued a policy of diplomatic consolidation, the Flavians again resorted to arms, and Hadrian, beloved of Palmyra, reverted to the policy of Augustus, while his successors reverted to the policy of Trajan, "who was probably convinced of the possibility of a conquest of Parthia, so that the entire civilized world could again become a single kingdom, as it had been under Alexander the Great." These alternations of policy were probably all in the natural order of events, for effective diplomacy can only follow in the wake of a strong arm. Through all these vicissitudes we see the prosperity of the caravan trade gradually increasing. But with the decline of the *pax Romana* in the third century A.D. trade declines too. The four upstart caravan cities which had grown to an abnormal artificial

prosperity fell almost as quickly as they had risen, being without the natural stamina to bear up against a changing tide. Jerash, now a Christian centre, lasted longest of them all, but even Jerash was unable to contend with the different channels of Byzantine trade.

Professor Rostovtzeff takes us conscientiously around the ruins of all four cities. It is refreshing to hear the hackneyed "rose-red" of Petra described as "reddish mauve raw flesh," though, according to the visitors' book at Petra, some people are reminded of strawberry jam. The sketchy account of Petra's monuments serves to emphasize our ignorance of the subject. Authorities are not agreed as to the succession of styles of architecture, and we know all too little as to which of the buildings were private houses, though here the author advances the rock-cut houses of Bulla Regia in Tunisia and Garian near Tripoli as a parallel. But we may hope to learn more of Petra from outside sources such as the tombs of Petræan merchants at el Hegra, where Fathers Jaussen and Savignac have already done valuable work. It is indeed curious that this debased eclectic architecture, with its columns and cornices solemnly carved out of the soft sandstone for all the world as if it were a sugar cake, should yet be one of the most beautiful remains of ancient times.

Through Jerash, laid out for caravans and enriched by caravans, we are conducted in the best archæological manner, and are made to observe at what points the later walls have been thrown out of their natural course to take in earlier buildings.

In Palmyra, with its forest of columns and brackets to hold the statues of caravan patrons and benefactors, the author points out to us many Babylonian elements both in the religion and in the architecture; but he considers these to belong to "a kind of syncretistic religion which well reflected the composite character of the Parthian empire in general." While admitting this to be true, we will venture to suggest that a day may come when remains of the Babylonian period itself will be found in Palmyra: the natural place to look for such remains is, of course, the Haram area, where unfortunately excavation is for the present anathema. Palmyra appears to have been mentioned in cuneiform records, but the author omits to tell us that the original Tadmor, or rather Tamar, of the Hebrew text in Kings was probably not Palmyra at all.

Dura, where the author has worked in person, is described as fully as possible, and the account of this city, given in the last chapter in the book, excites us with a desire for the full publication of the site. Professor Rostovtzeff shows a disposition to credit the Parthians with a vigorous and original art which is more than a mere shadow of Hellenism, and if the extant sculptural remains do not entirely warrant this view, we must at least admit that at Dura there was a very vigorous school of Parthian painting.

There is in this book a wealth of detail that will help the general reader to understand life, both public and private, in these caravan cities. It is fascinating to learn that the merchants of Petra had a colony at Puteoli in Southern Italy; that a Durene cook scratched on the wall an account of the number of hams that he was going to serve to his Roman master; and that a soldier drew on his shield a coloured map of the road from the Balkans to Dura.

Through all, there looms the picture of the invincible spirit of Rome, typified by the army of Aurelian, who, when Palmyra had thought the day had come to throw off the Roman yoke, marched back a second time across the arid Syrian waste, and once and for all sacked and laid low that upstart barbarian city.

M. E. L. Mallowan.

Ibn Sa'ud—The Puritan King of Arabia. By Kenneth Williams. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 299. Frontispiece. Maps. Jonathan Cape. 8s. 6d. net.

King Faisal of 'Iraq. By Mrs. Steuart Erskine. With an appreciation by Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. Foreword by H.E. Ja'far Pasha al Askari. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 288. Illustrations. Hutchinson. 18s. net.

Mr. Williams and Mrs. Steuart Erskine have written simultaneously biographies of the two greatest men that the Arab world has produced in the last century. In some respects their lives are similar, as they both have risen on account of sheer merit from being minor chieftains to the position of kings in countries that have not known an Arab ruler for many centuries; and they have both proved equal to the task. The similarity, however, ends there, for, though both were of the same race, their characters and methods were entirely divergent. Ibn Sa'ud, if we read between the lines of Mr. Williams' book, throughout his life has been filled with personal ambition, whilst Mrs. Erskine portrays the late Faisal as a man who genuinely put his country and his people first, and who appears to have worked with the sole idea of gaining for the Arab a place in the world rather than self-aggrandizement. Ibn Sa'ud, if not a religious fanatic himself in the accepted sense of the word, has certainly used religious fanaticism as a weapon with which he has carved out his kingdom, whilst Faisal, though a staunch Mohammedan, appears to have been extremely broad-minded on all questions affecting the faith and to have shown no discrimination between members of the Sunni or Shiah sects, nor any bias against Christians.

Faisal took a very active and leading part in the revolt which won for the Arab race its independence in Arabia, whilst Ibn Sa'ud, for reasons that one can only regard as personal, took up the position of "the man on the fence," and, except for an abortive attack with Colonel Shakespear in 1915 at Jarrab on Ibn Rashid—a Turkish adherent, but also an old enemy of Ibn Sa'ud's—failed to identify himself in any way with the Arab rising against the Turkish invasion.

Faisal appears to have been a diplomat with an undoubted charm of manner which facilitated greatly his negotiations with Great Britain and other Powers, and there was nothing to suggest the desert Arab in the urbane, cultured, and tactful cosmopolitan, dressed in morning coat and silk hat. The fact that he failed to satisfy the French in Syria cannot be counted against him, as the French at that time were, to put it mildly, hard to please, and on the other hand is the undoubted success that he had with our own Government, not to mention his satisfactory negotiations with both Turkey and Persia.

Ibn Sa'ud is more of a Cromwell and a dictator than a diplomat, and his success so far has been mainly by means of the sword. His failure to take part in the Arab movement against the Turks during the war was, according to Mr. Williams, on account of the deep resentment that he felt at the recognition given by Great Britain to his rival, King Hussein of the Hedjaz. There are those who hold the view that during the war the military authorities backed the wrong horse, and that they should have foreseen that Ibn Sa'ud of Riadh was a greater force than Hussein of the Hedjaz. As Mr. Williams says, it is easy to be wise after the event, and, though Hussein himself may have proved something of a failure, it must be remembered that Hussein's two sons, Faisal and Abdulla, more than retrieved any mistakes made by their father. Also whatever the respective claims and personalities of the two rival claimants for the leadership in Arabia, the fact remains that the man who could at that time bring all the Beduin of the Hedjaz, Transjordan, and Eastern Syria into the field was Hussein,

assisted by his sons, and it was on this particular front that we required active co-operation. At that time Ibn Sa'ud's influence did not extend far enough to the north or west to enable him to render any very active assistance against the enemy. If, on the other hand, he had sunk his personal differences with Hussein and joined forces, there is little doubt that the Arab army might have been a far more redoubtable force than it was.

Both Faisal and Ibn Sa'ud have proved themselves administrators of no ordinary calibre. Faisal showed that he could handle those most difficult of all mortals the desert Beduin and lead them during two years of war, whilst later he had to administer and compromise between the views of a civilized and prosperous business community in Baghdad, Mosul, and the other towns of 'Iraq, a settled population of cultivators of the soil, lawless tribes of nomad Arabs, the mixture complicated by the presence of naturally hostile Kurds and Assyrians. Ibn Sa'ud has instilled oneness of purpose and a national ideal into the wild men of Gebel Shamma and Nejd, and is at present teaching the inhabitants of the Hedjaz that they might have some more worthy object in life than battening on the pilgrims who visit Mecca every year.

Mrs. Erskine's book was just going into print when news was received of the tragically sudden death of King Faisal, and the work therefore appears at a time when the need was indicated for some appreciation of the great services rendered by this Arab king, who, amid the welter of present-day politics and intrigues, proved himself great in that he evolved order out of chaos, was neither self-seeking nor ambitious, and who ultimately sacrificed his own life for the good of his people.

C. S. JARVIS.

L'Italia e la Nuova Turchia. By Ugo Bassi. 1932. Modena: E. Bassi e Nipoti.

L'Italia e l'Arabia Centrale. By Ugo Bassi. 1932. Modena: E. Bassi e Nipoti.

La Fine del Mandato Sull'Iraq e una Preoccupazione per L'Italia. By Romolo Tritonj. *Oriente Moderno*, April, 1933.

The interest taken by Italian statesmen and publicists in the Eastern Mediterranean is well known, and the first of the above-mentioned works deals with one of the most important points in that phase of Italian policy—namely, Turco-Italian relations. The author gives a summary of the origin and rise of the Turkish Republic and then discusses Turco-Italian relations. He gives the text of the Turco-Italian treaty of May 30, 1928. The second work by the same author follows a similar plan, tracing the rise of Ibn Sa'ud's power and giving the text of the treaty concluded between Italy and that monarch on February 10, 1932. Each book contains a bibliography, which is useful for the Italian works included. The treatment of the subject is in each case summary, and is only designed to give a general idea of the subject in a brief space for the general reader. As regards the book on Arabia, the ideas advanced are somewhat vague. Italy hopes for advantages by way of economic penetration: but an article by Mr. Philby in *The Times* of April 26 last suggests that that hope may not be easily fulfilled. Signor Bassi apparently leans to the idea of a Trans-Arabian railway: one might have expected a countryman of

"Fiat" to be more alive to the possibilities of motor transport. One wonders also how far the recent South African shipping agreement will assist in pushing Italian shipping interests in the Red Sea.

The most interesting point in the book about Turkey is also illustrated by the article in the review *Oriente Moderno* on the termination of the British Mandate in 'Iraq. We refer to the uncertainty and misunderstanding which may prevail as to the motives of nations. Signor Tritonj has discovered, it seems, the true motive of the British renunciation of the Mandate over 'Iraq. This motive was not the desire to be freed from the accompanying burdens nor to accede to the nationalist aspirations of the Baghdadis: the object was to be freed from those provisions of the Mandate which impose on the mandatory the granting of equal opportunities in economic matters within the mandated territory to foreigners. Great Britain's purpose is now to establish for herself, especially in the economic field, a privileged position in 'Iraq, unrestrained by any provisions of a mandate or obligations to the League of Nations. It is regrettable that views so untrue and tendencious can be formed and expressed: argument would probably be vain to refute them, and we can only hope that they are not shared in any political quarters in Italy. To turn to Signor Bassi's book on Turkey, it would seem from this that no such motives could ever be attributed to Italian policy. Italy never had territorial ambitions in Asia Minor: she only joined in the occupation after the war in order to exercise a moderating influence. From 1921 until the Treaty of Lausanne she had no ambitions, except perhaps a zone of economic preference! After the Treaty of Lausanne Turco-Italian relations swiftly and constantly improved. All this is rather surprising when we recall that one reason for the consent given by the Powers to the Greek occupation of Smyrna was fear of Italian ambitions in the Adalia region: and we can well recall the scare about Italy and the feeling against her in Turkey in 1925. This sort of propaganda probably is of small importance: one cannot, however, but resent the other side of the picture—that is to say, the sort of accusations contained in Signor Tritonj's article.

J. P.

Cairo to Persia. By Owen Tweedie. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. x+288. Illustrations. Maps. Jarrolds. 1933. 18s.

This is a lively and entertaining account of a journey which begins in mid-winter with a colourful account of the Mediterranean crossing and with the building in Cairo of a special caravan body for the author's Ford 30-cwt. chassis. It ends five months later with the triumphant return to Cairo of himself and his companion. The year was apparently 1931, though this information is not vouchsafed us. The outward route was by Sinai, Palestine, Aleppo, and Nisibin to Baghdad and Kermanshah, and the desert route by Rutbeh and Damascus was followed on the return. The travels in Persia included visits to Shiraz in the south and Meshed i Sar, Pehlevi and Tabriz in the north, and a rather woeful flight from Teheran to Meshed and back in a Junkers plane piloted by a Persian. The author's style recalls Hajji Baba of Isfahan and the Searches of H. V. Morton, and his book has much of the quality of the latter. It is a very refreshing and illuminating tale of travel in the Middle East to-day.

Mr. Tweedie does not trench deeply: he is rightly concerned throughout with the surface conditions of roads, places, people, events and politics, and his spirit of hilarious adventure carries him robustly through the minor mishaps inevitable

in a long series of encounters. His narrative is pictorial and at times succinctly graphic. To his eyes "Persia at first sight looked very empty. . . . Try in your mind's eye to parch all the grass off the Quantock Hills round Taunton, then put on imaginary orange-tinted spectacles. . . ." "Physically," he says, "Persia is not unlike an inverted soup-plate." He arrives over Meshed by air, and sees in the centre of the town the dome of the sacred Shrine, "looking a golden stud in the middle of a brown shirtfront." His description of the Church at Bethlehem, and the sectarian discords which preoccupy its Latin, Greek, and Armenian "allotment" holders, is reminiscent of Gibbon, though nothing could be less pontifical than the manner of his description. Much of his narrative leans to caricature, and many of his stories savour of picturesque exaggeration for the reader's benefit, but they are all *ben trovato* even if not all well founded. Had Mr. Tweedie's proofs, however, been read by someone with closer knowledge of the countries he visited, a Musjid el Goma (*sic*) would not, for instance, have been translated as a Friday mosque, nor would he have been allowed to state that a certain potentate began life as a Legation porter. Minor inaccuracies are indeed numerous throughout the book. The author's previous travels, however, give him a good perspective and material for comparisons which range from Lake Chad to the Nevsky Prospekt. When he talks of politics he is usually content to repeat attractively the views of his numerous chance acquaintances. He has some interesting things to say about the Christian minorities of 'Iraq and the future of Arab government.

Mr. Tweedie is at his best on the road, where the resourcefulness and good humour shown by himself and his companion are a lesson to all travellers. Page 144 is a notable case in point, for the predicament recounted there is a very common one in Persia, where soldiers and road-guards attempt to board one's car as a policeman might board a bus. In Baghdad he was not happy, and the crazy traffic of New Street afflicted him like a nightmare. Of Teheran he has disappointingly little to say, and his high spirits seem to have failed him there until he discovered a conjuring show on an excursion to Sh. Abdul Azim. He is fully appreciative, however, of the architectural and decorative beauties of Isfahan.

Such criticism of public affairs as is offered is usually moderate and fair, but on page 183 the author makes aspersions on Persian policy concerning currency and trade which are scarcely warranted. The pegging of exchange rates and the restrictions on imports imposed by the Persian Government during the great depression were no more fatuous than the practice of most countries of the world.

The book is generously illustrated with excellent photographs, including an unusual close-up of the cone of Demavend, and delightfully realistic pictures of the furrowy tracks of the lorry in the sands of Sinai and on a "roadway" in Kurdistan.

F. H.

Murray's Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon
Including all British India, the Portuguese and French Possessions, and the Indian States. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ Pp. cxliv + 812. Maps and plans. Murray. 1933. 24s.

In India, more than in any other country to which the traveller is wont to go for pleasure, is it a necessity to be equipped with the experience of others. The

price exacted from the rash adventurer who essays to buy his own experience is apt to be unduly high. As a learned professor new to Asiatic travel recently put it, "The technique of travel evolved by the British in India is remarkable." Rather should it be said that an elaborate mode of travel has been imposed upon them by the climate, the scarcity of food suitable to the European, the danger of infective disease from both food and water, and—not least—by the language difficulty, which usually compels the Englishman to have a servant as interpreter. For there are the coolies who transport his baggage to be dealt with and the drivers of taxis and tongas; there are camel-men, shikaris, and beaters, if he goes shooting; and always there are the multifarious servants whom the caste system imposes upon him at every turn. With visions of the many things that may befall the unwary, I turned at once to the General Hints section of this guide—and I thoroughly enjoyed it for its vivid reminders of daily life in India and the half-yearly journeys to the hills and back. It would be difficult to imagine a more interestingly drawn-up guide to the "technique of travel" in India. It seems to cover every contingency, even to stating the proper sum to be paid to a coolie for looking after property left for a brief period in the railway carriage. All such points, however, need to be digested beforehand—they cannot be looked up in the noise and bustle of an Indian railway station. But it is no hardship to read with attention hints so entertainingly put together.

His own necessities catered for, the traveller looks out on India. He sees an immense confusion of types of people, of dress, of customs, of buildings, and of scenery. To appreciate even in the remotest degree what it all means, a general framework in which to give each item at least a provisional place is essential: it is provided by this admirable guide. The chief races and religions of India—the Mohammedans, Hindus, Sikhs, Mahrattas, Rajputs, Parsis, and the "depressed classes"—are clearly and most interestingly summarized and an account is given of Buddhism and the Buddhists, and the Jains. The festivals also of the various religions are mentioned, and the sketches in both word and line of the chief gods of the Hindu pantheon are likely to be most helpful. The caste marks of the followers of Vishnu and Shiva will add greatly to the interest of the railway platform crowds. For on railway platforms rather than in the bazaars has the traveller in India his best opportunity of studying Indian types in detail—he is not there obviously for that purpose! A few similar sketches to illustrate various typical modes of attire would be very welcome in future editions of this work. Everyone knows the Indian sari, but who appreciates the various ways in which it is put on? The dhoti is familiar to most, but how many who are new to the country can distinguish it from the skirt-like garment that the Mohammedan sometimes dons in place of the usual baggy trousers? The "pushteen" of the frontier tribes, their ornate embroidered waistcoats, the swinging pleated skirts of many of the women of the depressed classes in the Punjab, the Parsi's hat, the Gandhi cap, the turbans of the Madrasi, the Sikh and Sindhi—all of them are distinctive.

For the practical suggestions for reaching places of interest, and the eminently readable descriptions and histories of those places, there can be nothing but commendation. The maps and plans are a mine of interest in themselves: but the inclusion of such places as Taxila and Mohenjo-daro in the general map would be an advantage.

An alternative and very interesting route to India surely merits attention: the new through journey overland by the Simplon-Orient express to Istanbul, and onwards from Haidar Pasha station (Scutari), via the Taurus Tunnel, to Nisibin, whence the 'Iraq railways take the traveller by car and rail to Baghdad and Basra.

From the latter the British Indian Persian Gulf mail steamers sail weekly to Karachi and Bombay.

In so much excellence such trifling omissions as the mention of the railway rest house and refreshment room at Rohri, and a certain amount of unnecessary duplication on pages xc and xcvii, and pages xciii-v and xcviii-xcix of the section on Architecture, are but minor blemishes. On page xix a word of warning should be given not to land cars at Karachi with the idea of proceeding thence by road. There is as yet no practicable road for a great part of the distance from there to Lahore, and the car would have to put upon a train.

This handbook is to be recommended for careful perusal on the journey out to India. The traveller can be trusted to re-read it with sharpened interest on the journey home.

DOROTHY MACKAY.

The Kabul Magazine Year Book. By the Kabul Magazine Literary Society. Printed in Persian with numerous photographic illustrations and coloured plates. $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8''$. Pp. 322.

This volume is indeed a very ambitious effort, and the Kabul Literary Society is to be congratulated on its first effort in the compilation of a National Year Book. It is evident that some pains have been taken, not only to educate the people of Afghanistan as a whole in regard to information relating to their own country, but also by giving them a rough survey of events in the world generally.

The book, which is in Persian, is perhaps a trifle unwieldy in its present form with its thick but artistic paper cover in colour, and I would suggest that if possible the next issue should be of smaller dimensions with an improved form of binding and stouter covers. About two-thirds of the book is devoted to matters concerning Afghanistan, the remainder being a summary of recent events in the outer world; a good deal of attention is paid to the political happenings in other countries. The Afghan can be justly proud of the country's splendid financial recovery during the past four years, thanks to the magnificent work done by the late ruler, H.M. King Nadir Shah, who has lifted the country from its practically bankrupt state following the abdication of ex-King Amanullah to its present sound financial status. One gathers that Afghanistan is fast becoming air-minded, since much interesting data is given of progress in this direction, mention being made of the now world-famous Zeppelin and the world's greatest flyng-boat, the D.O-X. There is also included in this section a comparative chart showing the strength of the various air forces of the world. Another chapter deals with railway engineering from Stephenson's "Rocket" to the massive locomotives of to-day. Also reference is made to the mountain railways of Switzerland, which is interesting. There is no doubt that the authorities are anxious to build railways in order to develop the mineral and other resources of the country, which would do much to increase trade and commerce with the outer world.

Like all Year Books, it would be impossible to touch upon every section, and I can only again say that the publication of such a book is a credit to Modern Afghanistan. I hope that it will be published annually, and that an edition in either English or French be issued for circulation in Europe.

R. M. S. MORRISON.

Sabre and Saddle. By Lieut.-Colonel E. A. W. Stotherd. With a Foreword by Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 302. Illustrations, maps, plans. Seeley, Service. 1933.

"A little British army goes a d——d long way" was the refrain of a popular song many years ago. It has the merit of being true. Here is an officer of the said little army who records his soldiering and sporting experiences—how often the two go together!—in four continents (if Jamaica may be included in the continent of America), as well as in Australasia. Colonel Stotherd started his service in one of the now disbanded West India regiments, but after a short time he was posted to what evidently suited him better, an Indian cavalry regiment; and this led to a number of special appointments and missions. Throughout a service remarkable in its variety, he apparently kept a faithful diary which he has made his book's framework—a framework with numerous pegs on which are hung anecdotes both humorous and grave and descriptions of peoples and places. The list of countries visited on duty or pleasure is extraordinary, including Persia, Russia, Turkey, China, Japan, Africa, and many more—a widely cast net indeed! Perhaps the most interesting chapters are those describing a journey through Persia, the Boxer rising in China, and the Indian Frontier War of '97. In the first of these he records with the utmost brevity an attack by tribesmen on his caravan and its repulse, an encounter that might well have brought his diary to an abrupt end. And this leads me to the mention of a fault. It is that while really remarkable incidents and adventures, which the reader would have wished described in detail, are frequently passed over in very few words, one finds the book somewhat encumbered by a great deal of rather trite descriptive matter that could have been omitted without loss. The following are instances: "A cool climate free from these diseases can be obtained at the many hill stations of India; of these Simla may be described as being far the most important in the north, and Ootacamund in the south." And this: "The most noteworthy relics in India are the buildings, many of them still in an excellent state of preservation—tombs, temples, palaces and forts; the most wonderful of all being the Taj Mahal." True, but more appropriate to a guide-book.

The author's account of his experiences in China during the Boxer rebellion fill two entertaining chapters and give a vivid, though necessarily a superficial, account of that extraordinary time when armed forces of Great Britain, France, Germany, the United States, Japan, and Russia co-operated under a German General. Days when such things were possible seem very far away now! The photographs showing groups of the soldiers of the above nationalities add greatly to the chapters' value. Colonel Stotherd's excellent description of the Tirah expedition may make tame reading to a public surfeited with literature of the Great War, but the fighting in this, the biggest of all our frontier "shows," against a fanatical foe of wonderful mobility, every one of them born, so to speak, with a rifle in his hand, was grim enough to those who took part in it. His account of the capture of the Dargai ridge, perhaps the most famous action in the annals of the North-Western Frontier, is good; but he omits to stress the inexplicable abandonment of the ridge after it had been captured easily on October 18, which resulted in its being reoccupied by the enemy and held in much greater strength on the 20th, the day of the famous assault.

The object of this book is in no sense political, but in concluding this brief review it is right to mention that Colonel Stotherd, with his unusual experiences in all quarters of the globe as well as in India, with his powers of observation, his obvious sympathy with native races, and his essentially English outlook, does

not hesitate to express in the plainest way his distrust of the reforms now proposed for India.

The volume constitutes a modest but valuable record of the career of an officer of the Indian army possessing a taste for adventure. Its attractiveness is enhanced by a large number of very good photographs. The foreword by Sir Percy Sykes will be read with much interest.

R. L. K.

Indian Idealism. By Surendranath Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D., Principal Sanskrit College, Calcutta. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xxiii + 206. Cambridge University Press. 1933. 10s. 6d.

A book of lectures delivered " years ago " at Patna University, these are here published " more or less as delivered." I venture to think that this is somewhat to be regretted. In a study which, if undertaken scientifically, and more especially historically, is so new as that of Indian religio-philosophical thought, a writer cannot afford to do this. He thereby disregards all that fellow-seekers have since those " years ago " been putting forward. Or he quotes only from such works as they had published " years ago." For instance, of modern philosophers—he quotes only English thinkers—we find nothing more recent than references to McTaggart, Sorley, and Wallace, who were writing when I who am old was young. I have, too, my own little grievance, not because I have any claim to be quoted as having written on Idealism, but because the latest of my writings on Buddhism here cited is fifteen years old, and because, of the many things I have published since in historical criticism of Buddhism, adverse to the somewhat uncritical things here said about Buddhism, no notice is taken.

Dr. Dasgupta has that gift of a good lecturer: the art of exposition, whether it be in a nutshell, or longer. In his thematic Table of Contents much knowledge is packed into a few words; in it we see just what each of the older Upanishads contains. But neither in it nor in the following expositions do we see any heed taken to that which India and we are on the point of considering, namely, to what extent, if any, the Upanishads reveal *in detail a history of changing values*. He tells us rightly of their Immanence-idealism (you cannot separate religion and philosophy in them) as " gradually emerging " from Vedic ritualism (he omits to add external theism), retaining superannuated fragments. But he goes no further than to treat this literature *en bloc*. It should be seen that this method, too, is superannuated. Can we hope that Dr. Dasgupta will once more take the helm and show us how and wherein it is, that, *e.g.*, for the Chāndogya Upanishad it was *not* an " old truth " to say that man the spirit was " the ultimate reality," that for Muṇḍaka and Maitri the One Self, God in man, appears as dual? Will he not prevent his readers from *getting the impression* that Chāndogya takes up a question as if put earlier by Muṇḍaka? Nor is this all that is needed. There is the historicity of the parts *in each* Upanishad: what is earlier, what later? What is gloss, inserted because of changed values? I see several contexts only to be thus made explicable. Cowell and Deussen are in historical criticism just at the threshold, and no further:—will he not take up their torch? I am not so sanguine as to believe that such a " higher criticism " of those Upanishads, which are generally believed to be the earliest portion, will reveal, like a finished jigsaw puzzle, a tidy " system " of idealism. I have never believed there ever

was such a system. We should still echo the writer's words: "It is difficult to discover what exactly is the status of reality that is ascribed to the external world and to the psychical self," and more such "it is difficult's" (*cf.* p. 51). But with some degree of historical perspective introduced by wise guides, the student will no longer be wandering in a maze of often semi-conflicting opinions. He will begin to see, not only ideas, but the speakers of differing outlook, at different times, uttering values which in each of them, as different individuals, played upon by different influences, are bound to be different, and which, as such, become so much more alive.

Historical perspective introduced into Upanishadic study would also show a feature we do not find in this book, and that is, the gradual way in which the teaching of Kapila and his new school was influencing the Brahman teaching. Analysis of mind as a more, a *bhūyas*, in the man, of distinguishable features and orderly process, is becoming a preoccupation, till we find it accepted (in spite of Kaushītaki's warning) as complementary in training with Yoga. This brings me to a final word on my own subject, for a juster historical study of which I spend my last years a fighter.

Once more I find here the *Founder* of a religious movement, which sought to expand and rationalize the religiously irrational idealism of the Upanishads, in showing a Way by which man, potential God, might ultimately become actual God, confounded with the teaching of his *after-men*. What "Buddha" said is treated as identical with what his "church" said—but what a difference is there between the two! Gotama—to drop the late-adopted title "Buddha"—never "preached a philosophy," either the late monk-made ten- or twelvefold "chain of causation," much less the much later concept of *dharmas* as "the only real existents." Nearly a millennium is needed to cover the time-distance between the Founder's age and these theories, yet all are treated also *en bloc*, and Gotama, who, in the sixth century B.C., bade man, in Upanishadic terms, "seek the Self within," and live with That as lamp, refuge, bourn, witness, protector, mandator, is thus made to talk like a Madhyamika dialectician of the fourth century A.D. Verily in vain does the Pali Text Society seem to have been steadily working these fifty-two years! Will the learned author join hands with me in the work of ending these libels on his country's great son, the Śākyamuni, mindful of a witty Frenchman's saying: "Everything there is to say has been said, but since no one listens, one must always begin again"?

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

Kumbum Dschamba Ling Das Kloster der hunderttausend Bilder Maitreyas. Ein Ausschnitt aus Leben und Lehre des heutigen Lamaismus Mit 208 Abbildungen und Kunstdrucktafeln nach eigenen Aufnahmen, 412 Skizzen des Verfassers im Text, einer Lichtdruck-und einer Buntdrucktafel sowie einer Klosterkarte. Pp. xv, 555 + [1]. In Kommission bei F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig. 1933.

The name of Kumbum, the great Lamaist establishment of North-Eastern Tibet, situated east of the Koko-nor Lake and about twenty miles west of the Chinese town of Si-ning-fu, recalls to most people the lively narrative of the French Jesuits Huc and Gabet, who visited the shrine in 1844-5. The miraculous tree, with leaves and bark exhibiting Tibetan writing or Buddhist figures, and the dismay of the two Fathers, who could find no explanation, left a vivid im-

pression upon the imagination of the reading public. Later European travellers have not been so very few, and through their descriptions and occasional sketches the place in its general aspects has come to have no more mystery than had Lhasa at the time of the expedition of 1904.

Dr. Filchner's own expedition to the region of the upper Hoang-ho had primarily scientific and geographical objects, and its results are recorded in numerous volumes of that character. In addition, Dr. Filchner has published several extensive narratives of his travels and adventures, which have been widely appreciated. His first work concerning Kumbum (*Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet*, Berlin, 1906) was inspired by a visit in 1904; its sub-title, " A Contribution to its History," is perhaps less apt than its designation in the preface as " a Kumbum Baedeker." It furnishes much precise information concerning the site, the structures, the monks and their ceremonies and manner of life, and it ends with an elaborate account of the famous tree, or trees, as observed by the author and described and discussed by others. It contains numerous maps, plans, and views.

The new work is to its predecessor, in the words of Dr. Berthold Laufer's interesting " Geleitwort," as a full-grown man to a baby. The 404 pages of text are followed by 1,706 notes (pp. 401-536), many of them lengthy, and interwoven with over 600 illustrations. But the astonishing character of Dr. Filchner's achievement will be realized by the reader only after making his way through two or three chapters. The chapters II.-VIII. (pp. 25-171) contain a sort of microscopic survey of the whole mass of structures. The general plan indeed was made out in surface and altitudes by scientific observations and photographs; but the lines and angles of individual buildings were ascertained mainly by pacing and the heights by estimating, the monks being suspicious of all measurements. The labour of such a task and the time and mental concentration which it demanded may be appreciated. It is, however, when we come to the descriptions of decorative and other particulars of interiors that our eyes are definitely opened. Full as Tibetan shrines are of emblems, paintings, vessels, etc., Dr. Filchner has not shrunk from the enterprise of recording everything—sizes, shapes, colours, designs, uses, and of providing hundreds of illustrative sketches, many of them representing quite small cult-objects. Extensive catalogues (*dkar-chag*) of the possessions of temples and monasteries are compiled by the local Tibetans themselves, and printed copies of some such have reached Europe; should the Kumbum catalogue, of which Dr. Filchner has ascertained the existence and general lines, ever be available for reference, we may doubt whether, except in regard to reserved treasures, it would very seriously supplement his work.

These " Baedeker " chapters, for which, however valuable for reference and record, the author can scarcely expect readers, except among students of Tibetan architecture and art and intending visitors to the place, are preceded by a general chapter relating to Lamaist shrines, observances, and paraphernalia, and followed by ten chapters, giving accounts of the founder, Tsoṅ-kha-pa, the Lamaist system and " incarnations," the ceremonial, the Butter-festival, the religious dances, the studies, disputations and grades, and the medical science and practical rules of life. There is a very interesting appendix of ethnographical particulars, chiefly concerning the region and the Tangut people. These chapters are less richly, but quite fully, illustrated, especially those concerning the Butter-festival and the dances. They are not less precise and particular in their descriptions; but the subjects are of a less ocular character, and the reader can absorb a good part of the interesting detail.

The 134 closely printed pages of notes contributed by Herr Unkrig are a mine of information: the citations of the less-known Russian works and of Mongolian

phrases, titles, and usages bring a substantial accession to the available knowledge of Lamaism, both in Tibet itself and in its Central Asian expansion.

It is true that the medal which we would strike in honour of Dr. Filchner's volume has a reverse inscription which is not all eulogistic. There is a good deal of matter in the pages both of the text and of the notes which has little relevance to Kumbum; and a proportion of this matter is not new and may more conveniently be sought in works where it is in place. All that concerns Kumbum and its sites, buildings and usages, its organization and its founder, even some more general features of Tibetan Buddhism and of Mongolian Buddhism and literature, as influenced perhaps especially by Kumbum, we may concede to the author and welcome it from him. But we should prefer to look elsewhere for an analysis of the Pali *Tripiṭaka* and the Tibetan *Bkah-hgyur*, for an enumeration of the Twelve Acts of Buddha, the Eight Great Caityas, etc., and particulars concerning Buddhism in Siam and Japan, not to mention items concerning Mount Athos and so forth. References to some works which seem to have escaped notice, such as Ekai Kawaguchi's *Three Years in Tibet*, Miss Getty's *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, and Dr. O. Rosenberg's *Vocabulary of Chinese Buddhism*, might have been both economic and useful. These are a few "appreciative" remarks concerning scholars who presumably need no introduction to the German public; and the reason (see p. 462, n. 903) why Professor Grünwedel should have twice used the spelling *lo tsts'a ba* for *lo tsa ba* is one which that eminent scholar would have found no difficulty in stating. There are some few weaknesses on the Sanskrit and Tibetan side, and the title of the book should be, as Dr. Laufer points out in his foreword, "The 100,000 (Innumerable) Images, Shrine of Maitreya."

It would not be fair to reproach Dr. Filchner for following so many predecessors in employing a pseudo-phonetic writing of Tibetan names. From authors of popular, and even less popular, works like the present, we are used in these cases to spellings which show no respect for the Tibetan writing. They profess to represent a pronunciation; but that pronunciation is only a rather modern "mandarin," and it totally misrepresents a spelling which is older than that of nearly all modern European languages. It does not excuse the reader from perusing directions not much less cumbrous than would enable him to pronounce the correctly transliterated forms; yet at the same time it allows different writings of the same names according to the language of the author. Thus we have English, French, German, Italian, and Russian variations in the spelling of the same Tibetan names, and no doubt also Dutch, Scandinavian, and so on. We shudder to think what might have happened to any of these modern writers, had it been their fate personally to inform the stern king Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, who had sent a special mission to Kashmir to acquire a proper alphabet for his language and had celebrated its advent, that his name should be written *Ssrongtsangampo*, those of his wives *Lunsching-gonsho* (*Mun-śeṅ Koṅ-co*) and *Balsa-Tiwsun* (*Bal-bzaḫ Khri-btsun*), the Bodhisattva *Spyan-ras-gzigs* as *Tschenresig*, and his banners (*rgyal-mtshan*) as *dschaltsan*. In any form of Roman alphabet the proper way of writing the name which heads the title of this book is *Sku-hbum Ḫbyams-pa-gliṅ*, or something like it; and those who wish to pronounce it should, as in the cases of *Edinburgh*, *Leiden*, *Paris*, *Clemenceau*, *Krüger*, either take their chance or learn the rules. Dr. Filchner has not spared to write as *Yongden* the name of the Bla-ma Yoṅs-ldan who contributed an elegant Tibetan "Geleitwort"; the Bla-ma has in his language, which lacks an equivalent of *f* and *ch*, a better excuse for what we may consider a retort, when he writes the name of the "Ḫjar-man" savant as *Phil-śi-nar*.

The typography and make-up of the volume are highly creditable to the firm of Brockhaus. The photographs and their setting have not, it is true, the beauty displayed in the Russian work of Tsibikov, so artistically issued by the Russian Geographical Society in 1919. But their documentary value is even superior.

E. W. THOMAS.

Buddhists and Glaciers of Western Tibet. By Giotto Dainelli. 9¾″ x 6¼″. Pp. xiii + 304. Thirty-two plates. Map. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner. 1933. 18s.

This book is an account of an expedition from Italy through Kashmir via Srinagar and Leh to the Siachen Glacier, an exploration of that glacier, and return via the Kashgar road to Leh, and thence via Lahaul and Kulu to India.

Why it has been translated into English is not easy to understand. It is more in the nature of a private record to be printed privately for family use. It can be of little interest to the sportsman or traveller, and does not appear to contain sufficient information to appeal to scientists. The author, who claims to be an organizer skilled in mastership and an explorer, may be the latter, but his work scarcely bears out the former. His attitude to the authorities somewhat resembles that of the two foreigners in Kipling's *Kim*. He certainly overcame difficulties of his own making, which could have been avoided by enquiries from those qualified to give advice, of whom there are many in Kashmir and elsewhere. To take animals over the Zogi La in the weather conditions described was, to say the least of it, not wise. And to put a load of 110 lbs. on one porter, even with a relief, is not calculated to give good results. Two loads of 60 lbs. each would have been more satisfactory. The author condemns personal chastisement in others, but has no hesitation in applying it himself when he considers it desirable.

His paragraphs are long, in many cases difficult to understand, and nearly always overloaded with a mass of verbiage. Many vernacular words are used, but few translations are given, and those only towards the end of the book, and no glossary is provided. To describe the Punjab as a " desert plain " is certainly an innovation. The names used for many places are not those in common use, or are spelt differently from the usual custom, and what may be presumed to be Hindustani words are Romanized in strange spelling.

The march as far as Leh is the least interesting part of the book and has been better described by many authors. After that the book certainly improves. There is, however, no explanation of how the provisions for his party were obtained in a country where food is always short. Nor is there anything to show that these were replaced from the Kashmir valley or elsewhere. Without some such provision the inhabitants must have had to go short till the next harvest. The exact arrangements for food on the glacier are not very clear. And it seems that better plans and more foresight might have rendered the march off the glacier somewhat easier. This march, carried out as it was, seems to have been a really fine feat. The conditions of the Kashgar-Leh road are well known, and surely there is no need in a book of this kind to christen it with such a name as " The Caravan-road of Death."

The chapters on Ladakhi life, houses, palaces, monasteries, and life of the nomads are certainly of interest. The writer hardly gives sufficient prominence

to the red and green conglomerates of the Upshi Valley. The book is well illustrated with photographs, which are excellent and well chosen. But the only map is a mere skeleton inserted at the end of the book, not even opening clear of the text, and apparently only intended to show the author's routes in two tours. A larger-scale map, giving all the names of places mentioned in the text, is essential in a book of this kind, and would have added greatly to its value and interest.

D. M. W.

Riddles of the Gobi Desert. By Sven Hedin. Demy 8vo. Pp. 392. 24 plates and map. Routledge.

In this volume Dr. Hedin continues his account of the Swedish-Chinese exploration of Mongolia up to April, 1931. Since the publication of *Across the Gobi Desert* considerable difficulties have arisen owing to the assassination of Marshal Yang at Urumchi. His successor in the governorship of the province of Sinkiang, Chin, is not in sympathy with the aims and actions of the expedition, and it has been necessary to shift the headquarters to Kalgan. An account of the organization and diplomacy necessary to effect this change occupies the first half of the book, which also includes the details of Dr. Hedin's hurried journey from Peking to Boston to consult a specialist; to the great relief of himself and his friends a grave diagnosis calling for an immediate, dangerous operation was proved to be wrong. These chapters, like the introductory chapters of all his books, reveal Dr. Hedin at his best. There are few men who can bring home the common and minor occurrences in a small eastern town or on some remote highway or caravan track so well without indulging in "heroic writing"; it is a concoction of ingredients which, though often the smallest of beer, intoxicate through some subtle process known only to the brewer; even the constant introduction of obscure people, usually Swedish, with whom he casually came into contact in his travels in China, Canada, and America does not become wearisome.

The second half of the book describes in detail, and usually in the words of the actual explorer in question, the work that has been carried on during the last three years by the five separate groups under Dr. Hedin's administration. These reports, apart from their technical value, which no doubt will be elaborated in the future, amount to a saga of fortitude, endurance, and devotion to duty. They contain the story of Major Zimmermann's long and tragic sojourn at Etsin-gol when in charge of the first meteorological station. He felt the full force of the opposition of the Sinkiang authorities, for his assistants were removed and thrown into prison—treatment which obviously had much to do with the subsequent insanity of the Chinese student Ma and its sequel of murder and suicide. The history and adventures of the third member of the party, Georg Söderbom, both during his imprisonment and later in a typical adventure against bandits, should ensure him of a niche as a legendary hero in future Mongolian folklore.

At the head of the second group appears the most able member of the expedition, if it is possible to draw a comparison, Dr. Erik Norin. In addition to his remarkable achievements in mapping an enormous area, he is co-operating with Dr. Bergman in archæological and geological discoveries and has been carrying out individual research in the northern part of the Lop Desert. Side by side with these activities he finds time to make meteorological observations thrice daily and to take photographs. He is, as Dr. Hedin points out, the true type of the real explorer.

Dr. Nils Ambolt is a newcomer to the expedition, and much is hoped from his co-operation with Dr. Norin. His letters and diaries are among the most vivid things in the book.

Dr. Haude is continuing his meteorological work and proposes to transfer his scene of operations to North-Eastern Tibet, so that he can bring the observations already carried out in Mongolia to their logical conclusion. The greatest hopes are placed on the results of his work, which must influence our knowledge of the weather conditions in the whole northern hemisphere.

Professor Yüan has continued his reseaches in Sinkiang, but promotion has now robbed the expedition of his services. In the meantime Dr. Hedin pays a special tribute to the valuable work and effect that his presence had during the trying days of negotiation and diplomacy at Urumchi in 1929.

The volume also contains Dr. Hummel's preliminary reports on Botany, and a long and extremely interesting report by Lieutenant Haslund describing his visit and long stay with the Seng-chen Gegen Khan at Öreget. By a fortunate chance undoubted omens have proved that Lieutenant Haslund and Seng-chen are "axa-due," which among the Mongols signifies much the same as foster-brothers. This brotherhood was confirmed by religious ceremonies proper to the occasion, and so secure is Lieutenant Haslund's position among the Torguts as a result that he was able to secure and send to Stockholm the actual temple "yurt" which accompanied Seng-chen on his travels.

As a postscript to the book comes, in Dr. Hedin's opinion, the most important scientific achievement of the expedition during the period under review—the complete and absolute exploration of New Lop Nor by Dr. Nils G. Hörner. Accompanied by a Tibetan camel-man and a Mongolian cook; living, eating, and sleeping with them in a small tent at the worst season of the year—for only in midwinter is the salt lake sufficiently bridged by ice for a caravan to pass—it would have been an achievement to have ventured for a few days into that desolate spot; to have stayed there three months and to have worked a full twelve hours a day in spite of sickness, hunger, and great uncertainty reflects the highest credit on the spirit which is inspiring these young Swedish scientists in their tremendous adventure. Fortunately sufficient funds are now available for two further groups to be added, and the work of the expedition will be extended into Persian Turkestan.

Dr. Hedin states that his sole contribution to the acquisition of these results has been "my time and my forty-five years of experience in the dim ways of Asia," but there can be no doubt in the mind of the general reader that he is the life and soul of the members of the expedition, even though they may be spread over one-quarter of Asia and he only hears from them from time to time as messengers are able to get through to Kalgan.

On the whole the book is well translated, though a paraphrase here and there would be of great help to the general reader in this country: the retention of centigrade readings of the thermometer, for example, calls for unnecessary mental effort.

JOHN EASTON.

India House Library: A Short Catalogue. Pp. ix + 533. 4to. Office of the High Commissioner. 1933.

The authorities at India House—and the Librarian—are to be congratulated on the publication of a catalogue of the collection of books in the possession of the High Commissioner for India. The catalogue is arranged on the Dewey classifica-

tion, which is not, perhaps, the best and most easy form for a work of this nature, owing to the difficulty occasioned to the ordinary reader who wishes to consult it; but this difficulty has been largely mitigated by a comprehensive author- and subject-index which forms a guide to the contents of the volume. Books on allied subjects are thus grouped together in their appropriate sections, and the catalogue illustrates how extensive and valuable is the library at India House, and demonstrates the debt that the general public owe to the authorities there for making the collection available for their use. Especially useful are the lists of official publications which form, indeed, a considerable portion of the catalogue.

E. L.

Gordon in China. By Bernard M. Allen. 8″ × ″5½. Pp. ix + 222. Frontispiece. Maps. Macmillan and Co. 7s. 6d. net.

This narrative of Gordon's brief but eventful period of service in command of the "Ever-Victorious Army" against the Taipings is somewhat disappointing. It creates the impression of having been written in haste and without sufficient attention to precision in matters of detail; moreover, it frequently suggests the reflection that, when writing of bygone days and a strange land, a biographer needs something more than the pen of a ready writer and a fund of general knowledge. To achieve wholly satisfactory results, he should be possessed of some experience of the environment in which his subject lived and moved, and, unless he is sure of his local colour, should stick very closely to veritable texts and trustworthy authorities.

Needless to say, Dr. Allen's account of Gordon's military operations against the rebels in the low-lying country around and about Shanghai is well-written and extremely interesting; the materials at his disposal are skilfully arranged and the main pictures presented with a sound perception of perspective and relative values. Nevertheless, it is impossible to admit his publishers' claim that this brief monograph "presents for the first time a complete picture of the campaigns of the Ever-Victorious Army," or that it adds anything of serious importance to the knowledge which we already possessed (from Hake's work, Wilson's, and other sources) of the famous quarrel between Gordon and Li Hung-Chang with regard to the killing of the Eight Princes. Other writers have told the story while the memory of those stirring days was still fresh in the minds of those who took part in them and, giving a broader impression of his scene of action, done him fuller justice. Dr. Allen's work is eminently readable, but its interest lies rather in the manner of its presentation than in any special value to be attached to the new sources from which some of his material is drawn. In the matter of documentation, indeed, he is distinctly unfortunate. A biography which repeatedly quotes from the fictitious "Memoirs of Li Hung-Chang" in support of its text can hardly fail to suggest that its author did not take his subject very seriously.

J. O. P. Bland.

The Menace of Japan. By T. O'Conroy. 8¾″ × 5¾″. Pp. 294. Illustrations. Maps. Hurst and Blackett. 12s. 6d. net.

An interesting commentary on the ethics of the "puff preliminary" in the book trade is afforded by the fact that the publishers who have issued this book,

and thought it deserving of a highly eulogistic introduction, should, at the same time, have published Mrs. Sugimoto's work *A Daughter of the Narikin*, and proclaimed their faith in her as a reliable interpreter of the Far East. For if Mrs. Sugimoto's sympathetic exposition of the social order and mentality of modern Japan is worthy of acceptance and belief, it is difficult to understand upon what principle Mr. O'Conroy's book can possibly be commended, seeing that it consists of 300 pages of vituperative comment and sweeping denunciation of everything Japanese.

More suo, Mr. George Bernard Shaw has commended Mr. O'Conroy "because he is an Irishman" and advised everybody, including the Foreign Office, to read and believe his vindictive and extremely inaccurate work. Were it not for this, and for the fact that the publishers announce that the book "was consulted in manuscript form by Lord Lytton when about "to present his report to the League of Nations," the *Menace of Japan* would deserve scant attention. Unfortunately, to use Mr. O'Conroy's own words, "there are a great number of people who are only too ready to believe what they are told." For this reason it may be well to take occasion to observe that, given sufficient publicity, a vast amount of mischief may be done by a book of this kind, in sowing the seeds of bitter strife between nations, and serving the baser purposes of political propaganda.

J. O. P. Bland.

The House of Exile. By Nora Waln. London: The Cresset Press, Ltd. 1933. 16s.

Late in the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth centuries a Chinese merchant, nephew and assistant of the famous Houkua in Canton, traded with a Quaker merchant in Philadelphia, U.S.A. Their correspondence was preserved by both families, and more than a century later descendants of that Chinese, travelling in America, met a great-granddaughter of the Quaker, herself already a keen student of things Chinese, and invited her to visit the family home in North China—the "House of Exile." This book is a description of that visit and of what befell the authoress thereafter.

It can but seldom have been given to a foreigner to share so intimately in the home life of a family of circumstance in the interior of China—the home of Lady Hosie's "Two Gentlemen of China" was in a treaty port. The family, to which Miss Waln with delicate attention to Chinese susceptibility has given the fictitious name of Lin, first established itself in the north in the time of Kublai Khan, who summoned one of its members from Canton to extend the then incomplete Grand Canal. For six and a half centuries the Lins have watched over a section of the Grand Canal, and the northern branch of the family, while keeping always in touch with the original home in Canton, has grown in numbers and in influence as the Chinese equivalent of an English landed county family. The "House of Exile" has expanded with the family, and now houses no fewer than six generations. Into this household Miss Waln was accepted as an adopted daughter, and the first part of the book is devoted to a detailed and intimate description of the members of the family, their servants and dependants, their everyday life and occupations, and the "House of Exile" itself.

This section of the book is written with great charm and insight, and cannot be too strongly recommended to any who would know something of the lives of the country gentry, who still remain the backbone of rural China.

Some eighteen months after her arrival in China, Miss Waln married a British

official in the Chinese Postal Service; and in the second part of the book she tells of her early married life as a " foreigner " in Nanking, and gives her correspondence with one of the daughters of Lin, by which she kept in touch with the family. A chapter is devoted to an altogether delightful description of her household, which will awaken in those who have lived in China pleasant memories of those wonderful people their Chinese servants.

The third part, which comprises half the book, falls much below the level of the first two, and is little more than an account of current events in China from 1926 to 1932 as they appeared to the authoress. There is little in it that is not generally known to all who have followed those events at all closely, though the story of the authoress's experiences in Canton during the troublous times of 1926-27 is interesting. This part of the book, which has only the remotest connection with its title and which lowers the high standard of the rest, might with advantage have been much abbreviated.

Throughout those years Miss Waln kept in contact with her friends in the Lin family, and in September, 1932, she returned again to the " House of Exile," where we are delighted to find the family still pursuing the even tenor of its way, to a large extent unruffled by the storms which have been raging round it. Of such is China's strength.

The book is illustrated with some excellent photographs, apparently taken by the authoress herself.

J. S. S.

A Brief Summe of Geographie. Works issued by the Hakluyt Society. Second Series. No. LXIX. Edited with an introduction and notes by E. G. R. Taylor. 9″ × 6″. Pp. lvi + 210. Map. £1 11s. 6d.

Every explorer and every traveller owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Hakluyt Society and to the unpaid labours of the editors of the wonderful series of volumes published by it.

The book under review makes a special appeal to us, as its author, who reached manhood during the reign of King Henry VII., was the first Englishman to tread the vast Pampas of Argentina and to describe its teeming bird and animal life.

Roger Barlow was a Bristol man and a successful Seville merchant who retired to an estate in Pembrokeshire in 1531. He then began to agitate in favour of discovering an all-English trade route to the Spice Islands. As we know by the Treaty of Tordesillas, negotiated between Spain and Portugal in 1494, the southern ocean routes to these desirable islands, and indeed all the ocean routes outside Europe, were claimed by these two Powers. Consequently only a route through the Arctic regions was left for the weak northern Powers. In support of this scheme Barlow wrote *The Brief Summe of Geographie*, which was mainly a translation of a Spanish work prepared by the Bachiller Enciso in 1518 to urge the discovery of a trade route across the Pacific to the Spice Islands. As we know, Magellan discovered this route in 1520. Encisco, it is to be noted, had explored far and wide in Central America and fell foul of Balboa just before that Castilian adventurer discovered the Pacific Ocean.

Roger Barlow was himself a traveller who visited the Canary Islands, the Azores, and Santa Cruz (now Agadir), in Morocco. Reading his work, which possesses an added charm through the reproduction of the delightful spelling of the English, it is impossible to avoid being struck by the extraordinary knowledge that is shown both of the classical and of the more recent geographers. To quote

one of his descriptions of the coast of Brazil: "The people of this cost bothe men and women go nakyd, paynte ther facys and bodies of dyvers facions and the menne when thei go to warre paynte ther facis after a grym fashion and hathe ther lippes full of holes and thorough them thei put long peces of cristall and tuskys of wylde bestes, and ther bodies be dressed wt popingaie fethers of diverse coloures . . . and some weare the heed wt the iawis and teethe of an ounce or a tygre. . . ." Barlow ends his most interesting work with an appeal to the King: "Now by this your grace maie well apperceive what parte of the universal is discouered and what ther resteth for to dycouer. . . ." He summarizes the parts of the world already explored, and continues: "So ther resteth this waie of the northe onelie for to discover which resteth onto your graces charge, for that situation of this realme toward that partie is more apte for it then eny other."

Here, then, we take leave of Roger Barlow, who undoubtedly encouraged exploration in the northern seas, with thanks to Dr. E. G. R. Taylor for his admirable notes.

P. M. SYKES.

Storm Centres in the Near East. By Sir Robert Windham Graves, K.C.M.G. Pp. 362, with illustrations. Hutchinson and Co. 21s.

Like all books of Levant consular reminiscences, such as those by Wratislaw, Waugh, and others, Sir Robert Graves's present volume is of absorbing interest to people who have had connection with Near Eastern countries during the last forty years or so. Well-known and familiar names come forward throughout the pages and bring up memories of times completely changed, which can never recur in the same way again.

Soon after arriving at Constantinople in 1879 as a student interpreter in preparation for the Levant consular service, Graves was sent to Bulgaria, and with some interludes remained in that country for about seven years. This was the period of the newly created Bulgarian principality with Prince Alexander of Battenburg as first Prince. A handsome and gallant young man, he was the nominee of his uncle the Tsar Alexander II., but his career in Bulgaria was a chequered one. "On the one hand a noisy and radical majority in the Chamber . . . and on the other all civil and military authority in the hands of Russians. . . ." It is clear that Russian intrigues in those days, and also at other periods, have been directly responsible for much of the Near and Middle Eastern unrest. Prince Alexander became involved in a useless but successful campaign against Serbia (in which, by the way, one could hardly recognize the Serbs of those days as the same people who had no superiors in the Great War), but his position was made untenable for him. After being kidnapped by Russian agency, he returned, but was finally got rid of by the same means and succeeded by the famous Ferdinand, who, however, as events were to prove, was subsequently to be a thorn in the side of Russia. Talking about "Ferdy" later, it is refreshing to see that Graves, at any rate, was under no illusions as to Bulgaria's attitude in the incidence of the Great War.

From Bulgaria Sir Robert was appointed Consul at Erzerum, this place and Van being then the stormy centres of the Armenian provinces of Turkey. One cannot follow him in his very varied travels in those localities, in which at that time there were important posts, filled not only by ordinary consular officers, but also by military representatives as well; the latter include such well-known names as Chermside, Everett, Maunsell, etc.

The perennial "Armenian question" was then particularly occupying the attention of the "Powers," and Graves was in the "massacre" zone. When all was said and done, he was of opinion, in which certain others have always agreed, that there was little or no seditious spirit among the native Armenians; what trouble there was being due to secret societies or agents abroad, probably instigated again by Russians. It is true that there was a grievance in that the Article of the Berlin Treaty, drawn up after the Russo-Turkish war of '77, promising administrative reforms, had not been executed; probably that was too much to hope for, and it went the same way as the many promises made to the Armenians after the Great War; all gone by the board and nothing doing for these unfortunate people.

Graves gives many amusing anecdotes in his Armenian chapters. At a small place called Akhavank, not far from Bitlis, the seat of a Patriarch independent both of Etchmiadzin (the main centre of the Armenian Church in Transcaucasian Armenia) and Constantinople, His Holiness, on receiving our Consul, was careful to summon his attendant to bring his set of false teeth so as to complete properly the welcome.

I do not suppose that many persons are aware that in the Caucasus sixty languages are spoken, and that, among other things, this country shelters the "Hevsurs," descendants of a lost band of Crusaders, still wearing or were then wearing coats of chain mail. One more humorous tale. The American Consul at Sivas, born in Turkey, but a mental disease doctor by profession, was given a change from many years of strenuous work in an American lunatic asylum to an American consulate in the land of his birth. An inquisitive Turkish official asked him of his previous experience in consular work in the East, to which he replied, "The very best; you see, they know I was accustomed to dealing with lunatics and imbeciles."

We must now turn to Crete, to which island Graves went in 1899. Few people probably realize for how many years international troops occupied Crete to watch over the combination of the newly formed native Chamber, Greek High Commissioner, and Turkish suzerainty. One good result of the British occupation of Candia was that they built stout hutments which came in very handy when the present writer was installing Greek homeless refugees in the island.

Graves remained four years in Crete, but had, of course, left before the stirring times when Veneselos and others solemnly and regularly embarked to attend the forbidden Greek "mother" Chamber in Athens, and were as solemnly and regularly turned back by a British cruiser. However, all his was put an end to first by the Balkan wars and then by the European war.

From Crete Graves was appointed Consul-General at Salonica, the centre of the Macedonian problem of the period. There were Greek and Bulgarian quarrels over religious domination, Bulgarian anti-Turk revolutionary movements with "comitajis" scouring the country, and then the insistence of the "Powers" upon reforms by the Turkish Government. The famous "Mürzsteg" agreement included financial questions, a newly organized gendarmerie with foreign officers, and other measures. Graves remained in this troublous area for six years, the Macedonian situation being eventually changed by the "Young Turk" movement and the subsequent revolution engineered from Salonica and resulting in the deposition of Abdul Hamid, who was then removed to Salonica for safe custody. Meanwhile Paul Harvey, financial delegate on the Macedonian Commission, had been transferred to Egypt. Graves took his place for a time, being succeeded as Consul-General by Harry Lamb, and was then later transferred to Constantinople to the Commission of Financial Reforms in the capital. This

Commission, which also included two French members, was inaugurated by the new Turkish régime along with a reorganization of the Customs service under Crawford, a British naval mission, and the transfer of all the British gendarmerie officers from Macedonia to Asia Minor. The German military mission was, I think, then already functioning, though not in the proportions it assumed later. In mentioning the gendarmerie officers, the author makes two small slips in alluding to Fairholme as an engineer officer and to Wyndham Deedes as a Highlander. Fairholme (Fairey) was a gunner and Deedes a rifleman.

The position of the Young Turk government became more difficult as time went on. Whilst the war with Italy was continuing serious disorders broke out in Albania, and Graves was sent to accompany a special mission there. His account of the situation and life there and in Epirus is very good reading. He returned to Constantinople before the Balkan wars of 1912-13 broke out, and when these were over the Turkish Government turned their attention to their eastern villayets, where they proposed to place two European inspectors-general. They asked for Graves and Crawford, the latter, as already mentioned, having reorganized the Customs service.

The British Government, however, did not authorize the acceptance of these posts, probably thinking that there might be danger therein of embroilment with Russian interests. So Graves was appointed instead to the Turkish Ministry of the Interior as Adviser. He was in England on leave when the Great War commenced, not returning to Constantinople until October, leaving with the rest of us on November 1, when Turkey definitely took the side of our enemies.

During the European War Graves stuck gallantly to military service, though but in minor posts, compared with those to which he had been accustomed. He was one of the rather strange medley of personages known as G.H.Q. Imbros, then served in Egypt and Palestine in Intelligence work of all sorts. He makes one most apposite allusion to wastefulness in financial administration of occupied territory, comparable perhaps in a measure to the money squandered in Arabian and Egyptian zones. He also, in speaking of some Armenian prisoners, corrects the impression current in certain British circles of the Armenian as a "spiritless outcast," whereas he is in reality, as I can also confirm by experience, a stout and intelligent fighter. The idea of an Eastern Christian generally being regarded as "fit for massacring" (as I have heard openly stated) betrays at the least woeful ignorance of their value.

After the war Graves was appointed to the staff of the High Commissioner in Constantinople, where he did a great deal of work on the subject of the minorities. The League had also begun to busy themselves with this question, but with the well-known policy that for their external posts no Englishman need apply; in other words, "it was not possible nor expedient to appoint an Englishman."

Economies were at hand, and Graves's appointment was abolished early in 1922. He, however, went back to Constantinople and busied himself with the Armenian and Greek minority question again; those "damned swine," as one of our people put it. He was in Constantinople to suffer the Allied humiliation at the hands of Mustafa Kemal, and then went to Corfu to continue work for refugees. He was in the island when the Italians made their gesture of bombarding a practially defenceless place. After a trip home, he left for Athens on behalf of the Lord Mayor's relief fund, and when in Athens was asked to act as arbiter in the Lake Copals' Company dispute with the Greek Government. Later he deputized for a period on the Refugee Settlement Commission. In describing the work of the Commission, he rather lets it be inferred that all the actual settlement work was carried out by Greek employees themselves, whereas, apart from others, the

present reviewer was himself employed for two years and three months in actually settling refugees on the land. But probably Graves only envisaged towards the end of the Commission's existence in 1930. That is the year when his recollections terminate; and after a few reflections upon the Ghazi's career in Turkey, we close the volume with great regret and a high regard for a typical public servant who has done his duty.

F. C.-O.

H.M. KING MOHAMMAD NADIR SHAH-I-GHAZI, OF AFGHANISTAN

Naji-i-Millat (Saviour of the Nation)

By RONALD M. S. MORRISON

WITH the assassination in Kabul of King Nadir Shah passes the greatest ruler who has ever reigned over Afghanistan. Too little is known outside this important buffer state of Central Asia of the tremendous work of reconstruction carried out by the late King since he brought to an end the calamitous rule of Bacha-i-Saquo—the bandit opportunist who seized the throne after the abdication of Amanullah.

From the outset, after he had been prevailed upon, much against his will, to accept the burden of Kingship, he made it clear that his beloved country came first, and, sick man though he was, he set about the enormous task of creating order out of the dreadful state of chaos in which he found the country, and when it is remembered that the national exchequer was in a condition of bankruptcy, that there was practically no army worth calling the name, or what there was was totally disorganized, that various Government Departments had to all intents and purposes ceased to be, that schools and other public institutions had been closed, hunger and sickness was rampant, starvation staring the people in the face, and law and order a thing of the past, it was the more remarkable that such a degree of stability and progress had been reached in the few years of his reign.

Nadir Shah had understood the mentality of his people, and they were quick to realize in him a born leader and one whose only desire was to guide his beloved country into the ways of peace and prosperity. His sojourn in Europe, where he had been living for some seven years, proved to be of infinite value to him at this time, as he realized only too well that nations, and more particularly his own country, cannot advance by sudden changes, but only step by step upon the lines most suited to themselves. It will therefore be seen that Nadir Shah was not an autocrat of the old type, but a tolerant, level-headed man who desired to see his country go forward upon steady and sound lines.

At no time in the history of the world has a sovereign or statesman been so terribly handicapped financially or otherwise at the start; so bad was the position that there was not even a single coin which the National Exchequer could call its own. Nadir Shah could not defray even the current expenses of the Government, and yet under such distressing conditions he abolished all the oppressive rates and taxes which had told so heavily upon the poor classes and also cancelled the arrears due. He issued a Royal Proclamation to the effect that it was his pleasure to govern and administer a poor country with justice and equity, rather than to acquire riches by means of tyranny and oppression. He set an example by reducing to an absolute minimum the expenses of the Royal Household, and even went to the extent of declaring that all the estates that had formerly been looked upon as the personal property of the King be made public property. Those readers with a knowledge of Afghanistan under former rulers will appreciate what a tremendous step forward this meant, and it certainly helped to instil an even greater degree of confidence in the people. He also very generously granted liberal pensions to the relatives of the ex-King Amanullah.

It would doubtless be of interest at this stage to give some information on the new Afghan law regarding Citizenship. It is contained in a pamphlet in Persian (as are all Afghan official acts) printed at Kabul, and entitled, "Statute regarding identity cards, regulations for passports and the law regarding citizenship." The pamphlet is a collection of three similar but separate laws or statutes, the articles of which are consecutively numbered.

I. *Articles* 1-41: *Regulations Regarding Identity Cards.*—The identity card with which all Afghan citizens must be provided is necessary for the collection of State dues, requests for passports, admission to schools, etc.

The Statute lays down the functions of the State Departments which will issue identity cards and which, by means of periodic reports to the head office, will provide statistical information.

II. *Articles* 43-90: *Regulations Regarding Passports.*—Passports will be issued by the Chiefs of Police. Rules for obtaining passports and visas and the relative payments are specified.

Article 91.—Persons born on Afghan soil or those born abroad whose parents (or father) are Afghan citizens are held to be Afghan citizens, and are obliged to take out an Afghan card of citizenship.

Article 92.—If foreigners born in Afghanistan desire when they

reach their majority to become Afghan citizens, their requests will be granted.

Article 93.—If foreigners apply for Afghan citizenship their request will be granted if they have reached their majority, have lived in Afghanistan for four consecutive years and during that time have committed no crimes, are not in debt.

Article 94.—If foreigners should wish to become Afghan citizens before they have fulfilled the above demands, the Afghan Government may in exceptional cases which it considers desirable grant the request.

Article 95.—Afghan citizens who themselves, or whose fathers, have changed their nationality as specified in Article 98 of this Law, and subsequently wish to revert to Afghan citizenship, may become Afghan citizens after a full examination of their motives for change of citizenship has been made.

Article 96.—Women of foreign nationality married to Afghan citizens are considered to be Afghan citizens. Widows of Afghan citizens, if of Moslem origin, are free to revert to their original nationality. Widows, converts to the Moslem faith, may revert to their original nationality after the Government has assured itself that in returning to infidel countries they will not apostatize. Those non-Moslem widows between whom and Moslems marriage is legal* may not change their Afghan citizenship.

Article 97.—Afghan women married to non-Afghan Moslems† are not considered to be Afghan citizens unless their husbands become nationalized Afghans, and on the death of their husbands they may revert to Afghan nationality only on special request.

Article 98.—Afghan citizens living abroad who wish to change their nationality are obliged to ask permission from His Majesty the King. Afghan citizens who assume foreign nationality without the permission of His Majesty are forbidden to return to Afghan soil. If they possess immovable property in Afghanistan it will be sold to Afghan citizens.

Article 99.—Change of nationality on the part of the father does not necessarily imply change of nationality on the part of the children, whether they are minors or of age. Children, when they come of age,

* *I.e.*, Free Jewish or Christian women; Mahomedans are forbidden to marry idolaters.

† It goes without saying that, according to Moslem Law, Moslem women are forbidden to marry non-Moslems.

may choose for themselves as stated above. A son born after his father has changed nationality takes the nationality of his father.

Article 100.—Afghan women married to foreign citizens may not own any property (other than movable), villages or towns, and are excluded from all privileges of Afghan citizenship. Afghan women possessing property in Afghanistan are obliged to sell all property and land, in conformity with Article 101, on their marriage to a foreigner.

Article 101.—Foreign subjects who are Moslems and who have lived for five years in Afghanistan acquire Afghan citizenship. They are considered to be Afghan citizens, and may, having put their affairs in order, obtain a card of citizenship within two months. If they fail to obtain a card of citizenship their immovable possessions will be sold within a year. If they intend to stay in Afghanistan they must obtain a card of citizenship from their diplomatic representative, otherwise they will be expelled from Afghanistan.

Article 102.—Persons coming to Afghanistan from foreign countries, who, during their stay in Afghanistan, have hidden their nationality, have been treated as Afghan citizens and have acquired property in Afghanistan, are recognized to be Afghan citizens and to have forfeited their original nationality.

Article 103.—Full regard is paid to the conventions concluded with other States regarding emigration.

Article 104.—All Persian emigrants living in Afghanistan are considered to be Afghan citizens, enjoying the same treatment as Afghan citizens. Other Persian citizens visiting Afghanistan for purposes of commerce or in transit are liable to pay the tax laid down in Article 61 relating to passports.*

Article 105.—All questions relating to citizenship will be examined and decided by the Foreign Office in conjunction with officials of the various countries.

Great attention was paid to the army, which had so sadly gone to pieces, the rank and file being ill-clothed, ill-paid, and badly organized. This was all done away with and the army put on a proper basis and modernized in every possible way; the men are well fed, well equipped, and well paid, and number some seventy thousand. There is a military college for officers at Kabul, run on similar lines to our Sandhurst at Camberley, also students are sent over to France and Germany for higher military education. Factories have been built for the manufac-

* Article 61 lays down that the passport tax shall be twenty rupees a year for travellers, merchants, and proprietors.

turing of arms and ammunition, and there is a very small but quite efficient air force officered now wholly by the Afghans themselves.

Being a good diplomat himself, he paid great attention to the maintenance of friendly relations with all other countries, and the Afghan diplomatic corps has representatives in most of the civilized countries of the world. In this respect it is interesting to observe that the first Afghan Minister to represent his country in Japan, Sirdar Habibullah Tarzi, arrived in Tokio as recently as October 6, 1933, to take up his duties, it being stated by him upon his arrival there that his appointment had become necessary owing to the ever-growing industrial importance of Japan and to the great demand for Japanese products (cloth, chemical products, and machinery) in Afghanistan.

One of the first things that the King definitely abolished upon coming to the throne was the system of slavery that had obtained until that time, which makes his assassination all the more terrible and senseless in view of his having suffered death at the hands of a young man who was formerly a slave in the employ of Ghulam Nabi, a former Foreign Minister.

The various industries are much encouraged, especially the older industries of the country, such as silk, felts, carpets, and so forth, and factories for newer industries for the making of leather goods, matches, clothing have been established; agriculture also has received its fair share of attention and modern methods are gradually being introduced. Coal and other minerals are being worked, and it would greatly add to the output if a proper system of railways was built in order to accelerate the despatch for export. Already the trade with foreign countries is increasing very steadily indeed, spices, raw wool, silk, hides, tobacco, fruits, nuts, etc., being the main exports. In addition, there is, in several countries, an Afghan trade delegation, serving a very useful purpose. Whilst the imports into the United Kingdom were only £15,535 in 1932 as against exports from the United Kingdom to Afghanistan of £65,935 in the same year, there should be a big improvement in 1933-4 in the imports into the U.K. There is an excellent system of telephones installed, and there is a proper postal and telegraphic service, Afghanistan having joined the International Post and Telegraph Union. An interesting point is that the present Afghan postage stamps were designed by a student in the University at Kabul. They are of artistic and pleasing design, and printed in Kabul in both Persian and French.

Nadir Shah saw the necessity of encouraging education; in fact,

education forms the chief item on the Budget, a third of the land revenue being set aside to meet the grant. In addition to the number of schools in Kabul, there is also a University, and a number of Europeans are engaged to teach the various subjects.

He also introduced and encouraged many games, such as football, cricket, tennis, and hockey. In fact both he and his brother, the Prime Minister, were enthusiasts as regards these games, as they realized that they played an important part in the internal peace and contentment of the country.

With regard to the King's assassination itself there does seem to have been a very grave distortion of facts in the Press in this country. Actually what happened was that one Abdul Khaliq, a student, who had been in prison for sedition, had been released by order of His Majesty on account of his being good at sports, and so to enable him to take part in the games at the annual sports meeting which was held in the grounds of the Royal Palace. As already mentioned, the King was a very great sportsman, and loved to lend his encouragement to such pastimes whenever possible. The sports over, the King presented the prizes, and it was during this ceremony that his assailant went up to within six feet of the King and fired three shots point blank, causing his death. The feeling was so intense that it was only with the utmost difficulty that Abdul Khaliq was rescued; he otherwise would have been lynched by the students and others present.

The fact that the late King's young son Zạhir Khan was within three days proclaimed King was indeed a fitting tribute to the great and good work achieved by Nadir Shah during his reign. It is of interest to remember that such action is without precedent in the history of Afghanistan, and must surely prove the great love and respect the people had for their beloved ruler, the greatest and most self-sacrificing that the country has ever had.

Let us therefore pray that the peace that now exists may be continued without interruption for many years, and in this one ventures to suggest that the great newspapers of the world can materially assist by avoiding any distortion of facts, such as occurred following King Nadir Shah's assassination in certain papers, in relation to minor incidents that may occur from time to time, for it is imperative that peace and prosperity be maintained in this country that from its geographical position alone is undoubtedly the key to the peace of the Asiatic world.

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VOL. XXI APRIL, 1934 PART II

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Contributors and speakers only are responsible for their statements in the JOURNAL.

Members are asked to send in any change of address, and members home on leave are asked to apply for lecture cards if they have not received them.

JOURNALS sent to Captain Beddington and to Lawrence Gray, Esq., have been returned "gone away" by the Post Office; will any member knowing either of the new addresses please send it in.

Appeal for books; see p. 368.

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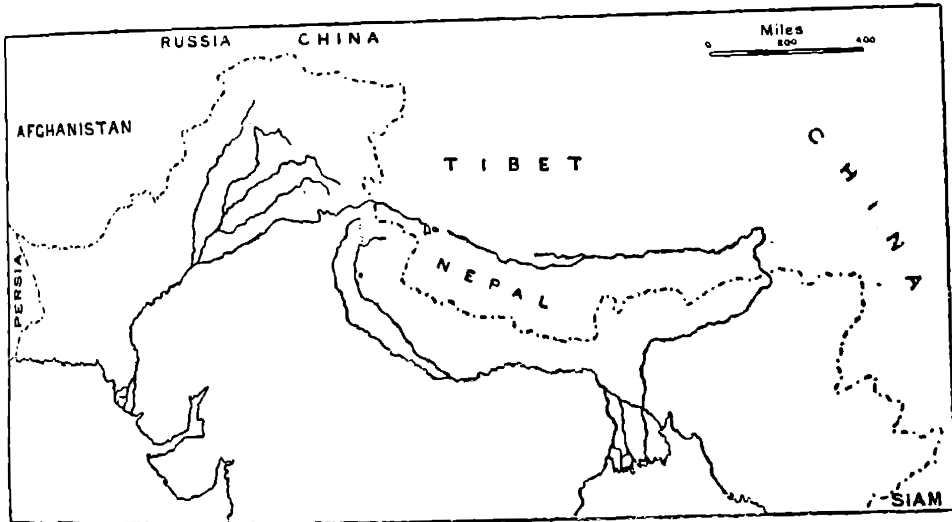
BLAZON OF ARMS

"Vert a chevron engrailed cotised engrailed Or between three crescents Argent, on a chief of the second, the horns of the Ovis Poli proper. Crest In front of the rising sun Or, the horns of the Ovis Poli proper as in the Arms."

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE INDIAN FRONTIER*

By SIR EVELYN HOWELL, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.



MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I know you to be an expert audience with whom much can be taken for granted. Nevertheless I will ask you to forgive me if I begin by inviting you to have a rapid mental wash and brush up.

From time immemorial Central Asia has invaded and plundered India, both on the grand and the petty scale. The last time that this was done on the grand scale was by Nadir Shah towards the middle of the eighteenth century. Nadir Shah, internationally regarded, was King of Persia. Tribally speaking he was a successful brigand from Azerbaijan, of Turcoman extraction. In 1749 Nadir Shah was murdered, and out of the chaos which ensued Ahmad Shah Abdali, an Afghan tribal leader, whose fortunes Nadir Shah had fostered, carved

* Lecture given on December 13, 1933, Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Chair. In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman congratulated the Society on a lecture on Indian Frontier problems from one whose life for some years past had been spent in examining and in practical methods of solving them, where this was possible. As Resident in Waziristan and as Political Secretary, Sir Evelyn had to deal with these frontier questions, which were of the greatest importance to India and the Empire.

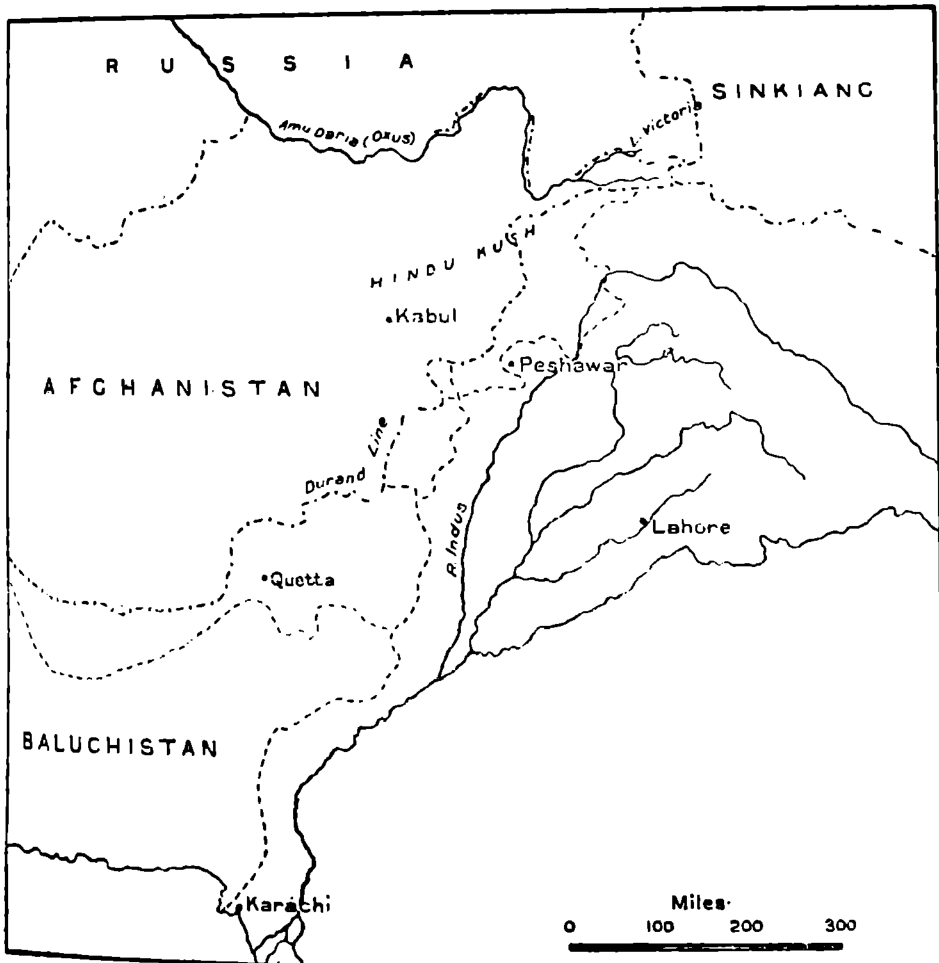
the kingdom of Afghanistan. On Ahmad Shah's death his kingdom in turn collapsed, and early in the nineteenth century the Sikh Ranjit Singh recovered from it both Kashmir and Peshawar, with a strip of territory on the right bank of the Indus. This move of Ranjit's is important both theoretically and practically. Theoretically it is important because it shows that once at least India has been able of her own unaided resources to reverse the historic process, and turn the tables on Central Asia. Practically it is important because when the East India Company succeeded to the Sikhs, they felt it incumbent upon them to enforce their authority wherever the Sikhs had done so. That is what carried them across the Indus. Even before this they had taken a hand in Central Asian politics, notably in the disastrous venture of the first Afghan war (1839-42), but it was the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 which brought them permanently into the Central Asian picture.

Here is the Central Asian picture, which I shall ask you to study on at least two different maps, and to take note of certain lines and columns on those maps. First the map of India—with a land frontier which, I suppose, is one of the longest in the world. Starting from its eastern end it marches with or abuts upon seven countries—Siam, China, Tibet, Nepal, China again, Russia, Afghanistan, and Persia. We need not say anything more at present about China, Siam, Tibet, and Persia. Now I will turn to the other map, and the first line of which I shall ask you to take note is the line of the River Oxus, which, for a great part of its length is the frontier between the Union of Soviet Republics, which we still prefer to call Russia, and Afghanistan.

You all know how that frontier came to be demarcated. It was done by a series of Anglo-Russian Commissions, in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, and the last act of the last commission was to give the name of Queen Victoria to the lake locally known as Sarikul in the head waters of the Oxus. Now, in the local language "Sarikul" means "head of the stream," or "head of the river," if you like, and it is perhaps no idle play on words to recognize in the imposition on this remote lake in Central Asia of the aged sovereign's name the high water mark of British prestige in Asia. Times have changed since then, but that frontier still stands, and, as we shall see, must continue to stand.

The next line, roughly parallel to the first, and about 200 to 300 miles to the south and east of it, is the watershed of the Hindu Kush range, which is Afghanistan's backbone. The third line is Afghani-

stan's eastern frontier, commonly known as the Durand line, which runs generally rather nearer to the Hindu Kush than does the first line. As you know, the Durand line is the outcome of the Durand Agreement negotiated in 1893, by which the Indian Government undertook at no time to exercise influence in the territories beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan and the Amir similarly undertook at no time to exercise influence in the territories lying beyond



this line on the side of India. The same frontier has been recognized from time to time by successive Afghan Governments since 1893.

East of the Durand line there is yet a fourth line. To look at this we will deliberately turn back to the map of India. This fourth line is the border of British India, and you will notice that, except for one or two small areas in Baluchistan, it is separated from the Durand line by a belt of country from 50 to 100 or more miles wide. We turn deliberately to the map of India to see this belt, because it is, at present, part of India, though not of British India. In the extreme

north and south it does, in fact, lie in Chitral and Kelat, which are Indian States. If you were to ask a lawyer, he would tell you that constitutionally the whole of it is in the same position as the Indian States. But that only shows the danger of listening too much to lawyers; for, from the practical point of view, no greater difference could well be imagined than that which exists between conditions in Waziristan or Tirah, for example, on the one hand and Hyderabad and Baroda on the other. Last, there is a fifth line parallel with the other four, the line of the River Indus.

That completes our introductory survey. We have ranged over a comparatively short period of time and a great deal of space. During that short period in the space, with which we are particularly concerned, the historic process to which I alluded in my opening sentence has ceased on the grand scale and on the petty scale has been reduced to negligible proportions. In other words, our predecessors and ourselves have had about a century in which to build what I may perhaps call a political breakwater, and have built one successfully, after some costly miscalculations and failures. Great changes in the Government of India are now in train. The aspect of the frontier problem which I wish to consider is to examine what works for the consolidation of that breakwater we ought to press on with during the time that remains, and how to do so, and in so far as may be possible at this stage to make some guess as to the possible effects on it of the changes now in contemplation. Here I should like to enter a word of caution. If I say that in certain circumstances certain consequences *may* ensue, I do not wish to be understood or quoted as having expressed the opinion that those consequences are inevitable. There is a world of difference between "may" and "will." And here we come up against an initial difficulty which pertains equally to the understanding of the frontier problem as an intellectual task, and to the solution of it as a political question. As you may have noticed, I have laid stress on the grand and petty scale of certain phenomena, and the international and tribal aspects of certain events and personages. The difficulty which runs right through the problem is the difficulty of keeping these two aspects separate. For each of the three Powers—Russia, Afghanistan, and what we may for present purposes agree to call the Indian Empire —each of these three Powers, to which it is possible to confine our examination, must often appear to its neighbours not as a single political body, not, in fact, as something single and solid, but as something complex and composite, a system of minor bodies, in fact a

conglomeration of tribes not under complete control. Normally indeed these tribes revolve about a focus provided by their principal, but they are liable at any time for any reason—*e.g.*, when disturbed by the too near approach of a principal other than their own—to behave with a high degree of eccentricity, as the mathematicians call it.

At all times, but especially when this happens, the international dog is very liable to be wagged by the tribal tail, and indeed the international policy of these three countries must very largely be governed by their tribal policy, just as their tribal policy must very largely be conditioned by their international policy. In short, the two are ceaselessly acting and reacting the one upon the other. So then these tribes, although they may be said to have no international status—and that, indeed, is the official view of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India in regard to those tribes with which they are concerned—are constantly committing actions which have international consequences. For example, in the summer of 1929 these same tribes, whom for convenience I shall call "British tribes," were more than once warned by the Government of India that the internal affairs of Afghanistan were no concern of theirs, and told to hold aloof from interference in them. Yet it was the Wazirs and Mahsuds—and they are British tribes—who put His late Majesty King Nadir on the throne of Afghanistan. They and other British tribes furnished contingents by whose help he was able to put down the rising in Koh-i-Daman which occurred soon after his accession. It was again Wazirs and Mahsuds who constituted the shock brigade of the force which Nadir sent, as soon as ever he could, under the command of his brother, over the Hindu Kush to bring the northern provinces of Afghanistan into subjection—we shall see the significance of this move shortly—and finally, before Nadir's short reign of four years came to its tragic end, these same tribes made at least one pretty vigorous attempt—again in defiance of orders from the Government of India—to knock him off his throne, but fortunately without success.

As King Nadir's name has thus cropped up, I should like to take this opportunity of paying a tribute to his memory. The only time that I ever met him was in the summer of 1924. I was at the time Resident in Waziristan, after having officiated throughout the preceding winter as Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. Relations with Afghanistan had been severely strained that winter, because of the demands made upon Amanullah's Government in connection with various tribal offenders who sought refuge in Afghanistan, after

committing a series of outrages, the murder of Majors Orr and Anderson in the Khyber, the Ellis case at Kohat and the Watts case at Parachinar in the Kurram, and the Finnis case in Zhob. Nadir at that time was Amanullah's chief adviser over frontier affairs. He thought that Amanullah went too far in compliance with the demands made upon him, and expressed that opinion, with the result that in the following summer, after the crisis was over, he found himself on his way to Paris to represent his country's interests in a place where she has none. It so chanced that I came into Peshawar to confer with my chief, Sir Norman Bolton, on the same day that Nadir arrived from Kabul, and we met at Government House. It happened also by good luck that there was a thunderstorm that evening with heavy rain, which greatly mitigated the usual sultry heat of Peshawar in July. I shall never forget with what frankness and with what animation the Sirdar, as he then was, talked as we sat in the verandah after dinner, watching the lightning shatter the sky. He spoke now in the crabbed Persian of the Afghan court, now in Pushtu, now in Urdu, and at times in a mixture of all three! He told us of his adventures in the war of 1919, when laying siege to Thal, of the way to deal with tribesmen, of the views which he held with regard to former Afghan wars, and more recent events, but chiefly of the impression which the Khyber had made on him—a savage from Central Asia, as he laughingly called himself. "You never cease telling us," he said, "that your intentions are entirely pacific, and as a matter of fact, in spite of history, I believe what you say, but what you have done and are doing in the Khyber does not make this any easier. After miles and miles of travel through my own country, barren and inhospitable, with no roads, no troops, no forts, nothing that an army would need, I come to your frontier, and what do I see? An excellent military road, doubled all the way, a railway running beside it right up to the edge, an enormous camp full of troops in front of me, another at Landi Kotal, and a fort on every hill all the way down to Jamrud. Against whom, pray, is all this peaceful preparation intended?" The question was not very easy to answer.

So he went his way, to return a few years later, when he took the field, with next to no resources, staking his life in a desperate venture against the brigand chief Bacha-i-Saqqa. His motive, I am sure, was not ambition, but patriotism. I am not out to defend his execution of the Bacha or all his other acts, though it is hard to judge without knowing all the facts and taking into account all the circumstances.

But this I will say. All true friends of Afghanistan have good cause to lament his death. For though, in his own words, he was no Anglo-phil he was equally no Russo-phil, but only a true lover of his own country. He knew her needs and understood her interests. What is more, his mind enlarged by seven years' residence in Europe and contact with statesmen of other countries, he knew how to work for those ends, and, unlike Amanullah, how to carry his people with him. And what are those interests? Substantially they coincide with our own, and what Nadir desired for Afghanistan is exactly what we and all real friends of that country would wish for her. First, independence, which is the breath of every Afghan's nostrils, just as it is of our own. But independence, like peace, in that turbulent country can only be maintained by a strong stable Government, under whose shadow a policy of development and civilization can be pursued, and meanwhile the maintenance of correct and good international relations. There you have it all: independence, peace, control, development, civilization, and the maintenance of correct relations—what more could we or anyone else want?

May Nadir's son succeed, in every sense of the word, and follow in the footsteps of his father—upon whom be peace!

This had to be said, but it has taken us away from the examination of our breakwater and the strains and stresses with which it has to contend. Let us now consider these and the interaction of the international and tribal factors, and let us conduct our examination in as impartial a spirit as we can. We have seen how his study of history and his passage through the Khyber had at one time made Nadir afraid of his country's eastern neighbour. Now let us go one step further and realize that it is not only Afghanistan which entertains that fear, but also Russia. Why they should do so, I cannot say, but I am sure they do. They ascribe to us an activity, energy, malice, and intelligence in a measure far beyond our deserts, and roughly speaking never a twig snaps nor a sparrow falls to the ground in Central Asia but they espy in it the workings of British Imperialism. I think that explains why the Russians are always blackguarding us so in their propaganda. It is the hysteria of fear. I think it also helps to explain why in 1929, when the downfall of Amanullah seemed to give them a clear run in, they took no improper advantages of Afghanistan's distress, but behaved like perfect gentlemen, indeed, in all essential respects as correctly as we did ourselves. It also explains how it may be conceivable that they are sincere, like ourselves, in their expressed

desire for a strong, stable, and independent Afghanistan—and remember that in their treaty of 1921 they have backed their fancy to the tune of an annual subsidy of a million gold roubles, while we pay no subsidy at all. The ideal solution, no doubt, would be a good mutual understanding shared by Russia, Afghanistan, and the third member of that trinity—whatever you may choose to call it. But unfortunately in practice that seems unattainable, because the three factors to the equation are apparently set in the old familiar form of the eternal triangle. Any two of them may have a good mutual understanding, but not apparently all three. This is very prettily illustrated in the Russo-Afghan and Anglo-Afghan treaties. In the Russian treaty, concluded in June, 1921, Article V. provides that, in return for similar privileges, Russia shall have five consulates in Afghanistan, two of which are to be at Kandahar and Ghazni. In an appendix to the British treaty, concluded less than a year later, the Afghan Foreign Minister gives an undertaking, that in return for the transit of goods for Afghanistan through India, his Government will not give the Russian Government the opportunity of establishing consulates or representatives at Jallalabad, Kandahar, or Ghazni, which are contiguous to the frontier of India. There is an Anglo-Afghan understanding adverse to Russia. What might be expected to result from an Anglo-Russian understanding not shared by Afghanistan may be inferred from the behaviour of the Amir Habibullah, after the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian convention in 1907.

Amir Habibullah, the son of Abdur Rahman, who ruled Afghanistan from 1904-1919, was a true friend to us internationally, faithful indeed even unto death. Yet even he found the Anglo-Russian convention more than he could stomach. To show his resentment, in the years which followed, he suffered, or perhaps even encouraged, his frontier officials to make tribal trouble for us. The form which the trouble took was this: Gangs of raiders established themselves in Khost and elsewhere near the Durand line, and thence, secure against direct action by the Indian Government, and with the connivance or even protection of the local authorities, every winter they made descents across tribal territory into the border towns of British India and carried off Hindus, preferably rich Hindus, whom they held to ransom. Then it was that this monstrous practice of kidnapping became rampant and the official records ring with Sir George Roos-Keppel's cries of rage and pain and his denunciation of the Amir. No doubt the Amir's behaviour was highly reprehensible; in so far as it was the outcome of

pique, altogether so. But it was not only pique, but also policy, which shaped his action—in fact, a life insurance policy!

Habibullah did not want to be murdered or deposed—and for an Afghan King, no great interval separates the two—by irate tribesmen who might think that he and they had been bought and sold over their heads. So he did what he did in the tribal sphere. That was how Habibullah construed his international obligations, and perhaps now that we understand we shall not blame him so much. The more one looks into these matters, the more one appreciates the saying that, without Afghanistan and the tribes, Russia would be no problem, or at any rate only a remote problem, while Afghanistan without Russia behind her and the tribes between us and her, or the tribes without Afghanistan and Russia beyond them, would be no problem at all. This latter statement is no doubt an exaggeration, but it has a good deal of truth in it. That is why I feel so tired when people come and tell me about the fine things the French have done in Morocco—with, of course, the implied criticism: "Why the devil can we not go and do likewise on the North-West Frontier?"

Well, be that as it may, it still remains true that what gives Afghanistan the creeps more than anything else is the thought of her two powerful neighbours coming together behind her back. Conversely there is always the suspicion that if either of the two major Powers becomes too friendly with Afghanistan, the other will stop the game by knocking over the board and upsetting all the pieces. This may seem a fantastic suspicion for anyone to entertain of us. Yet all Central Asia is quite sure that we engineered Amanullah's downfall, because he was too friendly with Russia, and this is precisely the sort of thing that we are quite ready to believe against Russia. So then a triple entente seems unlikely. I hope that I am not being too cynical, if I venture to suggest that in the absence of the ideal solution the practical triangular solution has worked pretty well, and if we play harmoniously upon our triangle, may continue to do so.

Now let us talk a little about things from the Afghan point of view. To begin with I should like to state one fact, which I believe to be the most vital in the whole situation. I have never seen it stated in any official documents or standard books of reference. Yet I believe it to be true, and, if true, it provides the key to a good deal of history from the days of Darius onwards. It is simply this. The real Afghanistan, the home of the Pathan tribes, the tract of country between the Hindu Kush and the Indus, from the Kurram valley in

the north to Kandahar in the south, does not yield wealth enough by itself to enable the ruler of it, unless he has other possessions, to maintain a stable government. That is why it is so important that Afghanistan's northern frontier should be maintained and that her northern provinces should not be absorbed by Russia. That no doubt is also why Nadir made such haste to bring these provinces into subjection. It was his only hope of attaining solvency. He knew that he could not hope to pay his way until he had done so.

Knowing this, let us put ourselves for a moment in the shoes of King Zahir Shah and consider some of the problems which he may be called upon to solve. He has no doubt read the Amir Abdur Rahman's "Political Testament." Abdur Rahman likened his country to a swan swimming on a pond with a bear on one bank and a lion on the other, and he counselled his successors for a long time to come to keep to deep water! The present ruler of Afghanistan has first to decide whether, with the development of aviation and other means of communication, and the consequent shrinkage of the world, his pond is not drying up, as Abdur Rahman foresaw that it would. In that case there will be no more deep water and he will have to make the further decision on which bank to come ashore, and seek companionship. These, however, are not the only nuts he may have to crack. He has to watch, as all Asia is watching, the progress of events in India, and not to be taken by surprise if, in the twinkling of an eye, as by the waving of the wand of some magician out of the "Arabian Nights," the old lion, whom he knows, should suddenly be changed into a litter of young lions or perhaps a herd of other animals! In the event of any such metamorphosis he, like other rulers of adjacent countries, has to make up his mind whether those young lions or other young animals are nice young animals for him to play with, and whether they are to be regarded as the true and lineal descendants of the original lion. If so, then of course they are entitled to the benefit of his agreements and understandings with the lion. If not, well then the breakwater will have ceased to hold; and what is to be expected when a breakwater ceases to hold?

I have referred to other rulers of adjacent countries. The country which I had in mind is Nepal. Let us take another look at the map. Mark how the small country of Nepal—it is almost exactly as big as England—lies tucked in under the mountains, essentially a part of India as a geographical expression, but politically altogether independent. Mark too how the whole army in India—of which the

Gurkha contingent, twenty battalions, is so large and so important a part—is echeloned facing towards the north-west. Reflect what a very different situation it would be if Nepal, at some future date, were to adopt the same attitude towards Hindu malcontents that Afghanistan has in the past sometimes attempted towards similar Islamic movements in India, and if the army in India, even with British support and with its Gurkha battalions, were called upon to deal with Afghanistan and Nepal simultaneously. Let us, however, not dwell upon that gloomy prospect, which of course is wholly hypothetical.

So let us come back to the present, and see what is being done in tribal territory on the Indian side of the Durand line. It gives me great pleasure to do this, for two reasons. First, because while I was dealing with international affairs I could not give you anything to look at. Now I can show you tangible things—railways, roads, troops on the march, frontier types, Scouts—in fact, all the machinery required for the construction, repair, and maintenance of our breakwater in operation. In fact, we can now all go to the pictures together. Second, because it is pleasant even now to recollect—as many whom I see here can—what a zest life had when we lived " somewhere on the frontier." To those who have never shared that feeling, I can best give an idea of it by saying that it resembles the feeling with which you wake up on the morning of a hunting day. I have my own notion why that should be so, but perhaps this is best left for the discussion afterwards, when, I am sure, many other speakers will bring it home to you much more vividly than I can.

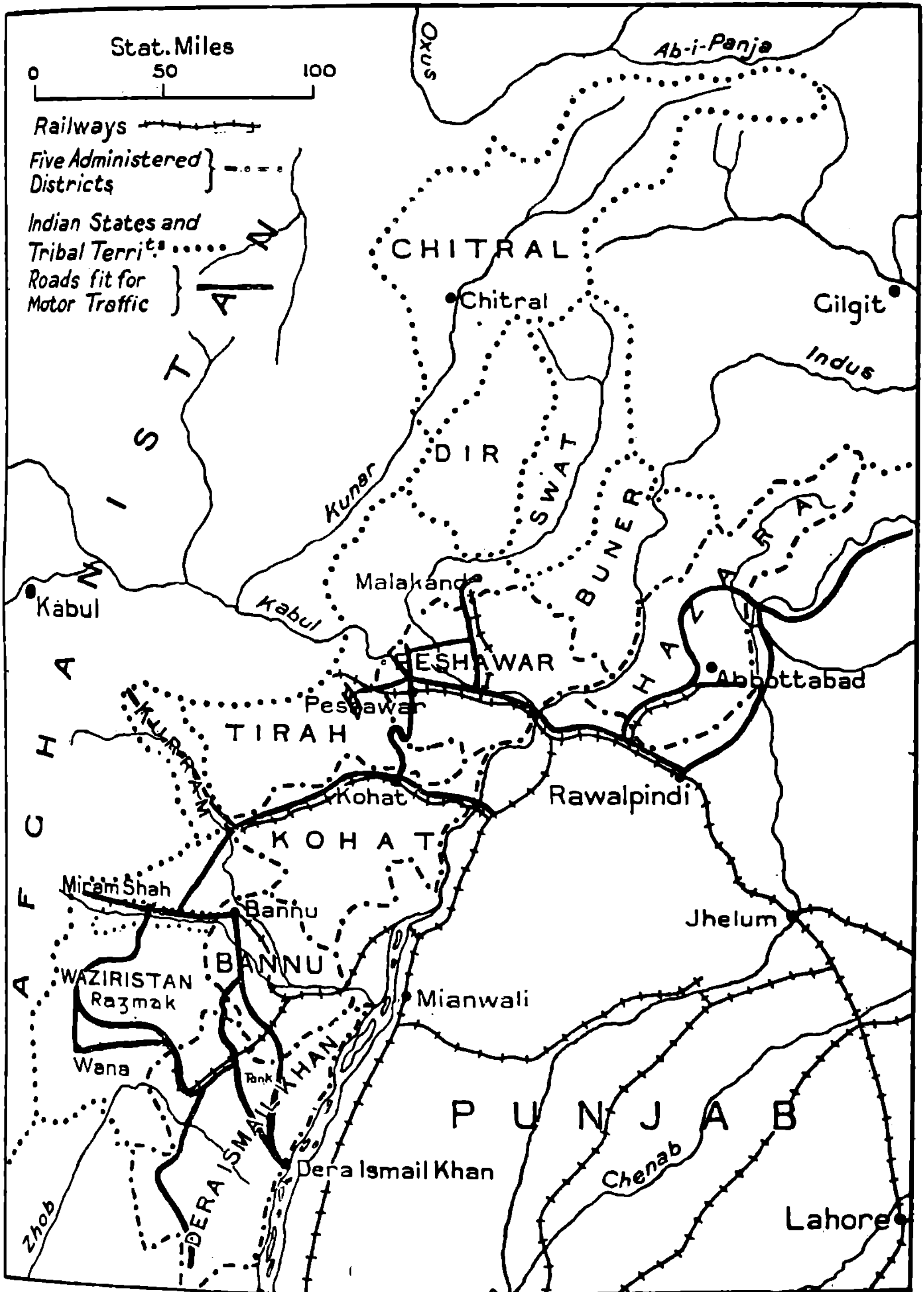
So now, first let us have a look at tribal territory as a whole. Of course, such an audience as this knows all about the tribal problem and can reel off the factors in it—the martial qualities of the tribes and their predatory instincts, their Afghan connection, their fanaticism, their armament, the inaccessibility of their homes, the economic factor, and so forth—at a moment's notice. But I wonder how many of you realize the magnitude to which this problem has grown, or know what a large proportion of the whole army in India is earmarked for the rôle of " covering troops," as they are called, whose business it is to hold the tribes down in the event of war on or beyond the Afghan frontier. Altogether apart from military expenditure, the Government of India spends annually, on " Political Charges " and " Watch and Ward " in or in connection with tribal territory, Baluchistan included, nearly £2,000,000. On top of that, by the way, it has agreed to give the newly constituted N.W.F.P. provincial government an annual subsidy

of a crore of rupees (£750,000) for purely provincial objects. A better instance of the Pathan genius for eating his cake and having it too would be difficult to find. I think you will agree that these Political Charges and Watch and Ward expenditure need looking into, and that people who can make the Government of India put its hand so deep in its pocket may be worth a visit in their homes.

We will start our trip from India and go up by train, so as to see the new railway bridge at Kalabagh. This bridge is not on the main line to Peshawar, but it is worth seeing, because it is a good instance of the many things which the tribes, starting, so to speak, with their bare hands, have made the Government of India do. It was at Kalabagh, by the way, that Timur crossed the Indus when he invaded India in 1398 to make the famous pile of human skulls at Delhi, and if he could cross there, we can do the same, by the new bridge. Once across the Indus, all roads lead to Peshawar. So let us go and see that wicked city, where so much mischief is hatched. From Peshawar all good globe-trotters go up the Khyber by car, but we are not ordinary globe-trotters and can get special permission to go by any route we please. We will therefore take the route by the Khajurai plain—the Khajurai plain is a strip of flat country along the western border of the Peshawar district, south of the Khyber Pass. It slopes steadily upwards towards the mountains of Tirah, the home of the Afridis. The Afridis, as you know, are a British tribe, in fact the leading British tribe, and like all the tribes they are always apt to assume that they have a brief on behalf of their co-religionists and fellow-countrymen in British India. The Mahsuds made just the same assumption in 1919, when they tried to make the rescission of the Rowlatt Act one of their terms of peace. After the troubles in Peshawar city in April, 1930, during which the troops were compelled on two occasions to open fire on the mob, the Afridis made two separate incursions into the Peshawar district, not for once as plunderers, but in the guise of liberators. There are countless caves along the foothills in which the invading lashkars assembled, and in which the various sections, driven by the cold from the higher parts of Tirah, are accustomed to pass the winter. The occupation of the plain therefore, without any costly invasion or occupation of Tirah, gave the Government of India a stranglehold on the tribe, of which they had sorely felt the need for fifty years or more.

We will now rejoin the ordinary route at Jamrud, and a little further up we will see the caravans go past. At Landi Kotal we will

have a chat with some Afridi Maliks, and get home again in time for tea. Next day we will start on a tour to Waziristan. We leave Peshawar by the Kohat road and after twenty miles of travel through



the Peshawar district find ourselves once more in tribal territory, in the famous Kohat Pass.

The Kohat Pass has really better claims to be considered as the

historic highway of the historic highwaymen who have entered India during the last two thousand years than has the Khyber itself. When we have made our way to the head of it, and look down southwards on Kohat, if we turn west we shall find almost at our feet the Bosti Khel Darra where is the home of Ajab, the scoundrel who murdered Mrs. Ellis and Mrs. Watts. It was of course at Ajab's house in Bosti Khel country that the famous 347 rifles—or whatever number there were—were discovered that he had lifted from Frontier Constabulary headquarters in Kohat. But that is a long story. So let us get on towards Waziristan. Our road leads us to Bannu and from Bannu we go due west up the Tochi valley, and traverse some very extraordinary country, as you see. At the top of the Shinkai defile we come up with a regiment of regulars on the march. Here we see the big military stick which has always to be on view for those concerned to look at. The tribes are expert critics of minor tactics and equally competent instructors. I trust that Army Headquarters in India realize what they owe them for their lessons!

We make our way along the circular road past Razmak into Mahsud country and so up the Baddar valley past Kaniguram along the new road to Wana in Wazir country. We arrive there in time to attend a jirga—perhaps a jirga at which the allowances are being paid.

These allowances are some of the political charges which drew our attention just now. The Government of India pays just a little less than Rs. 9 lakhs every year in tribal allowances in the N.W.F.P. area. These are not pure blackmail, though it cannot be denied that in some cases those who have given most trouble have got the largest share! The allowances could no doubt be resumed, but the process would be the same as that which attends the resumption of a bone from a savage dog. We should get our bone, but we should also almost certainly get our hands severely bitten. The tribes themselves regard these allowances as payment for services rendered, as indeed in the main they are, and forfeiture without delinquency on their part would seem to them a gross breach of faith.

I am sorry I have no picture of a Khassadar to show you. In case you do not exactly remember what a Khassadar is, let me remind you that the Khassadars are a purely tribal force, locally recruited, who provide their own weapons, but receive pay and ammunition from Government. They are maintained in Waziristan, the Khyber, and Mohmand country, to enable the tribes in those countries to discharge their tribal obligations. The Government spends a good deal on them

—between 25 and 30 lakhs of rupees a year—and, some people think, gets poor value for its money. Expert opinion is still divided whether the Khassadars are a Frankenstein monster who will wreck the whole or the ultimate solution of the enigma. My own opinion is that they may develop into either. They are an embryonic tribal police, and can be made immensely potent as a means of civilization. With them, as with the allowances, the right policy is not to try to resume the grant, but steadily to insist upon better and ever better value for what is spent. Meanwhile, to give you a mental picture of the Wazir Khassadar, at any rate as he was some years ago, I may mention that one of the political officers told me when he was in Tochi his men's motto appeared to be "Spit and no polish!"

We will go back from Wana to Jandola, where we rejoin the circular road by Sarawakai and the Shahur route, so as to be able to see something of the other type of irregular, the Scout. The Shahur valley road is a lateral road, while the circular road to Razmak is what I may call a vertical road. The district officer believes in lateral roads and the soldier in vertical roads. The vertical road leads to some central dominating point; the lateral cuts across all the raiders' paths which lead down into the districts. I say deliberately that the main factor in bringing to an end the immemorial pastime of the Mahsuds—raiding in the D.I.K. district—is the construction of the Shahur road, and the incessant vigilance and activity of the Scouts along it, and in all the country round. "Very good," you say, "but what are the Scouts?" The Scouts are a force midway between the regular and the Khassadar. The Khassadar is completely mobile and almost equally unreliable. The regular is his exact opposite in both respects. So half-way between the two you have the Scouts, an all-Pathan force, *not* locally recruited, and consisting to the extent of at least half their number of British subjects, with homes in British India. In practice that means Khattaks from the Kohat district. There are about 5,000 Scouts in Waziristan, and they cost over Rs. 30 lakhs a year. They are officered by selected British officers, seconded for a term of years from the Indian Army. Anyone who has accompanied a Scouts' patrol or even watched a body of Scouts move over the hillsides has some idea of what the prophet of old meant when he exclaimed, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of them that serve the Lord!"

Well, now we have traversed a good deal of queer country and met lots of queer people. We have had a glimpse of all the main factors, with the exception of aeroplanes, railways, roads, troops, Scouts, maliks,

tribesmen, and tribal villages. We can see that a great work is going on, and we inevitably ask ourselves—"What is going to be at the end of it all?"

My friend the Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, who is a member of this Society, is accustomed to speak of his fellow countrymen as the "gate-keepers of India." They are capable of being that, and they are capable of playing a very different rôle. I believe that the answer to the question, "Which will they do?" turns very largely on the use made during the next twenty or thirty years of the Khassadar. The India of the past may have been strong enough to keep the tribes at arm's length. It is vitally important for the India of the future to seek and maintain a closer contact, and the only possible goal to aim at, however distant it may seem, is the voluntary accretion of the tribes to the Federation of United India.

DISCUSSION

Brig. SANDILANDS: Sir Evelyn Howell has told us of the extent to which the situation in Afghanistan, or even in Russia, may react on the "British" tribes. But he did not, I think, stress the influence that the situation in the North-West Frontier Province also must always exert on the same people. It can be accepted as an axiom that guerillas can hope to operate successfully for any length of time only in a friendly country. As affecting the Afridi incursions in 1930, to which Sir Evelyn has referred, a point that is not generally realized is that the tribesmen on those occasions had found in the Peshawar district a friendly country in which to operate. Had this district not been converted, by reason of certain events, to which there is now no reason to refer, to a country friendly to the Afridis, those raids, in my opinion, would never have been attempted. As it was, the tribesmen in 1930 found ready to hand supply depots and intelligence centres in the villages of British India, whose inhabitants gave further active assistance by felling trees and cutting telegraph and telephone wires in order to interfere with our communications.

The speaker continued by drawing an analogy between the services rendered to the Afridi raiders by the villages of the Peshawar district and those offered to the Boers in the South African War by the farms in the Orange Free State and Transvaal before their inhabitants were removed, and he concluded by a reflection on the trouble which

might have been given and the damage which could have been caused by the Afridis had they had, in circumstances so similar, the character and determination of the Boers. On both occasions the Afridis, without being seriously engaged, had scuttled back across the border for reasons that it was difficult to discern, unless it was that the Peshawar district, though friendly to them, was unfamiliar and so different in character from their own country.

Air-Commodore BROCK: I think I can give Brigadier Sandilands the reasons for the hasty withdrawal of the Afridis on the occasions to which he has referred. They are to be found in the air action taken against the tribesmen.

Brigadier Sandilands was understood to dissent from this view, but to be unwilling to pursue the discussion.

Mr. J. C. FRENCH expressed the general appreciation of the lecture. He said he was greatly interested in the photographs of the tribesmen. They were exactly similar to the Khassadars whom he had seen in Afghanistan in 1932, escorting an ammunition convoy through the Hindu Khush and also in Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat. Outside Kandahar he had seen some Khassadars doing a Khattak dance exactly similar to that shown in Sir Evelyn Howell's slide. These Khassadars were the smartest troops the Afghans had, and some of them came from our side of the border. As regards Afghan feeling towards us, Mr. French found that the officers and high officials were most pleasant and friendly. They faithfully reflected the views of the Afghan Government, whose confidence had been gained by our correct attitude in 1929.

The common people, on the other hand, the peasants and villagers, still remembered the old wars, and were sulky and suspicious.

The general position of Afghanistan was well summed up in a remark which the governor of Kandahar, General Mohamed Gul Khan, made to Mr. French: "If by the blessing of God we have peace for twenty years, Afghanistan will be safe."

In conclusion Sir MICHAEL said: Sir Evelyn has given us a wonderful survey of some of the many problems of the Frontier and of India's relations with her neighbours, questions which must be taken into consideration with the Frontier problems themselves. General Sandilands has spoken of the influence which the tribes have on each side of the line, any trouble in one territory being immediately reflected in the other. But there is one consideration which I have often discussed with Indians and which is more often present in the minds of

some of them than in those of the people at home. We must remember two points: first, that until the British took control, no invasion from the north-west ever failed; and secondly, that India was never before united by a central government. It is not difficult to see that, if ever the Central Government weakens, if there is any suspicion of strong unfairness or partiality, the Muslims of the north may come down to the help of their co-religionists and once more conquer the north, while the Gurkhas of Nepal may invade India from the north-east to help the Hindus—a return to the invasions from without and the civil war within of the eighteenth century. I need not stress any more the necessity of strong government at the centre, more important in the minds of the thinking Indians than apparently home politicians realize. Sir Evelyn has given us a graphic description of the splendidly efficient forces organized to meet attacks from the North-West Frontier or beyond. But the shameful experience of the tribal attacks on Peshawar city in 1931 in co-operation with Indian seditionists proves how impotent their forces may be if the authority to which they look for direction suffers from weakness or indecision. Let us hope that in future, should the emergency arise, we shall have men in authority with the will and the nerve to face it.

THIRTY-TWO YEARS IN THE INDIAN FOREST DEPARTMENT*

By SIR ALEXANDER RODGER, O.B.E.

I HOPE to be able in this lecture to give you some idea of the work that has been done by one of the great Indian services during the last eighty years, and should like to avoid as far as possible the dry details of figures and statistics. I must, however, begin by giving you a few of them, otherwise you will not understand why the Indian Forest Department has taken such a large part in the development of British India. We have under our control about a quarter of a million square miles of forest—that is, five times the area of England, nearly one-quarter of the total area of British India, and nearly one-half of that lies in the province of Burma. You will understand, therefore, why I am glad that I have served the greater part of my time in that delightful country. The staff which controls the forests of India amounts to about 19,000, of whom 600 are officers of the superior grades and the remainder are subordinates. The net annual profit was, before the recent slump, more than one and a half million pounds. It is estimated that about fifteen million animals are provided with grazing in State forests, and the total annual outturn of timber was about four hundred million cubic feet. In addition to this, minor produce to the value of about one million pounds is extracted. This consists of bamboos, canes, gums, resins, lac, fibres, tanning bark, and so on. Some of these find a ready market abroad, and, since the Wembley Exhibition of 1924, the trade in Indian hardwoods in this country has developed considerably, but it is unlikely that we shall ever be able to compete with the cheap woods of Canada, Scandinavia, and Russia.

The policy of the Government of India has always been to see that forest produce is made available free or at cheap rates for the neighbouring population, and great care is taken to see that the legal rights of villagers who live near extensive tracts of forests are properly safeguarded. Until recently all the recruits of the higher grades were

* Lecture given on December 6, 1933, at the Hall of the Royal Institute, and illustrated by a fine series of lantern slides.

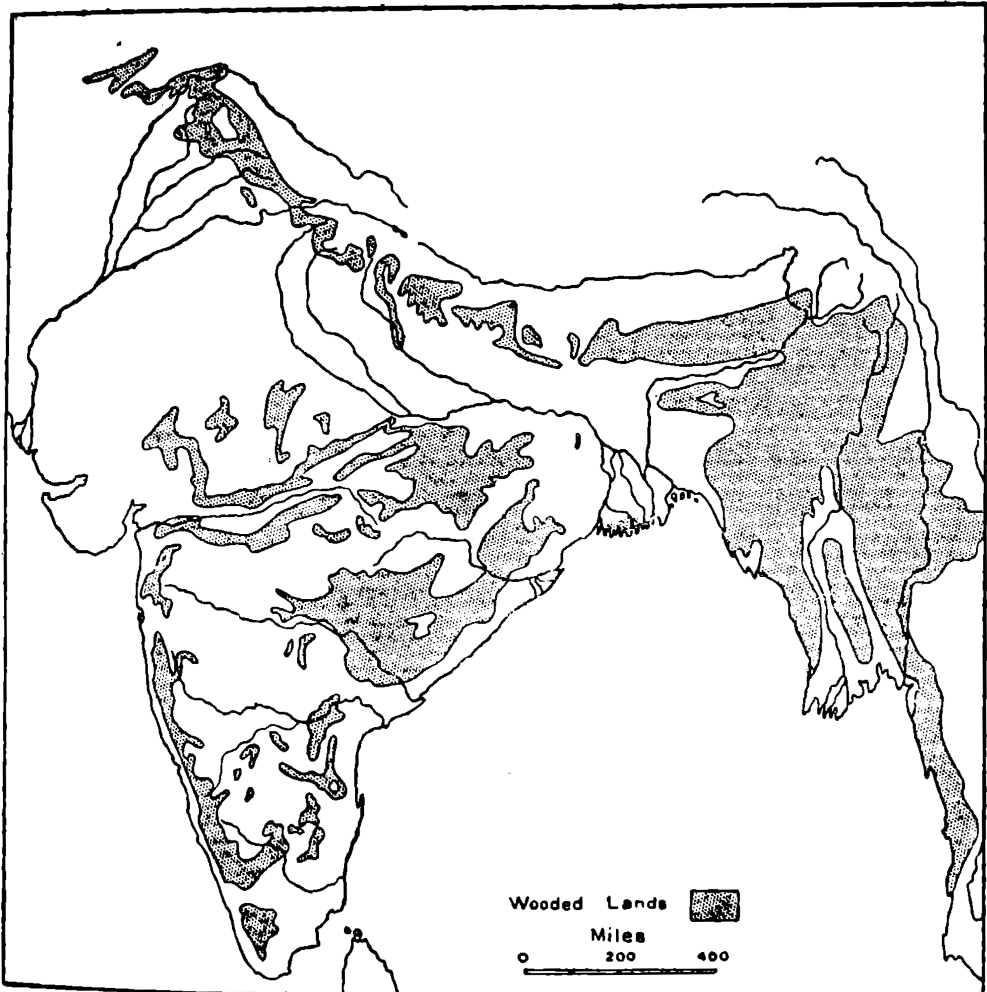
trained in Europe, first in Germany and France, then at Cooper's Hill for twenty years, and since 1906 at Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh. The two men who laid the foundations of the Indian Forest Department as it is at present, and whose names will always be revered by the service, were both Germans, Sir Dietrich Brandis and Sir William Schlich. You are aware that forestry has been much neglected in this country till recently, and there were, in the early days, no first-class schools in this country at which forest officers for India could be trained. The forests which cover the quarter of a million square miles to which I have referred vary to an extent which it is difficult for people in this country to realize.

There are three points which I should like to bring specially to your attention; we have an immense number of species to deal with, few of the important species are found in pure woods, and a few valuable species are of very great relative importance; I may mention three—teak, sal, and deodar.

In the organization and working of the forests, the arrangements made are now mostly provincial. After the recent voluminous articles on India that have appeared in the papers, you will not find it difficult to realize that the nine provinces are the important factors—Madras, Bombay, Burma, the Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa, and the Punjab, all have their own forest departments, which, under the scheme recently partially developed in London, will become more and more independent. From the point of view of technical efficiency I do not anticipate that this will mean progress, and I believe that forest management will never be as good in future as it has been in the past, when there was a good deal of responsible control in technical matters at the centre. The only important forest estate that the Government of India manages directly consists of the forests of the Andaman Islands, with which I have had a great deal to do. There are about 200 islands in the Andamans and nearly 3,000 square miles of forest.

The organization of the department is very much the same throughout the Indian Empire. The head of the department is the Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India, and each province has its own establishment, usually a Chief Conservator of Forests, with conservators, divisional officers, rangers, deputy rangers, and forest guards under him. The work of a divisional officer, who may have as much as 2,000 square miles of forest to administer, is probably the most interesting that any man can have in India. In the higher ranks

the work is bound to become more a matter of administration and an immense amount of office work, often, I am sorry to say, quite unnecessary. The divisional officer tours in the forests for some six or nine months annually, and during that time he has to inspect and carry out every imaginable kind of forest work—marking trees for felling, measuring logs for revenue, thinning, making plantations, demarcating new forests, laying out roads, building bridges and rest-houses, trying cases, collecting revenue, issuing permits to fell, and



so on. He has usually in his division some six or eight ranges, each in charge of an Indian or Burmese ranger, and the forests are usually scattered over wide areas.

Besides the forests of British India, valuable forests exist in most of the large States, especially Kashmir, Mysore, Hyderabad, and Bhopal.

The forest produce is extracted from the forest in many different ways. In Burma there are some 5,000 elephants which drag teak logs from the forests to the floating streams; they belong for the most part to five large European firms who hold leases for certain forests from

the Government. The selection of teak trees for felling is, however, always done by the Forest Department. Teak trees are killed by girdling—that is, cutting a deep notch all round the stem near the ground. The trees must stand for three years before they are felled, and have then become so dry that they will float. Green teak will not float, and we are able to bring our teak out to Rangoon and Mandalay very cheaply by making use of the floods of the monsoon to float out the dry timber—in the log in the small streams and in rafts on the Irrawaddy, the Sittang, and the Salween rivers. The smaller streams often need blasting before they can be used for floating, and the blasting is usually carried out by a Burmese subordinate. I remember a forest officer told me that he was working in a forest rest-house when a frightened baggage-elephant came tearing past, its load of small boxes falling off and bouncing along the ground. The elephant was soon stopped and brought back and the startled officer asked what was in the boxes. The driver replied calmly, "Oh! that is dynamite and detonators I am taking out to blast rocks."

Elsewhere in India, and sometimes in Burma, timber is brought out by bullock carts, tramways, wet slides, ropeways, and railways, and modern American methods have been tried on a small scale.

You will understand that for the proper administration of this enormous estate, comprising innumerable types of forests over the whole of the Indian Empire, some basis of scientific management is essential. When I first joined the department in 1898, the science now known as forest research was in its infancy, but during the last thirty years we have made great strides, and the Government of India have always led the way to the provinces. Their latest achievement was to build at Dehra Dun in the United Provinces a Forest Research Institute, complete with offices, workshops, laboratories, plantations, gardens, and residences, at a cost of about £800,000. In connection with the institute we have two colleges for training the higher and lower grades of forest officers, and the total staff employed is about 300. We divide forest research into five main branches—silviculture, economy or utilization, botany, entomology, and chemistry. Silviculture, or the science of growing woods, as distinct from arboriculture, or the science of growing fruit trees, roadside trees, or park trees, is the foundation of all good forestry and has made immense strides of recent years. The problems in India are innumerable and complex, and we have now many skilled officers working in the forests all over India.

The proper utilization of timber and other products has received even more attention at Dehra Dun, and work is going on in the workshops under the heads of Timber Testing, Seasoning, Pulp from Bamboos, Wood-working, Preservation of Wood with antiseptics, the uses of the innumerable products other than timber which are found in the forests of India, and the properties and structure of timbers, known as wood technology.

The botanist deals with the identification and classification of Indian forest plants, and the chemist acts principally as an aid to the other departments.

The function of the entomologist in the department is of ever-increasing importance, as there are in India innumerable insects which prey upon wood (as well as bamboos, etc.), and some of them have cost us hundreds of thousands of pounds. Growing trees, as well as dry timber, are liable to attack.

A great deal of forest research is also carried on under the auspices of local governments, especially in Burma, Madras, the United Provinces, Bengal, and Assam.

I have given you now some idea of the serious part of our work in India, but I should like you to understand something of the charm of a forest officer's life out there. A cold weather tour in Burma or India is probably one of the most enjoyable things that anyone can experience. The bright days and cold nights, the keen horse to ride, the chance of shooting, the endless variety of plant, animal, and bird life to be observed in the jungles of India and Burma, make a perfect whole, and even when malaria comes along or the discomfort of the hot weather in a tent must be borne, there are always compensations.

I must ask you to accept this brief account of the work of the Indian Forest Department as fairly comprehensive within the limits of time available. What I do feel and what I hope I have to some extent conveyed to you is that the department has done and is doing good work for the country and for the hundreds of millions of humble people in India, which, if properly carried on in the future, cannot fail to be of the greatest benefit. (Applause.)

A NOTE ON PALESTINE*

BY HECTOR BOLITHO

Author of " Beside Galilee," etc.

IN the past two years, I have heard so many people speak about Palestine and Trans-Jordan, without authority . . . that I feel I should begin by explaining the extent of my experience of the Near East before I inflict my opinions upon you. You must not expect violence from me; I have no fierce opinions about Palestine. I was born a Tory and a Christian and, through my teens and twenties I enjoyed definite political opinions and religious views—until I went to Palestine. The experience has left me without politics, I am afraid, and without many opinions. Perhaps *prejudices* is a more honest word than opinions. It is very difficult for some men to be aware of the difference. Palestine also robbed me of all theology. I am left with nothing but the Ten Commandments to lean on, after seeing Christian, Moslem and Jew exposing human nature at its worst, upon the land from which they first drew their creeds. So I do not stand here as a partisan.

However, I want first of all to tell you of my two visits to Palestine and Trans-Jordan. The first time I was drawn to Palestine by the Zionists. I was writing the life of the late Lord Melchett, a shrewd, gifted politician and business man, who had turned to Zionism at the end of his life with a passion which belied the cold and careful planning of his early career. It was to comprehend this passion that I first went to Palestine. For two generations Lord Melchett's family had been disinterested in Jewry. They had been drawn into the tide of the industrial revival in the sixties and seventies. The simple story of their Jewish forebears, living in a remote, impoverished Oberhessen village, which I know well, seemed to be drowned in the story of English success. Suddenly, almost at the end of his life, Lord Melchett went to Palestine. It is said that when this hard, cold business man stood on a hill, overlooking the plain of Sharon . . . when he saw the Zionist settlement blossoming in the valley, he cried. A man found

* A paper given at a Members' Meeting on December 19, 1933. Sir Percy Sykes in the Chair.

him standing there, alone, with the tears running down his cheeks. From this time he threw himself into the problems of Zionism with almost unreasoning ruthlessness. English friends suspected his sincerity. But I have read his most intimate letters and I know with what delirious intensity he came to love what he called " his true electorate." In writing the life of such a man, credited with self-serving in politics, accused of disloyalty in his party, labelled a turncoat because he deserted the Liberals for the Tories: a man who carried through the biggest and most ruthless rationalization of industry in the country, in figures somewhere about a hundred million pounds, it became my duty to understand why he changed in the end: why he became a Jew again: why he wished to throw all his English success away and live in a villa on the shores of Lake Tiberias. It was to understand this that I first went to Palestine. For three months I went from one Zionist settlement to another. I sat with Jewish merchants beside Galilee, I slept in the houses of fanatical Zionists, I watched the processions of celebration through the streets of Tel Aviv. I think, in all, that I spoke to about fifty of the leading Zionists in Palestine during the three months I was there. There is the foundation upon which I speak to you about this aspect of Palestine.

I returned to England. Last year I went to Palestine and Trans-Jordan again, but in different circumstances. At first I stayed at Ma'an, with every influence near me completely Arab. Except, of course, the little English colony. From Ma'an I went to Amman, where I had an astonishing experience. I stayed with the Amir Abdullah for three months. I was the first English guest who had ever slept in his palace, and I am vain enough to feel that my three months with the Amir, to whom I am wholly devoted, gave me an insight into one side of the Arab question. For we must, from the beginning, remember that we are speaking of the Arabs who are not drawn into the puritanical changes under Ibn Sa'ud in the south. That as far as the Amir Abdullah and his followers are concerned, we are dealing with the last, charming, cultivated, but doomed remnant of the Cavaliers. Day after day I sat in a tent with the Amir, leaning against a silver-mounted camel saddle, looking out over a field of wild flowers. On one side would be the doctor, on the other the Prime Minister, who had been a keeper of the religious law in Mekka, before the defeat of King Hussein. As far as the business of government was concerned, we were all rather idle. The most energetic moment each day was when the doctor rose to put drops in

the Amir's eyes. The Amir insisted on the Prime Minister being treated as well, because he always jumped when the drop fell in his eye. The Amir thought this a huge joke and laughed uproariously. Otherwise our mornings were lethargic. While the Zionists were working in a frenzy in Palestine, planting the Plain of Jezreel with oranges, harnessing the Jordan to produce electricity, draining the Dead Sea to produce chemicals, we drowsed in the past. The talk was mostly of Mekka, or the old, sumptuous days under Abdul Hamid, in Constantinople. While the Zionists ran about Jerusalem with their propaganda pamphlets, the Arabs played backgammon or they drank coffee languidly—centuries of quiet in their eyes. I learned only one Arab phrase while I was there: *yimkin fel mishmish*, perhaps to-morrow, when the apricots are ripe. It was the key to their life. Yesterday was a sweet dream to be remembered. To-day must be devoted, entirely, to remembering those sunny days in Taif, when the jackals were hunted in the hills, when the night roses bloomed against the white walls of the palace—when one woke up, in Mekka, to hear the flower sellers ambling down the long bazaar, crying out the merits of their roses. I found myself languishing too. I did not bother to wind my watch after the first week. When I wanted to know the date one day, I had to telephone to Jerusalem. The calendar in my room was two years old.

When I returned to England, I was able to look back upon my two experiences of the country: to weigh them in my hands. One was like a wasp in my hand: the other like a moth. But it was difficult for me to feel intensely. I was too much weighed down by the hopelessness of the battle. I could not help seeing the problems in terms of thousands of years. I do not think anybody can come to know the shores of the Mediterranean without this sensation of feeling that a civilization is as important in the vastness of history as the blossoming and death of one flower in a field: that the history of the development of human nature is the one light in which we may judge any event in history or any contemporary problem which besets us. I am still too much aware of the conflicts of human nature in Palestine to be arrogant enough to have convictions. I think the only opinion of which I am certain, out of all this pandemonium, is that the British Government made a blunder in the Near East, after the war, the immorality of which can be excused only because our politicians were still in the fierce, unreasoning state of war. We are in the unfortunate position of being obliged to keep, in peacetime, the promises we made while

our swords were still unsheathed. This has been a problem after every war in history. In brief, we made two promises which it is impossible for us to fulfil. While I was staying with the Amir Abdullah, I arranged for the translation of King Hussein's letters: the letters which were sent to him in Mekka, by the British authorities in Egypt, during the early days of the revolt against the Turks. The letters were faithfully translated to me by my own arrangement. From them King Hussein could have expected nothing but complete and final dominion of the Arabs when the war was over. We made specific promises. His subsequent mistakes cannot free us from the truth: that we treated him as the King of the Arabs. The fulsomeness of some of the letters written to him by our officials made me ashamed, when I read them in the light of what has happened since they were written. And, like all of you, who are being so patient with me now, I have read the Balfour Declaration. It was our blunder . . . this scattering of promises we could not fulfil. Well, there is spilled milk over which it is no use shedding tears. Being the best diplomats in the world, we have covered up our mistake by announcing still another high moral purpose. For I think it will be admitted that, as Empire builders, we have always carried out our mercenary conquests on the wings of an ideal. The carpenters who have built our mission stations in savage places have usually built a trading station with the same kit of tools. Our policy now, in spite of our two promises, is to teach the Jew and the Arab to live in peace together. How far this is possible is, I think, the simple, cold problem which is before us. And I believe it impossible, at least until the world is two thousand years older. I should like to tell you of an experience which gives one small illustration to my opinion:

> In the morning twenty Arab leaders came to see us. I was the one Christian present without Jewish or Arab sympathies, so I was able to observe the scene with iced indifference. The Jews sat at one end of the room, the Arabs in a great circle in front of them. A circle of fine-looking Arabs, in flowing clothes and white headdresses. I sat upon a sofa, and, for the most part, we merely looked at each other, taking sugared fruits out of boxes, drinking Turkish coffee, and feeling rather self-conscious.
>
> Two of the Arabs smelled belladonna berries as they looked at us. I thought it a pretty conceit. Drowsy, rhythmic, gentle, and slow-moving, from the repose which is their birthright, they turned the yellow berries over and over in their fingers, passing them back and forth beneath their noses. One of them

must have sensed my sympathy, for he rose, walked across the room, and gave me his belladonna. It was pungent and sweet-smelling. I realized then why he smelled it. It was an escape from the boredom of the occasion. So I smelled it, and found pleasure in it, and I listened to an Arab speaking. His voice was low and coming from a distance, like the sound of water moving in a deep cave.

The Arabs wanted water, they said. Their village was near to the Jewish settlement. Artesian wells, irrigation pipes, and money made the Jewish settlement rich in water. The Jews had bathrooms: their orange trees sprang up quickly from the moist earth. The Arab village had almost no water. The Arab leaned forward and painted the picture to us. His village was low-lying. A pipe could be laid so simply and so cheaply, and then both Arabs and Jews would have water. It seemed to me that the Arabs were trusting and ingenuous people to accept the tap end of the Jewish water-pipe. It showed a childlike lack of suspicion.

But the Jews did not see it this way. "If you give the Arabs one thing, they will ask for more," they said.

I think this incident, slight as it may seem, reveals one of the great difficulties in the British mandate in Palestine. The Jews are suspicious and they are ungrateful. I do not say this unkindly. For neither the individual Jew nor the Zionist movement can be blamed for this. Rather must we turn to the history of two thousand years and find, in the story of injustice and intolerance, the reason why social virtues such as gratitude, modesty, and repose have been drained out of the Jew. I suppose that if we look at it from a high-minded point of view, it is the duty of the British people to create conditions in which the Jew can find again the sense of security which European civilization has withheld from him so long. The Jew does not require understanding, material help, or discipline so much as deep compassion and healing; healing and patience with no reckoning on our part as to gratitude, merit, response, or reward. It all goes more deeply than politics and national homes. It goes back to a simple beginning. Hillel, the accepted teacher of the Jews, said, "I will teach you all the Law while you stand on one foot. . . . What is hateful to thee do not unto thy fellowman: this is the whole Law. The rest is mere commentary."

I do not want to sound sententious, but one was reminded of this so much in travelling through the country, that the issues of employment, labour, and local politics did not seem to matter very much. What Hillel said was more or less the same as what Jesus said when

He spoke to the people at Capernaum. I do not want to moralize, nor, as I have said, to sound sententious. But I do feel that, whatever our religious convictions may be, Hillel's teaching gives us the abstract principle upon which all good laws and all sound policy are based. One does not have to be a pacifist to know that Bismarck's creed of blood and iron has possibly punished civilization materially, but it has never advanced it morally. I think the greatest feeling of hope in Palestine came to me when I met the present High Commissioner. I was privileged to speak with him many times, and I came to regard him almost to the point of hero worship. Sir Arthur Wauchope is a distinguished soldier, free of all sentimentality and prejudice. But, more than this, he is a man of literary knowledge, something of a scholar, with that rare capacity for drawing the best out of everybody who comes near to him, the quality which is vouchsafed to men who are definitely a moral influence. I think that we are too near to the recent unfortunate riots to see them with the right perspective. Peace cannot come now, to-morrow, or in a hundred years. But the manifestations of discord can slowly become less terrible, and this, I think, can be perceived in the story of Palestine since 1918.

The cry of the Arabs is against the Jews who live upon the land. I see less danger in this than in the Jews who are living in cities. The Hebrew conception of heaven is of a Golden City. They have built a city on the dun-coloured sea-coast near Jaffa, and now almost fifty thousand Jews are living there. And how many Jews are there in the whole country? Isn't it something like two hundred thousand? There, I think, the dangers lie, in the fact that in one city, of their own building, 25 per cent. of the Jewish population is herded. This condition is fatal to an agricultural country.

When the Arab from the neighbouring town of Jaffa walks along the sea road, to peep at Tel Aviv, he nods his head with a dismal motion. He is contented with his ragged clothes and his simple house. He has no material ambitions and his luxuries are sleep and stillness. How then can he understand this collection of busy people, who have hurried across the world, from the misery of life in impoverished European cities, only to build another city. This thin little Arab, with his fine features and his spatular hands, is a fatalist. If you ask him what he thinks of the Jewish city, he will say, "It is built upon sand. Romans and Greeks and others have crossed the Mediterranean and they have come to the edge of our desert to try and make their own civilization here. But always, after bearing patiently with them

for a little while, the desert has risen in protest and it has pressed them back into the sea again. The desert is vast: if it chooses to breathe and to move, Western civilization will fall off its edge into the water. Some day the desert will breathe . . . there is no need for us to be angry, we must be patient. Some day the desert will breathe, and it will move, and the city of the Jews will tumble back into the sea and we shall have peace again."

If this is true and if the safety of the Jew in Palestine depends upon British indulgence and British protection, then our responsibility is to be perpetual. It means that the little strip of agitated country must always be guarded from the hordes of Arabs who live in the countries across Jordan. If this is true, then the happiness of the Jews in Palestine depends upon their relationship with England. In this, they have a lesson to learn. I said at the beginning that the Zionists were never grateful; I said also that we must not expect gratitude. But if the Zionists were a little more clever, they would realize how much more the Englishman would do if he were thanked and flattered a little. I never heard one kind word about our Mandate while I was in Palestine. The Arabs were charming and clever enough to hide their bitterness. The Jews not. In every part of the country, I was bombarded with complaints. This tired me so that, in the end, my store of sympathy was used up.

As I said, I do not want to give you judgments, rather evidence from which you can judge for yourselves. I recall one conversation which I had in Jerusalem with the most enlightened Arab I met in the country. His family had lived near to the Wailing Wall for eight hundred years. They have always been judges and teachers and he himself is a scholar. I made a note of what he said to me and you must be patient while I quote from it. He spoke, with humour and quiet, of the state of his country.

> "I am willing to see every possible merit in Zionism," he said. "And I am willing to admit that the Jews have suffered terribly at the hands of both European and Eastern civilization. But even the kindness of a British Mandate and the passion of the Zionists cannot establish a national home in Palestine without the will of the Arabs. The aggressive political policy of the Jews is contrary to the Arab nature. It is impossible for the Jew to understand any nature but his own. Intellectually, he is completely selfish and self-centred. The Arabs draw their character from the mystery of the desert. It is because of this that your people of the West can never understand us. The little Arab

family on the coast, perhaps near Haifa, has cousins living in the foothills. They have cousins living in the mountains behind them, and these have cousins in the ultimate desert. There you have a chain, stretching from the sea-coast into the mystery of the sands. The question of the difference between the Arabs and the Jews goes deeper than mere politics or economics. You must remember the great sleeping force of the foothills and of the mountains and of the desert behind Palestine. Then you must decide whether it is possible for a small strip of country, wedged in between the Mediterranean and the desert, with Arab traditions, to change its character and become a country of the Jews and for the Jews. It could never remain individual and Jewish, with the force of the desert pressing upon one side and the Mediterranean on the other.

"You must remember also that no conqueror has ever changed our character, even with the force of armies behind him. The Romans were here for six hundred years, but we emerged from their dominion unchanged and almost untouched. They left none but crumbling monuments behind them. The Greeks came, and Greek became the language of our commerce. But the force of the desert was too great for them. It pressed them back into the sea, and all you will find of them is turning to dust. The Crusaders came, and all that remains of them are a few churches. The Cretans and the Egyptians were here. Both were broken-down and assimilated into the country. Before the British occupation, the Turks were here for four hundred years, and it is astounding, when you go about the country now, to see that they made little or no impression upon either the landscape or the people. Their very roads are overgrown and are being swallowed back into the earth from which they were cut. We have remained Arab, and even if it were our will, I do not believe that Palestine could change.

"In the old days the Arabs never objected to the Jews. For hundreds of years my family has owned a house near to the Wailing Wall, and we have always been accustomed to seeing the pious Jews coming there. They were unmolested, and nobody begrudged them the Wailing Wall and what it meant to them. But when the war passed, when the Jews became Zionists, it was a different matter. We were willing and accustomed to the Wailing Wall as a shrine for the Jews. But when it was turned into blatant propaganda for raising money among the Zionists of the world, we were violent. In 1928 the Zionist funds were decreasing. The Jews in America and in other countries were tiring of the notion of pouring more and more money into the scheme. So the Zionist leaders dressed up the stories of the suffering of the Jews at the Wailing Wall to arouse the anger and to stir the generosity of the flagging subscribers. The Arabs could live in peace with

the old Jews. But when their sons became haughty, arrogant propagandists, our relationship with them became impossible."

I asked him to tell me what he thought of Great Britain's treatment of the Jews, in the light of the Balfour Declaration.

"You have given the Jews the two biggest concessions in the country, the Dead Sea and the Rutenburg Concessions. You have allowed them to possess one-fifth of the best land in the country. There were fifty thousand Jews in this country before the war. Now there are more than one hundred and sixty thousand. They have no gratitude. They have never thanked England for one act of generosity or clemency. You have aided them in stamping the Hebrew language upon Palestine. It is on our coins and it is on our stamps. I think that England has served Jewry well."

I asked then if the Arabs had any cause for gratitude. If they were grateful for the amount of money brought into the country through the sale of land to the Jews. He said:

"Most of the big tracts of country bought by the Zionists were owned by absentee landlords, and therefore the money has not come to Palestine. It has gone to rich Arabs living out of the country. The Sursuks of Beirut made the biggest land deal in the country. None of the money from this came to the Bedouin and Arab farmers, turned off the land to make room for the Jews. Some of these Arab farming families had lived on the land for hundreds of years. I can remember what an uproar there was in England when your Mr. Lloyd George presented a scheme for buying up land from private owners and controlling it under a system of State officials. The methods by which land has been bought here have led to almost as much tyranny as Mr. Lloyd George's scheme might have done. And in answer to your question as to how far the Arabs have benefited from the sale of the land, I would like to tell you the sad story of the Tul Karm estate, which was sold to the Jews. Here, at last, it seemed, the Arabs would get some of the money. But it was found that the mortgages held on the land by a Jew in Paris were so great that we got almost none of it after all."

My Arab friend waved his hand then. It was the first time he had moved from a leaning, strained position. We were sitting on the balcony of a hotel in Jerusalem, looking out over a small valley, to the walls of the old city. As he waved his hand, he said:

"But these things do not matter. Zionism and the quarrels in this country do not depend upon economics or politics. They

depend upon the temper of the desert. People who come here must remember the Romans and the Greeks and the Crusaders and the Cretans. The desert demands either the assimilation or the destruction of any people who come here. And, fantastic as it may seem, I believe that many of the Jews who have come here so bravely, to claim the land for themselves, are already breaking down beneath Arab influences. Very often, in the streets of Jerusalem, I hear Jews speaking their Hebrew in an Arab dialect, and, among the older Jewish families, you will find the wives abandoning their own food and adopting ours. That is a deep and terrible sign, for domestic life is the basis of national life, and these small signs of assimilation are of tremendous importance. You know," my friend said, as he was leaving me, "it would be a sad day for the Jews if they did have a national home, for their virility has been made by adversity, and, when adversity ends for them, decadence will begin."

When I left Palestine I was as perplexed as when I arrived. But there was one consoling experience on the last day in Jerusalem. Late in the morning I walked down through the old city to the Wailing Wall. The inevitable border of human beings was there. They pressed their lips against the stone, they mumbled, and they swayed.

I wonder how far the Jews might have escaped from their own depression if they had turned away from wailing and from abstract religion to a religion of action and expression, of relationship with their neighbour? How far has their own deeply intellectual religion estranged them from human sympathy? How far is it fundamentally wrong to kiss the stones of the past like this, to press one's body against an ancient stone, to force one's very essence past the wall into the centuries behind it? Is there some terrible significance in God's arrangement of the decay of the world? The taking away of the past, the destroying of what man has made? Is it not possible that the future is ours, and not the past? This eternal awe for what our fathers have done, and this sinister neglect of what we might do ourselves. By what right do we claim the past—we to whom the future is given? Is it that we are afraid of the uncertainty of living our own lives and that we cling to the certainty of the dead? "*Like a fungus living on the remains of bygone life, suckling his life out of the dead leaves of greater life than his own.*"

When violently unhappy people express themselves, the primitive instinct is to destroy something old. Cromwell may have injured the æsthetic beauty of England when he smashed the stained glass windows in its cathedrals. The Irish may have offended beauty by

burning down a castle of the time of King John. But the worship of inanimate, beautiful things is a comfortable and decadent occupation for man. Perhaps I am wrong to hate Tel Aviv and to love Venice. Venice contributes nothing to the progress of man. It is a comfortable place. It satisfies the eye and it serves the senses. It gives you the illusion of escape from the tiresome business of living; the incessant, grinding process of making one's life into some sort of shape. And the instinct which makes an Englishman cling to his monuments is not so very far from the instinct which makes the Jew press his lips against the Wailing Wall.

As I stood beside the Wailing Wall a blind Moslem came out upon a stone prominence overhead. He called the Moslems to prayer in a sing-song voice. As I watched him a British policeman stalked past. His shoulders and his walk belonged to the parade ground of Wellington Barracks. His eye was trained to impassivity, his body glowed with good health. He didn't care a fig for intellectual theories. He might have been Britannia's sandwichman, bearing the sign, " England expects every man to do his duty."

I liked the sight of him. It pleased me, in this conglomeration of swaying Jews. He turned back again and I stopped him. He told me that the Moslem who was calling the people to prayer was " a good fellow." The policeman jerked his hand over his shoulder. " I often have tea and cakes with him. He's blind. He calls them to prayer every day like that. But he's a very good fellow."

Then he walked off again, broad-shouldered and proud. A few minutes afterwards an old Jew came along and joined the worshippers. He wore a long, faded purple velvet cloak. He must have been a man of authority, for he led the others in prayer. He swayed and mumbled and, every now and then, he lifted his bony hand from the folds of his purple cloak and touched the wall. The British policeman came back again, his sub-fusc khaki incongruous against the line of black robes and purple. " Does the Jew come every day, too, to pray?" I asked. " Oh yes, most days he comes. A queer old bird. But he's a great friend of mine. He's a good fellow, you know, but queer."

Without shame, I enjoyed a glow of insular pride. This single-minded English youth, coming perhaps from a village tucked away in the Cotswolds, uncritical, unabashed before this conglomeration of centuries and tradition, accepting two vastly different people, entirely upon the basis of their human nature. Both " good fellows." Hillel's

teaching, "What is hateful unto thee do not unto thy fellowman," flowering in a Cotswold lane, too strong and simple to be disturbed by this terrible and ancient conflict of the faiths.

I walked away from the Wailing Wall, up the bazaar, towards the Jaffa Gate. I must confess that I felt inordinately proud that the Corporal and I belonged to the same country.

THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SITUATION IN TURKEY: SOME OBSERVATIONS*

By S. C. WYATT

MY object is to present to you, in a condensed form, and necessarily rather superficially, the more important facts and factors of the economic and financial situation in Turkey, with a few observations of my own.

The subject boils down very largely to a comparison of the present with the past, and, in any case, it is from this angle that we can best approach it.

The situation to-day, as compared with that of the Ottoman Empire of, say, twenty years ago, has been subject to two main influences: One, favourable, the policy and the reforms which have gradually developed under the present Turkish régime during the past ten years; and the other, unfavourable, the world economic crisis of recent years, which has pressed heavily upon Turkey and her exports. It is reasonable to suppose that the consequences of the favourable influence would have been more evident than they are to-day had world conditions been less difficult.

In order to get our perspective and our starting point, I ask permission to read a short extract from a speech of Kiamil Pacha, the Grand Vizier, in 1909. This is what he said:

"For a long time past the financial situation of the Empire has been critical. Reform and reorganization of the finances can only be attained by the establishment of a balance between receipts and expenditure in accordance with sound economic principles.

"For the last few years it has been impossible to establish an equilibrium in the Budget, the Floating Debt has increased rapidly, and it has been necessary to follow the pernicious system of pledging the revenues—already insufficient for the country's needs—for fresh borrowings, in order to meet ordinary current expenditure.

"When I took office the Treasury had no funds at its disposal, and as the contract for the new loan had first to be sanctioned by

* Lecture given on February 21, 1934, Sir Telford Waugh in the Chair.

Parliament, we were obliged to apply to foreign capitalists for an advance in order to meet the urgent expenses of the moment.

"This, however, was but a temporary expedient, and the Government will have to find new resources and to appeal again to the capitalists of Europe in order to place the finances on a sound and solid basis.

"We are confident that the Powers will assist us to create new resources, but, in order to gain their confidence and that of the European money markets, care must be taken, not only to check the extravagant methods of the past, but to reform the financial administration and to increase the revenues."

That is what the Grand Vizier said twenty-five years ago.

Such a frank admission of a chronic state of Budget disequilibrium, and such a confession of complete dependence upon the European money markets for fresh loans to cover the annual deficits was made at a time, you remember, when the young Turks were making serious efforts to regenerate the country's finances, but when, nevertheless, they too were compelled to obtain a fresh loan to enable them to carry on.

During the previous fifteen years or so of the Hamidian régime up to 1909, little or no attempt had been made to balance receipts and expenditure, but this was not altogether surprising, since the word "deficit" and the excuse "lack of funds" were taboo in the palace, and the inability of a Minister to find money for any unforeseen expenditure was liable to be interpreted almost as an act of treason.

It appears to have been the rule that revenue encashed should always be much smaller, and that actual expenditure should be much greater, than the respective estimates, and consistency was such that in no year was there an exception to this topsy-turvy rule.

The Ottoman Government literally lived from hand to mouth, and, whilst they kept their engagements to foreign creditors, so that more could be borrowed, the easy borrowings had rather encouraged the State in her unfortunate financial career than led to any permanent alleviation of the situation.

A mere list of the later years in which loans were obtained speaks for itself:

1890	1902	1909
1893	1903	1910
1894	1904	1911
1896	1905	1914
	1908	

During those twenty-four years the Ottoman Empire borrowed 80 millions sterling, and you will have remarked that there were a few years during which loan negotiations were evidently unsuccessful.

So much for the past!

We will now consider to what extent things have changed, particularly in the domain of Government finance, and, generally, what is the state of affairs to-day.

Our two main heads are *Finance* and *Economic Policy*, and, although of course the financial and the economic factors are closely related and interdependent, we will make a rough division for the sake of clarity.

Under "Finance" will fall references to the Budget, to Public Debt, to Taxation, and to Currency and Banking.

Under "Economic Policy" we will refer to External Trade and the Commercial Balance, to Public Works, and to Industry, avoiding figures and details as much as possible.

The *financial policy* of the present Government was improvised under difficult circumstances.

Those in charge had to cut away from the methods of the old régime, renew and re-staff the administrative machine, adapt finance (both income and expenditure) to the new geographical limits of post-war Turkey, create a more modern system of taxation as well as a more effective method of collection, control the currency exchange rate, finance an extensive programme of public works, deal with external and internal debts and claims, and, generally, arrive as soon as possible at a balanced Budget.

In the beginning the Government complicated their own task by entering into heavy foreign currency commitments, for several years ahead, for the purchase of existing railways, the construction of other railways, and for the purposes of national defence, and all this out of revenue which has fallen much below expectations.

This was done at a time when exports were falling and imports were uncontrolled, and, apparently, without a thought, at that moment, of the effect upon the balance of payments or upon their currency exchange rate.

Nevertheless, it can fairly be said that in a large measure the Government have gradually succeeded in dealing with those problems, though, of course, not without imposing stringent and even harsh measures and decisions upon taxpayers, merchants, and creditors.

As to *the balancing of the Budget*, this may be said to have taken three stages.

During the *first stage*, under the old régime, as we have already remarked, no serious attempt was made to balance. For example, in 1913 the encashed revenue was no greater than 54 per cent. of the expenditure.

Then came a *second stage*, commencing in 1925-26, during which theoretical balancing was attained and when the Budgets were, at any rate, voted in equilibrium.

During this second stage, however, the actual receipts nearly always fell short of the credits voted for expenditure. This was corrected by Budget economies and by extraordinary and unforeseen receipts, and, in this way, the four years to 1929 finally showed surpluses.

In 1930-31 the realized receipts fell far short of expectations, and, on the other hand, the Budget economies, though considerable, were insufficient to avoid a deficit equal to about 7 per cent. of the total revenue.

In 1931-32, not only were the encashed receipts again disappointing, but the real expenditure again exceeded the estimates, with the consequence that again there was a small deficit.

In 1932-33 *the third stage* of effectively balancing the Budget appeared to be in sight, for in this year the realized receipts slightly exceeded the estimated revenue, and, on the other hand, the real expenditure did not exceed the credits voted, partly owing to the reduction obtained in the Ottoman Debt annuity.

There is no doubt that the Turkish Government are making a genuine effort to cut their coat according to their cloth, and, even if the Budget, once established, is subject to some extent to adjustments of revenue and of credits, it can be said that it is now practically balanced.

It is evident that the next year or two will constitute a crucial test for the Government in their efforts to balance their Budgets effectively and to gain the credit and the reward which will be their due if they succeed.

The chief factor in that effort, in the immediate future, is the further falling off in revenue which is taking place in the current financial year.

The Government may have to choose between increased taxation, if such be practicable and this is not certain, or a further compression, not so much of current expenses as of projected expenditure, which

latter will be difficult, especially on the eve of launching their five years' industrial plan, and in view of their desire not to interrupt their programme of public works.

As to *the composition of the Budget*, the revenue is derived, roughly speaking, as to 45 per cent. from direct taxation, 43 per cent. from indirect taxation (Customs and monopolies), and the balance of about 12 per cent. from sundry revenues and receipts. The peasant has now been relieved entirely of the oppressive tithes which formerly accounted for about one-half of the direct tax-revenue, and his present share of direct taxation is only about one-third of what it was formerly, the burden having been transferred, in forms of income tax, to the usual shoulders, which, formerly, were almost free of direct taxes. In short, a wider distribution of taxation has taken place.

On the other hand, during the past two or three years, revenue from the normal taxes and from Customs has shown a serious fall, and the gap has only been filled by the imposition of special taxes which fall very heavily upon the salaried and the urban population.

In fact, what with the ordinary income tax and the special crisis and equilibrium taxes, persons in receipt of salaries corresponding to from £200 to £1,000 sterling a year pay from 22 per cent. to 32 per cent. in direct taxes alone.

There are indications that the maximum tax-paying capacity of the population has been reached from existing sources.

Turning to *the expenditure side of the last Budget*, the heaviest items are those shown under the heads of National Defence, Public Works, and Public Debt.

On a percentage basis, defence expenditure appears to be high at 23 per cent. as compared with our own of about 15 per cent. On the other hand, obviously a modern army involves a certain cost which means a higher percentage of a small Budget than it would of a large Budget. Also, it is right to point out that the Turkish expenditure on defence has been reduced from 52 million Turkish pounds in 1925 and 69 million in 1929 to 40 million in 1933—that is, under 6 million sterling. The percentages of those years show a smaller fall than does the amount, owing to the shrinkage in the Budget totals.

According to the Budget, public works absorb only Turkish pounds 14,300,000, or 9 per cent., and the Public Debt as much as Turkish pounds 46,200,000, or 27 per cent., of the total expenditure, but an analysis of the latter item shows that it includes certain charges which

could be shown otherwise, and my adjustment of these two items is as follows:

Public works, etc.—*i.e.*, current expenditure and the service of recent contracts	18 per cent. instead of 9 per cent.
Pensions and other domestic charges	12 per cent.
Public Debt—*i.e.*, service of external and internal loans, excluding Treasury Bonds ...	6 per cent. instead of 27 per cent.
	36 per cent.

This adjustment illustrates, on the one hand, the heavy burden on the Budget of the Government's railway expenditure, and, on the other hand, the very small budgetary charge, amounting to only about 6 per cent., or a little over 1 million sterling, in respect of real loan service, a state of affairs which compares very favourably with the 30 per cent. of the total revenue which the external and internal debt service of the Ottoman Empire absorbed in 1909.

Included in my public works percentage of 18 are the foreign currency obligations arising from the purchase of the Anatolian railways and from the 5 per cent. Treasury Bonds covering the various contracts made by the present Government for railways and defence, etc.

The Anatolian railway annuities are payable over a long period of years and, consequently, the annual charge is light.

The annual charge for the Treasury Bonds covering the contracts was reduced somewhat last year by arrangements for the extension of the periods of payment, though the amount is still considerable and the bulk of it is in foreign currencies.

Returning for a moment to the debt charge of 6 per cent., the only *real* loans which the Government has to serve to-day are:

1. Turkey's share of the Ottoman Public Debt, which, after a period of non-payment and, subsequently, a process of negotiation, has been finally reduced in capital and in annuity to about 10 per cent. of the former figures, and which now involves an annual payment in foreign currency of 700,000 Turkish gold pounds, or about 950,000 pounds sterling to-day, a payment which is well within Turkey's present and future capacity.

2. The balance of about 11 million Turkish pounds of the internal loan of 1918, which is now regularly served and of which the Government itself is the chief holder.

3. An external loan of 8½ million dollars obtained in 1930 in connection with the Matches Monopoly and redeemable over twenty-five years.

4. An internal loan for the construction of the Ergani railway, of which two-thirds, or 8 million Turkish pounds, has been issued.

5. Small annual internal charges, one covering twenty-year bonds at 2 per cent. issued in respect of old Ottoman loans, and another by way of indemnities against admitted post-war expropriation claims.

In addition, the Government has obtained certain bank and other foreign currency credits, including a substantial one from the Ottoman Bank.

Turkey is fortunate in having emerged from the war with no legacy in the shape of a War Debt or Reparations, in having succeeded in drastically cutting down her obligations in respect of the internal and external debts and claims of the old régime, and in having contracted no fresh loans of importance.

This should enable her more easily to adapt her expenditure to a reducing income, particularly if her Treasury Bonds commitments in foreign currencies, which get lighter after 1935, are kept within reasonable bounds.

We will now pass to *Currency and Banking*. The Currency Note Issue, formerly in the hands of the Ottoman Bank and recently confided to the Government's new Central Bank, amounts to about 160 million Turkish pounds, including a supplementary issue of 8 million which is connected with trade seasonal requirements and which has, also, a stabilizing influence upon the currency exchange rate.

It is greatly to the credit of the Turkish Government that they have steadfastly refused to have recourse to the inflation of their currency.

The Central Bank, which started operations about two years ago with a small holding of gold, has since strengthened its own position both in gold and in foreign currency, and, although the main fiduciary issue of 152 million has no specific gold cover, the gold holdings of the Central Bank are equivalent in amount to 10 per cent. of that issue. On the other hand, the supplementary issue of 8 million is fully covered.

The policy of the Central Bank is to build up gradually a gold reserve against the main note issue, against which the bank holds redeemable Government Treasury Bonds, and this policy is with a view to eventual legal stabilization of the Turkish currency when circumstances permit.

The bank, which is very well organized within the limits of its present development, publishes quarterly a booklet giving very full statistics and interesting information relating to Government finance and to the economic movement of the country.

Owing to a former adverse commercial balance, which has since been redressed, the exchange value of the Turkish paper currency fell continuously during the earlier year of the present régime. From 1922 to 1929, for example, it fell from about seven Turkish pounds to the pound sterling to about ten.

This brought about a strict control of all exchange operations, a ban on the export of capital and even of the dividends of foreign companies working in Turkey, and involved various other measures to safeguard the currency.

As a consequence, the exchange was held at about ten to the pound sterling until September, 1931, when sterling fell, and since then the Turkish pound has been quoted in French francs and has been held at about 12 francs. Meantime, depreciated sterling has reverted to about the old 1922 rate of seven Turkish pounds, subject, naturally, to sterling's fluctuations *vis-à-vis* the franc.

In short, the Turkish exchange rate is now kept at a stable level.

As to *Banking in Turkey*, one of the noteworthy facts of recent years is the rapid growth of Turkish banks. Indeed, one might almost say "the birth and growth," for with the exception of the Banque Agricole, which dates from 1888, only three Turkish banks were founded before the war out of the thirty or more in existence to-day.

The total paid-up capital of Turkish banks is about 56 million Turkish pounds, of which no less than 52 million is accounted for by the six largest banks, among which the Banque Agricole and the Banque d'Affaires are the most important. Their respective rôles are broadly indicated by their names, and, of the rest, many are small provincial banks or banking-houses founded for some particular agricultural, commercial, or industrial object.

The chief Turkish banks are being run with reasonable and growing efficiency so far as the technical side is concerned. As to the financial side, they have suffered to some extent from a disposition in their earlier days to make advances to merchants and others on rather too lavish a scale, and from a keenness to interest themselves in industrial undertakings without fully appreciating that this would involve an immobilization of funds. This experience has not been lost, however, and now they are becoming more conservative.

Quite recently the Turkish Government has founded the Sumer Bank, which is designed, on behalf of the Government, to assist on a large scale the development of present and future Turkish industries.

Formerly, the financing of Turkish internal and external trade, in so far as it was not done through the medium of the *saraphs* or moneylenders, was in the hands of the foreign banks operating in Turkey, French, British, German, Italian, and others, and although the foreign banks still play an important part in Turkey's commercial life, naturally they feel the competition of Turkish banks very severely.

No remarks on banking in Turkey can omit a special reference to the Ottoman Bank, which played such an historic rôle in connection with Ottoman finance and commerce, and which maintains, under changed and difficult circumstances, its high reputation and importance in present-day Turkey.

Now, *as to economic policy.*

The Ottoman Empire was a purely agricultural country, exporting its produce and raw materials and importing manufactured and other goods and luxuries—the exact opposite, in fact, of our own country.

The exports had their assured markets, for there was but little competition by other producing countries for the special Turkish produce. On the other hand, the empire imported what it required and what it could afford and no one worried about the relation or the ratio of exports to imports.

The economic policy of those days, if a positive term may be applied to a state of negation, was as international and, from another angle, non-national as was their financial policy.

In 1913, for example, the empire's imports amounted to twice the value of the exports.

The Treaty of Lausanne gave modern Turkey her economic independence and full advantage has been taken of it.

To-day the policy may be described as one of economic nationalism, born, perhaps, of race consideration, but nurtured upon the application of the fashionable principles of national protection and independence. The idea is that, ultimately, Turkey shall be a self-sufficing economic unit, making her own essential manufactures, both for times of peace and for times of war.

The Turkish Government's declared object is to establish an approximate balance between imports from each country with Turkish exports to that country, and great efforts are being made to create and

stimulate local industries in order to safeguard the Turkish currency and to render the country more and more independent of imports.

Higher tariffs having had but a partial effect in that object, a system of quotas for certain imports has been applied during the past two years, and these protective barriers are being supplemented by trade agreements with various countries on the basis of reciprocity.

The sudden application of a quota system involved inconvenience and loss to merchants at the time, and, in fact, brought about to some extent a temporary dislocation of trade.

Obviously, Government restrictions of imports and control of currency exchange needs very delicate handling and continuous adjustment, or the effect is discouraging at least and it may be positively destructive.

This period of experiment has now passed, however, and—within quota limits—importers can acquire their foreign exchange without difficulty and without undue formality, provided that their documents are in order.

Turkey's external trade for the past ten years falls naturally into three periods:

During the first three years, both imports and exports increased, but especially imports.

During the next four years, imports were maintained, but exports fell each year.

During the past three or four years, both have fallen heavily, but imports even more heavily than exports. In fact, in 1932 Turkish imports dropped, mainly owing to Government restrictions, by two-thirds, and exports, mainly owing to the fall in prices, fell by one-half, as compared with 1925 and 1926, and the fall continues.

As you know, Turkey is largely dependent upon her exports of tobacco and dried fruits, which represent together one-half of the total value of her exports. Her chief imports are cotton piece-goods, iron and steel manufactures and machinery.

The country's Trade Balance during the first two of the three periods mentioned was always heavily adverse, amounting in 1929, owing to abnormal imports in anticipation of an increased tariff, to no less than 40 per cent. of the total value of her imports.

During the third, and the controlled, period—that is, since 1929—the trade balance has been redressed, and in 1932, on the much reduced turnover, the balance was favourable to the extent of 15 per cent. of the total exports, and in 1933 it will again be favourable.

Although a favourable balance helps the currency, obviously such a rigorous compression of imports is liable to have an unfavourable repercussion upon the exports, and, in any case, the reduction in the trade turnover is bound to affect adversely the buying capacity and the prosperity of the country generally. Fortunately, the cost of living for the bulk of the inhabitants has fallen during the past few years, and the tendency is for it still to fall.

Tobacco exports have fallen by one-half in value in the past four years and by one-third in quantity, fruit by a third in value and by 10 per cent. in quantity.

In some exports the tendency is rather less discouraging in quantities than in values. This suggests that the heavy fall in Turkish exports as a whole is mainly due to world-prices rather than to reduced production, though increasing competition from other producing countries for certain products and the maintenance of the Turkish currency upon a gold standard basis have also had their effect.

It is reasonable to suppose that, with an improvement in world demand and prices, Turkey should be one of the first countries to reap a benefit, although, if that improvement should be long deferred, the purchasing power of the country will further decline and the Government may find it more difficult to make both ends meet without some revision or postponement of their public works and industrial programmes.

Perhaps it is not out of place to make a short reference here to our own *British trade with Turkey.*

Before the war Great Britain was easily the best customer of the Ottoman Empire, both in exports and in imports, the balance between the two countries being favourable to us to the extent of from 33 per cent. to 40 per cent. of British exports, which were 8 or 9 million sterling a year.

We have lost that position.

Nowadays Germany is easily the chief exporter to Turkey, with Italy and ourselves about equal second. Germany now sends to Turkey about twice as much as we do, our exports having fallen to about 1½ million sterling.

For Turkish exports Germany, Italy, and the United States are now the principal customers.

During the past seven or eight years British exports to Turkey have fallen by two-thirds in value, while our purchases from Turkey have

about halved in value, and the prospects of an increased trade between the two countries are not very bright.

The fact that, of recent years, the shrinkage of Anglo-Turkish trade has been roughly proportionate to the fall in Turkish trade as a whole is but poor comfort.

Let us leave comparisons with the past, however, both distant and recent, and consider for a moment the problem of the immediate future in so far as Anglo-Turkish trade is concerned.

One of the factors of that problem is that the Turkish buyer seeks more and more the cheapest market, and price is now more important to him than quality. For example, our cotton goods were largely displaced by cheaper Italian goods which, in turn, are being ousted by still cheaper Japanese fabrics.

Other factors are the existence of the Turkish quotas and the recent short-period trade agreements made with various countries on a basis favourable to Turkey's Balance of Payments.

Agreements have been made with Germany (who had a favourable trade balance with Turkey), the United States, Greece, France, Switzerland, Hungary, Austria, Sweden, and Roumania, and, as a consequence, countries with a balance favourable to Turkey may introduce a number of articles under special tariff conditions and free of the quota restriction.

With France and, I believe, Germany, Turkey is assured a 30 per cent. surplus in her exports to them over their exports to her, and France undertakes to buy a fixed quantity of Turkish tobacco.

With Switzerland Turkey is assured a 40 per cent. surplus.

Some of these agreements are combined with clearing arrangements by which the transfer of funds on commercial account is avoided, as well as pressure on the currency exchange rate.

Even Italy, with a balance heavily adverse to Turkey, is negotiating for a special agreement, and, in this case, which is somewhat analogous to our own, it will be interesting to see to what extent Turkish policy prevails.

From our point of view, the question arises whether or not the elements of the situation offer the prospects of a trade agreement between Great Britain and Turkey reasonably satisfactory to British export trade.

It must be remembered that the trade balance between the two countries is still slightly in our favour, and consequently we could not subscribe to the Turkish policy of selling us more than they buy.

Also, owing to crop fluctuations in Turkey, as well as to the requirements of British commercial policy *vis-à-vis* other producing countries, it would be difficult for us to undertake to buy fixed quantities of Turkish produce.

In fact, the question whether a special trade agreement with Turkey is desirable or otherwise raises various questions of policy which are outside the scope of our review to-night.

Public Works.—Reference has already been made to the heavy charge on the Budget in respect of public works, chiefly railways.

We will now look at it, for a moment, from the point of view of construction.

Before the war the railways in existence within the geographical limits of present-day Turkey were, as you know, the following:

The British and French group of railways in the west of Anatolia, serving the Smyrna hinterland for the tobacco, fruit, valonia, and opium trade.

Two small sections linking up Brusa with the Marmora and Adana with the Mediterranean.

These were all essentially economic in their object.

In addition, there was the passenger line in European Turkey connecting Istanbul with Europe, and also the Anatolian railways running south from Istanbul, and then south-east to Adana, with Baghdad as the goal.

The total length of these pre-war railways was just over 3,000 kilometres, and they were all owned by foreign concerns.

Between 1916 and 1922 another 1,000 kilometres or so were added by the acquisition of the railway from Erzerum to the Russian frontier, and by the extension of the Anatolian line to Aleppo and Nisibin, along the present Syrian frontier.

Neither of these two railways can be described as primarily economic.

Under the present régime in Turkey, during the past eight or nine years, the Anatolian lines and the short line to Brusa and Adana have been acquired by the State, and an ambitious programme of fresh construction has been undertaken.

The present programme consists mainly of a line running, roughly, east from Ankara through Kaiserea and Sivas, to join at Erzerum the railway to the Russian frontier, and crossed by three lines, roughly parallel to each other, and running south from the Black Sea ports to Mersina on the Mediterranean.

These lines will extend the old system and will ensure communications throughout the length and breadth of Anatolia.

From the point of view of the political and administrative control of the interior of the country and intercommunication for the chief towns and ports their advantage is obvious.

Their economic advantages appear to be limited largely, though not entirely, to serving the agricultural hinterlands of the Black Sea ports and of Adana and Mersina in the south.

In addition, a line is under construction from Diarbekr, through Ergani and Malatia to Adana, which will serve for the transport of copper from the Ergani mines to the port of Mersina, and also a line has been built in the western zone connecting the Anatolian railway with that of Soma-Panderma through agricultural country.

In short, to the original 4,000 kilometres of railway the present Government have already added and completed another 2,000, at a cost of over 200 million Turkish pounds, and with the completion of another 1,400 kilometres, which are either under construction or to be built in the immediate future, the railway lines will shortly have been nearly doubled in length within the short space of little over ten years.

This in itself is a remarkable material and budgetary achievement.

From the purely financial and economic point of view it would be well, perhaps, to withhold an opinion for the present.

With a return to better times and a more active traffic movement, it will be seen whether the surplus receipts from certain lines can support the others, and whether, after providing for the necessary replacements and renewals, the railway system as a whole can pay its way.

The extension in communications has not been limited to railways, for much has been done recently in the improvement and construction of roads; though road communications, both in quality and in quantity, still fall far short of the country's requirements.

The future public works programme includes the modernization and the extension of the ports of Samsoun, Eregli, and Mersina—Eregli as a coal port for the Zungulak mines, and Mersina as the port for the rich Adana district and as a future outlet for the Ergani copper, and, if it develops again, the Southern Persian trade.

From our own British point of view, it seems a pity, surely, that British contractors are taking no hand in the Turkish public works programme. German and Swedish and other foreign firms have

undertaken contracts, and, as far as I know, they have no reason to regret it.

Of course, finance generally, and particularly the long credit demanded, has been the main difficulty, but the regret remains.

Turkish Industries.—In what we may call the "old days," though they were but a very few years ago, Turkey had no industries to speak of, other than the manufacture of carpets, and the silk factories at Brusa, founded by the French, and where about 3,000 workpeople were employed. True, there was a glass factory, a porcelain factory, a brick and tile factory, and a tannery, but that was about all.

Nowadays, under Government stimulus, Turks are going into industry and commerce and are gradually gaining knowledge and experience in business generally. This fact is one of the remarkable developments of recent years.

Factories, many of them small, certainly, have grown in number from 150 to over 2,000 within ten years. They now produce sugar, matches, flour, macaroni, wines and spirits, cotton goods, wool and silk textiles, hosiery, rubber goods, leather fancy goods, shoes, bags, soap and perfumery, and plywood and construction wood. The coal production has doubled since 1913, and nowadays Turkey is exporting 400,000 tons of coal, a quarter of her production, chiefly to Greece, Italy, and Roumania.

A merchant of my acquaintance, with long experience in Turkey, has just replied to my question: "Will Turkish factories and manufactures be able to hold their own in future, or is the movement largely temporary and artificial?"

He says: "You would be surprised indeed if you saw what some of the factories are now producing as regards quality and finish, but, for all that, they have a long way to go before they reach perfection. As to whether they will be able to hold their own in future depends entirely upon the protectionist policy of the Government.

"If this is maintained, their future is secure, generally speaking. If, however, protection is done away with, very few Turkish factories would survive. Indeed, in some cases, it is the quota, rather than the tariff, which enables them to carry on."

I think this reply expresses clearly the situation.

Most manufactures in Turkey are expensive, owing to a comparatively small demand involving relatively high overhead expenses, but there is no doubt that protection and preference will continue to be afforded to Turkish industries.

A few words about the Government's five years' industrial plan, of which we have seen references in the Press lately.

Full particulars are not yet known, but they intend to embrace heavy as well as light industries.

The iron mines of Altinova and Adalia are to be worked and a blast-furnace and ironworks are to be constructed at Kaiserea.

Coke is to be manufactured at Zunguldak (at present they import 25,000 tons a year).

Spinning and weaving factories are to be established at Kaiserea, Nazilli, and Malatia, and existing factories are to be enlarged, increasing the number of textile workers from 100,000 to 300,000.

Factories are to be erected for the manufacture of pharmaceutical products and for porcelain.

All this will involve a charge to the Budget, even though some of the machinery, especially for the textile factories, is to be provided by Russia out of the 8 million dollar credit and refundable over a period of twenty years.

Time will show to what extent the various local industries, present and future, will succeed in establishing and in justifying themselves; but, even if some fail, there can be little doubt that many will succeed and that one day Turkey will become, to a large extent, independent of essential manufactures.

This industrial enterprise is indicative of the new spirit in Turkey.

In Turkey's own interest, it is to be hoped that encouragement and modern methods will be applied successfully, not only to her newborn industries, but, in an even great measure, to her commerce and to her agriculture, on which the whole economic structure still depends.

An impartial observer must recognize the change in Turkish national outlook and the material endeavour in trade, finance, and industry, as well as the improvement in organization and in administration.

In conclusion, a few words about *Turkish credit abroad.*

A little while ago there appeared to be a tendency on the part of the Turkish Government to regard her obligations recently incurred rather more sympathetically than the foreign capital invested and the debt incurred under the former régime, and it so happened that the City of London was more interested in the latter two groups than in the first mentioned.

As we all know, London is a very sensitive credit centre, owing to its various interests all over the world. For example, one is com-

merce, another loans, another industrial investment in utility concerns, and so on, and, in London, these interests know of one another, and a country's credit-standing is judged according to the treatment of these various interests *as a whole*.

Notwithstanding the recent tendency in Turkey, however, there is no doubt that to-day the policy of the Turkish Government is to create general confidence abroad, and efforts are being made with that object, and, be it remarked, in a world which, temporarily, seems to have lost sense of credit and reputation.

London and other centres are not only sensitive to adverse credit factors, but they are ready to react to favourable features, and a *sustained* and *comprehensive* credit-policy on the part of the Turkish Government would be bound to have its effects the world over.

My time is up and I will finish by quoting Lord Palmerston's words, which still apply to Turkey, as indeed they do to our own country. He said:

"Turkey's friends should fix their eyes on the progress she has made; her Ministers on that still to be made."

DISCUSSION

Mr. PHILIP SARELL: Mr. Chairman, after Mr. Wyatt's fascinating lecture, I feel considerable diffidence in carrying out the intention of speaking with which I originally came to this meeting.

One of the accusations made against Great Britain by Germany was that Great Britain had pursued an encircling policy to strangle Germany. You, Mr. Chairman, and I both served in Turkey at a time when Great Britain was deliberately fostering, aiding, and abetting German expansion in Turkey as a counterpoise to the Russian nightmare with which we were obsessed at that time, the danger to the North-West Frontier of India. When Kaiser William II. came to the throne, one of the first things he did was to pay a visit to Turkey. Indeed he paid two visits at short intervals. On one of these visits he met Mr. Cecil Rhodes. Cecil Rhodes and the Kaiser foregathered and Cecil Rhodes said to the Kaiser: "Why on earth do you want to come and thwart me in South Africa when you have an El Dorado here in Turkey?" The Kaiser was much impressed by Rhodes's remarks and said: "I shall put spurs into my Ministers and see that German policy

in this direction is pursued with energy." There is no doubt that that conversation had a good deal to do with the Kaiser's policy and the "B.B.B." policy as it was called.

I do not know if you, Mr. Chairman, will think I am going a little beyond practical politics in suggesting that we might show our sympathy for Turkey by creating some Turkish Rhodes Scholars and encouraging Turks to come to this country, perhaps with an exchange of students. You signalized your reign in Constantinople in a very remarkable way by fostering the British Boys' School there. I do not know if you could go to the length of starting a Turkish Chair in Oxford, but I certainly think that if the interesting lecture we have heard to-night could be translated into and printed in Turkish, and if Turkish students could be welcomed in this country, and we could expect the same treatment in Turkey, it might have a very favourable effect on trade. At the present time I have a friend who is very much involved in a concern of some importance, and I was going to ask Mr. Wyatt if, in present-day circumstances, his advice would be to cut the loss and clear out or go to Turkey and try to develop a native industry.

General Sir Osborne Mance: The lecturer has explained the situation which existed before the war as regards the balance of trade and he only mentioned one year, but I think it is correct to say that for twenty-five years pre-war Turkey always had a heavy deficit. Since the war that deficit has been eliminated and a credit balance has been obtained by the process, chiefly, of cutting down imports. As a result of the loss of import duties, the budgetary situation, which used to be fairly satisfactory, has now become strained. The Turkish Government have balanced their Budget without destroying the programme of new works, but they have done it by tremendous taxation. Taxation is, I believe, a good deal higher than one might expect from the figures given by the lecturer. Apart from municipal taxation, an income of £100 Turkish a month (equivalent to £160 a year sterling) is taxed about 23 per cent., and the equivalent of £320 sterling a year at 27 per cent. The situation is, therefore, tight. The Turkish Government have still in reserve the possibility of reducing their programme of public works, but, as the lecturer remarked, the crucial question is the development of exports and more particularly of agricultural exports. The question therefore arises as to what will be the future of the exports during the next few years after the immediate crisis is over. Prices will go up, but can Turkey compete in prices with other countries

which have developed the supply of the same commodities during the past twenty years? If not, is this due to the change of the population having resulted in lack of skill in production, or is it due to the Turks trying to maintain the exchange rate rather high in face of inflation in other countries? The competition of California might be influenced by the new situation of the American dollar. What view has Mr. Wyatt regarding the possibility of Turkey developing her exports?

Another point is that Turkey has put in hand her five-year plan, and this shows her determination to become self-contained. I do not quite see where the Budget revenue is coming from if they still further cut down imports. It has been suggested that already one of the most serious blows to the Budget is the loss of revenue on the import of sugar. The Turks impose a tax of 4½d. per lb. on imported sugar; they have cut down the imports of sugar to about one-half, and this has naturally resulted in a serious diminution in the Customs revenue.

A MEMBER asked whether the exchange of populations had not affected adversely the future of Turkish exports. A Member also asked a question with regard to Turkey's fiscal policy.

Mr. WYATT: To what extent, if at all, the future of Turkish exports may depend on the loss of their skilled working population and on their exchange policy—that, I think, is the question?

I should say personally that to-day the exchange of populations will have had less effect than any of us would have supposed a few years ago. The loss of the non-Turkish skilled workers is being felt much less than was expected and their places are being taken by the Turks themselves, not yet to the full extent but still to an increasing extent, and I think that will not be a very important factor.

On the question of exchange, obviously the restriction of imports and the encouragement of Turkish industries is going to require an entire readjustment of the taxation system. The present sources of income will clearly fall more and more short—for instance, the Customs. They will have to look round for new sources of revenue, and they are already reviewing the whole fiscal system with a view to adapting it to the changes which they now foresee. Local industries will have to be taken into consideration.

Mr. E. M. GULL: May I ask Mr. Wyatt two questions?

(1) To what extent is the foreign trade (imports and exports) still done through foreign firms resident in Turkey? Has there been a very great change?

(2) What effect, generally speaking, had the abolition of the Capitulations on the foreign traders in Turkey?

Mr. WYATT: A certain number of local firms, established in Turkey, still remains, but a great many do not remain and, very largely, Turkish firms have taken their place. The Turks have taken over themselves the handling of a great deal more of their commerce.

Your second question, I think, the Chairman must answer.

The CHAIRMAN: I can only speak of what I saw before I left Turkey in 1929. Then the Capitulations had been abolished for six years, and the position of foreign merchants had become more difficult because of the abolition. They had not the same privileges as they had had before. They were heavily taxed and subject to inspectors of all kinds; there were financial restrictions; the office books had to be kept in Turkish, and Turkish staff had to be employed; and this did no doubt lead to a good many firms closing down. The Turkish policy was that the business and commerce of the country should be done by Turks instead of by foreigners; it was a deliberate policy and they carried it out. There are still some foreign firms in Turkey, but they are fewer in number and are doing less business.

A MEMBER: The lecturer referred to the greatly increased production of coal. I have heard that the large export of coal from Turkey to Italy has been fostered by both indirect and direct means and by the investment of Italian capital in the coal mines, with a special view to Italy being provided with coal from a country producing it in the Mediterranean basin, so as not to be dependent on coal from Great Britain in time of war when the entrance to the Mediterranean may be closed. It is said that the development of this export is not so much due to the quality of Turkish coal as to purely political moves on the part of Italy. Is there any truth in this or is it a rumour?

Mr. WYATT: I have not really heard anything at all of Italy's participation in the Turkish mines. I understand that the production of the area is a natural one, and I do not think it is caused by any external factor, either political or otherwise. Generally speaking, Turkish coal is quite good and is used for gas works, steamships, and, generally, throughout Turkey.

The CHAIRMAN: I think we shall all join in a vote of thanks to Mr. Wyatt for his very interesting paper, and also for the way in which he has answered the various riddles.

There is still one riddle which no one has asked to-night, and it always puzzled me when I was in Constantinople. That was, how the

Turks managed to keep on with a constantly unfavourable balance of trade? It was something like 30 per cent. against them for years when I was there, and it went on year after year. I have never been able to understand it, and I have never found anyone to explain it to me.

We have had a most interesting meeting.

THE ASSYRIANS IN THE MOSUL VILAYET*

By LIEUT.-COLONEL R. S. STAFFORD

MY LORD CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: The subject of this lecture is the period June to November of last year, but I shall have to go back a little further to describe the events which led up to the tragedy of last summer. On June 1, 1932, the Officer commanding the Levies received a document signed by all the Levy officers asking for permission to resign. The reason given was that they were dissatisfied with the conditions following the entry of 'Iraq into the League of Nations and the termination of the Mandate. Actually it was soon found out that they were backing the Assyrian National Pact drawn up at Sir Amadiyah during that month. The Levies, for a time, were in a state not far off mutiny. A battalion of the 1st Northants was brought in by air from Cairo and took over most of their posts, and that helped to bring them to their senses. But the main factor in inducing them to withdraw their resignations was the Mar Shimun. There was a great deal of correspondence between the British High Commissioner and the Mar Shimun, who was used throughout as an intermediary and as the head of the Assyrians, and there is no doubt that his being used in this capacity strengthened him in his subsequent claims for temporal power. The Assyrian Levies finally not only agreed to withdraw their resignations but they promised moreover not to interfere in the future in politics. That undertaking was honoured rather more in the letter than in the spirit, but during the terrible events of last summer the behaviour

* January 26, 1934, the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd in the Chair. In introducing the lecturer Lord Lloyd said:

My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen: It will probably be within the memory of most of you that some weeks ago we had a very interesting discussion on the position of the Assyrians; to-day we are fortunate enough to have Colonel Stafford who has kindly consented to lecture us on the same subject. Colonel Stafford served for some years in the Egyptian Civil Service and afterwards under the 'Iraq Government, and was in Mosul recently throughout the troubles there. This question is important, both morally and politically, for the British Empire, and therefore we in the Royal Central Asian Society are very glad to secure two lecturers of authority to come and give us their views and help us to make up our minds on this matter.

of the Assyrian levies was extremely good. This Assyrian National Pact of the summer of 1932 had a number of demands, and I have only time to deal with the most important. They are four in number.

(1) The Assyrians to be recognized as a millet, domiciled in 'Iraq and not merely as a racial or religious community.

(2) Their former Hakkiari homes to be returned.

(3) Failing (2), a new home to be provided in 'Iraq open to all Assyrians inside and without 'Iraq.

(4) The temporal as well as the ecclesiastical authority of the Mar Shimun to be recognized officially by the 'Iraq Government.

These demands were clearly inacceptable to the 'Iraq Government. The first demand was contrary to the law of the country. If such special status had been granted to the Assyrians, the Kurds, the Yezidis, and even the Shias, who object strongly to Sunni political domination in Baghdad, would have claimed the same thing. It was, of course, out of the question for the Hakkiari homes to be returned; the Turks would never consider it. And as to this question of a new home in 'Iraq, the Assyrians asked that a special area in the north should be set aside. The area was not actually specified, but if we take the three *godhas* in which there were most Assyrians, they were Dohuk, Amadiyah, and Sheihkan.

Here there are 60,000 Kurds, about 14,000 Assyrians, and about 7,000 Christians of other denominations. That is to say, the Assyrians were in a small minority. It was, of course, quite impossible that the demands should be granted. The Assyrians had said at the foot of the third demand that there was plenty of land available and no need to evict the Kurds. Unfortunately that was not the case. Many attempts have been made to find fresh lands for the Assyrians, but they simply were not available. It was impossible to evict the Kurds. It would not have been just, and in any case would only have led to further trouble later on. As to the fourth demand—temporal and spiritual authority of the Mar Shimun—what was meant by "temporal" nobody ever knew, neither English, 'Iraqi, nor Assyrians. There had been much discussion and no understanding whatever. The Mar Shimun also asked for a decoration by the 'Iraqi Government, and many people have said that in doing so he did not forget himself, but that is not quite fair, because the Chaldean Patriarch had received a decoration from the Turkish Government, and he wanted his Church to be equal to the Chaldean Church.

It was arranged that the Mar Shimun should go to Geneva to

present his demands in person. He was not told that the British Government would lend its support to the 'Iraqi Government, which could not accept his demands. He went and failed to obtain anything like what he asked for. The League of Nations itself was apparently rather hesitant about the security of the Assyrians on the termination of the Mandate, but it was assured that there was no likelihood of trouble between the Assyrians and the 'Iraq Government, and finally it was satisfied with the undertakings of the 'Iraqi Government: (1) To appoint a foreign expert not then in the country, to arrange the settlement of the landless Assyrians, and (2) to place no obstacle in the way of Assyrians who wished to leave the country.

A great mistake has been made in thinking land settlement was the only question. There were comparatively few Assyrians who had not been settled. Most of them were settled not, perhaps, very well, but as well as most Kurds and Arabs. Although they had no title deeds to the land and were tenants at will, they had reasonable security of tenure. The Assyrians were genuinely anxious regarding this, but they seemed to forget, in claiming definite land of their own, that the great majority of Arabs and Kurds lived under the same conditions. Outside that there was a political question which no attempt had been made to settle. There was certainly a great lack of sympathy between the Assyrians and the 'Iraqi. The fault was rather more with the Assyrians than with the 'Iraqi, for the Assyrians were very aloof to the 'Iraqi Government and to its officials, and this irritated the officials greatly. The ordinary 'Iraqi official, feeling in his heart of hearts rather doubtful if he could run the country after the English had gone, did not want to be reminded of further difficulties. The Assyrians, I am afraid, are rather truculent, either as a result of their recent experiences or possibly because they have always been so, and there is no doubt that they did despise the 'Iraqis. I feel that I must say also that some of the fault for this attitude should be laid at the door of the British Levy officers, who had, unconsciously perhaps, taught the Assyrians to look down on the 'Iraqis. Certainly some of the Levy officers were not well disposed to the 'Iraqi Government and the Government knew it.

The Mar Shimun duly returned at the end of December. Whether he would have accepted the position as it was and have tried to make the best of it, is doubtful; probably not. What made him decide finally not to do so was that he discovered on his return that the 'Iraqi Government had been busy with propaganda against him, and

had done its best to divide the Assyrians, and, further to that, had appointed his deadliest enemy Khoshaba as President of the Assyrian Advisory Settlement Committee which had been formed to help the official Settlement Committee. The Mar Shimun thereupon set out to try to prevent settlement as far as he could. He was very successful, for when Major Thompson came to Mosul at the beginning of June he received only one application for settlement.

At the end of May, when it was realized what the Mar Shimun was doing, he was sent for to go to Bagdhad for conversations with the 'Iraqi ministers in order that some of the misunderstandings might be cleared away. He stayed there some time, but the only result was that the misunderstandings grew worse and the estrangement wider. Finally he was ordered to stay in Baghdad. There was no legal order, but he was advised by the Minister not to leave Baghdad, and he remained at the Y.M.C.A. until the end of August, when he was expelled from 'Iraq under a departmental Decree of extremely doubtful validity. Meanwhile there was trouble in the Dohuk area. Yacu, an ex-Levy officer, who had shown good service, a brave man but hot-headed to a degree, had been touring the country on pro-Mar Shimun propaganda with a rather large armed following in order to combat the anti-Mar Shimun propaganda which the local officials had been carrying out. His behaviour was disturbing not only the Assyrians, but the Kurds in that neighbourhood. He was told to come into Dohuk to explain his conduct, but refused. A very serious situation then arose. The Government had to bring him in by force and risk a conflagration or abdicate its functions. It was decided to bring him in by force and the Army was sent up. The Assyrians were told any action would be against Yacu and not against the Assyrians, as a whole. Fortunately I was able to go out and bring him in at the last moment and the crisis passed, but then further difficulties arose. The Minister of the Interior had approved of the terms on which he should come in. Actually the Government tried to go back on these terms and to levy a rifle fine on the Assyrians. This would have meant trouble, because the Assyrians were frightened of disarmament more than anything else. They would have resisted, there would have been bloodshed, and the 'Iraqi Government would have been in the wrong. I had to say that, as I had given a promise to Yacu which could not be avoided, I had no alternative but to resign if the promise was broken. Finally the Government gave in.

A serious mistake on the part of the 'Iraqi Government had been

the failure to broadcast the decision of the League of Nations when it was known. The omission to do so allowed room for a good deal of rumour and propaganda, mostly false. A meeting should have been held at Mosul of all the Assyrian leaders in January or February, but it was not held until July, when it was too late, as feeling had been embittered by the detention of the Mar Shimun in Baghdad, and by the activities of Yacu in the north. The meeting was addressed by the acting Mutaserrif, by Major Thompson and myself. Major Thompson dealt with land settlement possibilities, and I with the question of leaving the country, as the Assyrians were free to do. The Assyrians have since put forward the rather ingenuous claim that I said that if they did not like the conditions they could clear out, and that they only did what they were told when they went over to Syria. They do not say that they were told in detail next day by the Commandant of the Police what the procedure was for anyone who wished to leave the country. At the end of the meeting the two parties of Assyrians nearly came to blows, and it was necessary to hold two different meetings, one for each party. After the second day's meeting, four of the leaders of the pro-Mar Shimun party were asked to stay behind, and it was suggested to them that they should go to Baghdad and try to induce the Mar Shimun to sign the simple acknowledgment required of him by the Minister of the Interior so that he might come back and co-operate with Major Thompson. After some discussion, two of them said they would go, namely Yacu and Loco, Malik of the Tokhuma. They left, and we thought they had gone to Baghdad as they asked Major Thompson which was the best hotel there. They did not go to Baghdad, but to Syria.

They met the French frontier officials at a place called 'Ain D'iwar. The French frontier authorities informed Beyrout, but Beyrout did not at once tell Baghdad that they were there. Yacu and Loco then sent word to the Assyrians in the villages that the French told them that it was all right for them to come to Syria, and had promised to give them land and exempt them from taxation; they would in fact be very glad to see them. Of course, that was quite false. They also said that the 'Iraqi Government proposed to disarm them, which also was completely false. As a result, between 750 and 800 Assyrians left their villages, mostly from the Dohuk area. At this time they had not the slightest thought of any warlike action. They had left their families behind unprotected, which showed also that they had no fear of any aggression on the part of the Kurds.

When we heard on July 21 that the Assyrians had crossed the river near Faish Khabur, just south of the Turkish frontier, the Army, which had been kept in the Dohuk area, was sent up to prevent them coming back except on the terms approved by the Government—namely, that they should surrender their rifles. This order has been much criticized, and it has been said that the Assyrians should have been allowed back armed. Personally, I do not see how the Government could have permitted this. The action of Yacu and others had so disturbed public feeling that there was a serious danger of trouble, and this had to be stopped once and for all. It was the intention of the civil authorities to return to the Assyrians as soon as possible sufficient rifles for self-defence. The Assyrians man for man were very much better armed than the Kurds, though in total numbers they were fewer.

The situation was complicated for us in Mosul because the French refused to give any information, and there was doubt about the actual frontier. This had been recently delimited afresh by the League of Nations Commission, and there was doubt about when the new frontier came into effect. If the old one was still in force, most of the Assyrians, when they crossed the river, were still in home territory; if the new one had come into force, they were in Syria. On July 30 news came that the French had disarmed a number of Assyrians—actually 400—and they said there were 350 left armed. The reports we received of the numbers of Assyrians were greatly exaggerated as usual. It was said that 1,600 or 1,700 had crossed, but this was not true.

On August 2 a conference was held between the 'Iraqi and the French officials, in which the French said they were going to evict the Assyrians from Syria, and that the Assyrians had surrendered their rifles without compulsion or without being asked to do so. As a matter of fact, probably the reason was that a great many of the Assyrians recognized that they had been deceived by Yacu in regard to conditions in Syria and wanted to get back to 'Iraq on any terms. The 'Iraq Political Officer asked the French officer that, before he returned the rifles to the Assyrians, if he intended to do so, he should inform the 'Iraqi authorities, but unfortunately this request, though noted, was not carried out.

I will pause for a moment in my narrative to say something about the general situation. Some few of you may have read the Blue Book prepared by the 'Iraqi Government for the League of Nations. It suggests that the 'Iraqi Government had an overwhelming case in

dealing with the Assyrians. Its case certainly was strong, but not so strong as all that. The Blue Book consists largely of reports written by British advisory officials, and very few by 'Iraqi officials. Some of those by the 'Iraqi officials were sensible, but not all. Many were foolish and some even worse. One official, who had been governor of the province of Arbil the year before, and was now Minister of Defence, had recommended in all seriousness that the Kurds should be turned on the Assyrians as a solution of the problem. The Assyrians, of course, recognised this general lack of sympathy. They did not realize it was largely their own fault. At any rate, it existed and they were frightened. Up to last summer, the great majority of responsible 'Iraqi officials and others did desire that the Assyrian question should be settled in a peaceful manner, and that the Assyrians should become contented citizens of the country. Unfortunately last summer this attitude to some extent changed. Ministers and others in Baghdad became irritated with what they called the obstinacy of the Mar Shimun, and decided that the Assyrian question must be settled once and for all, and the only way was to teach the Assyrians a very severe lesson.

To return to Faish Khabur. On August 4 we received a telephone message to say the Assyrians had crossed the river, and had attacked the Army, and that heavy fighting was proceeding. Actually the French, without giving any warning to the 'Iraqi authorities as they had been requested to do, had returned the rifles and told the Assyrians to get out of the country. There was no reason really for the Assyrians to cross the river in order to re-enter 'Iraq, they could have walked a mile or so down the right bank and would have been in 'Iraq territory, but this they did not know, and the people whose arms were given back simply wanted to surrender and to get back to their villages.

It has apparently been taken for granted that it was the Assyrians who deliberately attacked the Army. Let me say right away that I do not know who opened fire. I have had more opportunities than anybody else for making enquiries, but I do not know. It would be quite unfair to say the Assyrians opened fire. Practically all who crossed the river in the first place had no intention but to surrender. On the other hand, we know Yacu would have done anything to stop this surrender, and he may have sent somebody with these people who were crossing the river to open fire and cause an incident. On the other hand, it would be unfair to say the 'Iraq Army opened fire,

though we know the officers were determined the Assyrians should not escape a second time, as they considered they had escaped by the peaceful solution of the Yacu affair. The first news of the crossing of the river came from the head man of Faish Khabur, which is a Chaldæan Christian village. He was told to send four men out to tell the Assyrians they had to give up their rifles. At the same time a squadron of cavalry and a company of infantry were sent out to intercept them. I have already said that I do not know who fired the first shot, but the first man killed was an 'Iraq cavalry officer. The first heavy firing was from machine guns, which, of course, belonged to the Army. The squadron and company were gradually forced back to some low hills just under the army camp at Dairabun, and then as night fell, which is about eight o'clock in that country at that time of the year, fighting ceased. About twelve o'clock that night another burst of firing took place following a deliberate attack by the Assyrians, for the Assyrians who had not crossed the river at first had now done so. They thought their comrades had been treacherously fired at by the 'Iraqi Army, and that was good enough for these hot-headed people. They did not attack the Army on its front, but came round the right flank. The 'Iraqi Army seems to have fought reasonably well, and only one picquet was lost. The Assyrians, when they realized they had failed in their attack—and they must have been extremely surprised because they had the greatest contempt for the 'Iraqi Army—returned, the great majority of them, to Syria, where 533 are interned to this day. The others tried to get to their villages as quickly as possible. They had no further intention of fighting.

Unfortunately it was reported when the picquet was recaptured early on the morning of August 5, that the bodies of dead soldiers therein—about eight or nine—had been mutilated and burned. I do not know how far that is true. Atrocity stories invariably accompany the outbreak of hostilities everywhere, but one cannot say it was impossible in this case, as the Tokhuma, the tribe concerned, are the wildest and most savage of all the Assyrians. At any rate, the 'Iraqi Army believed the stories, and this accounts for the shooting of the prisoners in the next few days. The 'Iraqi Army lost thirty-three killed and forty wounded, and the Assyrians, although they were the attackers, lost considerably less. They say eight, and certainly did not lose more than twenty. There were other Assyrians killed next day. Some of them lost their way and were rounded up by the Army and shot

out of hand. 'Iraq aeroplanes dropped bombs on the Assyrians as they were re-crossing the river on August 5. One of these bombs wounded a couple of French soldiers, and it is miraculous that we have not heard more about that.

The reactions of these events throughout 'Iraq were extreme. In Mosul we kept fairly calm, but in Baghdad it was otherwise. It was thought that there were 1,500 armed Assyrians roaming about the country, and many people in Baghdad lost their heads. There was a great deal of talk on the lines of, "Who will rid me of this turbulent priest?" Saner counsels soon prevailed, but unfortunately some wild orders, not official of course, did reach the Army, and the Army needed very little urging on. Bekir Sidki, who was in command, was known to hate the Assyrians. Every British official and officer had recommended as long ago as May that this officer should be removed. The King had promised his removal, but he stayed.

On August 7 it was clear the situation was out of the control of the civil authorities. I asked that the Minister of the Interior should come up, which he did on August 11, and though he was too late to stay the massacre at Simeil, he was in time to stop the shootings which were taking place at Dohuk and to prevent the even bigger massacre which had been planned by the Army to take place at Al Qosh. If only we had known in Mosul what the position was, and had the Army not been out of control, I am confident we could have stopped the bloodshed subsequent to August 5, because the truth was, that instead of hundreds of armed Assyrians moving about looking for trouble, there were really a few small parties of eight and nine men trying to return to their villages.

After leaving Dairabun, the Army moved to Zakho and then on to Aloka, near Dohuk. On the way there is a big village called Simeil, with about a hundred houses of Assyrians and ten Arab houses. There had been looting of villages a few miles from Simeil, belonging to a tribe whose men had left for Syria *en masse*. That had alarmed the Assyrians in other villages, especially when it was known that Arabs were crossing the river. The Assyrians left their villages, being frightened, and came into Simeil, where there is a police post with a sergeant and four men.

On August 9 the Qaimaqam of Zakho came out for some reason I have never understood, as Simeil was not in his district, and told the Assyrians they must give up their rifles because there was likely to be fighting, and if they had no rifles they would not be drawn

into it. They would be safe under the protection of the 'Iraq Government. August 10 passed without incident. Early on the morning of August 11 the Arab villagers were seen leaving Simeil. They had been warned. The police-sergeant then told the Assyrians from the outside villages that they must leave Simeil and go back to their own villages. They said it was too dangerous, and he said: "Go down to the houses below." They reluctantly did so, and as they were going down a lorry of troops and some motor machine-guns appeared and opened fire without warning. The first burst of firing killed a certain number, including one or two women and some children. The Assyrians then fled into the houses. An officer appeared who has since been identified as Ismail Abawi Tohalla. He belongs to one of the best known families in Mosul. He shouted to the soldiers not to kill women and children, who were ordered to go up to the police post, which many did. The soldiers then began a methodical massacre of the men. In some cases machine-guns were fired through the windows of the houses into the crowded rooms. In other cases men were dragged out and clubbed or shot, and their bodies thrown on to a pile of dead. This went on for some hours, then the Army left and the tribes who had taken no part at all in the massacre completed the looting. Later in the day the Army returned, as the police-sergeant had reported that about twenty male Assyrians had got to the police post with the women. The action of the police-sergeant, an old Turkish gendarme, seems to have been quite different from that of the ordinary policemen who, the women have testified, did all they could to help them. The total number killed that day was round about 320; there were six women and ten children among them. Bad though this massacre was, the aftermath was perhaps as horrible. The Army returned next day and buried the corpses. They buried them most inefficiently, and, in the burning heat of the 'Iraq summer, the stench was soon overpowering, and in that atmosphere about 1,000 weeping, terrified women and children, who had seen their relations killed before their eyes, dwelt for six days without food and with very little water. Incredible as it may seem, the civil authorities did not know for four days what had happened at Simeil. The total number of Assyrians who lost their lives was, I think, about 600. Much higher figures have been quoted, but I have checked them by the number I know to have been killed in various places and by the number of Assyrians who are missing. Some twenty were killed in the fighting at Faish Khabur. The

remainder were killed in cold blood, the great majority by the Army. The Kurds behaved better than we had expected. There was a bad massacre at Savora, where they killed about twenty Assyrians, and at a place called Qalla Badri there were atrocious outrages against women. They also looted very effectively, but as they had been told to do so, that was not surprising. The police, I think, were not concerned in any serious crime, but they were extremely incompetent generally. The Army were the only people responsible for the murders. It has been said by various people in various places (by the 'Iraq delegation at Geneva, for example) that these murders have merited and have received the severest condemnation. Actually the officers concerned were praised and promoted. Bekir Sidki, on his return to Baghdad, motored through the streets of the town amid the enthusiastic plaudits of the crowd, seated on the right hand of the Prime Minister. However much 'Iraqis may deplore the excesses, and in private very many 'Iraqis have expressed their genuine disgust, nobody has said publicly in 'Iraq that the Army behaved otherwise than well.

I must mention something about villages which have been looted. Actually there are sixty-four Assyrian villages in the *godhas* of Dohuk and Sheihkan, and of these sixty were looted. The degree of looting varied considerably; some were burnt out, in some cases the wooden roof beams were removed so that the houses collapsed. In other cases no damage was done to the actual houses, but all the household goods, except the more portable, which could be removed if there was time, were destroyed. Most of the sheep and practically all the grain were looted. A conservative estimate would place the cash loss of the Assyrians at round about £50,000, and it may be more. The 'Iraqi Government promised compensation, and on August 26 the following telegram from the 'Iraqi Minister appeared in English papers:

> "There was some trivial looting in certain villages evacuated by the rebels, but the Government restored the stolen goods to their owners and indemnified the people whose property it was impossible to recover. There is no truth in the reports of the burning of villages, but a few insignificant outbreaks of fire occurred in deserted villages. The whole damage does not exceed a few pounds in each village."

That, of course, is travesty of the facts, as were practically all the statements from 'Iraqi sources. When I left Mosul, in the middle of November, no compensation whatever had been paid. Perhaps 5 per cent. at the outside of the loot had been restored. In twelve villages

the houses had been re-roofed. I kept on reporting by telephone and on paper to Baghdad that nothing had been done, but I entirely failed to obtain any result. A British Land Settlement officer was finally sent to Mosul to go into the matter, but his terms of reference were limited and his recommendations have not been carried out. When I left Mosul, out of the sixty-four villages which had been raided, thirty-two were still empty, eight partly, and twenty-four entirely occupied. But even in the occupied villages the Assyrians refused to sow. They had no confidence and were absolutely cowed and dispirited.

The first time I went round the villages in September I met a man whom I thought one of the pluckiest men I have ever met. He was the headman of Badriyah. His village had been destroyed, but he said that he was going to carry on, as the Government had promised to help him. Three weeks later I found him rather disappointed, and later he, like the rest, had become dejected at the failure of the Government to implement its promises, and was anxious only to get out of 'Iraq.

I tried to induce them to sow because it was obvious that even if they left 'Iraq it would not be for some months, and they must have something to live on; but the 'Iraqi Government has done nothing to restore their confidence. At Al Qosh, for instance, there were several hundreds of refugees. They were ordered to return to their villages, but refused on the ground that their villages had been destroyed and there was nothing to go back to. They were gathered into a large courtyard and machine-guns were pointed at them. That is not exactly the way to restore confidence. The people in Sheihkan *godha*, who had always been obedient to the Government and had been anti-Mar Shimun, suffered the severest loss of all. To this day the 'Iraqi Government has not returned their rifles, though it has distributed over a thousand rifles to the Kurds. At the same time, one must not listen to some exaggerated reports that have been circulated. I have seen it stated that murder in the Assyrian villages is of daily occurrence. That is not the case. From August 20 to November 11 there had been five murders. It seems a lot, but in 'Iraq we are more accustomed to that sort of thing than you are in England. There have been many petty thefts, but one cannot expect to have security restored at once.

The one bright feature is the refugee camp at Mosul, run extremely efficiently by Major Thomson. He had to be as firm with the

Assyrians as with the 'Iraq Government. The 'Iraq Government has done nothing in relief work except on the pressure of British officials. There were 1,550 in the camp and the cost is about £200 a week. The 'Iraq Government is paying for that. Apart from the women and children in this camp, the R.A.F. transported by air to Baghdad about 800 of the dependents of the serving Levy soldiers, and incidentally met with nothing but obstacles from the 'Iraq Government in carrying out this humanitarian work. An R.A.F. doctor was kindly provided for the camp and did most excellent work.

In Baghdad and other towns there was naturally an extreme reaction to what had happened in the north. The troops, when they returned to Mosul, Kirkuk, and Baghdad, were given enthusiastic welcomes as conquering heroes. In Baghdad these demonstrations were largely artificial and encouraged by the Cabinet to impress the foreigners and the King. The 'Iraqi Cabinet had been very irritated with the King because of his attempted interventions in the Mar Shimun affair in June. The King had telegraphed that Mar Shimun ought to go back to Mosul whether he signed any acknowledgment or not, and that so angered the Cabinet that some of the Ministers threatened to resign. They now thought that King Feisal, who was in touch with the British officials, might prove weak. At Kirkuk there was a great deal of excitement because the memories of a Levy outbreak some years before, in which fifty people of the town had been killed, still rankled. But the most serious reaction of all took place in Mosul. Here the Assyrians were well known and disliked. There were two periods of excitement. When the first fighting took place there was considerable agitation not only against the Assyrians and the French, who were supposed to be intriguing with them, but against the English, who, as usual, were supposed to be at the back of the whole thing. It was reported and believed that the R.A.F. planes had dropped ammunition and food on the Assyrians. There was a British Police inspector who had the peculiar name of Sargon and who was supposed to be Assyrian. He was accused of intriguing with the Assyrians. He was transferred to Baghdad, nominally because his life was in danger, actually because he was not trusted by his 'Iraqi colleagues. The British Army officers were boycotted by the 'Iraqi officers and everything was done to make things as uncomfortable for us as possible. That period was followed by one of exultation when it was known that the Assyrians had not defeated the Army.

There was another period of reaction after the news of Simeil.

The 'Iraqi in the north, whether Christian or Moslem, believed there would be intervention by the League of Nations or by Great Britain, because, whatever may be said of the meaning of the term "moral responsibility," he knew the Assyrians claimed to be our friends and expected to be helped by us. This intervention they were prepared to resist at any cost. Their best weapon was the threat of massacre, because in Mosul—a town of a hundred thousand people—there were ten thousand Christians. These had done nothing, but the threat of massacre was a trump card. It was not a religious matter, but simply that the Christians as such were thought to be politically a weak link in the unity of 'Iraq. The Minister of the Interior himself said to me at that time: "If there is any attempt at interference or to seek revenge here, worse things will occur than have already occurred." He meant what he said. It may not have been very noble, but I think we had no alternative but to give in. Any intervention might have entailed a really bad massacre in the north, and that was a risk nobody could have taken. Passions were intensely inflamed. Everybody who has been in Mosul has disliked the people of the town. Sir Mark Sykes, in his book *The Last Heritage of the Caliphs* has described them in no uncertain terms. It is true that no responsible 'Iraqi wanted a massacre at that juncture, but with a fanatical and excited mob any small incident might have occurred to bring it about. The excitement calmed down at the end of the month when it was known that there would be no intervention. The British Ambassador, Sir Francis Humphrys, had returned on August 23. King Feisal returned on August 2, but he was a very sick and a very tired man.

I must say something about the future of the Assyrians. I think it is now universally agreed that they must leave the country, and the only question is how many are going to do so. Personally I think at least 90 per cent., or twenty thousand, will do so. But they do not all want to go to the same place. Khoshaba, who may be taken as being the leader of the Mar Shimun party, told me—and he said it officially, I believe, the other day—that although his party could not stay in the country, they refused to go to the same country as the Mar Shimun. Where they are to go is the problem. Brazil has been mentioned—the climate does not seem entirely satisfactory, but no other place has been spoken of. General Browne, who used to command Levies, has gone out to investigate. It has been estimated that it will cost £120 to re-settle each family. If 4,000 families go,

that will mean about £500,000. The 'Iraq Government has promised to assist to the limit of its power, but nobody has suggested it can pay more than £100,000, and before I left there were many murmurings of protest in the press against being saddled with the cost. They said: "We did not invite the Assyrians to come to 'Iraq, and are in no way responsible for their former sufferings." This argument must have carried weight, but for what happened last summer. The Assyrians, I think, should pay something. It would be a misfortune if they were pauperized any more. They have already the refugee mentality very much developed.

Another thing is the position of those Assyrians not in the camp but in the villages and in Mosul, because a large number of those who fled there are without any work and are living on the charity of their friends, charity which will dry up. I think pressure should be brought to bear on 'Iraq by the League of Nations to see that these people are properly looked after in the next few months.

The question some of you may ask is, whether these tragic events could have been avoided. We can hardly help seeing that in terminating the Mandate with the Assyrian question still unsettled we were taking a very great risk. There is no doubt that as a result of what has happened the League of Nations and Great Britain have suffered enormously in prestige in 'Iraq, for the dwellers in 'Iraq think we have let down our friends. 'Iraqi politicians may pay lip service to the assistance we gave them in Geneva, but the rank and file think otherwise. The last few months I was in Mosul no Christian and very few Moslems would come to see me at my office because they feared being tarred with the pro-British brush. It was hard to blame them because they could not realize the enormous difficulties Great Britain has had to face in endeavouring to settle this complex problem.

Colonel Bovill said this was no new question, as early as 1923 Lady Surma had spoken to him, and precautions had been taken against a massacre.

Captain Rogers: There is one matter in connection with this question which has not been correctly represented in the press. We have heard a certain amount about the Assyrian Levies, but it should be borne in mind that some of the most valuable, or at any rate spectacular, services of the Assyrians have been rendered by ordinary

clansmen not enlisted as Levies. The Assyrians who were the first to inflict defeat upon the Arab insurgents in 1920 between Baghdad and the Persian frontier were not Levies but ordinary clansmen. In the same way, those who did very good work between Baghdad and Mosul were clansmen acting spontaneously on their own responsibility. Similarly, the Assyrians who twice averted disaster in the Mosul Division were ordinary clansmen. With the highest respect for the Levies and their officers, we should realize that we are under a heavy obligation to the clansmen and to the whole nation.

Captain GRACEY said: Let us leave the past and turn our minds to the future. The problem, as Colonel Stafford said, is financial, and the difficulty is going to arise there. The burden, I am afraid, will be laid upon the poor British public. I read what Señor Madariaga said before the Council of the League of Nations when he urged the Governments and charitable organizations of the world to come forward with grants to ensure that the transporting of the tribesmen should not be hindered. Who are the charitable people? My experience goes to prove that the giving public is not an international public, but a British public. Out of the 125,000 Armenian refugees settled in Syria, 23,000 have been taken from refugee camps and settled in agricultural colonies or urban quarters. The percentage of colonies is not given, but it would be generous to say that 90 per cent. are urban and 10 per cent. rural. On the settling of these 23,000 refugees at a cost of 6,344,000 French francs, 3,000,000 were found by the French Government and 2,554,000 by the British public, leaving some 800,000 French francs to be found by the rest of the world. This work, if handled as the Armenian settlement in Syria has been handled, will take another ten to fifteen years.

Canon DOUGLAS said: I have been very struck by the personal good will which Mar Shimun always expresses towards Colonel Stafford. No doubt there have been differences between them, but Mar Shimun says that Colonel Stafford is a good man who, according to his own light, has fought very hard for the Assyrian people. Colonel Stafford has not in any way repeated those very easy charges which have been disseminated throughout the world in the press, and have appeared even in the statements of responsible people, to the effect that Mar Shimun has fought for his own aggrandisement or the aggrandisement of his family, nor has he attributed to him any ignoble motives whatever. Colonel Stafford spoke of pro- and anti-Mar Shimun factions. Mar Shimun at present is in a somewhat isolated

and helpless position. Alone in the world, thrown out of his country and carrying on what he conceives to be his duty to his People, he has been placed under parole, as a condition of being given permission to travel to Europe, that he will not utter propaganda. Accordingly, he cannot defend himself against the charges as to motive that are made against him. As I am informed, in spite of the efforts to detach them from him, the Assyrians are solid in their trust in and loyalty to Mar Shimun. Would Colonel Stafford give us an estimate of the numbers who can be ranked as anti-Mar Shimun? My information is that they number only a few thousands.

Colonel STAFFORD: We had a meeting on July 10 and got a fairly good indication. As regards the literate, the intellectuals so-called, I should say they are about half and half, but as regards the rank and file, the anti-Mar Shimun party is very much weaker, and I should doubt if it represents a third—probably not a quarter—of the Assyrians.

Lord LLOYD: We have had not only a most interesting, but a most dispassionate lecture from Colonel Stafford. I hope those who have their hearts very full of this question will forgive me as Chairman if I have had to curtail some of the very interesting speeches we could have had for discussion. I would like to say in conclusion that it was many years before the war that I used to know the country on which Colonel Stafford has been lecturing, intimately. That was in the days of the Turks. It seems to me that the profound interest which has been created in the Assyrian question should draw our attention very much, not only to the sad fate of the Assyrians themselves in a country where we have been proved unable to protect them, but should lead us very carefully to reflect upon the dangers of premature abandonment of minorities in countries where our hands are set to the plough and we have no right to draw back for mere politics, if the great bastions of our moral rule in the East are exposed to danger.

I remember the language with which some of our statesmen in the old days used to address the Sublime Porte in Turkey if they failed in administering those parts away from the Central Government in Constantinople. I remember being sent to speak winged words to the Hamadieh Kurds because of some disorder connected with the Sublime Government, but the British Government said we had to make our representations to those who were not directly responsible.

I look round 'Iraq and Palestine and I reflect that all these slogans

of self-government and political government will not, in history, justify us in abandoning Christians and other minorities in these countries, unless we are quite sure that we have handed them over to stable and orderly government before we go. These events should be a great lesson to us in other great steps we are proposing to take.

THE AMERICAN MISSION IN URMIA

It is reported on good authority that the Persian Government has ordered the long-established colony of American missionaries to quit Urmia. The reason given is that it is intended to make that frontier a military area, closed to all foreign residents and travellers. The blow is all the harder as they have recently completed new schools and a new hospital, which had been fully equipped with modern appliances.

A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE ASSYRIANS IN 'IRAQ, 1918-1933

By SIR PERCY SYKES, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.

THE history of the Assyrian nation, its gallant service on the side of the Allies during the Great War, its enlistment under the British in 'Iraq, the promises made to it by British officers and by the League of Nations, and the recent massacre of hundreds of its men by the 'Iraq army are the subject of much discussion and controversy. Consequently, the Royal Central Asian Society, which has studied the question from its inception, has decided to publish a brief account of the case drawn from many sources, some of which have been published in its Journal, and giving references, where necessary, to official documents. The Royal Institute of International Affairs rendered most valuable assistance in this task. It is hoped that such a presentment of the Assyrian case may be of use in forming an accurate opinion on a complex and difficult subject, which is crying for a just and a speedy solution.

The Assyrian nation, the remnant of a very ancient race and of an ancient Church, adopted Christianity at a very early stage, and subsequently followed the Nestorian doctrine.

When our survey commences it occupied the mountainous country to the north of Mosul where, while acknowledging the overlordship of the Sultan, these tribesmen were actually governed by their chief, and paid their tribute through him. As in the case of Montenegro, the temporal and spiritual headship were united in one family, and Mar Shimun or "Lord Simon" was the Patriarch of the Assyrians. There were also a considerable number of these Christians established near Lake Urmia in North-West Persia, many of whom had become Protestants under the influence of American missionaries. The main body of the Assyrians had also been deeply influenced by British missionaries of a fine stamp, working at Urmia and elsewhere under the direct supervision of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose aim had been to strengthen their present form of Christianity.

The relations of the Assyrian highlanders with the neighbouring Kurds included a good deal of raiding. The Kurds, however, although

Moslems, were not fanatical, and the fact that the Assyrians were skilled fighters tended to prevent serious bloodshed as a rule, although there were exceptions to it.

Under Sultan Abdul Hamid, the Kurds were organized into an irregular force and were especially favoured, and as a result they

raided far and wide. The Turkish Revolution in 1908 seemed to promise better things, but ended in disappointment, and matters drifted from bad to worse, when the Great War abruptly closed the old era.*

Before its outbreak, Russia had stationed troops in North-West

* *Vide, Our Smallest Ally,* by Canon W. A. Wigram.

Persia, and a force of Turkish troops, supported by Kurds and driving the Assyrians of Tergawar in front of them, attacked the Persian town of Urmia. But the Assyrians of the district, strengthened by their co-religionists of Tergawar and supported by a small body of Russian troops, beat off the invaders, until the arrival of Russian reinforcements completed the defeat of the Turks.

After this success the Russians evacuated the district followed by thousands of Christians.* The remainder were left to the tender mercies of the Persian Governor, who killed and ill-treated many of the Assyrians.

In the spring of 1915 Russia, her position in the Caucasus established by the crushing defeat of the Turks at Sarikamish, reoccupied Urmia and advanced on Van. The Russian Army in Persia, in co-operation with their consular service constrained the Assyrians to join up with them. This was accomplished by using the services of Agha Petros who was in office at the Russian consulate. Captain Gracey informs me that they rendered invaluable services as advance guards and scouts to the Russians. In August, 1915, the Turks invaded the Assyrian homeland in overwhelming force and drove them from their villages to the mountains. The enemy, however, relied on the snow driving them down to the valleys, when the tribe would probably have been exterminated.

Mar Shimun, at great personal risk, visited the Russians at Salmas, but no effectual help was afforded, and the position appeared to be desperate, as the Kurds occupied the country to the east, thereby preventing any help from their Urmia co-religionists.

With amazing courage, the Assyrians, with their families and flocks, marched down the valleys westward and crossed the Zab by two bridges which they destroyed. They then turned northwards, and, brushing aside local attacks, the heroic mountaineers reached comparative safety at Salmas.

The collapse of Russia in 1917 resulted in the despatch of a Franco-British Mission to the Caucasus. A scheme was devised by which the Assyrians, in conjunction with the Armenians of Van, should form part of a line of defence against the Turkish advance. Simco, the Agha of the Shekak Kurds, whose tribe occupied the key position between Lakes Van and Urmia, was also included in the scheme.

To quote Captain Gracey:

"At this period (1917) the Assyrians had organized a small fight-

* *Vide* Sykes' *History of Persia* (3rd. ed.), II., 436 *et seq.*

ing force under the Russian Command and were operating with the Russian Army in the Caucasus against the Turks.

"When the Russian collapse was threatened the Assyrians proceeded to organize four battalions, two of which were to be regulars and two 'Droginas' or 'irregulars'; each battalion was to consist of from 800 to 1,000 men, each battalion to have ten Russian officers and attached to each Russian officer one Assyrian officer to act as interpreter.

"The first battalion 'Droginas' was formed in the early part of the war by the late General Agha Petros. The Mar Shimun had raised two battalions of new men, but was unable to raise the fourth up to the end of December, 1917. Agha Petros, who had been attached to the Russian Consulate pre-war and during the war, raised in 1916 close on 1,000 'Droginas,' with whom he carried through raids on the Turks and Kurds for the purpose of reconnoitring and procuring information for the Russian General Staff. At this date his rank was that of Polkovnik—*i.e.*, Colonel.

"Agha Petros, through his influence with the Russian Consulate, early secured official recognition of his men, and he with them was placed on the strength of the Russian Army in the Caucasus together with similar forces that other tribal leaders loyal to him had raised.

"The Mar Shimun was not quite as successful with the Russian military authorities. While his men were paid by the Russian Staff, they were trained by a French Lieutenant attached to a French Mission then stationed at Urmia, and General Agha Petros's men by the Russians. Trouble rose between the Assyrians and their officers when the Assyrians were forced to realize that their troops would have to be controlled solely by the military officers in command. However, there can be no doubt that these Assyrian 'Droginas' assisted in no small measure to hold the Russian officers who were left practically without men—due to the wholesale desertion of the Russian troops. These Russian 'Droginas' strengthened the resistance of a very weakened remnant of the Russian force in Persia against the Turks. This resistance was of the greatest value to our own fighting forces in Mesopotamia and Palestine.

"The late General Agha Petros strongly objected to become subordinate to the Mar Shimun and he, Agha Petros, was probably the most capable military leader the Assyrians possessed at that time. The courage, assertiveness and pugnacity of these Assyrians, with a high-

land genius for mountain warfare, made them a terror to their enemies and a pride to those who commanded them."*

Actually the collapse of Russia was more complete than was realized, and Simco, quick to note the actual position, murdered Mar Shimun, who was his guest, in February, 1918. The loss of their leader constituted a heavy blow to the Assyrians, who were only too ready to break up into separate groups.

In February, 1918, a British Mission under Major-General Dunsterville entered Persia with the Caucasus as his objective. It was decided at the same time to strengthen the Assyrians by means of a number of British officers and N.C.O.s, but this plan was not carried out. In the summer the Assyrians, who had held their own against a Turkish army, and thereby protected Dunsterville's lines of communication, sent him a messenger with an urgent plea for arms and ammunition. It was arranged by means of a letter carried on an aeroplane for the Assyrians to break through the Turks and reach a point where a British escort would deliver the promised ammunitions. The Assyrians broke through the Turkish lines, and then, instead of leaving their main body to watch the Turks, almost their entire force pressed on to meet the British. Unfortunately, false rumours of a disaster reached the main body of the tribe, who in a panic fled towards the British. For one hundred miles the tribe was massacred, their women were outraged, and their flocks were looted. With amazing valour, and with some Assyrian help, the tiny British detachment, consisting of a squadron of the 14th Hussars, supported by a reinforcement of the same regiment and a machine-gun detachment, beat off the pursuing Turks, Persians, and Kurds, not without loss, and formed a rearguard to protect the unfortunate Assyrians.

To quote Colonel McCarthy:

"Apart from being harassed by the enemy, every known disease seemed to attack these unfortunate people, and hundreds died from typhus, dysentery, and smallpox, and others from exhaustion. It was a common thing to see children still alive, abandoned on the roadside, the parents probably dead. Wherever they camped for the night the ground next morning was littered with dead and dying. What these unfortunates suffered few people can realize. Some 10,000 were cut off by the Turks, and so far as I know have never been seen again.

* Captain Gracey was intelligence officer, attached to the British Military Mission Trans-Caucasus, stationed at Tiflis, Georgia.

"Eventually what was left of the nation arrived at Hamadan. All those I met in the retreat had one idea, and one idea only, and that was they were going to Hamadan where they would join up with the British force promised them, and return at once, drive out the Turk, and reoccupy their own country."*

Under British protection the tribe continued its march of some five hundred miles to Baquba in 'Iraq, where their terrible experiences ended.

Ten years ago when I was the guest of a Club at San Francisco, the Chief Justice of California referred to this migration, and declared that the action of the British constituted the greatest humanitarian achievement that had ever been accomplished by any nation during the course of a great war. He added that his sister had been a missionary among the Assyrians. It seems desirable to mention this independent appreciation of a very fine piece of work carried out by the British Army with totally inadequate means. The fact that they saved the tribe from practical extermination is not generally recognized.

At Baquba the camp had been installed on military lines. A water supply was laid on, and under the care of a large administrative and medical staff, the Assyrians, reduced to 45,000 in number, gradually recovered their health and moral.†

At the beginning of 1920 an attempt was made at repatriation. Mar Shimun's successor was a boy—he is twenty-five years of age to-day—and there were no leaders who were trusted by the people as a whole. The Assyrians of Urmia would only return to their own district, and would not co-operate loyally with the other sections, while nothing would satisfy the majority except a return to their own homes. Consequently a scheme to settle them on the land near Mosul was rejected. Agha Petros had been their leader in the retreat, and a plan was formulated by which the majority of the Assyrians, including the Urmia contingent, should reoccupy a part of their mountains from near Gawar eastwards, where the Urmia section would be in touch with their homes in Persia. This scheme was under way, and a part of the tribe had been moved to the advanced base at Mindan (some miles to the north-east of Mosul) when the Arabs of 'Iraq rose against the Government. The camp at Baquba was attacked, but, in spite of a scarcity of arms and ammunition, the Assyrians were more than a

* *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XX., Part IV., p. 159.

† *Vide*, "The Assyrian Adventure of 1920," by Lieut.-Col. F. Cunliffe-Owen, in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. IX., 1922.

match for the Arabs. Indeed, so valuable was their assistance to the hard-pressed British that General Sir Aylmer Haldane wrote:

"But for this entirely fortuitous support it is possible that a large portion of the Mosul Division might have been swamped in this wave of anarchy."*

After the suppression of the insurrection the movement was continued. Unfortunately the Assyrian main body, which included 6,000 armed men with 2,500 pack mules, after brushing aside Kurdish opposition, instead of moving north-east as arranged, broke up. The majority marched westwards towards their old homes, looting and pillaging. Finally Agha Petros, who had been left with only a weak force, returned to his starting-point, while the Assyrians, who had broken away, unable to reach their own country, also drifted back. The Assyrians had been given their chance, but owing to lack of unity of aim and cohesion, they had failed completely. Subsequently, some 1,200 families were settled on land to the north of Mosul, the settlers consisting of a section of the tribe which had been opposed to the scheme of Agha Petros. Gradually more families were accommodated, many of them joining the Levies.

The beginning of the formation of this force was made at Mindan. At first, in spite of the advice given by Dr. Wigram and the good terms offered, the leaders refused on the unreasonable grounds that they only desired the British to "send them back to their own country, which they had lost through joining the Allies."† However, in time the men enlisted freely and took part in the almost constant fighting with the Kurds and other disturbers of the peace.

By their valour and skill in hill warfare the Assyrians won the esteem of their British officers. They rendered services of the utmost value during the rebellion, and, at the time of writing, Assyrians furnish the guard to the British Air Force that is stationed in 'Iraq.

During this period a considerable number of the Assyrians, with British approval and financial assistance, returned to their homes in the Hakkiari district.‡ This area had belonged to Turkey, and, entirely on account of the Assyrians, Great Britain was anxious that it should

* *The Insurrection in Mesopotamia*, 1920, p. 247. *Vide* also *Mesopotamia : A Clash of Loyalties*, by Sir Arnold Wilson, p. 291.

† *The 'Iraq Levies*, by Brigadier J. Gilbert Browne, p. 15. This work gives a detailed account of the work of the Levies.

‡ This question is dealt with in *Progress of 'Iraq*, 1920-1931, p. 268.

be included within the borders of 'Iraq. In June, 1924, the Turkish Vali of Jelamerk attempted to tour in Hakkiari, but he was arrested by the Assyrians. Determined to avenge this insult, strong Turkish forces swept the district, burning the villages and expelling some 8,000 Assyrians, who took refuge in 'Iraq, homeless and destitute, having lost their flocks and other property.

The question of restoring the Assyrians to their homeland in Hakkiari was not raised at the Lausanne Conference in 1922—a most unfortunate omission, as the sequel proves.

In September, 1924, the League of Nations decided to despatch a Commission to settle the question of the frontier line to be drawn between 'Iraq and Turkey.* After visiting London and Constantinople, the Commissioners, who reached Baghdad in January, 1925, remarked that " the question of restoring the Nestorian Assyrians to their former homes north of the boundary of the Vilayet of Mosul was not raised at the Lausanne Conference."

At the Constantinople Conference on May 19, 1924, Sir Percy Cox stated that:

" His Majesty's Government has decided to endeavour to secure, as the result of these negotiations, a frontier which, while fulfilling the recognized requirements of a good treaty frontier, will at the same time admit of the establishment of the Assyrians in a compact community within the limits of the territory in respect of which His Majesty's Government holds a mandate under the authority of the League of Nations, if not in every case in their ancestral habitations, at all events in a suitable adjacent district."

To quote again:

" The British authorities also informed the Commission that the future treatment of the Assyrians would depend entirely on the decision taken with regard to the frontier. If the territory occupied by the Assyrians is not assigned to 'Iraq they cannot be granted any local autonomy, because in that case they would not be settled in homogeneous communities. If the frontier were drawn towards the south, thus incorporating in 'Iraq only a small part of the former Assyrian territory, it would be impossible to find land for the Assyrians in 'Iraq."

The Commission, after weighing the arguments advanced by both Governments, " is led to conclude that the most satisfactory solution

* *Question de la Frontière entre la Turquie et l'Iraq*, League of Nations, C. 400, M. 147, 1925, VII.

would be for the Assyrians to accept the offer, made by the Turkish delegate at the Constantinople Conference, that they should be allowed to return to their former homes. In that case it would be added that the Assyrians must continue to enjoy the same local autonomy as formerly, and that their safety must be guaranteed by a complete amnesty."

The Commissioners furthermore considered that 'Iraq "must remain under the effective mandate of the League of Nations for a period which may be put at twenty-five years."

And their final pronouncement about the Assyrians ran:

"We feel it our duty to point out that the Assyrians should be guaranteed the re-establishment of the ancient privileges which they possessed in practice, if not officially, before the war. Whichever may be the Sovereign State, it ought to grant these Assyrians a certain local autonomy, recognizing their right to appoint their own officials, and contenting itself with a tribute from them, paid through the agency of their Patriarch."

The recommendations of the Commissioners, who presumably assumed that the Assyrians would eventually return to their homes in the Hakkiari country, were falsified by the policy of the Turks, who not only expelled any Assyrians who attempted to return to it, but, in June, 1928, informed the 'Iraq Government that Assyrians who entered Turkey would be arrested and punished.

It appears important to point out that failing the possibility of the Turks permitting the Assyrians to return to their mountain valleys, "the only possible solution was to settle them on unoccupied lands in the mountain districts of 'Iraq, and to assist them as far as possible in the early stages."

The fact had to be faced that the Assyrian people must henceforth be scattered, living among the Kurds, sometimes even as tenants of Kurdish Aghas.* In other words, their position would, in many cases, closely resemble serfdom.

In 1929 the British Government proceeded to negotiate for the termination of the Mandate. In February of that year the 'Iraq Government was informed that Great Britain would be prepared to support the candidature of that country for admission to the League, and, in November, 1929, Lord Passfield issued a memorandum con-

* *Progress of 'Iraq*, by Gertrude Bell, p. 272 *et seq.* This report shows the efforts that have been made to settle the Assyrians and the inherent difficulty of the problem.

firming this statement and laid emphasis on the excellent state of the political atmosphere in 'Iraq.

The Mandates Commission of the League, which was evidently doubtful of the advisability of such a speedy termination of the Mandate, observed that their information on the subject was derived solely from British sources, and placed on record various pronouncements of Sir Francis Humphrys.

The Permanent Mandates Commission finally decided to recommend 'Iraq for admission to the League, subject to paper safeguards for minorities, safeguards which proved to be of little value.*

The Royal Central Asian Society, which includes a large number of members with wide experience of 'Iraq and of the Assyrian question, deplored the action of H.M.'s Government which placed the Assyrians with their case unsettled under the rule of a Moslem Government, which could not be expected to treat them with the generosity that was due to them from the British.

To these experienced officers and officials it was clear that the 'Iraq Government would not give them the " homogeneous group " which they had been promised, nor could it reasonably be expected to do so. The Assyrians themselves were especially disappointed that no mention of their particular position had been made in the Anglo-'Iraq Treaty,† while they realized that, scattered among the Kurds, they would speedily become a race of serfs, that being the position of the other Christians who live among those truculent mountaineers. In short, the Assyrians were not ready to accept anything less than what they had been promised and utterly refused to make the best of a bad job.

I now propose to refer to the position of Mar Shimun, which was one of extreme difficulty. Bitterly disappointed with the action of the British Government in terminating the Mandate without settling the Assyrian question, he proceeded to Geneva, but his appeal, which emphasized the vital question of a " homogeneous group," was not examined until after the entry of 'Iraq into the League of Nations, which automatically made it a Minority Appeal under the Treaty.

The *rapporteur* of the League, however, drew the Council's attention to the " Assyrians' need to be settled in a homogeneous group. The root cause of the state of unrest revealed by the petition resides in

* *Vide*, " League of Nations," A. 17, 1932, VII., p. 32.

† It is to be noted that the new Treaty between France and Syria contains a specific article in which provision is made for the protection of minorities, whereas no such provision was made in the Anglo-'Iraq Treaty.

the fact that it has not been possible to collect the Assyrians of 'Iraq into a homogeneous group."

Sir Henry Dobbs had stated in May, 1924, that "H.E. the High Commissioner has ascertained that there are more than sufficient deserted lands, the property of the 'Iraq Government to the north of Dohuk in Amadia and the northern hills, upon which the latter class of persons (*i.e.*, the Assyrians) could be permanently settled."* Having failed in his mission, the Patriarch returned to 'Iraq, and in January, 1933, at a meeting of the Assyrians, he explained the unsatisfactory position of affairs to them.

The 'Iraq Government, apparently vexed at this appeal to the League, tried to force the Patriarch to resign everything in the nature of temporal power. His point of view was that as Patriarch of a somewhat primitive people, he should, as had been the custom from earliest times and also under Turkish rule, be permitted to present the case of his people before the authorities. More than that he did not claim.

He was also fully justified in claiming for the Assyrians that the recommendations made by the Commission and adopted by the League of Nations for settlement in a homogeneous group should be implemented. The 'Iraq Government, on the other hand, realizing that he was opposed to the scheme of settling his people in scattered communities among the Kurds, detained him under arrest in Baghdad, and attempted to induce him to surrender all rights of interference in questions concerning his people. To this he was obviously unable to consent.

It would appear that Mar Shimun was persuaded unduly to do what he realized to be unwise and that his refusal was justified.

The unfortunate failure to settle the Assyrian question before surrendering the Mandate speedily bore bitter fruit. In July, 1933, Colonel Stafford, the Administrative Inspector for the Mosul area (to whom I am especially indebted in writing this report), and Major Thomson, the Land Settlement officer, advised the Assyrians to take up the lands offered to them by the 'Iraq Government, realizing, as they did, that this was, under the circumstances, the only wise course to pursue. Colonel Stafford noted the bitterness existing between the Mar Shimun party and its opponents, which, of course, accentuated the tension that prevailed at the meetings that were held.

* *Vide*, "League of Nations—Protection of Minorities in 'Iraq," Official No. C. 535 of October 2, 1933.

Unfortunately a large section of the Assyrians were led astray by Yaqu, one of their leaders, who assured them that the French would grant them land and freedom from taxation in Syria.

Accordingly, on July 21 and following days, parties aggregating some 700 armed Assyrians crossed the Tigris into Syria. They left their women, children, and old men behind and wrote a letter to the Minister of the Interior to the effect that the two British officers "have told us to get away from 'Iraq, if we are not satisfied with the present arrangements of the Government, so we left. . . . We will not do anything wrong to anybody nor fight your soldiers, unless we are forced to."

This letter tends to prove that they were in despair at the idea of being scattered among the Kurds in small communities, while the fact that they left their women and children behind proved that there was no idea of rebellion against the Government. It should also be noted that the 'Iraq Government had appointed as President of the Assyrian Advisory Settlement Committee, Khoshaba, the deadliest enemy of the Mar Shimun, and that violent attacks on the Assyrians and their Patriarch in the 'Iraq Parliament increased their bitter feelings. Finally they realized that the British officials had no longer the power to secure them the terms which they believed to be their due. As might have been expected, the French authorities were unable to grant the desire of these misled mountaineers for land in Syria, and they consequently decided to return to 'Iraq. Meanwhile, the 'Iraq Government despatched a large force to the frontier to deal with the serious situation. They decided to disarm the Assyrians, which was reasonable under the circumstances. Colonel Stafford states that the majority of the emigrants were ready to accept this, but that the "diehards" were determined to prevent it. He also emphasizes the fact that King Faisal, Sir Francis Humphrys, and Sir Kinahan Cornwallis (the experienced adviser to the Minister of the Interior) were all absent in Europe.

On August 4 a section of the Assyrians recrossed the Tigris and came into contact with a part of the 'Iraq army. It is doubtful who fired the first shot, but it was quite possibly the Assyrians. A skirmish followed, and later that night the Assyrians, reinforced by a second party from Syria, attacked the 'Iraq camp and captured the entrenched picket. After this act of criminal folly, the authors of which were chiefly responsible for the tragedy that was to follow, some of the Assyrians returned to their homes and the remainder recrossed the frontier into Syria.

The 'Iraq army was naturally much excited by this act of rebellion, which had cost them seventy officers and men killed and wounded. Consequently, they did not attempt to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent. Meanwhile a number of the Assyrians, who had taken no part in the exodus, surrendered their arms as a proof of good faith at the police post at Simeil and these men, to the number of over 300, were massacred by the 'Iraq army on August 11 together with a few women and children.

Following the Turkish custom, the authorities called in the Kurds and Arabs, who completed the task by looting the unfortunate victims' villages and destroying them. At other villages batches of men were killed, the total number aggregating 550. Elsewhere in the Kirkuk and Rowanduz districts, massacres were narrowly averted. The 'Iraq army was welcomed with delirious joy on its return to Baghdad, their General driving through the streets sitting on the right hand of the Prime Minister, and it was proved once again that, in such cases, the innate fanaticism of Moslems is aroused to uncontrollable proportions.

Colonel Stafford estimates that sixty out of sixty-four Assyrian villages in the *godhas* of Dohuk and Shiehkan were looted and most of the livestock and grain, together with their furniture, were carried off—as may be supposed there were numerous outrages on women—and the result was that the Assyrians were practically reduced to starvation, while the survivors lacked confidence to sow any crops. No attempt was made by the 'Iraq Government to punish the guilty. The only gleam of light was the refugee camp at Mosul, which was organized by Major Thomson.

It remains to add that the 'Iraq Government which, at first, tried to hush up the massacre, finally admitted at Geneva that excesses had unquestionably been committed by the regular troops, and that irregulars had been permitted to pillage. He added that the 'Iraq Government deplored these excesses and would compensate those who had suffered unjustifiably. They have not in fact done so.

To sum up, I have shown how the Assyrians made the allied cause their own by active participation in the Great War as a unit in the Russian Army in Persia (our allies) who were supporting our arms in 'Iraq. The Assyrians by their active service, directly and indirectly, gave aid to the British in 'Iraq. Later they protected General Dunsterville's lines of communication in Western Persia until, in the summer of 1918, deserted by the Russians, they were saved, mainly by the valour of a small British force, and escorted to a camp at Baquba.

There money and care were lavished on the survivors, who in 1920 were helped with money, transport, and supplies to re-establish themselves in their old homes. Unfortunately this attempt failed. Later the British authorities in 'Iraq helped with money Assyrians who wished to return to the Hakkiari district, but they were driven out by the Turks, who naturally regarded them as traitors.

The Commissioners, who settled the frontier between Turkey and 'Iraq in 1925, declined to include the Hakkiari district in 'Iraq, and, lacking experience of the Turks, considered that the Assyrians would be able to settle down peaceably in their native mountains. This decision practically sealed the doom of the Assyrians so far as any hope of reoccupying their homeland was concerned. A heavy responsibility rests on the League of Nations for the failure of the Commissioners to face the vital facts of the situation, and for their readiness to accept the assurances of the Turkish Government.* Nor can it be denied that the British Government ran a very grave risk in terminating the Mandate before settling the Assyrian question.

To conclude, the question of the Assyrians formed the subject of a debate in the House of Lords on November 18, 1933. On this occasion Lord Hailsham refused to admit any separate British liability for their resettlement, but, to quote *The Times* on the debate:

"The fact remains that the Assyrians in 'Iraq were enlisted, paid, and trained by British Governments in order to avoid the expense of employing British troops to uphold the British Mandate against local opposition; that they thus accumulated a large stock of unpopularity among the numerous anti-British elements in that country; and that British statesmen might have foreseen the probable consequences of the militarization of an alien minority, which had faithfully served British policy in 'Iraq, and had thus become an object of Arab suspicions and fears. This country has no legal responsibility for the present plight of the Assyrians, but, as more than one speaker pointed out in the House of Lords, it has a moral duty to do its best for the remnant of a brave, if misguided, people."

* *Vide*, "A Discussion on the Assyrian Problem," in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XXI., Part I., January, 1934. At this important meeting experts expressed their views from various points of view.

THE ASSYRIAN REFUGEE CAMP

By MAJOR D. B. THOMSON

Delivered at a meeting of " The Save the Children Fund " on February 21, 1934, and printed by kind permission.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—It is a very great pleasure to me to have this opportunity of telling your Society, which has taken such a very definite interest in the work of the Assyrian Refugee Camp in Mosul, something about its working and the condition of the people. I may tell you that your Society and the Lord Mayor's Fund alone amongst charitable organizations have shown any desire to help these people.

Unfortunately in the time at my disposal I shall be unable to tell you of the happenings affecting the Assyrians during the past sixteen years, and more especially during the past eight months. You probably all have read something about these events or else listened to lectures on the Assyrian problem. I consider that much that has been written or said has been based on inaccurate information. The happenings have been dealt with by many persons and from different angles. Every question has two sides, and whilst there are some things that can never be justified and perhaps even forgiven, still had some of these speakers or writers been in Mosul in July, August, and September last I feel that their appreciation of the whole problem would have been broader and more open-minded. I hold no brief for either side, I ask for fair criticism based on true facts, and in this way alone can the problem be solved. I went to 'Iraq knowing nothing of the country or the Assyrians, and even less of the problems of their settlement. I have now had eight months of intensive study of the question on which to form my views.

On August 19, nine days after the ghastly massacre at Simeil, I was asked by the then Minister of Interior, Hikmat Bey, to act as President of a Committee with two 'Iraqi and two Assyrian members which was to deal with the destitute refugee Assyrian women and children from the Mosul Liwa. It must be remembered that some 800-900 Assyrian men had crossed into Syria on July 21 leaving their womenfolk and children alone in their villages. After the fight at

Derabon on August 4-5 these women and children, and also the men, women, and children of many other Assyrian villages in the Simeil area, gathered together in Simeil chiefly because of the security offered by the police post. It is worthy of note that the few police there with one exception did everything possible both before and after the massacre for the Assyrians who collected around them, and my authorities are the survivors.

The massacre at Simeil by the motor machine-gun battery of the 'Iraq Army took place on August 11. It is impossible to give an accurate figure of the number killed, but it is generally agreed that 300 men, 6 women, and 4 children lost their lives there; but I feel sure that these latter deaths were accidental, for at the time there were at least 500 women and children in the police post compound.

I visited Dohuk and Simeil accompanied by Lt.-Col. Stafford, the Administrative Inspector of the Liwa, on August 17. We found in Dohuk about 800 men, women, and children gathered in khans or large courtyards surrounded by rooms. Most of these people were completely destitute. With Government funds supplied by the local Qaimaqam we bought what was possible in the bazaar to keep them going. Luckily it was August, with a maximum day shade temperature of 116° F., so there was not the same urgency for warm clothing and blankets that there would have been later in the year. In Simeil we found 300 women and children still remaining, and these we moved into Dohuk by motor-cars and lorries to join those who had already walked the seven miles into the town. Arrangements were made for feeding them, not sumptuously I own, for the local bazaar is small, but sufficiently to keep body and soul together, while better arrangements were being made.

To return to the Relief Committee. I agreed to act as President provided the 'Iraq Government would give me all the money I required, and that there should be no queries as to the amount or as to the way in which it was spent. The Financial Department of any Government is bound in red tape and freely queries expenditure which, though ignorant of the facts, it may consider unnecessary. These queries lead to tedious correspondence, and we had only time to deal with the refugees. The 'Iraq Government agreed to my conditions, and I must say that I have had money at all times as I require it, and there has never been a query or protest as to the amount or method of expenditure. Over £7,000 has been spent up to date on the camp. We had first to find a suitable site for our camp, and

finally decided on a site on high-lying ground to the south-west of Mosul town. The camp is composed of houses and tents. There are three houses together, with large courtyards with rooms surrounding them. There is electric light in nearly every room, with water in stand-pipes in each courtyard. Alongside was a large open space on which we pitched the tents. These tents were procured at first locally, and it was astonishing that Mosul could provide one hundred and twenty tents. Some certainly were partly worn, but in August and September one wants shade from the sun rather than warmth in a tent. All the smaller and damaged tents have since been replaced and the people are now living in double fly E.P. marquees, and inside these new walls have been built three feet high to keep out draughts and make the tents warmer. Water was laid on to the camp with stand-cocks at intervals among the tents. A kitchen was built and the necessary cauldrons provided. Suitable sanitary arrangements were made. A marquee for use as a church is available; it holds one hundred and fifty people. There are two Assyrian priests in the camp who hold services daily which are well attended. The first religious service in the camp was the baptizing of eighty infants, a ceremony that started at 4 a.m. and concluded at 10 a.m. A large ablution tent, with cauldrons of hot water, is available throughout the day. There is a dispensary in one of the rooms, with a small emergency hospital of six beds in an E.P. tent. In August, September, and October a British medical officer kindly lent by the Air Officer Commanding in 'Iraq was in medical charge, and with him were two Assyrian dressers and one Assyrian girl dresser. Unfortunately the exigencies of the service demanded the return of this officer to duty, and he was replaced by an Assyrian doctor. The services of this R.A.F. officer were much appreciated by all in the camp, and his dispensary was always crowded. The Assyrians had never had such medical attention in their lives and they certainly made full use of the opportunity.

Possibly the diet given in the camp may be of interest to you. It sounds monotonous, but I have tried beef for mutton as a change, and it has been followed by complaints, as also was the case when I tried crushed wheat, a usual Assyrian food, instead of rice. The Assyrians are very conservative in their form of diet, and in their homes eat meat at most once a week. Meals are brought to each room or tent by attendants, who are Arabs, assisted by Assyrian boys.

Breakfast, 8 a.m. Tea with sugar, ½ lb. bread.

Noon. Fruit (fresh or dried), ½ lb. bread.

Dinner, 4 p.m. Meat, vegetables and *ghee* in a stew. Rice.

The vegetables are all fresh—marrows, tomatoes, onions, potatoes, french beans, bringals, etc.—according to the season. There is no question of a ration, each person is served with as much as he wants, so much so that many warm up the remains of their dinner for breakfast the next morning. Children for whom the doctor considers milk necessary are given half a pint of fresh milk twice daily, and four hundred pints a day are distributed. Wood is issued to each room or tent for heating purposes during these winter months. All tents are supplied with two lanterns.

Each person on admission to the camp is provided with a grass mat, two blankets, one mug, one spoon, one bowl, one earthenware water chatty, with one large tin basin for washing and one 4-gallon tin for water to each family. A large cake of soap is given to each person both large or small weekly. The soap bill is £20 a month. As the weather got colder we had to provide more blankets, and now the issue has risen to four per person. The refugees can be visited daily by their friends or leave the camp to visit them in the town.

On Monday, August 21, we started taking in refugees. On this day we got in 254 women and children; on August 22, 480 women and children; on August 23, 200; on the 24th, 180; and so on. They arrived in open lorries from Dohuk, and had come forty miles in a hot August sun, thirty or more in a lorry. They were all exhausted on arrival, but once in the shade of their rooms or tents, with a mug of milk for the children and some food for the women, they rapidly recovered. The following is an example of the extraordinary recuperative powers of these people. One of these women, after she had had some food, proceeded to have a look round the camp; her criticism was, "I don't think much of this camp. When we were in Baqubah we had proper washhouses with running hot and cold water." This is a true fact, and yet that woman had been a nervous wreck some few days previously, and had seen the massacre of Simeil. The Assyrians are truly an Oriental people in every way.

Batches of refugees continued to arrive daily; we never knew how many or at what hour they would arrive, but gradually things settled down. The Air Officer Commanding then decided that the dependents of the Assyrian Levies under his command should be moved to Baghdad, and some 600 women and children were flown there by

Victoria troop carriers. We have now a fairly constant figure of 1,500 persons in the camp. Some leave to join husbands, who mysteriously materialize, some go to relations, and some die. On the other hand, we have births and new admittances to keep up our numbers. One of our problems was what to do with this large community of women and children to keep them occupied. We opened a school of three classes for the children whose mothers wished them to attend. Footballs and hand-balls have been given to them. But children of this kind are happier, I believe, at the games they make themselves. The Assyrian women are excellent knitters, so we bought £150 worth of sheep's fleeces, which were issued at intervals to the women. They wash the fleece, card the wool, and then spin the thread. I first let them make such socks and stockings as they required for themselves and their children. Then my wife started a knitting class with some of the English ladies in Mosul, and taught some of the women to make jumpers and other warm garments. These women learnt quickly and in their turn taught their friends. As needles were given to all wishing to make jumpers, the knitting of jumpers was soon almost universal in the camp.

The health of the camp is, I consider, good in view of the exceedingly rough time that the children had in August, many of them infants less than a year old. I wonder that more did not die, but the Assyrians are a hardy race and used to roughing it. When the children first arrived in the camp 75 per cent. of them were suffering from granular conjunctivitis. They were taken in hand and the result of regular treatment has been very marked. Though this affection of the eyes is one that takes a considerable time to finally cure, there are few, if any, children at present showing active signs of the disease.

Chronic malaria is common amongst the refugees. Malnutrition was also evident in many of the infants, due, I believe, to incompetent mothers. I found mothers giving their infants melon and pomegranate rinds to suck or chew, and when asked why they did not give them the fresh milk provided they replied that the children preferred this food, and yet they are surprised when the infant develops intestinal trouble, and attribute it to anything but the true cause.

All the children showing signs of malnutrition were given cod liver oil twice daily, and also sugar in their milk, as no glucose was available. These children now compare most favourably in general health with those of any well-cared-for community. They are well

fed, adequately clothed, and have plenty of fresh air and exercise. An outbreak of diphtheria, with twelve cases and one death, in September was rapidly stamped out, as anti-diphtheritic serum was available, and also thanks to the energy and skill of our medical officer, Flight Lieut. Dixon. Whooping cough, complicated with broncho-pneumonia, which appeared in December, took a heavy toll, but in many cases the mothers refused to stay in hospital with their children, though the hospital has a British medical officer in charge and a British nurse. I consider that the action of these mothers in many cases gravely endangered the chances of recovery of their children, yet try as we might we could not induce or compel them to stay in hospital.

We have had so far 2,200 people through the camp, with 105 deaths and 37 births.

In response to an appeal made by my wife to Lord Lugard, your Society most generously sent us £50, and a further £100 from the Lord Mayor's Fund. Lord Lugard's own appeal produced some £400. We have expended £100 in purchasing shoes for all in the camp, the local type to which they are accustomed. £400 has been spent in warm woollen clothing and blankets, leaving us with £50 in hand. We also purchased locally with 'Iraq Government funds £400 worth of clothing in October. The winters in Northern 'Iraq are distinctly cold. It freezes once December sets in, and on the mountains which stretch from 40 miles north of Mosul into Turkey, snow lies for many months from an altitude of 2,000 feet upwards. The climate is therefore, as you will realize, one of extremes, and needs varied clothing to deal adequately with it.

In telling you of the camp and what is being done there I must not forget what is, in my opinion, a far greater and more serious problem. I refer to the large number of Assyrian men, women, and children who have gathered in Mosul, chiefly from the villages of the Shiekhan area which were looted in August last. No one was killed in this populous area, but the people left their villages panic-stricken with some of their portable belongings and concentrated at Al Qosh. The looting here was done entirely by Beduin Arabs, who entered the empty villages. In some cases the villagers resisted the looters, in one case for four days, so a villager told me, they fired 400 rounds of ammunition, and the Arabs replied, but there were no casualties on either side. Then the Assyrian villagers retired to Al Qosh with their portable property. These people are now living on the charity of their

relations and friends, and when their resources are finished a new problem will arise. Many of these people have gathered in Mosul believing that, as they are on the spot, they will be the first to go when the emigration starts. I much doubt if such will be the case. The 'Iraq Government is prepared to give assistance, but it must be done with care, else it may encourage a general exodus from the villages and create a most undesirable situation in Mosul.

The Assyrians have the refugee complex developed to a remarkable degree, as they spent the first four years of their residence in 'Iraq in refugee camps at Baqubah and later at Mindan. The former camp was a model of comfort and organization. It is therefore of primary importance that the Assyrians remain in their villages and cultivate. Public security is not so bad as is depicted in some quarters, and a further supply of arms and ammunition has been issued recently to those remaining in their homes. Their move to their new home cannot be effected, as they think, in a week or a month. It will take much longer. They must not be allowed, if possible, to leave 'Iraq in a destitute state, for as destitutes they would not be acceptable immigrants in their new home. The 'Iraq Government has agreed to buy all crops standing or cut at a valuation should a cultivator leave before his crop is threshed. We are helping some of these people now in the Assyrian quarter of Mosul from the funds at our disposal. Those in the camp are adequately provided for at the moment, but these others are still in need.

As regards the future home of the Assyrians, you probably know all there is to know at the moment from the newspapers. I attended the recent committee meetings of the League of Nations dealing with this question. It is a question teeming with difficulties. The only country which has offered to take the Assyrians is Brazil, and a commission composed of Brigadier Browne, late commanding the Assyrian Levies in 'Iraq, Major Johnston of the Nansen Refugee Committee, and the local Counsellor of the Swiss Legation in Brazil are now investigating the suitability of the land offered by the Parana Co., a British corporation. We hope to get their first report within the next week, and on this much depends. Should it be unfavourable then the League must try again; should it be favourable, and should the funds required be made available—a very considerable sum I must admit, at least £400,000 to £500,000—then the move can begin.

It is estimated that 10,000 people can be transported by the end of

September if a start can be made in May. Then for seasonal climatic reasons the move must cease until the following March or April. I estimate that there will be at least 20,000 persons to move, but it is impossible to give definite figures. One point which complicates matters is that certain of the Assyrian tribes—namely, the Lower Tiari, Ashuti, and most of the Jelu and Baz—refuse to settle in a place where they will be within the sphere of influence of the Mar Shimun, the Assyrian Patriarch. The transfer of the Assyrian people from 'Iraq to whatever country is to be their new home is the biggest and most difficult move of a people that has been undertaken, certainly in modern times. It may interest you to know that the League Committee laid great stress on what provisions were made for the welfare of the women and children in the camp. I believe that I satisfied them that all that was possible was being done for these unfortunate people, and I trust that you are equally satisfied.

I have endeavoured in so far as is possible to avoid the controversial aspects of the Assyrian question. What I have told you are either definite facts or my personal and unprejudiced opinion. In conclusion let us think of the problem that lies ahead of us. Let us look forward and work for the future and welfare of the Assyrian people, and let us forget the past with all its unfortunate events and misunderstandings. Let criticism be constructive, even though it be difficult, rather than destructive which is so easy.

THE COUNTRY OF THE ASSASSINS*

By MISS FREYA STARK

I HAVE been asked this evening to describe two journeys which I made into the Elburz mountains in 1930 and 1931, to look at some fortresses belonging in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to the sect of the Assassins. Their headquarters were in the valley of Alamut, in the mountains just north of Qazvin and south of the Caspian watershed.

These mountains are not difficult to reach, but they are extraordinarily primitive and unspoilt, and they have not been very much visited. Major Noel and Colonel Fortescue are, as far as I know, the most extensive travellers in this country, and Major Edmonds, Mr. Ivanov, Mr. Lockhart, and Captain Eccles are among the recent visitors to the Rock of Alamut itself. But the absence of roads, or even of good tracks, and a lot of malaria in the valleys make the country less popular than it should be, though it is perfectly safe otherwise.

This land is divided into four distinct types: the high mountain level of the watershed; the barren valleys of the Assassin castles just south of it, scattered with very fertile village oases; the jungle north of it; and the flat coastal strip beyond.

My journeys both began at Qazvin, whence I climbed into the long trough of the Shahrud and Alamut valleys, the first time by the Chala Pass and the second time by the Laleh Chak, which is not marked by name on the maps. I then followed the Alamut stream, examining four of the Assassin strongholds in these two valleys, and crossed the watershed by the Salambar, which is 11,290 feet high. In 1930 I went down from Salambar to the Caspian through the jungle, and back to Qazvin by motor along the coast road. But in 1931 I turned to the east to explore the great mountain of the Takht-i-Suleiman, the Throne of Solomon, which has since been climbed by Mr. Busk of the Teheran Legation, and is, he tells me, the third highest mountain in Persia.

I almost encircled this mountain mass, crossing by a high and uncomfortable pass north of the peak itself; then down a most beautiful

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jungle valley, the Sardabrud, to Kalar Dasht; over a low, easy pass into the Chalus valley, where they have since built a motor road; up by the sources of the Chalus over another high pass 13,000 to 14,000 feet; down these valleys to Joistan; up again nearly to the Hazarchal pass to look at a ruin; to the Shahrud headwaters, which were practically not mapped at all, so that I went slowly, getting all the names of these valleys and the few villages; and then finally over the Sirbash pass to the well-known Karaj valley and the plain.

I was very much disappointed not to climb the peak of King Solomon's throne, but I had been ill with malaria in Alamut only a week before, and found that even the pass below it, which I reckon at about 13,500 feet, was almost too much for me because of the height. The peak itself is about 15,500 feet, higher than Mont Blanc, and from its ridge one can look eastward across many ranges to Demavend and north over little-known jungle to the Caspian, usually hidden in mists. There is snow here which never melts. In spite of Lord Curzon's statement that there are no glaciers in Persia, I thought at the time, and Mr. Busk, who climbed the central one of the three peaks, called Siah Kaman—the Black Carder's Bow—agreed later, that there is a small glacier. The people in the valleys below have great ideas about the coldness of this mountain. They say that King Solomon, when he could bear the number of his wives no longer, pitched his tent up there and sent for a different one every evening: the coldness of the night killed her before the morning came—and this process of elimination soon reduced his family to a manageable number. A kinder story has it that, when King Solomon married the Queen of Sheba, she refused to have anything to say to him because he was so old. So he sent out all the birds of the air to find the coldest mountain in the world; and the Hoopoe came back and told him of this mountain, and he put up his tent on the top of it, and took the Queen of Sheba and her retinue with him. She still refused to have anything to say to him, and sat outside the tent; but when the night grew colder and colder, at last she could bear it no longer and crept into the tent; and when the morning came King Solomon hit the mountain side with his staff, and a warm spring gushed out for her to bathe in; and there it still is, as I know, because I had a bath in it myself.

Up here near the watershed the villages begin at about 9,000 to 10,000 feet, and are under snow for three to five months every year. Most of the inhabitants then travel down through the jungle to warmer

places on the coast: but some remain to feed their flocks from ricks of hay higher than houses built close to every mountain village. The people are marooned here till the snow melts. They dig themselves paths to their stables and springs, but even the next village up or down the valley is unattainable, and any case of death or sickness has to be dealt with by themselves as best they can: this does not really make much odds as there is no doctor, anyway, in these valleys. When the winter begins, the people paste over their wooden lattice-work windows with paper, for they have no glass: then they settle in an inner room with no windows at all, where they have stacked their corn, tea, sugar, and all they may need till the spring: they light the fire in an earthen oven under the level of the floor, and cover it with a framework called the Kursi, on which they spread rugs, and sit with their feet under it in the warmth, and, as far as I could make out, spend the time in talking till the spring comes, smoking opium if they can afford it and sometimes reading their old heroic poems and histories, which are still known in the mountain villages. For Mazanderan and the Elburz is the legendary part of Persia, the scene of Rustum's wanderings in search of adventure, the home of the White Devil, and a land of enchantments. In fact, the site of the battle between Sohrab and Rustum is locally said to have been near the Chalus river.

The tracks are very bad. Mazanderan has been notorious all through history for the difficulty of its roads. No new bridge is ever built until the last has been carried away with someone on top of it. On the slopes and near the water, the tracks are always being washed away. I once happened to look down and saw that my mule's hoof filled the whole span of the path, with only about an inch left to spare on either side. The *charvarders* are the means of communication in this country, and go up and down over the passes—carrying chiefly charcoal from the jungle and rice from the coast. No one who has ever travelled among them can fail to like them for their cheerful, kind, and friendly company. My two men were drawn from these people. One was the servant of the other, and received from him £4 a year and his food: they were both as faithful and devoted as anyone could desire, and in seven weeks I had no word of complaint to make against them.

The coast is the most unhealthy part of all this land. Lord Curzon says in his book that: "There is not in the same parallel of latitude a more unhealthy strip of country in the world." The population is

pitiful to look at, and practically everyone either has or has had malaria. In the sixteenth century Shah Abbas tried to restore the land to prosperity and settled 7,000 Armenians there; but the mosquitoes massacred them more effectually than ever the Turks. The whole of this low-lying strip is quite recent, since in the time of Alexander the Caspian was 150 feet higher than it is now, and must have covered most of the low land. It now grows rice, of which one gets thoroughly tired; it is given for breakfast, lunch, and tea, and instead of bread, and is even used to feed the horses. There is malaria in the mountain valleys also, wherever the climate is warm enough for rice growing. I fell ill with it in the Shahrud valley and lay ill for a week, until I managed at last to get up into healthier air in Alamut, and there discovered a Persian doctor on holiday in his mother's village, a little place hanging under the cliffs of Elburz, not marked on any map. He took me up there on a mule and cured me, injecting 100 grains of quinine a day—a drastic but successful cure. I was his second English patient. A commercial traveller in silk once got typhoid on the coast and fled like me up into the hills, where he was found delirious, with no word of Persian for his servant and with a firm conviction that the Persian doctor meant to murder him when he put him into a cold bath. He was a very good doctor, and I have a most grateful memory of him. He came three times a day to give me these injections, and would then sit crosslegged beside my bed on the floor and smoke his pipe of opium, a friendly bedside manner which would surprise anyone accustomed only to Harley Street.

The Caspian coast is now well known; a motor road runs along it and makes of it one of the most beautiful tours in Persia. But the jungle country is still largely unexplored. Its inhabitants are shy, wild people. They wear different clothes, sheepskin caps and thick felt sleeveless coats against the rain, and moccasins on their feet. They live in a climate which is constantly damp, as the clouds roll up from the sea to the mountains. Little wooden villages in plots of cornland are in the midst of the forest, invisible at any distance; their inhabitants are semi-nomad; they keep herds of humped black oxen, which they feed on leaves from the trees. I saw bundles of branches hanging from the beams of the stables, off which the cattle browsed, standing round in a circle.

These Jungalis have a very bad reputation, and gave a lot of trouble to the British and Russian allies during the war, under their

leader called Kuchek Khan, who still wore his long hair down his back as the old Mazanderanis were said to do in the days of the early historians. These people joined the Bolsheviks, and later came raiding up into the mountain valleys, so that I found the name of Bolshevik most unpopular in all the region. I am not at all convinced that there is a separate race or community of Jungle people, all those I met were the same as the people to the north and south. They mixed with the mountain folk in summer and with the people of the coast in winter, and were only wilder from the greater solitude of their life and rarer intercourse with other human beings. They were friendly when one could speak to them, but difficult to get at, and had little to say to the muleteers, or *charvardars*, who are the only link between one place and another as they carry the goods over the passes. Their jungle is almost impenetrable, hiding all contours with trees of every kind—beech, oak, plane, ash, thorn, box, and many more I did not know, that rise in tall glades from thick undergrowth. There is plenty of game—wild pig, pheasants, deer, panther, and in the east tiger: two were shot years ago by Major Kennion, but they are very rare.

On my second journey I meant to spend some time in the jungle, but it was summer, and I was told that I should find it deserted. The people were up in the high pastures with their flocks, and only came down for a few days to harvest their crops in the malarial lowlands. This I found to be true. We rode towards dusk down into the Chalus valley, and found one village after the other without a single inhabitant: we rode on and on through the night, hoping to find lodging and food: and at last came on a tea house which had been burnt down, where a sick man lay wrapped in his mantle on the ground, the only human being in that solitude. It was like a valley of death and humming with mosquitoes. As I had just recovered from my fever, I got out of the valley and up into the hills again next morning as fast as I could.

Most of the Assassin castles are just north of the watershed, in the valleys which run east and west, between bare rocky ranges that shut off both the jungle on the north and the plain of Teheran and Qazvin on the south. There is the most sudden difference of climate imaginable between the two sides of this watershed: from Alamut I used to watch the Caspian rainclouds almost every morning pour over the northern rim of the valley like a wave, only to be sucked up and melted in an hour or two by the hot air of the south: at a distance

of a couple of miles as the crow flies, one finds a completely different climate and flora.

The Alamut valley was the headquarters of the Assassins. Its southern side is formed by Mount Elburz and his range, and south of that again runs perhaps the most famous road in history, the road to Khorasan which carried the silk trade from farther Asia, which saw the oncoming march of the Mongols and of Tamerlane, and along which Darius fled and Alexander pursued. Here Darius was murdered by his own courtiers, and Alexander came upon him, dead near his waggon by the roadside, with his horses still browsing close by: and here Alexander covered his dead enemy with his cloak, thinking, no doubt, on the suddenness of fortune's changes.

When Hasan-i-Sabbah, the inventor and future chief of the Assassins, returned to Persia after travels and disgrace in Egypt, he had enemies waiting for him along this road. It is possibly this fact which first made him turn northward into the mountains and skirt the danger by making his way through the scarcely known and inaccessible Elburz country. Here, most inaccessible of all, he found the valley of Alamut. A steep and narrow defile closes it as with a gate at either end: a mountain wall with only one gap holds it on the south: and at the back of it, on the north, beyond the high passes of Sistan, lies the Caspian jungle. No stronger situation can be imagined. On the Rock of Alamut itself, jutting out from the northern side of the valley, an old Dailamite castle stood already. The chief of the Assassins obtained it, apparently by peaceful means, in 1071. He spent the remaining 34 years of his life there devoting himself to the writing of treatises on theology and the practice of murder; and this became the centre and capital of the sect for the next 185 years.

From here they gradually spread, gaining fortresses scattered about in strong positions as far as Khorasan in the east, Isfahan in the south, and westward into the mountains of the Syrian Lebanon, where some of the sect are still to be found, though no longer in the habitual capacity of assassins. Twelve years after taking Alamut, the chief's lieutenant and eventual successor, Kuja Buzurg-Umid, took the great fortress of Lambesar in the Shahrud, which I was able to identify on my last visit. This fortress and that of Girdkuh, which is known to have been further east, near Damgan, but has not yet been actually found, are the most interesting of the strongholds after Alamut. They held out alone for a year and more against the Mongol armies during

the destruction of the Arab empire and the Assassins with it in 1256. I can give here only a very brief sketch of their history. It deserves to be studied by anyone interested in politics nowadays, when dictatorships seem to be coming into fashion again, for the young Persian, Hasan-i-Sabbah, who invented the Assassins, apparently entirely out of his own head, solved the Dictator's difficulty in a remarkable manner. He realized that a small minority, absolutely devoted, who would stick at nothing and fear no sort of death, could be a more useful instrument of power than any army. The Assassins never had an army to put in the field: when the Mongols finally came and took one stronghold after the other, the Assassin chiefs were never able to send forces to relieve them. But they held out against all the forces arrayed against them for nearly two centuries, by the simple expedient of threatening or inflicting death upon the Higher Command rather than upon the main body of the enemy. Even Saladin relinquished the siege of one of their chief fortresses in Syria after waking up one morning in his tent and finding an Assassin dagger and some verses stuck into a loaf of bread close to his head. The Seljuk sultans were continually trying to combat them in Persia. In the twelfth century Malikshah sent armies to besiege Alamut, until two generals died and his Vizier, Nizam-ul-Mulk, was murdered; his son, Muhammad, besieged it for eight years and died unsuccessful; the great Sultan Sinjar was discouraged by an attempt on his life. The list of those victims who were important enough to be recorded is too long to read out here, but it explains the general horror with which Assassins soon came to be regarded throughout the Near East and in Europe, where they became known by means of the Crusades.

I am not learned enough to go deeply into the question of the religion of the Assassins, nor to say how far it was an outcrop of older faiths breaking through the framework of Islam. It is certain that in these mountain districts Islam came very slowly and incompletely, and the old Zoroastrianism lingered for a long time. I found a silver coin in Kalar Dasht from the time of one of the earliest Arab governors with a fire altar on its reverse side, and Professor Browne says that as late as the eighteenth century these hill folk were "partly idolators and partly Magians." I think, however, that the Assassin movement in Alamut was not so much a religious movement as what would now be called a "conservative nationalist" movement. The great Buwahid dynasty came from these mountains and its armies were drawn from this country, then called Dailam. Professor

Minorsky has shown the great importance of this dynasty in Persian history and how it made a national Persian interlude between the Arab dominion of Baghdad and the Turkish dominion of the Seljuks. The Seljuks were dominant in Hasan-i-Sabbah's day. But in the Dailam mountains they would long be regarded as intruding foreigners and Hasan would have no difficulty in finding people to support him in his fight against them; that, no doubt, is the reason which enabled him to take and keep the strong mountain fortresses so easily.

He himself always remained officially a member of the Ismaili sect and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Egyptian caliph. It was as their representative that he preached for nine years after his expulsion from Egypt, during which he wandered as a missionary—before settling down in Alamut when he was about fifty years old. Here he lived to a peaceful old age, after murdering his two sons (one of them, it is said, for drinking wine). His successor, the conqueror of Lambesar, followed in his footsteps. But the fourth "Old Man of the Mountain," Hasan, the son of Muhammad, carried the heresy to its highest pitch, announced himself to be an Imam descended from the Egyptian caliphs, abolished the Moslem rites in the Alamut valley, and instituted a resurrection festival of his own on the 17th of Ramadhan, when an altar was erected at the foot of the Rock Alamut. Drinking was once more allowed in the valley (rather appropriately since the vine is supposed first to have been discovered in the province of Mazanderan). An old vine growing up out of one of the water cisterns on the fort is still pointed out as having been planted by Hasan. At this time the Assassins were at the height of their power. They were everywhere treated as the equals of kings. The absolute obedience of the murderers to their chiefs, their contempt of, or rather seeking for, death, roused the envy, horror, and wonder of the eastern world. They were known as Hashishin—smokers of hashish—the word which, brought by the Crusaders to Europe, gives us our word "assassin": and the story of this drug—whose use may have been learnt by Hasan from Indians in Nishapur or Cairo—and the story of the famous garden were told to explain the great influence of the "Old Man of the Mountain."

The story is best told by Marco Polo. He says that the Chief of the Assassins, the Old Man of the Mountain, "had caused a certain valley between two mountains to be enclosed, and had turned it into a garden, the largest and most beautiful that ever was seen, filled with every variety of fruit. In it were erected pavilions and palaces the

most elegant that can be imagined, all covered with gilding and exquisite painting. And there were runnels, too, flowing freely with wine and milk and honey and water, and numbers of ladies and of the most beautiful damsels in the world, who would play on all manner of instruments and sing most sweetly, and danced in a manner that was charming to behold. For the Old Man desired to make his people believe that this was actually Paradise . . . and sure enough the Saracens of those parts believed that it was Paradise.

"Now no man was allowed to enter the garden save those whom he intended to be his Hashishin. There was a fortress at the entrance of the garden strong enough to resist all the world, and there was no other way to get in. He kept at his court a number of youths of the country, from 12 to 20 years of age, such as had a taste for soldiering, and to these he used to tell tales about Paradise, just as Muhammad had been wont to do, and they believed in him just as the Saracens believe in Muhammad. Then he would introduce them into his garden, some four or six or ten at a time, having first made them drink a certain potion which cast them into a deep sleep, and then causing them to be lifted and carried in. So when they awoke they found themselves in the garden.

"When, therefore, they awoke and found themselves in a place so charming, they deemed that it was Paradise in very truth. . . .

"Now this Prince, whom we call the Old One . . . when he wanted one of his Hashishin to send on any mission, he would cause that potion whereof I spoke to be given to one of the youths in the garden, and then had him carried into his palace . . . and would ask whence he came, and he would reply that he came from Paradise, and that it was exactly as Muhammad had described it in the Law. This, of course, gave the others who stood by and who had not been admitted the greatest desire to enter therein.

"So when the Old Man would have any prince slain, he would say to such a youth: 'Go thou and slay so and so; and when thou returnest, my angels shall bear thee into Paradise: and shouldst thou die, nevertheless even so will I send my angels to carry thee back into Paradise.' So he caused them to believe, and thus there was no order of his that they would not affront any peril to execute, for the great desire they had to get back into that Paradise of his. And in this manner the Old Man got his people to murder anyone whom he desired to get rid of."

Marco Polo did not go to Alamut himself, but heard about it

from several natives of that region: and I think he has mixed up the description of the *whole* valley (which had a castle at each end and was very difficult to enter just as he describes), and the actual garden, which must have been in one of the fertile oases inside the valley, most enchanting places even now.

The garden has gone, and the descendents of the beautiful damsels are now pretty countrywomen who wear, still with a certain gaiety and freedom, the clumsy black trousers and printed ballet skirt, the parti-coloured waistcoat and innumerable amulets and necklaces, and scarlet head kerchief of the peasant. But the gates of the valley are still as clearly marked as ever by nature, and in spring and summer the red Alamut water swirls through, blocking the way, and forcing travellers to take the old western path over the cliff, where the ruins of a fortress hold the entrance. Another fortress, on another precipice at the eastern end, also held the valley. I think I was the first European to climb up to it, and found there shards of pottery, which Mr. Hobson, at the British Museum, recognized as being 13th century Persian glazes. This corroborates the Assassin history and the date of the destruction of these forts in 1256: the same pottery I found in quantities at Lambesar. But at the Rock of Alamut there were a lot of bits belonging to the 18th century, mixed up with the earlier stuff, and pointing to a later occupation: and it is known that this fortress was rebuilt and used as a prison in later times. It was taken by the Mongols on December 20, 1256; and this date marks the end of the Assassins' power, though they seized the castle rock again twenty years later and made an unsuccessful attempt to hold it. But the great wave of the Mongol invasions swallowed them, as it swallowed nearly everything else in the Near East for the time being.

The Mongols had a special grudge against the Assassins, and one of the chief pretexts for their march westward from the camp at Karakorum was the extermination of the sect. It is rather interesting to read that the Old Man sent embassies to Europe when the danger seemed to threaten the whole civilized world. Negotiations are mentioned between him and the Church of Rome, and ambassadors went to the Court of our King Henry III., where they were coldly received.

When they had lost Alamut, and when all their other fortresses, even the two last, Lambesar and Girdkuh, had surrendered, the remnants of the Assassins gradually migrated south-eastward; many of them, under the name of Khojas, are settled in Sind, and their recog-

nised head, whose succession is traced in an unbroken line from the Chiefs of Alamut, is H.H. the Agha Khan.

In 1866 an interesting case came before Sir J. Arnould in the High Court of Bombay, the report of which I was allowed to read in the India Office files. The Khojas of Bombay desired no longer to pay their customary tithe to the family of the Agha Khan, on the plea that they were now Sunni Moslems, and did not recognize his headship. The verdict was given against the Khojas and in favour of the Agha Khan, and the whole question of the descent from the Assassins of Alamut was very carefully gone into. It was found that the practise of the Sunni ritual had been conceded merely as a means of avoiding persecution.

The tithes had always been paid, from the times when the Indian Khojas had first been converted to the Ismaili sect by a missionary called Sadreddin, whose tomb is at Ootch in Bhawalpore. The money used to be sent to Persia in leather bags by special messengers, and later on by bills of exchange chiefly drawn upon and cashed at Muscat. It used to be sent to the descendant of the Alamut Sheikhs, an Imam who lived at a place called Mehelati, between Qum and Hamadan. One of these Imams, the Agha Khan in 1840, revolted from Persia and fled to Sind, and settled in Bombay. The report of the case goes on to say that the hereditary succession (from the lords of Alamut) was traced in an unbroken line down to the Agha Khan, and that his genealogy was still chanted three times a day as part of the Ismaili ritual. And the Khojas of India lost their case. They still have to continue to pay the ancient tax, first instituted by the Assassin chief in the valley of Alamut at the time of the Crusades. It is no doubt part of this revenue which helped H.H. the present Agha Khan to win the Derby.

THE ATTEMPT TO COLONIZE PALESTINE AND SYRIA IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

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BY my title I do not wish to suggest that colonization was the main motive of the Crusades; their original intention was to re-open the road to Jerusalem and the Holy Places for Western pilgrims, whose safety had been jeopardized by the Seljuq invasion of the lands of the Eastern Caliphate. Jerusalem became the issue in a trial of strength with an enemy who was thought to menace the religious liberty of Christendom, both east and west. As leaders of Christendom the Popes echoed St. Augustine's cry, "There is one Commonwealth of all Christian men"; and as Christians, the spiritual heirs of the Israelites, they claimed that the places hallowed by the life and death of our Lord were theirs "by divine inheritance." From beginning to end it was enthusiasm for the Holy Places that led to a prodigal expenditure of men and money on a narrow strip of territory that never proved an economic proposition, nor, as events showed, any great addition to the military security of Christendom. A more important line of defence and a better field of fortune was subsequently found in the partition of the Byzantine, or East Christian Empire. Yet in the Holy Land itself the actual result was colonization on lines that anticipated the settlement of more remote parts of the globe in later centuries by merchant venturers, landless aristocrats, or chartered companies. It was an early manifestation of the spirit of overseas adventure; as one of the chroniclers said, "they were striving after uncertainties in the place of certainties, and were leaving for nought the land of their birth, to seek with certain danger the uncertain land of promise, and while giving up their own possessions they were yearning after those of strangers." Incidentally, a number of Western barons did acquire fresh territory, ruling it on feudal lines for nearly a century; and during the following century the great Military Orders

did form a standing army, protecting the trading factories of the Italian merchant venturers. For two centuries European colonies existed in Palestine and Syria, recruited by a steady stream of immigrants from Europe and supported by repeated subsidies of European money. The attempt at colonization ended in failure, but it left its mark upon the country in its buildings and the other remains that excavation is now bringing to light. This material may serve to illustrate the more permanent aspect of the Crusades, the everyday life of the colonists in contact with the native population.

The Crusading occupation lasted for nearly two centuries, from 1099 to 1291. It reached its greatest extent within the first twenty-five years, covering rather less territory than the modern mandates in Palestine and Syria, but as four distinct feudal states:

(1) The kingdom of Jerusalem, corresponding to the present British mandate with the addition of most of the Grand Liban, but with only the southern end of Transjordan, from the Dead Sea down to Aqaba.

(2) The county of Tripoli, corresponding to the republic of the Alaouites under the French Mandate with the rest of the Grand Liban, but without the heart of the 'Ansariya Mountains, and as to-day without Damascus, Homs or Hama.

(3) The principality of Antioch, now the west corner of the inland State called Syrie, then without Aleppo, but with a protectorate over the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, centring in the territory in Cilicia which the French relinquished to Turkey just after the Great War.

(4) The county of Edessa, now almost altogether outside Syrie and part of the republic of Turkey.

These four states included the whole coast from Gaza to Alexandretta, with the exception of Ascalon, which held out until 1153. But geographically the three southern states included only three of the zones covered by the modern mandates—the coastal plain, the coastal range, and the central rift valley, but not the eastern barrier or edge of the desert beyond. Generally speaking, the central rift valley, the line of the Orontes and Jordan, formed the boundary.

The Latin kings of Jerusalem exercised a nominal suzerainty over the other three states, effective only under two energetic kings like the first two Baldwins. From a military point of view it was the least important; the three distant northern states bore the brunt of the struggle with a rising Moslem power which occupied the next fifty years. The conquest had been possible because the Crusaders could deal piecemeal with their enemies; but with the rise of Zanki of Mosul (1127-46)

they began to fight a losing battle. His capture of Edessa in 1144 was the first great disaster, the occasion of the Second Crusade. His son, Nūr ad-Dīn (1146-74), ruler of Aleppo and then of Damascus, eventually united Egypt with Syria and so had the Latin states as between the jaws of a vice. His successor, Saladin (1174-93), pressed them on all frontiers and finally inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Latin forces at Hattīn (between Nazareth and Tiberias) in 1187. By destroying their levies he completely swept away the feudal states created by the Latin conquests, except for one or two seaports. But the Military Orders remained. Following up the Third Crusade, the one in which Richard of England played a conspicuous part, fresh contingents of European chivalry took advantage of the Moslem disunion after Saladin's death to recover some more footholds on the coast. Henceforward it was the Knights who garrisoned all the Latin possessions, also consolidating such territory in the Syrian coastal range as had been saved from the general ruin. With Cyprus as a maritime base they maintained a precarious hold upon the coast for nearly another hundred years, until every castle and seaport was finally wrested from them by the Mameluke emirs of Egypt. When the last port, Acre, fell, Cyprus remained a Christian outpost, and the Hospitallers made Rhodes another maritime base. Throughout the merchant venturers of the Italian cities Pisa, Genoa, and Venice kept the seas and were "indispensable to the success of the Crusades." But their own interests came more and more in conflict with the Holy War. Early in the thirteenth century the Venetians diverted a great Crusade to seize Christian Constantinople for the sake of its trade. To them and to the Pisans and Genoese the remaining Christian possessions on the seacoast of Syria and Palestine were convenient trading stations in which they each had jealously guarded privileges. This rivalry at sea, with lack of co-operation between the Military Orders on land, made the remnant of the Latin kingdom an easy prey to the efficient and determined Mamelukes. But in all its vicissitudes, even the last absurdities and sacrifices of beleaguered Acre, the occupation was Europe in miniature planted on a distant frontier.

In the conquest and throughout the occupation it was the French who played the leading part as soldiers. It was to them as the heirs of Charlemagne, "a people chosen by God," that the Popes first appealed. Owing to his piety and their zeal for pilgrimage, they were formerly the only Western nation known to the East, and their name *al-Ifranj* meant the same thing as "European." Hence the first great migration

into Asia, known as the First Crusade, was largely French; Norman and Burgundian barons independently took possession of Antioch and Edessa; a Provençal lord created a county for himself in Tripoli, and Palestine became a feudal kingdom on the French model under a Burgundian house. The kings of Jerusalem ruled Palestine directly; the counts of Edessa and Tripoli acknowledged their suzerainty, but the princes of Antioch were sovereign and independent. The settlement of these four states resembled the contemporary Norman Conquest of England. Five or six hundred foreign knights, with their men-at-arms, imposed themselves upon the native population, displacing its former rulers. They consolidated their position by building castles, utilizing local labour and local methods in their construction, and so grafting new devices upon the principles of fortification they had already evolved at home. Usually they erected a simple keep to dominate a town or village—*e.g.*, the donjon of Safīta in the county of Tripoli, a strong tower of two stories, surrounded by a *chemise*, or rock scarp faced with masonry, entered at a gate tower. Sometimes they fortified a remote crag in the mountains, often enlarging an older fortress—*e.g.*, the great castle of Sahyūn north of Safīta, which is built round a Byzantine frontier fortress of the eleventh century. It was built on the tip of a mountain spur, cut off from higher ground by a deep rock-hewn fosse. The keep faced this, being part of the outer wall, which included several baileys end on end. Neither of these castles were much altered or added to after they fell into Moslem hands at the time of Saladin, and may therefore be taken as typical seigneurial castles of the twelfth century. As might be expected, the castles built by the enemy were generally similar in construction—*e.g.*, the one at 'Ajlūn in Transjordan, built by one of Saladin's officers as an outpost in the wild no man's land between Damascus and the Crusading fief of Kerak east of the Dead Sea. But in plan it is rather more elaborate than a Latin seigneurial castle of the period; ignoring an additional tower of the thirteenth century, it had an inner ward on the plan of a late Roman *castellum*, with towers at the corners of a square, on two sides of which baileys were added, similarly enclosed, the whole surrounded by a rock-cut fosse. It has the typical Oriental features which were early adopted by the Crusaders—long vaulted galleries in the baileys, dog-legged entrance corridors, and also the machicolations and pierced battlements that appear in Crusader castles towards the end of the twelfth century. Together with Saladin's citadel at Cairo, it goes to show that the natives of the country took their share in developing the

common Roman tradition, and may possibly have taught the invaders a good deal that was embodied in the great castles of the Military Orders in the thirteenth century.

Residing in these castles, the Western barons lived on their serfs, hunted and fought as they did at home, except that the obligations of military service were more insistent. Their life had a great deal in common with the life of their rivals, who were as often Turks, Kurds, or Circassians as descendants of the older Arab aristocracy. One of them, 'Usāma ibn Munqidh, lord of Shaizar on the Orontes, has left a precious book of memoirs which makes it clear that the constant raiding and skirmishing which long made up the Holy War was regarded as a very exciting form of sport; that horsemanship and skill at arms won mutual respect; that honourable captives practised falconry or played polo with their captors. But although they had such interests in common with the native inhabitants, the Frankish aristocracy did not generally adapt themselves to the customs of the country. Details they did adopt, such as the Arab *ḳafiya*, or head-shawl, which was often embodied in heraldic crests, but it is significant that they rarely grew their beards. 'Usāma knew one veteran of the first generation who entertained him with perfect food, prepared by Egyptian women cooks, uncontaminated with pig. "Among the Franks," he adds, "there are those who have become acclimatized by long association with Moslems; they are much better than fresh immigrants from Frankish countries, but they constitute the exception and cannot be treated as a general rule." (Edited and translated by Philip K. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades*, New York, 1929, p. 169.) One thing is clear, that the established aristocracy resented raw and hearty newcomers, disagreed with them over policy, and were usually overruled, to the disadvantage of the kingdom.

On the ecclesiastical side, the barons of the Holy Land were no less zealous than the Norman conquerors of England in building churches and founding monasteries. But, as in England, they thought it necessary to sweep away the existing hierarchy and reorganize ecclesiastical administration. Owing to the schism of the eleventh century between Rome and Constantinople, the Latins regarded the Greeks as heretics and strove to unite them with Rome, with success in the case of the Maronites of the Lebanon; but, impatient with the Eastern emperors for their double-dealing, they despised the majority of their religious subjects as feckless and idle lookers-on. Deprived of its leaders, the Greek Church seems to have recovered its true life in the ancient

monasteries of the Judean wilderness—*e.g.*, at St. Euthymius, a monastery of the fifth century, which underwent a revival in the twelfth century, to judge by its architecture and frescoes. Elsewhere nearly every cathedral and parish church was rebuilt under Western auspices. First and foremost, there was the Holy Sepulchre itself, still unique in plan, but remodelled in contemporary Provençal or Italian style. The more usual plan was of three aisles, each terminating in an apse, often with a Byzantine-looking dome over the sanctuary—*e.g.*, St. Anne in Jerusalem. The castle chapels usually consisted of a nave only, with a half-dome over the apse. These churches and chapels continually recall Italian or French work of the twelfth century. Perhaps the finest still standing is the cathedral of Our Lady of Tortosa on the Syrian coast in the county of Tripoli. It had a shrine, which may have made it outstanding. One church they fortunately did not rebuild—Constantine's basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem. But they redecorated it in collaboration with the Byzantine emperor, Manuel Comnenus. A series of wall mosaics covering the established subjects of Byzantine iconography also included panels commemorating the councils and synods recognized by both Rome and Constantinople; on the pillars of the nave are frescoes of great Eastern and Western saints, such as St. George and King Canute, St. Anthony of Egypt and St. Leonard of France, on opposite sides; the inscriptions were in both Greek and Latin. The work marked a significant though short-lived attempt at reconciliation between the two great Churches of Christendom.

In reproducing the conditions of a feudal kingdom without an established dynasty, the Latin states suffered from lack of central control even more than the kingdoms of contemporary Europe did. And although a dynasty was founded, frequent minorities and disputed successions aggravated the weakness. In all the High Court or Council of Barons ruled the kingdom for sixty odd years out of the 191 years of its existence, increasing its powers at every interregnum, the more in fact as the area over which the king had jurisdiction diminished. From a military point of view it was the standing weakness of the kingdom. Offsetting it, however, there was the supreme authority of the Popes, who were able to exercise distant control over the situation, partly through the loyalty of new crusaders, but still more through an invention of capital importance, the Military Orders. The two principal ones, the Hospitallers and Templars, were both founded towards the end of the period of conquest, and both were composed of monks who

owed obedience first and foremost to the Papacy. Thus, almost from the beginning there existed two military forces outside the feudal constitution, forces which took an increasing share in the defence of the kingdom, because they were more permanent and better disciplined than the feudal levy. They were founded with the same aim—the safeguarding of the Holy Sepulchre and the passage of pilgrims to and fro, but to begin with at least their duties were complementary—the Templars' police, the Hospitallers' relief. The Templars kept a chain of police posts on the main roads; the Hospitallers had pilgrim hospices similar to the establishment of the Russian Palestine Society in pre-war days or the Franciscan *case novi* of to-day. The Templars were knights who swore to defend the Christian faith by force of arms against all heathen: " Even in the presence of three enemies I will not flee, but hold them if they are also heathen." The Hospitallers stressed " the duties owing to our lords the sick," but were also bound to defend the faith by force of arms. Both Orders lived under a monastic rule of utter simplicity, but both received increasing endowments of land " both this side and beyond the seas." Originally both had their headquarters in Jerusalem—the Hospital of St. John opposite the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the so-called Temple of Solomon, an adapted mosque, in the Noble Sanctuary opposite the Dome of the Rock. Their more important branches, or commanderies, were in the seaports. But with the growth of privileges and property their military organization increased. They took over the defence of the frontiers—*e.g.*, the castles of Belvoir, near Baisan, Banyas, on Mount Hermon, and Belfort, in the Lebanon—and at the time of the great disaster in 1187 they together held all but three of the inland castles in the hill country of Palestine that were then lost. Had their Masters had their way, they might have saved the loss of Jerusalem. As it was, they prolonged the Christian occupation of the coast for fully a century afterwards. At the seaports and in the county of Tripoli they now concentrated their immense resources, building fortresses second to none of the age in Europe. Their riches and envy shocked Christendom no less than their fanaticism and ruthlessness appalled Islam. But, it has been truly said, even if they forgot to live in the service of Christ, they were always ready to die for it.

At Acre the palace of the Master of the Hospital and the church of St. John stood down to the seventeenth century at least, giving its name to the port, St. Jean d'Acre. Now only part of the *souterrain* of the conventual buildings remains, apparently early thirteenth-century work.

At Tartūs, north of Tripoli, a good deal of the Templar fortress of the late twelfth or thirteenth century survives, especially the outer *enceinte*, a wall with salient towers and *chemins-de-ronde*, or corridors, opening on to arrow-slits at four successive levels. At Marqab and Quala'at al-Husn in the 'Ansariya Mountains, north of the Lebanon, the Hospitallers enlarged two seigneurial castles of the twelfth century like Sāhyūn. Marqab kept its original plan—a keep at one end of a great *enceinte*, to which an outer wall was added. Qala'at al-Husn, better known as Krak of the Knights, became an ideal concentric castle, with an inner and outer ward separated by a moat; the walls were completely defended with salients and machicolations, most heavily opposite the fosse, which cuts it off from the high ground of a precipitous spur. But at 'Athlīt, on the coast opposite the south end of Mount Carmel, the Templars built an entirely new castle, lavishing their revenues upon it throughout the thirteenth century. It was placed on a promontory, protecting a settlement which occupied the adjacent beaches. On the landward side it was defended by a fosse and bailey stretching right across the neck of the promontory. The bailey wall covered the fosse from a line of large embrasures serving arrow-slits high up in the wall, and was itself flanked by three projecting towers which were also elaborate gateways. At this end the upper, or inner, ward on top of the promontory was flanked by two great towers, which were eventually raised to command the whole castle, the settlement outside, and the plain beyond. Long undercrofts supported the other three sides of the upper ward, and baileys surrounded it at about sea-level on two sides. The one at the western, or seaward, end was eventually filled with conventual buildings, perhaps mess-rooms, planned on a magnificent scale, and vaulted level with the ground floor of the upper ward. At the south-west corner of the upper ward stood a circular oratory of unusual plan. Most Templar churches were eight-sided, to resemble the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the so-called Temple of Solomon, at the headquarters of the Order; the one at Pilgrims' Castle was ten-sided, with three adjacent apsidal chapels of six sides each. So it is described by a traveller who saw it in the eighteenth century when it still stood "a fine lofty church . . . in a light Gothic taste." (Richard Pococke, *Description of the East*, London, 1745.) Its style was no doubt similar to the top floor of the northern of the twin great towers. In the course of excavations conducted by the Department of Antiquities in the town outside, a little church of similar style has been discovered, as well as extensive stables and houses, from which

contemporary pottery and other objects are being recovered. Some of the pottery has typical blazons, Crusader and Eastern; in general it is local in style and manufacture, perhaps Cypriote, but there is some of finer quality which appears to be of more remote origin, perhaps imported by the Italian merchants.

In contrast to the Northern nations, who were prodigal and gluttonous in living, foolhardy and generous to a fault, one of the chroniclers describes his own people, the Italians, as "grave and more discreet, prudent and wary, frugal in eating, sober in eating. They make long and polished speeches, are wise in their counsels, zealous and eager to further the interests of their own states, grasping and provident for the future," but most necessary for the success of the Crusades. (Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem*, translated by Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. xi., p. 57.) To the merchant venturers of Pisa, Genoa, Venice, Norman Sicily, and also Marseilles, the Crusades were simply a continuation of the counter-attack on Moslem sea-power which they had already carried on for a century against North Africa. In the early days of the First Crusade they crowned the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem with success by bringing up supplies at the critical moment. and they played a decisive part in the capture of every seaport. In return they were separately granted immunities and privileges to trade, corresponding to the modern Capitulations, and, as in an International Reservation in China to-day, they each had their own quarter, church, and consulate. This may be illustrated by comparing the plans of Jerusalem and Acre. In Jerusalem the nations were represented chiefly by ecclesiastical institutions, alongside of the international Military Orders and the royal court; in the later capital, Acre, there were all those and the reservations of the Italian cities besides. They had dealings with the native Christian population who clustered to the towns as merchants, wove cloth, made glass and pottery, and carried on the trades necessary to an army. Like the Western bourgeoisie, the native tradesmen had a definite status and their own courts conducted in Arabic under a *ra'īs*. They commonly intermarried, their offspring being the disreputable *pullani*, who were accused of dressing like women and veiling their wives, of intriguing with the enemy, and defrauding pilgrims. But the complaint was perhaps exaggerated; without making common cause with the native Christian population, it is doubtful whether the Westerners could have maintained a united front so long as they did. Through close contact with people of an

older civilization who had grown accustomed to defend themselves against hostile rulers by other weapons than those of war, they adopted a realistic point of view. So long as the occupation lasted the native bourgeoisie can only have benefited by the increased consumption of goods of all kinds, as well as by their new market in Europe for precious Oriental commodities such as spices, silks, fine pottery, and the rest; while the Italians, as well as the royal revenue, also benefited from a steady growth in the carrying trade backwards and forwards between Europe and Palestine. Pottery, painted and glazed like that found recently at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Athlīt, has been found in Italy, but it must originally have come from Cyprus, Asia Minor, or somewhere in the Byzantine waters. The commoner *graffiato* red-body ware was local or from Cyprus, but the finer, painted, white-body ware was from further north; a lively drawing of a belling stag on one plate suggests that it cannot have been made south of the Taurus. Another plate gives a picture of the sort of ship they came in; it is like a very large gondola, lateen-rigged. That the Christian merchants did not boycott their Moslem neighbours is clearly shown by coins bearing the usual Moslem superscription in Arabic; they scandalized the Church, which eventually had it substituted by a Christian superscription, though still in Arabic. These coins, called *sarrazinas*, were minted at Acre just after the turn of the thirteenth century, with a legend which reads: "The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; we glory in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Messiah, in whom we have our safe-keeping, our life and resurrection and by whom we have been redeemed and pardoned." Nevertheless, to the Venetians and Genoese the Holy War came more and more to interfere with trade. Towards the end of the century they were actually supplying the Moslems of Egypt with indispensable contraband of war, such as iron, wood, horses, and the slaves who became the redoubtable Mamelukes. At the same time they followed up the explorations of missionaries in Central Asia to open up new fields of commercial enterprise.

The Crusades did not achieve their original object; they did not permanently improve the position either of the Western pilgrims visiting Palestine or of the Eastern Christians living in the country. Isolated in a Moslem community, they had to face a new spirit of antagonism such as had scarcely existed in the days before the Crusades. To them the Crusaders were never very welcome allies, and their memory is not a glorious one. One chronicler thought that Richard was hardly less of an evil than Saladin; if the Moslems were dogs, the

Crusaders were wolves. Another could imagine no people in the whole of God's world more brutal than the Germans of the Second Crusade. Not that the French were more popular; during the First Crusade the subjects of the Eastern emperor experienced what the Princess Anna described as " the savage fury of their attack, their fickleness of mind, and their readiness to approach anything with violence. . . . They were known to be immoderately covetous of anything they sought after, and to break very easily for any reason any treaties they had made" (quoted by A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade, the Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Participants*, Princeton, 1921, p. 70). This impression is corroborated by 'Usāma, the lord of Shaizar, who found the newcomers especially raw and rude; he relates how some Templars once apologized to him for a newcomer who rough-handled him while he was praying in a mosque: " I went out, and ever since I have been astonished at the conduct of that devil of a man, at the change of colour in his face, his trembling and emotion at the sight of someone praying towards the *qibla* " (*op. cit.*, p. 163). The Crusaders impressed the inhabitants no less by their grossness in living; an English chronicler says how the English astonished the country people by the amount of meat and neat wine they could consume, adding that their appetite was hardly less nauseating to the French; " but for all this, they kept up the memorable English custom and with due devotion they drained their goblets dry, even though the trumpets were sounding to horse and the drums beating " (Richard of Devizes, translated by T. A. Archer, *The Crusade of Richard I.*, London, 1912, p. 317). 'Usāma was shocked at the barbarity of Western surgery, though he had to admit that their drastic remedies often succeeded. He was puzzled, too, by the freedom of their women, and in his view their men lacked a proper sense of decency, or, as he put it, a sense of jealousy, towards their wives. He was disgusted, too, by the barbarity of ordeal by battle as a means of settling disputes, when a burly blacksmith, for instance, could beat his plaintiff to death: " Mysterious are the works of the Creator, the author of all things! When one comes to recount cases concerning the Franks, one cannot but glorify God (exalted is He!) and bless Him, for one sees them as animals possessing the virtues of courage in war but nothing else, just as animals have only the quality of strength to carry loads " (*op. cit.*, p. 161). His anecdotes show that he did appreciate their fighting qualities, anecdotes which fully corroborate the Crusaders' own accounts. The story of Richard's victory at Arsūf, told by an anonymous English chronicler, is typical.

The army was marching down the coastal plain from Acre to Jaffa in co-operation with the fleet. The Hospitallers had been acting as rearguard through a long and sweltering day, with the enemy cavalry constantly charging at their backs. Hard pressed, they appealed to St. George for aid and to the king for leave to counter-attack. The king refused, but before the Master returned with the news discipline had been strained to breaking-point and a loose charge had begun which Richard was obliged to follow up. "Then Richard, fierce and alone, pressed on the Turks, laying them low . . . wherever he went he made a wide path for himself, brandishing his sword on every side . . . mowing them down as if they were harvest for the sickle." The Turks took advantage of the resulting confusion to attack again, but "at last our men, recovering their courage, fierce as a lioness robbed of her whelps, rushed upon them again, forcing a way through them as if they were merely tearing through meshes. . . ." (*Itinerarium Ricardi*, translated by T. A. Archer, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 *ff.*). They had the heroic qualities as well as the faults of Homer's "fierce, ill-disciplined Achæans" . . . who "strayed after booty over the misty face of the ocean wheresoever Achilles led" (*Odyssey*, T. E. Shaw's translation).

Mr. Martin Briggs: The excavations on which Mr. Johns has been engaged have thrown further light on a field filled with the greatest interest. The period is full of life and colour and much has yet to be done; there is a great future for critical survey. From the architectural point of view, both Crusader and Saracen castles seem to have had a great deal of money and labour spent on them. The masonry is elaborate, and the stone face is often carefully finished. Mr. Johns did not speak of the great influence which Saracen military architecture had on Europe at that period. The machicoulis (the gutters from which boiling oil and water could be poured on the attacking parties) were first built by the Saracens and copied later in Europe; and so also was the crooked entrance and other features. Heraldry also had some of its origins in Moslem countries.

Sir Percy Sykes said he agreed with Mr. Briggs that heraldry in Europe had come from the East. In proof of this, Anna Comnena, the historian of the period, mentions expressly that Cœur de Lion and his Knights appeared on the scene *with plain shields.* It was from the Saracens that they learned to have heraldic devices.

It was interesting to note that it was the customs levied on the

spice trade which really provided the Egyptian Mameluks with the sinews of war which enabled them to drive the Franks out of the country. The Moslems held the monopoly of this trade, and the Europeans had to pay very heavily for their spices, so heavily that Europe was bled white by the traffic. The whole period is intensely interesting, and the Society hope to hear more from Mr. Johns when he is next home, and wish him all success in his excavations.

FLIGHTS OVER EVEREST*

MR. BLACKER started his lecture by agreeing with Lord Lloyd that Lady Houston had done all that was possible to make the expedition a success; it was entirely due to her that British aviation had gained not only the coveted Schneider Cup, but this last trophy. There had been many months of intensive preparation, when the best brains in England worked on the many problems which had to be solved in flying not only at such great heights but in such extremes of temperature.

He showed pictures of the Houston Westland and of the great engines, three of which were in each plane. The great camera was next on the screen; this camera opened a new era in survey work—it was fastened vertically to the floor of the aeroplane, it could be set with an automatic shutter, and not only did its own work but showed a small red light in front of the pilot as a signal to him to hold the machine as level and still as possible while the film was exposed. The films changed automatically as they were needed, and each exposure made a photograph of the ground for 36 square miles, making a complete survey map with an accuracy and speed which was quite impossible to an ordinary ground survey party. Not only were there two hand cameras besides, but there were cinematograph cameras, and all of these were controlled by the observer. For all these also heat was needed

* Notes on the first Young People's Lecture, given to the Society on January 3, 1934, by Mr. Stewart Blacker, at the Royal Society's Hall, the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, when he introduced the lecturer, said that Mr. Blacker was no novice, for he had taken his Pilot's Certificate in 1911; he was then in the Corps of Guides. After much hard fighting in France, Mr. Blacker, then seconded to the Flying Corps, was shot down, and was picked up with a broken back. He was very fortunate, for not only did he recover and live to be the only man with a broken back who has flown over Everest, but he was sent out almost immediately on a Mission to Central Asia, the story of which he has told in his book, *On Secret Patrol in High Asia.* He was the only man of his junior rank to be given an independent command in the war.

Before he asked Mr. Blacker to give the account of this last expedition, the Chairman said that perhaps people hardly realized what an immense debt British aviation owed to the generosity and public-spiritedness of Lady Houston, for it was entirely through her that it had been possible for this small body of men to have succeeded not only in flying the highest mountain in the world, but in getting much valuable scientific data. He then asked Mr. Blacker to commence.

or the films and plates would have cracked in the great cold of the upper air, and the flyers' clothing had to be warmed also or they would have frozen, so a picture was shown of the intricate leads by which not only the cameras and all parts of their clothing but their gloves and their goggles were heated. The goggles were especially ingenious; made of two thin slivers of triplex glass with the finest of filaments between, through which the current was passed. There was also the oxygen, an item not to be forgotten, for they found that without special supplies both their brains and their muscles refused to work. It had to be very carefully regulated, too much was almost as bad as too little, so the pilot had an instrument which allowed the suitable amount at each altitude. Before a parachute jump—which the younger generation call a brolly-hop—a great mouthful of oxygen had to be taken. Of course, the oxygen, too, had to be heated, and when all the connecting tubes and leads were plugged in, with the wires and telephones, it was exceedingly difficult to mount into the cockpit safely. A picture of the disc in the cockpit showed all the pilot had to remember and control when he was flying.

When after all these months of hard work and strenuous tests the time came for the expedition to start, and permission had been obtained from the Nepalese Government for a flight, the aeroplanes were packed into the holds of a P. & O. and the members of the expedition, the greater number of them, flew out in the comfortable liners of Imperial Airways. On arrival at Karachi, the planes were unpacked and thoroughly tested by the remarkably efficient personnel of Imperial Airways, who found them perfect in every detail. The vertical camera was found to be far ahead of anything yet made for survey purposes. Having done all that was possible to ensure against any breakdown, the machines, now flown by the members of the expedition, started off across India to their base at Purnea; this they reached in three stages, and were inspected by His Excellency Lord Willingdon *en route*.

Purnea is about fifty miles from the borders of Nepal, and Everest lies a hundred miles within Nepal and forms part of the boundary between Nepal and Tibet. Both to Tibetans and Nepalese it is a sacred mountain, the dwelling of the gods. The Tibetan Government had refused permission to fly over their land, as they thought it would offend and disturb the Guardians of the Hills, who, said Mr. Blacker, were evidently not air-minded gods. The Nepalese gods and goddesses were kindly and were air-minded and entirely favourable, for

had not the Lord Krishna himself flown to heaven in the chariot? Therefore it was from the Nepalese side that the attack on Everest must be made.

The weather reports which came to them daily from the Indian meteorological station at Calcutta proved very accurate, but the weather seemed to run in ten-day cycles, and at first they could not secure favourable conditions. After they had waited for a fortnight their first chance came, and on April 3 they decided to make the attempt. Unfortunately ground conditions changed as they climbed and a great dust haze of unusual height covered the Nepalese tableland and valleys and even the foothills. To the flyers it was a wonderful and unforgettable sight, the great carpet of purple haze shutting them off from the earth and the great peaks gleaming with an unearthly whiteness as they drew nearer. They flew over the foothills and the ground rose above the dust cloud as they came on towards their objective. They headed for Makalu, the second highest peak in the world, and as they flew over it they obtained a wonderful series of photographs of the great glaciers; they reached the south peak of Everest, sometimes called Lhotse, and drew near the summit of the mountain; the great wind eddies sucked them down, but the pilot managed to lift the machine and they flew over the summit; the pilot swung the plane and they circled round and flew through the plume, the small ice particles rattling on the floor of the plane. This plume, which Everest, the highest peak in the world, always flies, and which makes this mountain unmistakable in all the welter of great hills, has hitherto been supposed to be cloud, but they found it to be composed of small particles of frozen snow and ice sucked up over the bare rock by some great eddy and blown over from the summit. For fifteen minutes the pilot circled round the summit. They had some magnificent photographs and the film cameras too had been at work, they had done all they could, and, as the petrol supply was running short, they made for the base, which they reached safely.

The next day a successful flight was made over Kinchinjunga. The Everest flyers realized that one of the objectives had been accomplished, but the survey which they had hoped to make had been made impossible by reason of the haze. So, without delay, Colonel Etherton set off for Katmandu to ask permission for a second flight. There is a curious boundary line between Nepal and British India, a wide ravine with precipitous sides. Motors have to be dismantled and carried over by porters, but the King found that his elephants had great

difficulty in scrambling down the steep slope and so had a toboggan slide made down which they slip easily enough.

The Nepalese Government granted the necessary permission for the second flight, and the members of the expedition realized that they must make it as soon as possible, as the Meteorological Office warned them of the approach of storms, and it was this early breaking of the monsoon which spoiled the climbers' chances of success. Therefore on April 19 they set off again, although the wind was too high for safety and Everest's plume was six miles long. This time they steered north for about a hundred miles, flying low, and then, climbing, came down on Everest with the wind behind them. This meant a great saving of petrol and also enabled them to get a superb series of photographs of that great range of hills of which nothing was known. Once again they flew over Everest, avoiding the eddy on the windward side of the south peak; once again they were successful with their cameras and cinematograph apparatus, now over Everest, now over Makalu and the south-east ranges, and then the pilot turned for home and made the survey complete as they flew over the Arun gorge. They had amongst other finds discovered that there was a large patch of unfrozen water high up on the summit, water which makes it certain that there must be a hot spring. The survey and the cinematograph, as well as the wonderful series of photographs, were entirely successful.

Mr. Blacker closed his lecture here. It had been an enthralling account of a great feat accomplished with much courage and determination. Lord Lloyd and the large audience thanked the lecturer most warmly and congratulated him on his successful flights. No better lecture for young or old people could have been given, and they would look forward to the release of the films.

THE NON-PATHAN TRIBES OF THE VALLEY OF THE HINDU-KUSH

To the north of the country inhabited by the Pathans or Afghans in the valleys of the Hindu-Kush mountains live a number of communities speaking different dialects, and having different customs, who are sometimes described under the collective name of Dard; but the word is not known to the inhabitants themselves except in one or two villages of the Indus valley.

To describe these different people, the best way to my mind is to take one by one the valleys of the rivers, in the upper confines of which they live.

The rivers are as follows:

1. Kunar river.
2. Panjkora river.
3. Swat river.
4. Indus river.

1. The Non-Pathan Tribes of Kunar River.

To the east of the Persian-speaking Tajiks of the Pajsher valley begins the country which used to be called Kafiristan, on account of the inhabitants not being Musalman; and is now termed Nuristan by the Afghan Government, as the people have been converted to Islam. (Nuristan means the country of light.)

The Nuristanis, as they are now called, inhabit three main valleys:

(*a*) The Ramgal valley, which drains into the Kabul river, is the largest of the three.

(*b*) In the Pech valley, which drains into the Kunar river near Chaghan Sarai, there are three sub-valleys inhabited by these people—

(i.) Kitwai, which speaks the same language as Ramgal.

(ii.) Parun, which has its own dialect and was the religious centre of all Kafiristan before it was converted by the Afghans. A road from this valley over the Hindu-Kush leads into the Munjan valley of Badakhshan.

(iii.) Vaigal, which has a separate dialect, and whose people, it is said, are still not very good Musalmans, forms a distinct community of her own.

(*c*) The Bashgol valley, which drains into the Chitral river, used to be tributary to Chitral, but was occupied and converted by Afghans in 1896. This valley has also the same dialect as the Ramgal. Kamdesh, the lower part of the valley, and Kantuz, the upper part, speak the same dialect with a little variation of accent.

In the main valley of Kunar the Pisacha-speaking tribes are mixed with the Pathans and the Persian-speaking communities of Degans. The principality of Asmar used to form the northern limit of Pathan penetration. Above Asmar was Chitral, the largest of the non-Pathan States.

In the year 1895, about 20 miles of Chitrali territory on both sides of the main river, comprising the four big non-Pathan villages of Narsat and Sao on the left bank and Birkot and Bargam on the right bank, were handed over to Afghanistan to give Afghans free access into the Bashgol valley.

These people of the Bashgol and the four villages in the main valley have given ample proof of their attachment to Chitral in 1919 and 1929.

2. The Non-Pathan Tribes of the Panjkora Valley.

This valley was cleared of its original occupants by the Yusafzai Pathans between four or five hundred years ago. To the extreme north of it in the territory called the Dir-Kohistan live a non-Pathan community who speak a dialect of their own. The Dir people called them Kohistanis, but Chitralis call their country Bashkar, and the language Bashkarik War. They, from very old times, were a republican community owing a nominal allegiance to the Drosh District of Chitral and paid a tribute of sixty sheep and ghee.

Umra Khan of Jandol occupied the valley in 1893, and since then it has been administered from Dir. All the deodar forests of Dir are in this area.

3. The Non-Pathan Tribes of Swat Valley.

Above Churlai in Upper Swat the tract of land which is called Swat Kohistan is situated. Two distinct communities live in this area speaking two different dialects.

The lower portion is called Torwal and the people are called Torwalis. This country, which was a republican community till very lately, is now under the sway of the Mian Gul Wali of Swat.

The upper part, which is better known by the name of Kalam,

is still independent. In Kalam people speak the same language as in Dir-Kohistan. It is also called Bashkar by the Chitralis. There is a considerable Chitrali Colony in the Ushu valley of Kalam.

Kalam, from very old times, had intimate relations with the Mastuj District of Chitral, and they still pay a tribute of ponies to His Highness the Mehtar of Chitral.

4. The Non-Pathan Tribes of the Indus Valley.

Above the Pathan country of Alai, on the left bank and about eight miles above the confluence of Kana-Ghorband stream and Indus, begins the country which is called the Indus-Kohistan. For the sake of convenience, I describe firstly the right bank and then the left bank of the Indus and the communities inhabiting those countries.

Going up the Indus on its right bank above the mouth of the Kana-Ghorband stream, after passing a few scattered non-Pathan villages which lie beyond the boundaries of the newly-formed Pathan State of Swat, we reach the valley of Dubair. From the upper parts of this valley a road leads into Swat-Kohistan and another road into Kandhia, which is to the east of it. After Dubair on the right bank comes Puttan, then Seo, and after that the extensive valley of Kandhia, which is also called Kheli by the Chitral and Yassin people.

All these villages on the right bank of Indus to Kandhia speak one dialect, and are republican communities. A Chitrali army invaded Kandhia in the year 1885.

To the east of Kandhia is Tangir valley, which drains itself into Indus. The region between the mouth of the Kandhia and the Tangir rivers is rocky, and it is difficult to make a road. Tangir was a dependency of Yassin, and the Khushwaqt family still look upon it as their heritage. This valley is under the political control of the Gilgit Agency. Darel valley comes the next, and it used to be a subordinate ally of the Rajas of Punyal in Gilgit Agency. Above Darel two small valleys which have no great political significance bring us to the Gilgit valley proper. All the communities above the mouth of Kandhia river speak Shina, and their country is called Shinaki. This word has come to mean a Lawless Land.

On the left bank of Indus, above the limits of Alai, are the Koli and Palos territories of the non-Pathans. In the Koli area four different dialects are spoken, which show that originally refugees from four different areas came and settled there, and by leading a secluded

life each community has preserved its dialect intact. The valley of Palos, from which a very easy pass leads into Alai, is a Shina-speaking country. The main village of Palos is just opposite Puttan on the right bank. The people of Palos are jealous of the Koli tribes. Palos has the larger arable land and Koli the larger population.

Above the Palos area comes Sazin with its appendage of Shatiyal valley. Harband area comes after this, and then Chilas, where an Assistant Political Agent resides. The language spoken in all these territories in Shina, which forms a lingua franca of the Indus valley and Gilgit. The people of Gilgit Agency are too well known to need any description, so I think only a short mention of them will suffice. The right bank of the Indus from the place where the Gilgit river joins the Indus, up to Shirot and Shikayot, is under the direct control of the Kashmir Durbar. Above is the State of Punyal, which is ruled over by the Burush branch of the Khushwaqt family. Beyond the Kuh and Ghizar valley, which runs to the boundary of Chitral, forms a separate State. The valleys of Ishkoman and Yasin are also separate principalities. Ghizar, Yasin, and Ishkoman formed a part of Chitral under Amanulmulk, Afzulmulk, and Nizam-ul-mulk, but were incorporated in Gilgit Agency in the year 1895, and are ruled over by Governors appointed by the Political Agent at Gilgit and approved by the Kashmir Durbar. It was when Chitral had the possession of these valleys that she exerted her influence over Tangir, Kandhia and, to some extent, in the Indus valley.

The present Governors of Punyal, Ishkoman, Ghizar, and Yasin belong to the same family as His Highness the Mehtar of Chitral.

The States of Hunza and Nagar, which are situated in one valley, speak the same dialect, called Burushaski. The Nagar people are Shias and the Hunza people are the followers of the Agha Khan. The rulers of these two States have a common descent.

I do not think there is any need to describe the left bank of the Indus above Chilas, as the Astor valley is too well known to travellers. Above the Gilgit valley, in the valley of Indus, lies Baltistan, which is now under Kashmir, but has a very interesting history of her own.

I have also not mentioned the communities to the north of the Hindu-Kush Range, who are somewhat akin to these tribes, having their own dialects and history.

THE SALVATION OF NAROPA

THE name of Naropa, the teacher of Milarepa, the hero-saint of Tibet, will not be unfamiliar to students of the literature of that country. Several books have appeared recently describing the life and exploits of Milarepa, but these works do not give a detailed study of the strange system of thought that underlies the religious life of the peoples of Central Asia. Even the scholarly articles on Tibetan Buddhism that are hidden away in encyclopædias do not clearly define the differences existing between the older form of the teaching of Buddha, the system of the Hinayana, which, generally speaking, survives in Burma, Siam, and Ceylon, and the later manifestation, the Mahayana, of which Lamaism, as the Buddhism of Tibet is called, is a part. Lamaism is not merely a transplanted form of the Mahayana that has absorbed many of the practices of a local Shamanism and has often extended *ad absurdum* a philosophic nihilism imported from India,—Lamaism is, in a sense, a logical completion of the Mahayana system itself. Scholars agree that this system contains few elements of the original doctrine, and they enumerate many foreign influences that have greatly expanded the simpler and more egocentric ideas of the Hinayana.

One peculiar foreign importation, however, is scarcely ever mentioned, as very little is known about it, because its teachings are cleverly concealed under a mass of pseudo-philosophy extremely difficult to understand. This is the Tantra, a cult that promises salvation to those who are able to control, by means of discipline and meditation, the male and female forces of the universe, and use them for their own purposes. The origins of the Tantra are obscure, but it was introduced into Northern India, where it played a most important part in the formation of the Mahayana system, and, according to Professor Grünwedel, who has made a study of Tantrism his life-work, it influenced every phase of the Mahayana, the idealistic aspect, the Yogaçara school, as well as the more esoteric expression, which is known as Dhyani Buddhism. But in Tibet the Tantra and Mahayana Buddhism are one and the same thing; in fact, Lamaism can almost be said to be the purest form of Tantric Buddhism, for here even the incarnation of a Boddhisatva is based entirely on Tantric experience.

In Tibet, Tantrism has achieved its greatest significance; the devotees of the cult have erected a hierarchy that is impressive in its extent. The programme of the teaching includes the deliverance of the whole world, but not by persuasion, as was enjoined by the Buddha, but by means of a convergence of magical forces upon the different peoples of this planet.

It is not enough to describe Tantrism as the knowledge of the interaction of the male and female forces of the universe. Certain exercises, to use modern terminology, produce an abnormal psychic condition in the individual, who is further stimulated by a pathological mastery over the emotions, and the final consequence is a state of mind that might be termed negative idealism : this world is treated with contempt, so it follows that this world itself is an illusion and is to be despised, and therefore all its creatures are to be given salvation,—*i.e.*, by Tantric methods. Very soon a state of complete nihilism is reached, and this can only be overcome by an intense psychic discipline, in other words by magic, which means the changing of the polarity of the forces of sex, obtained by a mysterious control over the self. All this was taught by the Tantra, secretly at first, but later more openly, so that the university of Nalanda finally became a unique institution of learning, for here philosophy and religion were explained on the basis of psychic experience : the sutras were actually " lived," not simply memorized and then interpreted intellectually.

The question arises as to how Tantrism obtained such a hold over Mahayana Buddhism. No doubt, the trend of Indian philosophical speculation facilitated the process. When the great crisis in Indian idealism arose and the Yogaçara school found itself, as a result of its merciless logic, in an impasse of abject nihilism, the Tantra taught a way out, and nihilism was overcome by the severe psychic discipline just mentioned, which rewarded the individual with the creation of a newly experienced world. But there were many Buddhists who rejected the Tantra as un-Indian and believed it to be a pernicious doctrine that not only did not bring salvation, but that destroyed the soul as no other teaching had ever done. As later Buddhism became more and more Tantric, it gradually ceased to obtain the support of the people at large as well as of many of the best minds in India; therefore, when the sword of Islam destroyed the Mahayana system for ever, grosser, though less dangerous popular cults took its place after a time, while the Vedanta became the philosophic faith of the enlightened minority.

The remarkable psychic culture conceived and created by the Tantra is one of the most extraordinary phenomena of the human mind. For the Occidental an understanding of its doctrines is difficult, because every important thought expressed in the texts is based on a definite psychic experience. And as the Tantra was only taught secretly at first, a great many of the texts are written in the "twilight language," a language that has more than one meaning, whose phrases, even though they seem quite commonplace at first, conceal the most amazing statements.

We have said that the origins of the Tantra are obscure, but, according to Professor Grünwedel, this is not so. He has repeatedly* stated his conclusions; namely, that the Tantra is a disguised form of the teaching of the Manicheans, and a perusal of his works certainly gives startling proof to this assertion. To some extent, Manicheism, like the Tantra, is completely nihilistic and always inverts the religion to which it outwardly seems to adapt itself. Mani may be said to have been the first religious genius to systematize the inversion of the human mind, though there were many others before him who surreptitiously taught a perverse nihilism; indeed, as long as human speculation has existed, there have always been two opposite poles of thought, one constructive and the other destructive. Professor Grünwedel gives many definite points of contact between the Tantra and the teaching of Mani, and it is idle to dismiss these without giving potent reasons to the contrary. Until now the scholarly world has not been able to refute him, especially as Western processes of thought to-day are devoid of experience, and are nothing more than intellectual affirmations.

If we accept the theory that the Tantra is the Eastern version of Manicheism, we can then relate this philosophy to the history of the civilization of the West. Due to the opposition of the Church, the religion of Mani could not survive in Europe, but in spite of that traces of its psychic influence survive even to-day. A few cultural remnants can be found, such as the paintings of Bosch and certain passages in the literature of the late Middle Ages, but the spectacle of witch-burnings and the belief in the witches themselves were more tangible evidences of abnormal psychical exhibitions based on a knowledge of the operation of the sexual forces. In a former work Professor Grünwedel has shown the surprising similarity between the incantations used by the witches of Europe and the sutras of the Tantric masters. What is more, there

* *Der Weg Nach Śambala*, München, 1915; *Die Teufel des Avesta*, Berlin. 1924; *Alt Kutscha*, Berlin, 1920.

must have existed a method of teaching the disguised meaning of the magic words to the witches and of explaining the highly evolved symbolism of the diagrams in many of the magical manuscripts of the Middle Ages.

In his latest book on the Tantra,* which we shall now endeavour to discuss, Professor Grünwedel has translated a Tibetan text, which describes in the manner of the story of Milarepa the salvation, or to use a more precise Tantric phrase, the magical fulfilment of Naropa, the founder of the Kargyupta sect of the Lamaist hierarchy. The manuscript probably dates from the seventeenth century; it is well preserved and written in a fine legible hand. Only page three has been rewritten on later paper, but this page is also easily deciphered. The translation was a difficult task, because, in addition to the disguised meaning of many words and phrases, the Tantra takes so much for granted that is based on texts which have not been made available to European scholars. The key to the interpretation of the teaching of the Tantra is a famous work, the "Kalaçakra," which has never been translated,† and which is composed of a series of magical phrases, or mantras, referring to astral mythology and using Buddhist terminology to describe the worship of the sun. Certain religious conceptions derived from the cult of Vishnu are also borrowed, but the sources of the "Kalaçakra" are quite definitely non-Indian. The "Kalaçakra" describes a method of deliverance from this circle of existence by means of a control over the forces of nature, such has been indicated before, and one is taught how to obtain this control by arousing and destroying the process of nature, using magical incantations which enable one to identify the self with the sun. This worship of the sun is the inverse of that taught by other religions, and the psychic magnetism of the opposite sex is used solely as an aid to overcome the bonds of corporeal life in order that the devotee may acquire an extended consciousness and obtain magical powers. When he, the devotee, has accomplished this and the identification with the sun has been achieved by creating another sun out of himself, he becomes Buddha, he is absorbed by Buddha and has attained salvation.

* *Die Legenden des Naropa*, des Hauptvertreters des Nekromanten und Hexentums. Nach einer alten Tibetischen Handschrift als Beweis für die Beeinflussung des nördlichen Buddhismus durch die Geheimlehre der Manichäer. Ubersetzt, in Umschrift herausgegeben, und mit einem Glossar versehen von Albert Grünwedel. 8vo, pp. 250, 19 drawings and 1 reproduction of the original text Liepzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1933. Price 24 Marks.

† The translation by Roerich has not progressed beyond a mere beginning.

Our text begins with a glorification of Naropa, after which an account of his physical genealogy and previous incarnations is given. Then he receives his "call," while abbot of Nalanda, from the spirit of Tilopa, who will henceforth be his teacher. Naropa accepts, and the subsequent portions of the text give an account of his various illuminations, or "deliria," as Professor Grünwedel prefers to call them. In order to communicate with those who "wander along the heavens," those who have previously attained "Siddhi,"—that is, salvation by means of magic,—Naropa has to give his consent to being killed in a disgusting manner, according to a ritual demanded by the Manichean councillors, to whom reference is made in the text, whereupon he meets Tilopa, who has in the past likewise been voluntarily tortured to death. Naropa is now given the knowledge of his relation to the forces of sex, and he then has to destroy the female counterpart within himself. There are more terrible scenes of tortures which must be willingly undergone, and it is here that an important reference is made to a representation of a white elephant, a picture frequently used in the diagrams of Tantric texts, which is undoubtedly a symbol of Manicheism, as white was the colour of this religion, whereas red, the other colour mentioned in our text, is meant to represent the Buddhism of Tibet, and hence the joining of the two colours signifies the union of the two religions. One scene, particularly revolting, describes the sacrifice of children, a ritual to which frequent allusions are made in the annals of mediæval sorcery. Throughout the text there are constant references to the creative power of man, and often the symbolism is as crude as and similar to that found in European manuscripts of magic. Except that the Tibetan author has based his symbolism on a carefully thought out system, through which runs the "thread," to quote the text, the thread of salvation by means of Tantric practices, which leads the devotee to his teacher—in this case Tilopa—who gives him the final means of attaining union with himself and entering the state of immortality. He, Naropa, will never incarnate again, for he has now overcome the eternal cycle of life.

The great symbol underlying and describing this teaching is the magical letter Daśakaro Vaśi, "the figure of the ten powerful mantras," as it is called. Professor Grünwedel describes this symbol, which can be only understood from a study of the Kalaçakra text. Briefly, the letter teaches how to prevent the life-germ from re-entering human bodies by means of resolving this letter into its mantras, from which it follows that the magician becomes a new sun and redeems

the whole world. Human sacrifice plays a part in this procedure, and one meets with many religious and philosophical concepts that are used in an inverted sense, such as Zoroastrian fire-worship and references to Greek, especially Pythagorean abstractions. When once this amazing symbolism has been carefully studied, borrowings from Christianity will also probably be discovered. Professor Grünwedel, indeed, thinks that in our text there are phrases and ideas definitely taken from the Gospels, and that the beginning of the whole magical process is based on an inversion of John iv. 7.

In connection with the letter Daśakaro Vaśi, Professor Grünwedel mentions a curious passage translated many years ago by Csoma de Körös. The author, whose name is "White Lotus," was a follower of the Kalaçakra. The passage is as follows: "He came to Nalanda in Madhyadesa. Over the entrance to the monastery of the temple he drew the letter Daśakaro Vaśi and wrote underneath: He who does not know the highest Buddha does not know the wheel of time (the 'Kalaçakra'); he who does not know the 'Kalaçakra' cannot explain the function of sex; he who cannot explain the function of sex does not know the incarnation of the knowledge of the Vajradhara (the state of perfection and immortality of the devotee); he who does not know the incarnation of the knowledge of the Vajradhara also does not know the Vehicle of Tantrayana (the magical correspondence of the forces); and he who does not know the Tantrayana, he and all those like himself will continue to circle within reincarnations and will be far removed from the Vajradhara. Every true Guru must teach the state of the highest Buddha from this point of view (*i.e.*, based on the Kalaçakra system) and every true Chela must listen for the sake of his salvation. The master Naropa was at this time head (of Nalanda), and five hundred Paṇḍitas allowed themselves to debate with him; but when they discovered that he was superior to themselves, they bowed their heads before his feet, learned about the highest (the original) Buddha and spread the teaching everywhere."

As the enlightenment of Naropa proceeds he is promised that he will become a Vajradhara. But he is told that in a previous existence he had received from a teacher dressed in linen (that is, from a Manichean dressed in white) the title of a teacher of the Lotus. Naropa's previous incarnation was, therefore, that of a Manichean, and it will be of interest to know that many of the more important personages of the Lamaist hierarchy have also been followers of Mani during their previous lives. On Folio 3 A of our text mention is made of

Indra and Brahma. According to Professor Grünwedel the names of these two gods only serve to conceal two Iranian deities, whose names still exist among the Mongols in their primitive forms of Esrem and Xormuzda. A Tantric work might have offered a prayer to Manjusri, but the concealed teaching of the sect of the Lotus (Manicheism) demands the use of Persian names, names which Mani himself incorporated into his system. The symbolism of this passage, which mentions Indra and Brahma, is entirely Manichean, so the names of the Indian gods are quite irrelevant here, especially as the Manicheans are directly referred to by the symbol of the elephant. It is curious that Folio 3 is the page that was destroyed and had to be replaced by another hand on later paper. Professor Grünwedel adds that the "lost folio" often plays a curious part in Lamaist works.

Our text might lead us to the conclusion that the terrible ordeals Naropa had to undergo for the sake of his salvation were partly due to the brutality and insensitivity of his environment. Brutal methods were necessary when dealing with a race that has always seemed to us peculiarly lacking in refinement. This is not true, however, for Buddhist civilization, especially in the tenth century, was of a very high order, and in many respects more sensitive to certain human contingencies than Christianity ever has been. These ordeals and disgusting scenes are emphasized in order to reveal the failings of the self, for even Naropa, to take an example, at first had no pity for a dog that was ill, and he was even unable to repress a desire for personal happiness. Thus he discovers again and again that his own individuality has not yet become extinguished. Only when a complete negative attitude towards life and all its physical manifestations is reached, when love, birth, social duties, and all that has so far been deemed worth while is declared utterly without value, then only can he progress along the path towards immortality. It is this negation of life that has been fought by the established Church, or by the State, as in the case of Persia, because this philosophy has always been found hostile towards the social order, and Professor Grünwedel's contention, based on scholarly proof, is that the religion of annihilation has been everywhere the same, and has as its source the philosophic system of Mani, who was the first to use the negative attitude of the human mind in the manner of a concealed wedge that blasts asunder a faith which has become weak.

In addition to the text, Professor Grünwedel's book contains a valuable introduction and a glossary of the Tibetan words, so that the

student should be able to verify the German translation of the text. Not the least interesting part of the book is the interpretation of difficult psychological terms, and tracing the origin of their meaning to a certain source, which, when once fully understood, will enable us to study other works written by the followers of the Tantra, whose purposely obscure terminology has always proven to be the chief stumbling-block in the way of scholarly research. The importance of the Tantra cannot be overestimated, for it contains the remnants of a world far older than Mani, who was only a systematizer, a world that once was, and still seems to be, all-powerful, created for a purpose which we do not understand, unless it be that Tantrism is a reminder never to cease living the religion of light.

GERHARD HEYM.

REVIEWS

An Examination of the Mystic Tendencies in Islam in the light of the Qur'an and Traditions. By M. M. Zuhúruddin Ahmad, M.A. LL.B., Professor of Logic and Philosophy at the Ismail College, Andheri (Bombay). 9″×5½″. Pp. 248. Published by the author, Pali Road, Bandra (Bombay). 1932. Obtained in England for 10s. 6d.

The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. By Sir Muhammad Iqbal. 9″×5½″. Pp. 192. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1934. 7s. 6d. net.

The influence of European example, now so strong in Western Asia, would appear to be unfavourable to the old mysticisms. A foreign Orientalist publication notes the publication by the Chief Rabbi of the small Jewish community at Sana'a (Yemen), an enthusiast for education, of a learned polemic in Hebrew against the Cabbala, a system exhibiting close parallels to Sufism both in content and causation (*Oriente Moderno*, xiv., 36). In Professor Zuhúruddin Ahmad's book Sufism itself is reviewed, tried, and in most of its later manifestations condemned, with extenuating circumstances.

Being published in India, and principally for Mahomedan readers, the book assumes in its public a knowledge, seldom possessed by the Western reader, of the present importance of Sufism. The European in India—and possibly in any Moslem country with the exception of Nejd—is familiar, without being aware of it, with some of the outward manifestations of that form of religion. The white-washed wayside tomb with the flag hoisted at the top of that quaintly canted pole; the bush or tree beside it, hung with red and white rags by those whose prayers have been granted; the domed *qubba* or *ziyárat*, visited by *muríds* and pilgrims, with its crowded annual fair; the Pír at the shrine, obeyed almost unquestioningly by thousands of disciples following lay avocations; the faqir on the high-road; and the Musulman shikari, perhaps, who turns out to be forwarding a part of his earnings to a Pír residing, say, at Mecca (this was actually an experience of the reviewer's long after the capture of Mecca by the Wahhabis)—probably by few observers are these connected with Sufis and darvishes of Eastern story. All these things are, however, simply the outward signs of Sufi mysticism, of the worship and obedience paid to dead saints and living mystics, and of the strength of the dervish fraternities who form their immediate followers. "To-day," wrote the author of *Indian Islam*, Dr. Titus, "it is estimated that fully two-thirds of India's Moslem population are under the influence of some one or other of the darvish orders." The regular Orders flourish, it seems, in every Moslem or partly Moslem country from the Dutch East Indies to French West Africa; and the common faqir of India is usually a member of one of the *be shar'* or irregular Orders. The word *Súfí* means a "woolman," a wearer of a coarse, woollen garment—in short, an ascetic. Professor Margoliouth has traced for us how first the ascetic tended to become a mystic and a preacher, to whom powers of intercession on High were ascribed, how circles of disciples gathered round such men, oratories were built for the chiefs in the fourth and fifth centuries of Islam, and definite Orders, each with its own peculiar form of *dhikr*, or invocation of the

Deity, developing into something of a liturgy, began to be started in the sixth century (roughly the twelfth of our era). It should be added that, in spite of the close connection of early Sufism with veneration for Ali and with Persian separatism, the great majority of Sufis have acknowleged at least nominal allegiance, not to the Shia, but to the Sunni form of faith. For the mystic, as someone has remarked, while he may join hands at times with free thought, is seldom a sectarian.

Although the Sufi doctrines have had immense success among the masses so far as saint-worship and exhibitions of ecstasy are concerned, attempts to eradicate their heresies have been made at various times. The preaching of Ibn Taimíyya the Syrian in the fourteenth century of our era is stated by our author to have been the *fons et origo* of the Wahhabism of the eighteenth. Professor Zuhúruddin refers also to the reform movement of Mujaddid Ahmad of Sirhind, in the Punjab (d. 1624). This writer, on whose Letters the author draws constantly for information regarding the Sufis, would appear to have been himself a moderate Sufi, who substituted for the pantheistic idea of Unity of Existence, which dimmed the importance of the difference between good and evil, the conception of " Unity of Reflection," according to which created things partake of reality in proportion to the clearness with which they reflect the Creator. His movement culminated, according to the author, in the writings of Shah Waliullah of Delhi, who is referred to with much respect by both our authors, and was evidently something of a modernist and an intellectual. Professor Zuhúruddin mentions also the activities of Ibn Sa'ud, from which he has great hopes, and of the Indian Moslem popular fundamentalist association, the *Ahl-i-Hadīth*, which carries on a vigorous anti-Sufi propaganda. It may be added that in Egypt and Syria the Orders are reported to have lost some of their strength. In Turkey, mainly for secularist reasons, the darvish *tekkes* and the mausolea have been closed by the Government, and the practice of *dhikr* has been forbidden. Although Western influences often enter into the matter, it is evident that even a small amount of reflection on Koranic doctrine is often sufficient by itself to turn the Moslem from Sufism. But in its wars against the latter, orthodoxy, speaking broadly, uses but half its strength. Besides the obstacle presented by the firm hold of superstition on the masses, some feeling of sympathy with the genuine mystical element in Sufism survives among the orthodox. There is much to be said, therefore, from the orthodox point of view, for Professor Zuhúruddin's method of calm, doctrinal remonstrance.

The main contentions of his book are that (1) early Sufism was orthodox, and (2) later Sufism has been contrary to the Koran and the Traditions. He contests the view of certain Western observers that Sufism supplied something in which Islam was inherently deficient. Orthodox Islam, in his view, could and did contain mystics within its fold. He adduces evidence from the Koran and elsewhere to show that ascetic and mystical traits were prominent in the Prophet and his Companions, and that the founders of the Orders were pious Moslems, distinguished from their fellows only by their sincerity and their love of God. He contends that the later developments of Sufism were occasioned not by any incompatibility of Islam with mysticism, but by historical circumstances—viz., the constant wars, the controversies in Islam, the narrowing and hardening of the Shariat, and the devotion of the masses to worldly gains as the result of the constant wars. The devout Moslem was impelled towards a secluded and emotional quietism, and received encouragement towards the adoption of un-Islamic practices from Christian and Buddhist example. On some of these points, especially the earlier ones, the author's stock of evidence seems somewhat slight,

his knowledge of Arabic sources seems to be small, and his chronology is limited to "the days of the Companions," "the early Sufis," and "later." But on the whole his contentions so far follow the views of Ameer Ali, Nicholson, and other authorities whom he cites.

In demonstrating from the Koran and the records of early Islam the unorthodoxy of the fully-developed Sufism, the author has, of course, an easy task. The Koran enjoins social duties; the Sufi withdrew from society. The Koran enjoins the giving of alms; the Sufi, on the other hand, takes alms and sells spiritual favours. The Sufi neglects the five canonical times of prayer, and performs *dhikr* instead. He neglects the *jihad*, or war in defence of Islam, professing to concentrate on the "Greater War" against the evil within himself. While the early Sufis were active missionaries, "we find that the preaching of Islam was totally neglected by the Sufis of the later age as a class." Few persons, be it noted in passing, would bring such a charge against the dervish Orders of recent times in Africa or Western Asia. Religious authority (*taklid*), conceded by Islam to the Companions and the theologians (*mujtahidún*) alone, and only in matters of interpretation, was extended by the Sufis to their Shaikhs, to whom absolute obedience was held to be due. Revelation, formerly held to be obtainable only through the Koran and the Prophets, was sought directly through ecstasy and contemplation. So also with the doctrine of the merging of the soul in God, the hierarchy of holy men, ecstasy through excitement, and so on.

Although the book may be presumed to have been intended chiefly for Indian Moslem readers, it is planned as bearing reference to Islam generally, as may be judged from the use of the term "Shaikh" throughout instead of "Pír." Among the very few references to India is a mention, apparently on the authority of Ahmad of Sirhind, of three Sufi Orders operating in that country, with reference to the use of music as an aid to ecstasy. The Chishti Order is stated to be the chief supporter of its use for the purpose, the Naqshbandi to object to it, and the Qádiríyya to hold more or less that there is music and music.

While Professor Zuhúruddin regards mysticism, without the guidance of the Koran and the Traditions, as "beset with the snares of Satan," Sir Muhammad Iqbal views it broadly as one of the legitimate means of approach to reality. Revelation, mysticism, thought, intuition, and the study alike of natural science and of the human ego, appear at different points in his book as paths to reality, though not necessarily on equal levels. He refers to the present time as favourable for his undertaking, since Classical Physics has learnt to criticize its own foundations. He might have added that the time is equally favourable for the empiricist and pluralist features in his philosophy; for Western thought has become, since the turn of the century, far less attached to intellectualist and unitary views.

In Sir Muhammad's view not the Sufis alone, but early Islam generally (from the ninth century of our era, we may perhaps say) was led somewhat into error by Greek philosophy. Later came the defensive narrowing of Moslem theology under the Ashari school, and finally the "intellectual stupor" (Sir Muhammad's phrase) which settled upon Islam as a result of the same forces and of the destruction of Baghdad in the thirteenth century. Picking up threads from the old Arabic thinkers where possible—and he finds it often possible, but we cannot dwell on this interesting side of his book—he attempts in this short work, with all modesty, a "revision, and, if necessary, reconstruction" of theological thought in Islam, in the light of modern science and of Western thought, in response to the urgent demand of the younger generation. He also, it should be mentioned, attempts to meet anti-religious ideas, noticing especially the influx of these from

Central Asia, and in particular the propagandist work of the late Turkish poet Taufik Fitrat

Sir Muhammad's equipment is that of an accomplished philosophic writer, able to touch familiarly, as he does where appropriate to his thought, on the systems of all the principal Western philosophers from beginning to end. He would also appear to have a first-hand acquaintance with Arabic writers, and quotes freely from Persian mystic poets.

His centrepoint, unstated, is the Koran; for " Philosophy must recognize the central position of religion." He treats the Book impliedly as infallible, though admittedly limited, in general, to its purpose of improving the moral nature of man. The story of the Garden of Eden he regards as a myth made use of in the Koran, and the variations between the versions of stories in the Bible and the same as told in the Koran are ascribed, not to the Prophet's imperfect recollection, but to a deliberate desire in each case to point a better moral. There is no other approach in the book towards the historical and critical examination of the Koran, to which Ameer Ali and more recently S. Khuda Baksh showed some slight tendency.

In reading Sir Muhammad's book the non-Moslem reader will sometimes lose patience with the ingenuity with which the material and anthropomorphic ideas of seventh-century Arabia are interpreted in terms of philosophy and of modern science. At other times, perhaps, he will be inclined to allow a real resemblance to exist, sometimes by chance, but sometimes owing to some particular quality in the Prophet's outlook and character.

Sir Muhammad stresses the naturalistic, empirical, and "anti-classical" attitude of the Koran, which he contrasts apparently with the "Aryan" emphasis on human nature, on universals and abstractions. Probably few persons would have expected that seventh-century Arabia would have shared the Greek or German taste—in other centuries—for analysis and synthesis. Muhammad was in this respect simply the " plain man " of the philosophers. But Sir Muhammad Iqbal's point is a legitimate one as against the conservatism which would perpetuate in Islam ideas derived long ago from the Greeks, as though they were part of the substance of Islam.

The Koran contains none of them. But it conceives God as the Light of the world. Now, modern physics, Sir Muhammad points out, shows the velocity of light to be the nearest approach to an Absolute in a world of change. The metaphor of light must therefore be taken " to suggest the Absoluteness of God, and not His Omnipotence, which easily lends itself to a pantheistic interpretation." Again, the Koran contains, as Sir Muhammad shows, many references to night and day, to the rising and setting of sun and moon, as works of God and matter for the devout to reflect upon. It views the universe, we are informed, as dynamic and not as static. Nature, in the words of the Koran, is " the habit of Allah "; and " every day doth some new work employ Him." Compare, says our author, Bergson's " creative evolution " and the modern physicist's view of matter as a flow of energy.

A prominent place is occupied in Sir Muhammad's philosophy by the subject of time and duration. He is not one of those who speak of timeless values, as though all that is real were outside time. " Do not vilify Time," said the Prophet in a Tradition quoted by him, " for Time is of God." Time, in Sir Muhammad's view, is not a mere fourth dimension, *pace* Einstein and others. To regard it as such is to disregard the purposive and creative aspect of present and future. Moreover, as Bergson has contended, time in its ordinary, serial aspect, as a line composed of points, is not the same as pure duration. Pure and unspatialized

time is exemplified in the inner human self, whose changes and movements are indivisible. (Here a long argument is quoted from Bergson, which not everyone will find convincing.) An ego exists in pure time or duration, and is, philosophically speaking, prior to it; and the Ultimate Ego, or God, exists in pure duration. The difficulty felt by the Spanish Moslem theologian Ibn-i-Hazm as to how God can be said to " live " is thus solved.

"God," says the Koran, " adds to his creation what he wills." The atom, regarded as a phase of divine energy, is essentially spiritual. Every atom in that energy, however low in the scale of existence, is an ego. (A reference to the quantum theory accompanies, with a hint of the principle of indeterminacy.) But ego-hood reaches its perfection in man, who, according to the Koran, alone undertook to bear " the trust " of personality and moral responsibility. Of the next life the Koran gives only slight hints. But these suggest to Sir Muhammad "that the nature of the universe is such that it is open to it to maintain in some other way the kind of individuality necessary for the final working out of human action, even after the disintegration of what appears to specify his individuality in his present environment." And so Shah Waliullah's feeling that we are bound to retain some kind of a body is not exactly accepted.

In this conception of a future life within the universe Sir Muhammad seems resolutely empiricist. As regards heaven and hell, however, the graphic representations of them in the Koran are but visual representations of an inner fact: character. Hell is the painful realization of one's failure, a necessary corrective experience, explained by the Koran to last only for a period of time; heaven is the joy of triumph, but no mere static condition. Heaven and hell are states or processes, not localities. Here we have been whisked shockingly near to modern Platonism. And how are the joys of Paradise translated! Yes, here we must again note something of a higher criticism.

In regard to such subjects as free will, prayer, and the evidence afforded by religious experience, Sir Muhammad is interesting but less original. In a chapter arguing the principle of movement to have always existed in authentic Islam, he protests against the claim of the Ulema to finality for the views of the popular schools of Moslem law. He contends that *Ijtihad*, the exercise of one's own judgment, is not a closed door, as many suppose. Towards the Traditions his attitude is conservative, though less so than that of Professor Zuhúruddin. He makes some remarks deprecatory of the extravagant nationalism of our time for the attention of Moslems.

A summary of a work of this kind risks falling unintentionally into caricature. The reader leaves this book with a feeling of real respect, not only for an enlightened religious reformer, but for a constructive philosophic intellect, with excellent powers of expression in English.

The book has probably already exercised some influence in India. Sir Muhammad Iqbal is no recluse. He is, or was, President of the All-India Moslem League and one of the delegates to the Round-Table Conference. His book, though published only this year in England, was published by the author in India in 1930—possibly with slight differences—and its contents had previously been delivered in the form of six lectures in the two principal Indian Moslem universities and the University of Madras. It will perhaps be read by a select few in Egypt, where a parallel modernist revival has long been progressing.

A. F. K.

The Suez Canal: Its Past, Present and Future. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson, K.C.I.E. 10″ × 7″. Pp. xv + 224. Map. Oxford University Press. 1933. 15s.

This is an unusually good book: suggestive, lucid, and sensible. The narrative is smooth, the argument close, the history sufficiently documented: the comments are fair, the presentation of facts and figures is impartial. The author quotes the words of Waddington, onetime Ambassador of France, by way of introduction, "Much can be done by temperate and courteous discussion," and he bears in mind throughout that admirable counsel.

The book falls into two divisions: the history of the undertaking and its future control. In the history there are occasional slips. On page 97, for instance, Wilson describes the President of the Egyptian General Assembly as "the present King." But Prince Hussein was never more than Sultan, and it was Fuad I., the present reigning sovereign, who first assumed the dignity of king. Nor is it quite fair to say that Lord Cromer "compelled" Butros Pasha, the murdered Prime Minister, to preside over the tribunal that judged the Dinshawai affair of 1906. Butros was then Minister of Justice, and as such by Khedivial Decree of 1894 *ex-officio* president of this particular tribunal. But these trivial errors do not detract from the value of the book: it is even a little remarkable in a book of this length that they are so few.

Wilson begins by recalling previous experiments to link the Mediterranean and Red Seas: the canals of Rameses II. and Necho, of Darius, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Amr Ben el As, and Bonaparte. He touches on the doubts and hesitations of Great Britain, 1840-54; he describes spiritedly the dramatic interview, when Said Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, accepted de Lesseps' plans. Let it be said that he admires wholeheartedly this indomitable Frenchman, who dared to question the accuracy of levels taken by Bonaparte's engineers. He may well do so: for few men begin like de Lesseps their real life-work at the age of fifty; fewer still live to witness the success of their outstanding achievement. De Lesseps' eloquence convinced the easy-going Said, and thenceforth the latter remained a splendid patron. He addressed de Lesseps as *Mon devoué ami de haute naissance et de rang élevé;* he presented him with a firman so generously drafted that Wilson may well declare, "The Viceroy is said to have signed the document without having read it." It would have been in keeping with Said's easy-going character to have done so.

But de Lesseps had to sail through troubled water before he reached port. Palmerston in London and Stratford in Constantinople viewed with suspicious eyes a proposal to cut through the isthmus of Suez. A canal would weaken Turkey, might indeed eventually lead to the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire; and Palmerston shrank from the implication. The Viceroy also tired as opposition developed, and a less courageous soul than de Lesseps would have abandoned the struggle. But this Frenchman was made of the stuff of heroes: he would not give in. He found a useful ally in Napoleon III.: to placate opposition he surrendered, at a price, valuable assets arising out of the concession, and stubbornly went on with the work. Meanwhile British statesmen (Gladstone an honourable exception) continued to declaim against the undertaking, and Palmerston vowed that a Suez canal was inimical to the interests of Great Britain, opposed to her traditional policy, planned to menace her supremacy in Egypt, and finally that its construction was a physical impossibility. Frightened by these gloomy predictions, the British investor buttoned up his pockets. De Lesseps, finding money elsewhere, opened his canal for traffic in 1869. Six years later, recognizing her mistake, England purchased the Khedive Ismail's shares,

and so acquired a permanent and substantial interest in the fortunes of the undertaking. It was also an extremely remunerative investment, as Wilson's table (page 58) demonstrates.

Dispute over the high incidence of dues in 1883 led to a suggestion in England of the need of a second and parallel waterway. It was not a very attractive project, and when the Crown lawyers pronounced that de Lesseps held the exclusive rights over the isthmus, the Cabinet dropped the idea. About this period also arose another problem: what would be the situation of the Suez Canal in war-time? Negotiation and conference failed to find a satisfactory solution until 1888, when a convention signed in Constantinople neutralized, or, as Wilson suggestively says, "universalized," the canal. Later, when Britain and France settled all outstanding differences in Egypt and elsewhere, the Suez Canal Company, meditating upon the uncertainty of the future, thought 1909 an opportune moment to propose prolongation of their concession. That concession would terminate in 1968: as an alternative the Company suggested an extension of forty years in return for payment down of £4,000,000 plus participation in the annual receipts, rising from 4 per cent. in 1922 to 50 per cent. in 1968. The Egyptian Ministers thought well of the offer: Sir Eldon Gorst, British Agent and Consul-General, and Sir Paul Harvey, the Financial Adviser, warmly supported it. Of the reception of the proposal and its rejection by the General Assembly in Cairo, Wilson draws a stirring picture: indeed, his account of the debate and the excitement that followed the rejection is one of the best passages in this remarkable book. But he appears uncertain whether Egypt stood to benefit much from the offer. Yet surely it was sound enough in view of her peculiar restrictions on raising loans. The Government were in urgent want of both capital and revenue for development purposes: the Minister of Public Works believed that £4,000,000 would bring under cultivation 400,000 acres of desert or lake. Gorst's miscalculation indeed was not financial, but political: he failed to recognize the strength of Egyptian Nationalism. Incidentally, though not mentioned by Wilson, Lord Curzon, when negotiating a treaty with Adly Pasha in London, 1920, fell into the same trap, when he suggested that that treaty should include an article dealing with the prolongation of the Canal Company's concession. With the story of the "Suez Canal during the Great War," the author is on familiar ground. He presents a brief and intelligible summary of this interesting campaign, and seizes the occasion to pay a becoming and handsome compliment to the staff of the Company "who never failed us." The tribute indeed is well deserved.

Such is the first half of the story that the author sets out to tell, and it may be said he has succeeded in accomplishing his purpose. In the second half he breaks fresh ground, when he deals with dues and administration. His material is fresh, his deductions are original and reflective. The thesis is obvious: the control and administration unaltered since 1854 are to-day almost an anachronism. He presents a good *prima facia* case: a case that merits not only attention from British shipowners and traders, but from the British Government. Let the reader consider these elementary facts. Great Britain owns 44 per cent. of the shares; her tonnage still accounts for more than half the total tonnage passing through the canal, and yet her part in the management of the undertaking is almost negligible. The administration is French, the British Directors are ten compared with twenty-one French. It is certainly gratifying to learn that the Company is alive to the dissatisfaction reigning in England, and Wilson examines and criticizes (Chapter XI.) in friendly spirit a recent memorandum defending the Company's policy published in Paris. Political and financial

factors have indeed vastly altered the international status of the Suez Canal originally contemplated by de Lesseps and perhaps also by Disraeli, and in the final chapter Wilson suggests three possible courses to amend the situation. Yet it must be confessed that not one of them seems likely to command success, and in the end the author himself falls back upon negotiation. He is almost certainly right in that conclusion: as Waddington well said, "Much can be done by temperate and courteous discussion." To that negotiation Egypt must be a party: for the canal lies within her territory. Yet she will do well to control her appetite: she may have to be content in 1968, when the canal falls under her control, with working expenses plus a reasonable profit on them.

Appendices contribute to the value of the book, and no less may be said of the statistical tables that illustrate the text. In short, *The Suez Canal: Its Past, Present and Future* will probably be the standard work on the subject for many years to come.

P. G. Elgood.

The Capitulatory Regime of Turkey: Its History, Origin and Nature. By Nasim Sousa. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xxiii + 378. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

The system called "capitulatory," which seems so abnormal to-day, was in former times accepted as a matter of course. It had, says Dr. Sousa, its origin in the once universally observed principle of the personality of law, by which the early traders carried their own laws about with them as well as their merchandise. It was only by degrees that this mediæval idea gave way to the modern theory of territorial sovereignty. In a paper on the Capitulations, which Mr. H. E. Garle read to this Society on May 19, 1932, he gave an apt illustration of this old-fashioned theory of law in the "benefit of clergy" claimed by the Church to exempt clerics from the jurisdiction of the temporal courts. Benefit of clergy was finally abolished only in 1841.

Dr. Sousa traces the system back to 1294 B.C., when the Phœnicians from Tyre were granted special privileges on settling in Egypt, and follows its development through the early times of the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Goths, and Arabs. He gives numerous examples of its application in European countries; for instance, in A.D. 1402 Venetian and Genoese consulates in London and the Netherlands exercised jurisdiction over their nationals in civil and criminal cases.

All that the Turks did after their conquest of Constantinople in 1453 was to continue the system which they found established there. Thus there was no sacrifice of dignity when the early Sultans granted capitulations in Turkey. The name is derived from "capitula," and signifies a treaty or charter divided into headings or articles. The conditions under which the "Turkey merchants" of the Levant Company traded in Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aleppo were perhaps not very unlike those which Clive found established in the factories of the East India Company; and one may speculate on what might have been the consequences in Turkey had the virile Turks been as submissive and as divided in counsel as the inhabitants of Bengal.

Dr. Sousa divides his study of the system into two parts—pre-war and post-war.

In the early days in Turkey the system probably worked fairly smoothly. Foreign residents were few and of the respectable merchant class, and such disputes as arose were settled without much difficulty. The Turks did not find the capitulations irksome, for the foreign Ambassadors and Consuls carried small weight in those days. I read some time ago in an old book on Turkey a lively

description of the flaying alive of a foreign merchant accused of some offence; but this was in some provincial town, not in Constantinople. The chronicler—I think Busbequius—made the surprising comment that the operation did not hurt so much as might be expected.

It was after the Crimean War that the privileges enjoyed by foreigners in Turkey under the capitulations began to become increasingly galling to Turkish national sentiment. Foreign communities had increased in numbers and included less worthy members than the respectable merchants of the early days, while the European Powers were now in a position to exercise much stronger pressure on the Turkish Government. Moreover, a great abuse of protection had grown up. Dr. Sousa states that already at the end of the eighteenth century Austria had more than 200,000 subjects under her protection in Moldavia alone, and that later on in Constantinople there were 21,000 Greeks of Ottoman nationality who had fraudulently acquired Hellenic protection. In comparison with these figures the number of British protégés was quite insignificant; but about 1890 a careful revision made by order of the British Ambassador, Sir William White, led to the removal from our register of several large families of Jews in Syria, whose only claim to British protection derived from the alleged birth in London of a remote ancestor.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the great European Powers formed a block, as the author says, to defend their claims under the capitulations. The dragomans of the six Embassies held regular meetings to concert common action, and an ingenious Armenian legal adviser of the Sublime Porte named Hrant Abro took on all six Embassies in argument and never yielded an inch.

Dr. Sousa states in his preface that he is paying special attention in his book to American interests in Turkey. These were, in fact, limited to the protection of the great missionary stations and colleges which had been founded all over Turkey by well-meaning philanthropists in the United States. The missionaries were rarely involved in litigation; and this was fortunate, for there was an interminable dispute between the United States Government and the Sublime Porte as to the wording of the Treaty of 1830, which had granted the benefit of the capitulations to the citizens of the United States. The author devotes fourteen pages to the history of the abortive Chester concession, which, if ratified, would have conferred on an American syndicate a practical monopoly of railway construction in Turkey.

In the second part of his book Dr. Sousa tells the dismal story of the muddled Allied policy which ultimately led to Turkey taking her place at the Lausanne Conference as a victorious rather than as a defeated country. He describes the negotiation at Lausanne and discusses the legal aspect of the abrogation of the capitulations in evident sympathy with the Turkish viewpoint. It was the economic even more than the judicial side of the system which the Turks found "an intolerable obstacle to all progress in the Empire." Speaking to the United States High Commissioner in 1919, the Turkish Minister of Finance said: "No reason or pretext of any kind can be found to justify the discrimination of foreign subjects against the natives of a country in respect to taxes and duties." The writer of this review had to report in London immediately before the war an abuse by which native firms in Constantinople were converting themselves into British limited liability companies in order to escape Turkish taxation. In fact, the whole system had become out of date and unsuited to modern conditions, and the French insistence on its revival after the Armistice was a diplomatic error.

Among the institutions which crashed at Lausanne was the Turkish Public Debt Administration, whose history from its creation in 1882 is briefly related.

The new arrangement with the bond-holders has been published a little later than Dr. Sousa's work in the report of Mr. S. C. Wyatt, President of the Public Debt Council, dated November 20, 1933. Although the bond-holders are called upon to make a great sacrifice, they do obtain the promise of a regular return on the capital.

Dr. Sousa's book is somewhat overladen with footnotes, which make the reading difficult; but they and the bibliography at the end seem to contain reference to most of what has been written on the subject.

A. T. WAUGH.

Catalogue of Wall-Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia and Sistan. Recovered by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., described by Fred H. Andrews, O.B.E., under the orders of the Government of India. Delhi: Manager of Publications.

The provocation afforded by a clear wall-surface seems always to have been irresistible, from the time when the palæolithic troglodyte expressed himself in pigments on the sides of his cave to the present-day juvenile who, with a piece of chalk, caricatures his friends on the alluring surface of a blind wall, often attaching dedicatory remarks of caustic tendency in unconscious imitation of the laudatory inscriptions applied to less vulgar works of art in more august association.

The contemporary significance of the prehistoric cave-paintings we can only conjecture, but coming down to the more recent ages of temples, palaces, and tombs of Egypt, Crete, Etruria, and elsewhere, the subjects are usually fairly obvious, but are also often explained by accompanying inscriptions.

From the evidence presented by the existence of the many and widespread examples of ancient mural painting now known to us, it would seem not unreasonable to assume the probability of an unbroken tradition and continuance of the practice from palæolithic times. It might thus be an art with a lineage almost, or perhaps quite as venerable and persistent as that of pottery making.

The psychological value to the "Church" of ocular appeal would seem to have been fully understood by the hierarchy from very early times of most of the faiths of mankind. At reactionary intervals it has taken the form of extreme simplicity, but such interludes have usually not lasted long; and the more potent lure of colour and dramatic imagery has soon returned.

Religions, too, have always been subject to oscillations actuated by the opposing forces of reform and orthodoxy. But whether tradition or reformation prevailed there was still subject-matter for the mural painter and his diminutive, the illuminator of books. There has ever been that thrilling blending of historical fact and tradition, seasoned with mythology and interpreted through the ecstatic vision of the religieux, that has given the artist—himself often a monk—his opportunities.

In Central Asia we have a meeting-place of many streams of such influences—a pool from which the reaction or backwash, in all directions, is being only gradually revealed; and the wall-paintings recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from Central Asian shrines bear evidence of the most diverse agencies.

The ancient Buddhist shrines of the Turfan Oasis have been visited and reported upon by several travellers and archæologists during the past thirty-six years, perhaps the earliest being the Russian explorer, Dr. Klementz, who was there in 1897. Since then there have been Grünwedel, von Lecoq, the Japanese archæologist Tachibani, Stein, and others. It is from Turfan that most of the

examples described in this Catalogue have been brought. But of perhaps greater interest are the fragments from other parts of Chinese Turkestan—Kara-khoto, Miran, various sites in the vicinity of the Domoko Oasis, and the badly damaged specimens from Sistan. All of these are now set up in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum at New Delhi and are described in the Catalogue.

The relative simplicity of the doctrine of early Buddhism (the Hinayana) and the quasi-historical legends that progressively embellished the tradition of Gautama Buddha provided pleasant subject-matter for the earlier painters. But the growing popularity of the later faith brought about developments arising from many contributory causes, not the least of which may have been the uneasiness of the priests of earlier cults at the menace to their prestige. Accretions of great complexity appeared, including countless legends and personalities, divine, semi-divine, and human, gathered from earlier, more sensuous, stirring, and terrifying faiths. Some of the effects of these changes show themselves in the wall-paintings.

In his admirable introduction, the author begins by indicating the general course of the principal trade routes running between China and the West by which, from the second century B.C., the much valued silk was carried from China. It is near these routes that most of the shrines occur. After briefly describing the different types of shrine, he gives practical details of the various kinds of mud used as a coating for the walls and forming the painting surface. As he points out, mud has always been the principal building material in the Middle East, and indeed in the West, for the bricks which have formed the almost universal building material are but mud, burnt where fuel was available and sun-dried where it was not. The preparation of mud plaster for dressing the surface of walls in towns and villages in India is a work upon which the women and girls may still constantly be seen engaged. Such a surface is admirably suited to the brush of the artist in tempera.

The diversity of the composition of the mud plaster is described—the sandy quality of some and the use of hair, fibre, and even bits of rag in others. The difficulties of dealing with such a variety of material in the delicate work of clearing the back and mounting the paintings must have been considerable. The magnitude of the task may be gauged when it is realized that the number of pieces treated was about nine hundred, many of them quite large, the largest (Bez. xii., A-I) measuring 11 feet 10 inches by 18 feet, which means an area of over 200 square feet. It may be mentioned here that the whole process employed for the mounting of the paintings, described at the end of the introduction, was originated and worked out in every detail by Mr. Andrews. His process was later employed in the mounting of the Eumorphopoulos paintings now exhibited in the Department of Prints and Drawings and on the staircase of the King Edward Galleries of the British Museum.

Describing the technique of painting, the author says that the work is all done in tempera and that there is no example of true fresco. An unusual treatment found on one or two fragments shows that the surface has been treated with wax or oil. This seems to have been applied only to floor surfaces, where the bare feet of attendant monks would have damaged the ordinary unprotected tempera. Such work has been erroneously described by von Lecoq as " fresco." Designs were transferred to the whitened wall surface by means of pouncing through a pricked drawing, and an illustration is given (Pl. I.) of such a prepared cartoon, found in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas near Tun-huang, by Sir Aurel Stein on his second Central Asian expedition.

After the drawing had been transferred to the wall and the lines lightly traced

over with a grey brush-line to fix them, the colours were laid in; high lights and shading were added, and the whole outlined with black or red or both. The colours are simple and such as could be obtained easily and cheaply; ochres, yellow, red, green, and black, with a sparing use of blue, are the colours chiefly employed. There are also traces of gold. The yellow has generally turned to buff and some of the flesh-colour has become dark grey or brown; but most of the colours have retained astonishing freshness.

The badly damaged examples from Sīstan seem to represent two periods. That which the author considers the earlier depicts an incident in which two life-size (or nearly life-size) figures confront each other in profile. A drawing of this is given in Pl. III. The other is more obscure and shows, in the upper part, a row of standing male figures; in the lower part a seated regal figure before whom stands a three-headed deity. In the hand of the seated figure Sir Aurel Stein recognizes the bull-headed mace of Rustam. All the figures are of Sasanian type.

The Miran paintings present an entirely different style. The "Hellenistic" character of the Gandhara sculptures is here very evident, and in the dado described in the Catalogue (M.V., p. 74), is found the *motif* of an undulating garland, supported at regular intervals on the shoulders of child figures (*amorini*) which so often occurs in Gandhara work. The technique of the painting exhibits that freedom of handling which proclaims long tradition and constant practice. In contradistinction to the later work of Turfan, in which the contour line is all-important, that of the Miran artists is more plastic and shows little regard for the quality of the actual outline. Attention is drawn to the beautiful warm greys used in some of the shading of the flesh and to the impasto of the whites of the eyes.

It has been said that light and shade find no place in Chinese painting. Whatever may have been the practice in later times, it is quite clear that in the wall-paintings of Bezeklik where Chinese or Mongolian influence is strong the shading of flesh and drapery is usual. In those specimens that have been sheltered from excessive light and moisture the delicate but unmistakable shading is still clearly preserved, while in others less well protected the shading has faded in proportion to the exposure to which it has been subjected.

Among the interesting points to which attention may be drawn the author's observations of the character of hands deserve special notice. He says: "The hands of the Miran paintings are short and strong, in those of Bezeklik [Turfan] slender and delicate." The study of hands, their form and pose, as a help towards determining racial influence, is one that deserves closer attention than it generally receives; and this Mr. Andrews has brought out very carefully. In the detailed descriptions of the individual paintings in the body of the Catalogue the character of the hands is frequently noted. Another interesting fact is that practically all heads are drawn three-quarter face, and that there is no true profile in any of the Bezeklik paintings.

A few fragments from the Miran shrine, M. III., show exceptional qualities of drawing and painting, and are attributed by the author to the hand of a master. In this connexion we are reminded of Sir Aurel Stein's discovery on one of the Miran paintings of the name "Tita"=Titus, written in Kharoṣṭhī characters and believed by him to be the artist's signature (see *Serindia*, p. 350). This strengthens the assumption of Western influence already provoked by the character of the painting itself.

There are only a few examples of Manichæan work, not in very good condition, but extremely interesting.

It is in the Turfan Buddhist paintings that Uighur and Chinese influences are most strongly in evidence: in the Mongolian cast of features, the architecture of the celestial mansions, and the occasional inscriptions in Uighur and Chinese characters. Reference is made to the resemblance to Gothic ornament in certain border patterns, and we observe a definitely Gothic feeling in the floral scrolls covering the small dome from Toyuk of which a sketch is given in Pl. II.

Following the general survey is a descriptive note on certain figures which constantly recur, giving a minute and careful study of pose, costume, facial characteristics, halos, and so on. The usual pose of the Turfan Buddha is, we are told, that of Antinous as Hermes in the Capitol.

The descriptions of all the paintings and fragments in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum form the body of the Catalogue. Every fragment is described in detail, and the probable, approximate date of many is given. Students of Buddhist art and those interested in mural painting, to whom a visit to Delhi may be difficult, will welcome the thoroughness of the descriptions which the author's intimate association with every fragment and his practical training in art have made possible.

A list of all specimens, with site-marks in alphabetical order, shows where each can be found and refers to the page in the Catalogue bearing its description.

At the end are one or two plans and illustrations and a sketch-map. This part of the work is poor and inadequate. Plates I. and III. are printed on paper of different sizes, neither of which is in agreement with the page-size of the book. The typography and printing are of the usual Indian "Government Press" quality—in other words, mean, clumsy, and utterly undistinguished. Surely it was worth while to take more trouble in a publication of this importance, one dealing, moreover, with a collection for which a special museum has been constituted.

The Government of India is to be congratulated on the measures taken to preserve and exhibit these wonderful examples of ancient art, which that great explorer and scholar Sir Aurel Stein has rescued from oblivion.

We look forward to the publication in the near future of a portfolio of reproductions of selected examples of these wall-paintings, which we believe is under contemplation and which may be considered as the necessary complement to this Catalogue. In the meantime all archæologists must feel grateful to Mr. Andrews for an extremely able production involving the most diverse specialized knowledge and years of the most difficult and minute work imaginable.

The History of Buddhist Thought. By Edward J. Thomas, M.A., D.Litt. 9¼″ × 6½″. Pp. xvi + 314. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd. 1933. 15s.

To the "History of Civilization" series, now numbering some sixty volumes, Dr. Thomas has made another notable addition with this thoughtful work, which may be regarded as in some measure a companion volume to his *The Life of Buddha*, published in the same series a short while ago.

The author states that in the present work he aims at tracing the growth of the Buddhist community, indicating its relation to the surroundings in which it arose and following the development of Buddhist doctrines from their legendary origin.

With his already well-established knowledge of this wide subject, backed by intensive research to which his book abundantly bears witness, he has gone far

towards achieving his ambitious object, though perhaps some Hinayanists may think he has given overmuch consideration to what another writer has called "the gibberish and mysticism" of extreme Mahayanist evagations.

Beginning with the reminder, subsequently often restated, that the earliest writings of Buddhism were based on oral transmissions through many generations of adherents to the Order—in other words, on an already ageing tradition—Dr. Thomas devotes a short introductory chapter to a few now generally accepted facts, personal, historical, and geographical, and to a chronological arrangement of events during the traditional period. Then under the heading "The Ascetic Ideal," he compares the beginnings of Buddhism with other ascetic movements in various parts of the world, and accounts for the success and survival of the Buddhist system by the fact that its founder had the genius to establish a working organization "not intended for all, but for those who realized that there was a life higher than the indulgence in the passions . . . and who felt that it could not be attained under the limitations of the social conditions of the time." Here also he sets forth briefly the essential doctrine of the Four Great Truths and the nature of the Noble Eightfold Path by which the Truths may be grasped.

The third chapter is an investigation of the evidence furnished by the earliest Scriptures concerning the outstanding events of the traditional period: the recurring recapitulations of the Gospels, the influence of Asoka, and the formation of schismatic groups, comprising eighteen separate schools, from two of which groups there ultimately evolved the astonishing Mahayana digression.

There follows an interesting chapter on Yoga, the mental training already practised in the Brahmin schools in pre-Buddhist times, one of the agencies by which the Buddha attained omniscience and an essential part of the discipline of every aspirant to the condition of *Arahat* or the perfected disciple. We learn how the postulant, his mind attuned by severe moral training, begins to meditate, and, by intense concentration, passes through successive trance-like stages until he reaches, far beyond all mental exaltation, to that absolute equanimity which is necessary for the perception of the Four Great Truths. We learn also how in this advanced mental state superhuman faculties arise which, though their development is discouraged in the early Scriptures, form the basis of the mysteries of the Yogachara section of the Mahayana school.

In Chapter V. the author examines the formula of Causal Origin, with its attendant theory of transmigration; fundamental constituents of Buddhist doctrine; the twelve links in the chain of cause and effect, beginning with Ignorance and culminating in that Sorrow and Decay to which all beings are bound until they find release by way of the Noble Eightfold Path. He raises a doubt as to the accuracy of the term "chain of causation" used by Burnouf a hundred years ago and accepted by all subsequent European writers, in that the correct rendering of the word *nidana* is "cause," not "link." But he adopts the usual terminology in his exposition of the matter, which must be read with care in view of the conflicting theories and doubts quoted from the arguments of various schools.

Chapter VI. reverts to a consideration of the influence upon Buddhism of older religious beliefs and practices; the connection with Brahminism, strongly persisting to this day, and the points of resemblance with, and divergence from, other ascetic cults of the period. This leads to reflection on the intersections of Religion, or Dogma, with Philosophy, or Theorizing, and to the pronouncement that Buddhism began as a religion, but that within its dogma concerning the nature and destiny of man lay theories that inevitably gave rise to a great philosophy—a philosophy, it may be added, that in one school has changed the religion beyond recognition and in another tends to obliterate it altogether.

Arguments for and against the acceptance of the soul, or " self," by Buddhism, and also concerning *Karma*, the " consequence of action," and the state of *Nirvana* are developed through several chapters, the results establishing the fact that the Buddha rejected the soul (the *Atman* of Brahminism) and found in *Karma* the only trace of identity by transmigration from one stage of existence to the next: *Karma*, which is finally obliterated on the attainment of *Nirvana*.

Chapters XII. to XVIII. are mainly devoted to elucidation of the intricacies of Mahayana doctrine. Here, no less than in Chapter V., close attention is necessary in following the learned author through the mass of references and extracts to his conclusions regarding Abhidharma developments, the doctrine of the Bodhisattvas, " the Void " and " Consciousness only."

Should the reader happen to be one hitherto nourished on Hinayana doctrine, he will probably feel both shocked and bewildered by the contents of these chapters, and, having read them, will readily agree with the quotation from Stcherbatsky on pages 212-213 concerning the width of the gulf now dividing the two main branches of the Faith, which European writers denominate Northern and Southern Buddhism. What, for instance, would he make of the following extract from that Mahayana Scripture *The Lotus of the True Doctrine*, cited on page 184 and called by Dr. Thomas "a bare statement of the fundamental doctrine of the Void"?

> For the threefold world is seen by the Tathagata (Buddha) as it really is: it is not born, it dies not, it passes not away, it arises not, it transmigrates not, it attains not Nirvana. It is not real, not unreal, not existent, not non-existent, not thus, not otherwise, not false, not unfalse, not otherwise, not thus.

And indeed it is not easy, even with the aid of this excellent synopsis of Buddhist thought development, to realize that Mahayana, the " Greater Vehicle," or " Greater Career " as Dr. Thomas prefers, with its Holy Trinity, hosts of lesser gods, ostentatious ritual, labyrinthine metaphysics, and tantric contaminations the results of Hindu contacts, has a common origin with the atheistic, mildly mystic, austere, and, above all, humane philosophy of the Hinayana conception.

The last chapter is on Modern Buddhist Thought. This also deals chiefly with Mahayana. It introduces some Chinese and Japanese theories and opinions and winds up the discussion, leaving sundry loose threads to be taken up after further research. There are two Appendices, one a list of the Scriptures, with interesting comment, and the other a note on the eighteen early schools. There are also a useful bibliography and a serviceable index.

W. A. Graham.

The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia. From the time of Muḥammad until the Fourteenth Century. By L. E. Browne. 9″ × 6″. Pp. 198. Map. Cambridge University Press. 1933. 10s. 6d.

This deeply interesting book by the Rev. L. E. Browne, of the School of Islamics at Lahore, gives an account of the state of Christianity in Asia from the time at which the faith of Islām was first preached up to the time when it had reached its greatest triumph, and, with Christianity reduced to " the shadow of a shade," Islām itself began to decline.

In the fifth century the Christian Church was rent asunder by the Nestorian and Monophysite controversies, which left it split into three sections: the

Byzantine or Melkite Church (that of the "King's men," who reckoned themselves Catholic or Orthodox); the Jacobite-Syrian Church, holding the Monophysite doctrine; and the Persian Church, following the teaching of Nestorius; and it is with this latter, the Church of the East, in its relation to the non-Christian religions with which it was brought into contact, that this book is mainly concerned.

At the time when Muḥammad preached his new faith, Christianity had established itself over an area extending from the mountains of Kurdistan to the Persian Gulf, including important settlements in Arabia itself. It was inevitable, therefore, that Christian practice and teaching should have their effect upon the religious development of Islām, and the author concludes that the main religious influence acting upon Muḥammad was what passed for orthodox Christianity at the time, but in assuming that the Prophet's view was "illustrative of the Christian outlook of the day," Mr. Browne surely makes too little allowance for the Prophet's lack of first-hand knowledge of either the New Testament or of any really Christian environment. Perhaps, too, he gives insufficient weight to the influence of Judaism upon Islām.

In view of the fact that the religious doctrines of Islām were based, as its founder believed, upon the Christian and Jewish Scriptures, it was natural that Muḥammad and his successors should show a certain amount of toleration towards the "people of the Book" whose lands they conquered, and the author is concerned to show that, with certain exceptions, the Muslim conquerors did not normally indulge in persecution, and the Churches of the East, for their part, welcomed the advent of the Muslims, as protecting them from the persecution of the Byzantine Church. The Muslim rulers continued the "millet" system, in use before their time, by which the Christians were free to practise their faith while suffering certain political and social disabilities.

In dealing with Christian life and teaching at this period, the writer enters upon more controversial ground, and gives an expression of his own personal views, rather than a historical account of the facts, as when he attributes the failure of the Christian communities to increase in numbers to "the feebleness of their faith," but he might well have asked himself whether modern Christian missions have found it any easier to make progress in many Muslim areas? And, on the other hand, does not the fact that there are groups of indigenous Christians, such as the Armenians, the Assyrians of 'Irāq, and the Christian populations of Syria and Palestine (as well as the Copts of Egypt), who have maintained their faith through centuries of persecution and oppression and every kind of disability, still to be found in considerable numbers, prove that the Christians of the East have gallantly held their own in the face of overwhelming odds? Mr. Browne also condemns the practice of asceticism and celibacy in the Eastern Church, but he assumes that this asceticism was merely negative, and fails to realize that these early ascetics were indeed athletes fighting against the world, the flesh and the devil in order that, having purified and disciplined their own souls, they might the better serve their fellow-men, for these Christian ascetics were largely responsible for the maintenance and progress of education and learning. Having condemned the prevalence of asceticism and withdrawal from the world, it is surely inconsistent in one and the same chapter to accuse these same Christians of a belief in worldly success as a sign of God's favour. In dealing with Christian doctrine, the author's statement that "the belief in the absolute gap between the Creator and the creature" made it difficult for Oriental writers to believe in a real union between God and man, shows a strange lack of acquaintance with Christian mystical teaching at this time and in

these regions, which is to be found in the writings of Aphraates the Monk, Ephraim the Syrian, and Isaac of Nineveh, while the Book of the Holy Hierotheos (written probably at the end of the fifth century) is concerned almost entirely with the mystic union of the human with the Divine.

Mr. Browne is on safer ground when he returns to the actual history of the Eastern Church, and he gives an interesting account of the extension of Christianity to the Far East in the seventh century through the missionary labours of the Nestorians, a wonderful achievement in itself, though destined to be short-lived. To the Nestorians also was due the establishment of the Christian Church of Malabar in Southern India. In dealing with the impact of the Turks and the Franks upon Eastern Christianity, the author concludes that, from the point of view of the country in which the Crusades were fought, they were nothing but a distressing disturbance to the ordered life of the day, since the invaders had little in common with either Muslim or Christian inhabitants, and the enmity between Turks and Franks led to a mutual hostility between the indigenous Muslims and Christians, much more marked than before.

With the coming of the Mongols, the Eastern Christians, for the first time in their history, found themselves under a civil ruler who claimed to be a Christian, Hūlāgū, brother of the great Kubilai Khān, but this favour was almost certainly due to the desire of the Mongols for a European alliance against the Muslims, and successive Muslim victories inclined the Mongols to the faith of the victors, which they finally adopted. This led to persecution of the Christians, and when the invasion of Tamerlane took place in 1394, there were but few of the Nestorians and Jacobites left. Meanwhile the Mongol dynasty in China had come to an end, and with the expulsion of the Mongols Christianity was uprooted there also.

Yet in his final chapter the author notes that the "eclipse" of Christianity in Asia, so far from representing the triumph of the Muslim conquerors, marked the turn of the tide for Islām. In respect of culture Islām was a spent force by the fifteenth century, and what was true in the intellectual sphere was true also in the religious sphere; Islām had no further religious contribution to give to the world, and the writer concludes with the suggestion that the faithful remnant of the Church of the East may yet be inspired to fresh missionary zeal and win Asia for Christianity once more.

There are a few minor defects to be noted in the book, including inconsistency in transliteration—*e.g.*, "Muḥammad" and "Qur'ān" are correctly transliterated in the index, but not in the text. On one and the same page we find "Ṣaḥīḥ" correctly written, but Sufi and Sufism for "Ṣūfī" and "Ṣūfism" (p. 126). The index might well be more complete, but the book is well documented and includes a good bibliography.

This volume forms a valuable addition to the literature of a subject and a period unfamiliar to many, but none the less attractive, and this carefully compiled history, representing the results of six years' labour on the part of one who has an intimate knowledge of both Islām and the East, will be greatly appreciated by all those interested in either Christianity or Islām.

MARGARET SMITH.

Oriental Studies. Edited by Jai Dastur Cursetji Pavry, with a Foreword by A. V. Williams, in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xv + 503. Frontispiece. Oxford University Press. 1934. 50s. net.

This work, consisting of articles by seventy leading Orientalists from seventeen different countries, represents the recognition of the eminent position in the world

of Zoroastrian literature held by Cursetji Erachji Pavry, the distinguished Parsi prelate and scholar. The volume contains a wealth of information on various subjects, much of it being of considerable importance.

Among the articles I would mention "The Traditional Date of Zoroaster," by Herzfeld. The great archæologist, relying on Biruni, who states that the birth of the Prophet occurred 258 years after the era of Alexander, fixes this important date at 570 B.C., whereas Professor Williams Jackson inclines to the date being 660 B.C. In any case, these two dates agree in making Zoroaster an historical being, whereas earlier scholars considered that 1000 B.C. was an approximate date.

Another interesting article is on the Druzes by Hidayat Hosain, while Foakes Jackson writes on "The Influence of Iran upon Early Judaism and Christianity." He points out that Persia taught Judaism that life was a struggle between good and evil and that a deliverer would be sent. Kincaid, in his article on "A Persian Prince—Antiochus Epiphanes," carries this theme further, and lays down that the Persians believed in a divine judgment after death and a future life, and that the Jews gradually adopted this belief. There is no doubt that until the Captivity, the Jews merely prayed for long prosperity and other worldly blessings and had no belief in a future life. Consequently the influence of Persia on Judaism, and through it on Christianity, was of great importance.

A third article by Schmidt deals with "Persian Dualism in the Far East." In it he mentions the interesting fact that "all the Altaic peoples have borrowed the name of Ahuramazda," the Manchu form being *Khormozda.*

To take another subject, Laufer contributes an article on the "Persian Wheel," which spread all over the East and reached Europe *via* Spain and Italy. It was noted by the English traveller Peter Mundy, who, in 1643, describes it at Warsaw as "A Strange Water Work." To continue, Nitikine supplies a learned article on the vexed question of the origin of the Kurds, and indeed it is difficult to select articles from a work which is full of good things and offers such a variety of subjects. It remains to congratulate the editor, who has carried through a difficult task with remarkable success.

P. M. SYKES.

A History of Exploration. From the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G. 10″×6″. Pp. xiv + 374. Coloured frontispiece, plates, and maps. Routledge. 1934. 25s.

How were the various countries of the world discovered, and by whom? Sir Percy Sykes, whose record is that of a distinguished soldier and author, and who has won laurels for himself as an explorer, answers these questions in his excellent work *A History of Exploration*, a book which might well be described as a condensed history of world discovery from the earliest times to the present day. Under his guidance the reader is privileged to make acquaintance with many lands and seas, and learns how each in turn was made known to the civilized world, and to whom the credit of its discovery is due.

The yarn the author spins has all the interest of a romance. Its sweep is wide, and the actors in it naturally include many types. Rulers and military commanders bent on conquest with an eye to the enlargement of their dominions, fanatics out to convert men of other races to their particular faiths, adventurers in search of El Dorado, traders on the look-out for new markets, devoted missionaries of the Cross, scientists anxious to add to their store of knowledge—all these, together with the great company of those whose motive for travel would appear to have been simply the joy of adventure into the unknown, pass in procession before us and lend colour and interest to the narrative of which they form a part.

The stage is admirably set for the various periods dealt with, dating as far back as the dawn of history, and continuing in more or less unbroken sequence up to the present day. Each land and sea area is carefully marked out in the book as chapter follows chapter in chronological order, and we are shown how much, or how little, the explorer knew of his objective before setting out to try to reach it.

From so voluminous a record of travel and adventure it is not easy to select passages most likely to interest the general reader, but the author of *A History of Persia* is perhaps at his best when dealing with Central Asia (this perhaps is natural when one remembers that he himself as a traveller covered much of the same ground as Marco Polo in this region). Other topics of special interest dealt with are the discovery of the New World by Columbus, the solution of the Pacific by Cook, and that of the Sahara by Foureau. To which may be added the tracing of the "furthest North and South" through the centuries, until the discovery of the Poles.

The author, while giving due prominence to the names of such men as Prince Henry the Navigator, the great seamen Vasco da Gama and Magellan, David Livingstone, rightly described as the greatest of African explorers, and, in these latter days, Philby and Bertram Thomas, says in his preface that he has made no attempt to include every explorer or every journey of note in his three hundred and thirty odd pages. Readers may thus possibly be disappointed at not finding set down the name of the particular explorer in whom they may chance to be specially interested, or might wish that his exploits had been told at greater length. Omissions, however, are few. One would have liked a special mention of the Carthaginian Hanno, with a description of his voyage to Sierra Leone, surely one of the first deep-sea voyages of discovery of which we have documentary evidence, and of how he brought back gorilla skins as evidence of "a savage people." Many people in these islands too, especially those north of the Tweed, would have been gratified to be reminded of the attempted exploration of the Highland fastnesses of the primitive Caledonians by Agricola and his legions, which came to so dismal a finish. But one must learn to be moderate in one's demands.

The book is enriched by many maps and illustrations, and a pleasant feature is the large number of extracts from the explorers' own stories and reports it gives us. One notes with interest, by the way, the gallant part that women have played in this world's story. Three are specially mentioned in this book—the wife of Samuel Baker, who accompanied her husband to the Albert Nyanza; Mary Kingsley, explorer of the French Congo; and "the gallant Englishwoman Rosita Forbes, who succeeded in raising a corner of the curtain concealing Asir."

To sum up. *A History of Exploration* is a book to be read and enjoyed. It is a chronicle of heroic enterprise and high endeavour adequately and ably set down. One rises from the reading of it with a heightened respect and admiration for the men who, in the splendid work they accomplished of opening up the unknown and untraversed places of the earth, dared so greatly and endured so much.

C. R. E. W. PERRYMAN.

Peaks and Plains of Central Asia. By Colonel Reginald C. F. Schomberg. 8¾″ × 5¾″. Pp. 288. Illustrations and three maps. London: Martin Hopkinson. 1933. 15s. net.

For "Central Asia" in the title, "Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan as reconstituted," should be read. The book is a traveller's narrative and description, not

a treatise on the country. There is little in it of political influences, or of the history or languages of the country; but, with the exception of the Lop Nor, every part of Sinkiang is described as the author saw it in the three complete years of his journeyings round it. Particular attention was devoted to that part of the Tien Shan range which runs into the interior of Sinkiang from the west; and here it would seem that Colonel Schomberg was more of a pioneer than in most parts of his journeys.

His descriptions of the flowers on the down-like Arkashahr Mountains further north, and of the flowers and glens of the lower Altai, are most attractive. Elsewhere in the book are noted the contrast of orchard and desert in alternation, the tracts of tamarisk and tall, feathery grasses, the stony plains of Zungaria in the north, and the disagreeable haze which hangs over all the south.

The book is full of human nature. The author evidently knew Turki well, although, in accordance with his plan of keeping his personal affairs well in the background, he avoids all reference to the fact. He conversed freely with Taotai and Ambans, with townsmen and villagers, with Kirghiz and Kasaks, with Buddhist Kalmucks, and with those strange Mahomedans from China, the Tungans. They are live people in his pages, and are discussed with a cheerful mixture of cynicism and tolerance. We see a good deal of their background, but some photographs or visual descriptions of their houses and tents, in which he habitually stayed, would have been welcome. His emphasis on the abundance of food in the south raises a question on which he does not touch—viz., why the natural increase of population has not pressed closely up against the means of subsistence, as it has sooner or later in so many other countries. The attractive colour-photographs with which the book is illustrated show for the most part types of inhabitants—mainly girls—and costumes.

Wild life is by no means forgotten; and quite early in the book we are introduced to the golden hunting-eagles of the Kirghiz in the south, with their gentle cooing of "Kush! Kush! Kush!"

Among the races of the country the people who impressed Colonel Schomberg as the true aristocrats were the Kirei Kasak nomads of the Altai in the north, who live largely on fermented mares' milk. In regard to the nomads in general, he points out that they perform a useful service in exploiting pastures and uplands which would otherwise be useless to mankind. The Sart—*i.e.*, the placid, settled dweller in the towns and villages of Sinkiang—says Colonel Schomberg, "is often not dark or even sallow." Here is something for the ethnologist. Is it due to an admixture of Persian blood? At Keriya, in the south, women are allowed to sow the seed in the fields, following after the ploughman. In India and some other countries, Colonel Schomberg remarks, the female agency would be considered unpropitious for the crops.

He is of opinion that in ordinary times a large and inefficient army such as the Chinese kept in Sinkiang, composed though it was of "unweaned babes and Methuselahs," was suitable for its purpose of keeping the country in order. For such an army was cheap for its size, and the inhabitants were not very formidable from the military point of view, while the quartering of a large army upon a rebellious locality was more of a deterrent than the quartering of a small one.

Colonel Schomberg's travels in Sinkiang were, however, brought to an end by the hostilities which broke out owing to the attempt of the Chinese in 1930 to put an end to local autonomy in the tribes and khanates—an action which stirred up really serious feeling against the Government.* It was the advance of an

* See p. 80 of the January issue of this Journal, "Recent Events in Sinkiang."

army that prevented his inspecting the Lop Nor depression, except at its extreme western end. His journeys round Sinkiang were timely in that they enabled him to give a first-hand account of the country at what was probably the end of a long epoch in its history. For the present three-cornered struggle between Chinese, Tungans, and natives, however it may end, seems likely to be the prelude to a gradual introduction of rapid means of communication into the country, with all the changes which that must entail. As materials towards a picture of the country under the old régime the book will be of lasting value. Its compilation would have been impossible without the qualities of tact and leadership which Colonel Schomberg evidently possessed. Not the least interesting part of his book consists of the frequent references to members of his little following of Hunzas (people whom the German-American expedition of 1932 to Nanga Parbhat found difficult to manage as coolies), Kashmiris, and natives of Sinkiang, and their opinion of the types of people whom they met. With them and with the inhabitants with whom he had to do, his relations were, with few exceptions, excellent; and his digestion was fortunately able, as a rule, to cope with the enormous dinners which were offered him on so many occasions.

A. F. K.

"La Croisière Jaune." The Citroën-Haardt Expedition through Central Asia. By Georges Le Fevre. Pp. xli+342. 123 photographs. Plates. Maps. Paris. 1933. Edition de Luxe.

It is somewhat of a commentary on present-day news values that a feat such as the crossing Asia from Mediterranean to Pacific by a fleet of motor tractors, climbing the Himalaya en route, should have passed so nearly unnoticed. Perhaps the Citroën label was too suggestive of advertisement, but the fact remains that the story of Haardt's *croisière jaune* is little known in England, even among readers who remember his earlier trans-Saharan adventure.

One is tempted, it is true, to make rather light of an enterprise with, to say the least, a strong commercial element and to smile at its pretensions as a serious contribution to scientific knowledge. In essence, no doubt, the undertaking was a " stunt " (perhaps, having committed ourselves to the word, we may call it a " super-stunt "). But even as this it was a great achievement. By mere journalist standards, it must surely have been a " record " in more than one respect. How often, for instance, has any single individual passed from coast to coast through the central belt of Asia since the days when the mediæval silk-route fell into decay five centuries ago? Even the aeroplane has not this feat to its credit. As an endurance test for motors, the crossing of the 14,000-foot Burzil Pass over the Himalaya, not to mention the length of the journey, probably stands unique. Human endurance too was tried to a pitch which invites comparison with the experiences of Arctic explorers, while the qualities shown by Haardt in determination, patience, and " drive," as well as in powers of *bando bast*, entitle him to be placed high in the ranks of leaders.

The book which records the journey, written by the *historiographe* attached to the expedition, is an agreeable mixture of official " log " and human story-of-adventure. It is illustrated by photographs of which it suffices to say that they were taken by a member of the staff of the American " *Geographic*," together with striking portraits by Jacovleff, the famous Russian artist. The *in memoriam* on the first page of the volume is a melancholy tribute to Georges-Marie Haardt, who died of pneumonia at Hongkong a few days after the end of his odyssey.

Diplomatic preparations for the journey were, of course, a formidable task. The Soviet Government first opened their territory, then closed it again when the dumping dispute made relations with France "sticky." Persia and Afghanistan offered no special difficulties. The Government of India, it is not necessary to say, did everything possible to help, and a former Political Officer, Colonel Vivian Gabriel, C.S.I., was attached to the expedition. It was China that presented the really serious obstacles. The treatment accorded to Sir Aurel Stein on his last proposed trip into China and to Roy Chapman Andrews in his palæontological work in Mongolia had shown what to expect. Permission was only obtained for the party to pass over Chinese soil in the guise of a Sino-French scientific expedition with Chinese directors attached, including a member of the Kuomintang Central Committee. Separate negotiations had to be carried through with the virtually independent Governor of Sinkiang. His consent was eventually purchased by the promise of a present consisting of Citroën cars and W/T installations.

The route originally chosen would have taken the expedition through Syria, 'Iraq, and Persia, near the south shore of the Caspian Sea and across Russian Turkestan to Kashgar. After the withdrawal of Russian permission, this route had to be changed and a fresh itinerary laid out through Afghanistan and India. The practicability of getting the cars across the mountain ranges between India and Sinkiang being at best uncertain, there was nothing to do but to send a separate expedition (the "China Group") to Peking to travel west into Central Asia and effect a junction there with the "Pamir Group," starting from Beyrouth. The route as actually followed was via Beyrouth, Baghdad, Tehran, Herat, Kabul, Khyber Pass, Peshawar, Gilgit, Kashgar, Urumchi, Ninghsia, and Kalgan to the finishing point at Peking.

Beyrouth to India is the least interesting part of the record, and we may omit that part of the journey to pass on to the far more eventful section between India and the Pacific. The expedition left Srinagar in July, 1931, with the China Group simultaneously crossing the Gobi on its way from east to west. The Himalaya, Karakorum, and Pamirs all had to be crossed in order to reach Kashgar. How much of these ranges could the tractors negotiate? This could only be settled by trial, so two of the tractors were taken by Haardt and his chief engineer Ferracci to attempt the pass to Gilgit. Bridges, of course, presented the first difficulty, having frequently to be strengthened before they could bear the weight and the empty cars were hauled across by cables. Up the pass itself the tractors laboured at the rate of a kilometre an hour with the motors losing 50 per cent. of efficiency owing to altitude. Now and again stretches of track were impossible and the cars descended—on gradients sometimes of 40°—down to the bottom of the valley, where a path had to be cleared along the rock-strewn bed of the stream, until they could climb back to the track. The track itself was frequently narrower than the cars and had to be buttressed out to take them. Once, at a point 600 feet above the bed of the Astor, the new-made surface collapsed under a car, and the photograph of the latter (p. 176), with a gaping void under the whole length of one of its "caterpillars" and remaining in place by a *miraculeux effet de l'équilibre*, is a truly startling picture. Le Fevre describes the incident in these words:

> "Cécillon sentit tout à coup le terrain manquer sous la chenille gauche. Sa voiture n'accrochait plus du côté de l'abîme. Il changea de couleur :
> — Ferracci! . . . Je m'enfonce.
> — Bouge pas. . . .

—Hé bien! répéta Cécillon, sur quoi suis-je assis?
—Sur rien, mon vieux.
Un officier anglais, l'un des fils du maréchal Haig, observait à la jumelle l'étonnant phénomène."

Haardt's patience and grit were equal to the occasion. The motors were simply stripped to the chassis; tracks, gear-boxes, differentials were all removed and "porteraged" by coolies over the gap in the track, after which the *voitures squelettiques* were hauled across by hand. The job was accomplished in twelve hours, the cars reassembled, and Gilgit triumphantly entered under a swarm of local inhabitants taking the first motor ride of their lives.

At Gilgit Haardt received devastating news from the China Group. They were prisoners at Urumchi, held there by the Governor. Haardt had to abandon all further attempts with the cars and push forward as fast as he could with ponies and yaks in their place.

Here the book switches over—in rather the cinema style—to the China end of the story. The China Group under Victor Point, a young naval lieutenant who had served on a Yangtse gunboat, ran into trouble from the start. Within twenty miles of Peking the tractors were immobilized by the simultaneous breaking of all the track-belts (local rumour at the time declared that they had been stowed too close to the engines on the voyage out), and a fortnight was lost in getting replacements from Paris by the Siberian route. Further delays arose from the tardiness of the Chinese members of the group. The friction between the French and the Chinese members, which thus occurred at the start, in the end nearly brought about the collapse of the expedition. With only the French version before us, it would be rash to judge of the rights and wrongs of the quarrel; suffice it to say that the Chinese party—the Central Committeeman, a general, a colonel, and sundry smaller officials—are accused of offences ranging from the gluttonous consumption of the expedition's stock of sardines and jam to the final act of denouncing the French as spies and getting their permits cancelled.

The crossing of the Gobi involved a series of adventures. The party lost its way and was saved by the "sixth sense" of Gumbo, its Mongol guide; the heat burst the drums of petrol and 450 litres were lost in a single day (a reserve of 8,000 litres was carried, in addition to the supplies "cached" along the route during the previous months). Finally, in the middle of the desert, the leader of the group and a Chinese member fell out, and a *gifle* given by the former laid the train for the misfortunes which later befell the group.

Attacking the Gobi on a line slightly northward of the usual caravan route, so as to cross the dunes at their narrowest point, the group came to Sūchow in Kansu at the eastern extremity of the great Central-Asian "rut" (to use Le Fevre's expression) which runs through Hami, Turfan, and Aksu to Kashgar. Their arrival coincided with the first stage of the rebellion under Ma Chung-yin, the Tungan leader, which has since developed into the chaotic muddle of wars now in progress throughout Sinkiang. From this point their political troubles began, and they must often have thanked their stars for having with them so experienced a Central-Asian traveller and so fluent a Chinese linguist as Monsieur Petro-Pavlovsky, the author of the lecture given in December, 1932, printed in the *R.C.A.S. Journal* for April, 1933. The barest résumé of their difficulties with the various local authorities would take too much space, and one can only record that after much delay the troubles arising out of the incident of the *gifle* were finally settled by means of a solemn *concordat* which deprived Lieutenant Point of his technical leadership and replaced him by a subordinate.

They rolled into Hami among the finishing scenes of a bloody battle between Chinese and Tungans, in which thousands of the former were killed. Then came peremptory orders from Chin Shu-yen, the provincial governor, to report to him at Urumchi. The trouble with Chin was threefold. He had failed to receive the promised cars and wireless, which had started from Tientsin but been intercepted en route; he wanted the use of the present tractors and wireless for use in his war against Ma Chung-yin, and—though this developed later—he received "instructions" from the Government at Nanking to withdraw the expedition's permits and head them back to the coast, the result of reports sent home by the outraged Chinese members. Incidentally, the Governor was apparently highly incensed at the arrival within his province of Dr. Tsu Ming-yu, the Kuomintang high official attached to the expedition, whom he contrived soon afterwards to "return with compliments" by the Siberian route.

Point luckily got wind ahead of a plot to seize the tractors on their arrival at the capital. A pleasant comedy ensued. The string of cars was diverted to a grove in an outside suburb, the track belts were hastily removed, and the four mechanics, who were all in actual fact mildly suffering from dysentery, were pushed into bed and declared to be *hors de combat.* Within a few minutes Chin's Russian engineers arrived to take over the cars only to find them immobilized and beyond their power to repair. Thus the resourceful lieutenant saved his precious charges. His next problem was to get into wireless touch with Peking, report to the French Minister, and get M. Wilden to induce the Chinese Government to reverse their recent order. His method of doing this deserves detailed description. The problem was as follows: The W/T apparatus was contained in its own car which the Chinese had sealed up. It was worked from the car's motor, which the Chinese had prohibited them to use; moreover, for wireless messages an aerial was needed, and this could not be put up without attracting attention. The solution shows signs of genius. A French national fête was announced, to last for a series of days, in the manner of Chinese New Year. Every evening there was to be music and dancing, and the Chinese notabilities, as well as the soldier-guards, were all invited to attend. A loud-speaker gramophone provided the music and for the electrical "pick-up" it was, of course, necessary to obtain current by running one of the car engines. Flags were produced and strung on wires among the trees. With these wires as an aerial, with a concealed belt connecting the engine and the wireless, with the aid of a sliding panel, unnoticed by the Chinese, which allowed the operator to crawl into the cabin, and finally, with vocal assistance of a chorus of the staff bawling "*Un peu d'amour*" over and over again to drown the wireless crackle, communication was established with a French sloop at Hongkong, messages passed with the Minister, and within a fortnight counter-instructions came through from Nanking to allow the group to proceed.

Though the dispute over the Governor's present still had to be settled, the group, after a delay of no less than forty-three days, eventually concluded another *concordat* by which a small portion of the party was allowed to go on to Aksu to meet the Pamir Group.

The adventures of Petro-Pavlovsky, who remained behind with a broken-down car at Hami and was present throughout the siege, form a separate epic which has been told by himself in a lecture to our Society (see *R.C.A.S. Journal*, Vol. XX., Part II.), so needs no repetition here.

Returning from Aksu as a united whole, the expedition again fell into Governor Chin's "mousetrap." His cars had still not arrived, but a wire previously sent to M. Citroën had resulted in the despatch of a duplicate outfit

by the Siberian railways, and they duly arrived across country from Chuguchak in fifty-three days from the date of leaving Paris. The second release from the "mousetrap" was far from being the end of the expedition's adventures. So much time had been lost that they found themselves crossing the desert in temperatures as low as 40° below zero (Fahr.); the engines, forced to run for the twenty-four hours on end in order to keep from freezing, began to peg out, and near Paotou there was an unpleasant encounter with brigands. Approaching at night a Mongol encampment during their passage of the Grass Lands, the party were surprised to see the sky lit up by a large firework display, and, having reached the spot, found the Panshan Lama being entertained by a number of Mongol Princes. They finally reached Peking in an exhausted state—the explanation, no doubt, of Haardt's tragic death almost immediately after on his way homeward to Marseilles.

Some idea has been given here of the amount of incident and adventure packed into the 350 pages of *La Croisière Jaune*. If a trifle journalistic, it has the merit of being extremely readable and gives a vivid picture both of the scenes of the journey and of the life of the couple of dozen individuals—organizers, engineers, artists, cinema-men, doctors, linguists, and scientists (the latter including a geologist Jesuit Father)—who composed M. Haardt's team. The more serious value of the book lies in its contribution to an understanding of the extraordinary political tangle which exists in Chinese Turkestan at the present time. The initial revolt of Ma Chung-yin and the causes behind it are very clearly described, and the description is an excellent background to the papers on Central Asia published in the Society's Journal during the last eighteen months. To carry the story on from the date of the expedition (1931), the Tungan "rebels" advanced subsequently almost to the gates of Urumchi and were only finally repulsed when the Chinese troops in Sinkiang were reinforced by the Manchurian refugee generals Ma Chan-shan and Su Ping-wen. Meanwhile, the White Russian troops, whose aid Chin Shu-jen had invoked, turned against him and chased him out of the province. His successor, Lui Min-san, by one of the "quick changes" so familiar in China, allied himself with the rebellious Tungans in order to meet an attack from a fresh quarter, consisting of the (Turki) Andijanis and Kirhgiz tribesmen. This combination is now threatening to oust Chinese authority south of the Tien Shan, having, if recent reports are true, actually taken Kashgar and set up a Moslem Republic in Chinese Turkestan.

Le Pasteur de Tribus. Par Alexandre Syline. Paris: Librairie Gallimard. 1932.

This is an account of the Kirghiz of Eastern Russian Turkestan, and falls into two parts, in the first of which the Kirghiz are described before their Sovietization, and in the second and shorter part there is an outline of the opening up of the country, the emancipation of the inhabitants from the rule of their headmen and chiefs, and the completion of the railway, apparently the Turksib.

Yet the book is not really propaganda, and it would be unfair to call it a laudation of Bolshevist aims and Bolshevist methods. It is written in the form of a loosely-woven romance, though it is really a series of vignettes.

In the first part the life of the nomads is well described. The daily round of the yurts or felt tents, the mixture of squalor and luxury, the poverty and opulence in juxtaposition, are all correctly and skilfully portrayed.

The vices of the Kirghiz, and they are not few, are given due prominence.

There are some powerful and graphic scenes—as, for instance, the duel with whips between the Russian and the Kirghiz (p. 63), and particularly the final scene in the first part of the book, where the old chief commits suicide sooner than submit to the inevitable consequences of Sovietization and the surrender of his authority, his flocks, and his normal mode of life. The filth and squalor of the yurts (p. 97), the lice the size of kopeks (p. 100), the lack of convention (p. 105), the purchase of a wife, and much else, show a real and acute acquaintance with life amongst these nomads.

In the second part of the book the dead chief's son is shown returning from Moscow to his own country, a man educated and up-to-date, but embittered, homesick and quite disillusioned by his experience in Russia proper. He is finally repudiated by his own people, over whom it is his right to rule as the son of their former chief; and he is killed by the train on the day of the opening of the new railway, which is the symbol of the end of the old order, and against which he has made a vain effort to struggle.

It is perhaps an old theme, the advance and nemesis of progress, but it is well done, and is of great interest in connection with the nomadic tribes of Central Asia.

Except for some long-winded descriptions and a good deal of over-elaboration, this account of the Russian Kirghiz can be commended. It is painful reading in parts, but it shows the collapse of the old life of the tents, thanks to the forcible destruction of a system that has stood the test of the ages and which the nature of the country must make hard to replace. But what does the ruin of a country matter so long as the theories and foibles of Bolshevism are inculcated and enforced?

First Russia, then Tibet. By Robert Byron. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xvi+328. Illustrations. Macmillan. 15s.

There is no padding in this book, nor are there any preconceived ideas. Robert Byron has had the courage to approach Russia and Russian affairs from an entirely new angle.

Although the main object has been to throw light on Russian art and architecture, he has much of importance to say of Russia and her people, especially in the early chapters, which are devoted chiefly to the psychology of the Russian of to-day. Young eonugh to be of the tide, he is not, like so many others, submerged by it. His judgment is sufficiently sound to save him from extreme views. His sympathy enables him to focus clearly that which has blurred the vision of many. Original, vivid, and clear come his own impressions, richly flavoured with humour. He refuses to allow the introspective clamourings of the Russian to affect his view of him. He disagrees fiercely with most Bolshevik methods and motives and slashes at them with all his might. Nevertheless, his great respect for sincerity gives him patience to probe deep. He abhors humbug.

> "Who in these days can afford to despise those who know their own purpose and follow it? Furthermore, it exercised, mentally, a tonic effect. To me, an Englishman born to every advantage of inheritance and opportunity that the modern world can offer, it seemed highly refreshing to be regarded, suddenly, as the offspring of a poisonous fungus. This is the joy of Bolshevism, from the traveller's point of view: it washes away the layers of complacence that accumulate through residence in the civilized—perhaps too civilized—capitals of the West."

Russia will not like what he has to say. She will neither appreciate his sympathy nor his humour. Much too close to see herself, nevertheless she is busily straining every nerve to justify herself. English readers will understand and sympathize through Robert Byron's eyes. They will be helped to a fuller knowledge of the problems that confront a people who are suffering an agony of delirium in their search for freedom. God help those outsiders who in Robert Byron's opinion are putting the wrong construction on the situation.

> " But what I will affirm, and what I would beg the reader to share with me, is my contempt for those foreign intellectuals, and particularly those English ones, who, while finding in Russia the exemplar of social and economic planning, the climax of constructive politics, the paradise of Youth—in short, the model towards which all truly progressive persons must look for world redemption—are so intoxicated with admiration that they can spare no word of sympathy for their fellow intellectuals, the men in Russia likest to themselves, for whom there is no place or hope under the system they so ardently covet. That this system would immediately, on attaining power, annihilate these miserable hypocrites, these hypnotees of every windblown theory, these bastards by uplift out of comfortable income, is the one satisfaction I could derive from its introduction into England. These Fabian ghosts, these liberal politicians, socialist editors and female peace-promoters, are the very people who anathematize without cease the tyranny of Hitler and his treatment of the German intellectual. But in Russia, where they are building not only socialism but Fordson tractors, the treatment of the intellectual does not matter: what counts freedom of thought or scholarship or individual creation beside the regeneration of the Great Unwashed? Very little, I dare say. And as little as these things count in that new world, just so little in this old one count those men whose inheritance they are and who renounce them for a mess of Bolshevist pottage. Let us rather have amongst us the red revolutionary who tries to seduce the troops and goes to prison for it, than these Russophil enthusiasts who acclaim the downfall of their own kind as the ultimate triumph of civilization."

Architectural knowledge is not readily absorbed by those who know little of it. It is usually dull reading to all but the expert. Robert Byron transforms the telling into an absorbing tale—every line full of interest. He makes Russia rise up through the ages, through Tartar conquests, through Byzantine phases, through scene after scene of architectural loveliness. The morbidness of to-day is forgotten in the exquisite beauty of old Russia.

As a complete contrast comes Tibet. Here there is no attempt to delve deep, no probing into soul centres. We are just carried on jauntily from adventure to adventure. The humour is broad—personal reaction to physical discomfort makes delicious entertainment from such a live pen as Robert Byron's.

The moment he boards the air liner in England, Adventure with a capital "A" begins. As he approaches forbidden Tibet, we share his excitement. We feel the magic and the mysticism with him. Nothing escapes him. What an amount of knowledge he has collected in those few weeks! Had he stayed long enough in Tibet to delve into the character of the Tibetan, with the same clear understanding as he did in Russia, the world would have been much richer for such knowledge.

But he was observing only, not questioning—and there is no struggle in Tibet. Introspective battlings—Tibetans would think them a great joke. This life counts

for so little. Preparation for that much more important life to come occupies their whole lives. The people are statically content and unconsciously happy.

The strange spell of utter peacefulness which pervades Tibet fell on Robert Byron. He caught it and gave us precious glimpses. These are interwoven with his own adventure into a glowing grotesque fabric.

THYRA WEIR.

The White Armies of Russia. The Chronicle of Counter-Revolution and Allied Intervention. By George Stewart. 8″ × 6″. Pp. xiii + 469. Maps and illustrations. New York: Macmillan Co. 21s.

Mr. Stewart has accomplished a formidable task by presenting in one volume a clear picture of the various attempts of the White Russian forces, with or without Allied aid, to overthrow the Bolshevik Revolution between 1917 and 1920.

To the general reader perhaps the most interesting feature of the book is the vivid revelation of the difficulties with which the chief White leaders, Denikin and Kolchak, were faced, and of the reasons of their failure. They both failed not only to achieve a co-ordinated White policy and strategy (although Kolchak eventually received a tardy recognition as the Supreme Ruler), but also—and this is far more important—to produce any political settlement which could give peace and contentment to the areas of Russia which they occupied.

In rear of the struggling armies the land seethed with discontent and was rent with factions of every hue. Red risings were frequent and were suppressed with the utmost savagery, while White leaders extorted the requirements of their forces from the countryside with all the brutal oppression of Czarist days. It is small wonder that Bolshevik propaganda flourished and that the armies, once they broke, never looked like rallying.

The picture is a startling contrast to the enthusiasm which greeted Denikin in captured towns in his first advance, and shows the tragic waste of goodwill which resulted from his failure to impose a satisfactory civil régime.

Into his story of the White Armies Mr. Stewart weaves the history of the various Allied attempts at intervention. Space does not allow him to go deeply into the political questions and conflicting aims involved, but it is clear that the strong military support for which the Russian leaders hoped was never a practical possibility, and that as a result they felt that the help they did receive was half-hearted and hesitant. Nevertheless the impression remains that, had the White leaders been able to put their houses in order, the assistance in material, which the Allies, and particularly Britain, placed at their disposal, might well have turned the scales in their favour.

As an American, Mr. Stewart naturally tends slightly to display the activities of his own countrymen as those of disinterested philanthropists, while emphasizing the jealousies and selfish policies of the other Allies; but to do him justice he does his best to be fair. In dealing with the British occupation of the Caucasus, he accepts General Denikin's view that this was an embarrassment to him rather than an aid. It seems more likely, however, that, in fact, the British occupation did achieve its secondary object of securing Denikin's rear, and that without it he would have been engaged in a continuous campaign against the Caucasian republics which would have been either Bolshevik or aggressively nationalist.

Again on the Baltic front Mr. Stewart does not seem to have realized the importance to the Allies of preventing Germany from recouping herself by expansion along the Baltic—*i.e.*, to compensate if possible for her defeat in the West. In fact, he treats Colonel Bermondt's forces as a true White Russian

contingent rather than as the attempted German revival which, in fact, they were. His interest in the White Russian forces also seems to lead him to do rather less than justice to the efforts of Estonia and Latvia to establish their own independence at this time.

The book is illustrated with a large number of interesting photographs and by sixteen maps. The latter have been prepared with great care, but would perhaps have been more useful had they been less ambitious. In an endeavour to show all the movements and positions of the various forces over considerable periods, they have been obscured with a great deal of detail which renders them difficult to follow.

These, however, are only minor criticisms of what is, after all, a very useful and interesting book, and certainly the only all-embracing production on this period.

Dans les Coulisses du Kremlin. By S. Dmitrievsky. Translated from the Russian into French by René le Grand. 7″ × 4¾″. Pp. vii + 240. Paris: Lib Plon. 12 fr.

This book, which appears very light, has more depth of thought than would be supposed at a casual glance. Moreover, it is written by one who knows it from within.

To those of us who, like myself, have felt the spell of the inner citadel of the Kremlin walls, it reawakens the ghosts of the past. The modern aspects of Red and White Russia, of Bolsheviks or anti-Bolsheviks, and world revolution are forgotten. The Russia dreamt of by Peter the Great with its " window to the west " has also melted away, and we see unfolding before us medieval Russia —the Russia of Ivan the Terrible and Boris Goudonov—but it is Russia and not the Third Internationale.

As in those far-off days we see the drama of life of the Rulers, members of the Government, and as under the Tzars the parasite entourage of both sexes, the débris of parties, the wives and mistresses of high officials being enacted behind the Kremlin walls—that city within a city. The Kremlin is strongly guarded, for there is the ever-present fear of revolt and assassination. As in the days of the Veliki Kniars and early Tzars, a " caste " is evolving within the Kremlin with whom Russia as a whole has no part or contact. To live in the Kremlin was the dream of what the author terms the " old aristocracy " of the Bolsheviks. But their days are numbered; many have indeed gone. There is one new feature in our picture, the Red flag which is always flying, illuminated at night, resembling a great sheet dipped in blood.

The author gives an interesting account of the manner in which meetings and work are conducted within the Kremlin precincts, and how the old bureaucratic methods still persist.

As regards life in Moscow itself, the Theatre has loomed large on the Bolshevik horizon, but even this is now being regarded as a relic of feudalism.

The " Corps Diplomatique " are rarely entertained or received, and only as a sop to " Western customs " and bourgeois ideas, on which occasions the Bolsheviks put on European " dress." It is a curious point to note how often the author refers to " Europeans " or " Western customs."

The Grey House of the Chinese Quarter, which houses the Central Committee of the Communist party, occupies a chapter, as also the O.G.P.U., the master key of the State, abstract as its head, Mejinsky, " with his sixth sense," merely expressing the will of Stalin. But although a power, it also constitutes a danger to the State.

May to September marks the exodus to the Crimea for the high officials. The author describes a stay at Sououk-son, and how the peasants shun the Bolshevik officials' haunts and feel awkward in the sanatorium of the Palace of Livadia. This chapter is amusing.

With the death of Lenin the "Heroic Epoch" of the Revolution passed. For Lenin the Party was the Army which helped him to conquer the State and overcome opposition physically and morally. For him the Party was a sort of academy to train the new spirit. Under Lenin the Communist theory had not had time to degenerate into a dead and scholastic dogma. But the new Revolutionaries are more national, and Marxism is dying like an autumn fly.

Stalin's methods are in a sense similar to Lenin, but as he arrived at power by quite a difficult road, under him the "Party" has undergone changes, and it is through the Party that he rules.

The drama of collectivization has merely meant that the landowner has been replaced by the State, and it is the same in industry. To-day is linked with yesterday and perhaps with to-morrow. But the Revolution has failed to attract and retain the soul of Russia. The author wonders if the men who sit round the table of the Sovnarkom represent supreme power? There is nothing above them, nothing—except destiny and time.

Chapters are devoted to character studies of the heads of the State. The pioneers of the Revolution, who had spent the best years of their lives existing in misery in the lowest cafés of Western Europe, were in one sense more personal and on the other more international. For them the Revolution meant the conquest of comfort, and they plotted and dreamt of world revolution, for side by side with their own poverty they had seen the comforts of bourgeois life around them. After their first success they denied themselves nothing, but had to face their critics. The first debauches exposed in "La Noce au Kremlin" were followed by simplicity, which is the stamp of the present rulers; all is grey, actresses alone wear colours and are mostly in the pay of the O.G.P.U. These men risked all; they had all to gain and nothing to lose, but now they have all to lose and nothing to gain. Hence they have become conservative, stagnant in their ideas, and without initiative. These men of fifty have no place in the Russia which is awakening. Generally speaking, governing Russia is young, between thirty and forty. Few people of a certain age are seen. But elections are so controlled that the people have no real voice in the choice of their rulers.

Revolution always bring out remarkable men, but in Russia individuality is so suppressed that they are now turned out in series.

But the really great men are born and bred up under the new conditions. Napoleon in a sense was a post-revolution creation. The Russian Revolution has not yet entered the last phase. The house-breakers have done their work; an inertia pervades. The ground is cleared for the new building to be erected. But where is the master builder? Wait!

The author concludes with the words that we shall see the Renaissance of a National Russia! Chi lo sa? With its eyes on the East.

U. H. B.

Foreign Investments in China. By C. F. Remer. 8¾″ × 6″. Pp. xxi + 708. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. 25s.

Four years of investigation and research, undertaken under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council of New York, have gone to the making of this study of China's foreign investments and international economic position.

The result has been to bring together within readable scope the facts and figures of China's economic contacts with other countries—contacts which have taken forms unique in themselves and have given rise to problems which in an increasing degree force themselves on the attention of the world. These problems are here presented in a spirit of scientific impartiality, free from the prejudice in which they are usually treated by Chinese and foreign writers alike, and for this reason, if for no other, this book is to be recommended to the student of Far Eastern affairs.

China is often represented as a country of vast potentialities and the greatest remaining market for the products of European and American industry. Such statements are shown to be greatly exaggerated. Contrary to the general belief, she is far from rich in natural resources, and the traditional structure of her social and economic life has resulted in chronic over-population, a very low standard of living, and an almost complete absence of either the will or the means to accumulate capital on any considerable scale. The Chinese individually are the most thrifty people in the world, but the deep-rooted family system has directed their savings only into the land, to which they have been applied to a degree which defies the law of diminishing returns, and to small-scale household industry and trade. Their disinclination to entrust their money to anybody outside the family circle has likewise put an effective check on investment in the modern sense of the term, and so on the development of the financial machinery without which savings cannot be applied to large-scale capital equipment; while a strongly inherent resistance to foreign intrusion, as well as the failure of Government to maintain conditions of reasonable security, has hindered the importation of foreign capital with which to develop the resources of the country. Without this development, and an attendant rise in the standard of living, China can never become a great market.

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that foreign investments have been mainly limited to the Treaty Ports, where the system of Extraterritoriality has given the investor reasonable security, nor that they have been small in relation to the size both of the country and of most of the investing countries' holdings in other parts of the world. If Government obligations and landholdings in the Treaty Ports are excluded, the larger part of those investments has in the past taken the form of stocks of trade goods rather than of capital works; but in recent years China's growing determination to develop industries of her own, the high import tariff, and the gradual growth of security round the nucleus of Shanghai and the treaty ports have been swinging the balance towards capital and away from trade investment, and China's foreign imports are likely in future to consist more of capital commodities and less of consumable goods than has been the case hitherto. China cannot finance her capital equipment internally, and her credit is not such as to make borrowing from abroad possible on any scale, so it is reasonable to suppose that direct investment by foreign governments and corporations, under suitable safeguards, will play an increasingly large part in her development; and that the national ownership of such investments will to a great extent determine the direction from which her future imports will come.

The detailed estimates, which the author gives of the value of different countries' investments in China, are interesting as showing that Great Britain still (in 1931) holds the lead, though landholdings in Shanghai comprise the larger relative part of the British investment and have taken the place of our former predominance in trade and shipping. As is only to be expected, Japan is a close second, but 63 per cent. of her direct investments are in Manchuria, and if these are excluded (Manchuria being now to all intents and purposes a Japanese

possession) her comparative position is not so good; in business and trade investments in China proper, excluding landholdings and holdings of Chinese Government and railway obligations, she is, however, very close to our heels and will almost certainly soon overtake us. American investments are surprisingly small, though they too are on the increase; and German investments have shrunk greatly since the war.

Considerable space is devoted to the foreign obligations of the Chinese Government, which, apart from railway loans, are mostly legacies of former wars and are comparatively small. And it is worth remarking that, contrary to the general impression, China has a better record than many other debtor countries in the matter of default. The involved and rather murky story of Chinese railway finance is told with admirable fairness and without attempt to cover up the intrigues of the governments and others concerned in it.

The difficult question of China's balance of international payments is treated in a section of the book. The visible balance of trade has for long been heavily adverse to China, and in the absence of any considerable borrowing from abroad it has been difficult to understand how she has been able to pay for the excess of imports, especially since the decline in the value of silver. The author maintains that the wealth of Chinese overseas, in Malaya and the Dutch East Indies especially and to a lesser degree in the United States, is much greater than is generally supposed, and the flow of their remittances back to China has, in fact, amounted to sufficient to balance China's adverse trade balance. These remittances are made by devious ways and in small sums, often in cash taken by returning emigrants, and any accurate estimate is a matter of great difficulty; but in the absence of any other plausible explanation the author's thesis is probably true, and it is also not unlikely that the extreme depression of the industries centring in those regions in which overseas Chinese are mainly settled, has a more direct bearing on the shrinkage of China's trade during the past few years than is generally supposed.

There is much irritating repetition in the book, the same statements being made time and again, sometimes on successive pages; and the lists of foreign firms would be easier to read and leave a clearer impression if they were shown in tabular form. But the book is nevertheless a work of permanent value to the student and the reference library, and of more than passing interest to the general reader.

J. S. S.

Japan. By F. C. Jones, M.A. 7¼″ × 5″. Pp. viii + 133. Maps. Modern State Series No. 1. General Editor, R. B. Mowat. Arrowsmith. 3s. 6d.

Japan, by F. C. Jones, is a tabloid history. The author feels that some knowledge of the early history of Japan is necessary to an understanding of the present situation in the Far East. He starts with the briefest outline of the very early period and goes into greater detail as the story develops.

The book is quite readable and seems to be free from bias. It would be useful for anyone who wants to get a bird's-eye view of the Far Eastern situation with the minimum of effort.

The Hundred Names. By Dr. Henry H. Hart. Published by the University of California Press and the Cambridge University Press. 1933. 11s. 6d. net.

To compile an anthology of Chinese verse can be no easy task. There are *nuances* of the written character, as Dr. Hart explains in his concise, illuminating,

and most interesting foreword (which should undoubtedly be read before the poem) that make the translator's work a problem; there is the almost nebulous delicacy of the thought that can be contained in one small verse; there is also the extraordinary number of poems in Chinese from which to make a selection, as can be seen from the fact that Dr. Hart's selections date from 2300 B.C. to A.D. 1911. But Dr. Hart is certainly a scholar and as certainly a poet, and these fragile poems are safe in his hands.

It is almost too obvious to say that each poem is a gem, but nevertheless it is so. Each has a jewel-like quality of purity, fire, and agelessness. Even to select any poem from the rest to quote here is difficult, for each is as delightful as the last. The solution is to open the book at random and quote the one found there as perhaps typical:

WHICH

Slowly,
Over the mountains, piercing the haze,
The moonlight breaks
Through the green pine trees.

Its light shines
On a maiden fair,
Under a flowering plum.

Oh, who can say which
The most lovely is,
The maiden, the moon,
Or the flowering plum?

The first poem, the Hundred Names, which gives its name to the book, might have been written in 1934 rather than 2300 B.C. So might that one, most humorous, called Drunk Again.

One is grateful to Dr. Hart for keeping these poems in their original pattern as far as possible, and for not forcing them into rhyme. Just as in *The Good Earth* one had the impression one was reading in Chinese, so with these poems. Indeed, the simplicity of the language of the translation is part of the extraordinary charm of this book.

Assuredly *The Hundred Names* should be purchased and included in the library of any lover of poetic thought poetically expressed.

The volume is published in America by the University of California Press and in England by the Cambridge University Press. It is of handy size and well got up, well and fully annotated and indexed, but the sale would probably be greater if it could have been fixed at a lower price.

G. D. G.

Something Happened. By M. Cable and F. French. Pp. ii+320. Illustrations. Map. Hodder and Stoughton. 5s.

This book has been planned on different lines to the fascinating *Through Jade Gate and Central Asia.*

The first part of the work explains how it came to pass that three remarkable women were led to devote their lives to the evangelization of China. Miss Eva French, first of the trio to join the China Inland Mission, passed through the

horrors of the Boxer Rising, on one occasion being dragged by her hair from the cart in which she was fleeing to safety, her captor only releasing her when he caught sight of some silver.

This experience did not deter Miss French from returning to her work, where later on she, her sister, and Miss Cable organized a big Training College at Hwochow for some twenty years. Reports then reached them of the conditions in Kansu, untouched by missionary enterprise, and the three volunteered for work in this unknown region. A glance at the map shows the distance from their home to Suchow, City of Prodigals, where they made their base for some seven eventful years. For eight months in each year they journeyed in mule carts or on camels over a large tract of Central Asia into Tibet and Mongolia, braving the terrors of the dreaded Gobi, preaching and distributing Christian literature. They discovered the grave of Benedict Goës, the Jesuit missionary, who died at Suchow in 1603 on his way to the Emperor of China; and they were the first Europeans to see newly opened frescoed caves, resembling those of the "Thousand Buddhas" described by Sir Aurel Stein.

Trusting as implicitly to Divine guidance as did St. Paul, again and again "Something Happened" to direct their movements. For example, before their return to England last year the notorious brigand chief Lei gave orders that the missionaries were not to leave the Suchow oasis. They were, however, sure that a way out would be found, and secretly collected what food they could in that bandit-infested area, telling their carters to be in readiness. Then with wonderful courage they paid a visit to Lei, presenting him with the Gospels and bidding him repent.

Early one morning they slipped out of the city by the south gate, and, making a detour to the north, found that the soldiers guarding the road to the Gobi were away. They made all possible haste, but after some hours were caught up by two brigands on horseback, demanding to see their permit to leave. Unperturbed, Miss Cable handed the men her Government passport with its scarlet seals, and their pursuers, being totally illiterate, let them proceed on their way. The whole story is profoundly interesting, and one wonders how the trio survived on their scanty ration of millet, the flour being reserved for the carters. However, when I spoke of this to a lady she exclaimed, "Oh, but millet is most stimulating. The bird-fancier said that I must give very little to my canary!"

No one can read this book without endorsing Dr. Stuart Holden's words: "A record of amazingly heroic endeavour and accomplishment."

ELLA C. SYKES.

The Jungle in Sunlight and Shadow. By F. W. Champion. 10″ × 7¾″. Pp. xvi + 270. Illustrations. Chatto and Windus. 21s.

Both author and publishers may be congratulated on this fine volume. The writer is an officer of the Imperial Forest Service of India. When therefore he describes the jungle in sunlight and shadow, it is his own domain he depicts; and when he writes about its varied inhabitants he is introducing us to his own children, and quite naturally he will not hear a bad word said about any one of them. He loves the jungle in all its aspects; its myriad forms of vegetation, its aboriginal inhabitants, man, beast, and bird. What is more he makes his readers share his delight in it all. Mr. Champion loves his trees too. It makes him unhappy to see one of these ancients of the forest come crashing down. And this, it may be said, is typical of most of our countrymen in the Indian services. They identify themselves with the interests of the people, animals or

things committed to their charge. And now, in an access of misgiving, England is to resign her trust—to what end?

It is not only of interest, it is satisfying to one's moral sense to read that this observant forest officer does not consider the so-called "law of the jungle," the "struggle for existence," the cruel process that most people suppose it to be. To the creatures of the jungle may come moments of panic, violent deaths; but Giant Fear does not brood over all. Beasts and birds on the whole live carefree lives, and when death comes it is swift and probably painless. This inference is based on the fact that animals—fortunately for them—have little or no imagination. This is undoubtedly Mr. Champion's view, yet it must be said that he occasionally slips into the anthropomorphic ditch in which so many natural history writers flounder. As an instance, he speaks of deer during a drought being forced to drink at one of the few remaining pools of water, "even though they know that death in feline form is probably awaiting them there." The general conclusion drawn is that the lives of jungle animals are indeed happier than those of domesticated beasts. Mr. Champion points out also that in the economy of the forest killers are necessary to limit the numbers of the *ungulata* that destroy the crops of the human cultivator; and so, by a not unkindly process, nature's balance is preserved. There is only one killer our author objects to—with a little needless iteration—and that is the sportsman with his rifle. Personally, if I were a forest officer I am sure I, too, should hate to see my tigers, my sambur, my cheetal, perhaps even my crocodiles, killed by strangers armed with rifles and permits! As between camera and rifle I have no very substantial bone to pick with Mr. Champion as he makes some eminently right and sensible remarks on the subject in a chapter on Jungle Riddles, pointing out that both kinds of sportsmen *may* behave in an unsportsmanlike way.

These Jungle Riddle chapters are some of the most interesting in the book. The first conundrum propounded is whether or no animals (or men) may have a "sixth sense." In his discussion on this subject our author mentions one of Blackwood's tales which I happen to remember reading some time ago. Its barest outline was that the "hero" had the power of attracting towards himself (or repelling) by means of thought transference the wild fauna of the Himalaya—a power which he did not scruple to use for their destruction. Perhaps this study in the occult was intended as a "leg pull" for a public with a hunger for the mysterious. Anyhow, I am one with Mr. Champion in his belief, and also his hope, that so ugly a story was untrue.

Naturally, those well written-up killers, tiger and leopard (we called the latter panthers in Central India), occupy an important place in this book. The average reader, however, will perhaps be more grateful for the chapters devoted to animals that suffer complete neglect in most jungle literature—pangolins, ratels, wild dogs, hyenas, porcupines, sloth bears, flying squirrels, jungle cats; the latter exist in no less than seventeen varieties! About these Mr. Champion discourses with expert knowledge. I must disagree with him, however, when he says that a hyena will not stand up to a leopard, and that he is voiceless. One bright moonlight night my wife and I were spectators of a fierce battle between these two animals which took place immediately under our tree and by no means silently; and once (in Persia) our whole camp saw a hyena walking along the further bank of a river uttering indescribably doleful cries.

The colour of animals is dealt with, but necessarily scantily, for the subject is big enough to fill a volume. Mr. Champion's brief conclusions differ somewhat from those in Major Hingston's recent work. The latter—a specialist on the subject—lays greater stress on the warning and sexual character of colour mark-

ings, while our author apparently attaches more importance to their obliterative value. It was doubtless this obliterative theory that gave rise to the belief referred to by Mr. Champion that the tiger once hunted in the daytime, the argument being that his black and yellow stripes, supposed to accord with the colours of Central and Northern Asian reed-beds, would have been of no value to him at night. Mr. Champion goes so far as to express a belief that tigers took to hunting by night only when firearms came into use! Surely the nocturnal and crepuscular habits of *all* the cats is something much older than that. Did not King David say, "*Thou makest darkness and it is night: wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth*"?

The illustrations to this book are wonderfully good. One feels it must be a source of great satisfaction to the author that his skill, trouble, and knowledge have produced such marvellous results. Of the 96 pictures, among which there is hardly one that could be called mediocre, I like the flashlight photos least. Technically and as portraits they are as perfect as possible, but no "tyger" ever burnt so brightly in the darkness of the night as some of these. "Every cow," it is said, "is *black* on a dark night," and so is every real tiger, pangolin, wild dog, and the rest. Without attempting to discuss "appearance" and "reality" as applied to photographs, perhaps my feeling may be expressed by saying that, like a picture of some old castle under floodlight, there seems something wrong about a picture of a tiger in brilliant illumination—under a spotlight, as it were—in the gloom of the jungle. All the same, there is obviously no other way by which these wonderful portraits could have been obtained.

In the preface to his book the writer describes it as "an attempt to take the mind of the ordinary writer, for a short time at least, away from the constant worries of modern life, away from international politics and economic crises, away from the slogans of communism and socialism, swaraj, and self-determination. It is an attempt to prove that a love of wild nature is a share that never fails to pay good dividends of happiness for the whole of one's life." Mr. Champion may rest assured that he has been remarkably successful.

R. L. KENNION, LIEUT.-COLONEL.

James Silk Buckingham, 1786-1855. A Social Biography. By Ralph E. Turner. 8¼"×5¾". Pp. viii+463. Plates. Williams and Norgate. 21s.

Among the most striking pictures at the Royal Geographical Society is one representing John Silk Buckingham and his wife "in Arab costume of Baghdad." This was my first knowledge of Buckingham, whose adventurous career was a signal proof of the advantages of travel in developing the mind.

Born in 1786 in Cornwall, the son of a retired merchant, he felt the call of the sea from his earliest days, and, at the tender age of ten, with some knowledge of nautical instruments and of navigation, he commenced his career on a packet bound for Lisbon. In his third voyage he was captured by a French privateer and imprisoned at Corunna. The blue-eyed boy attracted the daughter of the gaoler, thanks to whom he escaped the starvation diet of the other prisoners, and finally reached Lisbon. There he only escaped a British press-gang by the kindness of a poor woman, who hid and fed him. He then obtained a passage in an English packet back to Cornwall.

Owing to his mother's wishes, the boy Buckingham temporarily quitted the sea and spent three years with a dealer in nautical instruments at Plymouth, where Lords Nelson and Exmouth brought their squadrons.

At the age of sixteen he enlisted in the Navy, but soon deserted and, narrowly

escaping capture, returned home. When he was twenty he married, and, owing to a dishonest trustee, he found himself penniless. He again took to the sea, and again his ship was captured by a French privateer, which, however, finding the prize worthless as booty, left it without its charts and instruments. However, in due course Trinidad was reached. Buckingham was soon promoted, and, in 1811, sailed for Smyrna. Upon his second voyage to this port, the *Scipio* was attacked by two pirate vessels. Buckingham greeted the pirates with a broadside of ten 12-pounders. The pirates attempted to board, but were beaten off. They then dropped astern, since merchant-vessels usually carried no stern-guns. Buckingham, however, had two heavily charged guns, whose discharge sank one pirate, whereupon the second vessel pulled away as quickly as possible. After this voyage Buckingham planned to start a business at Valetta, but an outbreak of plague ruined him.

He next appears on the scene in Egypt, where that remarkable Albanian, Mehemet Ali, was ruling the country with a rod of iron. He projected a scheme for opening up the route to India by a ship-canal, and, in the absence of Mehemet Ali in Arabia, was despatched by his Vizier to examine the Red Sea. His adventures included the theft of his camels and muskets, followed by an encounter with robbers, who " stripped him naked and left him to die." However, thanks to a kind wayfarer, he finally reached Kosseir, where instructions reached him to return to Egypt and commence the survey for the ship-canal.

When Buckingham met Mehemet Ali he wisely advised that potentate to send young Egyptians to " factories, shops, and shipyards," and not to the universities. He also advised him to introduce the long-staple cotton from America.

As to the canal, when it came to the point, Mehemet Ali said: " If this canal be made, which nation of Europe will make the most use of it for their ships? Will it not be the English . . . and will they not take possession of it, as they have done of India?"

Buckingham next decided to proceed to Bombay, with the idea of opening up communications with Alexandria via Suez. He travelled with the Mecca pilgrimage as far as Jedda, where he was carried ashore ill from fever. He then continued his voyage to Bombay, where he found the Pasha " universally mistrusted." He consequently tried to secure an appointment in India, but no Englishman without a license from the East India Company could remain in the country. Thereupon he returned to Egypt poorer than ever.

Nothing daunted, he persuaded Mehemet Ali to draw up an agreement favourable to the Bombay merchants, and decided on this occasion to travel overland to India. After a voyage entailing many dangers, he landed in Syria and found Palestine to be equally unsafe. Here again he fell ill, but recovering he travelled across the Jordan to As-salt, everywhere mistrusted and accused of being a magician. However, on March 21, 1816, he reached Damascus in safety. Visiting Lady Hester Stanhope on the slopes of Mount Lebanon, he was given valuable introductions to the desert *Shaykhs*, and reached Aleppo without any difficulty. From that city he started to follow the route via Mosul in the disguise of " a very insignificant Arab." He noted that " the peasants gathered wheat by pulling it up by the roots." From Mosul he started to ride post to Baghdad. But the faithless courier Jonas deserted him, but he finally reached the City of the Caliphs, where he was hospitably received by the well-known Consul, Claudius Rich.

From Baghdad, Buckingham decided to travel to Bushire via Persia, and a year after leaving Alexandria he reached Bombay in December, 1816.

For further adventures of this extraordinary man, who ended up as an influential reformer in England, and who designed the first Garden City, I would refer readers to this interesting book.

P. M. SYKES.

On Hill and Plain. By Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, K.G. A Viceroy's Recollections of Delightful Days of Sport in India. 8″ × 5¼″. Pp. xii + 110. Illustrations. John Murray. 1933. 7s. 6d.

An attractive book throughout, especially as the author is obviously such a keen all-round sportsman, a trait which must have helped him greatly in forming intimate and lasting friendships with the Princes of India, and so assisting to promote cordial relations with the British Government. It is particularly pleasant to read of those friendships in view of the drastic changes recommended in connection with the administration of India, and the position which the Princes are being urged to accept in the mosaic of the structure. To those who have never been in India, the descriptions of every sort of sport to be found there will be most interesting, and enable them to acquire a good idea of what it is like. To the old *shikarris* the various well-described incidents will bring back pleasant memories of days too quickly spent, and they will note and sympathize with Lord Hardinge, who thoroughly enjoyed getting away on his own, just like one of themselves, free from his high official surroundings. They will also be able to read accounts of days of sport rarely available to the ordinary individual; for example, in the full and detailed description of the elephant *kheddar* in Mysore, we are told how a great herd of these animals were being driven across a river, and two of the cow elephants carried a very small one across, supporting it with their trunks.

The nineteen illustrations, all photographs, are good and some of them unique, especially one of eight tigers killed in twenty minutes. Incidentally there were two more tigers in this beat which broke out.

Hunting with trained cheetahs, a sport favoured by Rulers of Native States, is worth seeing once. The Indian antelope when going all out must be one of the fastest animals on earth, but Lord Hardinge relates how he saw a cheetah let loose after a moving herd which he caught up, and from among them killed a buck. Most people will, however, agree that it is better when the cheetah is turned down to stalk a buck feeding by himself. He glides along till the buck raises his head, then lies like a stone till the feeding is resumed, when the stealthy advance continues to within fifty yards and a yellow streak rips through the air. If the dash misses, the cheetah stops dead and attempts no pursuit.

Each of the fourteen chapters comprising the book deals with different forms of sport, including big game, small game, and fishing. We read of a mahseer weighing 62 lbs. being caught, and of enormous bags of sand grouse and wild fowl being made.

The last chapter of all deals with shooting expeditions in Persia. One regrets there is not more about this, as accounts of sport in that country are not numerous.

It would be difficult where all the chapters are so well written to make a selection as to the best, and the choice then made would probably represent the particular description of sport in which the individual was himself interested, rather than the inherent merit of the chapter or chapters selected.

When writing of Kashmir, Lord Hardinge has related with effect two amusing incidents connected with his visit to that beautiful State. The first one

relates to an official function at which a tribute of some lakhs of rupees had to be presented by the Maharajah to the Viceroy, and, as Lord Hardinge explains, it was the usual custom for him to touch one of the many bags laid out, and then to remit all to the Maharajah. Lord Hardinge appears, however, to have seized the occasion for the perpetration of a joke, and, after duly touching one of the bags, ordered his military secretary to collect and remove all the bags. As can be imagined, the consternation of the Maharajah was a real picture till he realized that it was only a pleasantry.

The other amusing episode has reference to a visit paid by His Excellency to a school which the Maharajah had invited him to inspect. Just previous to reaching the school building the car was stopped, and the Viceroy pressed to inspect some chena trees, a species peculiar to Kashmir. Under the finest of these trees the Viceroy was pressed to sit down on a seat to rest, in spite of his remonstrance that he did not require any rest. Later, before leaving the spot, Lord Hardinge's curiosity prompted him to walk round to the other side of the tree, where he was amused to find an inscription had been carved describing how he and the Maharajah had rested under it on that particular day.

The book shows that in these sporting expeditions, which teem with incident and interest, Lord Hardinge, who has forty-six tigers to his personal share, was as efficient with the gun, rifle, spear, and fishing rod as he has been with the pen in recounting his experiences.

J. STOTHERD.

Le Voyage d'Un Pelerin Chinois dans l'Inde des Bouddhas. *Précédé d'un exposé des doctrines de l'Inde Antique sur La Vie et La Mort.* By Henri Valentino. Paris. Editions G.P. Maisonneuve. 3 Rue de Sabot. 18 francs.

Monsieur Henri Valentino, one of the band of French Orientalists who have maintained the high standard set by the pundit, Stanislas Julien, has edited a new account of the Indian travels made by the Chinese pilgrim-monk Hiuen-Tsang.

The volume opens with an introductory essay by M. Valentino on ancient Indian doctrines about Life and Death. Though for the first six or seven hundred years of the Christian era there were Europeans who had in various ways possessed themselves of knowledge about India, a period of nearly a thousand years set in when the study of Oriental culture was limited to the gardens of Mesopotamia and the slopes of the Caucasus, beyond the borders of which there stretched far-off scarce-known lands of dreams and enchantment.

Following the military and commercial conquest of India, philosophers and savants began to penetrate the secrets of holy saints, conserved up to that time by priests and mystics who passed their lives in strict observance of the doctrines of Buddha.

The eighteenth century saw the foundation of the Calcutta Asiatic Society (1784), and soon there began to appear works, for the most part, by British Orientalists—William Jones, Colebrook, Wilkins, and Hodgson—which were studies of hieratical Sanscrit and comments on the sacred books.

About the same time Auquetil-Duperron published in France a Latin translation of the *Upanishads* according to a seventeenth-century Persian book. Duperron's work exercised a lively influence on European thinkers, notably on Schopenhauer, who hailed it as a revelation of the highest human wisdom.

These early Orientalists found much food for thought in the sacred hymns, *Vedas*, the liturgical commentaries, and the theosophical speculations of the famous *Upanishads*, the civil and religious laws of Manou—theocratic legends and philosophical doctrines in which could be found all the germs of future metaphysics. In the vast amount of Buddhist literature, its chants and sagas, there was a wide field for deep study.

In the course of the nineteenth century a French author, Burnouf, published *L'Introduction a la Historie du Bouddhisme Indien*, and Max Müller at Oxford edited the great collection of *Sacred Books of the East.* Since then savants in every European country have contributed to the progress of "Indianism," which has proved itself a happy hunting-ground for philosophers, poets, moralists, and artists who have culled new inspirations from the *lumière de l'Orient*; in other words, the calm, the patience, the pious hopes, and the joy serene of the Oriental soul in that mystic terrain so suitable for religious meditation.

M. Valentino has evidently read deeply, and leads up to the subject of his book by a study of the ideals and aspirations which animated Hiuen-Tsang in the long pilgrimage throughout India. The author, under the heading of an extract from the *Vedanta Sutras* that "There is not an atom of reality in all the dream of *Cosmos*," writes about the Great Illusion and gives us an insight to Indian religious philosophy:

> "In the circle of life and death there is only grief. The illusion of Self enchains us to this world (*Samsara*) which is of itself only an illusion. But there is a road along which lies deliverance from *Samsara* and Death, and we can only follow it by the abolition of all desire and by observing the virtues Renunciation and Mercy. He who has broken the chains which bind him to the illusion sees before him Eternal Reality in all its resplendence."

Samsara stands for agitation and illusion, *Nirvana* for calm and reality. The former is a chain of existences, a succession of deaths, an ocean of grief from whence emerges the island, firm and stable, of the Absolute; *Nirvana*, Land of Happiness, Conqueror of Death.

Samsara is the world of men and gods, the earth, sun, moon, and stars.

Gautama stressed the joy of death in bringing deliverance from worldly bondage to a man's soul. The soul ceases to be an inhabitant of Samsara, and can attain by holy life entrance into Nirvana, the country of eternal bliss.

In the sixth century A.D. there was a great diversity in India of castes, gods, and rites. Brahmins, Sukists, Buddhists, Jains, worshippers of Vishnu, Krishna and Siva, and of the supreme Brahma, though differing in ways of attainment, all remained faithful to the ideal of the soul's immortality.

A thousand years later, in A.D. 1706, Joseph Addison reflected their beliefs in his tragedy *Cato*, when he wrote:

> "The soul secure in her existence smiles,
> The Stars shall fade away, the Sun himself
> Grow dim with age, and Nature sink in years,
> But thou shall flourish in immortal youth,
> Unburnt amidst the war of elements,
> The wrecks of matter and the crush of worlds."

The Upanishads, a group of ancient aristocratic philosophers, had traced the road for this deliverance by death, and it remained for the prophet, Gautama Buddha, to give life to their doctrines by fixing the central ideas of their

traditional metaphysics. He inculcated continual holiness in all his followers by fixing the central ideas of their traditional metaphysics; he became the religious hero of India, the saint of their world, the Supreme Master.

In the first commandment of his Holy Law, the Master said, "Cease to desire an individual life"; and the thought, "May my breath of life be absorbed in the Universal Soul of infinite Space," is characteristic of the frame of mind of all his followers.

Buddha revised the various beliefs of the heterodox sects such as that of the *Samkhya*, who admitted the duality of *Prakriti* (eternal material matter) and of *Purusha* (eternal life of souls), and he gathered into one fold the majority of Indian mystic thinkers, who believed in an idealistic life of pure godliness in which the spirit became the sole reality and matter was only an illusion.

Their Holy Books, which described the negative side of Nirvana, said little about its positive side, probably because the philosophic language of that epoch could not lend itself to the development of such very subtle thought. They believed that death set free one's Absolute Self to a state of Eternity immeasurable by Time, and Universal. The Soul that attained Nirvana reached a point of existence henceforth free of all bondage, and became a substance that was beyond all description and every reasoning power of man.

It is in this essay that M. Valentino summarizes the foundations of Buddhism and its gradual spread from the banks of the Ganges to China. If, as a religion, it had begun to decline in India, its native territory, and to some extent had been reconquered by the Brahmins and their gods, it progressed elsewhere without encountering other religions on the way. Indo-China (except Siam) became Buddhist. Tibet invented writing in order to transcribe the Holy Books; and China, losing its ancient arrogance, consented to look towards India in order that men could seek the peace of their souls and the secret of immortality.

Once introduced, Buddhism was spread rapidly in China by missionaries. It was as a missionary that Hiuen-Tsang began his travels in A.D. 629, when he was thirty years old, first as an acolyte and later as a monk; he was an outstanding member of the monastery of Great Intelligence at Ch'ang-an, the capital, during the Tsang Dynasty of the Chinese Empire. He had made a vow that he would visit Jambudvipa, the India of saints and sages, in order to study at first hand the law of Buddha and to worship the relics and images.

Starting from Ch'ang-an in Central China, he went in a north-westerly direction across the Gobi Desert, where he nearly died of hunger and thirst, and passing through Turfan reached Samarkand; then, holding south through the Hindu Kush, he came to Srinigar and Amritsar; and by a devious route through cities along the southern side of the Himalayas, he at length turned south, and, crossing the Ganges, kept along the east coast of India till he reached Kalingapatam, from where he went to Kocala in the centre of the peninsula. Thence southward, across to the west coast and the banks of the Indus, where he turned north over the Pamirs and made his long way home by Yarkand and Khotan. It would require a study of Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* to identify all the old place-names of the towns the pilgrim visited, but enough has been said to show that his religious travels in India were extraordinarily extensive.

Clad in the simple brown-yellow robe of a bonze and with only a bowl for alms and a drumstick, and leaving the monastery after an evening dedicatory service, he began his great journey towards the west. He had all sorts of adventures. Captured by bandits and frontier police, but never harmed by them; received by abbots, princes, and kings who loaded him with favours and sent decorated

elephants and chariots to meet him, the pilgrim went on his way respected and welcomed, observing everything, meandering along, devotionally contented.

In the spring of A.D. 643, while staying with an Indian King at Kanauj, Hiuen-Tsang felt the time had come for him to return to China to spread the doctrines he had learnt. He recalled a passage in the Holy Books: "Whoever will have hidden the Law of Buddha from his fellow-men will be smitten with eternal blindness." It took him two years to reach his old monastery at Ch'ang-an. He had by this time become famous and was received in friendly audience by the Emperor Tai Tsong in the Phœnix Palace.

He had brought with him 675 Holy Books, and, by Imperial Decree, a temple called the Great Benificence was built, where, with much ceremonial, the books and relics of Buddha were deposited.

The importance of Hiuen-Tsang's pilgrimage was further marked by the Emperor Tai Tsong's order that five monks should be sent from every monastery to the capital for instruction, and the Emperor presented to Hiuen-Tsang an instrument to cut the hair off all the neophytes. This Decree resulted in the sending of 20,000 monks from all parts of China, and gave an immense impetus to the spread of Buddhism in China. The rest of this great pilgrim's life was spent in translating the Holy Books with close attention to their original purity; in fact, that and his Memoirs occupied the rest of the life of this man of peace. He died in 648. One likes to think of the master pilgrim in his library in the quiet courtyards of the Grand Monastery occupied with his two secretaries in translating his beloved Holy Books and living again in his Memoirs the fruitful and pleasant years he had passed in India.

The book, with its illuminating introduction and its gripping account of the Chinese pilgrim's adventures, is well worth reading.

One could wish it were better bound than in the usual French paper covers.

G. D. G.

Indian India. By C. W. Waddington, C.I.E., M.V.O. London: Jarrolds. 1933.

In this charmingly written and beautifully illustrated book Mr. Waddington has given a description of the States of Rajputana and Central India which fully justifies his suggestion that "those who have not had the good fortune to visit this favoured country may find here some inducement to exchange a winter in Egypt or on the Riviera for the exhilarating climate of the Land of Princes."

He refers to Colonel James Tod as the first to make known to the Western world the chequered and romantic history of the Rajput States. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* was written a century ago, and is too voluminous for the ordinary reader.

In *Indian India* Rajasthan is treated in its widest sense as comprising the territories of the ruling Princes, "from the Sind desert on the west to the Orissa hills on the east," thus including the Maratha and Muhammadan States of Central India. In a series of short chapters a brief history of each State is given up to the present time, together with many happy reminiscences. The illustrations give a striking impression of the magnificent architecture of the fortress-palaces of the rulers and the picturesqueness of their sites.

Attractive descriptions are given of the country in its varied gradations, from the desert States to the west of the Aravalli range, to the more favoured region to the east intersected by two noble rivers, and so on to the forest-clad hills of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand.

As Principal of the Rajkumar College, Rajkot, and later of the Mayo College, Ajmer, Mr. Waddington was brought into close association and friendship with the ruling Princes and their families, and acquired the same enthusiasm for the Rajputs and their country, their history and traditions, that inspired the writings of James Tod. The result is a fascinating record of chivalry and romance. The introduction contains a review of the progress of Indian constitutional reform in order to demonstrate the difficulty of incorporating the States in the proposed All-India Federation. While giving due consideration to the complexities of Indian political conditions, the writer sounds a note of hopefulness in stating his belief that "the stable elements in the country far outweigh the forces of unrest and revolution."

A chapter on "Delhi, Old and New" is an appropriate beginning to the book, for the fortunes of the States and their rulers have been interwoven with those of the capital from the time of Prithvi Raj, the last Rajput King of Delhi, through the Moghul era, and the coming of the British till the present time. It will interest readers to learn that new Delhi has been built on land granted by the Moghul Emperor 200 years ago to that remarkable administrator and astronomer Jai Singh II., founder of the State of Jaipur.

Under the heading of "The Fort, Gwalior" a concise and graphic account is given of the rise and fall of the Mahratta power in India.

Udaipur, as the premier Rajput State, is associated in Mr. Waddington's narrative with the history of Rajputana as a whole, and with the career of James Tod, "the regenerator as well as the historian of the country."

In writing of Jodhpur, the home of the Rahtore Rajputs, the author cites the splendid war services rendered by the State troops as proof that the martial instincts of the race have not suffered under the *pax Britannica*. In this connection the date 1888-9, given as that of the frontier war in which Jodhpur troops served, is surely a mistake for 1897-8. Mr. Waddington ventures the opinion that "we may well look forward to a time . . . when an Indian Army will emerge, officered by Indians and led by an Indian of the stamp of the late Maharaja Sir Partap Singh of Jodhpur, which will be fully capable of guarding the frontiers and maintaining internal security." The beneficent and progressive administration of the State by that fine old soldier and statesman Sir Partap Singh appears to be worthily continued by the present ruler.

Similarly in Bikanir the story is told of remarkable progress under the able rule of the Maharaja, who "has been for many years as well known in Europe and America as in India." In Jaipur the spacious new capital more than justifies the abandonment of the old city of Amber.

A very pleasing description is given of the beautiful State of Dholpur, and of life in the jungles with the Maharaja, a great lover of animals.

In the chapter on the Haraoti States the story is told of Colonel Monson's disastrous retreat before Holkar in 1804, when Amar Singh of Kotah lost his life in a heroic attempt to check the Maharatta pursuit. The writer adds: "It is pleasing to record that a great-grandson of the gallant Kotah leader, after a brilliant career at the Mayo Chiefs' College, is now a cadet at the R.M.C., Camberley."

The subject of the concluding chapter is Ajmer, which place, with the Mayo College, is so intimately bound up with Rajput history and associations.

The map illustrates clearly the relative positions of the States, without confusing the reader with many details. The illustrations are from pencil drawings made by Mr. Waddington when he revisited the country after ten years' absence.

J. K. T.

Indo-China: A Sportsman's Opportunity. By Archibald Harrison. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 7+157. Plates and maps. Plymouth: Mayflower Press.

This is the record of a shooting trip in French Indo-China—to be precise, in the Lang-Bian district of Annam. On beginning the book one is not inclined to read in too critical a mood because, as we are told in the preface, it is published posthumously and was originally intended for circulation among the author's friends. As a matter of fact, no considerations of this kind are called for. The book stands on its merits. Primarily its appeal is to sportsmen, especially those whose recollections or ambitions are connected with Indian big game. Here, in Annam, as in India, the tiger is King of Beasts, and his domain in both countries seems to have much the same characteristics. What makes this account quite different from the ordinary run of tiger literature is that the shooting party consisted of two Americans: the head "shikari" was a Frenchman (Bisset), while the humbler assistants, instead of being Bhils or Gonds or Tharus, were Mois. Whether due to this or some other cause, the methods employed were unlike any practised in India, so far as your reviewer is aware. These, however, the reader must be left to discover for himself.

The trip occupied some seven weeks at the beginning of the rainy season of the war year 1917, and it is evident that tigers and other game were then fairly plentiful. Lang-Bian, according to the author's account, was at that time the only province in French Indo-China where any attempt was made to preserve the fauna of the country; and here too the game laws were of rather an elementary kind, originally drafted by the aforesaid Bisset, whose official function was that of Forest Officer. Besides tigers, other beasts shot on the trip were gaur (*Bos gaurus*) and banting (*Bos sondaicus*), the latter called by the author "wild cattle" or *bodung*. The party also shot for meat, and, without troubling overmuch, some of the local varieties of deer, sambur, Elds' deer, hog deer, and barking deer, the latter sometimes referred to in the book as roe! Neither wild elephants nor rhinos were seen, though a few of them were reported to exist in the country. Nor did the party attempt to climb after mountain game: "ibex or burhel or serow, so lost in the clouds that we made no effort in that direction, being satisfied with the understanding (from Bisset?) that they are unapproachable and very savage" (sauvage?)! The gaur and banting were shot by the "still hunting" method as commonly practised in India, a story of long, long tracking through wet jungles, a few encouraging successes, many disappointments—and, of course, leeches. They did not know apparently the one certain antidote and preventative against these noisome creatures—common salt.

The author does not set out to be informative about the zoology of the country—his natural history is, in fact, a little "rocky"—nor about its geography or any of the other 'ologies, this "limitation," to use his own words, being due to "lack of thoroughness, lack of time, and lack of preparation." For all this, the narrative is so vividly written and the descriptions so excellent, that after reading the book's 150 odd pages of big type, one feels as if one had, in fact, "been there." What I particularly like about the book is its obvious truthfulness—bad shots are related as well as good, and no excuses offered—its natural style, and its humour. A single quotation will show what I mean. "Slouching home in the rain Kri actually pulled me off my pony and dragged me into view of a bull facing us at 200 yards in the open trees. I put up the sight—an imbecile's move from subsequent enlightenment on the target—one notch, and, to Millet's moist injunction, 'Tirez en dessous de sa tête,' fired, I suppose, about ten feet over the mark. He and the herd in attendance left that section without the smallest formality. I felt like the Filipino insurrectionist who

only endangered the lives of an enemy lurking some thousands of yards in the rear."

On closing the book, one feels that the writer must have been a good sportsman and a delightful companion.

R. L. K.

Secrets of the Red Sea. By Henry de Monfreid. Translated by Helen Buchanan Bell. 8½″ × 5½″. Pp. vii + 317. Sixteen pages illustrated. Faber and Faber. 1933. 12s. 6d.

Travellers to the East must often have gazed curiously at the chain of rugged islands, known as the Harnish Islands, which rise precipitously from the sea about 100 miles to the north-west of the Straits of Bal-el-Mandeb, the first land their ship encounters after leaving the Gulf of Suez. In his *Secrets of the Red Sea*, M. Henry de Monfreid lays the scene of his story amid these and other adjacent islands and lands in this little-known and seemingly desolate part of the world.

His book is both very interesting and readable. It is not a mere Baedeker; it is really an Odyssey of high and exciting adventure, calculated to gladden the heart of all those who appreciate a good yarn told in lively and spirited fashion.

The author, a native of the coast of Languedoc, was, it appears, engaged in a trading business at Djibouti in French Somaliland, noteworthy as being the railway terminus for Harrar, and subsequently of Addis Ababa, in Abyssinia. From an early age, he tells us, he was in the habit of accompanying his father in his sailing expeditions in the Gulf of Lyons, and the call of the open sea thus engendered in him as a child proved in the end too strong for him. He turned his back on his business, and purchasing a small *boutre*, commonly known as a dhow, began his adventurous career as a gun-runner.

In order to provide himself with the funds necessary to carry on his new calling he first had recourse to the neighbouring pearl fisheries, and by dint of shrewd bargaining and much hard work succeeded in amassing a considerable sum of money. This enabled him to engage in a series of voyages to the Arabian and Somali coasts, where for some time he carried on a lucrative trade in guns and ammunition, in spite of more or less active opposition from the authorities.

Ultimately the outbreak of the Great War put an end to his activities. He was arrested, his dhow confiscated, and he himself was shipped home to France to join up or suffer a term of imprisonment.

All sailormen, and those who go down to the sea in ships, will appreciate the writer's spirited account of his adventures and the workmanlike way in which he seems to have handled his little craft. Although as an amateur waterman he naturally made mistakes in navigation, these are frankly acknowledged and do not materially detract from the merits of his achievement.

The book is illustrated by a number of excellent photographs. A map, however, is badly needed as a guide to the reader who is not familiar with the Red Sea. Many will find it difficult to follow the course of the story without the aid of an atlas.

Finally, it seems a pity that M. de Monfreid should end his book on a note of hate directed against his captors, and complain so bitterly of the stroke of ill-luck that brought his adventurous career to a close. One would have thought that the tenets of his newly adopted faith would have taught him to endure the

bludgeonings of fate with greater equanimity. Let us hope that in the second volume which he promises us he will take a more generous view of the officials and others whom he terms his enemies on the strength of their having exerted themselves to put a stop to what he must have been aware was an illegal trade.

Miss Helen Buchanan Bell, the translator of the book, has done her work extremely well. She has the true literary touch, and no greater compliment can be paid her than to say that there is nothing in her writing which suggests a translation. Her English is quite beyond reproach.

C. R. E. W. P.

Into the Sun. By Frieda Das. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 312. Dent. 7s. 6d.

Into the Sun gives a vivid picture of Indian life among the extremes of high-caste and outcaste. Mrs. Das knows her subject from the inside, having lived in India where she mixed freely with its people in town and village, and, as we recall her fascinating book of monkey tales, *Leaphome and Gentlebrawn*, with the denizens of the jungle as well.

Into the Sun is unique as being, I believe, the first European novel written from intimate inside knowledge of a Brahmin household. In reading it we become familiar with Hindu culture and its ways of thought and action, also with its superstitions and fears which dog the steps of all its adherents, and we realize the trammels and limitations which it inflicts on the high-caste woman. More than this, we learn to know individuals whose reaction to present-day innovations in thought and act provide the plot of the story. If, in discussing such an excellent and valuable piece of work, it is fair to find fault, it would be in the rather overlong accounts of the contacts between the members of the Brahmin households, and those whom they were most concerned in helping. At the same time, the description of life in an outcaste village is most enlightening and valuable, and the book should be read by all interested in the present movements in India, both national and religious.

The question suggests itself as to how far these village outcastes are typical of the sixty million untouchables of India, and also whether there are many Brahmins, especially *purdahnashins*, willing to risk the obloquy and imprisonment so readily faced by these in *In the Sun*, for from other sources we learn that " no orthodox Hindu is in earnest with regard to the uplift of the outcaste." The book has a good glossary, which is necessary, as there are many Indian words used which to readers not conversant with India would be unintelligible.

C. C. R.

The Assyrian Tragedy. Annemasse, February, 1934.

This statement of " The Assyrian Tragedy," as it is well termed, is of especial interest at this juncture. It is a pity that it is such an *ex parte* statement, no credit being given to the British who practically saved the nation from extermination in the summer of 1918. Again, it was the attack by the Assyrians on the 'Iraq force at night that was the main cause of the massacre.

However, when this has been said it is a moving document, and the case of the Assyrian nation for generous treatment at the hands of the British nation is

firmly established. The difficulties to secure a satisfactory settlement are great, but, given the necessary determination to do what our national credit requires, they are not insuperable.

P. M. SYKES.

The Naked Mountain. By E. Knowlton. Putnam.

A review of this most useful account of the attack on Nanga Parbat by the German-American Expedition of 1932 will appear in the next issue. The book is of great interest to all mountaineers and those interested in climbing.

First over Everest. By Air Commodore Fellowes, D.S.O., L. V. Stewart Blacker, Col. P. T. Etheton, Marquis of Clydesdale. Foreword by John Buchan, and account of the filming by G. Barkas. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Illustrations, maps, diagrams. Pp. xix+279. Lane, Bodley Head. 12s. 6d.

This book has most certainly gripped the imagination of the younger generation, and it is good to hear that it was one of the best sellers of 1933. This must not be taken to mean, however, that the execution of this flight was merely a *tour de force* with its adventurous appeal, for this is far from being the case. The romance of Everest has made a very wide appeal to the imagination. The magnificent attempts which have been made to climb it have produced some of the finest human efforts of the century.

It is well known and well understood by all those interested in aviation that to climb Everest and to fly over Everest are two very different things. The one means weeks of hardship and laborious effort, whereas the other means, above all, a perfection of mechanical equipment, careful organization, and the usual qualities which we attribute to our flying men. It was indeed fortunate that the promoters of this scheme were able to obtain the munificent support and encouragement of Lady Houston, whose patriotism, vision, and generosity are now becoming historic. To many it will perhaps be an eye-opener when they read through these pages and realize the enormous amount of organization and prevision which had to be undertaken even before the expedition left this country. Actually this took more than twelve months. To turn to the book itself, there is naturally a vast amount of detail of a technical and semi-technical nature which is of great interest in itself and should prove of considerable use to the young student. There were many difficulties to be overcome; for instance, for the purpose of the flight the aircraft had to fly at over 30,000 feet at a temperature of −45° C., and under flying conditions about which little was known. This entailed a thoroughly serviceable structure, but perhaps the greatest interest is in the provision of various apparatus in order that the work could be done. Not only had oxygen and heating for the pilot and observer to be provided, but heating for the cameras and other special gears were also necessary, for without these precautions the various articles of equipment would have frozen solid and would not have worked. The success of the expedition was almost entirely due to the careful preparations made before departure.

There is a most amusing account given of the journey out and interesting descriptions of various attempts which had previously been made to survey the Everest district. There are also notes about Nepal. As regards the results of the

expedition, the whole mass of information obtained has not yet been completely collated and published. It must be remembered, however, that there were restrictions made as to the nature of the flight by the Government of Nepal, and also the nature of the expedition did not allow of a properly organized aerial survey to be undertaken, as this would have entailed a large number of flights and a much bigger expedition.

The book includes many beautiful photographs, particularly of Everest and its neighbourhood.

P. D. A.

ITALY'S ASIATIC STUDIES

On December 21, 1933, there was opened at Rome an "Institute for the Middle and Far East" ("Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente").

Italy was already in possession of an "Institute for the East," founded in 1921. A French authority on Asiatic politics, after referring to this Institute, with its library, its information office, and the methodical political summaries and gleanings from Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Indian journals in its Review, the *Oriente Moderno*, remarks: "I cannot cite any parallel to this organization, unless it be that of the admirable Colonial Institute at Amsterdam. The resources and facilities found in these two would be sought in vain in Paris." They would probably be sought in vain in London also, except perhaps in regard to India.

The Review of the older Institute aims at covering "the East, especially the Moslem East." The new Institute, founded apparently at the suggestion of Mussolini himself, is to cover Central, Southern, and Eastern Asia. It is not simply an Orientalist's institute. It is intended also "to apply itself to the examination of the economic problems in which the said countries are concerned," with reference to Italy.

The opening was followed a few days later, at Christmas-time, by an address delivered by Signor Mussolini to about 600 Asiatic students, including a certain number of Egyptians, drawn from higher educational institutions, not only in Italy, but in other European countries, who were given free railway travelling in Italy and their hotel expenses in Rome. In the course of a speech of somewhat Napoleonic flavour, the Duce propounded a remarkable theory. The relations between Rome's Mediterranean Empire, according to him, and Syria, Egypt, and Persia (*sic*), had been relations of "reciprocal creative understanding." From this union had sprung European civilization. But in later times, unfortunately, "the diversion of trade to other seas, the influx of gold, and the impoverishment of rich, distant regions were the conditions of birth of a new civilization with a particularist and materialist character—a civilization situated outside the Mediterranean." Asia became, for the mentality of certain countries, merely a market for manufactures and a source of raw materials. In the faith of Italian Fascism was now to be seen the expression of the world's reaction against this soulless civilization of capitalism and liberalism. "In the evils of which Asia complains, in its resentments and its reactions, we see, then, our own face reflected."

If thoughts of Tripoli or of the expulsion of the Senussi crossed the mind of any of the Duce's hearers, they kept their thoughts to themselves. A Persian student, an Arab student, and an Indian lady student expressed their intense appreciation of the Duce's sentiments.

We need not be too cynical. The services rendered by Italian Orientalists and explorers to Asiatic studies preclude the idea that Italy's object in all this is purely materialistic. For the rest, the facts are here for such interpretation as the reader may place upon them. In any case, Asiatic studies can hardly fail to benefit largely from the foundation of the new Institute.

A. F. K.

OBITUARY

THE LATE DR. H. B. MORSE

THE late Dr. Hosea Ballou Morse, who died at Camberley on February 13 at the age of seventy-eight, had but a slight connexion with the Royal Central Asian Society. He contributed a paper upon Extraterritoriality in China to the Journal in 1922, which was reprinted in a collection of papers published by the Society under the title of "Some Problems of the Chinese Republic" (1926). But the debt under which he placed all societies and students interested in Asiatic affairs was very great. His three volumes on the international relations of the Chinese Empire, his *Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*, and his history of the East India Company's trading with China, not to mention lesser publications, are standard works likely to continue to be of value for very many years. Moreover, prior to their production he had a long and distinguished career in the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, and played an able part in important departments of that extremely efficient organization. It is fitting, therefore, that some fuller and more adequate record of his career should be published than those which have appeared in the daily Press.

Morse was born in Nova Scotia and educated at Harvard, first winning the scholarship necessary to enable him to go there. He graduated in 1874, joining the Chinese Customs in the same year. In those days Sir Robert Hart was Inspector-General, and the Service was comparatively new, so that much depended upon the mental and moral qualities of foreign employees, the majority of whom were of British and American nationality. Morse brought to the Service just the qualities which were most needed: a clear, practical mind, with great capacity for co-ordinating details; a rigorous sense of duty, tact, and an unrivalled capacity for taking pains and prosecuting a task until it had been completed. It was impossible, indeed, to imagine him "scamping" any work to which he had put his hand.

His early years in the Service were spent in Peking and Tientsin and on special missions. In 1877-78 he was sent to help in relief work in the province of Shansi during the famine of that year, and subsequently he was again detached from the Service proper for work arising out of the peace which concluded the Franco-Chinese War of 1885. After that he acted as foreign Secretary to the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, and in 1889 he was placed in charge of the Customs at Pakhoi. From 1892 to 1895 he had charge of the Customs at Tamsui in Formosa, an interesting souvenir of that period in his possession when he died being the flag—a tiger rampant, to the best of my recollection, on a blue field—of the short-lived Formosan Republic, set up on May 24, 1895, after the island had been ceded to Japan. Subsequently Morse was in charge at Lungchow, Yochow, and Canton. From 1904 to 1909 he was Statistical Secretary, and all who have studied the Chinese Customs statistics will be agreed as to the excellence of his work in that field. He retired from the Service in 1909.

In the following year, three years after the publication of his *Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*, appeared the first volume of *The Inter-*

national Relations of the Chinese Empire. The preface contained the following sentences:

> "The present author's intention has been to give the events of the period such relative importance as they deserve; to lay no undue stress on picturesque episodes, even though they might help to lighten the narrative; and, knowingly, to omit none of those minor occurrences which, dull and uninteresting though they might be, were still important elements in moulding the opinions and guiding the actions of the principal actors on the scene. It has further been his aim to give an original authority or to cite a reference for every statement made, the truth or completeness of which might in any way be questioned."

To set up and adhere consistently to such a standard was deliberately to produce a history which must stand or fall by one test only—its accuracy in the statement and its impartiality in the selection of pertinent facts. I am not in a position to say that nobody has ever discovered anything inaccurate in Morse's history: I do, however, affirm that I know of no such discovery, and that when one is in doubt, before following the rule "cut it out," one invariably turns to Morse's history first, and feels on very safe ground if one can quote it. A book conceived on the lines indicated in its preface has, of course, its limitations. It lacks colour and is dry reading, but it is irreplaceable on the shelves of any serious student of Chinese affairs.

E. M. G.

All members of the Council deeply deplore the deaths of General Sir Edmund Barrow, for many years a Vice-President of the Society, of Colonel Webb-Ware, remembered as the builder of the Nushki railway, on which he lectured to the Society in 1920, and of that great sinologue Mr. Sidney Mayers, whose profound understanding of Chinese affairs, gained in the first instance in the China Consular Service and then as representative in Peking of the British Chinese Corporation, was of the utmost value to all interested in the Far East.

AN APPEAL

THE recent steps of the Turkish Ministry of Educaton for the increase in the teaching of English has given an imeptus to the formation of English library centres. English books, magazines, and illustrated reviews for the colleges, lycées, and especially for the Institute Gazi at Ankara, are much in demand. Here teachers are trained, and a department for arts and handicrafts has been added. Miss Derbyshire, in charge of the teaching of English to these young Turkish students, is doing excellent work in opening up foreign literature to young Turkey.

Lengthy novels would only prove discouraging to those who still find English difficult. Short tales of adventure, invention and achievement, avoiding complicities of local dialects, would encourage readers. Plays in particular are valuable. Speech in the first and second person—*i.e.*, dialogue—is a great aid to conversation. Also a play can present the attitude and outlook of modern-day England.

The Turkey of Pierre Loti is a thing of the past. Young Turkey learns with exuberance and affection Loti's beautiful language, while English still has its way to win in their good graces. The German language also, since so many Turkish leaders have been trained in Germany, has a great hold, particularly in commerce and chemistry. Recently, also this influence has been increased by the acceptance into the Turkish teaching world of upward of twenty-five Jewish-German professors.

Because of this, choice should be made by well-wishers of Turkey of English books, well-writen, cleverly presented, and at not too great length. Any of the Sixpenny Series of books on "Insects" published by Benn, or Wayside and Woodland series of Nature Books on Ants, Bees, and Wasps in Home and University Library, at 2s. 6d., might produce excellent results for the teachers and farmers of future Anatolia. Instead of putting *Punch*, *Illustrated London News*, the *Strand*, *Review of Reviews*, and such into the paper basket, what a help it could be if a stamped wrapper were put around such a review and addressed to:

Miss Derbyshire, Terbiye Enstitusu Gazi, Ankera, Turkey.

An appeal like this must surely reach the eyes of some who are friendly to the great educational efforts made by the Gazi to give modern Turkish youth a liberal education.

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Members who have not yet paid their subscription for 1934 are asked to send it to the office or to pay it into the Society's account at Lloyds Bank, Ltd. (G.1. section), 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1. The amount is £1 per annum.

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The Council are most grateful for "The Imperial Palaces of Peking," by Osvald Sirén, recently presented to the Library.

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THE PROPOSED HAIFA-BAGHDAD RAILWAY

By E. H. KEELING, M.C.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on May 15, 1934, Brigadier-General Sir Osborne Mance in the Chair.

In opening, the CHAIRMAN said: I have received a letter from His Excellency Ja'far Pasha telling me that he and members of the 'Iraqi Legation are attending Their Majesties' Court this evening and expressing his regret that he will not be able to be present to hear Mr. Keeling speak on a subject which would have interested him very much indeed.

Mr. Keeling hardly needs an introduction, but, as he is a very modest man, I might perhaps say that he has been lawyer, soldier, writer, and business man. He has served in practically every country of the East, including India, Mesopotamia, Russia, Syria, Anatolia, the Black Sea, Armenia and Kurdistan. He was the manager of the Turkish Petroleum Company, and is still actively associated with the Near East. He is therefore eminently qualified to speak on a subject of such general interest as the Haifa-Baghdad Railway.

At the Peace Conference in 1919 the British delegation found that, owing to their commitments to the French in the Sykes-Picot Treaty, it was impossible to secure a railway through territory under British authority by any route recognized hitherto as being possible. The French claims to the Yarmuk Valley and to territory south of Deraa were conclusive in this respect. It was suggested that a line might be tried from the Jordan up the Wadi Zerka and across the desert to Baghdad. The proposal met with a good deal of scepticism, but Mr. Balfour was sufficiently impressed to have two reconnaissances carried out. Neither succeeded, on account of the Arabs. But the possibility of such a railway reconciled the British delegation to the frontiers finally agreed to.

It was thought in Paris that the proposal for a railway from Haifa to Baghdad was then made for the first time, but an official report since discovered shows that the matter had been thought of before.

Consul Sandwith reported in 1871 that when he was Vice-Consul in Haifa during the years 1861 to 1865 the idea was started of making that town the Mediterranean terminus of a railway to Baghdad, roughly along the 33rd parallel. He goes on to add: "The climate of Haifa is extremely healthy, and the advantage of such a route would consist in the presence at that town of the safest roadstead on the Syrian coast, with the exception of Alexandretta; the projecting spur of Mount Carmel, which forms the southern point of the Bay of Acre, being capable, at a comparatively small expense, of being prolonged sufficiently to afford ample protection to shipping. The line would run to the north of Mount Carmel, through the small but fertile plain of Esdraelon, across the Jordan near the south of the Sea of Tiberias, and thence through the great corn-growing district of Hawran, after which, on its way to Baghdad, it would have to face the Syrian Desert, as to the physical difficulties of which I am, of course, incapable of offering an opinion. From the Hawran a branch line could be laid

to Damascus, or the main line might be carried direct to Damascus and thence to Baghdad. The direct route would be the straightest line from the Mediterranean seaboard to Baghdad."

There is evidently nothing new under the sun, but I believe this is the first time the possibility of such a railway has been publicly discussed in this country.

And now, without further remarks, I will ask Mr. Keeling to read his paper.

SIR OSBORNE MANCE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I yielded with some diffidence to a request that I should address the Society on the proposed Haifa-Baghdad Railway, because I have taken no part in the survey of the line. My knowledge is merely what I have gained through reading the literature of the subject and on journeys between Baghdad and the Mediterranean by seven or eight different routes. One thing I can say: I have no axe to grind. I have neither any financial interest in the construction of the railway, nor have I any interest in any rival company, providing sea, motor, or air transport, whose wish it might possibly be that a railway to Baghdad should *not* be built. I hope, therefore, that I shall be able to put the scheme before you impartially.

The Euphrates Valley Railway Scheme

It is about eighty years since a railway from the Mediterranean to Baghdad was first proposed. In 1856 the Euphrates Valley Railway Company was floated in London with an initial capital of £1,000,000. It was intended in the first instance to build a line from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and to run steamers down that river to the Persian Gulf, in the somewhat optimistic belief (based on Chesney's Expedition of 1836) that the Euphrates was easily navigable. The scheme caught the popular imagination, both in England and in India, not only because it would shorten the route to India but also for political reasons. The Crimean War had just ended, and anti-Russian feeling was strong. Russia was believed to have designs on the Persian Gulf, and it was felt that the railway would checkmate her. In the somewhat bombastic language of a writer in that early Victorian day, " the advancing standards of the barbarian Colossus who wished to overshadow the world would recoil before that emblem of progress and power the steam engine, and his ominous tread be restrained behind the icy barrier of the Caucasus."

The British Government pledged its support, not only on these grounds but also because the railway was a rival to the Suez Canal. De Lesseps had just obtained a concession from the Viceroy of Egypt to

build the Canal, but the concession had not been confirmed by Turkey, of which Egypt was then a province. To the Suez Canal project the British Government put forward strenuous objections for many years. Not only Palmerston, but even Disraeli fiercely opposed it. " Even if

MAP SHOWING PROPOSED HAIFA-BAGHDAD RAILWAY
(Reproduced by kind permission of " Modern Transport.")

The existing motor routes are Damascus-Baghdad (*Nairn*); Jerusalem-Baghdad (mails); Aleppo-Mosul. The air route is Cairo-Baghdad.

it were feasible," he said, " the operation of Nature would totally defeat the ingenuity of man." This attitude actually helped De Lesseps to get support in France, where the Canal assumed the character of a patriotic venture just because of the outspoken hostility of the British Govern-

ment. On one occasion a Frenchman came to De Lesseps and said he wished to buy shares "in the railway of the Isle of Sweden." It was explained to him that the enterprise was not a railway but a canal; not an island but an isthmus; and not in Sweden but at Suez. "I don't care what or where it is," exclaimed the subscriber, "as long as it will down the English."

The Turkish Government, who were very much under British influence at that time, refused their consent to the Canal and granted a concession for the Euphrates Railway. They even guaranteed a dividend of 6 per cent. on the first section of it. When the prospectus was issued in London the £1,000,000 asked for was subscribed five times over. In spite of this, the directors thought it prudent to ask the British Government to underwrite at least part of the 6 per cent. guaranteed by the Turkish Government. They were given to understand by Palmerston that there would be no difficulty about that, and stores and supplies for the construction of the line were despatched to the Syrian coast. At the last moment, when the scheme came before the House of Commons, Palmerston withdrew his support. His reason was believed to be that the Government wished to get French permission to send troops across Egypt to India, where the Mutiny was raging, and abandonment of the railway project was the price they had to pay.

The completion of the Suez Canal twelve years later did not kill the railway scheme. In 1872, only two years after the Canal was opened, a Select Committee of the House of Commons reported in favour of the Euphrates line, and once again terms were agreed with Turkey. The enterprise hung fire, for various reasons, yet even the purchase of a large block of shares in the Canal by the British Government in 1875 did not dispose of it altogether. In 1878 Disraeli acquired Cyprus mainly because it was a convenient base of operations for protecting the proposed railway, but when he was defeated by Gladstone in 1880 the project again languished. We stuck to Cyprus, however: perhaps it may soon come in useful for its original purpose!

Had the Euphrates Railway been built when it was first promoted in 1856, or at any time during the next thirty years, the recent history of the Middle East would have been very different. British influence in Constantinople would almost certainly have remained powerful; the Turks could hardly have joined Germany in the War; the Palestine and Mesopotamian campaigns would never have been fought; and Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia would still be Turkish!

The German Baghdad Railway

But the railway was *not* built, and in the eighties, under Gladstone, British influence in Turkey began to decline, and German influence to grow. In 1888 a German syndicate obtained a concession for the Anatolian Railway, and fifteen years later the right to extend the line to Basra, via Aleppo, Mosul, Baghdad and the Euphrates, with a branch to Alexandretta on the Mediterranean. No railway project has ever caused so much political upheaval. Many Germans, including the Kaiser, regarded it as a means of extending German control from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, or even the Indian Ocean. When the War broke out the line had been completed as far as the Euphrates, except for the very difficult sections through the Taurus and Amanus mountains, and a short section had also been constructed northwards from Baghdad to Samarra. During the War the tunnels through the Taurus and Amanus were completed, largely by British and Indian prisoners from Kut, and the line was extended by the Turks to Nisibin, while our Army pushed forward the Baghdad end most of the distance to Mosul, and also built a line from Baghdad to Basra.

The Treaties of Peace changed the position entirely. Turkey surrendered Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia (now known as 'Iraq), and Arabia. German hopes of dominating the Near and Middle East were shattered. To-day the German Baghdad Railway is partly in Turkish hands, partly in French, and partly in Anglo-'Iraqi hands. A portion of the line north of Baghdad has been taken up, and a new line has been constructed on the other side of the Tigris, from Baghdad to Kirkuk. The gap between Kirkuk and Nisibin (or rather Tel Ziouane, near Nisibin, but just inside the Syrian frontier) may one day be filled, via Mosul, but there is not likely to be much through traffic. There is little trade between Turkey and 'Iraq, the route is an expensive one to work, and the distance from Alexandretta to Baghdad is much longer than from Haifa to Baghdad. Still, pending the construction of the Haifa-Baghdad line, the Mosul route has its uses. Apart from the air, it gives the quickest journey between Europe and Baghdad. Motor-cars bridge the gap between Tel Ziouane and Kirkuk, and the journey from London to Baghdad is to-day, May 15, being reduced to less than six days.* The line is also being increasingly used for goods traffic to and from Northern Persia by the new Rowanduz road, and the Syrian

* This acceleration has been postponed, and the journey still takes seven days.

Government are subsidizing Syrian lorries which ply from Tel Ziouane to Mosul and beyond.

The material progress of Mesopotamia was immensely stimulated during and after the War in three different ways. First, she was freed from Turkish rule, and the Arabs, with British assistance, got an opportunity to develop their own country. Secondly, the enormous expenditure of British money gave an impetus to trade. Lastly, the country was opened up by the military railways which we constructed, by the inauguration of motor routes from Baghdad to the Mediterranean (for which credit is due to a member of this Society, Mr. Norman Nairn), and by the advent of the air lines of England, France, and Holland, which pass through Baghdad. 'Iraq now looks west to Europe.

The 1930-31 Survey

Soon after the War, as the Chairman has told you, a railway from the Mediterranean to Baghdad was mooted once more, and military survey parties were sent out from Palestine in the west and from 'Iraq in the east. It was the old Euphrates valley scheme on a somewhat different alignment. Unfortunately, the Bedouin Arabs disliked the idea of railways, just as English people did 100 years or so ago, and the commanding officer of the western party came back suddenly to Palestine without any clothes on, while the party which left 'Iraq was also attacked and had several casualties. Other reports and reconnaissances were made by our Chairman and by Colonel Newcombe, Major Holt, and Mr. Taylor—all members of this Society—but it was not until 1930 that a complete and detailed survey was undertaken. It was entrusted by the Crown Agents for the Colonies to Messrs. Rendel, Palmer, and Tritton, the death of whose senior partner, Sir Frederick Palmer, only a few weeks ago, is a serious loss.

With 'Iraq the close ally of England, a route to Baghdad through Palestine and Trans-Jordan was naturally preferred to the old Euphrates valley route, the starting-point of which was in Syria. A new harbour was under construction at Haifa, and this was the obvious Mediterranean terminus. Haifa has a population of 50,000 and is growing rapidly. The new harbour was opened last year.

The survey was begun at the end of 1930 and completed in 1931. Over 500 persons were employed, and the work cost nearly £100,000. Over the greater part of the country traversed no supplies of any kind were obtainable, and elaborate arrangements were necessary for feeding and watering the survey parties. Twenty-two motor-cars and lorries

were used, and the Royal Air Force also carried out an aerial photographic survey of the two most difficult sections.

From Haifa to Beisan the route follows the existing Hejaz Railway. It ascends the river Kishon, where Elijah slew the prophets of Baal, crosses the historic and fertile plains of Armageddon and Jezreel, and then descends to the river Jordan. Between Haifa and the Jordan the ruling gradient will be 1 in 100.

On crossing the Jordan, about ten miles south of the Sea of Galilee, and 870 feet below sea-level, the railway will leave Palestine and enter Trans-Jordan. On the ascent of the steep hills of ancient Gilead the surveyors encountered the most difficult country of the whole route. It is proposed that the line should follow a tributary of the Jordan called the Wadi-el-Arab. This river is itself intersected by the ravines of its tributaries, which convert the valley into a confusion of deep gorges and abrupt rocky ridges. Only by threading the streams, up and down, and passing from one to another through tunnels, can a railway route be obtained. The ruling grade on this ascent from the Jordan, thirty miles in length, is steep—1 in 50—and curves of 10 degree (573 feet radius) are freely used. Seven tunnels will be required, and eight viaducts. An alternative route has been suggested, along another tributary of the Jordan called the Zerka. This has the merit of being farther away from the Syrian frontier, but here, too, the country is very difficult. This alignment would pass within five miles of the wonderful Roman city of Jerash, with its temples, theatres, aqueducts, baths and colonnaded streets.

About thirty miles beyond the Jordan we reach a fertile plain forming part of the Trans-Jordan plateau. The country is the district of the Decapolis mentioned in the Gospels. There are many ruins of Greek and Roman cities, indicating the existence in bygone times of a large and thriving population.

Eastwards from this plain, all the way to Baghdad, it has been found possible to adopt a ruling gradient no steeper than 1 in 200.

The Desert

We cross the foothills of the Jebel Zumle, a confused mass of round-topped knolls, and reach the so-called Syrian desert. As I have already stated, no part of the railway will lie within the political boundaries of Syria. Down the western edge of the desert runs the Hejaz Railway, a line built for pilgrims before the War. It runs from Damascus to Medina, with a branch from Haifa. Owing to the activi-

ties of Colonel Lawrence, many sections of the line were destroyed, and to-day trains run only as far south as Ma'an. Our railway will cross the Hejaz Railway at Mafrak.

From now on we have desert in front of us right up to the basin of the Euphrates, a distance of nearly 500 miles. It is by no means a flat desert. From an elevation of 2,000 feet at Mafrak the railway will undulate and reach a maximum height of almost 3,000 feet, and it will gradually sink to a level of only 200 feet above the sea where it strikes the Euphrates. It will cross gentle hills, watersheds, and valleys. Depressions or lakes, often with no outlet, receive the drainage of large areas. In summer these depressions become dry, hard mud flats, while in winter they are lakes of liquid mud, with a shallow covering of clear water. Nor is it a sandy desert. There is an almost entire absence of sand. Except in the lava country, the surface is yellow-brown earth, covered with small flinty limestones or sandstones.

The general structure of the desert is broken by two important features—the lava country and the Azraq depression on the southern fringe of the lava country.

The Azraq depression is a great basin fed by perennial springs. These are the last springs on the western side of the desert. For the next 400 miles there is no supply of water except from wells.

The Lava Country

Thirteen miles east of the Hejaz Railway begins the lava country, a region quite incredible until you have seen it. This area extends from east to west along the route of the railway for 150 miles, with a breadth of 200 miles from north to south. The ground is completely covered with a mass of lava or basalt boulders and rocks, weighing from a few pounds to a few hundredweights. In some places they are closely packed together; in others there are spaces between the boulders, revealing the limestones underneath. Throughout the area are innumerable conical hills, the necks of one-time volcanoes, from which the molten lava flowed. The only places free from the all-pervading covering of basalt are the frequent mud flats, filled with the sandy soil carried down by the watercourses which intersect the plateau.

The lava country, like the country east of the Jordan, was surveyed by photograph from the air, but roadways had also to be cleared through the boulders for the use of the ground survey parties. The highest ridge on the route of the railway occurs in this area, and it was not until roads had been made that the best way over could be found.

The lava ends abruptly, and east of it the country presents the typical appearance of desert or arid steppe which I have already described. At a point 328 miles from Haifa the route crosses the provisional boundary between Trans-Jordan and ‘Iraq.

About fifty miles after entering ‘Iraq the route joins the motor route from Damascus, and the descent from the high desert begins. It is only by following the valleys of the *wadis* that the ruling grade of 1 in 200 can be maintained.

At Rutba, on the Wadi Hauran, which is practically the centre of the desert, we reach a remarkable junction for every kind of cross-desert traffic. The various air lines stop and refuel, the two motor routes from Damascus and from Jerusalem converge on their way to Baghdad, the southern branch of the oil pipe-line from ‘Iraq passes through, and the railway will have a station here. Eight years ago Rutba consisted of a few wells visited by the Bedouin. To-day there is a masonry fort garrisoned by ‘Iraqi police and containing within its walls a comfortable rest-house for travellers, a restaurant and a wireless station.

A few miles east of Rutba the railway line will leave the motor route to Baghdad on its right. The aspect of the desert changes, for the Wadi Hauran has cut deep into the plain, and in its wide valleys, and the valleys of its tributaries, conical flat-topped hills which have escaped the general denudation rise abruptly.

At Qasr Amij is the ruin of one of a line of forts or caravanserais said to have been built by Zobeida, Haroun al Raschid's queen, to protect the camel route from Damascus to Hit. About here the desert becomes featureless. At Khubbaz are the remains of a thousand-year-old masonry dam built across the *wadi* for the storage of water, and at Ain Zazu is an oasis with a plentiful supply of spring water.

Six miles further on the end of the desert is reached at Kubaisa, a village pleasantly situated amid extensive palm gardens, and with many springs and wells.

Eleven miles beyond Kubaisa we strike the Euphrates at Hit, a small but very ancient town, producing bitumen and salt. The route then goes down the right or south bank of the Euphrates, passes the town of Ramadi, and skirts the lake of Habbaniya, about fifty square miles in extent, which draws its supply of water from the overflow of the Euphrates. Immense irrigation works for regulating the flood discharge of the river are to be constructed here, and as the railway will have to cross the inlet and outlet channels it is to be hoped that these will be cut before the line is begun. The railway will run through the

new air base now under construction at Dhibban, to which the British Air Force in 'Iraq is to be transferred from Hinaidi, near Baghdad. The line will then span the Euphrates by a bridge about a third of a mile long and will pass through Falluja, close to the battlefield of Cunaxa, where Cyrus the younger was slain and the retreat of Xenophon's Ten Thousand began. There is a road bridge here across the Euphrates. Finally we cross the alluvial plain between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Baghdad will be reached at a distance from Haifa of 685 miles, of which 48 miles are in Palestine, 280 miles in Trans-Jordan, and 357 miles in 'Iraq.

Construction Details

The railway will take three or four years to construct, and the estimated cost, inclusive of rolling stock, is 7 to 8 millions sterling. The only really expensive work is the steep ascent of the eastern side of the Jordan and the bridges over the Jordan and Euphrates. For the remainder of the route the railway will be largely a surface line. The estimate provides for stone ballast throughout and for a speed of thirty-three miles per hour.

Soon after the survey of the railway route began the 'Iraq Petroleum Company, which struck oil in enormous quantities near Kirkuk in 1927, began to survey a route for a pipe-line to the Mediterranean. In order that the British and French groups in the company should both be happy, it was decided that the line should fork when it reached the Euphrates. The northern branch goes via Palmyra to Tripoli, avoiding Trans-Jordan and Palestine; the southern branch via Rutba to Haifa, avoiding Syria. Although the Haifa branch touches the proposed railway at certain points, at others it is many miles away. It seems a great pity that the pipe-line and the railway should not have followed the same route, for they would have been of use to one another. The pipe-line has recently been completed, and oil is likely to be pumped to the Mediterranean before the end of the year. The railway will, of course, burn oil.

As regards a supply of water, there are only two places in the desert —*i.e.*, between the Hejaz Railway and the Euphrates—where perennial spring water is obtained. At several other places a limited supply of well water is available, and there is little doubt that further supplies can be obtained by boring.

To what gauge will the railway be built? Gauges in the Middle East are in somewhat of a tangle. The line from Europe through Ana-

tolia to Tripoli is of standard gauge (4 feet 8½ inches), and the line from Egypt to Haifa is also of that gauge. These two lines will very likely be connected before long by a standard-gauge line along the Syria-Palestine coast. The Hejaz Railway is of the anomalous gauge of 1·05 metres. Turning to the other end of the Haifa-Baghdad route, we find that the railways of 'Iraq are of metre gauge, except the short stretch of line along the German Baghdad route, which is of standard gauge. In Persia the new line under construction from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf is of standard gauge. To sum up, of the four systems with which the Haifa-Baghdad line will ultimately connect, three systems are principally of standard gauge—namely, those of Palestine, Syria-Anatolia-Europe, and Persia—while only one system, that of 'Iraq, is principally of metre gauge. This fact alone is a powerful argument in favour of standard gauge for our line, and another argument is its greater speed and comfort. On the other hand, there are those who think that as one-third of the distance from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf is already covered by a metre-gauge line it is better to stick to that gauge. The question has still to be decided.

Traffic Estimates

What traffic will the railway attract, and what return will it yield on the capital cost?

The line will run for two-thirds of its length across a desert, where little or no intermediate traffic can be expected, and even in the cultivated areas at each end the local traffic will at present be small. The earnings must be derived mainly from through traffic. Now Palestine and Trans-Jordan trade at present mainly with Europe and America—*i.e.*, with the West. It is from the trade of 'Iraq and Persia that the traffic will come at first. The prospects of the railway depend, therefore, largely on the development of 'Iraq and Persia, and on the proportion of their imports and exports that will adopt the direct route to and from the Mediterranean in preference to the alternative routes via the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea.

It is certain that the agricultural exports of both 'Iraq and Persia can be enormously increased, given improved methods of cultivation and cheaper and quicker transport; and a development of their export trade will mean increased imports. Egypt's exports per acre of cultivation are four times those of 'Iraq, and the area in 'Iraq which could be cultivated is at least double the area in Egypt. The ultimate development of

'Iraq should exceed that of Egypt. The principal crops in 'Iraq at present are wheat, barley, and dates.

Turning to Persia, we find that although she produces a million tons of wheat, half a million tons of barley, and smaller quantities of rice, apricots, raisins, and nuts, only a small percentage reaches the markets of Europe. This is mainly due to difficulties of transport. As I have stated, Persia is building a railway from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf, 950 miles in length. Only 116 miles at the northern end and 186 miles at the southern end have yet been completed, and the physical difficulties to be surmounted over the remainder of the route are tremendous, but I see no reason to doubt that the railway will be completed. None the less, the Haifa-Baghdad Railway will attract some part of the Persian trade with Europe, both import and export. There is a good motor road from Tehran to the 'Iraqi railhead at Khanaqin, and even now certain goods travel to and from the Mediterranean by the expensive motor route across the desert.

I said just now that Palestine trades mostly with the West. There was a time when she traded with the East. Tyre and Sidon, which, though now in French Syria, are less than 100 miles from Haifa, were once two of the richest cities in the world. They were not centres of commerce by accident. They fulfilled the requirements of the trade of Western Asia. When the railway is built, the great trading race which now has its national home in Palestine is sure to send its commercial travellers up the line, selling the manufactures of the new industries which are springing up in Palestine and buying the products of Asia. Haifa will be the modern representative of Tyre and Sidon. The Suez Canal revolutionized trade with the East, and is likely to keep the bulk of it, but the railway will attract some of the traffic back to the old route and will create a new trade.

I have not yet said anything about passenger traffic. There has been a rapid increase in the number of passengers crossing the desert since the opening of the motor routes Damascus-Baghdad and Aleppo-Mosul. (The Jerusalem-Baghdad track is used for mails and goods, but is not at present a regular route for passengers.) More than 20,000 persons crossed the desert last year by car, and it is believed that most of these would prefer to travel by rail. Some of the richer people who now travel by air in order to avoid the rigours of the motor crossing may also be expected to travel by rail. The line would be used to some extent by travellers between India and Europe anxious to avoid a long sea journey. A considerable summer traffic should develop between 'Iraq

and the hill stations of the Lebanon and Cyprus. A proportion of the tourists who visit Egypt and Palestine would be induced by a railway to extend their sightseeing to 'Iraq, especially when its marvellous antiquities have been further excavated. Finally, a considerable pilgrim traffic is expected, particularly if the Hejaz Railway be reopened from Ma'an to Medina. Many of the pilgrims who now visit the holy places of 'Iraq—Kerbala, Najaf, Kadhimain, and Samarra—would go on to Medina and Mecca if a railway were available.

Financial Prospects

Elaborate calculations have been made of the goods and passenger traffic likely to accrue to the new railway, and of the revenue this traffic will earn, on the basis of rates fixed sufficiently low to compete with existing or probable rates by sea, motor, and air. Figures are dull things in a lecture, and I do not propose to weary you with details. Suffice it to say that according to these estimates a gross revenue of £800,000 will be earned in the tenth year after the line is opened, of which more than a quarter will come from passengers. This sum is less than one month's revenue of the Suez Canal. It is also estimated that after deducting running expenses and providing for renewals and amortization the line will earn in its eleventh year 4 per cent. on the capital cost. These calculations include no revenue from the 'Iraq Petroleum Company, although that company may be expected to make considerable use of the railway, especially if it be built before the time comes to double the Haifa branch of the pipe-line.

I am not competent to express an opinion whether these estimates are unduly optimistic or unnecessarily conservative. But I think the railway will certainly not be built in any expectation that it will be a direct commercial success within a short time. If the line *is* built, the reason for building it will be the belief that the advantages, direct and indirect, to the countries concerned will outweigh any working deficit.

Is the railway likely to be built in the near future? It must be frankly admitted that in some ways the prospects of the Haifa-Baghdad Railway are less favourable than were those of the Euphrates Valley Railway so nearly constructed in the fifties or the eighties. The principal unfavourable new factor is, of course, the tremendous success of the Suez Canal, which has never been blocked. Another fact prejudicial to the railway is the development of motor traffic across the desert; a third is the development of air transport; a fourth, the fact that railways recently built in the countries at each end of the line have

varying gauges which make the problem of through traffic more difficult.

But these unfavourable factors are balanced by other circumstances. The 'Iraq and Persia of 1934 are immensely more advanced and more progressive than the Mesopotamia and Persia of 1856 or 1880, while the industries of Palestine have grown by leaps and bounds. The political considerations which hampered the Euphrates valley scheme have ceased to exist. The Haifa-Baghdad line, unlike the Euphrates line or the German Baghdad Railway, would not be built to defeat Russian political designs or to promote German ones. It would be built mainly in the commercial interests of 'Iraq and Persia, and of those who trade with them. It is therefore outside the sphere of European rivalry. At the same time, it has at least as strong a claim as the Euphrates scheme to British support, because it would, in conjunction with the Baghdad-Basra line already constructed, form an alternative route to India, independent of the Suez Canal. Under an agreement annexed to the 1930 Treaty of Alliance between England and 'Iraq, which will remain in force until 1957, England enjoys the right to use the railways of 'Iraq for the conveyance of military forces and supplies.

British Interests

British interests in India and the East, at present dependent on the Suez Canal, are vastly greater than they were; yet the development of air power has made the Canal more vulnerable than ever before. It is therefore in British as well as in 'Iraqi interests that there should be a railway from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, and the problem is easier than it was when the Euphrates scheme was under discussion, for the simple reason that for more than one-third of the distance, at the Persian Gulf end, a railway is already in existence.

What hope is there of sufficient financial support for the construction of the line? At the moment it is idle to pretend that the traffic prospects are sufficiently good to attract private capital without some form of collateral security. Where, then, can this collateral security be sought? Obviously we should look first to 'Iraq, who is keenly anxious to see the line built and would benefit more than any other country from it. Now 'Iraq is in a very satisfactory financial position. She owes no man and no government anything, and she balances her Budget even without the aid of the oil royalties. These royalties are already bringing in about three-quarters of a million sterling annually, even before the export of oil has begun; and they will bring in more in

the future. At present they are being ear-marked for irrigation, road and railway bridges over the Tigris at Baghdad, and certain other public works included in what is called ' Iraq's Five-Year Plan. When these works have been completed I have no doubt that the Government of 'Iraq will consider using the oil royalties to back a guarantee of interest and sinking fund payments on the capital required for a railway to the Mediterranean.

But, as I have said, England as well as 'Iraq is interested in the construction of this railway. Not only have we a strong inducement to aid the construction of a route to India independent of the Suez Canal, but nearly half the line will lie within Palestine and Trans-Jordan, countries under British mandate. I venture to suggest that our Government should join the Government of 'Iraq in guaranteeing the loan. The capital could then be raised at a very low rate of interest.

I shall, no doubt, be told that as the British taxpayer spent enormous sums in freeing 'Iraq from Turkish rule, and has now given the country her independence, he cannot be expected to continue pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for her. That is not, I submit, a fair description of the proposal. Both countries would benefit—'Iraq from improved access to the Mediterranean, England from improved access to India. In both countries a large amount of labour would find employment in constructing the railway. The financial risk, owing to the immense supplies of oil earning royalty, would be small.

Clearly there are difficulties to overcome before the railway can be built. But history shows that almost every attempt in modern times to shorten communication between Europe and the East has been beset with difficulty. Until late in the eighteenth century even the navigation of the Red Sea was prohibited by the Turks, who also opposed for many years the establishment of the overland route across Egypt, before the Suez Canal was made. In the middle of the nineteenth century, as I have already mentioned, the construction of the Canal was stoutly resisted by British Governments of both parties, not only because it was considered an impossibility, but on the curious ground that it was contrary to British interests. From all these historical precedents of obstacles surmounted the friends of the Haifa-Baghdad Railway may, I think, take heart of grace.

The CHAIRMAN: We have had an extremely interesting and, in some respects, a slightly provocative paper, and I hope that several of you are

ready to criticize and otherwise remark on what has been said. I have been told that one or two people here have special knowledge, and I am therefore going to take advantage of my position as Chairman and ask them to lead off with the discussion. I will ask Colonel Newcombe to begin.

Colonel NEWCOMBE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I first took an active interest in this problem in 1909, when I only got as far as Alexandretta and could not get the Foreign Office to let me go further, fearing trouble with the Germans. I managed to get over a good deal of the northern area before the War, and I surveyed between Wadi Yarmuk and Qasr el Azraq and the Wadi Zerka on the Palestine side and went through some of that delightful lava country in 1919.

I have been extraordinarily interested in the whole of Mr. Keeling's lecture. It is one of the few lectures I have attended at which I have not been to sleep for a single minute of the time! But I would like to argue on the question of traffic. The railway is to cross 600 miles of desert and will cost £10,000 a mile. Now the Sudan Railway is not a bad railway to compare with the proposed Haifa-Baghdad Railway; it has a desert route of 300 miles and cost £3,000 a mile. Even there the profit is not very big; but this railway is essential to the Sudan, whether it pays or not. I think it is very optimistic to estimate that the Haifa-Baghdad Railway will be a paying concern in ten years' time. But though even in ten years' time it is unlikely to pay a return on capital, it might very well pay the 'Iraq Government to build the railway: just as the Sudan Railway pays the Sudan Government, and the Trans-Continental pays the Australian Government. Apart from return on capital, those Governments did actually *want* railways because nothing could prosper without them. Therefore *if* the Government of 'Iraq will pay the guarantees, by all means have this railway. There is a slight military value to us, for which the War Office might pay a small sum.

What I do strongly advocate is the development of the road across the lava country, where, clearly, you have only to sweep the lava aside in order to produce a perfectly good road. I would suggest that we should improve this road by degrees as the traffic demands, and then in twenty, thirty, or forty years—when most of us are dead—build the railway if the traffic shows it is needed.

Only lately (last year, certainly) you could get goods delivered by ship at Basra at the same price as to Haifa, for the reason that there is a heavy return traffic from Basra and no return traffic from Haifa.

This is only to illustrate the fact that shipping rates are not dependent on distance, but on the amount of traffic over a given route. We cannot make estimates of traffic and money without a very close study of the problems, and this I have had no opportunity of doing.

If any of the younger members of this Society want to undertake a useful piece of work, it would be to make a journey from Cairo via Aqaba to Nebk in the Wadi Sirhan and thence direct to Ramadi. This would be a very useful alternative motor road—if you can dodge Ibn Saud. Such a journey would probably go south of the lava country and north of the sands around Jauf. This route from west to east has not yet been explored, but would provide an excellent alternative route to that shown on the map.

To sum up, I really cannot believe in the " economics " of this Haifa-Baghdad Railway. But it might pay 'Iraq to subsidize it, and I am all for getting that Government to do so.

Mr. Lees: Mr. Keeling has given us an excellent lecture, and his historical review of the problem was most interesting. He prefaced his remarks by stating that he has no axe to grind, but, be that as it may, there is little doubt as to how his sympathies lie. He can see full justification for the project and can foresee its execution in the near future, and it is on these two points that I should like to join issue with him.

Mr. Keeling ended, rather naïvely, by saying that European politics have nothing to do with the selection of the alignment. But surely the very alignment itself contradicts this statement; by avoiding French-controlled territory it avoids populations and consequent profits and instead strikes a course across the open desert. On approaching Trans-Jordan it carefully avoids an existing railway because it is not British-controlled, and, personally, I can imagine no greater monument to international folly and lack of co-operation than a railway such as contemplated. The present Haifa-Damascus Railway climbs up the Yarmuk valley to reach the high Trans-Jordan plateau, and it is now proposed to build another railway up a parallel valley, the Wadi-el-Arab, not twenty miles distant. This climb from the Jordan valley, below sea-level, to the high plateau is the only really heavy construction along the whole route, and it seems to me a disgrace to present international relationships that we could not co-operate with our neighbours and agree to use one line.

This question, however, would only arise if the railway were built across the desert thus far, and I can see very little justification for such an expensive outlay. I have recently had an opportunity of seeing the

construction of the new Persian Railway in active progress, and was most impressed by the boldness of the scheme. The railway from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea is estimated to cost something like £50,000,000, and the engineering difficulties are out of all proportion more formidable than the Syrian desert project. But the Persians do not make any attempt to conceal the primary object. It is frankly political and national. The Persians feel that they can never have any degree of economic independence from Russia until this railway is built, and they are determined to push through its construction. The cost is being met from year to year from the country's revenues and from special taxes, and so, when its operations eventually commence, there will be no capital charge for interest or amortization. The railway revenue will only have maintenance costs to meet, but while such a system may be possible for a nation it is out of the question for any concern organized as a private company.

If 'Iraq has its national point of view so strongly developed that it needs an independent railway at all costs, let her organize her affairs in some such way as Persia, and let us forget these immature schemes of construction by private capital. If commercial interests only were involved, surely it would be more profitable to join up to the Turkish railway system through Mosul, or, alternatively, to co-operate with the French in the construction of a railway up the Euphrates either to Aleppo or else from Deir ez Zor across to Homs. Both these systems would tap populated country, and local traffic would assist the revenues substantially.

I cannot accept the estimate of the volume of traffic ever likely to be attracted by the desert railway. First-class and perhaps even second-class passenger traffic will be more and more attracted by the air as facilities develop, as they certainly will develop. The desert is something to be endured whatever the means of travel, and, personally, I do not find the estimated train speed of thirty-three miles an hour at all attractive. Then what class of goods and what volume of traffic is expected? Will it ever pay to export grain from 'Iraq by a long railway route in competition with the present system of rail or river transport and then sea? Other classes of goods of higher value and lesser volume can easily find means of transport across the desert by heavy lorry if circumstances require. The construction of the 'Iraq Petroleum Company's pipe-line has shown what can be achieved by well-organized heavy transport. The 40-ton loads carried by the great Marmon-Harringtons perhaps give one an insight into further developments in

this line in the future; and with Diesel motors the costs would probably be substantially reduced, perhaps even to compete favourably with a railway carrying the heavy burden of initial capital outlay.

In conclusion may I once more record my opinion that I can see no economic justification for such a railway as contemplated, and that I deplore the narrow nationalistic outlook which prevents free co-operation in the development of both 'Iraq and Syria for their mutual advantage.

Lord STRABOLGI: What are the possibilities, if this railway is built—as I very much hope it will be built—of getting an extension to India?

Seven million pounds is the cost of this railway, and there is a discussion whether it is going to pay 4 per cent. or 3 per cent. or 1 per cent. or not at all. This was the cost of the Hudson Tunnel in New York. Does it pay? It was the cost of the aeroplane carriers *Lexington* and *Saratoga* (they each cost £7,000,000—that is, £14,000,000 in all), and many people say they are nearly useless for naval purposes.

I see an ex-Cabinet Minister here, and he will be able to tell me how many weeks it takes to pay £7,000,000 away in the dole to men who can do nothing for it but prop up the walls as they stand about the streets. Here is an extraordinarily ready way of opening up two or three countries, which will give work to our coal-miners, iron and steel workers, engineers, bridge-builders, etc. It will bring in orders, and probably part of the money can be guaranteed by the 'Iraq Government. Have we lost all our ideas of proportion? Have we lost all the courage of our forefathers, who built railways all over the place in every part of the world? Are we just going on waiting, like Mr. Micawber, for something to turn up?

That, very bluntly, Mr. Chairman, is my argument for the railway, and I end as I began in hoping that it will be built and built soon. We have 2,000 millions of money idle in the banks in this country to-day. This is the greatest amount of deposit money on record, and it cannot find an outlet. Your Chairman, who is now an eminent banker, can tell you something about that. That money is idle, and you have also two and a quarter million men idle in this country. Surely statesmanship can find a way out of that.

Mr. MONTAGUE BELL asked whether the railway would shorten the journey to India.

Other questions were asked as to the probable increase in traffic, etc.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Keeling will reply, but before doing so he asks me to deal with one of the points, and that is the motor transport

across the desert, which, it is suggested, might be cheaper than the railway. I happen to have seen the figures to which Mr. Keeling referred, and I believe that the highest railway rate in the estimate was 1¼d. per ton-mile, and the lowest was ⅜d. per ton-mile. Now even with the wonderful heavy Marmon-Harrington lorries it is quite impossible for motor transport to keep anywhere near that figure. And in addition there would be the upkeep of the road. So I think, as regards the cost, there is no question that the railway will be much cheaper. It is only a question of the amount of traffic. Once you have a certain minimum of traffic the railway is much cheaper.

One other observation. Great strides have been made in railway development since the report referred to by Mr. Keeling was issued. There is the Diesel engine train, such as the *Flying Hamburger.* I am not at all sure that this will not be the line of development for passenger services on the desert railway. In that case speeds will be much in excess of anything estimated. That is, to my mind, the chief argument for the standard gauge. You can certainly outdistance the motor-car and seriously compete with the aeroplane.

Mr. Keeling: Comparison has been made with the Sudan Railway, which, Colonel Newcombe said, cost only £3,000 a mile. I can only suggest that when the Haifa-Baghdad Railway is taken in hand the authorities should get in touch with the people who built the Sudan Railway.

Mr. Lees thought that I contradicted myself when I said the scheme was outside the sphere of European politics and then suggested that England and 'Iraq should join in a guarantee. But 'Iraq is not in Europe. I can conceive of no serious opposition from any European country. As regards his suggestion that the railway should use the Yarmuk valley line (of the Hejaz Railway) through Syria into Trans-Jordan, that is a matter for Syria and 'Iraq. If they have no objection to a railway from Baghdad to the Mediterranean passing through Syrian territory, I see none.

A lady asked whether any development was to be expected in Persian traffic via Syria. A new road has been built in 'Iraq from Mosul via Rowanduz towards the Persian frontier, and the French are subsidizing motor lorries which go from the Syrian railhead at Tel Ziouane by this road; but I do not think this route serves any very large part of Persia, or that it could compete with the proposed Haifa-Baghdad Railway.

As regards the question of extending the line through Persia to

India, raised by Lord Strabolgi, the difficulties are very great, both technically and politically, and I think it will be time enough to talk of extension to India when the Haifa-Baghdad line is built.

Another question was whether this railway will in itself shorten the journey to India. I think I mentioned that the present railway route via Mosul brings one to Baghdad in six days* and to Basra in seven. I have no doubt that if the Haifa-Baghdad Railway were built the Persian Gulf steamer service would be accelerated and you would make the journey from London to Karachi in eleven days.

As regards the economics of the scheme, the hour is late and there is no time, nor am I competent, to discuss the matter in detail. I have not suggested that the railway will pay in the near future. But in my opinion it will itself create trade, and 'Iraq may be well advised to help in financing its construction.

The CHAIRMAN: All I have to do is to ask you to signify your appreciation of a most interesting paper which we have had from Mr. Keeling.

* See footnote on page 377.

BRITISH MALAYA*

By SIR LAURENCE GUILLEMARD, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

BRITISH Malaya consists of three separate parts—the Colony of the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, and the Unfederated Malay States. The Colony is a Crown Colony of the ordinary type and includes Singapore, Penang, Malacca, Province Wellesley, the Dindings, the Island of Labuan off Borneo, Christmas Island, and Cocos Keeling Island.

The Federated Malay States consist of the four States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang. Here the position is altogether different from that in the Colony. The States are not British territory, but the British Government has undertaken under Treaties to protect and administer them as trustee for the Malay Rulers in accordance with their religion and customs.

Last come six States, five of them—Perlis, Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu—"marching" with the Federated States or with the Colony, and one—Brunei—in Borneo. None of these five States have joined the Federation, but all of them are under British protection and are administered as far as possible on the same lines as the Federated States with the assistance of resident British Advisers and a staff of British officials.

Besides the States which I have mentioned the Governor of the Straits Settlements is Agent for British North Borneo, which is managed by a Chartered Company, and Sarawak, which is under the rule of Rajah Brooke.

It will be seen that the constitution of Malaya is of a peculiar type. I do not think that any parallel to it can be found in the Empire. The position is complicated, and makes the task of administration somewhat delicate, though the lines on which it must be conducted are clear. There is no question of annexation or political fusion, or anything of that sort, but, subject to the maintenance of this principle, the settled policy must be, while preserving the individuality and independence of all these component parts of Malaya, to get them to

* Lecture given on March 14, 1934, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the Chair.

work together for the common good. It is a policy of plain common sense, the aim of which is that the administration of all the different parts of Malaya should be conducted on similar lines with an interchangeable staff, so as to make it as easy as possible for government to be carried on, for development to continue, and for trade and commerce to go on their way in security.

The position is further complicated by the number of different races living in the country, with different interests which have to be safeguarded by Government.

Malays.—First come the Malays. It is their country. We are there to protect their interests and aid in their development. They are a singularly attractive race. From the Rulers down to the peasants they understand and like the British. The peasants are a pleasant, easy-going folk living on their land, growing rice and fruit, with a great love of sport of all kinds. It must be confessed that they are not industrious. They leave hard work to the Chinese and Indians.

Aptitude for administration is necessarily a plant of slow growth, but for some time the higher ranks of the Malays have taken an increasing part in the public service. Many are now serving under Government as policemen, land officers, and magistrates, and some are holding high posts.

The Rulers preside over their States with great dignity and elaborate court ceremonial. They naturally vary in degrees of intelligence, but most of them fill the position of Ruler very well. Their loyalty is well known. In the war they added to the Navy H.M.S. *Malaya*, which was completed in time to fight in the Battle of Jutland, and, more recently, they contributed to the cost of the Naval Base at Singapore no less a sum than £2,000,000.

Chinese.—There are two distinct varieties of Chinese in Malaya.

(*a*) We have in the Colony what are called the "Straits born" Chinese who are British subjects, generally educated on English lines, many of them having been to Universities in England; they take a prominent part in the professions and in trade and commerce, and their representatives share in the administrative work of the Colony as members of the Legislative Council.

(*b*) But most of the Chinese in the Colony and the Malay States retain their Chinese nationality. They are resident for shorter or longer periods in the country and some remain in it permanently. Among them are to be found men of education and culture, successful in the professions and trades. But the bulk are coolies who come from and

return to China after their sojourn in Malaya. Speaking generally, they are a sober, hard-working race, honest traders, and good citizens.

Indians.—The Indians are mainly of the coolie class, working in the plantations, constantly coming from India and returning there. They are of a less virile type than the Chinese, but they are efficient workers under proper supervision.

Various.—Throughout the country are to be found members of almost every nationality—Parthians and Medes and Elamites and the dwellers in Mesopotamia—speaking every language that was represented at the Tower of Babel and a good many more.

Europeans.—Apart from the British in the Government and the Civil Service, there is, both in the Colony and in the Malay States, a large European community, mostly British, engaged in various forms of industry—bankers, lawyers, doctors, traders, planters, and miners.

The history of Malaya reads like a chapter of romance. Since the foundation of Singapore, over one hundred years ago, by Sir Stamford Raffles, one of the most honoured names in the history of our Empire, the Colony has steadily grown in prosperity and importance, and has for many years flourished as a civilized and ordered community. The development of the F.M.S. has been far more rapid, and may, indeed, be called sensational. Fifty years ago the interior of the country was a jungle passable only by rivers and rough paths, and up to comparatively recent times the pioneers of government and industry passed lives that were solitary and often full of difficulty and hardship. The visitor to Malaya to-day will find a very different state of things. He will find a country developed on modern lines, with an ordered Government and an efficient Civil Service, traversed by an extensive railway system and excellent roads, giving easy access to important towns and prosperous villages and settlements from which supplies of tin, rubber, copra, and other tropical products are despatched to the ports for distribution all over the world. He will find cities with fine public buildings, public gardens, play-grounds, banks, factories, schools, comfortable dwelling-houses with electric light and fans, good shops, up-to-date hospitals, first-rate doctors, surgeons, and nurses, and last but not least, facilities for every form of sport and amusement.

The progress of the Unfederated States has been on the same lines: some are more highly developed than others, but all are steadily advancing on the road of ordered administration and affording increasing facilities for industry and commerce. Both the Colony and

the Federated Malay States possess efficient regiments of volunteers, British and Asiatic. The Boy Scouts and Girl Guides organizations are popular and well managed. Flying, both Imperial and private, has recently developed, and Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Penang are now important stations in our Imperial Air Routes.

The climate of Malaya has been much abused, but a great deal has been done in the matter of sanitation and the prevention and cure of disease, and it would not be true to say that Malaya is to-day an unhealthy country for Europeans. To some temperaments the climate is unfavourable or even hostile, but, speaking generally, normally constituted men and women can hope to enjoy good health, provided that they live carefully, are moderate in eating and drinking, have regular occupation, take proper exercise, and are able at not too long intervals to spend a holiday in a temperate climate.

In this connection it is hard to exaggerate the importance of hill stations. When I arrived in Malaya, with the exception of a few isolated bungalows, accessible only to the well-to-do, there was no place where those who were run down or recovering from an illness or an operation could go to recuperate. To-day, I am glad to say, the case is very different. The road to Fraser's Hill (4,500 feet) was completed in my term, and the station can now be reached in three hours by car from Kuala Lumpur. It is in good working order, is rapidly growing, and capable of very considerable extension. Penang Hill, which when I first knew it could only be reached on foot or in a litter, is now, thanks to the railway which was opened in my time, within half an hour of the town. A good number of houses have been built already and more will no doubt follow. Taiping Hill in Perak has not the same possibilities, though it can be further developed. But something on a bigger scale is needed, and attention has lately been directed to the area known as Cameron's Highlands, an extensive plateau standing about 6,000 feet above sea-level. It is already being developed, and it is hoped that it will afford a site for a really important hill station, which will do more than anything else to improve the conditions of life in Malaya.

Malaya as a whole shows a wonderful record of progress, and we may fairly congratulate ourselves on the fact that this progress has been achieved with due regard to the rights of the Malays, and without inflicting hardship on any section of the community, with the result that Malaya taken as a whole has for many years been one of the happiest countries in the world.

One of the results of this state of things is that, taking the country as a whole, law and order are easily and effectively maintained, and that the foreign agitator, who has for some time paid special attention to the East, has, up till now, cut little ice in Malaya. Disorders and crimes of violence from time to time, especially in Singapore, have to be dealt with; but, knowing as I do the conditions in that city, with its large and shifting population of all nationalities, I am surprised that there has not been greater trouble, especially in times of excitement like the last few years, in which the disquiet in China might well have been expected to cause a really serious "repercussion" in Malaya. That the trouble has not been greater is due not only to the efficiency of the police and the Chinese Protectorates, but also to the loyalty of the main body of the population. Another indication of the general contentment is the fact that, up to now, Malaya has been singularly free from political unrest of the type which has, from time to time, manifested itself in some other Colonies and Dependencies. This does not mean that the constitutional position can be regarded as settled and done with for good and all. The development of the country has led, both in the Colony and in the Malay States, to some modifications of the constitution.

In the Colony the constitution is of the regular Crown Colony type with a Governor at the head, assisted by an Executive Council and a Legislative Council, the latter comprising an official side consisting of the chief officials, and an unofficial side consisting of representatives of the British and other races resident in the Colony. All the unofficials are formally appointed by the Governor. No one in the Colony has a vote. I did not, during my term of office in the Colony, consider it necessary to propose any amendment of importance in the constitution of the Legislative Council, nor was there any real demand for drastic reform, such as the election of Members by popular vote. I have never concealed my opinion that, whatever the future may hold, the time is not nearly ripe for this. The system of government is admittedly old-fashioned and is from time to time the subject of criticism on that account, but it has not been seriously attacked, and I believe it is regarded by the majority of thinking and well-informed citizens of all nationalities as better adapted to the peculiar conditions of Malaya in general and Singapore in particular than a constitution on more modern lines.

The constitution of the Federated Malay States is as follows: The Governor here is called the High Commissioner. He has under him

a Chief Secretary to the Federal Government and a British Resident in each of the four States. There is a Federal Council with an official side, and an unofficial side consisting of representatives of the British, Malay, Chinese, and Indian communities. The unofficial members are all nominated by the High Commissioner. During my term, the situation in the Federated Malay States was more complicated than in the Colony, and was ripe for somewhat wider changes in the constitution. Foreigners in large numbers—British, European, and Asiatic—have for many years been coming into the country as planters, miners, and traders. They have invested large amounts of capital, made big profits, and acquired responsible positions, and many of them are inclined, and not unnaturally, to regard the country as a place for them to make money in.

The Chinese are of special importance in this connection. Malaya owes much to their industry, but owing to their numbers (they already outnumber the Malays) and their wealth, they constitute a serious problem. The majority of the Chinese in Malaya have been too busy making money to bother about politics, but some politicians in China look forward to a day when Malaya will become a Chinese province. Propaganda is apt to spread, and the situation needs careful watching.

Another point is the relation of the British Administrative Officer to the Malays. In the early days these officers lived in daily touch with the Malays, often in remote places far from other Englishmen, going about their districts on foot, or on horseback, or on bicycles. To-day motor-cars have altered all that. The officers live in touch with other Englishmen in the towns and clubs: they marry younger and have comfortable homes. They are as careful as ever of the interests of the Malays, but the old intimate association has largely gone.

Most important of all is the spread of education, which has widened the outlook of the Malays and altered their mentality. Our object has always been, and is, to train the Malays to take part in the government of their country, and to-day they are holding quite a number of posts, and in some cases important posts, and will hold more.

But the most important factor in the situation as I found it was that the Federal Government, secretariat and departments, had grown into a highly organized and most efficient bureaucracy, and like all bureaucracies had tended to over-centralization and too rigid and detailed control of the administration in all the four States.

The Rulers had for some time and to an increasing extent con-

trasted their own position of subordination to the Federal Secretariat with the position of greater freedom and dignity enjoyed in the States outside the Federation, where the government is carried on by the Ruler, assisted by a British Adviser, directly responsible to the High Commissioner, who, except on some question of policy in which his approval is required, does not intervene in the details of administration.

All these causes had produced in the Rulers and higher Malays in the Federated States a feeling of disquiet and, as I realized as I got to know them, a very real disquiet. There was no failure in loyalty, no "divine discontent," but a desire for change in the conditions.

I felt that they were right. I knew that it would, especially at first, mean some loss of efficiency in administration, but I felt that loyalty such as that of the Malay Rulers is more precious than the most perfect machine. So I decided that some change in the Constitution of the Federated Malay States was necessary, and, in consultation with my advisers, I devised a scheme which in principle obtained the approval of the Government at home, and was published in Malaya for consideration and criticism in detail. My proposals, which were known by the name of "Devolution," took the form of a scheme of decentralization, the aim of which was to give to each of the four States of the Federation a fuller control over its internal affairs by devolving certain powers from the Central Federal Government to the Governments of those States.

The proposal aroused prolonged, and at times acute controversy, but in the end a scheme was evolved which gave a measure of financial control to the State Councils without impairing the financial stability and credit of the Federation, and at the same time increased the authority and efficiency of the Federal Council. It was welcomed by the Rulers, whose dignity and status were enhanced by its provisions. It passed the Federal Council by a unanimous vote, and was legalized by a new Treaty between the High Commissioner representing H.M. the King and the four Rulers, which was signed in April, 1927.*

Under its provisions the Federal Council was reconstituted, and its powers and duties more clearly defined.

The Rulers withdrew from active membership of the Council, where their position was somewhat anomalous, though retaining their right to be present at any meeting if they wished. The Council was reconstituted as follows: The High Commissioner, the Chief Secretary to the Government, the four Residents of the four States, the

* Command Paper 4276.

Legal Adviser, the Financial Adviser, the Principal Medical Officer, the Controller of Labour, the Director of Education, the Director of Public Works, one other official to be nominated by the High Commissioner, eleven unofficial members to be nominated by the High Commissioner with the approval of the King, at least four of the number, if possible, to be Malays, one from each State.

It was always my intention that further development of the policy of Devolution should be gradually and slowly introduced. It is not wise to try to hurry the East.

I was near the end of my term, and all I could do was to plant the tree and leave it to my successors to foster its growth. For some time things moved slowly. The opposition died down and the first instalments of reform were quietly carried out. A little later the present High Commissioner, Sir Cecil Clementi, pronounced himself warmly in favour of the new policy, and developed it further. The old opposition blazed up again. It came mainly from Europeans, who were, and quite properly, anxious that nothing should be done to jeopardize the financial credit and stability of the Federated Malay States, and were afraid that reform was proceeding too rapidly, and feeling became so strong that the Colonial Office decided to send out their Permanent Secretary, Sir Samuel Wilson, to enquire and report. Sir Samuel, after full and careful enquiry, produced an admirable Report* which has apparently satisfied everybody. Thanks largely to him, I, who steered the good ship "Devolution" through some roughish weather, can now, I hope, watch from the shore her safe progress to harbour.

So much for the past. What of the present and the future? Malaya is at present feeling, and feeling acutely, the effects of the depression which has for many weary months hung like a blight over trade and industry throughout practically all the world, and those who have suffered, and are still suffering, may, if they read what I have written above, think that I have taken too roseate a view.

I hope that none of them—many of them are my good friends—will imagine, for a moment, that I under-rate the difficulties of the position or fail to realize the hardships they have had to bear, and are still bearing. But I am by disposition an optimist, and I am strengthened in that optimism by my experience in the years when I was the head of the Government in Malaya.

I was very fortunate in my term of office. It was, speaking generally, a period of prosperity. During that period Malaya had her

* "Visit to Malaya, 1932," Command Paper 4276.

time of depression—not, it is true, anything like so severe or prolonged a depression as that from which she is now suffering—and she won through. And I am confident that she will win through again. The clouds still hang over her, but they already show signs of breaking, and we can feel justified in believing that a return to prosperity is on its way. The return will be gradual and perhaps slow, and the prosperity will be of a different type from that of the past.

Malaya will probably never again be the "Golden Chersonese." It is not likely that her principal industries will again be conducted under the somewhat hectic conditions of booming trade, soaring prices, and inflated dividends, with their results of short-sighted finance and lavish expenditure, which have from time to time prevailed in her history.

Nor will her friends wish it for her. What they hope is that she will return to prosperity of a more ordered and stable type than in the past. And they believe that she will do so. She has wonderful powers of recovery; she has great natural resources, actual and potential, and she can rely in the future, as in the past, on those who, as administrators, traders, and labourers, have proved capable of developing those resources.

AIR CONTROL OF FRONTIERS*

By AIR COMMODORE J. A. CHAMIER, C.B.

EVERY great nation has been a colonizer. Great Britain has perhaps been the greatest of all colonizers. Whatever the reason —whether greed or altruistic motives, or sheer love of wandering—Englishmen have gone out and settled in all parts of the world. On the whole these men have benefited the districts in which they settled. Apart from developments like irrigation, roads, railways, scientific knowledge, organization against famine, medical prevention of and aid in disease, we have had to enforce the Pax Britannica to give security of life and property to those for whom we have assumed responsibility.

Sometimes settlement has been by peaceful penetration; sometimes military power has been necessary to stop abuses. But in all cases the civilizing power of administration goes on. Sometimes the civil administration is supported by military force, but this is usual only when the administered territory adjoins areas not under any form of civilizing control and occupied by independent tribes with their own sovereign chiefs or by semi-independent tribes owing a nominal allegiance, perhaps, but not making a heavy burden of it. The independent tribes are beyond our jurisdiction, but we try to influence the semi-independent tribes through Political Officers who know their customs, speak their language, generally like them, and seek to guide them more by paternal authority than force. After all, from the Political Officer's point of view, they are rather like unruly children.

The territory occupied by the independent tribes, although nominally under control, does not observe any laws applied by the administration. It is very necessary that this distinction should be clearly understood so that in studying the cause and effect of frontier campaigns that I shall give later in my lecture, there shall be no misapprehension.

First of all, I wish you to have a clear general picture in your mind

* Lecture given on March 21, 1934, Air Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham in the Chair.

of the conditions in the "hilly" district frontiers. Owing to the difficulty of establishing essential communications, our administered area usually ends in the lower hills, away from the unattractiveness of the higher and more rugged country in which the independent tribes live. Our mere presence is both an inconvenience and an affront to these wild spirits who find that their favourite practice of raiding the fat and smiling plains (as on the North-West Frontier of India) or that of stealing a neighbour's flocks and herds (a great game enjoyed by all Somali tribes) is interfered with. But our presence does not entirely deter them. There comes a time when the age-old instinct (it might even be tradition) to raid and to steal must find expression. The raiders and robbers steal down from the hills, commit their outrages, and are back in their fastnesses before news of the event has reached the Political Officer. In the days when only ground forces were available, it was a dangerous procedure to send in a small punitive force to avenge the crime: the tribesmen are often well-armed, good shots, always brave, expert at concealment and ambushes, rapid movers in their own rough country, and, above all, anxious to have a fight. It is their life, and their enjoyment is increased if there is any loot—rifles, pistols, ammunition, or other military equipment. The danger to which a small expedition was exposed made the authorities hesitate to seek immediate revenge for the outrage and in consequence the total was allowed to grow until the "bill" justified the dispatch of a big expedition, to teach a salutary lesson. The cost, however, was high. Both sides suffered heavy casualties in killed, wounded, and sick, while in terms of money the cost sometimes ran into hundreds of thousands of pounds. In addition, the enemy suffered the destruction of his crops, herds, villages, irrigation, fruit groves—in fact, everything that the avenging force could lay its hands on. For some time the lesson had its effect. But memory is short, boys quickly grow into men, and instinct prevails. Raiding began again, and the whole process was repeated.

The simplest method of exerting civilizing influences on these independent tribes would be to occupy their territory. This is clearly impossible—yet. Boundaries cannot be pushed forward indefinitely into an unadministered interior, nor can they be taken with safety close to a very loosely administered frontier. In the latter case, independent warlike tribes might establish a "no-man's-land" between the administered territory and that of a neighbouring country, thus creating the risk that tribal friction might lead to international friction.

The enormous cost (although it might prove an ultimate economy) of using force to instal an effective administration, and the geographical difficulties of maintaining that administration, combine to create a problem of extreme difficulty and delicacy. The ever-present danger of insurrection, insubordination, and lawlessness demands the constant vigilance of protective forces. If these forces were withdrawn, law and order would give place to chaos, anarchy, massacre, and tyranny over hundreds of square miles of peaceful territory. But the demands of humanity and economy deny the use of unlimited power and unregulated methods to enforce law and order. Is there any instrument, you might ask, that *can* supply the force and yet observe the dictates of humanity? There is, and in telling you how this instrument works you must remember that I speak from long experience of frontier work. The instrument, as you all know, is the aeroplane.

In tracing the gradual evolution of the Air Police Force I will begin with the "Z" Expedition to Somaliland in 1919-1920. First, however, the circumstances leading to the trouble in Somaliland must be explained. When it was evacuated by Egypt in 1884, the country fell into a chaotic state. This, combined with a land-grabbing policy among the Major Powers, resulted in a demarcation of spheres of influence between Abyssinia, France, Italy and Great Britain. Great Britain was already established on the coast and the coastal plain, where it maintained order. Raids into the plain by inland tribes, however, led to punitive expeditions further inland, and by 1899 British control extended as far south as Burao. About 1895, the Mad Mullah rose to power and objected to our presence in this area. Tribes under the protection of Great Britain were attacked and Burao and Sheikh were raided. We had either to withdraw or to protect our friendly tribesmen. We elected to undertake the protection, and thus began a series of military operations in which I took part that lasted twenty years. Many battles took place, at one time we had nearly 10,000 men engaged, the operations cost many millions of pounds, and the casualties from fighting and disease were terribly heavy. Yet, up to 1914 no definite result had been reached.

During the war 1914-18, our resources for prosecuting the war in Somaliland were reduced; the enemy got correspondingly bolder, and it was not until 1919 that we could return to this theatre of operations to substantiate our promises of protection to the friendly tribes. Wartime experiences had shown the value of aircraft in military opera-

tions, and when plans were being drawn up it was agreed that air power should be a feature of the Somaliland Expedition.

Under conditions of great secrecy preparations were made. H.M.S. *Ark Royal* (an aircraft carrier) landed the expedition on the 30th December, 1919, and by the 21st January eight aeroplanes were ready for offensive action. The Mad Mullah was known to be in the Medishi area; the R.A.F. were to operate from Eil dur Elan, the Navy was to attack Galduribar on the north, and a detachment of the King's African Rifles sent from East Africa was to advance from Las Khorai to Musa aled and Baran. The Somali Camel Corps and friendly tribes were to block the road south from Medishi.

The forts of Jidali and Medishi were bombed, Baran Fort (which was not bombed) and Galburidur were captured, and, later, Jidali was taken. On the 30th January the Mullah broke south for Tale, and bombing operations against him were maintained as continuously as the only three available aeroplanes would permit. He was forced to evacuate Tale the day before its capture by friendly tribes, and, despite a great pursuit by the S.C.C. he escaped, his prestige and power gone. He was a discredited refugee.

Recalling the conditions of the 1904 campaign, when the punitive expedition was tortured by the sun, attacked by fever, and parched with thirst; where the tracks of that waterless country were marked with the bleaching bones of dead transport animals that had been virtually killed in the struggle to keep the columns supplied with water; I can only thank science for its gift of the aeroplane to mankind. All the suffering of an indecisive war has gone; casualties on both sides are insignificant (in the 1920 Somaliland campaign less than fifty were killed by bombing) and the cost reduced to small proportions. In this case the air operations cost £70,000, while ground troops absorbed £84,000.

The initial success of the air forces in frontier control was achieved in open country. Would it succeed in broken hill country, where natural cover for the enemy was plentiful?

Our next theatre of operations is the North-West Frontier of India in 1922 when the Royal Air Force co-operated with troops in operations against tribes of Waziristan. The previous operations (in February to August, 1917) had required three or four brigades of troops, and our casualties in killed, wounded, and missing was 626. The combined air and ground operations, however, must be recorded as a failure, because there was not much concentration of effort, and

the policy of switching from valley to valley gave an impression too spasmodic to be effective. Similar ineffective bombing took place in 1923 against the Gurikhel tribe.

Shortly afterwards, the R.A.F. Command worked out a definite policy that is still applied to-day. When called in by the Political Officer (who has previously obtained the Government's consent to air action) the Royal Air Force fly to the territory of the offending tribe and drop warning notices that bombing will take place at a certain hour on a certain day. The notice requests the removal to safety of all women and children. At the scheduled time bombing aircraft appear and drop a few bombs in the prescribed area. Then the new principle—that of "air pressure"—is applied. Aircraft maintain a constant patrol over the territory. Day after day (and frequently at night) they keep unceasing vigil. Soon the tribesmen get restless. Their normal life is dislocated, they cannot carry out cattle herding and the cattle often stray, cooking is a matter of difficulty, crops cannot be attended to, and a plethora of camel ticks, bugs, rats, and fleas in the sheltering caves make life insufferable. The tribesman is essentially a fighting man, and will endure weeks of discomfort if he is likely to be rewarded by a fight. But the aeroplane is a superior adversary, working beyond the range of his rifle. He has nothing to gain by holding out. This is how many little frontier "wars" have been dealt with. Our early experiences showed how difficult it was to kill the enemy by bombing. Had the new principle not been applied, air control of frontiers would never have found a place in military strategy. As it is, both sides are now spared the terrible slaughter and destruction of the pre-air operations, the aeroplane merely exerting pressure on the tribesmen by making them cross the borderline between precarious comfort and acute discomfort.

Now let us go to another part of the world where air forces have been tried. The Royal Air Force took over the defence of Aden in the spring of 1928. In February of that year the Imam of the Yemen, who by a process of steady encroachment since 1919 had occupied large areas of Protectorate territory (his posts having been pushed forward to within 50 miles of Aden), perpetrated the culminating outrage of kidnapping two sheikhs under British protection. It is difficult to exaggerate the damage to British prestige which resulted from the Imam's insolence and the impunity with which he had for many years dominated tribes under the protection of His Majesty's Government.

Our prestige in Aden had almost disappeared, and it was not until

air operations began that the Imam of the Yemen discovered that Great Britain could still carry out its obligations. From the 21st February to the 25th March operations were conducted against his frontier garrisons, as a result of which he asked for a truce, and surrendered the two sheikhs he had previously captured, as an earnest of his good intentions. A truce was made, but the Imam broke one of its conditions (that he should evacuate Dala by the 20th June) and operations were renewed on the 25th June.

The success of these operations produced a remarkable effect from the beginning. When they were planned, the talk throughout the Yemen was of an immediate advance by the Imam's forces on Lahej (on the direct road to Aden), and the population of Lahej was in a state of panic, being unable to believe that twelve small aircraft could possibly resist a powerful enemy, concentrated along 100 miles of frontier—much less exert effective pressure on the leader, who was seated seven days' march to the north. A few days after the operations began, panic was replaced by hopefulness, and for the first time in many years the tribes found the will and the power to eject the invaders. The movement, at first sporadic, steadily gathered momentum, and on the 13th July the Amir of Dala, who had spent eight years as an exile in Lahej, reoccupied that town at the head of his tribesmen under cover of an intensive air attack. Three weeks' bombing had compelled the Imam to comply with conditions laid down, and air action was suspended to enable him to open negotiations should he desire to do so. At the end of July, however, an attack was made on Protectorate tribes, thus re-opening operations. By the end of August the Imam had evacuated further posts, and it became clear that he was inclined to be more pacific. He actually issued orders that no raids were to be made into Protectorate territory. Operations ceased, and although one or two attempts have been made to renew the process of infiltration into the Protectorate, the mere threat of air action brings about the immediate withdrawal of the offending troops.

Thus, in two months, the employment of air forces compelled an oppressive tyrant to evacuate territory of which he had been for years in wrongful, but virtually uncontested, occupation. The cost of the operations can be put at about £8,500. Army plans for the capture of Dala (which was regarded as the only practical military objective) would have spent anything between £6 to £10 millions.

Military operations in 'Iraq put the R.A.F. to test in yet another type of country. In July, 1927, Sheikh Mahmud, the stormy petrel of

the Kurdish hills, had submitted, and had promised never to return to territory under British mandate. He broke his promise, and in the early autumn of 1930—in spite of warnings—crossed the border and billeted himself on nominally friendly villages. The tribesmen were, of course, unable to resist his action and had to suffer their unwelcome lodger. Efforts to locate him with 'Iraqi columns aided by air reconnaissance failed, and his power began to grow. He beleaguered police posts, which had to be relieved by air action, and by March, 1931, his influence had become so powerful and his unlawful presence so great a menace that general warnings had to be issued to all villagers that it was at their own risk that they gave the Sheikh and his men shelter. Subsequently, the air force caught the rebels in the open and bombed them, but on one occasion the rebels found sanctuary in a village, thus bringing the attack to an end.

Towards the end of March, 1931, it was decided to force the issue by making the (nominally) friendly tribes take sides either with the Sheikh or with the representatives of law and order. Warning notices were dropped, followed by the usual display of air power. Three days later the friendly chiefs decided to leave the Sheikh to his fate and refused to give him shelter. For the next six weeks Sheikh Mahmud was a fugitive from justice, hunted from the air, and always liable to attack. He surrendered on May 13th, and air control vindicated itself once more.

Air control has many critics. They call it "bombing of women and children"; "indiscriminate slaughter"; "wholesale destruction of property"; they claim that it leaves behind a legacy of rancour and hatred. Needless to say, those who shout the loudest know least of all about it. I doubt whether one woman or child has been killed by air action—the warning is too specific, too urgent, to be ignored. And no bombing takes place without warning. That is the fundamental principle of all air control operations. In their desire to ensure the removal of every woman and child the authorities now use loudspeakers on aeroplanes to broadcast warnings in the language of the tribes of the impending visit of bombing aircraft. This is additional to the distribution of printed warnings. In the pre-air era, of course, no such consideration was, or could be shown. The enemy consisted of men, women, and children, and the guns and rifles of the punitive expedition could make no distinctions. Mr. Winston Churchill gives in his book *The River War* graphic proof of the terrible slaughter that occurred. Describing the Battle of Atbara, he writes:

"Still the advances continued—over pits choked with dead and dying, among heaps of mangled camels and donkeys, among decapitated bodies and eviscerated trunks, the ghastly results of the shell fire, women and little children killed by the bombardment; others praying in wild terror for mercy."

Possibly the greatest fallacy about police bombing is the alleged indiscriminate slaughter. In the North-West Frontier it would be next to impossible to inflict casualties by bombing even if these were desired. There is too much natural cover. In open country, whole tribes could be wiped out by bombs, but killing is not necessary. Surrender is made to the power of aircraft and not to the machine. The odds are always with the aeroplane, and until the tribesman has his own air force he must give in as soon as he is opposed to the one weapon he respects.

The destruction of property serves no useful purpose in air operations. The aeroplane is not the instrument of justice; it is just the policeman seeking to bring the offender before the judicial authorities. In hilly country it is hard to see the scattered huts that go by the name of "village"; to hit them would demand mathematical accuracy in bombing, the area of the target being approximately 100 square feet (10 feet by 10 feet). The success of the aeroplane lies not in destruction, but in the dislocation it causes in an already primitive life. The tribesman will suffer terrible privations if he is likely to be rewarded with a fight with troops, but the aeroplane is a superior adversary, and there is no fun in living in misery when surrender will restore normal conditions. And so surrender is made.

This brings us to the final charge that air bombing leaves a legacy of hatred and rancour. I have attended "peace conferences" following air operations. To be frank, I expected some hostility to be shown towards me when it was known that I had been responsible for the bombing. But when I was introduced I was greeted in the friendliest spirit and, speaking their language, I was able to discuss the operations with the tribesmen. If further proof is required to dispel any misapprehension on this score, I need only say that on several occasions the crew of a bombing aeroplane have been taken prisoners when the machine forced-landed, and they have been treated with the greatest consideration. In other circumstances they might never have returned.

If, in the course of this lecture, I have been inclined to detail, I have done so to dispose of the ill-informed criticism that has been directed

against air bombing. I wanted to show you that, in every sphere—in hilly country and in open country—air control has been used and will always be used in strict conformity with the demands of humanity. I wanted to prove that air bombing is always under control, and I wished you to acquire some of the knowledge I have gained as the result of my experiences both as a soldier before the war and as an airman since the war.

I have completed my remarks about the working of air control on frontiers, but I should do the Royal Air Force a grave disservice if I failed to remind you of three incidents in which their aircraft played so important a part.

The first concerns Kabul. In the winter of 1928 Kabul—the capital of Afghanistan—experienced a terrible rebellion, in the course of which all Legations and the lives of their occupants were jeopardized. Communication with the British Legation ceased and Royal Air Force aeroplanes flew daily to Kabul to maintain touch with local events. On the 23rd December the situation became more threatening, and steps were taken to evacuate the women and children attached to the various legations. In a week 134 women and children had been evacuated. During the first week in January the King and 44 members of his family were flown to safety, and by the 25th February, a total of 586 men, women, and children of many nationalities, together with 24,193 lbs. of luggage, had been removed from danger by the Royal Air Force. Recalling the massacres of 1841 and the cost and casualties of the 1920 Afghan War, we can only be thankful that aircraft were available to prevent a repetition of history.

The second incident proves the value of the Royal Air Force in bringing troops quickly to the scene of trouble. In October, 1931, rioting took place in Cyprus, and the trouble threatened to extend. Royal Air Force troops carrying aircraft immediately conveyed a company of the King's Regiment from Alexandra to Cyprus, and order was restored almost immediately.

Finally, when the entire 600 miles of frontier of India was on the point of blazing into violent rebellion, a series of demonstrations by the R.A.F. not only quelled the trouble entirely, but went a long way towards stabilizing a very turbulent area.

Need I say more about Air Control of Frontiers? Have I vindicated the honour and humanity of a very brave profession? I hope I have, simply because I am convinced that the use of aircraft in maintaining law and order in primitive areas benefits both the tribesmen

and the administration. From brute force methods we have passed to the scientific instrument.

Brigadier Sandilands, whose speech is given later, opened the discussion.

The Chairman, in closing the meeting, reminded the audience that the personnel both of the Army and of the Royal Air Force were drawn from the same sources, were brought up in the same schools, and had the same traditions that Englishmen have always had—an almost fatherly responsibility for the welfare of the people amongst whom it was their duty to keep order.

He thanked Air Commodore Chamier for an instructive and amusing lecture. (Applause.)

DISCUSSION

Opening the discussion after Air Commodore Chamier's paper, Brigadier Sandilands said:

I should like to explain, to start with, that I have not volunteered to open this discussion on Air Commodore Chamier's lecture, and I was unwilling to do so for two reasons: In the first place "discussion" suggests disagreement; and disagreement by a soldier with a new, young, and progressive arm like the Air Force brands one, I think, with many as a sort of military reactionary. In the second place, I am still more strongly influenced by the feeling that anything in the nature of criticism from one who has had so much experience of the high standard of efficiency of the R.A.F. and of their generous co-operation, must seem rather ungracious. But here I am. I have been put in this position and I must do what I can.

I will say by way of further excuse for my shortcomings that it was only this afternoon that I realized this lecture was to-night and not to-morrow.

Now I think that the officers of the R.A.F., keen as they are on their arm, very likely suffer from a good deal of ill-informed views by unreasonable critics, but I also think that the reaction to such criticism is often a tendency to exaggerate one's claims, and actually claim that one can do everything in the hope of being credited as at least capable of something.

I wonder sometimes whether the rather extensive propaganda of the Air Force is not influenced by this consideration. If the Air Force is to be increased, it can only be increased—and everybody knows it—at the sacrifice of some other armament. And that sacrifice will not be made unless the Air Force is known to be capable of doing the work and serving the purpose of that arm which it replaces.

Now, to satisfy that condition the Air Force claim that they could as efficiently and more cheaply perform the duties of policing the Empire than troops. But I am so convinced that they cannot do this as efficiently as troops that, anxious as I am to see a substantial increase in the Air Force, I do condemn any attempt to secure that increase by such specious and dangerous arguments.

Air Commodore Chamier has rather taken the wind out of my sails, because I understood that by " air control " it was suggested that the air arm should itself carry out the whole control of a frontier, but in his concluding remarks it seems to me that he no more claims that than I do. He, in fact, holds the same view as I do, and that is, that what the Air Force can undertake is not so much air control as air co-operation.

In the case of a frontier such as the North-West Frontier, to which he has referred, it is not a question of controlling a line but of controlling a tract. In the North-West Frontier control means not only the control of what are sometimes called the British tribes on the far side of the administrative frontier, but the control of all their kith and kin in administered territory. Now control of a frontier of this description as distinct from the defence of a national frontier (such as the Franco-German frontier) can rightly be termed policing. For just as the first duty and only the first duty of police is to quell disorder, the second and far more important duty of police being the re-establishment of order and confidence and content, so also control of a frontier means not only the quelling of disorder, but the reintroduction of peace among the disaffected.

Moreover, it is an accepted axiom of military aid to the civil power which controls these frontiers (as in all aid to the civil power) that only the minimum of force necessary to attain the object should be exercised.

In the case of a riot in London, if the police set in and bludgeoned the mob, it would be done at the expense of a great many innocent people being taken to hospital. The disturbance would be quickly quelled, and on the surface this method might appear more effective

than the police methods to which we are accustomed. But, in fact, if these methods were adopted by the police, they would prejudice all their powers of carrying out their later duties of restoring and maintaining order.

Now, as to air control as I understand it—and not as a part of air co-operation as Air Commodore Chamier intended it to be understood —one might for a moment, I think, study how far it has succeeded where it has been introduced, and then consider whether what I would call air control would have succeeded in certain events with which I personally was concerned.

I have always understood that true air control was introduced in Palestine where, I think I am right in saying, the Commander-in-Chief belongs to the Air Force and all the Army was sent away. These troops had to be recalled as the Air Force were unable to maintain order and, at present, what is nominally called air control is represented by two squadrons of the Royal Air Force and 3,000 troops. That is the force which is in control in Palestine at the present moment.

Now for a moment I would like to turn to the situation in the Peshawar district in 1930-1931. The air action that was taken on the North-West Frontier in these years has been fully dealt with by Air Commodore Brock in the January number of the JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY. He does in that specifically state that he is dealing only with air action, and does not concern himself with the action of troops. But from his article you might gather that the Air Force was doing everything. That was not so.

Air Commodore Brock explains that the origin of these disturbances on the frontier, the real cause of the unrest, was to be found in Peshawar City itself. There were, in fact, very large riots in Peshawar City and the neighbourhood of Charsadda. The Air Force could never have served the purpose that the troops did when they were called in to quell these. You may say this was entirely a police job, but the job was beyond the police and they had to have help. If there had been only an Air Force, what would have happened?

Then came the incursions of the Afridis in June and August, 1930. Air Commodore Brock explains in his article how the Air Force watched the tribes coming down from the hills, and how they assembled in large concentrations in the plains, and he suggests that had he received permission to bomb them they would have been dispersed. But he leaves out of the argument the fact that had the Afridis on

that occasion not known that they would not be bombed, they would not have come down in that manner. This was shown clearly in the following August when the Afridis had, so to speak, declared war. I have read very carefully the reconnaissance reports of the Air Force rendered prior to this second incursion. No sign of their approach was detected, and nobody knew of it until they were across the border —because they had come under cover of darkness.

Air Commodore Chamier, if I may say so, rather took the line that air action was a humane business and that the tribesmen thought it a bit of a joke. Towards the end of his lecture I understood him to say that he believed no more than about twenty casualties were inflicted on the tribesmen by aircraft in 1930. But if you read this article by Air Commodore Brock you will find him claiming considerably more casualties than this. Whom is one to believe? The lecturer put forward the theory that the soldier, by his training and traditions, found it difficult to visualize methods other than killing by which an object could be attained, and seemed to suggest that his own conversion had been from being a murderous soldier to becoming a merciful airman. As to this, I would like to read passages from Air Commodore Brock's article concerning the ultimate settlement of the Afridi business:

" I have scarcely mentioned the ground operations against the raiding gangs. But I think I have given you a fair account of the air view of the incursions. They were certainly not entirely satisfactorily dealt with, but I fully appreciate the political side of the question, and I do not for a minute suggest that any other action would have been wiser in the circumstances. But we did miss a chance, which did not occur again, as I had hoped, to give the Afridis a really hard knock. . . . As you know, the punishment evolved into a military occupation of the Kajuri and Aka Khel plains. It was thought that the Afridis would resent this to such an extent as to bring the whole tribe in against us in some really big operations, which would give us our opportunity to punish them properly." (To me that can only mean bombing villages.) " As it turned out, in spite of their keen resentment at the occupation of a large strip of their own country, they have been too frightened to hit back." Air Commodore Brock concludes: " My personal belief is that it is the threat of air action that has kept them quiet. . . . The bombs have not been used, and perhaps they never will be. The threat has been enough."

Well, to me that does not seem quite fair. The Kajuri and Aka

Khel plains were occupied by troops. Why not give the troops the credit? What pacified the Afridis was the construction of roads all over the plains. The Air Force cannot construct roads, nor can they protect the coolie gangs who make the roads. A good deal has been said about inaccessibility and, admittedly, the air has enormous advantages in getting at inaccessible villages. But real frontier control means that villages should not be left inaccessible, but should be made accessible not only to troops but to civilization.

Now to consider air action under three headings:

(1) Has it been humane? Let us face facts. It is known that, regrettably and inevitably, innocent people have been injured by bombing.

(2) Is it effective? One reads that Air Commodore Brock (writing in 1932) considered that it had been so effective in 1930 that the Mohmands, in his opinion, would never be so foolish as to come down again. Yet they were down again in 1932 and once more in 1933. Furthermore, the Afghans, who know a good deal more than we do about the tribes, are not at all satisfied with air action, and are calling for other measures to be taken.

(3) Is it economical? The air arm is not so frightfully cheap. In 1930 bombs alone cost 7½ lacs of rupees a month, that is £55,000. The maintenance of an infantry brigade for the same period would be infinitely less, at the most a half of that figure.

In the Chitral relief in 1932 the general officer commanding was ordered to stop bombing on the grounds of expense. It was costing too much.

In Bajaur it was found that the cost of the destruction of one small village was 16,000 rupees.

Finally, I would like to tell you of a characteristic action in connection with frontier control, which was carried out by troops of my brigade at Peshawar in co-operation with the Air Force and the frontier constabulary. There was a village across the frontier which had for a considerable time been harbouring outlaws, who were constantly crossing the frontier committing murders and looting our villages. It was desired to round up the village and get hold of the raiders.

Reconnaissance was essential, but so was secrecy, and ground reconnaissance by troops was not compatible with this. Aeroplanes, accordingly, flew over the village unobtrusively and took photographs from every possible angle. Study of these represented the sole recon-

naissance. The strictest secrecy was observed in the issue of orders, and the name of the village was never mentioned. Two and a half battalions set out by night and, after travelling some ten miles by lorry, approached by foot and surrounded the village. As dawn broke I watched the ensuing scene from an aeroplane. The village awoke to find troops on the hills surrounding it. The people realized that the game was up. The frontier constabulary advanced, and hostages were handed over to them without a shot being fired. I claim that those results could have been obtained by air action only by bombing and wholesale destruction. But I would never deny that the services rendered by the Air Force represented the main factor that led to the success of the operation as carried out. It was an ideal example of sound co-operation of Army, Air Force, and Police.

AIR COMMODORE CHAMIER (*contributed*):

On the occasion when I had the honour of being invited to speak to members of the Royal Central Asian Society on March 21 the Chairman —in view of the lateness of the hour—closed the discussion after a single speech by Brigadier Sandilands.

Usually the speaker has the last word, and I may perhaps claim the hospitality of your journal to reply briefly to the General's points.

I think Brigadier Sandilands came to the meeting under the impression that air control meant handing over officially to the Air Force the responsibility for military measures, and most of his remarks were directed to dispose of a claim which I never made. In fact, as I said at the beginning of my talk, I was going to speak about the way in which the air arm could be used as a sort of frontier police.

Control of frontiers is political: aircraft are merely a powerful new weapon to assist in that control. The Brigadier referred to a case where a small village just across the frontier was rounded up by the troops with the assistance of air reconnaissance. He spoke of this as a model operation, and I would like to say that I agree with him in every respect; but it is not every village that is close to the frontier, and it is the feature of the air arm that it overcomes the difficulty of reaching the tribe which has misbehaved, in trackless and difficult country, without raising awkward complications on the way.

The autumn of 1933 gave us a very good example: the Halimzai people required protection—they were comparatively close to our frontiers—and protection was given to them by troops. Simultaneously trouble was brewing a number of miles further north in the Bajauri

territory. In the latter case the only alternative to air power would have been, in the words of the Army Secretary, " to send a land force, but the country was malarial, and there was no road for the last thirty miles. Land operations would have cost over 100,000 rupees and perhaps hundreds of casualties, as against 15,000 rupees and the one enemy injured as a result of the air action." The Army Secretary added that air action on the frontier had proved economical, humane, and effective, although in the last nine years it had caused only eleven casualties.

The advent of the aeroplane has put a new power for control in the hands of the Political Officer by affording him in many districts rapid communication into tribal territory. For example, in Aden responsible officials could only move into tribal country at the cost of considerable expenditure of time and with large escorts, but now they travel freely by air through the interior, and keep in much closer touch with the native chiefs than they were able to do before.

In Somaliland and in 'Iraq the same facility for personal touch with the tribes is afforded, and even in the hilly districts of the North-West Frontier of India landing-grounds have in places been made which make access to the tribes much easier.

In this way the use of the Royal Air Force is leading up to the " Sandemanization " of our frontiers, which are becoming rapidly more peaceful with the knowledge that misdeeds bring early punishment.

Just one more note. Brigadier Sandilands quoted the case where Palestine, under the Air Ministry, had had to recall certain battalions of troops which were sent out of the country. I say Palestine under the Air Ministry advisedly, because it was to suit the convenience of the Colonial Office, and for no other reason, that the Air Ministry became the responsible military authority for the defence of the country. It has never been claimed for air forces that they are a suitable support for civil power, except in the gravest of emergencies, in countries where civilization has progressed to a considerable extent, and where the people live, in consequence, in densely populated towns. It is a fact that on this occasion the Air Ministry was averse to the original withdrawal of the troops in question because they feared that the police might be faced with a situation which they could not control. The fears of the Air Officer Commanding proved justified: a greater reduction in the military forces had been made than the turbulent state of the land permitted, and the garrison had to be reinforced.

I think that those of your members who were present will agree that

I made no plea for the exclusive use of air power on any frontier. I hope I made it clear that the Air Force had in no sense abolished armies, although in countries void of communications it had greatly simplified the problem of the maintenance of law and order.

Yours faithfully,

J. A. CHAMIER,

Air Commodore.

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THE INDUS CIVILIZATION: SOME CONNECTIONS WITH SUMER, ELAM, AND THE WEST*

By ERNEST MACKAY

THROUGHOUT my work at Mohenjo-daro I have been especially interested in the relations with other countries of the Indus Valley civilization, a culture whose age and importance were unknown before some twelve years ago, and whose discovery was mainly due to Sir John Marshall. Before then the history of India could only be taken back to the coming of the Aryans—I should say, rather, the people speaking an Aryan language who invaded India from the north-west in the middle of the second millennium B.C. and who so profoundly affected the speech and culture of the country. Uncultured as these Aryans seem to have been, the people whom they conquered had already developed a more or less advanced civilization; they may, in fact, have been the descendants of the people who built the very elaborate brick cities of which two, Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, have been partially excavated. Harappa in the Montgomery district of the Punjab was the larger of these two but, unfortunately, it has been so despoiled for burnt brick that it is difficult to obtain a complete plan of any of its buildings. Mohenjo-daro is much better preserved owing to its isolation and its mounds cover about a square mile. At the coming of the Aryans both these cities appear to have been already deserted, in fact we can say with some confidence that they were unoccupied (save perhaps by squatters) for a thousand years or more before the invasion, though the culture may have persisted elsewhere. Who the people were who built Mohenjo-daro and Harappa we do not know; their script, which has been found only on seals or amulets, has been neither identified nor deciphered, principally because the seals bear what are apparently only names and titles. It seems that religious, legal, and other documents were all written on some perishable material, such as wood or parchment, or possibly even on leaves. It has been established, however, that the

* Lecture, illustrated by a series of lantern slides, given at the Royal Society's Hall on April 11, 1934, Sir Percy Sykes in the Chair.

language was an agglutinative one like Proto-Elamite or Sumerian, and the script used was pictographic, though the signs had already advanced some distance towards being conventionalized. Attempts to identify certain of these signs with signs in other scripts lead to a maze of perplexities, for somewhat similar signs occur in the Sumerian, Proto-Elamite, Cypriote and Phœnician scripts, and the later Brahmi writing, in addition to being found on wooden documents lately discovered on Easter Island in the Pacific. I cannot but think that some of these resemblances between the Indus Valley script and those of the far-off countries just mentioned are purely fortuitous, though we should, of course, expect to find some characters in common in the scripts of the Indus Valley and its Elamite and Sumerian neighbours.

It is with the excavation of Mohenjo-daro that I have been concerned. This exceptionally well preserved and once very important city is situated close to the Indus some 270 miles above Karachi, the present port of Sind. The Sumerian and Elamite civilizations on the west were thus more easily accessible from Mohenjo-daro than from Harappa in the Punjab. It appears that the former city traded very considerably with those two countries, since objects of Elamite and Sumerian origin have been found at Mohenjo-daro and, from time to time, Indian objects are unearthed at the various excavations now proceeding in Elam and Sumer. Whether trade was carried on by land routes exclusively or by sea we are at present uncertain, but I am inclined to think that both were used. Sir Aurel Stein has examined many sites in Northern and Southern Baluchistan, and at some of them he found the characteristic painted pottery of the Indus Valley associated with wares that are foreign to it. These sites were all comparatively small settlements, whose inhabitants were by no means so culturally advanced as their neighbours on the east. It would appear, therefore, that the Indus Valley civilization had no great influence over its neighbours in Baluchistan and the presence of Indus Valley pottery in some of these settlements would imply no more than some sort of trading connection. Indeed, I am inclined to think that some of the tribes of Baluchistan made a partial livelihood as carriers between India, Iran, and Mesopotamia, as being more familiar with their own terrain.

Of actual sea traffic we have as yet no direct evidence, though there are strong grounds for the presumption that it existed. The Indus is now some three miles from Mohenjo-daro, but there is evidence that in ancient times the city stood on the east bank of the main river or an important branch of it. In fact, we know that more than once

Mohenjo-daro was flooded out and temporarily deserted after the subsidence of a large number of the buildings. Probably the sea-coast was further north at that epoch, as we know to have been the case at the head of the Persian Gulf, and it is possible that we should look for the sea-port of those days in the region of Tatta.

We have, however, found two representations of boats. One is roughly scratched on a potsherd and apparently has two yards on its mast. The other is carved on a seal, and the bindings of its hull suggest that this boat was made of bundles of reeds, as were so many of the contemporary craft of ancient Egypt. It is mastless, which perhaps indicates that it is a river boat. The one, if not two, uprights at either end of the cabin carry flags or emblems, and a seated steersman holds a pair of oar-like rudders, as on the modern Indus craft. This vessel, it is interesting to note, is singularly like the one portrayed on the well-known Gebel-el Arak ivory knife-handle, which, though found in Egypt, is thought by some to have been an importation, possibly from Elam.

Of these boats the one with a mast could have been used for sea travel. Quite small vessels voyage to-day between Karachi and Aden, a distance of some 1,500 miles, keeping the shore in sight most of the way and doing little or no tacking. The journey is made one way during the season of the south-west monsoon and the other way in the half year when the wind is mainly north-east. The number of small Arab dhows that range as far as Zanzibar from the ports of the Indian coast and the Persian Gulf to-day is remarkable. A voyage in ancient times from the Indus cities to the ports of Mesopotamia and the Gulf and back would have been a simple matter.

Before discussing in detail the arts and crafts of the Indus Valley and the light they throw on the relationship of this culture with those of Elam and Sumer, I should like to tell you some of the results of recent excavations at Mohenjo-daro.

Over a large area in the city we have cleared streets and houses to a depth of over 22 feet, and in one particular place the clearance was carried down another 20 feet or so to the level of the sub-soil water. Seepage water from the Indus makes it impossible to examine the lowest levels of the city without very expensive pumping operations; for in the course of ages the level of the Indus has steadily risen with the constant deposit of silt. The river is at its lowest from April to the end of June. It then begins to rise and the sub-soil water with it. The main portion of this area has been excavated through six phases of

the occupation of the city. In all these strata we are clearly concerned with the same culture. It is, moreover, difficult to distinguish between objects from the uppermost and the lowest levels, so that it is hard to believe that this period of the city lasted more than five hundred years at the outside.

In the one street, which has been cleared right down to the Early Period, on one side there are partially wrecked buildings. The high wall on the other side of this street is part of the northern façade of a large building which I believe to have been a palace. In using the term palace, I do not suggest that Mohenjo-daro was a royal city; this building may have been the residence of a governor and have included his administrative offices. The palace wall still stands in places well over 25 feet high. The levels from which it was raised from time to time are clearly distinguishable on a close view. The ledge halfway up marks the period at which the decline of the city first set in; economy necessitated a thinner wall.

The whole of Mohenjo-daro was built of burnt brick, in the manufacture of which enormous quantities of fuel must have been used. The bricks vary slightly in size; the majority are a little larger than the modern English brick and of the same proportions. At the time that this type of brick was in use at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, the plano-convex brick was used in Mesopotamia.

A striking feature of the masonry of Mohenjo-daro is the frequent use of bricks laid in an unusual way. In one particular wall we have a link with Elam and Sumer, for Dr. Woolley has lately reported that mud bricks were laid in a similar manner in a building at Ur dated to about 2000 B.C., and I am told that an example of the same method of bricklaying has been found at Susa. Why bricks should have been laid in this way it is difficult to say; from a structural point of view masonry of this kind must have been weak, and we can only conclude that this arrangement was considered ornamental.

The outer walls of the houses had a batter or inward slope, a very characteristic feature of the architecture of Mohenjo-daro and also found in ancient Sumerian and Egyptian buildings. Only the outer faces of the buildings were so sloped, the interior walls are always strictly vertical. This method of building undoubtedly originated in the days before bricks were invented, when wet mud was used for making walls. It is possible that the batter of the stone built temples of Egypt and of the brick buildings of Sumer had a common origin, for it is generally conceded that the civilization of ancient Egypt was

in a measure derived from Asia. If, as is conjectured, the Indus Valley culture originated in the highlands of Persia, it might well be that the idea of building a wall with a batter was derived by all three countries from a common source.

Large areas of the city still remain to be excavated. On the westernmost mound a Buddhist stupa and monastery were built about A.D. 150 at an elevation of some 60 feet above the plain. Between the erection of these Buddhist structures and the buildings of the Indus Valley civilization beneath them, the mounds of Mohenjo-daro had been silent and deserted for at least twenty-six centuries. The stupa and monastery, we have reason to think, cover an important building which was possibly a temple; for nowhere else have we come upon a religious structure.

In the mound in the north of the city, the one into which we have penetrated deepest, the excavations are bounded on the east by a wide and spacious road. This is continuous with the street excavated some years ago by Sir John Marshall and his colleagues, and is in all some three-quarters of a mile in length. Other important thoroughfares cross this main artery at right angles near its northern and southern ends, and the narrower side-streets and lanes were all laid out on a definite plan. Mohenjo-daro never had the straggling streets that we associate with modern oriental cities and the older cities of Europe. To show that this north to south road was amply wide for wheeled traffic, I assembled in the excavated portion of it a number of the country carts in use in Sind to-day, and also domestic animals. I found that there was room for several lines of wheeled traffic, as befits an important arterial road. There was, moreover, room on either side for small shops and stalls, of which we have evidence in the remains of walling and brick platforms. In places the house walls stand over 18 feet high. They would still have stood much higher, were it not for the torrents of water that have poured down the street during the rains throughout the ages.

We have definite evidence of the existence of wheeled traffic in these ancient days in the model carts with which the children played. These toy carts consisted of a pottery frame and wheels, with wooden axle, shaft, and uprights that have long since perished, in structure very like the modern farm cart of Sind. As in the modern vehicle, the wheel in ancient Sind was doubtless made in three pieces. In the Royal Tombs at Ur, Dr. Woolley has found the remains of wheels made in exactly the same way. We have as yet no examples of

the contemporary vehicles of Persia, but when they are discovered in the course of further excavation, I have no doubt they will prove closely to resemble those of Sumer and ancient India.

In the last phase of its history Mohenjo-daro was densely populated, and in consequence ground inside the city must have been extremely valuable. This is reflected in the remarkable steepness of the stairways. The steps are often well over 15 inches high and have extremely narrow treads; in fact, these stairways are very awkward for a European visitor; in a modern Sindi house, also, he finds himself compelled to go up and downstairs crabwise.

The most striking feature of the architecture of Mohenjo-daro is the very elaborate drainage system for both sewage and rain water, to which no exact parallel has been found in other ancient civilizations. In every street there was a well-constructed drain of burnt bricks into which branch-drains emptied from the houses on either side. That these drains were inspected and cleared from time to time by the civic authorities is proved by the little heaps of sand that still remain beside them. The fact that eight or nine drainage systems have been unearthed, one below another, is due to the constant rise in the level of the city; when the drains became so deeply buried beneath the ground as to be difficult to clear, new drains were made nearer the surface.

Of several drainholes, one above another in a house wall, each was connected with the street drain of its time. The rise in level of the streets, which necessitated this constant replacement of the drains, was due to the deposit of rubbish, mud, and sand, washed down from the roofs and walls, and wind-borne dust. Though this rise of level is more rapid in an oriental city, the process is slowly going on even in London to-day. The main street drain had brick-lined sumps at intervals to ensure the deposition of solid matter which might perhaps have blocked it up. These sumps presumably had stout wooden covers, probably a foot or so beneath the surface of the street. Inside one of them there remain the brick steps by which the sewer-man got down into it to remove the sludge deposited there. This system was, indeed, quite up to date; in the event of the drain becoming obstructed it would have been an easy matter to pass a rod through the channel between two sumps instead of taking up the road and removing the covering bricks. The houses also had their cess-pits into which waste water from kitchen, bathroom, or roof ran out by a chute in the thickness of the wall.

There is a large amount of evidence that the climate of Sind has changed since the middle of the third millennium B.C. On the seals are engraved representations of the tiger, elephant, and rhinoceros, animals which are unknown in Sind and North-West India owing to the absence of forests and lush vegetation that they need; whereas the lion, a denizen of more arid country, has no place in the art of the ancient Indus Valley. Sir Aurel Stein also reports that the ancient settlements that he has examined in Baluchistan must have been inhabited by a greater population than this province could support to-day. Whether the desiccation of Sind and Baluchistan is due to a change in the monsoon is a question for the meteorologist. Another proof that the rainfall of ancient Sind was greater than it is to-day is afforded by the corbel-roofed culverts of Mohenjo-daro; the narrow channel in the floor would have sufficed for normal outflows, and the large extra capacity must have been intended for the carrying away of storm water. The corbelled arch for doorways and roofs seems to have been the only kind of arch used by the Indus Valley people, though the true arch was used at an earlier date in Sumer. The masonry of the drains was so good that it would be creditable to the mason of to-day; in some, sawn bricks were laid in gypsum mortar, and the joints are so fine that a knife-blade cannot be inserted in them. This extremely careful work was necessitated where the channel was close to the wall of a house, so that the possibility of infiltration had to be guarded against.

This may perhaps seem rather a lengthy discussion of a single aspect of the civic life of Mohenjo-daro, but it throws a vivid light on the mentality of the people. Such unusual concern for the sanitation of the city is a feature that would hardly be expected in so old a civilization; it certainly does not obtain in the older parts of modern oriental cities.

In general the raising of the walls, already mentioned, was also very carefully done, and it is often difficult to decide at what level the reconstruction of a wall began. We found also a number of wells in various parts of the city. Owing to the rise of the water-level in the soil, no attempt was made to clear these wells, for we could not hope to reach the bottom. Instead, their casings were left filled up as they were with débris, and have provided most valuable evidence as to the number of times that they were raised with the periodical reconstruction of the houses. One well there is in which the very rough masonry at the top marks the poverty of the last period of the city's

occupation, when Mohenjo-daro had far declined from its former glory. Immediately below, the rather better masonry of the penultimate phase surmounts the still better masonry of the previous occupation. By comparing the periods marked by the continual raising of various well-linings, we are able to estimate the number of times that the city was reconstructed. These well-casings were, of course, hidden from view in the earth throughout the period of their use, and no great care was taken in the finish of the outer face. On the inner surface of a well-lining, the additions to it are not so easily perceptible. Five of the ancient wells are in use to-day, and I think I can say with safety that they are the oldest in the world that are still in use. We have evidence also of at least two floods, of which the second occurred at the end of the Late III Phase, when the walls and drains suffered badly by the undermining of their foundations. Whether the eventual desertion of the city is to be attributed to these floods or to the fact that the river changed its course, as happened in the case of Ur, is still a moot point. At all events, we know that owing to floods the city was temporarily deserted more than once, and on each occasion for a considerable space of time.

It would seem that not only floods but also the tribes of Baluchistan were a constant menace. In the heyday of its prosperity the city was probably well able to protect itself against the latter danger, but in its decline raiders from the hills seem to have been able to penetrate within the walls. We found a group of nine skeletons huddled in a pit together with two elephant tusks. The bodies of men, women, and children had evidently been hastily interred after a raid. The two tusks present something of a problem, and we can only suppose that a family of ivory-workers who were attempting to escape from the city at the time of a raid had been intercepted and lost their lives, that all their valuables had been looted, save the tusks for which the raiders probably had no use. One of the men in this group had been decapitated.

In another case, on a staircase leading down into a well-room several skeletons lay. A woman had crawled nearly to the level of the street when she sank down and died. These people were evidently drawing water when a raid took place, and they may have thought that they would be safe from molestation hidden in this chamber. The head of one of them had been thrown into a cess-pit in the street outside. The position of the skull is important because it lay on the floor of the pit, which shows that the latter was in use at the time of

the tragedy, and that, therefore, these people were actual inhabitants of the city and not squatters in its ruins at some later date. Other groups of skeletons lying in contorted attitudes were found elsewhere in the city by my predecessors in the excavation of Mohenjo-daro, but at that time their meaning was not realized.

The tribes from Baluchistan have been in the habit of raiding the Indus Valley down to comparatively modern times, but since we have controlled the country there has been quiet in Sind. The tribes still raid the Indus Valley winter after winter, but it is in search of work. Our head man was a Brahui, a member of that interesting tribe living in the heights of Baluchistan which speaks a Dravidian tongue. It is thought that the Brahuis may be descended from Indus Valley people who remained isolated in the hills after the Aryan invasion.

The ancient pottery of the Indus Valley is very commonly decorated with black on a polished red slip. The design most often used is a series of intersecting circles, which is a somewhat confusing motif when painted on the greater part of a jar. On some of the finer vessels this design was carefully marked out beforehand by means of squares lightly incised on the slip; a compass was then used to mark out the circles. Another very common motif is a tree pattern, which is frequently associated with panels of square or rectangular chequers to avoid monotony. Other favourite designs were triangles, zigzag and wavy lines, hemispheres, and also a solar device; and some of these patterns were used on contemporary Elamite ware. The painted pottery tradition still survives in Sind. In a village about half a mile from Mohenjo-daro the same paints, slips, and implements are used in making painted pottery as in the old days; only in their shapes and designs do the modern jars differ from those of the ancient city. The latter were more sophisticated in shape; in fact, the modern Sindi ware is much more primitive in form than the ware of Mohenjo-daro. Moreover, the baking of the modern Sindi pottery is done in an open furnace, whereas at Mohenjo-daro closed kilns were used.

In these domed-roof kilns the pottery was stacked on the perforated floor with the fuel beneath it. There were quite a number of kilns in various parts of the city, but always in the latest levels. Their presence inside the walls is a measure of the city's decline in importance, for in earlier days potters' kilns would have been kept outside the walls, where their smoke would not have proved an annoyance. We actually found one kiln built in the middle of an important street, a fact which indicates the entire disappearance of any civic authority. Very similar

kilns have been found in Sumer and Palestine. It is possible that certain types of pottery made in the Indus Valley were exported. One peculiar type of offering-stand with a ball-moulding at the top of the stem is found quite frequently at Mohenjo-daro, but nowhere else; unfortunately it is never perfect, the pans and bases are invariably broken by earth pressure. So many of the stems with their peculiar moulding are unearthed that it is certain that these stands were made locally. However, on a fragment of a stone-carved scene found by the French expedition to Susa some years ago, a man is seen carrying an offering-stand identical in design with those found in Mohenjo-daro; and as none of these stands have been found at Susa it is reasonable to infer that the one represented was an importation from India, perhaps also that the figure is that of an Indian. When complete, this scene may perhaps have shown a procession of men carrying various objects as offerings or even tribute, as in the sculptures of Sumer and on the walls of Egyptian tombs.

In addition to pictographic inscriptions the seals—or rather amulets, for they seem to have been worn as such—provide other interesting matter for the study of the Indus Valley people. They are invariably made of steatite and on the majority there is carved an animal with, in many cases, a food vessel, or possibly a cult object placed before it. The animals include elephant, tiger, buffalo, rhinoceros, the ibex or mountain goat, the domestic goat, and a curious animal which has not yet been identified, but which is always represented with one horn, though it may be that two horns in profile are meant. The Brahmani, or humped bull, with long horns and a very prominent dewlap, also appears on the seals. All these animals, with the exception of the so-called "unicorn," are sacred amongst the lower tribes in various parts of modern India. The apparent "unicorn" is the animal most frequent on the seals, invariably with an altar-like object placed before it.

The tiger, as would be expected, takes a prominent place on the seals. On one of our seals is depicted a man seated in a tree, apostrophizing one of these animals, who seems to be leaving his intended victim, but perhaps only to wait for him, as a tiger did not long ago near Bombay. I am not convinced that the interpretation of this scene is so simple. The same scene occurs on several seals from Harappa as well as from Mohenjo-daro, and the legend that it represents may not be purely local.

On another seal a goddess with a tiger's body, hindlegs, and tail, wears the spreading horns of a goat and also a sprig of flowers or

leaves on the top of the head. Her long hair is carefully plaited and tied with a bow at the end, as is the hair of the goddesses on other seals. There would seem to be a fusion of several deities in this composite figure, and the plant of which a spray is worn on the head may also have been sacred.

On a third seal a hero or deity is wrestling with two animals, a scene which frequently appears in the arts of both Elam and Sumer. The figure is nude save for a cincture round the loins, and in this, as also in the fact that the face is in profile and framed with locks of hair, it is remarkably like the early figures of the Sumerian hero Gilgamesh. Gilgamesh may, indeed, have been venerated in India, whither the legend was perhaps brought by the Indus Valley people from their original home. Tigers were naturally substituted for the Persian or Mesopotamian lion, for apparently there were no lions in the Indus Valley.

Another seal shows a deity seated on a stool with his heels together in yogi-fashion. This figure, which has three faces, and perhaps a fourth turned away from us, wears horns and a fan-shaped head-dress. The four animals round him are the elephant, the buffalo, the tiger, and rhinoceros, all of which appear separately on the seals. Sir John Marshall has suggested that this figure represents the god Shiva in his early form of Pasupati, the Lord of Beasts, which would indicate that the god Shiva was a pre-Aryan nature god, as has long been suspected. On yet another seal there is a goddess in a pipal, or fig-tree, with a kneeling figure before her, behind whom is a goat. In the lower register each one of a line of seven votaries or spirits wears a sprig of flowers or leaves on the head. Like the goddess in the tree, each has a long plait of hair tied with a bow. That this scene represents a tree-goddess is certain, and in India at the present time tree-goddesses are commonly reverenced. The goat may be destined to be sacrificed; on the other hand, it appears to have a human face, in which case it also must represent a deity.

It should be pointed out that these so-called seals could only have been used as such on a plastic material, and sealings (that is, impressions of these objects on clay) are few and far between, and not nearly as numerous as are the sealings of both Elam and Sumer. For the present we must conclude that the seals of Mohenjo-daro were chiefly worn as amulets. Certain clay objects that are found cannot actually be classed as sealings, but they had nevertheless been impressed by seals. The scenes on the sides of these oblong and sometimes three-

sided clay objects are often badly rubbed, which suggests that they were carried on the person in an amulet case. One of these clay amulets has on one side a man in a tree with a tiger beneath, while to the right two men are trying to release a tree spirit or are planting two trees. Though this scene might be taken for the tree-marriage ceremony of modern India, it should be noted that the trees on this amulet are of the same species. The arms of the tree-spirit are not intended to be leafy; she is wearing a number of bangles, as on other amulets. On the reverse is one of those curious intertwined designs which occur on Elamite and Sumerian seals and appear to have some kind of magical significance; perhaps this was an emblem of longevity, as the pattern has no beginning nor end. Further to the right are several pictographs with a kneeling man beyond making an offering to a tree. At present we have no clue to the meaning of the scenes on these amulets, and we shall probably have to await the interpretation of the language to understand their significance.

We also found a sharp sword and a spearhead of thin copper, which was strengthened by a wooden mid-rib secured by wire passed through two holes in the blade. An adze-axe of hard bronze is the only socketed tool that we have found at Mohenjo-daro. It is almost identical in design with adze-axes found at Tepe Hissar on the Iranian plateau and also in South Russia. Dr. Woolley has found many cast socketed axes in the Royal Cemetery at Ur. These were replaced in the Sargonid Period by axes wrought of copper, but still socketed. It seems to me somewhat remarkable that the Indus Valley people, who, as we know, traded with both Elam and Sumer, did not adopt the socket for their tools; that they were well aware of the invention is proved by this one example and by the finding of a pottery model of a socketed axe that may have been a toy. That the latter was intended to represent a socketed tool is proved beyond doubt by the chocolate-coloured wash with which the blade was coloured. The usual types of axe and adze used by the Indus Valley people were plain blades of copper or bronze, almost identical in design with similar blades from Susa and early Egypt. Some of these axes have inscriptions and numbers incised upon them. It has already been mentioned that ancient Sind was well forested. Even at the present day in those parts adjacent to the river there are trees in plenty. Axes were doubtless used almost exclusively for cutting wood, but the saw was also used. We found a fine bronze specimen 16½ inches long; its undulating edge served to prevent the blade from binding in a cut, for the teeth were simply made by rough notches and were not

set. This is the only saw of this kind that is known prior to Roman times, but the method of undulating the edge of a saw survives; it is to be seen in the cheaper saws to-day.

Pottery female figurines were very numerous, and there was probably one in every home. We have strong reasons for thinking that these figures represent a mother-goddess, a cult which prevailed in Sumer and, as Sir Aurel Stein has shown, amongst the ancient tribes of Baluchistan. The fan-shaped head-dress is very distinctive, and even more so are the pannier-like objects on either side of the head. There are smoke-stains in some of these panniers, and it may be that oil or pellets of incense were burned in them, that the goddess might hearken favourably to a petition. These female figurines are frequently overloaded with ornaments and always wear a very short skirt secured round the hips with a girdle. Male figurines are much more rare and they are invariably nude. Whether they also represented deities it is impossible to say. We have also found several curious round stands, all very carefully made and ornamented.

There were any amount of model animals made of pottery, stone, bronze or faience, some undoubtedly toys, others more probably votive objects.

A slip of shell divided into lengths of 0·264 inch is obviously part of a longer measure on the decimal system, as is indicated by the two circular marks on the scale. The mean error of graduation is only 0·003 inches. The decimal system of notation is also found on the Proto-Elamite tablets and on those of Jemdet Nasr in Mesopotamia. Candles were used at Mohenjo-daro, for we found a pottery candlestick; and, curiously enough, similar candlesticks have been found in Egypt of the Fourth Dynasty and at the same period in Crete.

The jewellery was made of gold, electrum, silver and copper, and semi-precious stones, such as lapis-lazuli, turquoise, and green felspar (the electrum is apparently a natural product); bracelets are composed of strings of small gold beads with a hemispherical gold terminal at each end, and necklaces of gold beads of various kinds, interspaced with coloured stones that include turquoise. Flat circular gold beads made by soldering two plates together are particularly interesting, for exactly similar beads have been found in Sumer, Egypt, and even at Troy. The ends of some of the strings passed through triangular terminals of gold. Similar terminals are known in Egypt as early as the Fourth Dynasty, and though no actual specimens have yet been found in Elam or Sumer, they are actually represented on painted potsherds found at a site some

two miles from Susa. These sherds are dated approximately to 4250 B.C.—*i.e.*, more than a thousand years before the period of the excavated strata of Mohenjo-daro. It has been suggested by some that the culture which gave rise to the Indus Valley civilization originated somewhere in the highlands of Persia, and if this were so the terminals and strings of beads depicted on these two sherds are a most important link. I do not think that terminals of this peculiar form would have been invented independently.

It might be asked how it has been possible to date the period of the Indus Valley civilization. I will give some instances. A pot of light green steatite, one of its compartments ornamented on the outside with a curious mat-pattern, found at Susa, has been dated to 2800 B.C.; a steatite fragment, alike in pattern as well as in material and colour, has been found in the lowest strata of Mohenjo-daro. Beads, exactly the same in material, shape, and decoration, have been found at Mohenjo-daro and in the Royal Cemetery at Ur. There is, indeed, an increasing weight of evidence that the upper levels of Mohenjo-daro were contemporary with the latter part of the Early Dynastic period of Sumer. A stone mace-head of peculiar shape is found in the Indus Valley and in early Sumerian sites. A jar-cover still used by the villagers of Sind was used also at Jemdet Nasr. Certain designs on the potsherds occur in all three cultures, and are unlikely to have been invented independently in the three countries. Curious cones of pottery and shell, whose purpose we do not understand, have been found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, and also at Sumerian sites, as well as elsewhere.

It is thus evident that the Indus Valley civilization was contemporary and ranked with the most important ancient civilizations of the world in its buildings, sanitation, in arts and crafts, and in the general mode of life. But though this great and widespread culture must have been already well developed when it was brought to India, it seems to have absorbed a considerable Indian element after entering the country. When the invasion took place we do not know; it may have been in the fourth millennium B.C. or before. As I have already mentioned, not only are there many parallels in the arts of the great civilizations of the Nile, Euphrates and Tigris, and the Indus Valley, but certain signs in the Indus script resemble signs in the Proto-Elamite, Sumerian, and Egyptian scripts. It may well be that the peoples of all these countries had a common origin, but whether that was in Persia, Anatolia, or the Caucasus remains to be discovered. To my mind the solution of this problem is one of the most important objectives of field archæology in

the Near and Middle East, and the discoveries of all the expeditions now at work in these regions need to be pooled and studied as a whole. The mounds of Amri, a site which lies about a hundred miles south of Mohenjo-daro and has already been tentatively examined by Mr. Majumdar, contain pottery and other objects of the Indus Valley. But —a most important point—below the Indus culture there are the remains of another occupation of far earlier date, whose pottery approximates in certain particulars to that found at the very early site, Jemdet Nasr, in Mesopotamia, which probably flourished even earlier than 3500 B.C. The excavation of Amri, therefore, appears to me to be of very great importance. Not only should it throw a flood of light on the incoming of the Indus Valley people to India, but it should illustrate the development of their remarkably interesting culture, which, like that of the Aryans, became distinctively Indian in character and in feeling.

In summing up, Sir PERCY SYKES said that Mr. Mackay's work constituted a most important link in the new discoveries, by which communication between the ancient civilizations of India and 'Iraq was established. When the first objects were represented in the *Illustrated London News* some ten years ago, without any indication of this connection, he had formed the definite opinion that it would be proved that the home of the two civilizations would be found in Persia. Mr. Mackay had stated that there were indications of land communication with Ur, and Sir Aurel Stein's journeys in Baluchistan and Southern Persia would no doubt furnish further proof of the correctness of these views.

In the illustrations the lecturer had struck a brilliant idea when he brought the local natives with their carts into the pictures of Mohenjo-daro, and he asked the meeting to vote a most cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Mackay for a lecture which opened their minds to a civilization entirely unknown until the excavations of the last few years.

AYUL AND THE EASTERN TIBET BORDER COUNTRY*

By RONALD KAULBACK

Sir HARCOURT BUTLER, who presided, said that the Society was especially lucky in getting Mr. Kaulback, because he had already delivered one lecture to the Royal Geographical Society, which was a great success. They were always proud when they saw young explorers and adventurers.

MR. KAULBACK said that it was a great honour for him to have been asked to lecture before the Royal Central Asian Society. The expedition had been full of luck for him from start to finish, and especially in his having had the great good fortune to have gone with a man like Captain Kingdon Ward and to have been able to learn at first hand from so experienced and well-known an explorer. The expedition was formed with the object of exploring some part of South-Eastern Tibet, which is probably the least-known quarter of that great country. It had two main aims in view. Captain Kingdon Ward was the world's greatest expert on the Himalayan flora, and therefore the primary object was to collect new flowers and plants from that part of the world. The secondary idea was to make some sort of a map of the country they went through, and this fell more or less to the lot of the lecturer.

They left Calcutta in February, 1933, and travelled by train up to Sadiya, the last town in Assam. Sadiya had recently blossomed into quite a little metropolis, and boasted no less than about a dozen native shops (built mainly of corrugated iron) and a white population of seven. They remained there some ten days, making last-minute arrangements for their start.

There were three possible routes from Sadiya through the mountains into Tibet. The first of these—the Dibang Valley—was inhabited by the Abors, who would almost certainly have proved hostile to the party if they had attempted to go by that way. The valley of the Dibang was practically uninhabited, and, besides that, it ended in a pass which

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on April 24, 1934, Sir Harcourt Butler in the Chair.

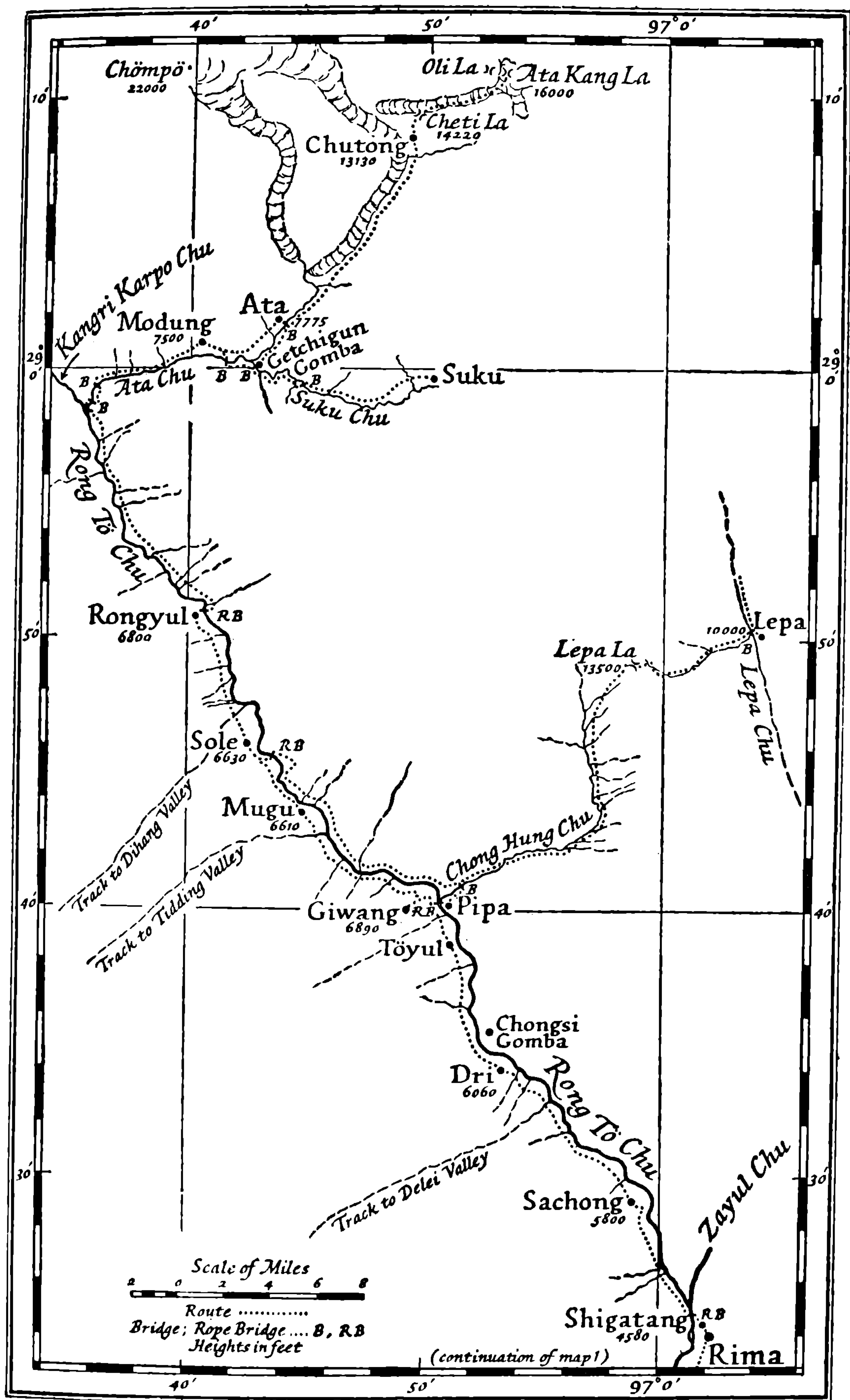
would probably not be open until the summer. Accordingly, the only available route was up the valley of the Lohit Brahmaputra, which led straight into Zayul.

The Lohit Valley was mainly inhabited by two clans of Mishmis, the Digaru and the Miju. These people were at one time as hard to control as the Abors, but they had lately developed a reasonable amount of respect for the Government and gave little trouble. Large numbers of them come down every year into Sadiya to earn money by working in the tea gardens. They return home in the spring, and it is at that time of year that it is least difficult to get hold of coolies for a journey through their country.

Finally, on March 9, after a farewell dinner party given by J. H. Crace, the Political Officer, and his wife, the expedition set off, being taken as far as Dening (where the road ends) in Mr. Crace's car. The three Tibetan servants followed in the local bus. These comprised Chumbi, the sirdar; Pinzho, the cook; and Tashi Tandrup, the man of all work; and all three had accompanied various Everest or Kinchenjunga expeditions. At Dening they picked up their Digaru coolies, who were under the nominal command of a certain Nimnoo, a villainous old ruffian in his official scarlet dressing-gown, who did, however, do his best to serve the interests of the expedition provided only that there was no danger of his falling foul of his own people.

The first two marches from Dening were over an excellent mule-track, built and kept up by the Government, which runs as far as Theronliang, the last rest-house, on the banks of the Tidding River. Beyond that was unadministered territory, and the going was both slow and difficult. In 1912 the sappers and miners who accompanied the Mishmi Exploration Column built an excellent road as far up as Minzong, or a little further, but that had been almost entirely swallowed up by the jungle since then, which left only the native path for travel. This was no more than a narrow and slippery streak of mud which led over and under fallen trees, and in and out of ravines, running almost the whole way through a dense undergrowth of bramble thickets, so that visibility was very poor. The coolies were very cheery when among themselves, and would laugh and sing on occasions until far into the night, but in their dealings with the expedition they were as sullen as could be, and but for the infinite tact shown by Captain Kingdon Ward in his dealings with them they would have caused far more trouble than they actually did.

The few villages which were seen were all more or less identical in

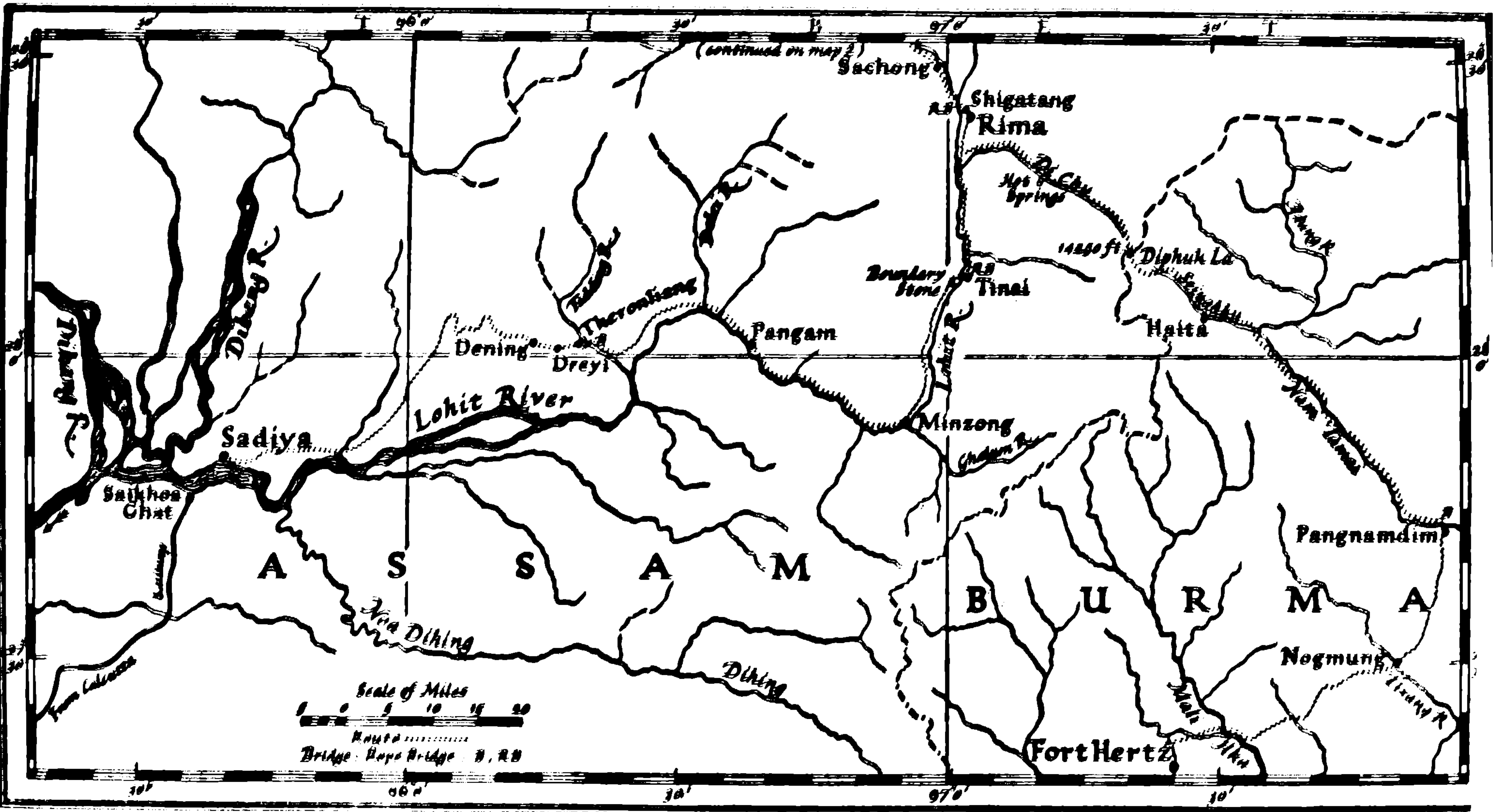


(By kind permission of the Royal Geographical Society.)

character, consisting of two or three huts, some 40 feet long, built of bamboo and thatch and surrounded by a few small plantations of buckwheat and maize. Apart from these crops, the Mishmis grew large quantities of opium, and ran a very profitable business by smuggling the drug into Assam. Not only did they sell the opium, but they used it very largely themselves as a stimulant, and it was a common sight to see the coolies taking a few whiffs of it mixed with tobacco from primitive water pipes of bamboo to hearten them before the start of a day's march. They had a positive passion for tea, and it astonished the expedition to find that in spite of this they made no attempt to grow any, more especially as so many of them had worked in the tea gardens. Rice, of course, it was impossible to grow on account of the steepness of the country, but of this also they were very fond. It was necessary to pay them a ration of one pound of dry rice per head per diem, all of which they managed to get through without difficulty, eating it with buckwheat leaves chopped up and boiled like spinach.

On March 18 the party reached Pangam, where Nimnoo and the Digaru Mishmis drew their wages and went back. The most powerful man on the Upper Lohit, one Jaglum, was waiting with a fresh relay of coolies recruited from the Miju clan. Continuing their journey, and after a two days' rest at Minzong, the party came out of the deciduous country into the pine forest, and at last, on March 28, saw the snow peaks of Tibet glimmering through the haze in the distance. The following day the Lohit was crossed by rope bridge, and they camped on the left bank of the river near the first Tibetan village of Tinai. It was a slow business getting the coolies and loads over the bridge, taking about five and a half hours.

Once at Tinai the country became very open with few trees. The path also improved, and two days later, after a steep climb of a thousand feet, they descended on to the level floor of the Rima Valley, where they were met by ponies sent out by the Governor of the Tibetan province of Zayul. Riding past Rima itself, they halted at the village of Shigatang, and were welcomed by the headman, who took them into his house for refreshments of buttered tea, walnuts, and crude rice spirit. Buttered tea is the staple beverage in Tibet. The tea, which comes in bricks from China, is broken up and boiled for a considerable time before being strained into a wooden churn. It is then violently mixed up with rancid butter, salt, and soda, poured into a large pot, and kept hot on the fire until required. It is very nourishing, and not unlike soup.



(By kind permission of the Royal Geographical Society.)

Shigatang was a miserable little place of four houses and seven or eight huts. Once a year, however, it became a centre of great importance when the Governor moved down from Sangachu Dzong for the cold weather and to collect the taxes from the neighbourhood. He moved in state, taking with him his own private shoemaker and silversmith, as well as some twenty priests, who did all the praying necessary for the establishment.

The houses in that part of the country were built entirely of wood without nails or metal of any kind, and, apart from the roofs, were extraordinarily weatherproof. The greater part of them consisted of four rooms, and they were built on piles of 8 to 10 feet in height. The space between these piles was used as stables for the cattle, ponies, and pigs, and this gave rise to a distinctly close atmosphere in the rooms above.

On the day after their arrival the Governor paid an official call, bringing gifts of rice, barley flour, dried apricots, and large numbers of eggs. Captain Kingdon Ward returned the visit shortly afterwards, and presented among other things a pair of binoculars, an electric torch, a towel and a cake of soap (both of which were luckily received in the spirit in which they were given), a bottle of rum, and an alarm clock, which the Governor valued more than anything else. Incidentally, during the whole of the time the party was in Zayul the Governor went out of his way to be as friendly and helpful as he could be, and was altogether a most charming personage.

In Zayul polyandry was very largely in fashion, one woman marrying all the brothers in a family. It was the women who did nearly all the work. They were responsible for all the cooking and housework, they wove cloth and made all the clothes, laboured in the rice-fields, and threshed the corn. In comparison with them the men had a very comfortable time. They cut wood, ploughed the fields, and did a certain amount of hunting.

The party halted for sixteen days in Shigatang before crossing the river by another rope bridge and moving up the valley of the Rong Tö Chu. From then on they were breaking new ground as far as Europeans were concerned, although in 1882 Kishen Singh, who is better known, perhaps, as A-k, had used that route on his way back to Darjeeling towards the end of his great journey through Tibet and Mongolia. The path up the Rong Tö Valley was excellent, running through pine forest most of the time, and frequently passing small stupas and heaps of mani stones. The people of Zayul profess to be

Buddhists, but, according to A-k, they have adopted or retained various non-Buddhist customs, such as the sacrifice of cocks in time of need and the burning of the dead. It was amusing to see large prayer drums driven by water-power in all the villages, so that a ceaseless stream of invocations should pour into the ears of the gods without the least trouble to those who were to benefit.

In the Rong Tö Valley the party slept in the villages, making frequent halts of a few days at a time. The passes at the head of the valley could not possibly be open until the end of June, so that there was no hurry. Climbing about on the hillside, either prospecting for flowers or taking bearings for the map, became rather a trying business owing to the numbers of ticks which infested the place.

Two days' march from Shigatang they reached the village of Dri, where they found half a dozen Mishmis in residence who had spent the winter there. They came from the Delei Valley, which Captain Kingdon Ward had tried to pass through in 1928, being driven back by the hostility of the inhabitants. These six were most friendly, however, now that they were out of their own country, and greeted him with beaming smiles and would-be military salutes. Dri was remarkable as being the only place visited by the party where the people were surly and unfriendly.

Some days later, at Giwang, word was brought in that a Mishmi courier, bringing mail from Sadiya, was only two marches behind. They waited accordingly, full of excitement at the thought of getting news, but day after day went by with no sign of any runner until gradually their hopes faded away and they decided that there was nothing in the story. It was not until after a fortnight that a messenger arrived to say that the courier's body had been found in a ravine with his throat cut, he having apparently been ambushed in broad daylight. Though the mail was later on picked up by the side of a path, it was the last one to get through, as naturally no one was particularly eager to take on the job of courier after the murder.

Towards the end of May they came to the village of Rongyul, at 6,800 feet, which was the highest place in the valley where rice was grown. North of that point the only crops were wheat and barley. Here they crossed the river by another rope bridge, and after one night under canvas came to the junction of the Ata Chu with the Rong Tö Chu. For the last few miles of its course the former comes down in a continuous cataract through a magnificent gorge, the walls of which are not more than fifty yards apart, rising vertically up to a height of

about 2,000 feet above the river. Almost at the mouth of this gorge they crossed the Ata Chu by a suspension bridge of cane and planks and climbed nearly to the top of the wall by a series of ladders of notched logs. From then on, for the next two miles, the path ran along narrow ledges of rock or over flimsy galleries of wood pegged to the face of the cliff. This cut the rate of progress down to about half a mile an hour, but presently the gorge opened out into a valley, the track improved, and with no more difficulty they came to Modung, where they halted for two nights before pushing on to Ata, the last, and the filthiest, village in the valley.

Ata became the base of the expedition for the next three weeks. Two miles to the north a couple of glaciers, each about a thousand yards wide and in active retreat, came to an end within half a mile of each other. These two together gave rise to the Ata Chu. After a few days in the village the party followed up the more westerly of the glaciers and camped on a small alpine meadow which was used as pasturage for a herd of half-bred yaks. On moving up to this camp they discovered a beautifully regular, dome-like peak of 22,000 feet, called Chömpö, on the slopes of which both glaciers had their source. The mountain was regarded as holy by the Tibetans, who made pilgrimages round it every year in the summer.

While at Ata the map was brought up to date, and the party found that A-k's sketch-map, which he had made with no instruments other than a prismatic compass, was only 10 per cent. in error—a striking proof of the excellence of his work.

When the possibilities of the neighbourhood had been exhausted, Captain Kingdon Ward decided that it would be better and more interesting to move up towards the Cheti La (the first of the two passes) and halt at Chutong, the last camping-ground south of the pass, while waiting for the snow to melt. Accordingly, they crossed the Ata Chu by a fine specimen of cantilever bridge, and marched for two days along the side of the glacier, finally pitching camp on a small ledge at just over 13,000 feet on the extreme edge of the tree line. Behind the camp the hillside, which was covered with rhododendrons in full bloom, rose sharply up to the Cheti La (14,250 feet), and in front it fell steeply away to the glacier. For the next fourteen days it rained almost without ceasing, and when the skies cleared they found that the pass was sufficiently free of snow to be crossed. On July 8 they moved on again.

When they reached the far side of the Cheti La the party looked

down on to a small glacier which flowed down from the summit of the Ata Kang La, the 16,000-foot pass dividing Zayul from Nagong. After traversing for a couple of miles above this glacier they made camp on it at a spot where the ice was covered by about 2 feet of boulders and rubble, and remained there for a week while Captain Kingdon Ward collected some rare flowers which were growing near at hand. It was a bitterly cold place and frequently swept by blizzards.

Owing to a mistake in his Tibetan passport, Mr. Kaulback was forbidden to cross over into Nagong, and on July 15 had to say good-bye to Captain Kingdon Ward, who was fortunately free to push on. Mr. Kaulback went with him as far as the top of the Ata Kang La before turning back, while Captain Kingdon Ward continued northwards to Shiuden Gomba, which had been the original goal of the party.

Food had been running very short at the camp on the glacier, so that the lecturer was driven to make all speed back to Ata, where fresh supplies awaited him. After one day there, owing to pressing invitations from the monks, he and his party moved on to Getchi Gomba for a short visit. They arrived at an unfortunate time, as the monks had just started a three-day silent fast, which made conversation limited and rations scanty. However, as far as they could under the circumstances, the monks went out of their way to be hospitable, though they rather spoiled things towards the end by suggesting, when they could once more speak, that a gift of money to the establishment would be welcome.

The party returned down the Rong Tö Valley by the same way they had come, branching off only to go to Lepa on the far side of the Neching Gangra Range, where they found that the Lepa Chu, which had previously been thought to run from south to north, actually flowed in the reverse direction. On reaching Shigatang they collected new coolies and made their way into Burma by means of the Di Chu Valley, afterwards travelling down the Seinghku and the Nam Tamai as far as Pangnamdim, their only difficulty being the fact that food was extremely hard to come by in the latter valley. From Pangnamdim they struck across country to the large Shan village of Nogmung, on the banks of the Nam Tisang, and thence to Fort Hertz, the last outpost at the head of the Hkamti Long, where they arrived on the two hundredth day since leaving Sadiya.

In conclusion, the lecturer said that he was more than grateful to Captain Kingdon Ward for having taken him along, and for having

given him the chance of getting into Tibet. He was afraid that he had probably been more of a hindrance than a help on the journey, but Captain Kingdon Ward, besides being a magnificent leader and an ideal companion, had been patience itself on the many occasions when the lecturer had done idiotic things.

THE OPERATIONS IN THE YEMEN

By K. S. TWITCHELL

An informal address given on Tuesday, May 29, 1934, Lord Lamington in the Chair.

MR. TWITCHELL said that to understand the causes of the war in South Arabia it was necessary to go back to 1914, when Muhammad Ali, the Idrissi, and his family were anti-Turk, as they had revolted before 1914 and been suppressed by Shereef Hussein. On the outbreak of the Great War the Idrissi again revolted and carried on a guerilla warfare against the Turks and retained the control of the Tihama, or lowland, of Asir. In 1919 the Turks evacuated Asir, and in 1920 the prominent chiefs and sheikhs requested Ibn Sa'ud to protect them against the Yemeni. Muhammad Ali Idrissi agreed. In 1921 Ibn Sa'ud formerly took control of the eastern or mountainous part of Asir, Muhammad Ali still retaining undisputed control of the Tihama. During the War and subsequently the mountain Yemeni were mostly faithful to the Turks and even threatened Aden. The British occupied much of the Tihama, including Hodeida, and after the War handed this over to the Idrissi. About 1924 Muhammad Ali Idrissi died, and, his successor being weak, the Imam Yahya swept down from Sanaa and conquered the Yemen Tihama, including Hodeida, Loheiya, Midi—*i.e.*, all the coastal area north from Hodeida to the undisputed Asir Tihama.

The people of Asir, resenting this and fearing annexation by the Imam, deposed the weak Idrissi, and selected a stronger man from the same family—namely, Hassan Idrissi. These people, as well as those of the Yemen Tihama, being *Sunis,* were still fearful of being conquered by the *Zeidi* Imam, who had shown unfriendly and severe rule of the southern Tihamaites; therefore in 1924 they sought the protection of King Ibn Sa'ud. This brought the balance of Asir Tihama under Ibn Sa'ud. Ibn Sa'ud kept the Idrissi family as the ruling house and Sayed Hassan Idrissi as governor of Asir, changing no customs save that here, as in other parts of his kingdom, he established absolute safety of life and property. In 1930 Sayed Hassan Idrissi and his advisers requested that Asir be made an integral part of Ibn Sa'ud's

kingdom, as he thought greater protection as well as other greater benefits from general reform would thus result. This was done, and Sayed Hassan remained Amir of Asir.

To go back further. The district called the Nejran, lying to the east of Asir in the plateau region, was more a part of Nejd than Asir, was inhabited by *Suni* Arabs and has been a part of King Ibn Sa'ud's kingdom from the time of the old régime of the house of Sa'ud.

In 1930 Ibn Sa'ud wished to define and establish the exact boundary between Yemen and Asir (Sa'udi Arabia). He informed the Imam that he would like to know if he had any doubts or disagreement as to the *status quo* of the then recognised frontier. The Imam replied there was no remark, dispute, or disagreement, and he would welcome the idea of a treaty of friendship.

In 1931 some Yemeni troops occupied the mountain called Jebel Orra. King Ibn Sa'ud sent to Sanaa a delegation of three to draw up this treaty, also to protest against the occupation of Jebel Orra, which was formerly included in Asir. The Yemeni king refused to withdraw his troops.

After fruitless meetings the Imam cabled to Ibn Sa'ud that as an agreement seemed impossible he would leave this question and Ibn Sa'ud could abide by his decision. Ibn Sa'ud replied in appreciation of this attitude, stating that he renounced claims to Jebel Orra and gave it to the Imam. That settled this question, and a treaty of friendship, good neighbourly conduct, and extradition was signed in December, 1931.

At the end of 1932 outside influences, perhaps from Yemen, instigated Hassan Idrissi to revolt against Ibn Sa'ud. This rebellion was quickly quelled, and Hassan escaped to Yemen.

The Imam wrote to Ibn Sa'ud requesting him, as a personal favour, not to insist on handing over of the Idrissi, according to the extradition clause of the 1931 treaty. Ibn Sa'ud not only agreed, but he also gave an allowance for the support of the Idrissi, and only asked the Imam to guarantee that the Idrissi should not intrigue against him. This the Imam promised. But instead of living at Sanaa the Idrissi occupied Midi and travelled up and down the Asir frontier, agitating and fermenting trouble. Ibn Sa'ud heard of this and protested to the Imam, who implied that such reports might be untrue. But these activities continued until Ibn Sa'ud sent word that either the Idrissi must be kept in Sanaa or must be handed over to him in accordance with the extradition clause of his treaty of 1931. Neither was the Idrissi kept in

Sanaa, nor was he handed over, but Nejran was suddenly occupied by Yemeni troops. Ibn Sa'ud sent a delegation, Hamad Suleiman and Halid Bey Gorgani, men of good family and well respected. The Imam delayed seeing them for three weeks. When he finally did see them he said that both Nejran and Asir must be ceded to him. At their astonishment at such a claim he kept them as virtual prisoners. Ibn Sa'ud demanded they should be freed and allowed to return. No messages were allowed. The Imam made excuses that the telegraph was out of order. This was what Halid Bey told the lecturer in Riyadh last November, as did Hamad Suleiman, who talked of their treatment at the hands of the Imam.

King Ibn Sa'ud tried to avoid war and corresponded by wireless with the Imam. He appealed to the Imam as an Arab and as a Muslim to consent to a friendly settlement.

In December, 1933, the Imam agreed to a second treaty of friendship for twenty years, settling and defining the frontiers and making Nejran a neutral zone. This was agreed, and delegates from both sides met at Ahba, the capital of Asir.

While the terms were being drawn up the Imam sent Abdul Wahab Idrissi into the mountains of Fifi, Beni Malik, and Abadilah (of Asir) with Yemeni troops. No attack was expected, and this district was defenceless, but although the population is sparse, both here and in Nejran they fought against the invading Yemeni.

King Ibn Sa'ud sent the Imam an ultimatum, saying his troops must be withdrawn from both occupied areas immediately. On the Imam's refusal, Ibn Sa'ud declared war.

The result had been recorded as all knew.

On May 4 Hodeida was captured by the Sa'udi troops under Amir Feisal, the king's son, and in the plateau country the Sa'udi troops, under Crown Prince Sa'ud, cut off the Yemen troops in Nejran and Asir and threatened Sanaa.

The Imam wired for peace, and the king replied that hostilities would cease on the conditions that (1) all occupied Asir and Nejran should be evacuated; (2) the Idrissi should be handed over; (3) that the Imam should hand over the hostages he had taken from Nejran and the mountains of Asir. This taking of hostages by the Imam was evidence that he considered the inhabitants of these places as enemies, because one does not take hostages from friends. It was evidence also that the Yemeni were invading troops and not rescuing friends, as some might argue. The Imam accepted these terms, but, as he did not carry

them out, Ibn Sa'ud's troops advanced towards Saada and were within a few hours of it a short time ago. On the west they captured Hodeida. The first clause that evacuation should be carried out was, as far as Nejran was concerned, no longer necessary. The Imam accepted the final conditions and sent delegates to Taif to negotiate a peace treaty. The last that was heard was the delegates had signed the treaty, but that the Imam had refused to ratify it and hostilities were about to commence. News had been expected that day, but it had not come to hand. These data, in the lecturer's opinion, showed very conclusively that the Ibn Sa'ud had not in any respect sought for war.

Those who had seen some of the pictures the lecturer had taken in the Yemen would agree that it was a difficult country to attack.

(Since this talk was given the news has been published that on the eve of the last day of the truce the Imam cabled to the king apologizing for delay in carrying out the terms of the armistice on account of the great distances and difficulties in communication. He asked that the truce be prolonged to give him necessary time. King Ibn Sa'ud agreed and extended the truce for some days. During this interval the Imam actually handed over a considerable number of hostages. He also surrendered Sayed Hassan Idrissi and Sayed Abdul Aziz Idrissi and their families. Negotiations are taking place with regard to the surrender of Sayed Abdul Wahab Idrissi. At the same time the evacuation of Fifi, Beni Malik, and the Abadilah was almost complete.)

A MEMBER asked if the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and the Palestine Arabs had had anything to do with bringing about peace.

Mr. TWITCHELL said he did not think they had in the slightest. He knew there had been efforts by the Arabs in Cairo and probably in Jerusalem. Mr. Crane, he knew, had advised the peaceful settlement between the Imam and Ibn Sa'ud. Ibn Sa'ud had done everything he could, and the notes he had read showed that he had done more than his share, so that many of his actions were taken as a sign of weakness. The Crown Prince was the eldest son of Ibn Sa'ud, a very keen soldier who waged a successful war against the rebels three years ago. It would have been different if the second son of the Imam had been alive and had used his influence. The lecturer said he thought if Ibn Sa'ud did conquer the Imam and the Yemen he would administer it efficiently and there would be no more trouble about the frontier. King Ibn Sa'ud had always kept his treaties and his word regarding frontiers.

The CHAIRMAN: You think there will be an effective peace?

The LECTURER replied that it was impossible to say. If Ibn Sa'ud

took Sanaa it would mean the abdication of the Imam and the flight of the Crown Prince Ahmet. He was coming in at the back of Sanaa through the plateau region and would not have to go up to the great mountains to the west.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought the Ikhwan could not stand these great mountain heights.

The LECTURER said he thought that was rather a fallacy. The Nejd was from two to five thousand feet, and the plateau from seven thousand down to five thousand. So there was not enough difference to matter. Very few people had seen these districts.

Replying to a further question by the Chairman, the LECTURER said the Yemen was not the only fertile part of Southern Arabia.

The CHAIRMAN said they were very grateful to Mr. Twitchell for throwing light on the quarrels. He did not know whether the lecturer would agree that we were to blame in the first place for handing over Hodeida to the Idrissi after the war, thereby leading the Imam and the Yemeni to drive them out, Hodeida being the natural port of the Yemen.

The LECTURER said perhaps this was not considered as seriously as it might have been. Of course, having the sea-port and the Tihama meant that the highland Yemeni were cut off from foreign sources of income and munition and trade of any kind. They were subject to whoever had the sea-port.

The CHAIRMAN said he was struck by one remark about it being known by everybody that the Turks went down to Aden. But he did not think that everybody in this country was alive to the fact that the Turkish army was close outside Aden. It certainly was not known that we, having cleared out the Turks or made them prisoners, the Imam, who had come down with them, occupied the Aden Protectorate in great part, and it was two or three years before we turned him out. It was only this year that he ceased to be in occupation of half of the Audali territory in the north and east of the Protectorate. In 1926 he advanced in the east of the Protectorate, but having insufficient air force we retired, and the Yemen troops returned and were there until this last January. Colonel Reilly was sent to negotiate a treaty of friendship, and the Imam agreed to clear out and release his captives. It is to be hoped that this has been done. It would have been serious if the Government had not taken strong measures, as other unfortunate consequences would have resulted.

PEARL DIVING IN BAHRAIN

By C. DALRYMPLE BELGRAVE

THE pearl-diving industry of the Persian Gulf, on which most of the inhabitants of the Arab coast depend for their livelihood, has been severely affected during recent years by the financial conditions prevailing in Europe and America. The centre of this very ancient industry and the chief pearl market in the Gulf is the Bahrain archipelago. This group of islands, off the Arab coast about half-way down the Gulf, is a small independent Arab State which is protected against external aggression by Great Britain, who has been in treaty with the Shaikhs of Bahrain for almost a century and a half.

Eight years ago the value of the pearls exported from Bahrain during one season was estimated at two million pounds sterling; during the last two or three years the value of one season's catch has diminished to less than one-fifth of this amount. Four years ago a single pearl was sold in Bahrain for £15,000; during the last two years no single pearl has been sold locally for more than £3,000. Economic depression in Europe and America, combined with the increased export of "cultured" pearls from Japan, is responsible for the slump in the pearl market.

The main diving season lasts from the middle of May until the end of September, but if the sea is calm and warm diving is often carried on for another month before and after the real season. About 15,000 divers leave Bahrain each year with the pearling fleet, which consists of between four and five hundred sailing dhows, the biggest of them carrying as many as a hundred men. The manner of diving has scarcely changed since the time of Ibn Batuta, the Arab historian of the fourteenth century. Each diver wears a leather clip, very like a clothes peg, to close his nostrils, and his fingers and big toes are protected by leather sheaths; round his neck is slung a string bag, into which he puts the oyster shells when he wrenches them off the rocks beneath the sea. The diver has two ropes—one with a stone weight fastened to it, on which he descends; the other, attached to the string bag, which is used bv his companion on the boat to haul him to the surface. The men who

work the ropes do not dive, and as their duties are less arduous they are paid half the amount which a diver receives. Divers wear nothing except a loincloth. The average duration of a dive is one and a half minutes, and normally each diver descends about thirty times during the day to a depth of from 10 to 15 fathoms.

Diving is a profit-sharing concern; the men receive no pay, but each diver and puller is entitled to a share in the profits of the season. In addition to the money which they earn, they are given two advances during the year, one at the beginning of the season and the other half-way through the off season. These advances are intended to maintain the diver's family while he is at sea and during the time that he is not working, which is more than half the year.

There are several different diving systems, and all of them are very ancient. According to the best-known method, the boat captain borrows money from a merchant on shore to make the advances to the divers and to equip and provision the boat for the season. At the close of the diving, when all the pearls are sold, the expenses are deducted from the price of the pearls, the boat captain takes one-fifth of the total profits, and the remainder is divided among the divers and pullers; each diver receives two shares and each puller receives one share. But the shore merchant charges interest on the money which he lends to the boat captain, and the boat captain charges interest on the money which he advances to the diver.

There is another well-known system, which has lately become more general, as it requires less capital. The shore merchant or the boat captain himself finances the expedition, but charges no interest. In return for this he has the right to purchase the pearls at 20 per cent. less than the current market price; he also receives an amount equivalent to the share of five divers from the profits. The remainder is divided among the divers. In this system there are no outstanding debts, and divers are free to dive with whom they wish after each trip to the banks.

Theoretically the diving system is a fair one, but in course of time it became so distorted by various abuses that the condition of the divers was almost that of slavery. Unlimited interest was charged by the merchants and the boat captains, and the illiterate divers had no means of checking their accounts. Provisions were charged against them at fabulous prices, and the sums paid for the pearls were never disclosed to the divers. Youths were induced to become divers in the offer of a loan of money, and when once they accepted a loan they were tied to

their boat captains for life. When a diver died his children became liable for their father's diving debt and for the continually increasing interest, which frequently exceeded the amount of the original loan. As soon as boys were old enough to work they were sent to the pearling fleet. During the off season divers had to work, without payment, in the houses and gardens of the boat captains and merchants, and their only form of appeal was to a court of boat captains and pearl merchants, who were notoriously unsympathetic to divers.

In 1923 the present ruler, Shaikh Hamad bin Isa alKhalifah became deputy-ruler in place of his father. Almost at once he decided to carry out thorough reforms in the diving system. His decision was met by determined opposition from most of the merchants and boat captains, but it had the support of the Moslem religious leaders. The divers regarded any changes with sullen indifference, having been told by their masters that the new rules would not benefit them. With considerable difficulty the reforms were carried through. The rate of interest on money advanced for diving was limited by law to a reasonable figure, the maximum amount of the annual advances was laid down by the Government and announced by proclamation each year, and a regular but simple system of diving accounts was instituted. Each diver to-day is compelled to keep a little book, issued by the Government, showing his account with his boat captain, and this account is checked by clerks employed for the purpose by the Government. An order was passed that a certain percentage of the divers, chosen by their comrades from each boat, should witness the sales of the pearls, and that when a diver died his diving debt died with him.

The position of the Bahrain pearl divers is very different from what it was ten years ago, and that many divers from other parts of the Gulf come to dive under the Bahrain rules is a sign that the conditions in Bahrain are very much better than elsewhere. The flagrant abuses that existed in the past are no longer possible, as any transgression against the diving rules is severely punished by the Bahrain courts. Inevitably many of the old men are still heavily in debt, and will never become free during their lifetime, but the younger men now owe comparatively small amounts, and their debts represent money which they have actually received. If conditions improve and the pearl market becomes active again, the debt system of the diving industry in Bahrain will automatically be abolished.

" MONGOL "

By HENNING HASLUND

OF the many peoples whom we Westerners include in the term " Mongolian Race," there is only one people who call themselves Mongols—those who originate from that part of Central Asia we designate Mongolia. Even now the name Mongolia brings to Western minds dim, half-comprehended pictures of that mysterious land out of which have ridden forth, at the head of their countless hordes of battle-loving warriors, the world's greatest conquerors. In later years a number of scientific expeditions from the Western world have invaded this country, and the mystery must now give way to amazement at the unveiling of the strange discoveries which are made in the land of the Mongols. Soon it will be cold, although fantastic, fact to us Westerners, but the Mongols themselves will continue to tell their own legends and to see the mystery which harmonizes with their craving for and sense of the romantic.

The Mongolian word *monke* means " silver," and according to the Mongolian belief this name was given by the great " Gengis Khan " as a name of honour to his first guard of battle-scarred nomad warriors. And the people who still bear this name are descendants of that proud generation which overran what at that time was " the whole world." Until the time when Gengis Khan came forward to become " ruler of all men " Mongolia was, according to a Mongolian legend, inhabited by a people, " Bide," which means " we." And the people " Bide " were divided into many clans under independent chieftains, who lived in a state of constant inter-tribal warfare.

But it happened that the chieftains of the people " Bide " came together to hold a council at the River Kerulen, and here the miracle took place which was the beginning of that episode which secured a proud place in history for the unknown nomads. During the days of this council the assembled chieftains were amazed to see each morning a mystical bird alight on a stone outside the tent of the youngest chieftain. Each morning the bird would call out so that it was heard throughout the camp, " Gengis, Gengis," and on the ninth day the stone broke asunder, and from its heart fell a precious seal

insignia of rulership. This was an obvious sign from the gods that the young warrior who dwelt in the tent outside which the miracle had taken place was destined to be the " ruler of all men," and he was given the power and the name that the mysterious bird had cried, with the addition of the word *bogdo,* which means that he was of the family of the gods.

The zenith of the power of the Mongolian Khans lasted only for a few hundred years, but through many generations the Mongols remained a factor to be reckoned with, and as late as 1771 the tribe of the Torguts grazed their horses on the banks of the Volga. As to the reasons for the Torguts' flight back to Central Asia from the camping-grounds of the Volga, where they had lived for more than a century and a half, the Russian and Chinese manuscripts have much to say, but the descendants of this horde themselves, who now live in Tien Shan, the celestial mountains of Turkestan, explain the reason for the flight by the following legend:

" Many, many years ago we Torguts returned to the land of our forefathers from a country far away on the other side of the great plains of the Kirghis. We came from a land which was watered by the Edjilen gol [Volga], and part of the Torgut horde is still living there. During the 150 years which we passed in that foreign part we paid tribute to the ' White Khan ' [the Czar of Russia], but we lived happily, as there was plenty of water and grazing for our herds, and the only form of *alba* [tribute] that we had to pay was yearly to send 500 boys and girls to the Court of the White Khan.

" We were told that our children were taken that they might receive learning, but once it happened that one of these youths returned to his people and related his experiences. They had been taken to a country far in the north, where they were kept in a big camp. As time went on each of the young men chose a girl whom he preferred, and all was happiness in that far-off camp, but as soon as any of the girls became with child she was taken from the camp, to the great sorrow of her lover, and never seen again. One day the beloved of the man who told the tale was taken away, but his love for her was so great that, under cover of the dark night, he fled from the camp to search for her. After he had searched for a long time in vain, he came upon a fire at which a white wizard was sitting murmuring prayers, and then he saw the wizard throw his beloved to a large snake, which immediately devoured her. Then the wizard cast the snake who had swallowed the girl with her unborn child into a large cauldron of water boiling over

the fire. In the cauldron was a ladle, with which the wizard stirred the contents from time to time, murmuring incantations over it the while. Later in the night the wizard fell asleep, whereupon the horror-stricken youth stole up to the cauldron to see what had become of his beloved. The cauldron was full of a thick fluid, and the youth now took the ladle to search in it for some traces of his beloved one, but as he was occupied in this way he stumbled and fell, and some of the fluid from the cauldron splashed on to the sleeping wizard. And lo! the priest was seized by a violent shuddering and instantly died. Now the youth realized that his beloved and their unborn child had been used by the white wizard to make a deadly poison, and he fled the long way back to his people terror-stricken. And the Mongols understood now that the many young people whom they entrusted each year to the White Khan were being murdered by his white priests and wizards, so they resolved to set out on the long journey back to the rolling grassland of their forefathers in Central Asia, where they could live in the shadow of the holy mountain Potala, near the Great Lama, who would protect them against the White Khan and his wizards."

Some time about the year 1273 the famous Venetian traveller Marco Polo arrived at the city of Etsina. He describes Etsina in the now deserted country of the Tanguts as a flourishing city lying near the edge of a desert, and he calls the inhabitants " heathens who own camels and great herds of many kinds of cattle." Fruits and other harvests of the soil supplied the inhabitants with plenty of food. Their favourite sport was hawking.

Fifty years before Marco Polo visited this city the country of the Tanguts had been overrun by Gengis Khan, who had garrisoned Etsina in order to make it the headquarters of his armies attacking China. And then this flourishing city disappeared and was forgotten until the Russian explorer Kosloff rediscovered it in 1909. The living city Etsina, which, 600 years before, was situated on the banks of a great river, was found by Kosloff in the middle of a vast desert, abandoned and half buried in an ocean of sand-dunes. The nearest people are the Torguts at Etsin gol, at a distance of one day's journey west of Etsina, whose ruins are now known to this people as Khare Khoto, which means the black city.

In 1927 part of the Sven Hedin Expedition visited these ruins, and in many other parts of the surrounding desert we found other ruins of old watch towers and forts surrounded by strong walls, which showed that

the desert, now so silent and dead, had once been inhabited by people and had been the scene of their fights. That the country had not always been sterile was proved by the vast areas from which the sand had been blown clear, exposing the stone-hard clay, eroded by wind and weather through many centuries into fantastic shapes. The surface of these sand-free areas was covered by an army of fallen and rootless trees. What had been in the twelfth century a shady forest, fragrant, filled with sound and life, seems now like a battlefield after a murderous fight, with the sun's heat, drought, and howling desert storms for its only rulers. It is rather remarkable to observe that these fallen giants lie outstretched upon the ground all pointing in the same direction—north-west/south-east.

Two days' journey west of Khare Khoto flows the River Etsin gol, along whose banks some 100 families of the Torgut tribe still have their abode, and in the desert west of the river we discovered some ruined watch towers which lay along a line drawn directly north and south. Several weeks before we reached the river I had been cautiously questioning the Mongols we met as to what they knew of Khare Khoto, the dead city, and later I continued my investigations amongst the Torguts at Etsin gol during the month I was encamped there. After much hesitation they told me this story:

"Once upon a time we Torguts were numerous and powerful in this country, and Khare Bater Djandjyn [the black hero chief] was our ruler. He lived in Khare Khoto. He was a brave warrior and a wise ruler, and he bore the name 'Khare' because he was able to talk *khare uge* [black magic].

"Khare Bater became so mighty that he was a danger to the Emperor of China, wherefore the Emperor sent an army to subdue him. The Chinese army far outnumbered that of Khare Bater, and he was forced to withdraw behind the walls of Khare Khoto, which the Chinese now besieged. In one corner of the city was a great watch tower, and under this tower was a well which had a hidden connection with the river which flowed beyond the city walls, so that the well never failed the inhabitants of the city. Khare Bater succeeded in sending couriers to friendly tribes living in the oases on the other side of the great desert to the west, and he now awaited the reinforcements which would enable him to attack and destroy the Chinese forces. But the cunning Chinese foresaw this move, so they built this row of watch towers whose ruins now lie west of the Etsin gol River, and in this way the reinforcements were prevented from reaching Khare Bater. In spite of this Khare

Bater and his warriors withstood the siege, and so the Chinese once more had to use their cunning in order to capture the city. A magic stone was thrown into the river which supplied the well in the city, so that its course was changed, causing it to flow along beside the line of Chinese watch towers, and so the well dried up.

" Now Khare Bater wanted to make a last sally so that he might die fighting at the head of his brave army, but his young and beautiful wife besought him not to throw his life away. She persuaded him to hold a parley with the Chinese leaders, and at this parley it was agreed that on a certain day the Chinese army should enter the city without opposition through the western gate. The night before the Chinese were to make their entry their whole army congregated outside the western wall, which enabled Khare Bater and his people to leave the city by the eastern gate under cover of the darkness. The warriors were forced to go on foot, as all their riding animals had died of thirst; all but one black donkey, which bore Khare Bater in the van of the pathetic remnant of his once proud and victorious army. Slowly and sadly they went out into the night.

" Now Khare Bater in his despair spoke 'black words,' and all Nature changed. She bowed herself in sorrow at the sight of Khare Bater's flight. And as he and his followers passed out of sight the trees fell dead to the ground, stretched out towards the vanished army. Khare Bater and his people were never heard of again. Only his beautiful wife remained in Khare Khoto in order to close the eastern gate behind the fleeing horde. During the night she hid all the treasure of the city in the well, and in the early morning threw open the western gate to the Chinese army.

" But when the Chinese awoke the next morning they saw to their terror that what the day before had been forest and fertile grassland had become, in one night, an arid waste. Furious, they stormed into the defenceless city, which, to their chagrin, they found without men to slay and destitute of plunder. They found only the wife of Khare Bater, in the tower above the well. As she would not tell what had become of her people or their treasure, they slew her.

" The treasure was never found, as the Chinese were forced by the spectre of famine and thirst to abandon the city. Centuries of treasure-hunters have tried to salve the treasure, which on certain nights is visible lying in a big cauldron deep down in the well, but as soon as they approach flames flare up to protect it. Most of the treasure-hunters have been Tibetans, who have brought lamas with them, who

by their prayers and drumming have tried to overcome the magical guardian of the treasure. But all in vain. The ghosts of the dead city still guard the treasure of Khare Bater Djandjyn."

The country into which Khare Bater Djandjyn and his people marched is now a wild desert of rolling sand-dunes, which extends as far as the country of the Ordos Mongols. From time to time wild storms sweep across it, filling the air with whirling yellow particles, while the tough tamarisks sigh and bend in their stubborn struggle with the elements. When overtaken by the fury of the desert storm the unfortunate Mongol is filled with uneasiness and dread until it has passed over him, when he will find on every side new contours and the utter silence of the grave. Then, not daring to raise his voice above a whisper, he will tell you that in the howling of the storm he heard the shrieks and groans of all the warriors who lie buried in the desert. He is positive that in the whirling pillars of wind-blown sand he saw their costly armour and the glitter of their gold and silver ornaments, but he knows that any attempt to seize them would have been punished by instant death.

Mongolia casts a slow but sure and subtle spell, and the day will come when a sober Westerner, if he has the least spark of romance in his soul, will find that he has lost his heart to her for ever. He will have no desire to leave the friendly camp-fire circles with their time-honoured songs and legends for the noise and cynicism of modern civilization. Cut off and isolated from the outer world, all longing for home gradually fades, and it is dangerous to live too long on the plains and in the desert. Dangerous because one realizes, when it is too late, that life in civilization, even at its finest, can only be second best.

The Mongol sees himself surrounded by miracles, for where we see mystery he sees only the miraculous work of the gods. The boundless deserts and plains, whose silence is broken only from time to time by a lonely rider or a winding caravan, lie untouched and unchanged by human hands. It is Nature herself who has wrought the only changes in the country, gradually forming new lakes and causing others to disappear, so that the knowledge of their former position is now purely traditional. Ruins of imposing cities and forts lie slowly disintegrating in the midst of vast unpeopled deserts, and Buddhist temples and paintings are found in places which are now inhabited by purely Mohamedan races. In the ground are to be found "bones of stone" (fossils) so colossal that they must have belonged to fantastic beings, and the ever-shifting sands lay bare strange bronze articles decorated

with what are to him incomprehensible designs made in a fashion which he cannot imitate. Everywhere the Mongol sees the work of gods and spirits, and consequently it is not so much a mystery to him as the confirmation of the miracles of which the ancient legends tell.

The Mongol resigns himself to the changes which life blows across his path; he rejoices when all goes well, and if lamas and wizards are unable to help him in adversity there is nothing left to him in his wandering life but the acceptance of the inevitable. If a person is lucky, it is because he has earned the protection of gods and spirits in this or a former life; and consequently others should give him all the help and encouragement which lie in their power. On the other hand, misfortune only follows those who deserve it, and the Mongols shun such people if the lamas and wizards do not succeed in averting or lessening the wrath of the gods.

A common method of preventing or ameliorating misfortune is to raise a banner on which are written prayers and signs. Every movement of the banner in the wind represents a petition made from the sufferer to his gods. The prayer flag in most common use is the so-called *Hi-mori*, which translated means " air-horse." In uninhabited parts of the country this prayer flag is hung by passers-by in places where danger from natural conditions or angry spirits is supposed to be likely to occur, and in the nomad camps the prayer flag is raised over the tent in which help is required, or to give warning of the approach of danger. From the movement of the flag in the wind and the position of the horse the initiated can foretell coming events. Hi-mori is depicted in the middle of the banner as a galloping fiery horse, carrying on its back *Tjindimani Erendi* (Tib. *Nor-bu*), which is the mysterious jewel which is supposed to be deep hidden in the world ocean, growing fruit by whose means the gods are enabled to move mountains and perform many other miracles. The flag is intended to supplicate the highest powers of Lamaism on behalf of the person who offers it, and his name (or the name of the year in which he was born) is often written on the flag. The powers to whom these prayers are offered are, as a rule—

(i.) He who gives wisdom (Manjusri).
(ii.) He who protects in war and prevents accidents.
(iii.) He who saves from hell and fear (Avalokita).
(iv.) He who cleanses the soul from sin.
(v.) He who gives long life.

As to the origin of this flag the Mongols have the following belief:

" Many, many years ago a dispute arose between the lamas and Indian philosophers. At that time *Inetkhegeen Oroni* [India] was ruled by a wise and mighty Khan, who commanded that the dispute should be settled without a single soldier going to war. He ordered that lamas and learned men of the Indian belief should come together in order to prove by the help of their religious beliefs and sacred books which faith and books contained the greatest truth. The Khan decided that that faith in those books which enabled their upholders to perform the greatest miracles should be adopted by him and his people.

" The wisest and holiest men met outside the holy city Budh Gaya. The Indian holy men offered up many prayers, and lo! on a nearby hillock a miraculous horse appeared. The horse was small and appeared in a recumbent position, and remained in that position in spite of all their prayers.

" Now after a long time spent in meditation the upholders of the lamaistic faith caused their prayers to sound, and while the prayers rose all eyes were on the mystic horse, which now rose up and became strong and more powerful, as if it in some wonderful way took nourishment from the words of Buddha, which sounded from many voices over the land. This proved that the word of the lamaistic faith had gained the victory over the Indian philosophers, and the Khan decided that he and his people should follow it. And this mysterious ' Hi-mori ' it is who still warns and helps the followers of the lamaistic faith when they paint him on their prayer flags."

There is one *motif* which one often finds among the sculptures and paintings of North Mongolia. It is a representation of two antelopes kneeling down one on each side of a wheel-shaped figure. The sculpture which is reproduced in this picture is the work of a simple hunter. He had chosen to pitch his tent in a beautiful canyon, of which the steep mountainous sides were overgrown with larch, silver birch, and cedar; and looking along the canyon he had always before his eyes beautiful vistas of distant snowy mountain peaks. All day long he hunted the wild animals of the forest, and at night he sat at the fireside in his tent, his whole being filled with impressions of the long day's wanderings, where he had been alone with the silent majesty of the heights and the life of the forest. On nights like this he carved with his primitive knife the *motif* illustrating the legend characteristic of the Mongols' reverence for Nature, with which he lived in such close intimacy. With his hunting-knife and a rough piece of wood he suc-

ceeded in forming lines so clean, elegant, and beautiful as are only to be found in the wild antelope as he saw it in its native haunts. The gilded wheel between the two kneeling animals symbolizes the sun, whose purity is expressed by showing it as rising from the heart of the lotus flower—the lotus flower which springs from the mud and is cleansed by its passage through crystal-clear water, that it may unfold its purity and splendour to the light of the sun.

The present-day Mongol explains this delicate piece of carving by this legend:

" Two beings of this world once saw the sun sink towards the horizon. It dropped towards blue mountains, whose peaks were covered with snow. Just before the sun set it lingered for a moment above the highest peak, over which it cast a golden diadem, and the surrounding snows sparkled with precious jewels in its magic light. At the sight of this splendour the two earthly beings were seized with such desire to possess all these riches that they turned into antelopes which leapt up the mountain, which it would have been impossible for human beings to climb. Just as they reached the top the sun touched the peak, spreading the purity and beauty of God in Nature on all around, and so great was their awe at the revelation of all this loveliness that they were cleansed of their greed and they prostrated themselves before the sun."

Similar symbols to this one which was carved by the hunter of the Sajan Mountains have been made for thousands of years by people of Central Asia, and science has many explanations to offer as their interpretation. I do not propose to discuss here the different explanations which science has offered as to its origin and meaning, but I have told you this legend as I heard it from the lips of the Nature-loving Mongols of to-day.

Once when I was new to Asia a Christian from the West who had lived long amongst the Mongols related to me an experience of which he was rather proud. He had visited a temple which had been shown to him with great pride by a lama. At last they had come to the altar, behind which was seated a giant Buddha cut in wood. The Mongol had told the Christian the history of the figure, and finished his explanation by pointing out that this enormous work of art was carved from one piece of wood only. And now comes the reply of which the Christian was so proud. " Yes, it is only a piece of wood." And he had reproved the lama for worshipping and expecting help from what was " only a piece of wood " and nothing else.

I asked the Westerner what the lama's reply had been, and he was

proud to tell me that the lama had been dumb when confronted by the truth.

Years later I met this lama several times, and on one of these occasions he gave to me the reply which he would not deign to make before. He took some pieces of red and white silk, which he threw on the ground before me, at the same time asking: " What is this?"

" Pieces of silk, red and white," I replied.

" Yes, and nothing else," he remarked, whereafter he carefully arranged the pieces of silk on a table to form the same pattern as the flag which he had often seen flying above my tent.

" What is this?" he now asked.

I was considering a reply which would convey to him the meaning of its flag to a nation, but before I could reply he said:

" It is something which is dear and holy to you and your people."

The reasons for and the object of the many Western expeditions which have in recent years penetrated into the country of the Mongols are explained by the following, which is based on old legends:

" All the wisdom and truth of the world are contained in the two holy books, Kangyur and Tangyur, one of which contains the results of Buddha's own meditations and the other its explanation, first made by lamaistic saints for the people of Central Asia. All wisdom and truth are contained in the writings of Buddha, but the gift of understanding and following the teaching contained in the book was divided between three peoples. To the Chinese it was given to understand and to practise the knowledge of healing contained in the holy book, and that is why the Chinese know more about surgery and medicine than any other people. It is also for this reason that Chinese medicine-men have for many centuries sent forth in search of all the *tingeren losang jasse* [fossils] that could be found in Mongolia, and to buy the horns of the deer which were slain by the Mongolian hunters. These horns are supposed to contain the medicine which prolongs youth. To the Westerners Buddha gave the gift of understanding and practising all that the holy scriptures contained regarding the construction of machines and other things necessary to a restless people who live far removed from Nature. And it is in order to search for pages of the old scriptures that they may build new machines that the Westerners have at such great cost sent out so many expeditions. But to the Mongols, the chosen people, Buddha gave the gift of meditation, that they might read the greatest and most important truth of the scriptures. That is why

the Mongols live so close to Nature, following their herds across the boundless plains, leading their caravans on through endless deserts; each day of the year they live in close contact with the grandeur of Nature, a life which inspires clean and beautiful thoughts and profound and Divine meditations."

ON THE ROAD FROM KWEIHWA TO URUMCHI (TIHWA)

THESE letters, though not written for publication, give a graphic account of the difficulties of travel in the disturbed provinces of Western China. The writer, a doctor, was attempting to reach Urumchi (Tihwa) from Kweihwa, in the Suiyuan Province. He was accompanied by his wife, and was attached temporarily as doctor to a Swedish group crossing to Sinkiang on business.

KWEIHWA,
SUIYUAN PROVINCE.

26. 11. 33. We had hoped to be away by now, but day by day we have waited in vain for news of the trucks. Such waiting always is irksome. The weather continues remarkably warm, sunny, and frosty, with very little wind. I got up in Chinese clothes this a.m., but had to change to foreign—my camel's-hair waddings were too hot. Truly if St. John the Baptist's camel's-hair clothing was anything like ours, it was a luxury and the reverse of ascetic—soft, fleecy, warm beyond anything I have met. There are said to be 25,000 Moslems in this city, though I fancy this must be an over-estimate.

29. 11. 33. We had a salutary warning of the evils of overloading. Hedin's party with three trucks left a fortnight ago carrying 3½ tons on each 1½-ton truck, with the result that they took five days over the first day's stage to Peilingmiao, and yesterday we heard that one of the trucks had broken down some one hundred miles out of Peilingmiao, necessitating delay in procuring another truck from Tiensin.

Glorious bright frosty weather, and we long to be off before it gets too cold.

STILL WAITING IN THE
MONGOLIAN CAMP.

21. 12. 33. We expected to spend three days here at most, and have already been here ten. Our Mongol hosts give us two good meals a day of *mien* (Chinese macaroni) and mutton broth, and Dr. Orlandine largely provides the third. We have abundant extras, but had not provided for main bulk rations for long and unexpected delays. We

have the main yurt with big stove almost to ourselves by day with our camp chairs and table, and sleep in our own tent. So far our Mongol host has refused payment, which is rather embarrassing. Temp. at night, 0° to 10° F.; by day, 0° to 30° F.

KUCHEN OR U-CH'UAN-HSIEN.
90 li S. of our camp.
90 li N. of Kweihwa.

5. 1. 34. As we continued day after day with no news and the weather was likely to get colder, we decided to withdraw to this place, where there is an out-station, in the hope of finding warmer quarters. They told us it was only half a day's journey by camel, so we did not trouble to make an early start, and actually got off about 11.45 a.m. But we found the camels only did ten li per hour, and we did not get in till 9.30 p.m. Our quarters here are not up to expectation. The place is invaded by the military and all rooms full except the room in which they store provisions and which they cannot heat lest these should spoil. So we live in the common living-room and share the cold room with the stores at night; but it is warmer than in camp, the food is decidedly better, and we have a post office with deliveries and clearances on alternate days.

3. 2. 34. We have with us a representative of Ma Chung Yng (the rebel general), who seems to be getting control of East Sinkiang, and so we will be O.K. in his territory. They say he is now surrounding Tihwa (Urumchi), and we hope he may have captured it before we arrive. If not, we should be able to settle in Kucheng, four hours by car and six days by cart from Tihwa.

21. 2. 34. It is a week now since we arrived in this district, and since then we have made very slow progress to the middle of the delta.

EDSINGOL.

21. 2. 34. The first part of our route lay through Mongolian steppe country, combining spare grass, the colour of ripe corn, with a sprinkling of snow. Then rather deeper snow, which had to be shovelled away to clear a place for camp. Then in the Gobi the snow gradually vanished.

Gobi scenery varies greatly. Sometimes a flat, gravelly plain with no vegetation or small squat tamarisk clumps or fascinating miniature trees six inches to a foot high, perfect miniature specimens of big trees of all shapes and sizes. Sometimes irregular sand-dunes with half-dead

red willow bushes, as on the borders of this district. Or, again, masses of dead wood up to three or four inches in diameter, lying as it died, in grotesque confusion. Or, as here, a thickish undergrowth, in parts well wooded with large trees, some dead, some well alive on the banks of the river.

So far all the river-beds we have seen here have been dry sand, but a little below the surface the sand gets damp. The sandy stretches are very trying for the cars. In many places there is a hard crust of gravel, which looks firm enough and may take a light car or a lorry going fast, but if once you break through in starting or stopping you sink up to the axles, which generally means digging out and laying our excellent strips of rope matting in front, all of which is hard work. Towing is a quicker and easier way out, but is often impossible, as the ground is too soft.

On arrival in the district we rather unwisely went on without getting a local guide, and stuck in the sand after dark with rather scanty supplies of fuel and water, which we used up. Next day again we had no local guide, and went on till we all stuck in a bad sandy "wady," where there was no fuel and still no water. This was about 1 p.m., and our leader unloaded his truck and went on in search of water, while we camped and tried to get the trucks out. He did not return until 10 p.m. with ice, which they had to carry on foot about two miles from the lake, reporting road ahead very bad for 200 miles round the lake, with no wells. So next day we decided to return to a Mongol yurt with a well, taking two highly loaded trucks, including our baggage, tent, and bedding, and we would remain there while they returned with water to help the others out.

A dust-storm came on as we left, and only one of the trucks succeeded in getting out of the wady. So we hastily bundled ourselves and essentials on to that one; but before night we were badly stuck again, and still a mile from the yurt with a well. So we pitched our tent there and carried our water; the others went on and slept at the yurt. Next day the truck got out and deposited us at the camp, and we had a quiet two and a half days there. Yesterday we nearly reached this central camp, and to-day arrived at 11 a.m. We shall have another day here waiting for a guide. Cold has not troubled us. I, being the eleventh passenger for five two-seater trucks, sit on top of the load on No. 1, and have never been a bit cold. We have a little collapsible stove for our tent, and as fuel is usually abundant we can brew our own tea and toast our Chinese scones. But it is a dirty life! With all the

dust one cannot keep clean, and one longs for a thorough wash and a return to the amenities of civilization.

ANSI, N.-W. KANSU.

19. 3. 34. My last letter was from Edsingol. The latter is a small river flowing north from Suchow, forming a delta with several branches flowing into two lakes, about 150 to 200 miles north of Suchow. While there our old guide left us and took my letter to post. We made slow progress getting out of the delta region owing to impossible road through deep sand.

Whereas the route taken by the bus company's trip went round north of both lakes, we went between the lakes, which was probably not the best way.

When we finally joined their road our second guide went back and we went on, following their tracks, but not knowing where we should find water nor how far it was to Hami. So for several days we were expecting to see Hami in the distance, and we had the excitement of unexpectedly coming upon an oasis just when we needed water.

Sat., Feb. 10. When we camped we met a camel caravan carrying cotton wool from Turfan to Suchow, the first human beings or domestic animals we had met for seventeen and a half days since leaving Arash Camp. They told us that Ma Chung Yng was in Turfan, attacking Tihwa, and Kucheng and Barkul were in his hands. Hami, they said, was another twenty miles or so, so we seemed fairly sure of being there about noon next day. But the road was not as good as we expected, and noon found us facing a stream we could not cross; two cars tried and got badly stuck.

Just as we were considering what to do there appeared a band of soldiers on horseback, apparently well equipped and in good order. They said they were Ma Chung Yng's men and offered to help pull our cars out.

We were carrying a man called Feng, who said he was a friend of the General and was going to Sinkiang hoping for a job. He found he knew one of the officers and went off to see their local General.

While he was away the soldiers searched our cars for weapons and began taking a few things: our game rifle, field-glasses, and a camera went almost before we realized that the first friendly reception was not genuine.

Feng came back with a long face to say these were troops retreating from Hami.

To cut a long story short, they were the officers and bodyguards of the Hami garrison, a few hundred men, with their General, clearing out with the loot, having heard that 3,000 more were retreating on Hami from Kucheng.

We gather since that this particular bunch have always been considered little better than brigands.

Their General, Chang, had with him a motor truck and gasoline, all pinched from the Aviation Company in Hami. He said we could not go on, which was true, though perhaps we might have made a détour to the north straight to Kucheng, which is probably now held by Tihwa troops. He said we must go back with him, not giving very definite information as to whither, but something was said about Ansi. We soon found we were utterly in their hands, with a guard of five soldiers to each truck.

We got to a derelict farmhouse off the road to the south (all houses in the district were derelict), where he consented to our staying the night, his own truck having broken down close by. Then it was arranged that we should unload two trucks and lend them to him for a day to take the contents of his truck, which he was abandoning, and which contained mainly a wireless installation, to a place some ten to fifteen miles away called Chang Liu Shui, where he was going to wireless to Ma Chung Yng.

So we had a peaceful day with no soldiers. Needless to say, they did not return, but, as we found later, took the General straight through to Ansi. He had taken from us 48 gallons of petrol " for his wireless plant "! About 10.30 p.m. we were awakened by soldiers with ten camels, who said they had orders to bring our remaining three cars and all goods to Chang Liu Shui. So off we went over shocking cross-country "road" and found Chang Liu Shui a broken-down village on the main Hami-Suchow road some thirty li from Hami. It looked like a regular brigand camp with an enormous miscellaneous caravan of camels, carts, camp followers, and many very suspicious-looking armed men without uniform. On arrival they unloaded another truck and sent it back to within two miles of Hami to prospect. We tried to get them to consent to let us go straight through to Ansi on its return, but we could get no truth or definiteness out of them, and, though they would sometimes say " Yes," it was difficult to find anyone really responsible to deal with. Finally, next day we were ordered to move

on and had to load all our five truckloads of goods plus a good deal of their stuff on to our remaining three trucks, and move on another very short stage. Again argument followed as to why we should not go straight on to Ansi. No, we must go a stage at a time with the camel caravan. We had gathered some time before that they were negotiating with the Commander-in-Chief of Kansu to be received into his army at Ansi. The latter, Ma Po Fang, is a very capable and sound man. But it appeared that, pending the completion of these negotiations, they were trying to hang on to us as a safeguard, in case they decided to turn brigands outright.

Next day we were told we could go right through to Ansi without waiting for the camels, and our only escort was an officer who had previously been fairly friendly and seven soldiers. We also had Feng, who was scared stiff and keen to get out of it, and the civil magistrate of Hami, a poor old opium sot, who persisted in climbing on to our truck!

But at Hsing Hsing Hsia we were again compelled to halt for the night, while our commander telephoned to Ansi for instructions, and there was talk of again unloading one of the trucks and sending it back while we waited for the camel caravan.

Hsing Hsing Hsia, like all the other places, is in ruins, without a single boy in residence. It has an evil reputation, being almost a No-Man's-Land between Kansu and Sinkiang, though actually just in Kansu.

It seemed obvious that our brigand army was going to assemble there to decide whether to surrender to Kansu or settle down as brigands indeed.

It was clear to us that the more desperate characters were behind. Some had tried to keep us a stage or two back, and when we hurried on with the tacit consent of our Commander, they sent a couple of rifle bullets after us, just out of spite, so we felt that if we had to wait our situation would get worse. But the more we pressed for this, the less friendly our Commander became, and we felt that something must be done and done soon. About 1.30 all was quiet, all the guards sleeping in our kitchen tent and none outside, and the Commander in a house some distance away, when they were roused by a camel train going north. I went out and saw the camel leader, warned him of the disturbed conditions ahead, suggested his turning back to save his camels and taking us and our things back to Ansi. While he was considering I went back and got Feng, who I knew would want to join us, to come

and add his advice to mine, which he did, and the man seemed impressed and said he would come, but that he must first consult our Commander, who was a relation of his!

Next morning we found three of our guard had run away, incidentally taking our cooking pot.

[The doctor and his wife eventually reached Ansi, and from there to Suchow by car, as cars are still being used by the army. It is hoped that some first-hand news of Sinkiang may follow.]

THE HWANG-HO AND THE ROADS FROM NORTH CHINA TO SINKIANG

By DR. GUENTHER KOEHLER

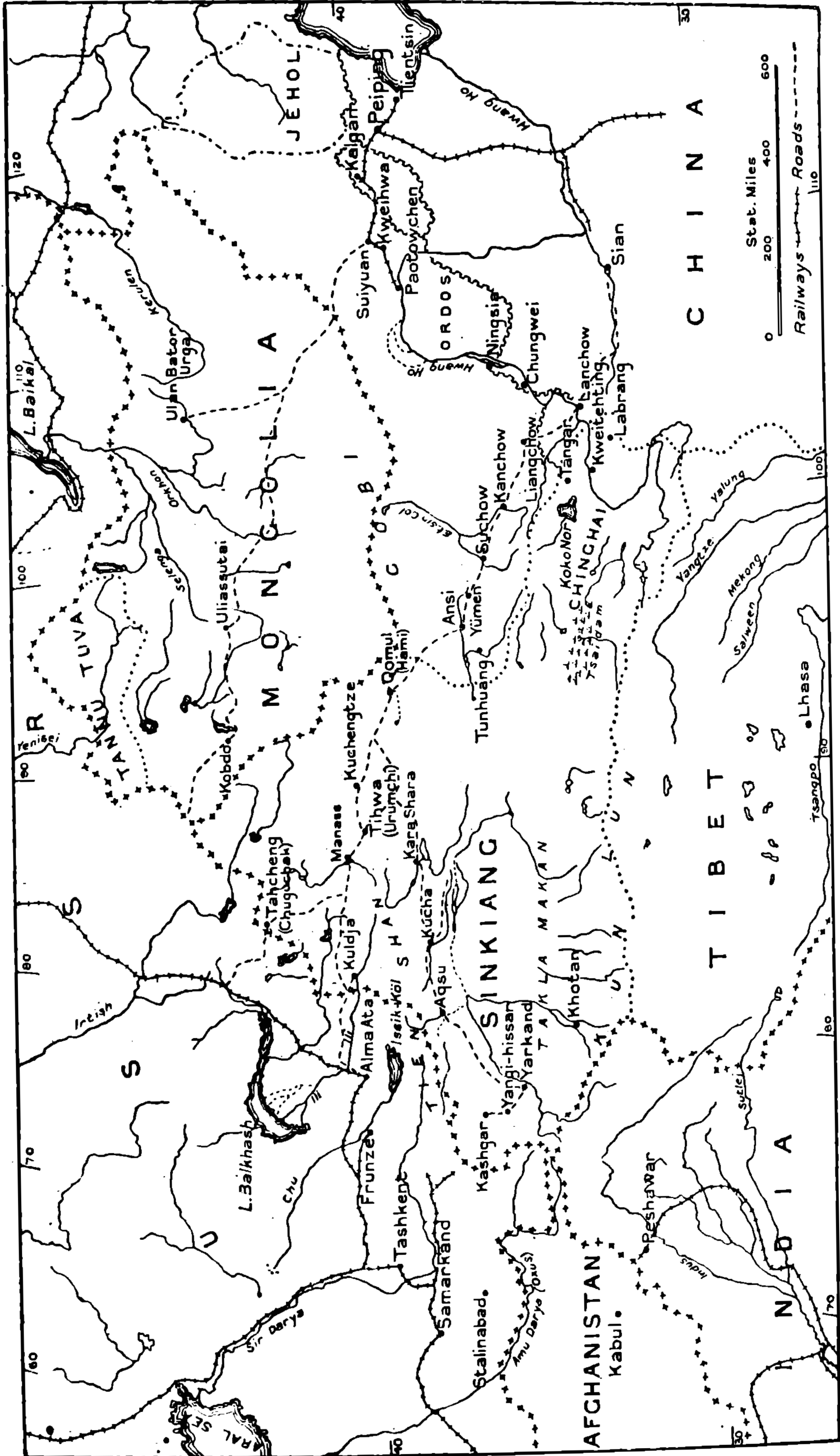
AT school we learn that the Hwang-ho, our planet's most important loess river, has, since ancient times, been called "China's sorrow." We looked at her winding bends and turns, admired the enormous delta, the great plain, which is watered on the way to the sea, and were amazed when we heard of the recent changes of course and all the consequential mischief and sufferings. But we very often forget entirely the study of the upper and middle course of this important waterway, which is as unjust as if we would judge a man only by his physical defects and omit all his good qualities.

The drainage system of the Yellow River, which according to my estimation covers an area of 1,260,000 square kilometres, encloses the whole of North China, with the exception of the Shantung peninsula. Consequently the Hwang-ho is closely connected with four—as I may term it—climatic provinces, of which Chinghai is the most important. North-Eastern Tibet is the great feeder of the Yellow River, and these enormous quantities of water enable her to bridge the desert-like Ordos country and finally reach the plains, while her western neighbour, the Edsingol, dries up in the steppes.

The importance of these well-known facts becomes vital as soon as we turn our attention towards the ways of communication which connect Northern China with Central Asia. The Peiping-Suiyuan Railway robbed Kalgan of its former trade hegemony with innermost Asia; the terminus of the caravan road was shifted to the west; Suiyuancheng became the starting-point of most of the camel as well as motor-car routes to Uliassutai, Kobdo and Gucheng-Tihwa. By the latter, Kansu's capital, Lanchow, is connected by way of Hami-Ansi and the Yü-men passage with the waste territories of Central Asia.

But between these east-west trade routes, created by mankind, no artificial south-north link exists. The Hwang-ho forms the natural bridge between Lanchow and Paotow, the terminus of the Suiyuan Railway.

I do not intend to touch upon the political and strategic value of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Urga
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Kobdo
MONGOLIA
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JEHOL
Kalgan
Peiping
Tientsin
Hwang Ho
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(Hami)
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(Urumchi)
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Tahcheng
(Chuguchak)
Kuldja
Kucha
Aqsu
SINKIANG
TAKLA MAKAN
Khotan
Yarkand
Yangi-hissar
Kashgar
KUN LUN
TIBET
Lhasa
Tsangpo
Salween
Mekong
Yangtze
Yalung
Sutlej
Indus
Peshawar
INDIA
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
Stalinabad
Samarkand
Tashkent
Frunze
Alma Ata
Issik Köl
TIEN SHAN
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Amu Darya (Oxus)
ARAL SEA
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these overland routes. The assistance given to Dr. Sven Hedin's latest Central Asian expedition fully proves that the Government in Nanking is aware of their great importance. We are at present more interested in questions of trade and commerce. The two northern routes—Kweihwa-Kobdo and Kweihwa-Tihwa—are China's most important wool roads, over which during winter-time the sheep wool, collected in a very great part of Central Asia, is carried on camel's back to Kweihwa. The Hami-Ansi route is usually deserted, and only when bandits threaten the safety of the northern routes do the caravans turn south in order to avoid them, and go as far as Liangchow and thence to Ningsia on the Hwang-ho, across the Ordos country to Kweihwa. Consequently the southern road from Ansi to Laingchow-Ningsia serves as an artery for the wool of the Nanshan district. Lanchow and the dangerous gorges a few miles below are avoided.

Entirely different are conditions in the south, in the Chinghai province. From those rich pastures the different Tibetan tribes bring their wool and skins with yak caravans to Tankar, Kweiteh, or Labrang, where these loads are transferred to carts or ponies, according to the roads, and brought into Lanchow, which wealthy river oasis has been predestined by the orography of the country to become the door for the great hinterland.

At Lanchow all these products from Chinghai are put on rafts, but the floating season begins earlier than farther north, because during winter the Yellow River is covered with a thick layer of ice from Chungwei to Hokou. The spring waters from the Tibetan tributaries are inconsiderable, and traffic in the early part of the year is limited to small rafts. Therefore only the time after the summer high-water—September-October—remains for the transportation of the wool, particularly so because during the rainy season travelling over land is difficult and the passage through the rapids dangerous.

Although timber from Chinghai province is floated downwards for the construction of boats between Tamiao and Paotow, all the wool goes on rafts slung on one hundred and more air-filled ox-skins, through the roaring granite gorges of the last Nanshan ranges and the sandstone canyon, which often press the turbulent waters into a small passage of less than twenty metres. At Chungwei the river becomes wider and less dangerous for the raftsmen, and, once the narrow mountain chains of the Hsi-shan and Arbus-ula are left behind, the Hwang-ho extends her banks and reaches Paotow more than 800 metres wide. Naturally, with the increasing width, the depth and force of current

diminish. The journey by raft from Lanchow to Chungwei is usually done in five days, to Paotow in an additional seventeen days. In roughly three weeks the wool from Lanchow reaches Paotow in Suiyuan province, the Chinghai trade centre. From there the railway takes charge of these valuable commodities and carries them to the nearest port—Tientsin.

But the expenses are exorbitant, in spite of the primitive ways of transport. A few months ago a Tientsin wool trader paid at Tanker mex. $14·70 per picul wool and an additional mex. $13 for the freight down to Tientsin; altogether mex. $27·70 per picul. And yet his wool reaches its destination in an entirely different condition than if it came by the convoys from the north. During the river journey the muddy Hwang-ho water damages the raft's cargo and depreciates its value to a great extent.

Boat traffic only starts at Tamiao. Farther up-stream we meet an occasional ferry for the transportation of men and beasts from one bank to the other. The 250 li from Tamiao to Chungwei are made in one day, while the approximately fifty barques which are towed up-stream every year take one week and more. From Ningsia the boats travel ten days to Paotow; in the opposite direction they are more than one month on the river.

Yet the watercourse is of an unusual importance, not only as wool and skin carrier, but also for human traffic between Lanchow and Paotow. Goods of every description—above all, coal and salt—float downwards, and the town of Paotow receives, in spite of the competition of the Tatung mines, a great part of its coal from Tengkou, and Tengkou salt even goes as far as Kweihwa. In addition to these commodities there is the timber from Lanchow, which is used as far down as Tunhuang for boat-building purposes, and which is sold in Sian-fu, the capital of Shensi, at very high prices.

Through irrigation work the oases along the river could easily be improved, enlarged, and made more fertile, the boat traffic increased, thus giving the provinces of Suiyuan and Ningsia new ground for cultivation and additional means of living for a great number of people. The communication and trade on and along the already existing motor-car road Paotow-Ningsia would develop rapidly and become more safe, and this is, in my opinion, the vital point and a very important factor for the intended improvement and completion of the southern caravan route Lanchow-Hami to Turfan and Tihwa. We must take into consideration that the "Eurasia" Aviation Corporation already carries

valuable merchandise, which can support the high costs of transportation on the quickest and comparatively safest way from Central Asia to the Chinese coast. But the gasoline for their airplanes travels at present on camel's back from Paotow to Lanchow—and at what expense! One camel load of 160 litres amounts to mex. $30, and how much fuel would be needed for a regular motor-car traffic between Lanchow and Hami? The difficult cart-track from Tunhuang via Sian-fu-Pingliang to Lanchow is under present conditions not suitable for gasoline convoys; the losses incurred through damaged drums are too great. The proofs herefor are given by the fact that even motor-car fuel for Sian-fu is partly transported by rickshaws from Tunhuang to the capital of Shensi.

The river oasis of Lanchow would greatly benefit by the completion of the southern route, and through extension of the present irrigation system the inhabitants would undoubtedly gladly turn their attention to to a more extensive cultivation of vegetables and fruits in order to supplant the, at present, endangered tobacco fields, whose crops lose value through the great amount of cigarettes imported from the East. As a regular motor-car traffic between Lanchow and Hami would influence to a great extent the prices of the few food stations along this road, a factory for tinned goods could become an indispensable supplier at Lanchow. No automobile could carry the food supplies for such a long journey in addition to oil and gasoline as long as its owner expects a fair return for the money invested in such an enterprise.

The correction of the Hwang-ho in the provinces of Suiyuan and Ningsia through extension of the present irrigation, and the introduction of the trench system is indispensable. A very remarkable beginning has already been made by the Suiyuan Irrigation Works. By such means the adjacent country rises in value, the boat traffic from Paotow to Tunhuang increases, a factor in which Sian-fu is greatly interested owing to coal and timber supplies, which are shipped to this important town. At the same time, along the north-south canyon the population, which has diminished considerably since 1905, could again be increased and commercial intercourse with the southern caravan route would develop into unexpected proportions.

TURKISH RACIAL THEORIES

By MAJOR F. F. RYND, D.S.O.

THE ardent spirit of nationalism which has become such a conspicuous feature in world politics since the Great War is nowhere more manifest than in modern Turkey. This is the more remarkable as up to comparatively recent times few nations have possessed less sense of nationality than the Turks; as Gibb points out in his *History of Ottoman Poetry*, the idea of Patriotism was entirely lacking. The Turks looked upon themselves merely as Moslems. But ever since the Sultan Abdul Mejid published his celebrated *Tanzimat*, or Hatti Sheref of Gulhane, in 1839, the spirit of reform and the awakening of a sense of race had been slowly but surely changing the outlook of the nation. The disruption of Turkey following on the World War provided the occasion for a final break with the past and the foundation of a modern Turkish State formed on Western principles. Nothing, perhaps, did more to hasten this dénouement than the action of the Greeks, when, urged on by the ambition of their statesmen and encouraged, one must add, by the folly of our own, they embarked on their disastrous attempt to invade Anatolia in 1920. The final success of the revolutionary movement was due largely to the genius and determination of Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

The foundation of a Republic, the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, the emancipation of women, the adoption of the Latin alphabet, the reform of dress, etc., are signs of the changed feeling in Turkey to-day.

The Turks have also taken a revived interest in the history of their race, and have evolved some rather surprising theories as to the influence of the Turanian race on European and other civilizations. In their recently published World History* these theories are given a prominent place. As they have attracted some attention and as readers of the Journal may be interested in learning more exactly what they consist of, a translation from the History is subjoined below. The present writer must leave the criticism of these theories to other experts.

* *Tarih.* (Four vols.) Devlet Matbasi, Istanbul.

It may be added this History is now the official textbook in Turkish schools.

PREFACE

Until recent years Turkish history is a subject which has been very little studied in our country. Writers, animated by the fanatical spirit of hostility arising from the contest between Christianity and Islam, which lasted more than a thousand years, had endeavoured to represent the history of the Turks, who for centuries formed the advance guard to Islam in this contest, as merely a series of events concerned with fire and the sword. Writers on the Turks and Islam had confused Turkish genius and civilization with that of Islam. They recognized the obligation of religious zeal and a *National* politics which ignored world events occurring thousands of years previous to the founding of Islam. Nearer to our own times also, the Ottoman régime, pursuing the phantom of creating a single national unit from the various elements within the Ottoman Empire, not only forgot the name Turk and neglected national history, but in addition caused the very mention of it to be erased from the written page.

This neglect, as was natural, showed itself in the school programmes and school books, and the traditional view that Turkish genius was synonymous with the tent, the nomadic tribe, the horse, and the weapons and circumstances of war appeared even in our school books.

A committee of the Turkish Historical Society, which is now engaged in making clear the real nature and essentials of Turkish history, was appointed to prepare a book which would fill the void.

In view of the necessity of consulting the latest works and of examining the results of archæological discoveries which are being made every day in Anatolia, Egypt, 'Iraq, Central Asia, North India, North China, and South Siberia, in view, too, of the extent of the subject and the short time at our disposal, we do not pretend this small work completely fills its purpose. It is hoped deficiencies will be made good in later editions.

Those wishing to obtain further information concerning the matters dealt with in this book will be able to consult the work *Main Lines of General Turkish History*, which is being prepared for publication by the same Society. The Society have presented this small work, printed in four volumes, to the Ministry of Education, who have accepted it for use in the schools.

The Society is indebted to Mudin Faik Resit Bey, of the Ministry of Education, and Mudin Namdi Emin Bey, of the National Printing Press, for their valuable assistance in the production of the book.

A General View of the Great Turkish History and Civilization

The Turks' country of origin is in Asia.

Asia forms an elevated Continent stretching from the Ægean to the Sea of Japan and from the Indian Ocean to the Arctic. In the East on the Pacific Ocean is Korea, south of which is the Continent of China jutting out in the form of a semicircle. To the south is India, forming a pronounced salient seawards. East of India is the peninsula of Siam, etc., stretching towards the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Philippines, and west of this is Arabia. On the west is Anatolia reaching to the Mediterranean and Black Seas. On the north we find Europe united to the Asian Continent as is Anatolia. Although reckoned separately as one of five continents, Europe really forms the western salient of Asia. Plateaus extending from east to west form the backbone of Asia. In the centre these plateaus attain immense proportions. The plateaus between the Himalayas, the Caspian Sea, and Lake Baikal are the grandest and most elevated in the world. In this region mountains, rearing their heads to the sky, and terrible sandy deserts exist side by side with welcome green, watered oases. The region comprised between the Kingan mountain, basin of Lake Baikal, Altai mountain and Ural basin, and between the Caspian Sea, the Hindu Kush, Pamirs, Karakurum, and Karanlik mountains to the Hwang-ho river and back again to the Kingan mountain, *forms the original mother country of the Turks*. The Himalayas are a great range of mountains rising in the south of Central Asia. Commencing in the interior of China they stretch from east to west, and extend from the Caucasus to the interior of the Crimea. This range, the peaks of which attain 8,840 metres, becomes more and more intermingled with the main trunks of the Karakurum, Altai, Astan, Arka, and Karanlik mountains. After separating from these at the base of the Pamirs, it forms the Tien Shan mountains which penetrate into the Gobi desert in front of Turfan and divide Chinese Turkestan into two parts. Further north come the Altai mountains stretching towards Siberia. North of the Aral Sea and Balkash Lake stretch limitless pastures. In the south of Central Asia are the fertile

tracts of India and China and the plateau of Persia, while Siberia lies to the north. Thousands of years before historical times in the places where now exist deserts, sandy tracts, and marshes there were vast inland lakes. Abundant shoots of the first civilization sprang up on the shores of these inland seas and in the peaceful and fertile valleys of the rivers which poured into them.

General Emigration and Civilization

Whilst men were living a barbarous existence in caves and holes of trees on the other side of the world, the Turk had reached the stage of civilization implied in the use of wood and iron. It was here that commenced earliest the age which best differentiates men from animals —*i.e.*, the era of domesticated animals. If we are to reckon farming as the first step in bending nature to man's purpose, it was here that it commenced. Here is the source of crops such as barley, wheat, rye; of animals such as sheep, goat, horse, and camel. Wild specimens of these animals descended from this stock are found in the mountains to this day. The ancient Turkish Sea, stretching from the Caucasus mountains to the Tanri range and from there to the neck of the Gobi desert, was fed with the waters derived from the ice on the lofty mountains we have mentioned. Under the bountiful provision of nature the Turks increased here rapidly. The conditions of the great Turkish Sea changed towards the end of the Glacial Age. The ice, melting by slow degrees, remained only in the highest mountains of Northern Asia. The waters diminished. The lakes gradually narrowed, giving place to deserts and marshes. Rivers became streams; some of them dried up. New land appeared, green fields, mud and water became parched deserts. Another natural event caused by this drying up increased the difficulty of life. This was the prevailing bitter wind which blew from the north-east. These winds, which resulted from the vaporization of the water, brought moisture to the countries in the south of Central Asia. The only other thing this wind brought to Asia was the interminable sand. Thus in proportion as Central Asia dried up it was exposed to the invasion of sand, and for millions of men the conditions of life became sterile. With the melting of the ice and the disappearance of the inland seas the western gateways to Central Asia were opened. After this for thousands of years Central Asia became like a sea of men carrying floods to China, India, Oceania, North Africa, and Europe. The number

of animals accustomed to bearing the yoke also increased at this period. At least 9,000 years before the thirteenth century the Turkish emigrants continued to migrate and settle, moving like the secret waters under the sand or as irresistible torrents. What was the cause of the first change of climate is a question which some savants are now engaged in elucidating. The change of climate caused some other effects on the social life and history of the Turks who remained in the mother land:

(*a*) A portion of the Turkish race was compelled to live a nomadic life.

(*b*) A portion of the Turkish native land becoming a steppe, the Turkish social life became divided into two separate portions, differing in economic interests.

(*c*) Towns remained exposed to the attacks of Turkish nomads.

The Turks setting out to search for a more favourable climate, and keeping to the most fertile routes, spread in all directions, carrying with them the seeds of their civilization. They searched for rich watered tracts, for fertile plains suitable for agriculture. When they came into contact with the original inhabitants they either pushed them out or entered their lands and established a common society. Owing to their higher intelligence and superior weapons, as compared with the natives, they had no difficulty in overcoming them and exerting their authority. As to those tracts which they found empty, they settled in those which they found suitable and there founded an autochonous race. Those who were in East Turkestan descended into China, which was in their vicinity. China begins at the rich watered valley of the Yellow river, which flows on the other side of the sandy steppe and the mountains which surround it. This valley has only a few passes on the west and north.

Leaving aside the legendary dates of 100,000 and even 2,000,000 years, which arose from myths concerning the first ages of China, the time of the Turks' first entry into China must be put at 7,000 B.C. at least. The recent discoveries of works of art and of ideograms used to express their thoughts are a proof that they were in an advanced stage of civilization for those times, possessed a good knowledge of agriculture, and worshipped the sky, land, water, sun, and stars. Their knowledge of metals, the lofty and noble character, the pure and simple beliefs of the Turks who settled in China resulted in the civilization which they promoted to become one of the most important in the world.

India

Another migratory flood poured into India.

India is fed by great river veins such as the Sutlej, Ganges, and Brahmaputra, and its northern frontier is formed by the immense bastion of the Himalayas. In the north-east and north-west there are two narrow passes leading into Turkestan.

In India, as well as in China, an original native civilization did not exist. Previous to historical times India was inhabited by black-skinned tribes resembling troops of monkeys. To the Turks, who crossed the passes we have mentioned and pushed towards the south, the name of Dravid is given in histories. New archæological discoveries made in Harappa and Mohenjo-daro make it clear that certain tribes whose affinity to the Turks is recognized by their names, such as the Ko'I Bil, brought the Dravidian civilization in India to a high degree of perfection. Until recent years it was held that Indian civilization was comparatively new. Recent discoveries have demolished this theory, and it is now established that the ancient Indian, Chinese, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian civilizations were contemporaneous.

Route of the Western Migrants

The Turkish western migration, which continued for thousands of years, took place at first from two directions. One of these is the northern route lying between the Ural mountains and the Caspian Sea and passing to the north of the Black Sea which was called the "People's Gate." The other is the south route. This route, after traversing the north and west borders of the Himalayas, continues west. There were also bands which employed the north route in order to cross the Caucasus from the south (Celts). The north road was more difficult than the south on account of the marshes which were formed by the melting of the ice. For this reason those using this road took a much longer time to reach their destination. Those using the south route passed through Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and from thence to the Archipelago.

Among those who arrived in Asia Minor some branched off to Syria and, traversing Palestine, came to Egypt. It is said the Iberians from the neighbourhood of the Caspian also passed to North Africa by this route and from thence to Spain. A portion of those using the north road settled in the district north of the Black Sea, in the basin of

the Danube, and in Thrace. Of those arriving later, some reached Macedonia, Thessaly, and, finally, the Peninsula, now called Greece, and settled there. There were also Turkish tribes who settled in Thrace and the Danube basin after passing through Chanak Kale and the straits and entering the western route.

There follows a description of Nearer Asia, Sumerians, Elamites, Hittites, and of Egypt and the Ægean; also an early European civilization.

The Turks' Ancestral Home Before and After the Emigration

We have spoken of the great inland sea in Central Asia, and the settlements founded near the streams and rivers which flowed into it, which for centuries were scattered over the face of the earth. What took place in the Turks' motherland during all this time?

The drying up of the country owing to the change of climate and the great emigration it entailed had undoubtedly an evil effect on the parent civilization. It was certainly not possible that Central Asia was uninfluenced by contact with all this emigration—with this civilization which was transported to the beautiful, almost heavenly, countries such as the basin of the Mediterranean; the fertile banks of rivers such as the Yellow river, the Indus, Ganges, Euphrates, Tigris, Kizil Irmak, the Great and Lesser Meander—whilst it was progressing by a natural evolution in those areas it chose to settle in. Science and art, which are the creations of man's intelligence we know as civilization, thrive more especially in the fertile regions and in those in which communications and contact are facilitated. The centre of a newly born civilization may change its destination under pressure of social causes such as religious intolerance, or for political reasons such as the destruction of a State or the burning of a capital, or, again, for climatic reasons as happened in Central Asia. During the period of the Mediterranean civilization the savants, artisans, philosophers, who settled on its shores, when they gathered from every corner of the cities such as Sardis, Athens, and Alexandria, raised the standard of culture in those places where they sojourned. There are many instances which confirm the truth of this in recent pages of Turkish history. Kubelai, who founded the new city of Hanbalik (Pekin), wished to collect together in China all the Uighur savants, scientists, and mathematicians with the object

of making it the centre of the highest culture. The place of honour which learning gained in the palace of Hanbalik was undoubtedly due to the assembly of the Uighur savants and did harm to the cause of learning in the Uighurs' own country. Did not the Turkish civilization continue even while shifting its centre until recent times among such cities as Kashgar, Samarkand, Tashkent, Bokhara, Konya, and Istanbul? Did it not continue to carry Islamic learning and art, in the face of political upheavals, from Damascus to Bagdad, and from Bagdad to Kurtub? Thus we see the civilization of the ancestral Turk changed its venue, since the earliest historical times, for reasons the most important of which seems to have been the drought. It is a complete mistake to assume from this fact that culture ceased to exist in the ancestral country. Archæological researches prove that it is *here* the most ancient civilization must be looked for. Pumpelly, the Director of the excavators in the neighbourhood of Ashqabad, has estimated this civilization as dating 11,000 years ago. No savant has given such great antiquity to any of the other ancient settlements which are being examined. Pumpelly dug into the earth covering an extremely small and unimportant village which did not show in the area he had selected for excavation. An elementary knowledge of historical and archæological research is sufficient to show the difficulty of discovering the sites of ancient cities whose outlines have become indistinct through lapse of time and which have been covered by the earth as ivy covers the trees. Moreover, the researches of Pumpelly in Turkestan from a unique sandy tomb of a parent civilization were not profitless, as some very valuable documents came into his hands. The American professor after examining with an unbiassed mind the contents of these documents published his conclusions to the effect that in Central Asia the Neolithic Age commenced in the ninth century B.C., the domestication of animals in the eighth century B.C., and the Metal Age in the sixth century—*i.e.*, 1,000 years before *Sus*, considered up till now the most ancient centre of metal work. The ancestral home of the Turks is, as Morgan has said, a part of the world which up to now has been very little examined. Here is the source of civilization, here is the key which will enlighten the historians. When the work of scientific excavation is commenced here, and when the documents have been examined impartially, a work will be written which will throw light on the true history of mankind. *The map of this book will be the Central Asian plateau known as Turkestan.* Even the mountain shepherd is aware of the traditions, handed down from his fore-

fathers, of the existence of ancient civilization, the remains of which lie buried here. It is wrong to imagine the ancient Turkish civilization, which dates back to 9,000 B.C., only endured a short time. This civilization, indeed, extended to other countries such as China, India, Mesopotamia, etc., but it continued to maintain itself in its original home. The inclemency of the climate and the greater difficulties of existence only arrested its vitality and narrowed its boundaries.

The Tumuli in South Siberia

Kurgan (tumulus) is the name given to the tombs of the Central Asian Turks who lived in ages long past. Thousands of *ḳurgan* are met with from the Ural mountains to the basin of the Yenesei in South Siberia and the Kirgiz steppes. The Turks who lived in these parts never looked upon these tombs as mere memorials of their forefathers; they regarded them in the light of something sacred. In the seventeenth century, after Siberia had fallen into the hands of Russia, some Russian immigrants settled in parts of South Siberia. The *ḳurgan* attracted the attention of the Russians on account of their rounded shape. They opened the tombs. They were full of bronze, gold, silver, tin, and iron ornaments and tools. Some of these immigrants lived by the sale of these bronze and gold objects. For some years, apparently, they obtained great wealth in this manner. Peter I. forbade them to dig up these mounds, and ordered it to be done only by archæological societies. After this the tombs were excavated in a scientific manner by experts. Archæologists divided the tumuli into two kinds:

1. Tumuli belonging to the Bronze Age.
2. Tumuli belonging to the Iron Age.

The first kind are found in the Abakan steppes and the basin of the Yenesei, but the Iron Age tumuli occur in the basin of the Irtish and Tobolsk.

"Iron Age" tumuli are not found among those of the Bronze Age. Objects found in the tumuli of the Bronze Age are swords (the hilts being mostly in the form of animals), arrow heads, bayonets, knives, sickles, scissors, axes, needles, and screws; objects connected with saddlery, such as collars, stirrups, and bridles; household goods; kettles, saucepans, ornaments, earrings, rings, bracelets, mirrors, various ornaments made in the form of animals. The majority of ornaments are made from gold.

The following objects were found in the Iron Age tumuli: spades, screws, axes, knives, arrow heads, tools for working tin, swords, bayonets, mail armour, steels for firing. Among the articles of harness were bridles and stirrups; household goods; flints, agricultural implements, iron ploughs, sickles, and many other articles such as collars, ornamented belts, hooks and eyes and nails of various sizes. Many of the articles found in the "Iron Age" tumuli are made of gold and bronze. There were also ornaments made of bones, and earthenware vessels. The delicacy and beauty of these objects and the skill displayed in making them are astonishing, and when one sees specimens of these objects in the museums of Leningrad and Moscow one can hardly believe they were made in the centuries B.C. and not in the most civilized cities of to-day. Besides Leningrad and Moscow there are numerous examples in the Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk museums. There is also a fine collection in the British Museum.

The Art of Metal-Working among Turks

The metal and smelting places which have been discovered in the Altai mountains show that the Turks themselves melted the metal and worked it. The ancient Turks knew, in fact, how to mine and fuse the metals and make every kind of object from them. Very many fireplaces remain which were used by the ancient Turks. There are especially many copper hearths. The corridors under these hearths were supported by wooden beams as well made as if set up in our century. This large number of metal objects were not only used by the Turks themselves; it is known they were made, also, for sale to other nations. The objects which have been discovered in the tumuli make it clear the art of metal-work reached a high degree of excellence among the Turks. In the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad there is a figure of hammered copper. Many hammers have been found in the tumuli. The Turks used these figures and small hammers as ornaments. The ancient Turks mined gold as well as copper, bronze, and iron. In many places in Central Asia abandoned furnaces for melting gold exist. Many copper tools are found in these furnaces. They are found among Turkish races to-day. The knowledge of metal-work among the Turks is now being proved by documents belonging to historical times. For instance, the Takyn Turks paid their taxes by means of their metal-work.

Ancient Turkish Cities

From the works of Chinese and Muslim writers we learn of the existence, seven centuries before our time, of many cities in the south portion of the Kirgiz steppes and Western Turkestan. To-day the site of these cities is covered with sand. It is possible to fix the site of these cities owing to the existence of fragments of fine pottery and Chinese bricks enveloped in the sand. Many sites where the Kirgiz-Kazak lived are full of the ruins of previous settlements. The cities comprised by these ruins are known historically, such as the ruins of Otrar, Jand, Yani Kant, and Sagnak. Other ruins are those of cities whose names are lost. There are cities of which the names are known but the site lost. Atalik, Atbash, Almaliq, Balasaghun, Talas, Kulan, Barshan, Sus, Suyab, Nuzket, Sütken, Ili Balik, Salji are some of the cities whose sites have not been discovered. Where once existed cities which were the centre of the great Turkish civilization, there is now nothing but sand and wind. As a result of excavation to-day more than fifty cities have been found under the sand in Chinese Turkestan.

The Centre of Central Asian Civilization

In Central Asia there are large rivers which have not yet dried up. On the banks of these rivers the Turks founded settlements under many different names. Among the numerous localities where a settled life was possible must be mentioned the Selenga-Orhon basin in North Mongolia, the Ili river basin called Yedi-Su between Isik Kul and Balkash, the valley of the Tarim river in Chinese Turkestan, the basin of the Oxus (Amudarya), Inji (Sirdarya), and Chu in Western Turkestan. In these areas the Turks established highly civilized communities for definite periods. In the centuries before the Christian era the Turks in the Orhon basin were highly developed.

Turkish States Founded after the Thirteenth Century B.C.

A long time previous to the Christian era the Turks founded states and civilizations in many places when they spread out from Central Asia. Those who remained in the ancestral home also founded many societies, one after the other. Of these the most notable are :

(1) The Turk-Hun Empire in Central Asia.
(2) The Scythian Empire between the Volga and the Danube.
(3) The Western Huns between the Ural and Volga rivers.
(4) The Turk-Hun Empire and the Atars in Europe.
(5) The Afghans in Western Turkestan and North Afghanistan.
(6) The Tukyu and Kutluk's State in Central Asia.
(7) Turkish states under various names north of the Black Sea.
(8) Turkish states under various names in Central Asia, after the Turkish Asian Empire.
(9) The Samanid south of the Aral Lake.
(10) The Ghaznavid in the area stretching from Lake Aral to India.
(11) The Karahanli and Kara Khiti east of the Sir river.
(12) The Seljuks in Persia, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Syria.
(13) The Kharizm in Persia.
(14) The great Timur Empire of which the capital was Samarkand.
(15) The Babur Empire in India.
(16) The Turk-Osmanli Empire in Asia, Europe, and Africa.
(17) The Turkish Republic.

The history of these Turkish states will be discussed as they are referred to.

The Republic is the best form of Turkish state which has so far been created. The Turks who formed this empire on the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, which was defeated in the Great War, gathered to the cause of Mustafa Kemal, the President, and, by means of the army under the Ghazi, chased from the fatherland the victorious enemy which had invaded more than half their country. During the national revolution the last of the Ottoman line went over to the enemy and fled to the enemy's territory. *The Ottoman Sultanate was destroyed by the Turkish nation.* Owing to the sacrifice and courage of Mustafa Kemal and those who trusted him, the Great Powers who were victorious in the World War were obliged to recognize the Turkish Revolution at the Lausanne Conference (August 24, 1923). After their great victory the national Turkish state, which bore the name, " Turkish Great National Parliamentary Government," assumed its true name—the *Turkish Republic* was proclaimed on September 29, 1923, and the heroic Ghazi was elected President of the Republic. Ankara became the capital of the Republic. The Republic was formed on a national, popular, and non-religious basis.

REVIEWS

Curzon : The Last Phase. A Study in Post-War Diplomacy. By Harold Nicolson. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xvi + 416. Frontispiece. Constable. 18s.

During his last term at Eton, Mr. Nicolson tells us, George Curzon became Secretary of the Literary Society, and in this capacity displayed self-confidence in inviting the more eminent of his contemporaries to deliver an address. He failed with some and succeeded with others. Among the latter was Sir James Stephen, author of *The Story of Nuncomar and Sir Elijah Impey*. Sir James made a remark which permanently affected the then Secretary of the Literary Society. "There is," he said, "in the Asian Continent an empire more populous, more amazing, and more beneficent than that of Rome. The rulers of that great dominion are drawn from men of our own people." This sentence, says Mr. Nicolson, produced on George Curzon an apocalyptic effect, and he confessed in 1896 that "ever since that day the fascination and *sacredness* of India have grown upon me." He felt, no doubt, with Sir Alfred Lyall:

> "From the East came the breath of its odours,
> And its heat melted soft in the haze,
> While he dimly descried thy pagodas,
> O Cybele, ancient of days;
> Heard the hum of thy mystic processions,
> The echo of myriads who cry,
> And the wail of their vain intercessions
> Through the bare empty vault of the sky."

The emotional and sentimental side of his nature was touched, and he felt, we may surmise, from that day that the East in general, and India in particular, had been mandated by Divine will to his sphere of influence.

After leaving Balliol in 1882 he travelled in Asia till 1894, and rectified the 'imperfect information or the erroneous hypotheses of previous travellers.' From 1895-1898 he was Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, and in 1898 at the age of thirty-nine was appointed Viceroy of India. He resigned this high office in 1905 in circumstances which are well known to all who have followed this interesting phase of his career, which has been most ably described by Lord

Ronaldshay in his biography. From 1905-1915 he was in the political wilderness, retired from public life. "An Aristocrat of the English Eighteenth Century," seven years of almost autocratic rule accompanied by what Mr. Nicolson describes as an 'inveterate inability to assess essential values or to distinguish what was necessary and important from what was neither' had rendered him unsuited for democratic public life in England, and his 'intellectual rigidity' refused to conform with the bickerings of party politics. Moreover, he took no vivid interest in domestic politics. His career in India had been at times brilliant, at times spectacular, and at times jejune. It had been influenced to its merit by lofty ideals in carrying out the 'most majestic of all responsibilities,' to its detriment by the doctrines of Miss Paraman, his governess, who 'inculcated the belief that everything in life could be entered in an account book in terms of either debit or credit,' and of Mr. Archibald James Campbell Dunbar at his preparatory school, who 'instilled the pernicious theory that an accurate command of detail represented the highest achievement of human intelligence and character.'

However, as Mr. Nicolson observes: 'It is outside the radius of this book to appraise Lord Curzon's work in India.' Let it suffice to say that 'he left India in November, 1905, after seven years' devoted service, convinced that he had been tricked by the home Government, betrayed by his closest friends, and treated by public opinion with the grossest ingratitude.' Angered and resentful, he would weed the lawn at Hackwood, reflecting that "the Indian Satrap has in many cases found the Vice-regal throne an altar of sacrifice quite as much as a seat of glory."

In 1914 came the War, and Lord Curzon, recognizing that his outstanding abilities could be more usefully employed than in weeding the lawn at Hackwood, immediately offered his services to Mr. Asquith. They were refused. "Pitiful," he recorded, "that at thirty-nine one was thought fit to rule 300 millions of people, and at fifty-five is not wanted to do anything in an emergency in which our whole national existence is at stake."

With the formation of the first Coalition Government in 1915 he accepted the minor post of Lord Privy Seal, but on the constitution that year of the War Cabinet he was excluded. 'Slowly, however, the clouds began to lift. His amazing powers to work, the vast range of his experience, the sheer force of his lucidity, overcame the prejudices felt against him in the Coalition Cabinet.' He was put in charge of

the Shipping Control Board and the Air Board, and in December, 1916, on the formation of the second Coalition Ministry, he was admitted to the War Cabinet. In January, 1919, he took charge of the Foreign Office during Lord Balfour's absence on the Peace Delegation in Paris. And in October of that year, on Lord Balfour's retirement, he became Minister for Foreign Affairs. 'His boyhood's dream of being both Viceroy and Prime Minister no longer appeared fantastic.' But he recognized his limitations so far as democracy was concerned, and, 'although perplexed and hurt by his own unpopularity, he had no illusions as to its extent and depth.' On a January afternoon in 1919 he lowered himself stiffly into the armchair which fronts the desk of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. 'He was the last of that unbroken line of Foreign Secretaries who had been born with the privileges of a territorial aristocracy and nurtured in the traditions of a governing class. For them the centre purpose of British foreign policy was the maintenance of the Empire and the security and the prosperity of the British Isles. They sought to achieve this purpose by the undeviating adherence of three essential principles. The first was command of the sea. The second the balance of power in Europe. The third the defence of Imperial frontiers and communications.' The opportunity appeared favourable for the continuance of this policy. On the previous November 18, Lord Curzon, in the course of an impressive speech in the House of Lords, had declared: "The armies have already won peace; it will remain for the statesmen to see that it is honourable and lasting. The British flag has never flown over a more powerful or a more united Empire. . . . Never did our voice count for more in the councils of nations or in determining the future destinies of mankind." Here was an opportunity which Fate, so long cruel, had, at last relenting, accorded to him. But 'the high hopes of the beginning had been gradually clouded by disillusion, mortification, and defeat.' 'Here,' says Mr. Nicolson, 'was a man possessed of great intelligence, of flaming energy, of clear ideals, of unequalled knowledge, of wide experience; to this man was granted an opportunity such as falls seldom to any modern statesman; and yet, although in almost every event his judgment was correct and his vision enlightened, British foreign policy under his guidance declined from the summit of authority to the level of impotence such as, since the Restoration, it has seldom reached.' What is the explanation? Is it that he was predominantly an administrator and not a statesman; that he had no acute sense of proportion; that he had a one-track mind, deficient in creative

as opposed to an emotional imagination; that he was superficial; that he was too much influenced by the pernicious doctrines of Miss Paraman and Mr. Dunbar; that the transition from aristocratic to democratic diplomacy was unsuited to his genius; that he concentrated too much on Asia and left European questions to Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law, to whose capacities, he considered, they were well suited? The answer, so far as possible, lies in Mr. Nicolson's admirable book, and the reader must form his own opinion. He will no doubt recognize that Lord Curzon did not enjoy the comparative freedom of his distinguished predecessors. He was harnessed to Mr. Lloyd George. And while the former was a 'bad European' and regarded world problems through Asiatic spectacles, the latter knew really very little of Europe, and regarded Asiatic problems through the spectacles of Llanystumdwy. To the one it appeared inconceivable that the other could risk an explosion of pan-Islamism in India in order to compensate Baron Sonino for making concessions in Jugo-Slavia; to the other it was highly irritating that insistence should be made on the settlement of the Turkish question. 'Curzon's judgment was fortified by centuries of tradition, by a lifetime of experience, by knowledge of detail such as no living statesman possessed. Lloyd George's intuition was encouraged by his loathing of the traditional, by his distrust of technical experience, by his marked distaste to all but the most amenable forms of knowledge, by an immense self-assurance, and by an aversion to detail which was almost pathological.' No wonder the ill-matched pair could not pull together and show a solid front. Mr. Nicolson has discussed at length Lord Curzon's handling of the Eastern questions—Persia, Turkey, and Greece in Smyrna; the Egyptian questions; Reparations; Chanak; Diplomacy by conference; all the intricate questions and the diverse personalities, aristocratic, democratic, bucolic (he got on best with these, they reminded him of his under-keeper at Kedleston), responsible and irresponsible, associated with Lausanne. He has given full credit where due, and it often was. He has not spared his criticisms. His book should be read by all interested in this critical period of world affairs, and in the personality of this remarkable man who played a prominent part in them. One may be forgiven in selecting the Persian question as one of the many with which Lord Curzon had to deal. Persia was his first love; was he not her historian, almost her patron saint? 'He was drawn to Persia by every fibre of his faith and temperament.' 'Those plains of Amber, those peaks of Amethyst, the dignity of that crumbled magnificence, that silence of two thousand years' appealed to him as

a romanticist and not only as an egoist. His concentration on Persia was among the many evidences of his lack of a sense of proportion. It was the one subject which during the year 1919 was left entirely in his hands.

'In this, almost, he achieved the most startling of diplomatic victories. Yet Fate reserved for him the most galling, because the most personal, of his many diplomatic defeats.' He regarded the integrity of Persia as "a cardinal precept of our Imperial creed," and he had defined the ideal policy of Great Britain in Persia as "by dint of friendly alliance, by the exercise of prudent advice, by the encouragement of the flow of capital eastwards, and by its application to purposes of ascertained stability, having for their object the reinvigoration of the country." Very similar to the policy pursued in our dealings as paramount Power with the Indian States. Possibly the Persians thought so too. Their country during the War had been exposed to violations and sufferings not endured by any other neutral. The Turks and Russians had made it the area of hostilities, and at the time of the Armistice there were four distinct areas of British occupation and domination. Yet when the Persian delegates arrived in Paris and asked the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference for an opportunity to state their views, their request was summarily rejected on the ground that Persia had not been a belligerent. The Persians were not unnaturally incensed, and the British Delegation was certainly in error in failing to support their request.

On these lines he pushed forward with unremitting energy negotiations for a new Anglo-Persian Treaty, which was signed in August, 1919. Curzon showed pardonable self-satisfaction in the brilliant diplomatic achievement. But certain mistakes had been made, certain details overlooked. The most important of the latter was the recent introduction into diplomacy of a new and revolutionary doctrine. Senator Lodge's manœuvre, which had resulted in the Senate of the United States refusing to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, had repercussions in those plains of amber and that silence of two thousand years. Article 24 of the Persian Constitution, extracted by the Persian democrats in 1916, provided that all treaties concluded with foreign Powers must be submitted for approval to the Majlis. Lord Curzon had forgotten this. Shades of Mr. Archibald James Campbell Dunbar! It is true the Majlis had not met since 1915, but the fact remained. Gradually opposition made itself felt. But Curzon trusted the good sense of the Persian people, who, he said in a speech, regarded him as "a true and con-

sistent friend of their country." A decision was finally taken, though not by the Majlis, or Persian Government, but by Reza Khan, an ex-trooper of Cossacks. Reza and his Cossacks marched on the capital, arrested the Cabinet, announced the annulment of the Anglo-Persian agreement, and the same day the Russo-Persian Treaty was signed at Moscow. 'On July 26, 1921, it fell to Lord Curzon to pronounce in the House of Lords a funeral oration upon his own handiwork.' It was a bitter blow to him, and perhaps as bitter as the diplomatic defeat was the thought of this ex-trooper of Cossacks seated on the throne of Akbar with the great Moghul diamond, the Darya-i-Nur, in his khaki hat.

The story of how the final ambition of his life—to be Prime Minister of Great Britain—was not fulfilled is too well known to repeat. He took no further active part in public affairs. He applied himself with ardour to his book upon *British Government in India,* and embarked on historical and architectural monographs dealing with houses he had owned, inhabited, or completed or restored. He mellowed and became a genial philosopher. He loved young faces round his dinner-table and telling them stories. "I remember," he would begin, "how once in a Pondicherry . . . But I am boring you." On being told that he was not, he would continue, beaming with gratitude: "It was in a Pondicherry. I was Viceroy at the time. . . ." The East was calling. And we may feel confident that during his last days Asia was frequently in his mind. Persia, his first love—that ex-trooper of Cossacks on the Peacock Throne! The Source of the Oxus. Kabul—was Abdur Rahman really impressed by his theatrical uniform? Lhasa—was it really necessary? Calcutta—the City the Sea Captain built—Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellesley—the noble memorial he conceived and had erected to the Queen-Empress he loved and served so well. New Delhi—why new? Hindu, Pathan, Moghul dynasties come and gone. "Mutato Nomine, de me de te!" Naldera—where he at times unbent and sported with his family and his favourite aides-de-camp under the deodars with the Himalayan Range as an unpretentious background. Maskat—the wail of a Marine's bugle as the sun sank over the West. The wild stony wolds of the Dekhan; the cities and plains of the north. Eton—Sir James Stephen; Alfred Lyall and the last reflections of his Old Pindari:

> "It's many a year gone by now; and yet I often dream
> Of a long dark march to the Jumna, and of splashing across the stream."

S. B. PATTERSON.

PEKING'S HOLY OF HOLIES

Twilight in the Forbidden City. By Sir Reginald Johnston, K.C.M.G. With a Preface by the Emperor. 9½″ × 6½″. Pp. 486. Gollancz. 18s.

The personal experiences which make this one of the most interesting of books on China, and of books on the Manchu Court the most authoritative, began in the following way. "In the course of my official duties," says the author, "and also during my travels in China I had made the personal acquaintance of several persons in close touch with the imperial family and the new President"—Hsü Shih-ch'ang, who succeeded Li Yuan-hung on October 10, 1918. "Among these was Lord Li Ching-mai, son of the viceroy Li Hung-chang"—viceroy of the metropolitan province of Chihli from 1870 to 1894. "During the critical days of the revolution of 1911 he found refuge for a time in the British leased territory of Weihaiwei, where I was then district officer and magistrate. . . . He and his family have always remained loyal to the old dynasty, and it was mainly through his influence both with the president and the Manchu Court that the appointment of English tutor to the emperor was offered to me."

The Emperor, P'u-Yi, was at that time a boy of twelve. He had been made Emperor when less than three through the instrumentality of a valedictory edict, which the Emperor Wên-Tsung's (Hsien-Feng's) secondary consort, the Empress Dowager, T'zŭ-Hsi, caused to be issued when the boy's uncle, the Emperor Kuang-Hsü, was dying. His reign had come to an end when he was six, through the anti-Manchu revolution of 1911, but in the terms of a compromise made between the Throne and the revolutionaries at the beginning of 1912, known as the "Articles of Favourable Treatment," he had retained his title, an annual subsidy of Tls. 4,000,000, his private property, his residence (temporarily) in the Forbidden City, and the services of all the persons of various grades hitherto employed by the Court, the imperial household department, or *Nei Wu Fu*, being continued as the recognized organ through which the affairs of the imperial family were conducted.

The author's formal introduction to his pupil took place on March 3, 1919. The young emperor, he recorded at the time,

> "was dressed for the occasion in court dress and was attended by a number of functionaries in uniform. On being conducted into the audience-chamber, I advanced towards the emperor and bowed three times. He then descended from his seat, walked up to me and shook hands in European fashion. He remained standing during the rest of this short interview and asked me a few conventional questions, mainly about my official career in China. When the interview was over I withdrew to a waiting-room and was informed that the emperor wished to begin his English lessons immediately and would receive me again in a less formal manner as soon as he had changed his clothes. In the interval, I received visits from a large number of palace eunuchs who offered congratulations on my appointment. On re-entering the imperial schoolroom in the Yu-ch'ing palace, in which the formal reception had taken place, I found the emperor seated at a table on which were placed the books which I had already selected for him. He asked me to sit down at his side, and from that moment our relations have been those of teacher and pupil and have been quite free from formality.
>
> "The young emperor has no knowledge whatever of English or any other European language, but he seems anxious to learn and is mentally active. He is allowed to read the Chinese newspapers, and evidently takes

an intelligent interest in the news of the day, especially in politics, both domestic and foreign. He has a good general knowledge of geography, and is interested in travel and exploration. He understands something of the present state of Europe and the result of the great war, and seems to be free from false or exaggerated notions about the political position and relative importance of China. He appears to be physically robust and well-developed for his age. He is a very 'human' boy, with vivacity, intelligence, and a keen sense of humour. Moreover, he has excellent manners and is entirely free from arrogance."

Such is the pleasing sketch—amplified and rendered more critical at a later stage—which we are given of the man who is now the ruler of Manchuria, the country whence his ancestors came to China, establishing the Ch'ing Dynasty in the first half of the seventeenth century. Here is an account of P'u-Yi's environment as known to his tutor between the years 1919 and 1924:

"An important part of what had previously been included in the Forbidden City had lost its right to that romantic title. A portion of the southern section of the great enclosure (though not the guardianship of its eastern and western gates) had been taken over by the republican authorities immediately after the abdication of the emperor. Two of the largest of the palace-buildings (the *Wu-ying Tien* and the *Wên-hua Tien*) had been turned into a museum in which were housed a portion of the exquisite works of art which had formerly adorned the palaces of Jehol and Mukden and were now understood to be 'on loan' from the imperial collection, pending their purchase by the republican government. Three of the throne-halls—the *T'ai Ho Tien* ('Hall of Supreme Harmony'), the *Chung Ho Tien*, and the *Pao Ho Tien*—had also passed into the hands of the republic, together with some subordinate buildings.

"Nevertheless the whole of the northern section of the Forbidden City from east to west, and large portions of the sections on either side of the above-mentioned three throne-halls, still remained in the exclusive occupation of the imperial court and were in the strictest sense 'forbidden' to all the world except those who had the *entrée*. Among large numbers of other buildings it included all the palaces which constituted the living quarters of the emperor and those members of the Imperial family who had the right to live there; the 'imperial garden' (*Yü Hua Yüan*); the *Wên Yüan Ko*, a large pavilion containing the most valuable portion of the imperial library, including the vast collection of literature known as the *ssŭ-k'u ch'üan shu*; the offices of the *Nei Wu Fu*, or imperial household department; the *Chün Chi Ch'u*, or office of the Grand Council of State (an insignificant building which after the revolution became a waiting-room for those awaiting audiences); the *Chien Fu Kung* ('Palace of Established Happiness'), which contained very valuable portraits, gold Buddhist images and other treasures, and which in 1923 was destroyed by fire with almost the whole of its contents; and a large number of other halls, pavilions and other buildings which in the 'twilight' period had ceased to serve any practical purpose. Mention should also be made of the *Feng Hsien Tien*, or 'Chapel of the Serving Ancestors,' which was used for the performance of the regular memorial rites carried out by the emperor or an imperial prince on the first and fifteenth of every month. . . .

"In front of the Palace of Heavenly Purity (*Ch'ien-Ch'ing Kung*) was a quadrangle in which the members of the imperial family and court assembled

to do honour to their sovereign; and on the east, west and south sides of the quadrangle were various buildings—small but of historic interest on account of their associations with the early emperors of the Manchu dynasty. These were the *Shang Shu-fang*, formerly the schoolroom of the imperial princes, more recently used as the private office of Prince Ch'un when he was prince regent from 1909 to 1912; the *Mou-ch'in-tien* (Hall of Industrious Energy), used by the great emperor Sheng Tsu (K'ang-Hsi, 1662-1722) as a study, afterwards occupied by those members of the Hanlin Academy who had secretarial duties at court; and the *Nan-Shu-fang*, or 'Southern Study,' also used by Hanlin secretaries. . . .

"Shamanism was a cult with which the Manchus were familiar in the early days of their history, before they entered China, and they brought it with them to their new home. But they seem to have done so rather shamefacedly, as if conscious that it would be held in contempt by Confucian orthodoxy, and the witches and mediums who understood and practised the rites and incantations of Shamanism were always kept in the obscure background of the life of the Manchu Court. Their sacrificial vessels, witches' cauldrons and musical instruments (including bronze bells and wooden clappers) were stored in this building because it was one which was 'forbidden' even to those for whom the 'Forbidden' City had few closed doors. I myself entered it only once, and that was in the company of the emperor on the eve of his wedding. . . .

"The palace of the little lady who became empress towards the end of 1922 was known as the *Ch'u Hsiu Kung*—'the Palace of Treasured Beauty.' The palace of the secondary consort (the *shu fei*) was the *Ch'ang Ch'un Kung* —'the Palace of Long Spring-time.' These residences were both to the north-west of the throne-hall and north of the emperor's own palace, which was the *Yang-Hsin Tien*, or 'Hall of the Nurture of the Mind.' This palace, which was built or rebuilt in 1802, had been the residence of several former sovereigns, including the unhappy Te Tsung (Kuang-Hsü) before the empress-dowager sent him as a prisoner to the islet of Ying-T'ai. The name contains an allusion to a passage in Mencius—*yang hsin mo shan yü kua yü*—which means 'in the nurture of the mind it is of the first importance to refrain from self-indulgence.' Not a bad motto to be brought daily to the sight and memory of a royal personage.

"In later days I became an almost daily visitor at the 'Hall of the Nurture of the Mind.' Till near the end of 1922, however, my meetings with my imperial pupil took place as a rule in the *Yu-ch'ing Kung*, the imperial schoolroom, which is situated immediately to the west of the *Feng Hsien Tien* or Ancestral Chapel and to the east of the *Chai Kung* or Palace of Fasting, where the emperor was expected to undergo ritual purification before taking part in a solemn sacrifice."

Seen from the walls of Peking, the canopy-like roofs of these yellow-tiled buildings, set, as at this time of the year they are, in a delicate framework of trees freshly green, fill one with delight. There are, indeed, few more satisfying architectural sights either in China or Japan.

But, as the author's title suggests and as his chapters show, the loveliness which one used daily to rejoice in hid tragedy and sorrow, and a degree of cruelty and degeneracy for which the word "twilight" is all too gentle. It would occupy too much space to summarize even briefly the events which culminated in the presentation to the Emperor, on November 5, 1924, of a revision of the "Articles of Favourable Treatment" in terms which abolished his title and forced him to

leave the Forbidden City. Suffice it to say that Sir Reginald's scholarly and forcibly written book tells from the inside—to use a *cliché*—history which has the triple attractiveness of novelty, erudition and excitement, and the psychological interest of the play of a vigorous and honest English mind in intimate association with the virtues, and in clear perception and detestation of the vices of Oriental mentality, the central figure of its theme a very likeable boy, in his early teens physically and morally slight, but gradually toughening into self-respecting manhood amid traditional handicaps of the most debilitating kind.

One feels obliged to add, however, that one disagrees with some of Sir Reginald's political judgments. For example, while there can be no dispute as to Yuan Shih-k'ai's unscrupulousness, may it not be suggested that after 1911 his personal ambition included the political belief that neither republicanism, nor a limited monarchy with a Manchu personnel, would work? Again, while there can be no dispute as to the failure of republicanism in China—as a system—may it not be suggested that in 1911 there was at least as definite a desire for some new political regime as, in 1900, on the author's own showing (see pp. 44-5), there was a consciousness of, and revolt against, foreign aggression and domination? Sir Reginald agrees with Sir Robert Hart in the view that the Boxers, who belonged to the "uneducated masses," were inspired by a "very real though blind and ignorant patriotism." Yet he appears unwilling to allow that the anti-Manchu, and anti-monarchical, movement was, and is, characterized by something more than blindness and ignorance. On the other hand, one agrees with Sir Reginald's views about the Empress Dowager and with his belief that but for her, China might have been spared much confusion and suffering.

E. M. GULL.

New Light on the Most Ancient East. The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory. By V. Gordon Childe. 8¾" × 5¾". Pp. xviii + 327. Illustrations and maps. Kegan Paul. 15s.

At no period has the spade of the archæologist been more successful, and "a series of revolutionary discoveries in Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and India has dramatically enlarged the historian's horizon." To give examples, the discovery by Woolley of the Royal Tombs at Ur and the discovery of the ruined cities of the Indus Valley, especially Mohenjo-daro, have been epoch-making. We thus cordially welcome Mr. Gordon Childe's work, the sub-title of which is "The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory."

This is a subject worth stressing, and the author starts with the pregnant sentences: "Barely a thousand years ago Scotland and the rest of Northern Europe were still sunk in the night of illiteracy and barbarism. A thousand years earlier and history's light shines upon our dark Continent merely from a few points and the shores of the Mediterranean. And in the next millennium these points flicker out one by one until only the ghostly radiance of heroic myth lights up the storied walls of Troy and Tiryns."

In this review I would firstly draw the reader's attention to the recent discovery of a flourishing neolithic culture older than any previously known elsewhere. It is dealt with in the fascinating chapter termed "The Oldest Egyptian Farmers."

Turning to 'Iraq, the author points out that "not only is Mesopotamia much less homogeneous geographically than Egypt, she is also much more exposed." Thus we have raids or domination by Elam, Hittites, and Chaldeans. Moreover,

there is no evidence of climatic changes comparable to that implied by discoveries in the Fayum.

The prehistoric periods in Mesopotamia are fully dealt with, and we marvel at the golden dagger with its handle of *lapis lazuli*, one of Woolley's most wonderful finds, which is illustrated opposite page 192, not that the illustration does full justice to its beauty. Childe sums up the Early Dynastic period as "from many aspects not only the culmination, but rather the end of Sumerian achievement."

An interesting chapter deals with the discoveries in the lower valley of the Indus of a civilization, specifically Indian, but similar to that of Sumer. Mohenjo-daro has been excavated and its direct contact with Sumer in the first half of the third millennium has been demonstrated. Discoveries in Baluchistan also help to prove that that arid country once formed links in the chain which extended from the Indus to the Tigris. Stein's recent journeys in Southern Persia may furnish more information on this important subject.

To conclude, intercourse over enormous areas is proved by recent discoveries. For example, *lapis lazuli* is found in the earliest graves at Susa, in Egypt and in Baluchistan, and perhaps it is the demonstration of this very early trade intercourse which proves the great antiquity of these very early civilizations.

P. M. SYKES.

Lawrence of Lucknow. By J. L. Morison, D. Litt. 8¾″ × 5¾″. Pp. viii + 348, with maps. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd. 1934. 15s. net.

Mr. Kenneth Bell, of Balliol, has spotted a winner, and the Rhodes Trust has put its money on the right horse. Dr. Morison, who owes his impulse to Mr. Bell, and financial assistance to the Rhodes Trust, has produced, not only a first-class biography, but historical commentaries of far greater interest and value than is usual when an author is dealing with India.

Dr. Morison indeed seems to have a suspicion that it is not everyone who "cares for British Indian history," a suspicion which may have occurred to Mr. Philip Guedalla and prompted his scathing pronouncement that silence is posterity's one repartee to Anglo-Indian reminiscences. Dr. Thompson and Mr. Garratt go further. Ascribing the faultiness of British Indian History during the last fifty years—as they are wont to ascribe all Indian shortcomings during that period—to "the standpoint of administration," they have proceeded to rewrite the history of British rule in India. Dr. Morison's methods may be less condemnatory or less trenchant, but it would be difficult to find history more free from irrelevant anecdote or unwarranted propaganda than, for example, his chapter on "India before 1839." It is good news that he expects to publish another volume dealing with that period which he has already invested with such distinction.

The outlines of Henry Lawrence's life are familiar. The ruggedness of the Ulster upbringing, the "Political Officer" in Afghanistan and Nepal, after that, Agent and Resident in Lahore, and the grief of separation from the Punjab—then Rajputana, Oudh, and the final tragedy. These are the features so often portrayed, features which lose nothing at the hands of Dr. Morison. But the energetic journalist (his warnings too often unheeded), the statesman quick to seize his opportunity, the Oriental ruler full of sympathy and understanding, these are pictures of Henry Lawrence by no means so common, and are here recorded with a vivid and faithful touch which the artist owes to the observations of his Indian tours.

The prescience of Henry Lawrence's journalism is indeed astonishing. But in his case the pen was not mightier than the sword, or, at any rate, than the stroke of the statesman swift to profit by the occasion. Few have described at all, certainly none better than Dr. Morison, the schemes of the Jammu Raja' Gulab Singh, and the skill with which Henry Lawrence shaped those dark imaginings into the highly serviceable combination of forces known as the Jammu and Kashmir State. To him, almost alone of the English, with his knowledge of Afghanistan, Peshawar, and the Punjab, and of Kangra, the Doon, and Nepal beyond, was revealed the full significance of Gulab Singh's achievements and designs. To him it was evident how much the realization of Gulab Singh's ambitions depended on the goodwill of the British, and, at the same time, what advantages were to accrue to them from the friendship of the Dogra Raj. After Ranjit Singh's death, Gulab Singh, though outwardly a staunch supporter of the Sikh power, was actually carving out for himself, with the help of his lieutenant, Zorawar Singh, and the Dogra fighting men, a kingdom designed to be independent of Sikh rule in the Punjab. It was not long before the Dogras held the forts of the Muslim Rajas along the Indus and Shyok, and the Tibetan territory of Leh, in a grip which even the shock of Zorawar Singh's defeat by the Tibetans failed to unloose. The Sikhs, never happy in the hills, were always ready to leave Gilgit, and even the valley of Kashmir, to the Dogras. But Gulab Singh was astute enough to know that until he obtained support along the Punjab frontier from Peshawar to Kangra it would be impossible for him to prevent the Pathan from reasserting his power over the Muslims of Hazara and Kashmir, to say nothing of trouble to be expected from the tribes of the Pir Panjal. The Sikh war broke out, and Gulab Singh was convinced that no assistance was forthcoming from the Khalsa. At the same time the disposition of the Dogra forces reminded the victors of Aliwal of the risks to be expected from a flank attack. In a few weeks the valley of Kashmir and the adjoining territory passed to the Jammu Raja, who already held the hills beyond. Nevertheless, by August, 1846, the forebodings of Gulab Singh were realized. The Hazara tribes were in revolt and the Dogra occupation of Kashmir was resisted. Henry Lawrence, however, was determined that months of diplomatic construction should not be thrown away. He rushed up troops to Kashmir, made a dash himself over the Pir Panjal to Shopiyan, and secured the submission of the rebel General Imam-ud-din before frost and snow had made a winter campaign in the valley impossible. At one stroke he had consolidated the formidable Dogra State, a counterpoise to the Afghan power and a friendly ally to the British on the flank of the Punjab.

The Kashmir affair was as fine as any of Henry Lawrence's achievements. Can it be doubted that the second Sikh war would have been avoided or at least minimized if the "Lawrence policy" had been applied at once?

The description of Henry Lawrence "filling the place of competent Oriental despots depending on the knowledge of the men they ruled, and through whom they ruled," is gracefully worked out. No finer tribute can be paid to any Englishman who has served in India.

The line of Rajas and Sirdars of the Punjab is happily not yet extinct, and there are chapters in this book which will recall many memories. Not everyone can visit Northern India, but to earnest enquirers of the present day may be recommended, even before a study of Mr. Gandhi's life and of the White Paper, the wise words of Dr. Morison's epilogue: "Government in the East is less the making of constitutions than the establishment of personal relationships."

A. M. S.

India: What now? By N. Gangulee, C.I.E., Ph.D. 8″ × 5½″. Pp. 280. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d.

There is a school of thought in India, including Nationalists in the best sense of the term, which realizes that the most important problem in India at the moment is concerned, not with politics, but with the economic life of the half million of Indian villages, and that what the real India, as contrasted with political India, wants is not the transfer of power to the urban intelligentsia, but a comprehensive policy of social and economic regeneration.

The problem is discussed with judicial impartiality in a recent book entitled *India: What now?* by Professor N. Gangulee, an expert in Indian economics and recently a member of the Royal Commission of Indian Agriculture. The picture he draws of Indian village life shows both sympathy and insight. For him the future prosperity of India depends on the villager. Yet, as he points out, the peasant is the tragic figure in the British Empire. The priest, the mendicant, moneylender, rent collector, shopkeeper, village doctor, village official, lawyer's tout—all these dominate the moral and material life of the village. The peasant is born in debt. Landed indebtedness is estimated at over 750 millions sterling. The rate of interest is generally 25 per cent. The peasant buys his finance dear and has to sell his produce cheap. No wonder that in such circumstances his methods are inefficient. The yield of all his crops is inferior as compared with other countries. Italy and Spain produce five times as much rice to the acre, Japan twice as much, as India does. The yield of wheat is a third of what it is in England. Java produces five tons of sugar to the acre, compared to one ton in India. The position is the same with regard to cotton. With adequate finance and improved methods it should be possible to double the out-turn. This can only be achieved by lightening the burden of debt, and so far Government and the politician have shown little interest in the question. The problem of animal husbandry which is vital to national development has been neglected. India spends ½d. per thousand acres under grass and crops, on agricultural research and education, compared with 1s. 11d. in England. It is significant that the figure for British India does not equal the subsidy which the Government are paying to the Indian steel industry, "the spoiled darling of the Indian Government," under the Steel Industry Protection Act. Yet agriculture supports 224 millions as against less than 300,000 maintained by the steel industry. Such, says Professor Gangulee, is the influence of the urban oligarchy—organized and privileged minorities—over the Government of India. Everything in India is dominated by political expediency.

Another example of the preponderating influence of the urban oligarchy—mostly high-caste Hindus—is furnished by the policy of protection of the cotton and other industries adopted by the Legislative Assembly. The effect of the protective duties on cotton has been to levy an impost of fifteen crores of rupees (11 million sterling) on the countryside, nearly as much as the income tax, for the benefit of an inefficient industry. So far politics have been exploited in the interests of the urban oligarchy. Indian ministers have done nothing for agriculture in the fourteen years during which they have held power. Is there any hope of an improvement under a White Paper federation?

Professor Gangulee obviously thinks not. He does not believe in "the magic of democracy" as a cure for the economic ills of India. In his view the maintenance of the partnership with Great Britain is the only means of ensuring the economic regeneration of his country. Politics are keeping Britain and India apart. It is a fundamental error to leave the matter of commercial relations between the two countries in the hands of politicians. A concordat between

Lancashire and India is possible. He would set up a Central Economic Council to work out India's economic salvation while a system of federation is being slowly evolved under a Royal Viceroy. But the system must be a living organism with its roots in the soil, built from the foundation upwards, from the village council, through local councils to the provincial parliament, and thence to the federal centre. Only in this way can a true equilibrium of interests be achieved between town and countryside and peaceful progress assured.

Professor Gangulee's book is a valuable contribution to the study of a complicated and difficult subject and deserves careful attention, especially by politicians in a hurry. The village is the real India, and no political settlement that neglects its interests has any hope of permanency.

W. P. BARTON.

India's Plight: Debts Doubled; Development Dammed. By Sir M. de P. Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E. 2nd edition. Pp. 192. Karachi: Published by the Daily Gazette Press, Ltd. N.D. Price, R. 1.

Sir Montagu Webb has been known for many years as a relentless, acute, but constructive critic of the currency problems of India, and in this recent publication which he has since followed by a further treatise on his theories, he returns to the attack.

The author defends the free coinage of silver which he believes to be the sole remedy for the present economic chaos. He has, of course, other useful palliatives to prescribe, but it is the opening of the mint that is the essential remedy. It is only by this means that price levels will increase, and it is only by increasing them that the Indian peasant can be saved.

India's "public measure of value" had shrunk by 1920 to one-half its pre-war value; in 1930-31 it had increased to its former value (of 1914); and during the last three or four years has increased by over ten per cent. in purchasing power (pp. 34, 35). Sir Montagu condemns this monetary distortion as destructive of all contracts which, written or implied, link together the activities of all civilized countries. Any distortion involves injustice to buyer or seller.

No one will quarrel with the author's statements regarding the position to-day, and the urgent bitter need of raising price levels. After reviewing the various post-war financial activities of various countries, the book condemns "the Government's deadly policy" (p. 52 *et seq.*). The Cunliffe Committee of 1918, the Brussels Financial Conference of 1920, the Financial Committee of the League of Nations and other currency-mongering caucuses (pp. 63-64), and likewise the ruin of the Java sugar industry by the Dutch adherence to its absurd gold standard, are ruthlessly condemned as the ill-advised and selfish schemes of self-styled experts. As India, China, and the rest of Asia already use silver money and are content with it, why not let them have it? Why associate it with the gold values of the West, artificial and only valuable to the West?

Sir Montagu's treatise is well worth reading. He is critical, argumentative, and eminently constructive. For years he has been tolerated as a crank and an alarmist by the very experts who have failed to discover any remedy for India's financial ills.

At the moment that he advocates the free coinage of silver, a measure always connected with India's bygone prosperity, the wiseacres of the West are beginning to toy with the idea, as a forlorn hope of salvation in the muddle they have done so much to bring about. It is surely remarkable that an expert of Sir Montagu's recognized resourcefulness and constructive ability has never been consulted by the unhappy framers of India's financial policy.

Indian Labour in Rangoon. By E. J. L. Andrew, Assistant Protector of Immigrants and Emigrants (retired). 8¾″ × 5½″. Pp. xxxiii + 300. Oxford University Press. 1933. 10s. 6d.

There is a lamentable lack of co-operation between the author and the publishers of this book. Two notes seek to explain this away; but the book, finished in 1928, and intended to be in the hands of the Royal Commission on Labour to India and Burma in 1930, was not published until 1933. In the interval events occurred in Rangoon which altered the whole aspect of the labour question.

The Indian stevedore strike of 1933 was broken by the introduction of Burmese labour; then the Indians' terms were granted and the Burmese labour was callously turned off; and then for three amazing days the Burmese played such merry hell with the Indians as no one in the country had believed was possible. One had heard of spasmodic rioting in Calcutta and elsewhere, but never in Burma; and this rioting was war to the death. The police and the Government were completely unprepared, and before the situation was in hand the dead numbered about 120 and the wounded perhaps a thousand. The writer will never forget a night spent on guard at the Rangoon General Hospital; it was like a casualty clearing station after an action.

It is not an exaggeration to say that Burma only woke up to the fact that it had a labour problem after this event. Burmese labour in Rangoon became an established fact, and immediately the difference in the standard of living between the indigenous and the foreign labour forced itself into public notice as an economic factor. Had Mr. Andrew written his book after the riots the whole subject would have been viewed from a different angle. To have written it before the riots, and have it published, without an opportunity of revising the manuscript, three years after they occurred, was a real misfortune. An attempt has been made by the liberal use of appendices and addenda and corrigenda to bring the story up to date, but this method leaves much to be desired.

What a story it is! Rangoon has the greatest volume of seasonal immigration and emigration of any port in the world, having surpassed New York. Yet no one gave a thought to the matter except perhaps the agents of the steamship company which made a fortune out of it, and a very few officials whose duties compelled them to do so. The Indian immigrant figure reached a maximum of over three hundred and sixty thousand in 1927. There were no proper embarking and disembarking facilities for this mass of deck passengers, and the living conditions among Indian labourers in Rangoon were, and are, indescribable. Mr. Andrew describes them up to a point, but there is much that even he cannot print. Let it suffice to say that the proportion of female to male immigrants is very low, as low as 1 in 250 among one caste. Overcrowding is a normal condition. The regulations require that each occupant of a licensed lodging house shall have thirty-six square feet of floor space, reduced to twenty-four square feet in special cases; but they are infringed with impunity. In most of the tenements water-borne sanitation is unknown. Is it to be wondered at that the Burmese, who live decently with their women and children, when referring to Indian labourers, normally use the numeral suffix of their language which is applied to animals, but never to human beings?

The book is a mine of information, dealing with every aspect of the problem from the Indian labourer's point of view. Cost of living, debt, the evils of the *maistry* system, drink, housing—all are described with a wealth of facts and figures. The author is clearly pro-Indian, and in an appendix written subsequently to the riots dismisses the Burmese factor in the case very summarily. Burmans, and Europeans who have spent their lives in the service of Burma, may

not agree with him entirely in this conclusion. "The commercial development of the country requires it" is the stereotyped answer to any plea for protecting the people of Burma from this cancerous growth of animal-like cheap labour in their midst. The hard fact remains that the growth could not have occurred without the concomitant event of British occupation, which made Burma a province of India, and gave any Indian subject the right of unrestricted entry. It will be for a separated Burma to decide how far this plea of development is justified.

Mr. Andrew has produced a valuable pioneer book which no one concerned with labour in Rangoon or Lower Burma can afford to overlook.

J. N. L.

The Living India: Its Romance and Realities. By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. xi+318. Bell. 1934. 15s.

The author in his foreword explains that *The Living India* is meant to meet a demand—stimulated by the anxiety felt, not only by those who have themselves served India and are hesitating whether "it is good enough" for their sons, but by all thinking Britons, to get a picture of India as it is to-day and maybe to-morrow. He has given us a book "less serious than history and less formal than a guide-book," which is at once eminently readable and a reliable companion to either the Simon Report or the White Paper.

The author has throughout been courteous and good-humoured in his expressions of opinion, notably in dealing with the States and the Indian Princes. Though he seems to doubt the wisdom of the transfer of responsibility at the centre and the practicability of the States entering the Federal scheme, there is little in his arguments and nothing in his facts to which any believer in our Empire could rightly take exception.

His racy good humour and broad common sense and, above all, his very evident affection for the Indian—especially the peasant and soldier classes—take the sting out of such criticisms as he expresses; and his cheerful optimism in presuming that such dangers as exist must and will, by wise modifications, be guarded against, and that a scheme operating for the good and happiness of India and the Empire will eventually emerge, will be balm to the minds of many readers who are in real doubt and anxiety now.

In a masterly galloping survey of the geography and history of India—from the times of Asoka, down through the invasions from the North, the rise and decay of the Mogul empire, the challenge thereto of the Mahrattas, to our own arrival on the scene, and the peace and progress during the century and a half that ensued therefrom—the author explains the existence, location, and comparative numbers of Hindu, Muslim, and other religious communities that make up India's 353 million souls.

On pages 18 to 21, in a chapter dealing with India in legend and history, we are given an explanation of the origin and continued existence of the Indian States, whose territory comprises two-fifths of India. Some far older than the Mogul empire had become tributary to it; others had broken off from it; some were the conquests of robber chiefs, others we ourselves created or took under our wing.

Further on, in the chapter on the Governments of India (pp. 76-79), the relationship of these States *vis à vis* the Crown and its representative and the rest of British India is given, and the problem and difficulties connected with an attempt to federalize the States and provinces of British India are discussed.

The author admits the necessity, occasioned by the wide difference in size, resources, and administrative competence of occasional advice and intervention in internal State affairs, and would leave this, as at present, with the Viceroy and the Political Department. He makes out, in fact, a very good case for leaving the States as they are. But, as the author himself cheerfully breaks off, just as he is getting particularly interesting (on the subject of Kashmir and its recent communal troubles): "To Hell with Politics! Come and see the beauties of the land." This he certainly helps us to do in some passages of great beauty.

In Chapter V. the author gives us a wonderfully compressed and lucid exposition of the religions of India, explaining the castes and the essential differences between the ideals of Hinduism and Islam. He traces the existence of the great Hindu castes—Brahmin, Khsattriya, and Vaishya—and the lowly position of the Sudras and Untouchables to the blood exclusiveness of the White Aryan invaders.

In discussing Christianity and its remarkable spread, amounting to a mass movement towards it among the outcastes and humbler classes of the South, the author remarks: "It is just possible that Westernization may so reduce Hinduism to nonsense that the mind and heart of the modern high-caste Hindu may be vacant. If the old gods are gone, there is a house needing a tenant. God send that seven worse devils are not wanting to enter it! Some day, in the purpose of the Almighty, Christian conviction may come to the twice-born, the white men of the Indian upper crust."

The machinery of Government and the vast task of attempting to educate an illiterate continent with the (so far) tragic result of creating a huge "black-coated" mass of unemployed, whose numbers fill the ranks of bitter extremists and terrorists; the poverty of India and the vast irrigation schemes which combat that poverty, are all dealt with in a manner pleasant to those who know and informing to those who do not.

Of the Indian Civil Service the author speaks highly, recalling Lloyd George's simile of the steel frame. He does not believe that India will ever be able to find its own service of local officials unsupported, and predicts a fixed number of British officers in all the provinces. "I see the great provinces going on as part of a condominium in which the proportion of British officers in each service are able to work in most complete *camaraderie* with their Indian confrères, in which the twice-born races recognize themselves as a white people and act accordingly."

As to the police, the author reminds us that the Simon Commission's recommendation for the transfer of law and order to an Indian Minister was made *before* the last outbreak of civil disobedience. He recommends the appointment of a Federal Inspector-General of Police.

Dealing with the Indian Army and the probable value of the Indianized corps, the author is somewhat sceptical as to the possibility of making soldiers out of the intelligentsia, pointing out that twelve years' experience of training "Brindian" officers shows a wastage of close on 60 per cent., "some by weariness of regimental work, some by increasing girth. . . ."

There are some charmingly written chapters on life and sport in India as affecting the British officials and others, notably those describing some of the tragic scenes of the Mutiny, which every tourist should read and ponder.

Of the North-West Frontier the author gives a wonderful word-picture, and its past history is brought vividly before us.

In his last chapter—John Bull to Brahmini Bull (a peep into the future)—Sir George lets himself go a little:

"The people of Great Britain, having regard to all they have done, intend to

insist on a friendly and ultimate predominance in the form of a condominium. It is because they feel that the White Paper, while purporting to give this, fails in spite of all its brave words to secure it, that so many are determined to see it modified, and modified even more in the interests of India than of Britain."

It is, in fact, this insistence on the ultimate British paramountcy—the insistence, as Colonel Josiah Wedgwood has urged, that the British shall have some share in the Federation—that forms the *leit motif* of this singularly attractive and timely book

R. I. W. H.

Yoga and Western Psychology : A Comparison. By Geraldine Coster. 7½″ × 5″. Pp. 249. Oxford University Press. London : Milford. 5s. net.

In perusing this little book I was reminded of the following words of the first chapter of the Book of Ecclesiastes:

" And there is no new thing under the sun. Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It hath been already of old time, which was before us."

The subject which Miss Coster has so admirably undertaken is a vast and complicated one and full of technical difficulties for the study of which the Western mind, perhaps, has neither the leisure nor the suitable adaptation. Yoga itself is only understood by a few Westerners, and to assimilate its technique and its meanings some considerable knowledge of Eastern life and practices, with certainly a working knowledge of the Sanskrit language, would appear to be necessary.

Yoga (from the root *yog*, to join) signifies the union of the body with the visible world. It is the study of You. The body of the Yogi is the Universe. There are several forms of Yoga, of which we might mention here Hatha or Gathastha Yoga, which seeks in its early stages to awaken the sleeping serpent of Kundalini, or vitality, by a physiological psychology.

In this book the author has likened life to human beings sitting in a theatre facing the stage on which is a drop-curtain behind which one is not permitted to see. Power, however, is given to some mortals to enable them actually to see behind the curtain, beyond the realms of life.

This power has been noted and used by Eastern peoples from ancient times. The power of seeing into the Beyond came to be attributed not only to adepts in Yoga, but was supposed to be acquired by great and powerful men. The ancient Egyptians adopted the symbol of the Uræus as symbolic of that power, likening the cobra's head on the forehead to the spirit in the body looking out from the brain into the world beyond, much as the inhabitant of a house might look out of one of the top windows into the world outside.

A Brahmin believes that when he goes to sleep his spirit leaves his earthly body and wanders in the illimitable unknown; he therefore prays to Brahma to allow it to return to the earthly body so that he may awaken once again.

It has been said that Christ based His teaching on a tradition existing in His time and country, and that tradition originally came from India and is still being followed there, passing from father to son, from Guru to Chela, with some accretions and superstitions perhaps, yet still one of the most ancient languages in which men have spoken of their religion and philosophy. Compare the healing miracles of Christ from the standpoint of aphorisms of Patanjali. In the eleventh chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, the disciple whom Jesus loved would appear to have been prepared for an ancient exercise, no doubt practised by the

Essenes of that time as it is by the Copts of to-day, and known in India as the Kali Mudra (Death Gesture), an induced trance which is only entered into by the aptest pupils of a great teacher and then only after preparation and purification.

The creative power of thought and the power of suggestion is receiving increasing acceptance in Western countries, and thought reading, hypnotism, suggestion, thought transference, etc., are becoming subjects of considerable research and study. If we of the West gave more time to the study of the mysticism of India we might well discover facts of the utmost importance, not only to Harley Street, but to Christendom, and this little book will be of great assistance to those undertaking a preliminary preparation for such intensive study.

P. Johnston-Saint.

The Script of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro and its Connection with other Scripts. By G. R. Hunter. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd. 1934. 21s.

The value of this book would have been greatly enhanced had its author waited until permission could be granted by the Government of India for the incorporation in it of his subsequent work on the large number of seals unearthed at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa since 1927. In its present form, Dr. Hunter's book covers very little more ground than was surveyed by Professor Langdon, Mr. Sidney Smith, and Mr. C. J. Gadd in *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (1922-1927), edited by Sir John Marshall. The only new material considered is the inscriptions on the copper amulet tablets from the early excavations, which with no justification the writer designates as coins. Dr. Hunter has arrived at the same general conclusions as his predecessors; but though he offers little that is new, he brings out one point of great interest. The evidence of the affinities of the Indus script with the Sumerian, Proto-Elamite, Cretan, and even Egyptian scripts he considers to point to "the possibility of the existence in remote times of a very widespread race using a single pictographic system of writing"—a possibility already envisaged on general archæological grounds.

It is to be hoped that this book will be rewritten when new material becomes available, and that it will be produced in a style commensurate with the importance of the subject. The present hasty and unscholarly format is satisfying to neither philologist nor book-lover; if this typewritten work had to be reproduced as such, more pains should have been devoted to the typing, and to the proper spacing of handwritten signs. Certain errors, such as "black marble" seals (p. 15) and the statement that bitumen was brought from Mesopotamia, might have been avoided by reference to the report of Sir John Marshall and his collaborators. The evidence adduced by Dr. Hunter (p. 13) in support of his suggestion that the Indus Valley people were a seafaring race who had penetrated North-West India up the Indus river is not very convincing. Nor is it easy to understand why, after visiting Mohenjo-daro, he should state that "the houses are all small and surprisingly uniform in their dimensions, and that nothing resembling a king's palace has so far been discovered."

A careful re-edition of this book after further excavations in the Indus Valley have produced more material—including, it is to be hoped, longer inscriptions than those on the seals—would be welcomed by all who are interested in the Indus Valley civilization and its interrelations with the other ancient cultures of the East.

Dorothy Mackay.

Mirabai, Saint and Singer of India. By Anath Nath Basu. 9¼″ × 8¾″ Pp. vii + 71. Dent and Unwin.

The story of Mirabai, the Rajput princess, who gave up the comfort and attractions of life in a palace in order to seek the Truth that lies behind appearance, will always have its appeal, especially to those interested in Hindu psychology. The high-born Brahmacharin was married to a scion of the House of Mewar, near Udaipur. Her husband died while she was still young, and it may be that the drear prospect of Hindu widowhood had some influence on her final decision to take the vows of religion. Thereafter she frequented well-known shrines, composing a series of lyrics, some of which Mr. A. N. Basu has translated in his little book, *Mirabai, Saint and Singer of India.*

The lady's history is intermingled with legend, but there is little doubt that her wanderings covered a period from about 1520 to 1560, a golden age of Rajput power and chivalry, before the Mogul Emperor Akbar finally prevailed against the disunited Rajput clans.

Mr. Basu concludes from the poems that Mira's long quest was at length rewarded. The godhead was actually revealed to her. There is fine imagery in the lyrics, and it is not surprising that they still have a strong appeal to the people of Rajputana. Popular fancy, indeed, invests the singer with immortality. She was last seen by human eyes as she danced an ecstatic dance before the shrine of Vishnu before being caught up into his paradise.

Mira's creed can hardly be said to bring a message of hope to suffering humanity. The seeker after Truth for her and for Hinduism is concerned only in the escape from the trammels of ordinary existence to the peace of Nirvana. That is the end of all things. There is no hint of a Divine Purpose behind the mystery and confusion of life: no call to humanity to help forward that Purpose. It is here perhaps that there is to be found the widest divergence between the philosophy of East and West.

W. P. B.

The Wheels of Ind. By J. W. Mitchell. 8⅞″ × 6¾″. Pp. ix + 319. Illustrations and maps. Thornton Butterworth. 1934. 12s. 6d.

This is a really delightful book, though, or perhaps because, it contains no politics, and no forecast, gloomy or the reverse, of the future of India or of Britain therein.

The author was a traffic superintendent on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, evidently, though no dates are given, in the post-war period, stationed successively at Bilaspur, Bhojudih, and Khurda Road in the Central Provinces, Bihar, and Orissa respectively. He gives a vivid account in racy and often humorous language (though occasionally his desire for alliterative effect rather runs away with him—*e.g.*, is it correct to say that the calico on sale in the Puri bazar comes from Calicut?) of the small everyday happenings in life at an Indian station, the shortcomings combined with the excellencies of one's servants, the insignificant events which bulk so largely in such life. All are portrayed so as to bring back to one who has spent many years in India happy recollections of past days.

Many details of railway work are interestingly and most amusingly told, equally so as to revive recollections of past years in the old Anglo-Indian (old sense). The detection of the sleeping staff, evading the warning telegram by boarding a train between stations, calls to mind the accident that once happened to the Postal Special through a stationmaster deputing his duties as to point setting at night to his assistant, who did the same, and his deputy again the same, till

the duty devolved on a man under training, with the result that the buffers of the engine appeared just under the bunk of a railway official asleep in his carriage in a siding! Then again the methods of dealing with ticketless passengers are most interesting. It is probably not generally known that in one year (1931) 2½ million persons were caught travelling without tickets in India.

There are delightful accounts of the small inexpensive shikar trips in the jungles of Bilaspur and neighbourhod that the "ordinary reasonable man" can enjoy in intervals of work, recalling delightful days in the jungles of Bundelkhand, and Christmas camps now, alas! of days long past.

At Bhojudih the author was in the midst of the coal area, of which a vivid account is given; here he spent at least one Christmas, and the opportunity is taken of portraying in kindly fashion some of the foibles of the Anglo-Indian (modern sense) community—the Railway Institute and its dances, the Railway Stores and the Babu in charge. The Christmas festivities were accompanied by a gala performance of *Macbeth* in Hindustani, the account of which recalls to the reviewer a similar performance of *The Merchant of Venice*, in which the elopement scene was depicted as occurring at the Apollo Bandar in Bombay, with a red pillar-box and most realistically heaving boat in the foreground giving every promise of early seasickness, and a young man with "T. Cook and Son" on the ribbon of his straw hat to see after the luggage. Like the author, he went to the performance prepared to be bored and leave as soon as he decently could, but stayed to the end.

At Khurda Road Mr. Mitchell was in charge of the traffic arrangements for the Jaganath fair at Puri, and gives a most interesting account of the fair, with, incidentally, much information of the way in which the railway deals with the thousands of pilgrims on such occasions, and the arrangements made to give them the minimum possible of discomfort.

Altogether it is a delightful book, which can be strongly recommended to those who have spent happy days in India, especially to such as know the rural areas thereof; and not only to those, but also to the much larger number unacquainted with India. Last, but not least, it gives a very good idea of the benefit conferred on the country by the railways. It is illustrated with twenty-six excellent photographs and four maps.

C. A. S.

Arya. By Col. G. S. Hutchison, D.S.O., M.C. 7½″×5″. Pp. 252. Hutchinson. 1933. 5s.

It is possibly due to the non-imaginative and non-philosophic mind of the reviewer that he finds the opening chapters of this book hard to follow. What, for instance, is meant by the statement that "throughout all the ages India both physically and culturally has been governed by the spirit of the mountains of the Himalaya"? Or what by the repeated references to matters "Aryan"—such as "ancient Aryan principles," "Aryan philosophy and concepts upon which have been fashioned all that we hold ennobling and truly worth while," "Aryan civilization which remains the one supreme triumph of all human learning and endeavour," "Aryan principles of conduct and Aryan national ideas, disloyalty to which renders great disservice to the world," "the Aryan philosophic concept without which it is impossible to address ourselves to any intelligent solution of the problem of India," and many more? Nowhere, however, is there any account

of what these Aryan principles, etc., may be, but they are in the author's mind evidently held in as much esteem as in a certain European country at the present time.

Then at one place India is spoken of as "One People whose essential Unity is assured"; at another, emphasis is laid on its "possessing 350 millions of people practising 9 great religions, speaking 130 different dialects." Stress is certainly laid on certain resemblances between the chief religions, though, as too often in such cases, rather at the expense of Christianity, in regard to which it is stated that "there is no evidence whatever of the spread of Christianity in India. On the contrary, Christian influence is small and the number of converts negligible, probably indeed offset by the converts from Christianity to Hinduism. . . . The intellectual Indian despises Christianity." The figures of the last two Censuses directly contradict the first statement, showing a far greater percentage increase of Christians than of any other religion, while as regards the attitude of intellectual India the author would be well advised to study such works as Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India*, or Stanley Jones' *Christ of the Indian Road.*

In spite, however, of much loose writing of this kind, the author does lay his finger on several weak points of British rule, in particular on the lack of imagination of the Government, and the aloofness of, and separation between Briton and Indian, and still more between British and Indian women.

There is no doubt that social slights have been the cause of much of our difficulties; the reviewer knows of four of the most bitterly anti-British leaders who might have developed very differently had it not been for social bad treatment at a certain stage in their careers. It is true that some Indians will sometimes see a slight where none is intended, but there are too many genuine occasions for his seeing such, and no one is quicker than the Indian to appreciate when he is being treated in a truly gentlemanly manner, and to respond thereto.

Then, too, as the reviewer can testify, the influence of truly sympathetic natural (not patronizing) behaviour on the part of an English lady with fair knowledge of the language is remarkable, the response made by the Indian woman to such, be she the wife of a raja or a sweeper, is extraordinary, amounting almost to worship. Unfortunately there are so few able and willing to behave in this way.

The author condemns communal elections, and considers that the White Paper plan of introducing Western democratic government, in view of its failure in many European countries, very unwise, and little better than the Socialists' plan of (practically) total withdrawal and leaving India to itself. He holds that our promise of self-government would be fulfilled by a scheme which he sketches somewhat on the lines once outlined, I believe, by Sir B. Fuller, by which the Provinces of British India would be split up into States similar to the larger States now existing, to be placed under the "Leaders of Indian political thought," or some of the "lesser Rulers." Each State, whether pre-existent or thus formed, is to be required to "accept the principle of Constitutional Monarchy" (of which no further details are given). All States being then substantially similar would form a satisfactory Federation. The Secretary of State, his Council, and the India Office are to be replaced by a "King-Emperor's Council sitting in London and consisting of Princes nominated by the Chamber of Princes, men nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, Hindu and Muhammadan leaders, representatives of the minorities, and members of the Cabinet." Most of the duties of the Secretary of State are, however, to devolve on the Viceroy. The Governors of the Provinces would then occupy an advisory position, similar to those of the Agents to the Governor-General at present, and the Indian Civil Service be an

"executive body with full political and administrative powers exercised throughout the principalities."

Every post with Government is to be open to Indians, who are to be chosen (how is not stated) for "character, service, loyalty to the government plan, and understanding of world problems in relation to the needs of India and its peoples." The Press is to be completely controlled: "No newspaper hostile to Government will exist." The object of education is to be "training for leadership." Agriculture and economic development are to be encouraged, and the "importance of the panchayat is recognized." "The objective is India as a Nation, Indians everywhere being recognized as a sovereign people." They are to be "protected against subversive propaganda, tyrannical autocracy, and usury" (this last is to be abolished). The Government of a principality failing to give effect to the government plan "will immediately be replaced by one of Government's choosing and ordinance." Finally, "Government pledges itself to the Aryan principle" (whatever that may be).

C. A. S.

The New Indian Constitution. By A. Krishnaswami. 8″×5¾″. Pp. 230. Williams and Norgate. 10s. 6d.

The object of this book is stated to be to give an account of the Indian problem and its proposed solution as set forth in the White Paper from the Indian point of view in such a way as to enlighten the British public, and in particular those "who may be called upon to play an important part in shaping the new constitution." In this object the author may be said to be successful, provided that he does not imagine that he is going to enlighten the bulk of the electorate, of whom I suppose 90 per cent. know nothing of India beyond perhaps the somewhat crude ideas gathered from Thomas Atkins after his period of service in that country.

In the opinion of the reviewer (whose interests when in India were strongly in the administrative side—the direct dealing with the people, and but little in "politics") a good account is given of the proposals, and one that is distinctly readable for so technical a subject. Where he criticizes, and this he does not infrequently, he does so in a temperate fashion, and, what is so often lacking in criticism, he puts forward constructive suggestions, supported by arguments derived largely from the constitutions of other federations or the Dominions, which, whether one agrees with them or not, are certainly reasonable.

One feels, however, that the dust of controversy as regards the constitution is liable to obscure the vision as regards the necessity of efficiency in administration, for the old adage that "whate'er is best administered is best" must not be forgotten; still, with honesty of purpose and due regard to the Indian masses' ideal of good government—*i.e.*, low taxation, little interference, and absolute justice—success should not be impossible. Moreover, the British Government has definitely promised self-government, whether rightly or wrongly is beside the point now, and that promise must be fulfilled, for the keystone of our position in India is that the Englishman is a man of his word; and, further, the rapid increase of an educated class renders the step imperative. The proposals of the White Paper are an honest attempt to set India on the road to self-government, with safeguards available in case of a breakdown, but which are likely to be almost non-apparent if the scheme succeeds.

I can certainly recommend the book. It is well written, and only the most

meticulous eye could detect, and even that very rarely, any sign of its having been written by one to whom English is not his mother language. It is a pity that there is no index.

C. A. S.

Travancore: a Guide-book for the Visitor. By Emily Gilchriest Hatch. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 294. Frontispiece, plates, and maps. Oxford University Press. Rs. 3, or 4s. 6d.

The physical isolation of the State of Travancore, which, as Mrs. Hatch shows, allowed of the development of a civilization peculiar in its manners and customs, has inevitably affected the number of visitors to its charming plains and mountains. To those who have the good fortune to pay it a visit, this handbook is most warmly commended. The accuracy of the authoress's facts is vouched for by the Dewan in his foreword, and the whole book shows an intimate knowledge of the people and the country. What is equally important to the visitor, the book is eminently successful in supplying the traveller with information essential to his creature comfort. Apart from an introductory chapter and a concluding chapter on "Arts and Crafts," the book is written in the form of a series of journeys from one point to another, with detailed advice as to the accommodation provided for travellers at their journey's end and *en route*; the information in the body of the book is implemented by an appendix on the rates charged and the furniture provided in the different classes of bungalow or shed and by a map. The map might with advantage have shown, by the use of symbols, the same classification that is given in the book; but that is a minor defect.

The chapters are written in a pleasantly discursive form; the mentioning of a Nambudri myth leads to a description of that sacrosanct caste; a journey through the eastern jungles calls for a brief description of the hill tribes; and so on. And an adequate index permits of quick reference. This little book, in short, supplies, at a very moderate price, essential information that could otherwise only be obtained by long consultation with old residents and experienced officials. The pity is that the visitor to almost every other part of South India can find nothing similar to Mrs. Hatch's book to guide him.

A. R. M.

The Valley of the Assassins. By Freya Stark. John Murray.

This important work records four separate journeys in remote parts of Persia. In 1930 the traveller visited the Alamut Valley, and returned there again to explore its little known ruins in the following year. During this journey she made a flying incursion into North-West Luristan, partly in search of bronzes that had been discovered in prehistorical tombs, a case of which was exhibited at the Persian Exhibition in London. In 1932 Pusht-i-Kuh was the scene of another flying incursion in quest of "the Hidden Treasure." The second part deals with the strongholds of the Assassins and Mazanderan.

Miss Stark has a genius for making her way through difficult countries by her sympathetic attitude towards its inhabitants, her tact, her sense of humour, and her fearlessness. Thoughout, she was able to make a route-sketch, and the valuable maps are the result of her untiring labours.

More than two thousand years ago Luristan was famous for the pastures on which were reared the celebrated Nisæan horses of the Medes and Persians. At that period the rainfall was certainly heavier, as the author writes: "One finds bronzes, flints, and earthenware in the lonely valleys. Wave after wave of people unnamed and unnumbered lose themselves here in unrecorded dimness of time." To-day these arid uplands cannot support more than a scanty population. The Lurs were "as cheerful a lot of villains as you could wish to meet, and delighted with us for being, as they said, brave enough to come among them." The author noticed that the order of the Shah that they should cut their hair and wear "coat and trousers and a *Pahlavi* hat," was bitterly resented and was not obeyed. Miss Stark writes of her reception: "There is an anxious interval when one comes to a strange tribe and waits to see what happens." Actually robbing was the order of the day until the reigning Shah, whose policemen shot at sight, disarmed the wild tribesmen. These crusty conservatives naturally dislike being unable to indulge in banditry, tempered by feuds between tribes and individuals. To quote our author: "It is not the turbulence of the tribesman that one admires: but the virtues that go with his turbulence, so that the two are associated together. His treasure is the freedom of his spirit: when he loses that, he loses everything. . . . In many cases he will refuse the greater comfort of the settled life because he definitely prefers his spiritual heritage to more material things. He is an aristocrat."

The quest for hidden treasure led the traveller into Pusht-i-Kuh by smugglers' paths, and from the summit of Kabir Kuh—the main range—she "looked out on a noble view, over the unmapped country whose even ridges ran like a shoal of swimming whales, all in the same direction, through waves of woods in shadow."

As was to be expected, the treasure which was not found brought some unpleasant reactions, but our traveller fortunately escaped scathless, and ardent in her quest of further adventures.

Alamut, the chief valley of the Assassins, was carefully explored, while excellent photographs of the great fort were taken, where Hasan Subah ruled and levied tribute on surrounding rulers under threat of assassination. "Here from some buttress in the castle-wall, he could watch for the return of his Fedawis; and from here perhaps saw the emissary striding up the Qasir Rud to say that the Assassin's work was done."

In another valley Miss Stark discovered Lamiasar, another stronghold of the Assassins. "The walls are no longer intact on the summit of their mountain of rock; but their ruins, and the fierce gloomy valley, are impressive as ever. Some

such places Dürer etched, with no softness of vegetation anywhere around them, but high buttresses and precipices alone."

To conclude, this is a remarkable book, which is destined to live. The writer, as a woman, was able to penetrate more deeply than any man could into the life of the people, attending weddings as a matter of course, and making herself a welcome guest wherever she passed.

The award of the Back Grant by the Royal Geographical Society proves the value of her services to geography; and no book that I have read brings out the all-pervading charm of Persia that still exists off the beaten tracks.

P. M. Sykes.

"T. E. Lawrence" in Arabia and After. By Liddell Hart. 9″×5″. Pp. iii+454. Jonathan Cape. 1934. 15s.

The persistence of the Lawrence cult is extraordinary. First we had Mr. Lowell Thomas, an American "travelogue," who lacked nothing in the artifice of "putting it over" a susceptible public, whose ideas on Arabia were based on the "sheek-stuff" of Miss Ethel M. Dell. That peculiar romanticism having died a natural death, we next had Mr. Robert Graves, writing of Lawrence in the full blaze of disillusion with Regular Army brains and with orthodoxy in general. And now we have no less a student of military tactics than Captain Liddell Hart enthusiastically attempting, in his own words, to "clear away the dust of legend" that has enveloped the Arab Revolt and the achievement of "T. E. Lawrence." This, at any rate, may be said: that of these three books, the last is the best.

Captain Liddell Hart is, of course, a belittler of the school of Foch and of Clausewitz, and is, *ab initio*, inclined to rhapsodize over the strategy and tactics of Lawrence. He says, indeed, that when he began to investigate the Arab Revolt, he expected Lawrence to emerge from it a smaller figure than legend has suggested. But what this author ends by doing is not so much to clear away the dust as to throw it in the eyes of previous writers on Lawrence, whom he makes out to be not only the equal of the greatest geniuses in British military annals, but also a kind of Messiah who, if only he would descend to the social arena, could be the saviour of our age, so tempered has his passion become, so immeasurable his wisdom, so lofty his attitude! Let it be freely admitted that Lawrence is a most remarkable man, and certainly a magnificent writer. But was his achievement in Arabia really significant? Was it essential to an Allied victory? Was it even the decisive factor in the campaign against the Turks? Captain Liddell Hart has no doubt that the answer is, "Yes." He likens Lawrence to Marlborough, and that even to Marlborough's disadvantage, because, forsooth, whereas the earlier general grew rich while on his campaigns, Lawrence despised the money that he was so liberally handing to the Arabs! It is a quite amazing comparison for a serious military critic to make, and had Captain Liddell Hart contented himself with his excellent narrative of the campaign in Arabia and with examining Lawrence's achievements simply as what they were in fact—namely, a sideshow of a sideshow—his book would have been more warmly welcomed.

Unfortunately, however, the author succumbs to the legend completely. It is actually contended that the part played by the "regular" and "irregular" Arabs in the Hejaz and on the flank of General Allenby's armies had a more exhausting effect on the Turkish armies than had the British forces. "It was primarily the Arabs," says Captain Liddell Hart, "under the guidance of Lawrence's mind,

who prepared the mind of Liman von Sanders so that he arranged his forces in the way that produced their defeat." Primarily the Arabs, who refused to fight unless their pay was visible; primarily the Arabs, whose leader, Faisal, even so late as the summer of 1918, was (as is pointed out in this book) negotiating with the enemy, thinking that the British were a broken reed! So naïve a remark is really on a par with the old lady's notion that a careering shaikh was worth more than a British Army Corps in Arabia. But indubitably Lawrence has a personality rare in our time. His courage was astonishing, his endurance amazing. It is no longer possible, however, to pretend that he is a modest man: the dust is off that legend, at any rate. Nor are students of the Middle East to-day likely to appraise very highly the wisdom of his political conceptions. His "planks," as the politicians say, were trust in the Sharifian dynasty and hatred of the French—planks which are now considered either laths or full of splinters!

This last book on Lawrence is, then, a good work with a bad thesis. The writing is clear, the facts lucidly marshalled, the point of view well, if not convincingly, expressed. Of the general interest of the subject there is no question. For Lawrence is a man who, tested to the utmost alike physically and mentally, has emerged, passionless if not posing, as a legend from which future generations will assuredly disentangle the fact that he is the supreme Arabian writer of his time. Is not that immortality enough?

A BRITISH "HAJJA"

Pilgrimage to Mecca. By Lady Evelyn Cobbold. 10″ × 6″. Pp. xix + 260. Illustrations. John Murray. Price 10s. 6d.

The various ceremonies attaching to the *Haj*, or Pilgrimage to Mecca, are now well known to the student of Islam, so numerous have been the books published by European converts, loyal or temporary, to the Muslim faith. But although Lady Evelyn Cobbold, who journeyed to Mecca and Medina last year, was, in all probability, not the first European woman to visit these for long mysterious Holy Cities, there is little doubt that she was the first British woman to do so. The interest of her record, then—and it is considerable—lies rather in her personal reactions than in her objective descriptions.

That being so, one would have welcomed a fuller account of her reasons for adopting Islam. She says, indeed, that she has always been a Muslim. As a little girl she used, when her parents were holiday-making in Algiers, to visit mosques, and while still in her teens, she admitted to the Pope himself that she was a Muslim. That admission was not profoundly made; for it was only after it, seemingly because of it, that she "determined to read up and study the Faith." In any case, the resolve was scrupulously kept, and in 1933 she was able, thanks largely to the good offices of Shaikh Hafidh Wahba, the Saudi Arabian Minister in London, who contributes a Foreword to this book, to realize the consuming ambition of her life—namely, to become a *hajja*.

Patently this book is written primarily for the English-speaking reader who may have entertained erroneous ideas upon the Islamic faith. By means of numerous quotations from the Quran and from writers sympathetic with Islam, Lady Evelyn Cobbold emphasizes the many admirable qualities of her own faith. With this end in view, she permits herself considerable latitude, so as to include a good deal of really extraneous matter, such as the story of the Crusades, the work of the Muslims in Spain, the general attitude of Islam towards war, and

so forth. If the informed observer of Islam, however, will find little that is new in such exposition, it will doubtless be of much benefit to that large section of the West which yet thinks of Islam as something irrevocably opposed to Christianity. Its effect must be to promote, not antagonism, but a better understanding between the two Semitic faiths which succeeded the Jewish religion.

This distinguished pilgrim, who most pleasingly records the help that she received in the Hijaz from Mr. and Mrs. Philby (it is a pity that Hajji Abdulla's initials are given wrongly), went first to Medina, while she was waiting permission from King Ibn Saud to enter Mecca. Of the city which contains the Tomb of the Prophet she gives an enchanting account, particularly of its gardens, wherein were growing roses, jasmine, grapes and oranges. In this section on Medina, especially, the author's delightful personality is delightfully revealed. Nor does she omit a very entertaining description of Medinan ladies.

To Mecca she went at the end of March, when the heat was becoming powerful. Here she duly performed all obligatory rites. Her reactions to the whole *scena* and to its details were feminine and, naturally, uncritical. She was sorry for all the animals that had to be sacrificed on the *Id ul Azha*; she regretted that the Wahhabi King could not see her, since she was only a woman; she could not bring herself to read Doughty, for the "Nasrani" seemed a "sacrilege" in Mecca. With the whole experience she was exultantly thrilled, both spiritually and physically, but by the eve of the *Id* she found herself longing "to see green fields, grey skies, to hear the splash of rain, to escape from the pitiless sun"—a desire increased by her having the misfortune to slip and to sprain her wrist while performing the "running" between Safa and Marwa. And so, she quickly travelled back to Jidda, thence to Suakin and the quarantine-station at Port Sudan, and, *via* Port Said and Marseilles, to home and softer, sweeter country. She had left the hearth of her faith, but had reached the hearth of her people. Psychologists, perhaps, can tell which is the greater: the longing that precedes achievement, or the relief that follows it.

It is an artless record, very readable, very sincere, and very reliable. The illustrations are excellent.

K. W.

Mohamed the Prophet. By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. 9″ × 6″. Pp. iv + 291. London: Wright and Brown. 1932.

Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah is the author of a number of books on Islamic lands and personalities. In writing a study of the Prophet's life and achievements in English he has had two notable precursors among Indian Moslems: Ameer Ali and the learned Maulana Muhammad Ali. Ameer Ali's work of apologetic, *The Spirit of Islam*, included some chapters on the Prophet's life, entering, however, very little into detail. Ikbal Ali Shah cannot claim to possess Ameer Ali's unusually wide knowledge of history—religious, cultural, and secular. The want of this has been a distinct handicap to him in discussing the Prophet's achievement. He has had, on the other hand, two advantages over Ameer Ali: a more modern knowledge of psychological phenomena and a close acquaintance with the Hejaz. His descriptions of the scenery in which the crucial events of Muhammad's life took place add interest to his book here and there. It is illustrated by an excellent set of photographs of religious scenes at well-known Moslem centres, including a general view of Medina and a view of the mosque at Qubba, near Medina, traditionally the first mosque ever founded by the Prophet.

Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah writes intelligently and well at times. But what with

his mistakes in English, his carelessness in revision, and his excessive liveliness, his book is more difficult to read than Muhammad Ali's straightforward and more detailed *Muhammad the Prophet* (Lahore, 1924). The printing and general turn-out of the book, on the other hand, are excellent, and it is evidently intended partly for Western readers. It is written, however, on Traditionalist lines. Like Muhammad Ali, the author deliberately disregards, as vitiated by prejudice, the work of such scholars as Margoliouth, Henri Lammens, Caetani, Richard Bell, and Alfred Guillaume, who have made the Traditions and the Qur'án the subjects of intensive study and criticism.

Having no knowledge of the causes which facilitated the spread of Islam, or of Muhammad's debt to Judaism and Christianity, Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah can only regard the Prophet's appearance as a bolt from the blue; and indeed a portent he must remain, in spite of all that can be said to account for him. Emphasizing the mark left by Muhammad on human history, his biographer explains that, though not a God, but made "of flesh and bone," he was "a model," "a Perfect Man," "an ideal Personality." This claim of perfection for the Prophet, though contrary to specific admissions in the Qur'án and in Ibn Hisham, is an old Moslem idea, going back, as Alfred Guillaume has pointed out, to some of the Traditions themselves, and originating in the desire to set up a personality in no way inferior to that claimed for Christ by the Christians. Its reappearance here is the more interesting in that it is a view which was rejected by Ameer Ali.

Ikbal Ali Shah devotes a good deal of space to an attempt to place Muhammad in his proper setting by descriptions of Arabia and of the Arabs of the Prophet's earlier days, depicting the latter as given over to blood-feuds, lust, and gaming.

He puts forward the view that Muhammad, by destroying superstition, gave a fresh impetus to science and to liberty of thought. This, again, cannot be accepted without reserve. There was, if we may believe Richard Bell, a great deal of scientific and intellectual activity at Harran and Nisibis in Mesopotamia and at Junde-Shapur in Persia on the eve of the Arab conquests; and Muhammad was neither free from superstition himself nor the first introducer of a cosmic religion.

Full justice is done to the dramatic vicissitudes and triumphs of the Prophet's career. But he is represented throughout as being plotted against by Jews and Quraish because he was attempting to spread a new religion. Expert opinion gives a very different picture, especially in regard to the unfortunate Jews.

In an early part of the book Ikbal Ali Shah refers to the pre-Islamic Arabs as having "no strain or desire towards spiritual ascension." In the course of his narrative he brings out Muhammad's intense devotion to the Deity. He concludes with some account of the institutions and legislation of Islam, and of the two aspects of the Islamic idea of Unity: the unity of God and the unity of human beings. Morality without fixed forms and sanctions is, he contends, too much for human nature to sustain. Hence the five daily times of prayer, the standardization of almsgiving, the month of fast, and so on. Ons is reminded of the criticism of Father Lammens, that Muhammad's religion was not much more than an outer shell, largely borrowed from Judaism, that it was all "*Dieu et le Dernier Jour*" and social reforms, which "*masquaient le vide de son programme réligieux*"; that his gospel was weak in personal morality and principles. But some of the points noted by Ikbal Ali Shah in the course of his book seem *prima facie* worthy of consideration on the other side. He mentions an oath taken by those who became Moslems on the occasion of the fall of Mecca: "We . . . shall not commit larceny, adultery, or infanticide, nor utter falsehood,

nor speak evil of women. . . ." He also cites as "revealed to the Prophet" the following: "The servants of the Merciful are they that walk upon the earth gently, and when the ignorant speak to them, they say Peace! . . . they that spend neither profusely nor niggardly . . . and slay not a soul that God hath forbidden . . . and commit not fornication . . . they that bear not witness to that which is false." He notes also the spirit of brotherhood inculcated from the first in Islam.

A. F. K.

"Lord of Arabia," Ibn Saud. An Intimate Study of a King. By H. C. Armstrong. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. vii+306. Barker. 1934. 9s.

To those who do not object to the journalistic manner of presenting facts and impressions, Captain Armstrong's biography of Ibn Sa'ud will make some appeal. He certainly succeeds, by his short, staccato sentences, in giving a vivid picture of Ibn Sa'ud in his various capacities as statesman, diplomatist, strategist and tactician, Puritan reformer, and—within limits—innovator. No ordinary man could successfully fill such diverse, and in some respects incompatible, rôles, but Ibn Sa'ud is clearly no ordinary man.

Captain Armstrong tells the story of Ibn Sa'ud's career from the very beginning, and gives graphic descriptions of his difficulties—which to a lesser man would have been overwhelming—and of the manner in which he triumphantly surmounted them. On the whole, the book is well-balanced, but it would have been an advantage if the importance of Ibn Sa'ud's institution of the Ikhwan had been further stressed.

It must be said, however, that this book is, by reason of its jerky style, apt to become extremely irritating, and Captain Armstrong's spelling of some of the Arab words and names will, it is feared, cause Orientalists to gnash their teeth. The author does, it is true, state at the outset (see page 9) that "for the spelling of Arabic words I have kept one rule, that, while keeping as close to the sound as possible, the written word shall not torment the English reading eye." There is much to be said for the adoption of this principle in a book of this nature, provided that it is not carried too far. The rendering of "Shaikh" as "Sheik" cannot, however, be justified on such grounds, and Captain Armstrong's use of this form throughout his book is surely an encroachment upon the prerogative of those lady novelists who write so movingly of Romance (with a capital "R") in the desert. Further, why is it necessary to spell "Faisal" in three different ways?

A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria. By Stuart Carter Dodd, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology, American University of Beirut.

This book aims at presenting "a study in the measurement of Rural Culture Patterns and of Social Forces," and is an account of an experiment in quantitative sociology made in Syria by the Section of the Social Sciences of the American University of Beirut, with the co-operation of one of the travelling clinics of the Near East Foundation.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I. explains the "measuring instrument by which the hygienic status of a given population, its hygienic progress over a period of years and the forces producing it may be measured," hygiene being taken to mean "all the knowledge, practices, and environmental conditions

which tend to increase health as measured by decreased morbidity and mortality rates, and increased longevity." Defined in this way, hygiene is stated to be not "health itself, but only the known causes of it and those which are under the control of the individual or of the community."

Starting from these premises, a host of quantitatively different data were collected and then reduced to scores, points, or credit values, thus "making possible a quantitative study of the hygiene of a group" and "a further refinement of the measuring instrument itself through the use of appropriate statistical technics."

Parts II. and III. expose the general cultural background and contain detailed graphs with interpretative comments on each hygiene culture pattern.

Part IV. deals with "the equations constituting the theory of social forces," and consists of a "scientific measurement of the factors producing progress," the thesis being that, given a hygienic "unit and its compounds in the concepts of hygienic status and hygienic change," the hygienic change, "if desired by the group undergoing the change," is progress, and "social forces" are then defined as the factors "by which increase or decrease of progress" is "speeded up or slowed down."

The author states that three types of readers were kept in mind in the presentation of the data, and that Parts I. and IV. are addressed more particularly to scientific readers interested in the technics and theories of quantitative sociology, whilst Parts II. and III. are expected to be of more interest to the student of local conditions, who is frankly advised to skip Parts I. and IV. entirely.

The experiment was carried out upon seven Moslem villages "on a plain bounded by a mountain range, barren uplands, and the Orontes River," which afforded "a natural self-contained unit," the hygienic status of which could be measured on separate dates without risk of "the diffusion of new hygienic culture patterns" between successive measurements.

No less than 235 pages of printed matter, to say nothing of 85 pages of appendices and 63 pages of "graphs," are devoted to an exposition of the constructional details of the measuring instrument, to descriptions of the groups measured, to a record of the progress found, and to an analysis of the social forces disclosed, and it is consequently a little disappointing to learn in the end that "the conclusion is reached that the gain in both samples is probably due to the influence of the clinic."

Since the experiment was made upon a group economically and geographically isolated, this is not, however, altogether to be wondered at, and will not surprise those who have had experience of medical missionary work amongst primitive peoples.

The very minute data contained in the graphs, ranging as they do over infant and maternity welfare, food, cleanliness, and housing and dietary conditions, are sometimes interesting, but one is nevertheless left with the feeling that on the whole the work is not entirely sincere.

For instance, the statement in table 64, that "formula 'beds per sleeper' is the reciprocal of 'sleepers per bed,' and is used to secure a ratio the size of which increases as hygienic conditions improves," loses its point when it appears from the same table that families "sleep five or six under one quilt on one mat *on the floor*," nor in these circumstances is one entirely unprepared for the statement that in cases of measles "not one villager thinks of isolation, but depends chiefly on prayer."

The simple truth is that in backward countries hygiene depends upon a number of basic educational, economic, legal, and political problems which require prior and interdependent solutions.

Where there is no wood and no money to buy it, it is idle to measure the size of windows. Where cattle share the dwelling-place, to protect them from robbers and wild beasts, or because they add warmth where there is no fuel, a census of fleas and bed-bugs becomes redundant, and it is a waste of time to count the number of baths taken by the inhabitants, when water has to be carried for miles on the heads of the women, and the wells are fouled by animals in winter and dry up in summer.

That something may be accomplished by hygienic teaching nobody will deny, but primitive communities such as these cannot advance unaided, and measures of public utility on a large scale, such as the provision of means of communication, of water supplies, of agricultural marketing, of afforestation, and improvement in law and order, are outside the range of local effort.

These things, and the necessary raising of the general standard of the population to a higher economic level, can only be accomplished from above, and in the East from outside. It is this type of work that we have done in Egypt and in India and which our modern statesmen are doing their best to undo.

In Syria sovereignty resides at Geneva rather than at Beirut, and more would be accomplished by supporting the Mandated Power before the League of Nations than by spasmodic attempts at transoceanic uplift, which can contribute little to local advancement or local knowledge and add nothing to sociological science.

H. E. Garle.

The Crusade of Nicopolis. By Aziz Suryal Atiya, M.A., Ph.D. Pp. xii + 234. With three maps. Methuen and Co. 1934. Price 10s. 6d. net.

The fall of Acre in the year 1291 put an end to the last relics of the crusading kingdoms and counties in Syria, and with this disaster to the Christian arms the crusades seemed definitely to have failed. But ideas of recovery still lingered in Europe, and the last hope of Christendom to recover the ground gained by Islam disappeared only when the Turks under Bayezid defeated the Christian forces in 1396 under the walls of Nicopolis on the Danube. This expedition against the Turks is the subject of Dr. Atiya's book. It is a short work of only 125 pages of narrative: the rest of the volume consists of appendices, substantial notes, a classified bibliography, and a succinct index. Disputed points in the history, the number of men on both sides, the details of the ransom demanded by the Turks and other matters, are given critical discussion. The author has used not only Western, but also Eastern sources. He has studied manuscript sources as well, and very notably has made use of a transcript of Philip de Mézières' *Songe du vieil pèlerin*, a book of apparently great interest, which ought long ago to have been made available in print. De Mézières was the most important of all the writers of crusading propaganda, fighting in vain for a cause which various political circumstances, set out in detail by Dr. Atiya, had by his time rendered quite hopeless. Appendix III contains de Mézières' plan for his *Nova religio passionis*, and in Appendix II we have the list of members of the Order. The plan is introduced by the remark that this chivalrous order of the passion of Christ is necessary because the days are evil and perilous and the world is moving quickly to its ruin: a most interesting document.

Accounts of the propaganda for the crusade, of the preparations made, and of the route taken by the Christian armies lead up to an interesting description of the opposing armies, and finally to a very clear account of the battle itself. Dr. Atiya has visited Nicopolis, and in his Appendix VIII gives a full description

of the locality. The Christians were besieging the city, when Bayezid marched from the south to relieve the garrison, and before the walls of the city on a skilfully chosen field of battle utterly broke the Christian army. We see that the victory was due to the good discipline of the Turks and the excellence of their weapons; in particular they were skilful in the use of the bow. Against such an army the disorderly Christian army could do nothing, and their case was rendered yet more hopeless by the jealousy and folly of the French crusaders. The further progress of Bayezid was not prevented by Sigismund and his undisciplined allies, but by the Tartar invasion under Timur Leng, who only seven years after the victory of Nicopolis destroyed his armies and carried off the Sultan himself into captivity. His fate presents a curious parallel to that of the English Harald, the son of Godwin, though Harald's victory at Stamford Bridge was to protect his own country whilst Bayezid at Nicopolis was at best only conserving quite recent conquests. But both of them defeated one set of invaders and then fell a victim to fresh assailants: Bayezid in 1402 at Angora was captured by the Mongols; Harald only a year after his victory was slain at Hastings by the Norman conqueror.

We have said enough to show the importance and interest of this book. But we cannot but note that Greek is not Dr. Atiya's strong point. On p. 185 we must remark that *timar*, in Greek τιμάριον, can have nothing to do with τιμή, nor has τιμή any connexion with "theme." On p. 186 ἄσπρος, *asper*, ought to be ἄσπρον. On p. 198 the name Istanbul, Stambul, is regarded as a contraction of Constantinople; if Dr. Atiya had read Kretschmer's paper in *Glotta*, XVI. (1927), p. 184, he would have seen good reason for thinking that the derivation from εἰς τὴν πόλιν is perfectly sound. It would be unkind to print these Greek words as Dr. Atiya has printed them. After all, no one man can know everything, and Dr. Atiya knows a very great deal that very few European scholars know, and we should be correspondingly grateful for a very useful and interesting book. The notes in particular are stuffed with good matter.

R. M. D.

China's Geographic Foundations. By G. B. Cressey. 9″ × 6″. Pp. 394. Illustrations, maps, and plans. New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Company.

In his preface to this work, Dr. Cressey describes it as "a contribution toward an understanding of China, both by the Occident and by the Chinese themselves." It does assuredly present an extraordinarily vivid picture of the land and the toiling millions who inhabit it, the author's real sympathy with whom is manifest throughout its pages. This is no light and sketchy book, but the result of a decade of arduous travel and laborious research, in which the author travelled some 30,000 miles, visiting nearly every part of the vast entity we call China. His position as geologist on the faculty of the Shanghai University brought him contact with Young China and its new ideas and aspirations.

The book contains twenty-one chapters, the first six dealing with the geography and geology of China, its climate, agriculture, natural resources, and trade, and its contacts with the outer world. The remaining chapters are devoted to comprehensive descriptions of the fifteen "geographic regions" into which the author divides the country, the boundaries of which regions are not, save only here and there, conterminous with administrative or provincial borders. This is an interesting and original scheme of division, for which Dr. Cressey makes a good case.

A great number of excellent photographic illustrations embellish the work, which is, further, elucidated by numerous maps, plans, and diagrams, scattered through its pages. One of these maps, by the way, may be specially mentioned as of exceptional interest (p. 52). It is a reproduction of the oldest known map of China, carved on stone at Sian Fu about A.D. 1137 and based on maps of the third and ninth centuries. There are also no less than thirty-six statistical tables, the compilation of which must have entailed an enormous amount of labour. A bibliography occupying twenty-nine pages, most of the works in which find an echo in some part or other of the book under review, gives some measure of the author's industry and widely gathered knowledge. An index and a physiographic map of China, showing the twenty-eight provinces and the fifteen "geographic regions" superimposed thereon, complete a very full and instructive work.

Certain basic facts stand out—the hoary antiquity of China; the contrast between North and South; the influence of climate and environment; the intensive cultivation; the over-population of the land. This last theme crops up continually through the book. The author reckons the population of China as at least 450 millions, and possibly more, and he mentions one startling estimate of the increase as being 37 millions per decade! Famine, he says, has often resulted merely from the normal population increase overtaking the available food supply. Elsewhere he states that except in Northern Manchuria almost all cultivable land is utilized to the limit. This question of over-population gives food for thought as to the future of our own little island, if and when the "dole" shall have quite deprived our people of the spur of enterprise and the whip of necessity.

The following quotations are among the striking passages in this book:

"Even more important than the *things* which China imports and exports are the *ideas* which have come across the ocean."

"The Westernization of China, whether for good or bad, is sharply limited to portions of certain cities along the sea coast or navigable waterways or those served by the few railways. Vast areas continue to live as in the days of the Ming dynasty."

"The real China is rural, and it is among the farmers that one finds the

genuineness which typifies this historic land." (The same might very truly be said of India.)

" A country as vast and old and populous as China changes but slowly."

" China probably leads the world in total agricultural production," yet " fails to produce enough food to feed her own population."

" Soy beans are the magic crop of Chinese agriculture."

" The outstanding problem seems to be that China has too many people."

The " loess " region is thus described: " Sprinkled over the countryside as if by a giant flour-sifter a veneer of fine wind-blown silt blankets over a hundred thousand square miles of the north-western provinces." (This " loess " layer may be as much as 100 metres in depth.)

" Harbin is one of the most surprising cities in the world, and with its population of over 100,000 Russians it has the largest white population of any city in Asia."

" The Japanese are distinctly a warm weather people and have not learned to adapt themselves to rigorous climates." " Their attempts at agricultural colonization in Manchuria have completely failed."

" Manchuria is China's ' Great West,' and within the past decade the migration of people from the congested and war-torn provinces of intra-mural China has become one of the most amazing population movements of modern history."

" Under Genghis Khan and his grandson Kublai the Mongolians established the greatest continuous land empire the world has ever seen " (*i.e.*, from Indo-China to the Baltic.)

Space does not admit of thus continuing to quote, but certain items of interest cannot be left unmentioned. What the author has to say about the resources of Manchuria brings out well what China loses by its secession—coal, timber, the wealth from the soya bean, agricultural land for her surplus millions. The millions of immigrants, it must be remembered, are drawn mainly from a low stratum of society and so likely to be more influenced by materialistic considerations than by political ones; and therefore indifferent as to whether they live under a republican régime or an Emperor of Manchukuo. Sundry passages in the book seem to indicate that the author regards the secession of Manchuria as but a transient phase, and is confident that China will eventually regain political and economic dominance. Many people would doubt this conclusion. Might not history repeat itself, and Manchukuo, on the other hand, hereafter incorporate part or all of North China? From time immemorial kingship has been something of a talisman in the East. In the days of the Manchu Empire the " Son of Heaven " occupied the same position of semi-divinity in the minds of his subjects as did the Czar to the simple " moujik " of the Russia of pre-revolution days. The experiment of pouring the heady new wine of Democracy into the old bottles of the Orient has hardly proved a blessing to the peoples of the lands where it has been tried.

The section of Chapter II. entitled " The Changing Map of China " is a mine of valuable up-to-date information regarding Mongolia, Turkestan, and Tibet.

Chapter III., " Climate," gives very full meteorological details and much interesting matter anent cyclones and typhoons, and the useful work performed by the Jesuit Mission at Zikawei in forecasting and notifying the same. And here are a few miscellaneous interesting excerpts:

Coal was used in China two hundred years before Christ, whereas the use of

it came as a surprise to Marco Polo in the thirteenth century A.D. Bronze coinage was in use in China in the seventh century B.C. Borrowing the phrase of Herodotus (regarding Egypt), Dr. Cressey aptly describes the North China plain as " the gift of the Rivers," and he has much to say of " the Sorrow of China " (the Huang-ho). Manchuria is the only part of *China* where modern farm machinery is being used. Here, again, we see that the author, like Geneva, shuts his eyes to the fact of the secession of Manchukuo from China. The remarks on the deforestation of China and the destructive effects arising therefrom—denudation of the soil, etc.—are instructive. The navigation of the Yangtze Gorges is probably the most difficult stretch of navigation in the world, but is now regularly undertaken by numerous high-powered river-boats, except during the winter when the water is too low.

The author very aptly designates the " south-western tableland " (*i.e.*, Yünnan and Kweichow) " anthropological museum," owing to the diversity of its races, and mentions the odd fact that " no section outside North China speaks such good Peking Mandarin as Yünnan." The reason for this was explained to the reviewer when he was in that province in 1904. An Imperial General who conquered and occupied Yünnan centuries ago was so bothered by the multiplicity of dialects that he issued an order that within a prescribed period all were to learn " Kuan hua " (Pekingese) under pain of decapitation, an incentive to study that would appear to have had the desired effect. *China's Geographic Foundations* is certainly a book to be read and digested by any who desire to get a clear and vivid picture of the land and its inhabitants.

M. E. W.

A Japanese Omelette. By Major R. V. C. Bodley. 8″ × 5″. Pp. ix + 242. Illustrated. Japan: The Hokuseido Press. London: E. G. Allen and Son. 5s. 6d. net.

Major Bodley explains in his preface that this little work does not aspire to be an exhaustive treatise on the Japanese people and their future in Asia; it is merely a series of first impressions of various aspects of Japanese life, recorded during the course of a year's study and travel in Japan, Korea, Manchuria, and the Mandated Islands of the South Seas. His first chapter gives the reasons for his being " pro-Japanese," not the least of which would appear, by his own admission, to be a very human instinct of contrariness, combined with a desire to see fair play. " As foreign writers and journalists seemed to be leagued together to hold Japan up to ridicule or shame," he says, " and realizing that nothing is easier than to single out a country with the fixed idea of criticizing it, I determined to see as many good points as possible." Moreover, the reader is given to understand that the book starts with an equally definite bias against the present rulers of China and the ill-informed sentimentality of the Western Powers (especially Great Britain) in dealing with them. The author's general attitude may be gathered from the following passage, in which he refers to the policy of the League of Nations with regard to the Manchurian question. " Thus China," he writes, " continued to be regarded rather in the light of one of those wheezing overfed pet dogs which sleep on cushions and can do no wrong in the eyes of their doting mistresses, and is accordingly pandered to, while Japan, like a healthy, highly trained sporting dog, is kept outside in the kennel."

For readers who are familiar with either China or Japan, these fugitive impressions of a passer-by are not of a nature to throw much new light on the

Far East and its present problems, but they provide pleasant reading. The most interesting chapters are those in which the author deals with Manchouquo and the Mandated Islands; in them he records, sometimes with engaging naïvety, the results of his conversations with a number of prominent Japanese officials.

Major Bodley's reference to the inhabitants of Manchuria as "Manchouquoians" is, let us hope, his own invention. It suggests, once more, the advisability of a common adoption by writers of the terms "Manchuria" and "Manchurians," there being no good reason for foreign writers to continue to use a Chinese word which simply means "the Manchu people," or "Manchu country."

J. O. P. Bland.

Second Five-Year Plan: A Symposium. Stalin, Molotov, Kuganovich, Orjonikidze, Kurbyshev, Yakolev, Grinko. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. iii+490. Plates. Moscow: Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R. 1933.

Planning is the fashion of this age, and it behoves all who are interested in affairs to study the systems adopted in various countries of the world. The change-over from the free-import system to protection in our own country has had combined with it a planning of industry and agriculture which is being watched with kindly but critical eyes; the American New Deal under President Roosevelt has inherent in it a large measure of Government control with a definite purpose in view. The German scene, too, under Hitler has a background of conscious purpose. In these cases, however, the Governments have, while exercising control and supervision in greater or less degree, left the actual working of the plans to the industries concerned; they have not superimposed on the plans the added difficulties of a definite political bias. Russia alone has done this, and *From the First to the Second Five-Year Plan* is therefore of special interest to all students of politics and economics.

The book is described as a symposium, and is composed of addresses by Stalin, Molotov, Kuganovich, and five others to the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. and other bodies at the beginning of 1933. To this extent it is out of date, but, on the other hand, it can be claimed as being official and as giving the contents of the minds of the leaders of Soviet Russia and the purpose underlying their Second Five-Year Plan, which is still continuing to-day.

Undoubtedly in 1928 the Government had a tremendous task when they undertook the First Plan, that of converting an agricultural country with a predominantly peasant population into an industrial country, self-sufficient and independent. They had the added difficulty of being hide-bound to a theory of politics which had never been successfully attempted before, and never before on such a scale as they contemplated. How far they have succeeded may be judged by the critical reader of these addresses. Without going into too great detail, it may fairly be said that in volume of capital expenditure and the resultant works carried out, they succeeded beyond their own hopes and beyond the fears of many in the Western world. Where they have failed has been in the efficiency of the articles produced and the training of their labour. By their own speeches there can be demonstrated the lack of their organization of industry and the almost total lack of improvement in the well-being of the workers, combined with the ruthless destruction of the richer and more efficient members of the professional and agricultural classes.

The fiery restless energy of the First Five-Year Plan which was completed

very largely in four years has given way to a calmer tempo in the second planned period. Consolidation and the increase of efficiency are its watchwords, and it is amusing to note that in this Socialist State practising State Capitalism the increased productivity of labour is stressed so often. The fight against the peasants is to continue, and collectivization is to be ruthlessly pursued as being the only means by which the towns can be adequately fed. The handicap of a fanatical political creed still remains, however, and, unless the citizens have become totally crushed, it seems inevitable that periodical purges of the professional classes and "Kulak-minded" peasants will continue to take place. This must be a factor to be taken into consideration in estimating the success of the second planned period, because these classes only arise through being generally more efficient than their neighbours, and these periodical sweepings-away of the more efficient must constitute a definite handicap to the efficiency of the whole scheme. One suspects they are carried out by the Government in self-defence, the cruelty of which an Eastern can understand, but no Western can contemplate without repulsion.

Nevertheless the enormous strides in construction and the potential wealth of the country in raw materials are such that, with better organization, the Second Five-Year Plan may well bring about an improvement in the material well-being of the people and an increase in their purchasing power; and however self-contained she desires to be, Russia must remain a purchaser of goods from outside for many years to come. Success too might bring a softening of the hard conditions of the political machine. The outcome of the Government's efforts therefore are of importance to Russia and the rest of the world alike, and the experiment must be watched with the greatest interest.

At the end of the book is given the programme for 1933, and it is now possible to get some idea of the success of the second period in so far as it has gone. The plan provided for an increase in 1933 over 1932 of 19 per cent. in the output of large-scale industry, but published figures only show an increase of 9·1 per cent. Heavy industry should have had an increase of 21·7 per cent., but only shows an increase of 11·5 per cent., while light industry, which should have had an increase of 15·8 per cent., only shows one of 6·4 per cent. The efficiency ratio also has not reached the control figure. The plan figure showed a reduction of 4·7 per cent. in the cost of production and a 13·5 per cent. increase in the productivity of labour, or a total reduction in costs of 3·9 per cent. The actual reduction, however, is only 1½ per cent. The quality of the goods, moreover, shows no improvement.

As regards agriculture, it is not so easy to compare estimates with results, as the methods of compilation have been altered. The planned production of grain, however, was 89·8 million tons, and it is estimated that the actual production was only 75-80 million tons on that basis of calculation, or very little better than previous years in spite of a good harvest. The collectivization of the peasants, therefore, which has been pushed on so hard and with such merciless cruelty has not been the success it was expected to be.

The general result seems to be that, while there has been some improvement in production and costs in 1933, the control figures have not been reached, and, what is more serious from the Soviet point of view, there is no unity in the economic structure and no real attempt made at co-ordination, which is automatic in capitalist countries, but which in Russia has to be consciously planned.

The book, though unattractively presented, is quite well translated and published by the Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R.

J. A. L. D.

Islam *versus* Christianity. By M. Hossain, B.A. Pp. 232. With nineteen illustrations. Calcutta: Modern Book Agency, 10, College Square. N.D. Price Rs. 2.8.

The followers of the Prophet have often had cause to resent the ill-informed and harsh criticisms written on their religion and its founder. And the author in the preface to this book refers to such, and especially to the work of Mr. Levonian, apparently an Armenian Christian, who has produced a book called *Moslem Mentality.* However deserving of castigation Mr. Levonian and his writings may be, it may be doubted if Mr. M. Hossain has adopted the best means of vindicating Islam.

It is not therefore a question of defending or condemning Mr. Levonian, but rather of considering Mr. Hossain's strictures and arguments; and it must be confessed that he has been unfortunate in his authorities and quotations.

It is somewhat disconcerting to find the tree of the knowledge of good and evil as speaking "volumes about the true spirit of Christianity" (p. 47), just as extracts from the Old Testament are cited as proofs of scientific inaccuracy when they are clearly no more than poetical imagery (p. 122). It is also no help to the author's arguments against Christianity to quote certain practices of David and Solomon. The author, too, appears to believe that whatever is narrated in the Bible is approved and permitted—*i.e.*, historical facts are religious precepts. There is often, too, a ludicrous pathos as, *e.g.*, when the non-social teaching of our Lord is "repudiated by every American State except the most backward, South Carolina" (p. 74).

In his chapter "Daughters of Eve," American divorces, Mr. Bertrand Russell, Pope Callistus (quoted from Mr. Charles Graham as a "swindler," which he certain was not), illegitimate children, and the Registrar-General for England—all appear in a haphazard and disorderly fashion as witnesses aganst Christianity. The Ten Commandments are dismissed as constituting "a workless negative philosophy," and we are told that the Commandments are defective as a moral code (p. 77).

In Chapter IV. the authorities against Christianity waltz in true corybantic fashion through the pages. St. Joan of Arc, John Wesley, Sir William Blackstone, Martin Luther, the Bible, and Buckle are all happily enshrined on page 124, and the unhappy Christian reader is bound to be disconcerted by finding so various an assembly all siding against him—if indeed Mr. M. Hossain is right. Joshua, Judge Lindsey, President Jefferson, several Turks, besides the author of Genesis, also swell this "Pentecostal crew" of hostile critics of Christianity.

Then Chapter V. shows how Christians take bribes, whilst in Chapter VI. we have the Apotheosis of the Turk as set off to Mr. Levonian's views on his nation's former rulers.

In Chapter VIII. the unhappy Christian reader plumbs the very depths of his own and his religion's degradation. Faced with the stern condemnation of the anonymous author of *The Glass of Fashion* and of Mrs. Asquith's Autobiography (*sic*, p. 175), as well as the arguments from War Babies, Oscar Wilde, Mr. Lloyd George in 1915, and Bishop Welldon in 1921 (p. 186); faced, too, by a variety of indictments as bewildering as those who employ them, what can he do but embrace Islam at once? If he hesitates, let him read the "Chorus of Canberra feminists" on page 189, and he will, if in London, at once hasten to the mosques at Woking or Putney, and recite the Kalima in haste, but in alarmed sincerity.

But seriously it is lamentable to see such a book as Mr. Hossain has produced. Let him have his Mr. Levonian: no one wants to support that Armenian. The

truth indeed is that Islam and Christianity are the two great monotheistic creeds of the world, and have much in common. The Christians and the Jews have not been condemned by Mohamed. Are they not, too, the people of the book?

Does Mr. Hossain, who is, unquestionably, a devout, honest, and charitable Moslem, really think that the great bulk of the Western nations behave as he would have us believe? Surely not. Mankind is much the same in the West as in the East, and little good is ever gained by dwelling on its frailties. The dreary argument from sex can carry no weight, for the vices of the few do not outweigh the virtues of the many.

A sympathetic attitude is necessary in all controversy. It must be feared that *Islam versus Christianity* is a book that can bring no credit to its author. It is a poor piece of work, judged by every standard. The publisher, too, has served the author ill, as the book is badly produced. The illustrations are particularly poor, the paper and printing indifferent, the binding unsatisfactory. Perhaps Mr. Hossain's next work will be worthy of the great creed that he follows, and will convey to the Western world a breath of that enthusiasm which thrilled the tribes of Arabia when the Prophet first addressed them.

Drums of Asia. By Charles Trevor. 8¼″ × 5½″. Pp. xi + 453. Lovat Dickson, Ltd. 1934. 8s. 6d.

On the title-page this book is designated "A Novel." It is not a novel in the generally accepted sense of the term, but a story of German intrigue with Indian seditionists before and during the War. The term is therefore an admission that the contents are imaginative rather than historical. The plot is world-wide, laid in scenes as far apart as Shanghai, Tokyo, Mexico, Switzerland, Berlin, Kabul, and the North-West Frontier of India.

The story tells how plans to bring about rebellion in India were thwarted by jealousy and antagonism between Hindus and Muhammadans, how the schemers were outwitted by British Agents, and their plans finally brought to nought by British counter-measures. The author does not pretend to give the true history of the movement, but makes it the groundwork for a series of imaginary dramatic happenings, some of them founded on fact. In some cases prominent persons and places are thinly veiled under pseudonyms (*e.g.*, the Amir Habibulla Khan, Kabul, and Afghanistan); in others the real names are given. The reason for this differentiation is not clear.

Readers of sensational fiction will find thrills enough in this book. There is, however, so much of vivid interest in the true history of the plots of Indian revolutionaries that this highly imaginative version, in which characters and incidents are suggestive of Hollywood, can hardly be regarded as an improvement upon the actual facts.

J. K. T.

From Beersheba to Brook Street. "The Diabolical." By Herbert McWilliams. 9″ × 5¾″. Pp. ix + 311. Illustrations and maps. Duckworth. 12s. 6d.

In the motor route from the Middle East to England the days of the pioneer are long over. Nevertheless, this tale of Mr. McWilliams' trip in a converted Ford waggon from Southern Palestine, where he was "digging" with the expedition

of Sir Flinders Petrie, through Syria, Anatolia, and the Balkans to Claridges (where his disreputable-looking vehicle was moved on by the commissionaire), is quite welcome. The story is told so artlessly and with such enthusiasm that its literary defects may be overlooked.

The name given to the Ford "truck" was *El Afrit el Kader*, which some bright Semites "Englished" into "The Diabolical." Stimulated by such a title, the author and his companions, who included two ladies, sallied northwards into Syria. Of this land they liked the scenery, but in no wise either the inhabitants or their overlords, the French. It was, by the way, significant of the blithe way in which this journey was tackled that the author imagined Jerablus to be in Syria; he states, also, that the Anatolian Railway runs on to Mosul! But for the Turkish peasant they had the warmest feelings. A real desire to help and an innate politeness that inhibited the curiosity which had assailed them in Arab lands were, for this mixed party, the distinguishing marks of the Anatolian.

Yet of the country itself, apart from the magnificent views occasionally seen, the most memorable thing was its viscous mud, in which repeatedly the Ford got bogged, to be freed only by the efforts of pulling oxen and of men scraping away the mud with their hands.

The whole journey was really a supreme lark, which, however, because of the Turkish mud, few will wish to emulate. But for such as are moved to follow in Mr. McWilliams' footsteps, or tyre-tracks, he includes a multitude of practical hints upon equipment, spares, and so forth. Without question he has hit upon the cheapest way of covering the 4,000 (approximate) miles between Beersheba and Brook Street.

K. W.

Les Sociétés Secrètes en Chine. Par le Lieutenant-Colonel B. Favre. Paris: Editions G. P. Maisonneuve. 1933. Prix 20 francs.

The Gilds of China. With an account of the Gild Merchants or Co-Hong of Canton. By Hosea Ballon Morse, LL.D. Second Edition. Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, and Toronto. 1932.

While these two volumes are complementary to each other, they deal with the subject of secret societies or guilds from different angles.

Lieut.-Colonel Favre, formerly Director of L'Institut Franco-Chinois in the University of Lyons, with all the easy grace of a French litterateur has aimed at giving his readers a general view of the history and mystery of secret Chinese sects and societies such as the Triad (the famous White Lily sect), the T'ai Ping (that caused the great rebellion), and the Boxers. They were associations which played an important rôle in the minds of their members not unlike that of the Scottish Jacobites or our European Freemasonry.

While it would be difficult to define their actions, these secret societies could adapt themselves to circumstances and were able to show their influence from time to time by powerful intervention in the progress of natural events: they could bring about political upheavals which ended in revolutions and wars. In China they were detested by the Emperors and regarded as nests of complotters from which heterodox ideas were hatched.

From earliest ages such societies responded to the needs of the human soul: they seemed to be able to combine religion and politics in a practical way under the cloak of secrecy. Colonel Favre has found much that is of historical interest in their symbols, customs, traditions, and in their extremely ancient practices,

He describes the stages from religious persecution to political revolution, from the secret religious society to the secret political society, and how more than one adventurer who had destroyed a dynasty and seated himself on a throne had laid the foundation of his schemes in some secret heterodox circle.

The book is chiefly concerned with bygone years, and it analyzes the legendary history from 2100 B.C., till the time of Sun Yat Sen, but the author has not been in China for a long time and can only write cursorily about the societies of the present day.

He refers to the impenetrability of the Chinese mind, which remains an enigma to Europeans, who for the most part are not sufficiently well up in the subject to undertake any investigation. For his own part he has never been able to discover the fundamental principles that rule the activities of these essentially mysterious societies. The volume is a pleasant essay without, however, any practical value.

Mr. H. B. Morse in *The Gilds of China* makes short mention of the religious fraternity, for, as he says, religion in China creates no depth of conviction, and for that reason has had little influence on the craft. In England our worshipful companies have a continuous history from the time when they derived their powers from grants by king, parliament, feudal lord, or municipality; but, in China, trade guilds have always been of purely democratic origin without grant or license from the governing powers: this has deprived them of the dignity which would entitle them to proper historical recognition and has driven them to secret methods, so much so that it is far from easy to obtain copies of their rules and regulations. Chinese guilds are examples of pure democracy, due to their complete dissociation from the government of the country and to the deep-rooted distrust of delegated authority which is constant in every Asiatic mind.

In China the government is solely a taxing and policing organism, and the guilds have grown up apart from and independent of it. They have moulded their own organization, devised their own regulations and enforced them in their own way and by their own methods.

Working thus without support or restraint from the Government, the guilds have obtained an enormous control over their respective trades. They make full use of the impulsive power of a mediæval form of public opinion and the development of the boycott by centuries of practical use.

While in our great London companies the guild system has become a mere form and has been gradually absorbed into the municipality, it still remains active in China, where the application of the law is to-day so uncertain and its administration so much at the mercy of hidden influences that the people prefer to settle their differences among themselves within the portals of their guilds.

In England in the fourteenth century the crafts wielded the whole power of municipal government, but a century later an Act of Parliament presented that "Whereas . . . guilds . . . make among themselves many unlawful and unreasonable ordinances as well in the prices of wares as other things" no new rules should be made for the government of a trade unless first submitted to the executive authorities.

There are still guilds in China such as the Great Guild of Newchinang, which, as an unofficial municipality, performs duties that are consistently neglected by constituted authorities. It maintains streets, drains and reservoirs, controls the common lands, relieves the poor and enforces regulations for the control of markets and trading.

Mr. Morse shows how all Chinese guilds are alike in interfering with every

detail of business and demanding complete solidarity of interest in their members, and they are alike also in seeing that their rules are actually enforced. It is a system which suits the Chinese character and adds greatly to the Oriental commercial power. The guilds, in China, have never been within the law. They grow up outside it and have never recognized the civil law or claimed protection from it: they are rarely recognized by the Government. Their jurisdiction over their members remains absolute.

The book deals with details of the various guilds throughout China and quotes their regulations to an extent that must have involved the author in a considerable amount of persistent correspondence.

As a comparative study of how people can band themselves into protective and powerful associations for their common good the *Gilds of China* will be found highly useful and entertaining. Though China's progress towards enlightened local government may be slow, there are plentiful evidences that the giant has awakened, and bodies such as the Municipality of Greater Shanghai are now assuming forms which call for less guild activity. But these craft clubs are still full of life and vigour and will last for a long time to come.

Mr. Morse's spelling of the word "gild" is the American form: one wonders how the unnecessary "u" came to creep into the British "guild," as it does not occur in the old Anglo-Saxon root from which the word is derived.

G. D. G.

Bali: Enchanted Isle. A Travel Book. By Helen Eva Yates. 8″×5½″. Pp. 188. 23 illustrations. Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d.

Bali is a difficult place to get to.

It is a difficult place to stop at, and

It is a difficult place to get away from.

But it is worth overcoming these three obstacles even for a few hours in Bali. Why? Because it is unique.

And for those who cannot snatch these few hours there is a small and delightful book, *Bali: Enchanted Isle*, by Helen Yates.

This is only a little book, but it is one no one should go to Bali without reading—even possessing.

It tells of quaint habits and customs, of the old Hindoo ceremonies and religious rites; of the marriages and cremations; of the strange lives of these primitive people, all most wonderful and interesting; but to me, on my all too short visit last March, the most surprising thing of all was the beauty of the human form. It is barely covered. Every man, woman, and child is worthy of a sculptor's chisel.

In India with its 350 millions of people one sees the over-fat, the over-thin, deformities and horrors, especially outside the magnificent carriage of the 60 millions of so-called "depressed classes," but in Bali everyone seems beautiful and with head erect. Verily a land of perfect torsos, and a land where, except in the small towns, thousands of people prefer barter to pence.

Bali was a revelation of ancient habits and ways as yet uncontaminated by the modern. A place to spend two or three weeks for anyone who prefers human beauty, tropical scenery, and quaint habits, away from cocktails and jazz.

For hundreds of years that little island of Bali seems to have slept quietly in the Southern Pacific. An Indian people who reminded me much of China. It belongs to the Dutch East Indies and is off the east coast of Java. A night's steam. There its Hindoo population slept forgotten until one day an enter-

prising Dutchman found he could grow good rice and bananas and mangoes, and added to that he found the water was quite deep off the coast and that ships' tenders could land passengers.

Suddenly Bali with its quaint ways and terrific religious fervour, with its devils and witches tempered with cruel and hideous fear—Bali became famous—that is to say, a few cruising ships have halted on the seas of this tropical isle and a few motors carry passengers over the island. I must find a Dutch boat and go back some day. Bali fascinated even an old traveller like myself—but Bali for a few hours was very tantalizing.

This book gives a charming short account of the place, the people, their marriages and cremations, their bells and gong music, and their many strange ways, written by a clever Californian girl who spent some intelligent weeks in their midst.

E. Alec-Tweedie.

SIR HENRY DOBBS, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

All members of the Society will regret the death of Sir Henry Dobbs, whose long illness ended suddenly in May. A note on his distinguished work in 'Iraq, written by Sir Percy Cox and Sir Arnold Wilson, will appear in the October Journal. It is hoped that a note on the Assyrians, for whom he felt so much sympathy, may also be in the same number of the Journal.

CORRESPONDENCE

RIVERSDALE,
GRANTCHESTER.
June 4.

DEAR SIR,

It appears that in my lecture of December 13 last I was guilty of an error of fact of some importance. The correct number of the rifles lifted by Ajab's gang from Kohat was not 347, as printed on page 194 of vol. xxi. of the JOURNAL, but 46, and they were taken, not from the headquarters of the Frontier Constabulary, who have none in Kohat, but from the Civil Police Armoury.

In this connection I have received a letter from an officer formerly closely connected with the Frontier Constabulary, from which I append an extract:

"The following are the actual facts: One night in the winter of 1922-23 forty-six x·303 rifles were removed from the Civil Police Lines Armoury in Kohat. On the night of the 4th-5th March in 1923, 350 men of the Frontier Constabulary, under Handyside, who was then Commandant, with the 53rd Sikhs F.F. and the 103rd Pack Battery in support, raided the Booti Khel hamlets in the Kohat Pass and recovered thirty-three of the stolen rifles and much other stolen property. The remainder of the missing rifles were later also handed up to the local authorities."

As the error, for which I alone am responsible, makes an undeserved imputation against the Frontier Constabulary, a corps for which I have a great admiration, I should be obliged if you would kindly print this letter.

Yours truly,
EVELYN HOWELL.

AN APPEAL

The recent steps of the Turkish Ministry of Education for the increase in the teaching of English has given an impetus to the formation of English library centres. English books, magazines, and illustrated reviews for the colleges, lycées, and especially for the Institute Gazi at Ankara, are much in demand. Here teachers are trained, and a department for arts and handicrafts has been added. Miss Derbyshire, in charge of the teaching of English to these young Turkish students, is doing excellent work in opening up foreign literature to young Turkey.

Lengthy novels would only prove discouraging to those who still find English difficult. Short tales of adventure, invention and achievement, avoiding complexities of local dialects, would encourage readers. Plays in particular are valuable. Speech in the first and second person—*i.e.*, dialogue—is a great aid to conversation. Also a play can present the attitude and outlook of modern-day England.

The Turkey of Pierre Loti is a thing of the past. Young Turkey learns with exuberance and affection Loti's beautiful language, while English still has its way to win in their good graces. The German language also, since so many Turkish leaders have been trained in Germany, has a great hold, particularly in commerce and chemistry. Recently, also this influence has been increased by the acceptance into the Turkish teaching world of upward of twenty-five Jewish-German professors.

Because of this, choice should be made by well-wishers of Turkey of English books, well-written, cleverly presented, and at not too great length. And of the Sixpenny Series of books on "Insects" published by Benn, or Wayside and Woodland series of Nature Books on Ants, Bees, and Wasps in Home and University Library, at 2s. 6d., might produce excellent results for the teachers and farmers of future Anatolia. Instead of putting *Punch, Illustrated London News*, the *Strand, Review of Reviews*, and such into the paper basket, what a help it could be if a stamped wrapper were put around such a review and addressed to:

Miss Derbyshire, Terbiye Enstitusu Gazi, Ankara, Turkey.

An appeal like this must surely reach the eyes of some who are friendly to the great educational efforts made by the Gazi to give modern Turkish youth a liberal education.

PERSIA

THE nomad question in Persia is being effectually settled by the Shah. The warlike Kashgais, who invested the British in Shiraz in 1918, are now crushed. Their chief, Solat-u-Dowla, is believed to be dead, while his brother, Ali Khan, who kept alive the tribal resistance, is also dead. He was probably hanged. Generally speaking, the leaders are all dead or in prison. The Bakhtiari chiefs have, with two exceptions, suffered a similar fate, while the turbulent Borahmedi tribe has also been crushed.

On the other hand, the policy of settling down the tribesmen is making steady progress, and is certainly desirable in the interests of law and order.

Miss Freya Stark noted similar progress in Luristan, and however sorry one may feel for the loss of their liberty, it was essential that " the right to rob " exercised by the tribesmen should be brought to an end. This transformation is accompanied by the Shah's insistence that all his subjects should wear the *pahlavi* hat, which somewhat resembles the French *képi*.

RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION IN PERSIA

THE following notes on the progress of the Trans-Persian Railway are extracted from an interview given by an official of the Kampsax Consortium to the Editor of *Le Messager de Téhéran*.

The railway is divided into two main sections, called the North and South Line respectively.

The North Line begins at Bandar-Shah on the Caspian Sea and ends at Tehran. This section is 458 kilometres.

From the terminus on the Caspian the line runs through the Mazanderan plain, but, after Paron, enters very difficult country. From Shahi (Aliabad) to the summit of the Gaduk Pass, which is the highest point reached (2,112 metres), there will be at least 55 tunnels, of which

one will be 3 kilometres and two 1 kilometre in length. The crossing of the Talar River valley and its tributaries necessitates the building of several viaducts, one of which is 62 metres in length.

The section from Bandar-Shah to Shahi has been completed and open to traffic for some time. Goods trains carrying material are running as far as Shirgah. In a few months, when embankments and bridges have been completed, trains will run to Taleh, a distance of 182 kilometres from the terminus. The construction of the line from 192 kilometres onwards has been allotted to foreign specialists, and the actual construction will begin in spring, when the necessary implements for tunnelling, etc., have arrived from Europe. This section is due to be completed in two and a half years. It is expected that the northern section will reach Tehran in 1937.

The South Line terminus is at Bandar-Shahpur (Khor Musa) on the Persian Gulf. This section is expected to reach Tehran in 1939.

The South Line from the Gulf to Tehran measures 1,020 kilometres, and is sub-divided into three sections. The first section from Bandar-Shahpur to Salehabad, via Ahwaz, is 250 kilometres. This section has been completed and open to traffic for some time.

The second section, Salehabad to Burujird, 270 kilometres is now under construction. In five to six months a further 50 kilometres of this section will be ready for traffic. All the necessary materials are already at Salehabad. The rails are of Russian manufacture, and the sleepers come from Australia. This section, from a technical point of view, is very interesting. The country is very mountainous after leaving the plains of Khuzistan, and the track has to climb 1,200 metres to reach the plateau. To avoid steep gradients and excessive tunnel-boring the line will follow the rivers Ab-i-Diz and Ab-i-Sehzar. These rivers flow through several narrow gorges with precipitous cliffs on either side, and this section will require several tunnels and bridges. The plans for this section are well advanced.

Definite plans for the third and last section are not yet completed. This is the longest section, the distance between Burujird and Tehran being approximately 500 kilometres. The line will pass through Sultanabad and Qum. The Consortium are now engaged in surveying and mapping this section.

Apart from actual constructional work, barracks have had to be constructed along the line at different points to house the labourers. The question of feeding at times as many as 15,000 men has also required careful organization.

Work on the northern section is proceeding according to schedule, and satisfactory progress is being made.

Construction of the southern section between Salehabad and Burujird is being held up.

One section of 18 kilometres south from the town of Burujird is now under construction by contractors. Also north from Salehabad five similar sections are being built, but no further contracts are being allotted between these two points for at least eighteen months. The reason for this delay is said to be shortage of funds.

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ANNIVERSARY LECTURE

SOCIAL REACTIONS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD *

By H. A. R. GIBB

IN opening a discussion on the social reactions which are manifesting themselves in the various parts of the Muslim world as a result of the introduction of Western ideas and methods, I am very conscious that there is little, if anything, in what I have to say which will be new to such an audience as this. Years of practical experience have given many of you a closer familiarity than I can ever hope to possess with the main problems involved, and I shall not conceal from you that one of my chief reasons for selecting this subject was that I might have the benefit of your criticisms of the tentative conclusions which I am about to put before you.

The principal conclusion, or moral, which I hope may emerge from whatever argument this paper may contain, is the need for paying more systematic study to the internal tensions which have been set up, and are continuing to be set up, by the introduction of Western systems and ideas into the structure of Muslim society. I say " more systematic " advisedly, because nobody would maintain that this aspect of the many problems of the present day has been entirely passed over. I believe, on the contrary, that it is continually receiving more and more attention. The method will become clearer perhaps if it is contrasted with the other line of approach. We have all read a great many books, old and new, dealing with present-day questions affecting the Muslim world, and I think you will agree that all but a very few of them have this in common, that their approach to the subject is purely external. That is to say, they have a habit of dealing with each question from an administrative point of view. They analyze, for example, the administration of law as it was and is, to point out its weaknesses and adumbrate plans for its reform. They study statistics of the educational services

* Lecture given at the Thirty-Second Anniversary Meeting, June 25, 1934, the Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold in the Chair.

and estimate the intellectual or vocational or political value of different systems and different curricula. Many of them (far too many, in fact) concentrate on the workings of the political administration and make suggestions for constitutional reform or for a more efficient Civil Service. Even in dealing with the more intimate social questions, try as we may to rid ourselves of a tendency to adopt Western standards (or rather our own standards), we can hardly help making some assumptions or other about the interrelation of the various elements which go to make up the Muslim social complex, and these assumptions frequently have to be derived from our own experience, because we frankly do not know what the governing factors in the corresponding Muslim social relationships really are.

But when it comes to practice, almost every administrator will tell us how many schemes for administrative reforms have foundered on unsuspected rocks; every educationalist how often educational programmes yield results quite the opposite of those desired; every lawyer or judge what obstacles he has found to the working of systems which looked excellent on paper. In all these matters there is an *x*, an unknown quantity, which seems to take a delight in playing havoc with the most well-meant plans, and to elude all our attempts to circumvent it. And often, with sometimes pardonable impatience, this unknown quantity is brusquely dismissed as a moral defect, a lack of something in the make-up of the people.

I wish to suggest that what is wrong in this attitude is the tendency to concentrate too much on the machine, and not enough on the people who are expected to work the machine. It is a natural enough error, because in our civilization the two are closely bound up with one another. Our systems of administration have grown up out of our social structure, and changes in the one are reflected in changes in the other. But even amongst ourselves an administrative measure may produce unexpected reactions—as happened, for instance, when a money-making stunt press stepped in to poison the springs of democratic education at their source.

We have to look for the cause of our misfits, then, for our *x*, not primarily in the moral equipment of the Muslim peoples, but in certain peculiar features of their social structure, or characteristic ideas in regard to the relations between society and administration and the sphere of the individual, which still persist to the present day.

But this search, for reasons I shall refer to presently, is not a simple task. I could easily take up all the time allotted to me with this in-

vestigation alone, but I must try to give you as briefly as possible the main features of the picture which I have in my mind of the old Islamic society before the intrusive West began to rouse it to meet new problems. The history books do not help us very much here, for what seems to do duty for history in Western Asia and the Middle East consists of little more than a wearisome recital of military revolutions. If one tries to penetrate a little deeper, one comes up against an apparently dull, solid, and unvocal mass, meekly submitting to the caprices of a host of parasitical courts and armies.

This mass constituted Islamic society. Looking at it by and large, we can see it growing up, on the margin of history, as it were, in the course of several centuries, as the result of the interaction of the older societies of Western and Central Asia with the social and religious teachings of Islam, on the one hand, and the nomadic infiltrations from Arabia and the Central Steppes on the other. The governments of the various provinces seem to play very little part in the process, and one would be pretty hard put to it to find a single instance, prior to the nineteenth century, of deliberate interference by the political authorities in the direction of reforming any of its institutions, so long as they did not aspire to political power. The social structure was thus definitely a creation of the people themselves, corresponding to their needs, their outlook and their characteristics, and, of course, exercising a reverse influence upon their aptitudes at the same time, mainly by setting limits to the individual's field of action. As a result of its persistence unchanged over many generations, it had, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, become something more than a fixed tradition: it had made an impress upon the character of the people which could not be easily erased. This impress was not, of course, exactly the same in all countries, but in spite of local variations we find a general similarity of type in the social structure of all settled Muslim populations.

This is, incidentally, part of the answer to those who deny that there is any longer at the present day such an entity as the "Muslim World," sharing certain common characteristics by which it is distinguished from other societies. Those who hold this seem to me again to be taking an exterior view, for it appears self-evident that a group of societies so uniform in structure will naturally tend to react in a uniform manner to the new forms of Western pressure.

When we begin to examine this structure under the microscope, however, we find it composed of thousands of tiny units which are not organically linked to one another at all. Each village is a little

microcosm, with no relations to the next village, except perhaps hostile ones, and even in the towns we find only mutually exclusive factions, organized in guilds and wards. Each little group, moreover, is internally self-governing, controlled by a shaikh or a guild-leader. Its relations with those whose business it was to direct the political life of the state—we can hardly speak of a "government" or of "governing classes," and the best term perhaps is "ruling classes"—are unexpectedly loose. They appear to have been for the most part limited to the matter of tax-gathering and tax-paying (for the guilds also paid an annual tax on behalf of their members), except where individuals were drawn together by special personal ties. Even the military ruling classes themselves were not a single body, but were similarly organized in small groups often at feud with one another.

The description which I have just given would seem to fit in better with our ideas of a state of anarchy than of a society, but it did, in fact, possess, and that to a very high degree, the force which creates and holds together every society, the sentiment of loyalty. The objects of that loyalty, however, were rather different from those in our own society. It was, on the one hand, extremely concentrated; the first duty of the individual was to his group. Without it, he was nothing—a man of no status. But, on the other hand, this excessive concentration on the group found a counterpoise in a second wider loyalty, which served as the link that bound all the groups together. This link was provided by religion, not in an abstract sense, but as personified in given persons or institutions. It would take us too far afield to discuss here just how this religious loyalty operated; the point which is really of importance for us is that all the ideals and moral duties of social life were bound up with one or other, either the small group or the religious community, and all the social institutions were directed towards maintaining and strengthening these ideals and moral duties.

Everyone here knows how, during the course of the nineteenth century, this structure was subjected to all kinds of strains and challenges. Sometimes these were due to deliberate interference, as when certain features of Western organization were superimposed on it; sometimes they were accidental or casual, though none the less disturbing for that. It was inevitable that the infiltration of Western ideas or methods should act as a dissolvent on the old social relations and ideas. You cannot so much as dig a sewer or import sewing machines without causing some readjustment of social values and displacing some old element or creating some new one in the social

consciousness. In such cases as these the old institutions possessed sufficient flexibility to adjust themselves with little difficulty, but it was a rather different matter when large changes in administration were initiated and put into operation, either by Western colonial governments, or by western-educated ruling classes in such states as Turkey, and to some extent Egypt. I don't think anyone would maintain that reforms of some sort were unnecessary; obviously, under the conditions of the modern world, the old social structure needed to be developed very considerably, and the old loyalties confined within the small groups needed to be extended in such a way as to serve as the basis of a more complex structure, in which the interests and activities of all classes were more closely interrelated.

But what I do question very strongly is whether, in any of the major changes which have been introduced into the social machinery, either Muslim or European reformers ever took into account the characters and dispositions instilled into the people by a thousand years of tradition, and tried seriously to study what the effects would be and what reactions would be produced upon them. This may seem a bold assertion, but I have some grounds for making it. We have already seen that the Muslim ruling classes stood outside the social structure to a very great extent, and the Western-educated amongst them were even more out of touch with their own people. On the other hand, the European local administrator, who knew and felt with his people, must often have acquired an instinctive grasp of their circle of ideas, but that it was not adequately conveyed to the creators of policy seems to be borne out by the fact that after long search I have not found a single work, in any European or Oriental language that I know, which gives a full and accurate account of the traditional Muslim social institutions.* It is this fact which, at this period of time, makes it so very difficult to try to reconstruct it in theory, and to penetrate into those inner chambers where the living cells are at work.

I am neither a sociologist nor an administrator—it is not in my province therefore to say what measures should have been taken, nor am I competent to do so. The business of the Orientalist is not to dictate, but to investigate, and his investigations are of little use unless he makes an effort to understand the historical character of the people and culture with which he is dealing. It is, then, a legitimate extension of this function to examine how far recent developments are modifying

* An exception must be made for Dutch, in which there is a very extensive literature on the local institutions of Indonesia.

that character and to try to discover the nature of their reactions to the measures which have been more or less forced upon them.

Let us take first the very difficult problems of law and authority. We need not go into the old conception of law as a divine ordinance, whose ultimate sanctions are religious (important as this aspect is), but consider rather its practical working. The primary function of the judge was not to mete out punishment, but to mediate between two or more parties. His object was to satisfy the sense of equity of the community, rather than to uphold the claims of individuals. The rights of the individual, in other words, were to a large extent limited by consideration of the common good. Consequently, the procedure of the judge was not circumscribed by hard-and-fast rules, and the law he applied was, in fact, customary law, which carried an atmosphere of traditional and religious sanction.

Now it is evident that as the community evolves towards a more complex organization the old methods of justice must evolve also and become more systematic and more firmly based on legal rules. But to be healthy, this evolution should keep pace with the evolution of society, neither falling behind it nor outstripping it to any great degree. This was what actually happened, to a certain extent, in the earliest stages of the Turkish reform movement of the nineteenth century. Later on, however, the pace increased; codes were drawn up and promulgated, but the prerogatives of the administration and the poverty of the legal personnel resulted in repeated abuses. Worse still, as it seems to me, from the point of view of their coherence with the social organization, was the introduction, as in Egypt, of complete new codes, either drawn from or adapted from Western models, with an elaborate hierarchy of tribunals. Justice by becoming impersonal became blind, and by insisting on the rights of the individuals interfered with the community structure to a serious degree.

I am not competent to speak of what has happened in India, although it seems to be generally agreed that litigation is one of the great curses of that country, and excess of litigation has obviously grown up out of the too rigid application of an unsuitable system of law. But I have seen some of the effects in Egypt, particularly in connection with the transfer of land. It was only after 1861 that foreigners were allowed to hold landed property in Egypt, and since the institution of the Mixed Courts the transfer of land has been mainly in their hands. At the same time the introduction of Egypt into the mainstream of world economy by the cultivation of cotton created a great demand for

consumers' credit—the inevitable accompaniment of a sudden inflow of capital in a rather primitive village economy,* which was taken advantage of by foreign moneylenders. The law, instead of taking measures to protect the villagers, backed the moneylenders, with the unhealthy result that in a country of rapidly increasing population the area of agricultural land held by foreigners has risen at times as high as 15 per cent. Admittedly a far greater area has actually been added to the agricultural land by means of irrigation works, and in some cases this work was undertaken by foreign companies, but the net result remains of a high proportion of landless peasantry and a consequent sense of grievance.

I wish to be clear that I attach no blame for this to those who administer the law. But even granted that the law has been administered impartially and without wire-pulling, it is evident that it fails to carry the weight which a legal system adjusted to the situation and backed by the public sense ought to have. I am inclined to seek the reason for this not so much in the fact that modern machine-made codes lack the religious sanction of the old system, as that the Muslim peoples have never accepted the Roman conception of justice, but have always held to the ideal of equity.

It may be objected to this that everybody knows that under the old system the Qadi's courts were a byword for venality and corruption. To this objection there are two answers. One is that the Qadi's courts were not as a general rule concerned with the common daily disputes of the mass of the people, but were official bodies dealing with certain types of cases. The minor disputes were usually dealt with within the group concerned by the recognized arbitrator, the village shaikh, or the guild-leader, whose interests were bound up with those of the group. The other, and perhaps better, answer is to be found in the conception of authority. Public authority, as we have seen, stood rather outside the framework of the social group and conferred *privilege*, in a bad sense—privilege to demand and even to seize money and goods, to command services, to act in the most arbitrary way, and to buy justice. So ingrained was this view of authority as bound up with force that one of the most acute and well-informed of the French savants who accompanied Napoleon's expedition to Egypt remarks: "The fellahs are less sensible of the fortune of having a just and temperate landlord, when he is weak and of little

* I have seen the same thing more recently in the cotton-growing area in the Sudan.

consideration, than of the absurd advantage of having as their lord a powerful man, although the first treats them fairly, while the second fleeces them without mercy."*

We may certainly put this toleration of privilege down partly to the long tradition of quietism inculcated by the religious teachers of the people, but there is also another aspect of the situation. Authority was rarely long and peacefully enjoyed, and the insecurity of life and property amongst the ruling classes to some extent compensated for their tyranny, and thus a certain standard of rough justice was maintained.

But here again the imposition of Western administration and law has introduced a fresh complication both in the structure and ideology of Muslim society. By stabilizing at a given moment a transitory situation, it has, if I may put it this way, brought to a sudden stop the circulation of authority, and placed it in the hands of the fortunate few who happened to be in possession of it at that juncture. It is, of course, difficult to see what else the Western authorities could have done, at least in the earlier stages, and it would be absurd to impute any blame to anybody. But it is not always realized that this crystallization of authority has had a marked effect in changing the nature of the relations between those who possess it and those over whom it is exercised. A fluid and unstable military revenue-farming class has been converted into an hereditary landed aristocracy, disposing very often of immense revenues, and reaping the advantages of the new legal and administrative institutions in increasing control over its subordinates and subjects.

It is often claimed that Islam is fundamentally democratic. The history of Islamic society hardly bears out this claim, but at least it can be said that an hereditary landed aristocracy is foreign both to Islamic thought and tradition. If it is argued that the establishment of such an aristocracy is a necessary step in the evolution of a new and stable society, the point may be granted—though, I think, it is open to doubt—but it is important for us to realize that this creation of vested interests has come about, not by the inner evolution of Islamic society itself, but as a result of the sudden imposition of alien ideas, and generally alien rule. It is not a natural development, but a lopsided growth. There would, however, be something to be said for it if this aristocracy were animated by those ideas of public service which can alone justify its continued existence, but this was not and is not

* Estève, in *Description de l'Égypte*, I., Part I. (Paris, 1809), p. 321.

the case, in spite of many illustrious examples to the contrary. The old inheritance of predatory and spendthrift generations cannot be so easily set aside, and the old prerogatives exercised by authority do not at once disappear, even with the establishment of a Western system of law. Both within and without the law they continue to operate.

This view of the privilege claimed by authority is by no means a new discovery. It is at the bottom of a doctrine which is frequently urged, even in these days, by many people with direct experience of Oriental life, as to the basis of rule over Eastern peoples. It has often been put into practice, especially by the French, who are more given than we are to studying the history and culture of their colonies, and to putting the logical conclusions into effect, and in whose own law the administration is privileged. But it is just as much abused by the English chauffeur who, because he is driving a car with a general's flag, speeds along the crown of the road and forces all other traffic to scatter right and left.

But quite apart from the fact that in adopting this view we are betraying one of the chief ideals and moral bases of our own administration, it is, in fact, out of date. The French found that out when their adoption of some of the barbarous and high-handed practices of the Ottoman governors brought all Damascus about their ears in 1925 and 1926. For, largely as the result of the lessons which we ourselves have taught, there is growing up steadily a much more critical attitude towards privilege. And here again our introduction of Western legal systems has had an effect. I need not remind you that in every Muslim country there has come into existence, growing by leaps and bounds, a body of legal practitioners, forming a very large proportion of the educated elements of the population, who, in order to qualify for legal practice in the new courts, have been educated in foreign schools and universities and have naturally absorbed a great deal of the social and political ideology underlying Western—and particularly French and English—law. The existence of a lawyer-class is no new phenomenon in Muslim countries, but this vocal and influential class of Westernized lawyers is indeed new, though not so new that we cannot begin to see its results. It is true, I think, that the lawyer-class as a whole has not yet quite found its feet—that is to say, it, no more than the aristocracy, has quite outgrown the old social limitations and the old attitude towards authority. But except where the lawyers themselves belong to the aristocracy, their training has given them a democratic or equalitarian bias, and consequently they have become the natural leaders of

the opposition to all forms of vested interest, whether aristocratic or foreign. At the same time, by their very Westernization, the lawyers have to a certain extent dissociated themselves from the great mass of the people. The introduction of Western law, therefore, by its interference with the old social structure, has sown the seed, not of a steady evolution, but of a triangular conflict between aristocracy, lawyers, and people.

This fact again has not escaped the notice of those who claim that it is only the firm maintenance of Western control that can prevent the exploitation of the people by the two privileged classes—that is to say, a return to mediæval conditions, but infinitely harsher. I don't myself see the logic of expecting the people who get you into a muddle to get you out of it again. But there is one possible way out. You can't turn back the clock and fit everybody neatly into the old groups. Neither can you build the framework of a new social order and fit everybody neatly into that. Ready-made social systems with three sleeve-lengths are not to be had even in Regent Street. But what you can do is so to enlarge the mental horizons of both these privileged classes that their loyalties may extend beyond the narrow ranges of the old closed groups and be inspired by ideals of public service. Especially the lawyers—for I might hazard the generalization that it is they who, more than any other class, determine the character and evolution of the society to which they belong.

This brings us right up against the problem of education. Are we then to say that this inculcation of ideals of public service is the sole test of the new education? I should rather put it in another way. Many of you have no doubt read a very thoughtful work on *Colonial Policy*, published some three years ago by a Dutch writer, Dr. de Kat Angelino, and many who have read it no doubt disagree with some of his arguments and postulates. But at this time of day few would go so far as to deny his thesis that the pre-eminent task of colonial government is to develop social personality amongst the peoples of the East. But if personality is to be truly creative, it must be rooted in the indigenous culture. This, therefore, appears to be the task which education in the Muslim countries is called on to fulfil and the criterion by which it must be judged.

From this point of view the old Islamic system of education had one great defect and one great merit. The narrowness of its curriculum and the very small percentage of the population which was directly affected by it are less important and to a certain extent accidental

features. There was no secondary education; children passed straight from primary school to religious seminary, where they were given a very thorough training in the religious sciences, to the end that they should be fitted to serve as religious lawyers, judges, and teachers. But the methods of teaching and learning were designed to discourage initiative; they canonized tradition and demanded blind acceptance of the authoritative decisions of past generations. It was, in other words, a strictly technical or vocational type of higher education, which had as its object the fitting of every man for his own place in the social system and the chaining of his energies to the maintenance of that system. While on the one hand, therefore, it repressed the free exercise of personality, on the other hand it inculcated, even in the primary schools, a moral doctrine of duty, which might be narrow, but which cemented the fabric of society and set a moral standard which could and did inspire certain individuals with loftly ideals which we can all admire.

Well, *nous avons changé tout cela*, not without justification, and not always for the worse, by any means. The old system was too evidently out of touch with the exigencies of modern life. Everywhere, whether by European governments or by independent Oriental governments, secondary schools, training colleges, and universities have been set up, and the ordinary educational machinery of the West is now paralleled by the educational machinery in the East. Yet with all this, educationalists are agreed in asserting that the results do not come up to their expectations, with a few outstanding exceptions. Why should it be so?

Here, again, I am not in a position to dogmatize, but in the light of what has just been said there are three main questions which deserve, in my opinion, serious consideration.

We have seen that the old idea of Islamic education—not in the palmy days of Islamic culture a thousand years ago, but in the eighteenth century—was in the first place vocational. To what extent has this conception of education been overcome, even amongst the educated classes themselves? A boy went up to the religious seminaries because he was going to be a qadi or a teacher of tradition. Do the boys of the present generation go to secondary schools and universities just because they are destined to be lawyers, teachers, administrators, or doctors, and must pass certain examinations? How far is it realized that education is worth having for its own sake, in order to train the individual for the free exercise of his powers? But before we become

too pessimistic over the answers to these questions, let us remember that there is one section at least of the Muslim communities in which the idea of vocational training does not seem to be uppermost. That is in the case of girls. Here, without a doubt, the liberating force of education is being realized, and sometimes feared, and this may be why, if my own small experience is any guide, the Oriental women students are so much more wide-awake and intelligent than the average Oriental male student.

But, on the other hand, even the provision of education for girls may have something to do with my second query: To what extent is the present educational system purely imitative? By this I mean two things. The first half of the question is: Why all these schools? Have they come into being as the result of a popular or universal urge for education, or is it merely that an elaborate network of secondary and higher schools is regarded as part of the external equipment of a modern state? For evidently all these hundreds of thousands are not put through the mill that a few brilliant individuals may emerge in the end. No doubt a large number of persons with the requisite educational attainments are required for public administration and so on, but any suggestion that higher education should be limited to these has always produced a great outcry, both from the home countries and from the Oriental countries concerned. We all know how often it has been charged against British administrations in the East that they have neglected education. But the reasons for the outcry may have been quite different. Those who protested at home evidently held the cultural view of education, but we must seek the reason for the outcry from the Oriental side in the answer to our first question about the vocational aspect of education. The second half of the present question is whether the actual organization of these schools, their methods of teaching, syllabus, and what I may call atmosphere, have not just been transplanted wholesale from Western countries? The old Islamic education performed a definite function in the normal life of the community. Is the new education so adapted to the special moral and cultural needs of the present period of development that it is able to perform a similar function (not necessarily the same function) in the life of the community? I think that you will agree that this is a very difficult question, for if the new education is to fulfil its first purpose it must enlarge the loyalties of the individual beyond the limits of the old social system and fit him to play his part in building up a new one. But to do this it must furnish him with the moral basis for this task.

Does it do so? We can say, I think, that in our own society—that is, in the environment in which this educational system was evolved—the moral aspect is present. But I suggest that the very fact that many educated Orientals cannot see in the system anything but materialism—that is to say, the negation of morality—is strong evidence that in the process of transplantation it has lost its moral aspect. In other words, we have passed on the concrete forms of our education, but not its spirit. And this brings us up against very delicate, but fundamental problems, too delicate to be discussed here. It is enough to say that the relation of religion to education must be fairly faced, and that it cannot be faced without the co-operation of enlightened but genuinely religious men in the community itself. Meanwhile, some efforts are being made to create a less revolutionary and more evolutionary type of education in various countries. One sees certain tendencies in this direction in Egypt, in the educational service in Palestine, and also—in a somewhat different form—in the American University of Beirut, and in a few missionary institutions with a more universalized outlook. The crux of the problem, after all, is not the release of individuality—for almost any kind of modern education in the Muslim countries will do that, under present circumstances—but the creation of social personality; for this purpose nothing short of the strongest moral anchorage will do. Without it you can get only the unsocial individual, the destroyer, not the creator, of civilization.

The satisfactory solution of some, at least, of these problems is bound up in turn with my third question. Can there ever be a genuine education which is not given in the native language of the people? We need not go back now to Lord Macaulay and his famous minute, and I think we must all admit that the common use of the English language in education has been a powerful factor in the exterior unification of India. But the Indian situation had and has special features which are not paralleled to any appreciable degree in other Muslim countries. Fundamentally the problem is a psychological one, and the psychologists do not seem as yet to have investigated at all carefully the processes connected with speech. So we must not too rashly assume that the confusion of tongues and the effort of learning in a foreign tongue necessarily result in confusion or sterilization of thought. But there is one further social consequence which is not open to doubt. So long as foreign tongues are employed in the teaching of certain subjects with a Western tradition behind them, so long is the language of the country deprived of an important stimulus and its

development retarded. But language cannot be separated from those who speak it, and if the development of a language is retarded it is the development of the people as a whole that is retarded. Simultaneously a gulf is opened between the educated few whose cultural ideas are bound up with a foreign language, and the mass of the people whose farthest horizon is bounded by their own.

Some of you must have read the pamphlet containing the lectures on " Educational Problems in the Far and Near East " given in London two years ago by Dr. C. H. Becker*—the last testament of one of the wisest educationalists and most gifted Orientalists of our age. You will remember his insistence that the only true line of progress for Oriental education is that which will enable the peoples of the East to repeat the intellectual stages of our own development in terms of their own cultures. Does not this, then, point to the answer to the question with which we began this long discussion on education? If an educational system fails to yield the results expected of it, it is because it is divorced from social realities or moral bases or from both together. How, then, is it going to perform the function of guiding the forces released by the disruption of the old group-system, of creating the new loyalties upon which the new social order will depend, and, above all, of strengthening the moral stamina of the new generations to face the obloquy, threats, persecutions, and personal suffering without which nothing worth gaining can ever be gained?

But law, authority, and education are far from exhausting all the fields in which the social reactions to the new conditions require to be studied, nor have we by any means exhausted even these fields. How far, for example, are the old group-loyalties and the sense of privilege still active in modern bureaucratic systems? Another delicate subject that, particularly as we are conscious that practice in all Western countries, including even our own, does not always come up to our principles.

And what, for example, are we to say about industry? Very little apparently, if we are to judge by Lord Cromer, who managed to write a two-volume work on Egypt without a single paragraph on native industry. We have seen that in the old system the industries were organized in guilds, which were quite strong enough at times to bring pressure to bear even on such corrupt rulers as the Mamluks. The guilds have long since vanished from the scene, and to-day the whole of native industry in the Near East is in the wildest confusion. Nobody

* Oxford U.P., 1933 (University of London Institute of Education Studies and Reports, No. 1).

would deny that a healthy industry is an essential element in a balanced social system, and that under present conditions health is inseparable from organization. But to the European and Egyptian administrator that word calls up nothing but visions of trades unions, strikes, communist cells, boycotts; and so the old industry goes to the wall, while the thousands of deracinated workers employed in Westernized industry form a new proletariat, with no ideals and no loyalties, a mass of inflammable material ready to the hand of the first propagandist who comes that way.

And commerce, and family life, and every other social relationship show the same picture—an old system thrown suddenly out of gear or entirely discarded, and either not replaced at all or replaced by a brand new machine imported from Europe. It says much for human adaptability that the results have not been worse, though we cannot yet set limits to what they may produce. In any case, Muslim society or the various units which were included in the old Muslim society are moving forward, but they are moving more under the impulse of external stimuli than as a result of their own momentum. The problem is to transform the character of this movement and give it a purpose and direction of its own by energizing whatever elements of the old social structure still show themselves to be possessed of sufficient capacity for expansion to meet new situations. And this can be done only by the action of persons whose energies have been set free by social education, and who are inspired by the ideals which have inspired our own great liberators.

Mr. Philip Ireland: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have thoroughly enjoyed the lecture, more especially since it is the first time I have heard Mr. Gibb speak since he visited the University at Beirut where I first met him. I am glad that he implied the necessity for studying the reactions in the Near East and in the Muslim world in general to the various aspects of Western culture. The Muslim world itself, through its contemporary vernacular press, has taken a great interest in and has done a certain amount of investigation, not always of a grievance nature nor of a purely defensive mechanism type, of the problems, such as the position of woman, education, the status of indigenous religious courts, and so on, which have arisen from contact of the Muslim and the Western cultures. I venture to think that, in line with the lecturer's suggestion of the need for systematic study of these reactions, this Society has been already of great service, and that

there is here an opportunity for even increased activity through its lectures and the JOURNAL.

Mr. Gibb mentioned that perhaps Western reforming movements, as they have come to the East, have not fully realized the influence of social traditions existing there. Recently I have been looking over some papers concerning the early days of 'Iraq. I have found there, among other things, references to and great stress laid upon the cleaning of the towns, upon sanitation and the like, without consideration of whether the material and social backgrounds justified the setting up of such standards as were insisted upon, and without apparent thought of establishing a social consciousness which would maintain those standards when outside pressure was removed. That the administrators on the spot were not always unconscious of the situation may be surmised from hints at the end of some of the reports to headquarters, indicating that, though much time was spent on such work, it did not constitute the chief aspects of the administrators' functions.

On the other hand, the establishment of the Tribal Disputes Regulation in 'Iraq was a recognition of the great differences in social background between the tribesmen, with their desert code and customs, and the townsmen, who, to a certain degree, had come in contact with civilization and with the general legal system of the Turks, imported for the most part from Europe. One of the greatest difficulties of the early period was the line of definition between the tribesmen and the townsmen, which may be taken as an indication of the practical difficulties of the administrators in the face of Eastern social background. This particular problem of demarcation has existed to the present day, although now efforts are being made to absorb all inhabitants of 'Iraq into the normal legal system, partly by settling the tribes and partly by disregarding the tribal background. I understand, however, that while these efforts are being made, those concerned with carrying out the Regulation have found it extremely useful as still recognizing the social traditions of the tribal population of the country.

The lecturer's statements on education greatly interested me. I fully agree with him that the educational systems introduced into the Near East from Great Britain, from Europe, and from the United States within the last twenty years or even before, have strayed too far from the realities of the social situation. It seems to me to be a common misconception that a system of education which has done well in the Western world under a given set of conditions will succeed as well if it is imported into an entirely different set of conditions. The mis-

conception has led, too often, the sponsors of the systems to devote their efforts to the maintenance of their systems intact rather than to the solution of the peculiar educational and social problems of the area in which they establish themselves, with the result that any failures are attributed to deficiencies in the student-material or some like cause rather than to any deficiencies or maladjustment of the systems themselves. Such methods may be seen in the importation of the French system of education almost *in toto* into Syria, and, in a lesser degree, in the educational system at the American University at Beirut, which, for the most part, is still a small cross-section of the American system.

Mr. Gibb also spoke on the general tendency of the East to rely on what he calls the vocational type of education, and on its rather disastrous effects in creating a group of men without hope of absorption into government service or alternatively into the life of the community. On the whole I am inclined to believe that this danger is somewhat overrated as far as the Near East is concerned, and that the difficulties of absorption are not, as yet, much greater than in many European countries, such as Germany. Yet the tendency does exist and may cause future difficulties. It is a tribute to the late Sir Henry Dobbs that he insisted, when drawing up a memorandum in 1915 on the establishment of education in 'Iraq, that any system set up there should be a liberating and cultural influence rather than merely vocational training.

Mr. Gibb stressed what to my mind is one of the greatest difficulties of the East to-day: that its leaders, or at least those who have been influenced by the West, are trying to force the pace in political and social spheres. They have become conscious, especially in the last twenty years, of the progress made in the West, and have felt that all that is implied there must be theirs. They have attempted to make the change without having the right background, without taking the trouble to secure the foundations and the essentials which, in the Western civilizations, have been built up over a long period of years. I agree with Mr. Gibb that until those essentials are sought for and established, the situation is fraught with peril, and that administrative, social, and educational systems may break down far more than is at present indicated.

Mr. Philip Graves: Mr. Chairman,—There is one point I should rather like to make with regard to the admirable lecture to which we have been listening, and that is the effect in Turkey, and I understand

to a less extent in Persia, of military education—I use the term in the very widest sense, from the conscription of the rank and file to the training of the General Staff. In Turkey, of course, you have had that going on for a long time, roughly since the sixties, I think, of last century, and there no doubt the old scattered group system was very decidedly unified. My own recollection of Turkey, and of a very great number of conversations with Turkish prisoners of war whom it was my job to interrogate in Palestine, gives me the impression that—well, there was something like a nation there; it was hardly the sort of human dust which the lecturer has been describing. I refer, of course, not so much to the Arabs, who did not quite feel that they "belonged" to the Army, who were Muslims, and followed the Caliph of the day, but were not very keen about it all; and, of course, I do not refer to the Greeks, Armenians, and so on; I refer to the Anatolian Turks; but I think there was something rather like a nation there. That was my impression then, and certainly what happened afterwards I think confirms that impression.

The same process is apparently being adopted in Persia. It is of very recent date there, and we do not quite know how it will work out, but it would be very interesting to know whether conscription and the regimentation of Persia may produce analogous results to those which have been produced in Turkey.

Mr. RUSHTON PARKER: I should have thought, merely as an irresponsible traveller, that one of the most fundamental questions that we ought to try to settle is whether there is any real connection between dogma and morals. So far as I can see, the Buddhists and the Muslims and the Jews and the Christians, roughly speaking, have very much the same idea with regard to morals, but with regard to dogma they are deadly enemies; and I am under the impression that until we can make less fuss about dogma and more fuss about morals we shall not make much progress.

Mme. ANDRÉ RIEDER: I should like to ask whether Mr. Gibb thinks that the difficulty of getting initiative out of the young Arab has been—I lived much among them before the war—due to the education they received in their early years. It was exclusively a training of the memory. They were seated, literally and "biblically," in a circle at the feet of the Mullaim or Master. All they did was to repeat and repeat endlessly, generally from the Koran, or, if they were Maronites,

the responses from the service. There was absolutely no training in the power of thought. Where, after years of such training, should initiative develop?

I noticed among the young students in the foreign schools, and in particular at the University of Beirut, that the students have untold difficulty in writing original essays or commentaries on given subjects. Original ideas concerning their life or surroundings could rarely be induced. I wonder if Mr. Gibb would agree that perhaps the reason why initiative has taken so long to develop lies partly in this explanation?

Of course, sending students abroad to other countries does develop in them mental training, the power of comparison, and more original thought, even though they may also acquire less desirable accomplishments.

The newer and improved methods of teaching imported into Turkey and adapted and developed there show a marked advance. Their elementary schools, lycées, special training for teachers in Istanbul, such as the Institute Gazi for teachers and the most up-to-date Institute Ismet in Ankara, all show this advance.

Mr. H. A. R. Gibb (in reply): Undoubtedly I agree wholeheartedly with the last speaker. There is no question, I think, that the initiative of the Oriental student has been deliberately hindered. I do not think it is only that the method of memorizing has incidentally hindered the development of initiative, but for a great many centuries the whole effort of the educational authorities was to prevent initiative. Tradition held the whole structure together, and they knew quite well enough that any questioning of tradition, any breach of tradition, was likely to cause a certain amount of social disquiet, and possibly social disruption. So it is a very great and difficult task to introduce initiative, and to introduce initiative sufficiently discreetly to prevent the social break-up which would naturally result if no other factors were introduced to keep the whole structure together.

There is no doubt, again, I think, about what the last speaker but one said. His view that there should be less fuss about dogma and more fuss about morals was precisely the view which was taken by what we may call popular religious leaders throughout Islam, and still is taken. By the popular leaders I mean those whom we sometimes call dervishes or sufis, the shaikhs of the religious guilds, and so on, who have always insisted that morality is the real heart of religion,

though the doctors of the law, of course, have always set great store by the purity of dogma.

With regard to what Mr. Graves said as to the effect of military education in Turkey, there again I think there is no question that this is a special case. Military education has been the one field in which a certain pressure has been exercised consistently for even longer than he says, for certainly more than a hundred years. Remember, of course, that it started off under rather favourable circumstances—that is to say, that already you had a military class which had not been deprived of its power of initiative, and which had been to a certain extent taught to think, a class which held a privileged position with regard to all the other classes. You have a similar situation in Egypt to that in Turkey in the intellectual development of the military classes there under French influences. Similar in structure, though very different actually in the lines along which it has proceeded, is the development in Japan, where there was a pre-existing situation which has facilitated the adoption of most of the new ideas. I do not know whether I have made myself quite clear on that point, but there is no doubt whatever that the military caste was the one which was most ready to take advantage of the new Western ideas which were coming in.

Finally, I ought to say a word of thanks to Mr. Ireland for some of the illustrations he has given, and particularly that very apt illustration about the Tribal Disputes Regulation in 'Iraq, because it bears out exactly what I was saying. The Ministry of Justice does not like it, and wants to try to reduce everything to a deadly uniformity by introducing legal systems which are impossible to apply in such a situation as that of the tribes in 'Iraq. I am afraid that that is what Western or Westernized administrators in most Eastern countries have been consistently doing.

On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks to the author was carried by acclamation.

UNDERSTANDING JAPAN*

By DR. ARTHUR LEA
Bishop in South Japan (Kyushu).

TWO months ago when honoured with an invitation to address this Society, in a moment of weakness I consented; but later, when I had perused the January number of your Journal, and had seen for myself the high standard of the articles contained therein, I was appalled at my presumption in consenting so readily to lecture before a Society of this kind. However, in accepting your invitation, I made it clear that I was not really an authority on Japan, and that I wanted especially to avoid posing as an authority on the political aspects of Japan and her problems. My only qualification for being here is that I have spent nearly thirty-eight years in that country. I would close these rather personal introductory remarks by stating that what I shall say has not been gathered from books, but is the result of personal experience and observation.

The subject of my address is "Understanding Japan." It is a practical subject, which I shall try to treat in a practical, non-technical way. I wish definitely to deepen your interest in and sympathy for that country with which for many years we have maintained a traditional friendship. That friendship has recently been threatened, and if it were destroyed the result would be, I feel sure, against the welfare of the peoples of the Far East and of the nations which have interests therein, and would in the end render less secure the peace of the world.

As Britishers we have a great responsibility towards Japan, because of this friendship which, on both sides, stood the test of war: on Britain's side during the Russo-Japanese war, and on Japan's side during the great World War. Japan has shown her readiness to learn from all nations, but she looks towards England as to no other nation. True, on account of her threatened political isolation she seems inclined at present to go her own way; but she still shows a tendency to idealize British character and institutions. She still believes that in ideals she

* Lecture given on July 18, 1934, the Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., in the Chair. (The paper has been slightly abridged.)

has many points in common with Great Britain; and herein lie our responsibility and opportunity.

Misunderstandings in personal and social life are due mainly to two causes—lack of knowledge and lack of imagination. In international relationships these causes are enhanced by another—lack of opportunity for personal contact. Japan is so far away, and none can doubt that this is one of the greatest causes of misunderstandings that have arisen, and are all but general in the West to-day. In addition, it must be recognized that there is about the Japanese people a reticence, suggestive of mystery, if not secretiveness, which militates against complete understanding.

A Remarkable Historic Phenomenon.

Going back two thousand years, whether in the case of the Japanese or English, we enter the mists of prehistoric times. Mystery surrounds the origin of both races. Moreover, until sixty years ago there was no contact, whether direct or indirect, between these two peoples. Our own civilization was developed through the impulses of Christian Theism, Greek philosophy, Roman law, and the love of freedom characteristic of the Nordic race. None of these factors enter into the development of Japan. The chief factors which have determined her development are Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Bushido. We can hardly imagine two groups of influences with greater contrasts, and would expect to find transition from the one type of civilization to that of the other extremely difficult, and possible only after a long period of preparation. But Japan's recent history presents us with a remarkable historical phenomenon. In spite of her divergent development, as soon as contact is made, she immediately manifests, in a marked degree, the power both to appreciate and to assimilate Western civilization, and that within the lifetime of one generation.

This innate potentiality of the Japanese people, who have shown themselves capable of transcending their own environment and historical development, is one of the surprises of history, and is at once the cause of the unbounded admiration on the one hand, and the bitter opposition on the other, which she has aroused in the minds of Western peoples.

Time will not permit us to enter into the interesting question of the importance, relatively, of innate potentialities and of the influence of environment in the development of a nation. Japan's recent and remarkable history bids us, at any rate, stress the importance of the

former. It is not easy to isolate these two factors, but a simple illustration from Japan may prove of some interest. Like other nations, the Japanese have developed a type of music quite their own. In that type part-singing has never had a place. The environment never demanded harmony. But it is possible to take a number of young Japanese and group them according to the pitch and range of their voices, and within the first half-hour of practice have them singing, with appreciation and enjoyment, a simple hymn tune in two or three parts. The interesting thing is that, while their environment has never made demands on it, the innate potentiality for harmony is there, and the gift available for immediate use when required. This is only a simple illustration, but it applies broadly to all things Japanese. I shall try to deal with another aspect of this potentiality a little later, if time permit. It will be sufficient here to point out that Japan's remarkable progress, which has surprised the world, can only be understood in the light of these innate powers.

Japanese and English History Compared.

It has been a valuable experience to live in Japan during a period of nearly four decades, and to witness the creation of New Japan. History, as we know it in the West, and covering as it does many hundreds of years, seems to have been compressed in Japan into the lifetime of one generation, and re-enacted before one's very eyes. It has been of great value to us who are missionaries to stand outside the great structure of Christianity and view it objectively—a thing impossible at home—and to have been compelled to think it all out again. In like manner it has been of surpassing interest to review our own national history from the point of view of a nation so different in its history from our own. After the first term of seven years in Japan I determined to read again our own history, viewing it as much as possible with Japanese eyes. The effect was startling. Almost every page of that history for a thousand years bore witness to a ceaseless struggle on the part of our people for liberty and for the recognition of natural human rights. Japanese history, on the contrary, contains no parallel to this struggle. The Feudal age continued until the Restoration (Ishin), and the deep-seated Feudal spirit has been a great factor in the recent and rapid progress of Japan. Sixty-seven years ago the Military Ruler (Shogun) and the numerous Barons (Daimyo), almost without a struggle, surrendered their authority to the rediscovered Emperor, and

in him were focussed that revived loyalty, patriotism, and spirit of self-sacrifice, which constitute the Yamato Damashii, or Spirit of Japan. From the time of the Restoration every step forward has been taken in the name of the Emperor acting on the advice of patriotic leaders. The Constitution of New Japan, with its charter of liberty for the people, was not wrung from unwilling rulers, but was the free gift of the Emperor acting with unfailing solicitude for his people.

One cannot refrain from asking which of the two nations has been the more fortunate in its historical development. This would, indeed, be a worthy subject for debate, but it will be sufficient to point out, on the one hand, that under no other conditions could New Japan have been so quickly created, and, on the other hand, that there must be something in the very bone of the Britisher that represents this struggle of a thousand years.

Japan and Corporate-mindedness.

The value of a study of Japanese history is not due to anything she has accomplished in the past, for Japan has not really influenced the world, but to the importance of learning the secret of her recent phenomenal progress, the nature of her innate potentialities, and the manner in which they are likely to be realized in the near future. Japan will dominate the Far East for some time to come; and the peace of the world cannot be maintained without her. Under the kaleidoscopic conditions that prevail in Japan to-day it is possible to make any statement with regard to her, and it will be true, provided it is not a general statement; but viewing Japan in the light of her recent development, it is safe to make one generalization. She possesses one quality in a marked degree—namely, corporate-mindedness.

To understand the source of this quality it is well to consider human life as a whole. In our own personal experience we find two factors struggling for control in the process of our development—one, the reign of law, and the other, the element of spontaneity or creative power. We know that law rules, even in our mental and spiritual life. Though it appears contradictory, we are conscious also of creative powers. We believe that we can create things. The struggle between these two elements constitutes the process of our development. This is likewise true of races.

Comparing the East with the West, we find that the former has concentrated largely on the reign of law, and the latter on the factor of creative powers. This is, I think, a generalization that will stand.

In the East the reign of law, the Karma, based on a pantheistic view of the world and human life, has resulted in fatalism, passivity, and an attitude of submission to the powers that be, whether of man or of the universe. Personality in God, and ultimately in man, is denied, and with this denial the ego-consciousness is suppressed and the development of individuality arrested.

Turning to the West, we find that the creative factors in human life have been emphasized. Personality has been stressed. There is purpose both in the life of the individual and in the Universe as a whole—the teleological view of the world, as we say in theological language. The result has been a higher development of personality and consequent individualism.

Now in Japan we find, in common with other countries of the East, the negative effects of the Oriental view of human life to which I have briefly referred. But this is not the whole. A positive factor has been provided by Bushido, the Way of the Warrior, which has inculcated absolute devotion to, and absolute self-sacrifice for, their country. In these negative and positive factors in the development of Japan we find the source of that corporate-mindedness, loyalty, and patriotism, the Yamato Damashii, which they themselves regard as unique in the world to-day. Illustrations of this spirit are innumerable in Japanese history, and no one will deny that the same spirit exists to-day. During the recent " Shanghai incident " three men volunteered to become living bombs to destroy the wire entanglements of the opposing Chinese forces, at the right spot and at the right time. This sacrifice called forth the admiration of the whole nation, but caused no surprise, and their death no regrets.

This corporate-mindedness is not confined to things military. It is also the basis of that " mass production " in industry which is disturbing the world to-day. The girls working in the factories, at an incredibly low wage, are helped and cheered in their work by a conviction that it helps their country. Corporate-mindedness makes possible mass production in education and in the formation of public opinion. Government officials, publicists, and school-teachers are making full use of it to strengthen the morale of the nation against that political isolation with which they believe they are faced. A Japanese writer in the *Observer* of Shanghai criticizes individualism in the following words: " They (the individualists) think that their bodies (a Japanese idiom for ' they ') belong to themselves." This is not a missionary address, but you will not deny me the opportunity of pointing out how this

ideal might be won and consecrated to the highest uses. May it not be transformed into, "Ye are not your own; for ye were bought with a price"?

This characteristic is what we have to consider if we wish to understand Japan. They have a word "Kokutai," which expresses this nation-consciousness. It is generally translated "Nationality," but it can best be rendered by, "The organic life of the family-nation." It is this "Kokutai," of which the Emperor is the recognized embodiment, which makes absolute demands on the devotion of the people. It is beside the point to regard this as narrow nationalism. The sudden impact of Western powers sixty years ago, and the awakening of Japan to a consciousness of danger from aggression and unpreparedness, were bound to show themselves in this way. This corporate-mindedness is a gift which, if brought into accord with truth and reason and rightly directed, can be made to serve the higher interests of Japan and the Far East, and may become Japan's contribution to the progress of the world.

Japan and Racial Equality.

The Japanese people recognize that Western civilization is more advanced than that of the Orient, especially on its material side, and they regard the individual in the West as superior in personal development. The attitude of a Japanese in the presence of a Westerner is one of respect, and this is not fully explained on the basis of his natural gentleness, which so often shows itself in an extreme form of self-depreciation.

But when we come to the corporate virtues of loyalty and patriotism, the spirit of sacrifice for one's country, and the contempt of danger and death, they believe that they are superior. They do not deny the existence of these qualities in other races, but are convinced that they act more potently in themselves. They assert, moreover, that Japan's rapid assimilation of Western civilization, the standard of education they have attained, and her position amongst the great Powers, justify her claim for complete recognition of her racial equality with the nations of the West. She claims with regard to immigration that there is no basis for discrimination against her nationals on the part of those nations which possess the still unoccupied areas of the world.

It may provide a little diversion if I refer in lighter vein to the question of colour. The Japanese with a sense of humour often make

short work of this question. I once attended a large meeting in Japan, and happened to be the only Westerner in an audience of a thousand people. The speaker was dealing with the differences between the East and the West—a popular subject in Japan. "And now," said he, "we come to the question of colour. The chief races of the world are white, yellow, or black. There are those who maintain that the white races are superior, and there are others who make the same claim for the yellow races. There are, again, people who say that colour is only skin deep, and, given equal opportunities, the black man is not inferior to the white. My own view is that the yellow races are superior, and this can be proved by a simple analogy. When bread is baked the dough is placed in the oven. If, when taken out, it is white, it is under-done; if black, it is over-done, burnt. If, however, it turns out a nice yellowish-brown, it is as near perfect as can be. From this we may conclude that the white races are under-done, the black over-done, and the yellow races just right."

Another Japanese, in addressing a group of Westerners, put it this way: "You of the European races are the silver, we the gold of humanity."

Japan and her Difficulties.

And now we come to the difficulties with which Japan finds herself faced to-day. It would take considerable time to describe them, but their cause can be indicated in a few words. Sixty years ago, when Japan was compelled to open her doors and to enter into political and commercial relations with Western nations, it was Japan passive. Then for full fifty years it was Japan assimilative, and she began with great rapidity to make her own the gifts of Western civilization. So long as Japan was passive, she was regarded as a quaint, gentle, artistic, and altogether interesting people. When she become assimilative, the Japanese were "wonderfully progressive and great imitators." But during recent years Japan assimilative has become Japan creative, and herein lies the cause of all the trouble. She has begun to challenge Western aggression in the Far East with her naval and military power, and the industrial supremacy of the West with the products of her well-organized mass production. When the Western Powers compelled Japan to leave her seclusion, they expected her to remain permanently Oriental in outlook and character. They never dreamed that the day would come when she would dominate the Far East politically, or begin to exploit the West industrially.

Looking at the matter in its broadest aspects, we are witnessing to-day two great reactions, one in the East and the other in the West. In Western lands liberty has been worshipped as divine, and authority as something evil or undesirable, and there has been developed a one-sided individualism, the reaction from which has driven Europe to revive authority under various forms of dictatorship. In the East we have a rebellion against passivity and fatalism and an awakening to creative powers, and this has given us New Japan, and may in turn give us a New China and a New India. The outcome of these two reactions may be a different, if not a new, world.

The Crisis of Japan.

In Japan the era-names change with the accession of every Emperor. We are now in the ninth year of the Era of Showa (Radiant Peace). In this ninth year of Radiant Peace Japan stands at the great crisis of her history. According to public opinion in Japan, this crisis will reach its climax in 1935. Such terms as "Crisis," "Extraordinary Time," "Year of Destiny," "Danger Line" are on everybody's lips. The climax of the crisis will be reached, they believe, when Japan's notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations will have become an accomplished fact, and when Japanese diplomatists, at the next conference on the limitation of naval armaments, will have insisted on naval parity with England and America. To the change of ratio from 5 : 5 : 3 to parity, Japan is convinced that neither England nor America will agree, and the result will be political isolation for Japan.

Against this day the Press of Japan is pouring forth hundreds of books and pamphlets, the object of which is to prepare the nation for this emergency. I hold in my hands a few specimens, the titles of which are typical:

"Facing the Danger Line—1935."
"Understanding the Crisis—Let Young Japan be Prepared."
"An Appeal to Japanese Nationals."
"Back to the Spirit of Japan."
"The Crisis and Salvation of Japan."

These are but a few of hundreds, all of which aim at preparing the nation for the fateful year.

As is well known, thousands of students in the universities, colleges, and higher institutions of learning in Japan have been turning Communist, in spite of the repressive efforts of the Government authorities.

But the report comes that, aroused by the threatened crisis, one-third of these Communists have recanted their "dangerous thoughts" and returned to their former loyalty, some of their leaders confessing that they were mistaken in regarding the Government of the Emperor as a form of Czarism instead of a wise arrangement in the family life of Japan. The remarkable revival of nationalism in Japan is due to this isolation with which she is threatened. Nor is that isolation merely political. The sweeping condemnation of Japan's industrial activities is calculated to result in her moral isolation. Only one thing remains to make her isolation absolute—the spiritual isolation which would follow the withdrawal of Christian missionary work. We are striving to avoid this result and to keep alive and active the interest of the home Churches in the spiritual aspect of Japan's threatened isolation.

Misunderstandings.

It is proverbial that the Britisher is never tired of criticizing his own country, but it is conceded that he does want to be fair in his judgment of others. I am therefore glad of this opportunity to remove or explain some misunderstandings that exist in regard to Japan.

1. *Commercial Dishonesty.*—Let me deal, in the first place, with the commercial dishonesty with which Japan has been so widely charged. There is nothing to be gained by denying the existence of a basis in fact for this charge; but it will help if the cause can be explained, and if we can show that the Japanese themselves have in the past striven and are still exerting themselves to remove this weakness in the commercial relations with other peoples.

It is hardly necessary for me to deny the myth that "the Japanese cannot trust their own people, and for that reason employ Chinese clerks in their banks." There is, of course, not a word of truth in this report, which probably arose from the fact that indiscriminating travellers from the West have found Chinese clerks in the Yokohama or Kobe branches of the Hongkong-Shanghai Bank. But these reports die hard.

In regard to the general charge of dishonesty, historical considerations will enable us to understand what the facts are.

In Old Japan the merchants were very low in the social scale, below the artisan and labourer, because they bartered and handled money. This was especially true during the time when the Feudal system prevailed, which was the case until the opening up of Japan. They were

the despised class, and naturally developed an inferiority complex, which showed itself in a low standard of conduct in commercial affairs. The "Samurai," or warrior class, and not the merchants, were the real Japan, and were the true representatives of Japan's ideals. It was most unfortunate for her reputation that she came into contact with the West through her merchant class, and she has suffered accordingly. On the other hand, the Government, by various forms of propaganda, and especially through the schools, has made strenuous efforts to take away this reproach. No one can deny that these efforts have been attended with a great measure of success, and that much has been accomplished.

When, a few years ago, a leading bank failed, the Bank Governor sacrificed his personal property to save the depositors from loss, and this is not an isolated case. During thirty-eight years in Japan we have had only one case of theft amongst household servants—a fair record.

In regard to the failure to carry out the terms of contracts with which the merchants of Japan are so often charged, a word of explanation ought to be made. The hard-and-fast contracts of Western business had no parallel in Old Japan. In the West, when once a contract is signed, its provisions must be rigidly adhered to, though it may involve great loss, or even bankruptcy for one of the parties. In Japan it was the custom to arrange a compromise when loss was found to be inevitable. It is easy to argue that business would be impossible on these lines. That may be so; but such compromises were fairly common in our own country during the trying times of the Great War, and the purpose of the moratorium was in a measure the same. The only difference is that, in Japan, these emergency measures might be applied whenever circumstances demanded.

It is important to consider also that in Japan the proportion of profit in business transactions has always been extremely low. It was not the custom of producers to estimate the cost of materials and labour and then add 100 per cent. for "overhead" before determining the price and profit at which products were to be sold. The margin of profit was so low that there was always a temptation to do inferior work, or supply inferior materials to avoid losses, or to throw over a contract when serious loss was inevitable and a new arrangement was impossible.

In all these respects a decided change is taking place, but we must give them time. Enhanced views of the honourable character of business and commerce and increased experience are already resulting in a higher standard of conduct. One must admit that the dishonest use of copyrights and trade-marks still exists to the detriment of Japan's

reputation, and this requires the urgent attention of the authorities and educators of Japan.

Universal conscription is proving a powerful factor in changing the ideals of business life. All conscripts are expected to be " Samurai " in spirit and ideals, and these often remain with them after military training is completed.

2. *Japan and the League of Nations.*—In regard to Japan and the League of Nations, the opinion is gaining ground that time will show that Japan's action was not entirely blameworthy. So far as Japan is concerned, things went wrong from the time the League was founded. She had, in an incredibly short time, gone far in adopting Western civilization; her military prowess in war had commanded the wholesome respect of the world; within the area of her authority the lives and property of Western nations were secure; in her courts the Westerner could have a reasonable assurance of justice. England had concluded and maintained for many years an alliance with her, and Japan had fulfilled her obligations in an exemplary way.

In spite of all this, her nationals were discriminated against, while emigrants from European nations were welcomed in the sparsely populated areas under their control. Was it not time for Japan to propose that racial equality should be a fundamental article of the League? She did so, but the Powers, England included, while agreeing in principle, were not prepared to put it into practice. Japan was compelled to withdraw her proposal, and with that withdrawal her faith in the disinterested justice of the League and the nations constituting it received a shock from which it never recovered.

Japan fully recognizes the great work the League has already accomplished in settling matters of secondary importance arising between the nations, but she is convinced that whenever issues vital to the existence of any nation are raised, no nation will be found to submit. There will be further withdrawals, for there is an inherent contradiction in the idea that a nation can submit its destiny to arbitration. The future of Japan's relations to the League is difficult to predict. There are serious difficulties on both sides to her return to membership. But it may be taken for granted that her attitude will be one of good-will and co-operation, should the opportunity be given. Japan, by a process unfortunate for all concerned, has reached a position in regard to the League similar to that of the United States, which has never been a member.

3. *The Manchukuo Question.*—The Manchukuo question is one of

the greatest difficulty, and has aroused much bitterness in the minds of those whose sympathies have been with China. That country is one of unlimited possibilities, but hitherto, in spite of the good-will and assistance of friendly nations, she has refused to set her house in order, and has not had sufficient patriotism to enable her to unify her national life. Life and property are still insecure.

It is said that even America, with her traditional friendship and warm sentiments towards China, is compelled to keep two soldiers in China for every merchant within her borders. Ever since the Revolution no government in China has been able to maintain continuous authority, even in China proper, not to speak of Manchuria. The Lytton report recognized that the relation of Manchuria to China has been of the nature of an alliance rather than that of an organic union. The exploitation of Manchuria by her quasi-independent war-lords has been notorious. Japan's vital interests in Manchuria were resented and endangered. The danger from Russian Communism, as in China proper, was a real factor in the situation. The setting up of Manchukuo as a State, and later as a Monarchy under the rule of the ancient Manchurian dynasty, will, I feel sure, prove definitely to be in the interests of the 30 millions who constitute Manchukuo. Already important reforms have taken place, the currency has been unified, life and property rendered increasingly secure, and general confidence restored. Not only will Japan's treaty interests be protected, but a well-ordered state will stand between her and communistic Russia. This means added security for the Far East.

In this whole controversy Japan has suffered from a strange inability to present effectively her case before the world; and this is due, not merely to linguistic difficulties, but to an inborn reticence which will take generations to overcome. The Chinese were far better able to present their side of the question. In the meetings of the League this handicap of Japan was a striking feature of the debates. In the end Matsuoka, who spent many years in America, was able to throw aside this reticence, but many believe that opinion within the League had already become fixed.

At any rate, the State of Manchukuo exists, a concrete fact, and even if it should continue for many years under the tutelage of Japan, 30 millions of inhabitants have passed from chaos to order, and they may well prove the best possible guarantee for Japan's good behaviour.

4. *Japan's Industrial Revolution.*—Japan's industrial revolution and its repercussions in every part of the world is another fruitful

source of misunderstanding and the cause of much undiscriminating criticism.

For the sake of brevity it will be necessary to confine what I have to say to a series of statements.

(1) That Japan, like England, was destined to become an industrial and sea-going nation requires no argument. The mountainous character of the country limits arable land to one-tenth of the whole, and the 65 millions of her population give a density of one thousand to the square mile of arable territory.

(2) Japan, in her industrial revolution, is following, almost in every detail, the example of England in the nineteenth century.

(3) It is estimated that during recent years Japan has bought from England no less than £19,000,000 worth of machinery.

(4) The greatest impetus given to the industries of Japan came from the Great War. We were prepared to buy all she could make. Her expansion as an industrial nation is due, like her awakening sixty-seven years ago, to the demands of the West.

(5) In regard to sweated labour, the reports are not disinterested and greatly exaggerated. As a result of the advance in public opinion and progressive legislation, conditions have rapidly improved. The value of labour is still very low, but there seems to be less discontent than amongst workmen of the West.

(6) Judged by Occidental standards the scale of living is still low, but it is steadily rising. The Japanese claim that as an industrial nation they can raise their standard of living only by following the example of England; and this requires that she should send her products into every part of the world.

(7) That the cotton industries of Lancashire have been hard hit by Japanese competition in India and other lands is regrettable, but millions of people in the Far East have been able to provide themselves with clothing at prices they can afford to pay. Moreover, the real danger to British cotton industries will be eventually from India and not Japan.

(8) The success of the Japanese cotton industry has been due largely to the use of modern machinery and the application of modern methods —to rationalization of the industry, on the one hand, and to the freedom of the workers from the control of labour unions. The Japanese cotton-workers willingly use treble the number of spindles that English Unions permit.

In addition to the above, two general statements may be added.

Firstly, it is important to remember that Japan's entry into the University of International Relations more than sixty years ago was not voluntary on her part, but a bit of compulsory education on the part of Western nations. In that university the professorial chairs have been filled by the diplomatists of these same nations. Japan has proved to be a very apt, not to say brilliant, pupil. In things political and industrial she is carrying out the principle and practices, chiefly the latter, of her instructors. And, secondly, no charge, whether political or industrial, can be made against Japan which cannot with equal effect be made against nations of the West.

Finally, I should like to say a few words in regard to the greatest danger that Japan has to face and overcome. It is an internal one, and lies in the chaotic condition of her religious life. It is a remarkable phenomenon that Japan, with her wonderful powers of organization and unification, beyond the suppression of a few unimportant and questionable shrines, has done so little to reduce to order the chaos of her religious condition. One reason, doubtless, is that she has been preoccupied with the material side of her national life, and another that she has been expecting impossible things from the remarkable system of general education she has established throughout the Empire. There are signs, however, that she has begun to realize that all is not well with the higher aspects of national life. The effect of general education has been rather to undermine the old loyalties, and it has largely destroyed the spirit of reverence in the minds of the young.

During recent years the Government has recognized, in a measure, the need of encouraging religion, and several times has called together the leaders of Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity for consultation, and has appealed for greater effort in counteracting the "dangerous thoughts" which are accepted so readily by the youth of the land. By order of the Government the children of all schools are taken to selected shrines, where they must reverently bow their heads, the ostensible purpose being to deepen the spirit of reverence rather than to strengthen religious faith.

I have been frequently asked how it is possible for a nation, so intellectually equipped and progressive as Japan, to maintain faith in polytheistic religions, and I should like to elucidate this point. I think it is a safe generalization to say that outside of monotheistic religions the test by which a religion is judged is not that of its truth or falsity. Even educated men, hearing Christianity for the first time, rarely apply this test. Rather do they say or think, "Does this, which we hear, offer

any practical benefits? What will be the effect on our national life? Will it bring comfort in time of sorrow? Will it ensure us against misfortune? Is it benevolent and kindly?" These are the tests by which religions are judged. It is only after some definite instruction that the test of truth and falsity comes to be applied. In other words, the love of truth for its own sake is the gift of Christianity, or at least of monotheistic religion. This is why a religious man in Japan may be a Shintoist, a Buddhist, and a Confucianist all in one. Religions are not mutually exclusive, even when their fundamental doctrines conflict.

This reference to the unification of Japan's spiritual life would not be complete without a few words in regard to the recent revival of Shinto (the Way of the Gods) under the form of Kodo (the Way of the Emperor, or Kingly Way). In this revival an attempt is being made to identify religion and patriotism and to make the person of the Emperor, rather than the Imperial ancestors, the focus of devotion and sacrifice. The following quotations from an article written by a Japanese show clearly the nature and basis of this Kodo: "In a word, the Japanese Emperor directly represents God." "We regard our Emperor as living God; hence our loyalty produces a kind of power within ourselves, for we believe that we are always with God. Hence our loyalty is a religious duty, through the performance of which we get our spiritual regeneration." "Kodo may be said to be the Way of God, because God Himself has come down to the realistic world in the person of the Emperor." "In the Emperor, therefore, divine virtue and finite human mortality are combined together." Very great care must be exercised in interpreting these quotations. The writer speaks of God, but it is not the God of theism. Another quotation will make this clear: "Our bodies (a Japanese idiom for 'we') came from our parents, theirs from their parents, and so on until we find that our bodies ('we'), after all, were created by the great Void, which is God." The idea of God as the great Void shows the haziness of His conception. An examination of the context suggests that he may mean the gods of mythology, or the abstract Being of pantheism, or, in a general way, the whole spiritual world. At any rate, there is a groping after unity in spiritual things, and this must, in the end, be found, if Japan is to realize herself in the higher aspects of life, and if she is to fulfil in the Far East a mission corresponding to her great gifts and opportunities. In this effort to unify her religious life another point deserves our notice. It is the stress on the divine character of authority. In the West, as already indicated, liberty rather than authority has been

worshipped. The divine character of both finds a perfect synthesis in the teaching of Christ. In this faith and synthesis lies the only hope of a distracted world. We are profoundly thankful that we belong to an Empire which is to-day the least distracted part of the world. Is it not the least distracted because it has attempted, however imperfectly, to maintain this synthesis of authority and liberty? And is it not in this that we may make our own contribution to the progress and peace of the world?

At any rate, I am convinced that by an attitude of understanding and sympathy with Japan at this time of her crisis, by a sincere recognition of her character and gifts, and by the steadying influence that our friendship may be able to supply, we may help Japan to realize her higher self, and fulfil her mission, whatever it may be. In doing so we shall make a real contribution to the peace and progress of the Far East.

DISCUSSION

The Chairman: We have listened to a most interesting address in which the Bishop has answered many of the points which have puzzled so many of us, and which give rise to so much speculation on developments in the Far East. If any member has questions to ask I know the Bishop will be pleased to deal with them.

Mr. Rushton Parker asked two questions: (*a*) Why the Japanese alliance had been thrown overboard, and (*b*) whether there was any truth in a book called the *Menace of Japan*, written by an Irishman, formerly a professor in Tokyo, to both of which the Bishop replied.

Mr. Hancock: Japan was given full recognition as a member of the League of Nations. In what way is racial equality not admitted? If Russia should join the League, and the great Powers recognize Manchukuo, will it be possible to keep Japan in the League?

Bishop of South Japan: It is not a question of membership in the League of Nations, but of the attitude of Western Powers in regard to Japanese immigration. This was an acute question prior to the formation of the League, when Japan requested that racial equality should be recognized. The chief point seems to be that Western Powers with sparsely populated areas welcome immigrants from European countries,

while discriminating against the Japanese. The exclusion of the Japanese from California was regarded as a particularly acute example of racial discrimination.

In regard to the second question, my experience of the Japanese is that when difficulties arise, they will invariably adopt a reasonable attitude in the end. If Russia should join the League, it is important to keep Japan in, and I think this is possible. The recognition of Manchukuo would, of course, be the greatest possible inducement for Japan to reconsider her withdrawal. The greatest difficulty would be on the side of the League. After condemning Japan's action in regard to Manchuria it would be difficult for the League to invite Japan, unconditionally, to continue as a member.

A MEMBER: Is there any danger from Fascism in Japan?

The BISHOP OF SOUTH JAPAN: To-day the Government of Japan is experiencing considerable difficulty both with Communism and Fascism. It is using all its authority to suppress Communism, and also bringing strong pressure to bear on the so-called Fascism that is beginning to show itself. The term "Fascism" is used widely in Japan, but it is not identical with that of Italy. Matsuoka has withdrawn from party politics, and has initiated a movement aiming at the suppression of political parties. I do not think he would apply the word "Fascist" to his movement, though many Japanese accuse him of trying to set up a Fascist state. This is a book he has written entitled *Withdraw from Political Parties*. The new nationalism has socialistic elements, but with the ardent loyalty towards the throne, a dictatorship is unthinkable. This revived nationalism is a very powerful movement and colours the whole outlook of present-day Japan.

Colonel SMALLWOOD spoke of Mr. Matsuoka and agreed with the lecturer that the Japanese admired a reserved and cautious attitude.

Sir PERCY SYKES thanked the Bishop for his address, which would be of great value in giving a better understanding of the crucial questions before the world to-day.

NOTES ON AN INEXPENSIVE TRIP OF 8,000 MILES IN EIGHT WEEKS FROM INDIA TO ENGLAND

By E. W. H. CLARKE, R.E.

Preparations for the Journey.—Two impecunious sapper subalterns, W. F. Anderson, serving in Chitral, and myself in Risalpur, were brought into touch with each other while casting round to achieve a solution to a common problem—we both wanted to travel home seeing as much of the world as we could with minimum discomfort and expense. The following considerations affected our decision as to its solution :

(*a*) We could neither of us afford to spend more than £150 or two months on the trip.

(*b*) We both wanted to explore places of interest and not to turn the journey into a test of endurance or mechanical ability.

We had the good fortune to be able to consult Lieut.-Colonel E. W. C. Noel, who has travelled most routes by most means of transport in the Middle East; so, taking his kind advice, we decided to travel by the following route, using transport acquired locally:

Peshawar, Quetta, Zahedan, Meshed, Teheran, Kermanshah, Baghdad, Damascus, Jerusalem, Haifa, Istambul, Buda Pesth, Vienna, and then home. Our only preparations were to settle that the weekly train leaving Quetta for Nok Kundi on April 16 must be a ruling fixture, and send requests to the Political Agent in Quetta for arrangements for transport from Nok Kundi to Zahedan, and to the Vice-Consul in Zahedan for assistance with transport from Zahedan to Meshed in conjunction with the train.

Our decisions *re* other details worked out well and were as follows:

Kit to be limited to two suitcases each, so that we could carry our own luggage on European railways, plus a bedding roll and camp-bed each, which could be sent on by sea from Baghdad.

Stores and Food.—To live on local food and only carry one-day reserve of tinned meat, vegetables, fruit, biscuits, tea, cocoa, etc., in case of emergency and to provide a little variety of menu if required.

We also carried a small supply of medicines, bandages, iodine, potassium permanganate, Keating's, and ammonia. All this, with knives, forks, plates, kettle, etc., went in one small basket hamper, which was also jettisoned in Baghdad. We were able to replenish our tinned stores in Meshed and Teheran.

Money.—We each carried a letter of credit issued by Grindlays, Peshawar, and had no difficulty in cashing money on these letters of credit in any bank in any country. We had heard rumours that you were not allowed to bring money into Persia, but we found that the only restrictions were that our Indian notes were counted for record on entering Persia and that our Persian notes were all changed for silver at the Customs Office before we were allowed to leave Persia.

The Journey

April 16-17. By train, Quetta—Nok Kundi, 303 miles. A dusty journey through waterless desert; the motor track runs alongside the railway. The rail fare (second-class) is about £2 a head, and no food is available on the train or at any station.

April 17-18. By Indian mail lorry, Nok Kundi—Zahedan, 152 miles. After purchasing eggs and fresh fruit in Nok Kundi, we got away about 12.30 p.m. in the front seats of a Chevrolet lorry reserved for us by the Assistant Political Agent. Our fellow-passengers were a party of Pathans from the Kurram, who were on a pilgrimage to the Moslem holy places and were completely undismayed by the fact that only one of their number could speak any language but Pushtu. No road has been constructed over the Baluchistan sector, so that it took eight hours' uncomfortable travelling to cover the 109 miles to the Persian frontier at Mirjawa. The Persian Customs Officer spoke excellent French, and after drinking tea with him and having our luggage cleared, we moved into the clean but unfurnished British Rest House, a relic of railway days, which had a piped water supply. Quite a good unmetalled road commenced in Persian territory, so the lorry did the forty-three miles into Zahedan in two and a half hours next morning. The fare was left to our discretion, but Rs. 25 from the two of us seemed to please the driver enormously.

April 18-21. By Persian mail lorry, Zahedan—Meshed, 630 miles. We spotted the British Consulate at once on our arrival in Zahedan, as it enclosed the only two trees in the place. Major Rivett-Carnac kindly had baths and an invitation to stay ready for us. We decided

to go on by the mail lorry leaving that night, as they only run three days a week, and do greater daily mileages than other lorries. They are manned by two drivers driving in reliefs, and only halt for four or five hours at night. The contractor undertook to take us for 85 krans (just over £1) each to Meshed, and the drivers were ready to give us a front seat, but an unpleasant subordinate postal official turned us out into the back. The journey across the Seistan desert was hot, and we spent the first night carrying out roadside repairs in Hormuk (mile 45). The second night we erected our camp-beds in the garage yard at Birjand (mile 302). The road then climbed into the mountains, and the air got colder and colder, while we ran into rain and sleet. The third night we reached a dirty garage hotel at Turbati-Haidari (mile 540) at 2 a.m. in pouring rain and had rather an unpleasant night, sharing a room with rats and a snoring Persian driver. At 4 p.m. next day we reached Meshed swathed in coats and blankets, to be met by a servant with a welcome invitation from Major Gastrell to stay at the Consulate. We had no difficulty in obtaining tea and well-cooked Persian bread, rice, and meat anywhere on the route; and a comic little Persian whiled away our time by recounting his versions of the stories of Joseph and his brethren, Abraham and Isaac, and a discourse on the Moslem and Christian religions at great length.

April 22-23. At the British Consulate, Meshed. It poured with rain for forty-eight hours and the Teheran Road was reported impassable. We managed, however, to look at the Shrine of the Imam Reza and the Golden Mosque from the outside, and Major Gastrell took us out to a beautiful Persian house and garden at Wakilabad, but our efforts to reach the Turk-i-Bey valley proved abortive; the car stuck in a river in spate, and we spent the remainder of the afternoon drying the ignition. The Consulate head clerk found us a car owner, who contracted to take us to Teheran via the Caspian Sea at Meshed-es-Sirr for 1,000 krans (£12)—742 miles, about 2d. a mile.

April 24-26. By hired car, Meshed—Meshed-es-Sirr, 558 miles. A 1927 Dodge with a wild-looking Persian driver in a beret turned up at the Consulate at 9 a.m. The weather had cleared the previous night, so we got under way as soon as we had paid down our 50 per cent. deposit with the garage. The river crossings were still very deep, and we met Major Pybus, the Military Attaché in Teheran, stuck in one about fifty miles out; he immediately invited us to stay with him in the Legation, and promised to warn his wife by telegram of our impending arrival. We halted for lunch at Qadimgah, one of the most

lovely of the Persian villages. Snow mountains backed the old mud fort on a hill with the village and its blue-domed mosque nestling in the trees at the foot, while wild tulips and poppies made a blaze of colour in the fields. The first night was spent in the garage Massis at Sabzawar (mile 150), a very clean and well-run hotel with its own electric light plant under Russian management, a pleasant change from Turbat-i-Haidari; the second we were again very comfortable in Semnan (mile 423). The third day we climbed up over an 8,000-foot pass, where snow was falling and lying in deep drifts near the road. We turned right at Firuzkuh (mile 465) and ran into dense fog on the top of the gorge leading down to the Caspian; the road descended steeply for some seven miles, and we suddenly ran out of the fog, to find ourselves in a new world—green turf and bushes which rapidly changed to beech and oak forests, the scenery closely resembling the Wye Valley. Railway construction was going on everywhere. The alignment had been cleverly laid out in most difficult country, and reinforced concrete was being used in the construction of all bridges on a most graceful design. Trains were already running on the last twenty miles into Shahi (mile 533).

April 27. At the Orient Hotel, Meshed-es-Sirr. The Orient Hotel was clean, and they fed us on fresh bread, salmon, and caviare. The country round was like the edge of the New Forest, but with sand dunes along the seashore, so we spent a most enjoyable day walking, bathing, and exploring the country, while the car's spring, broken on our arrival, was being repaired in Barfarush.

April 28. By hired car, Meshed-es-Sirr—Teheran, 196 miles. Our hotel bill came to 90 krans (just over £1). Elsewhere we found 10 to 15 krans for the room, and about 5 krans per person per meal were about the normal charges. We struck trouble on the road, due to heavy rain and snow that had fallen higher up the gorge. The road was broken further along the coast beyond Chablus, and many cars were returning to Teheran after the Moharrum holidays. The first break was a causeway that had fallen in about mile 60; this was bridged by a gang of coolies with railway sleepers after two hours. The second obstacle was a stream in spate. Here a lorry had gone over into the torrent, but another coolie gang completed the construction of a temporary crib bridge within twenty minutes. A few miles further on snow was lying, and we met a lorry head-on at a bend; while the drivers were arguing as to who should reverse, down came the cliff with the melting snow; the bulk of the slide came down behind us, and we

got away with a stoved-in door and a flattened near wing after rolling away a few boulders that were resting against the car. Then we made good going up to mile 160, where another causeway had fallen in and a lorry had taken a plunge over into the river. This obstruction had again got a coolie gang already working on it, so we got away after another twenty minutes' delay. Night had fallen, and at mile 175 our lights discovered a car stuck and a Belgian family, including two children, wading helplessly, knee-deep in slime. Our driver charged past them near the outer edge, where the going was good, and we then went back to get the Belgians out of the mess, after which the Belgians, in a smart new saloon Ford V.8, stuck respectfully to our tail as we knocked and rattled over the last twenty-five miles into Teheran. Our day was not yet done, as we were taken off after dinner to be initiated into Teheran's most up-to-date dance hall "The Canary," with its Russian band.

April 29-30. At the British Legation, Teheran. Everyone in the Legation showed us hospitality, and we spent two very pleasant days lunching and dining in various houses. We were also invited to attend a reception at the Japanese Embassy and to see the Gulestan Palace with all its treasures. Teheran contains some fine modern buildings, notably the Imperial Bank. The Persian Government are active in carrying out town planning schemes in all the large cities, so that wide boulevards are rapidly replacing the old narrow bazaar streets.

May 1-3. By returning petrol lorry, Teheran—Kermanshah, 355 miles. A garage contracted to let us have two front seats on a Willys Overland lorry returning to Qasr-i-Shirin for 80 krans (£1 each). The road Teheran—Kazvin was terribly bad, and our driver unfortunately fell in with his brother driving another lorry in the same direction; this meant tea drinking at every roadside house and monkey tricks passing and repassing each other all along the route, with the result that we did not reach Aweh (mile 160) and pull up for the night until 1.30 a.m. Here we slept on the road, as there was no proper garage hotel. We got into Hamadan (mile 245) at 12.30 p.m., but after promises to start again within an hour we eventually got away with a big load of currants and timber at 8.30 p.m. Hamadan is being town-planned out of all recognition and a vast square is appearing in the middle of the town. The road climbs up into the mountains from Hamadan, and the snow-capped peaks looked lovely in the moonlight, but it was so cold that when the lorry halted at the Kangawar (mile 300) we decided to sleep where we were in the front seat. The carvings

on the cliff face at Bisitun (mile 320) were very fine, and we got a wonderful view of the surrounding country from the cleft in the rock. The lorry was now going very badly, and we only got into Kermanshah at 11 a.m. after taking five and a half hours to do the last fifty-five miles. The British Consul, Mr. Summerhayes, was able to arrange two seats in a new Chevrolet touring car going down to Khaniqin that afternoon, so after a very welcome bath and lunch at the Consulate we paid off our lorry at a reduced rate and set off in the Chevrolet with an 'Iraqi gentleman in the spare seat.

May 3. By touring car, Kermanshah—Khaniqin, 142 miles. The driver contracted to take us for 75 krans (just under £1) each, with all our luggage, and we had a very comfortable journey, dropping down the fine gorge off the Iranian Plateau into a valley not unlike the Swat in Northern India. The plateau appeared like the edge of a table towering some 2,500 feet sheer above the low country. We reached the frontier at dusk, and, after changing our Persian notes into silver, got through without delay. The 'Iraqi Customs officer was all affability, and we drank tea with him while the necessary forms were signed. At Khaniqin we were required to appear before a medical inspector, but our certificates of vaccination and inoculation from India carried us through without any actual inspection. The station at Khaniqin has a canteen and a rest house, so we were able to get cleansed and fed before boarding the night train to Baghdad, which left at 11.20 p.m.

May 4. By train, Khaniqin—Baghdad, 110 miles. There are three trains each way running daily on this metre gauge line, and it is equipped with corridor coaches, both the first- and second-class carriages having wide berths comfortable for sleeping at full length.

From Baghdad onwards we travelled by more usual routes. After a week-end at Hinaidi with the R.A.F., spent in visiting the mosques of Baghdad and the Arch of Ctesiphon, we were flown over to Amman in an R.A.F. " Victoria " troop carrier plane. The first two hours over Mesopotamia were full of interest, but the last three over the desert, which included a halt at Rutbah, were appallingly bumpy, and we one and all succumbed to air sickness.

After a night with the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force at their headquarters mess in Zerka, we had a delightful run into Jerusalem in the Commanding Officer's car, which happened to be going in that day. The road took us past the fine Roman amphitheatre in Amman, thence to Es-Salt with its wonderful fruit orchards. From there on to the Jordan the road was bordered by rhododendrons in full bloom, and

thence we crossed the Jordan by the Allenby Bridge, and, passing Jericho and the Dead Sea, climbed up to Jerusalem, some 4,000 feet above the Jordan valley.

We were till then undetermined as to how to proceed, but a Lloyd Triestino tourist boat sailing from Haifa in ten days' time offered itself, which we decided to use. Our ten days in Palestine were well spent. Three days in Jerusalem staying with friends and exploring the city and the holy places, then three days with friends in Hebron, whence we visited Beit Jibrin, Gaza, and Beersheba; and, finally, we moved north, where we found accommodation in the Italian hospice on Mount Carmel outside Haifa and in Father Tapper's hospice at Tabgah on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee. The accommodation offered by these hospices was both clean and comfortable, while the food was excellent, and the expense was very much less than if we had stayed in hotels. Local bus services enabled us to visit Nazareth, Tiberias, and Capernaum, and we found Athlit with its old Crusader castle, visited by train from Haifa, to be one of the most beautiful and interesting buildings in the country. The fact that we had the castle, its surroundings, and the perfect bathing in the Mediterranean entirely to ourselves for the whole morning added greatly to its fascination.

We were able to secure excellent second-class accommodation, and found ourselves in congenial and very cosmopolitan company on board *S.S. Helouan*, and found that we should have been perfectly comfortable had we elected to travel third-class special. The voyage was pleasant throughout and full of interest, but I must not dwell on it.

Throughout the journey we found that by using local means of transport and the cheaper accommodation on the railways, we were able not only to economize and travel in adequate comfort, but opportunities of meeting and conversing with the people of the country were greatly increased, which naturally added considerably to the interest of travelling. Owing to the kindness and hospitality of friends all along the route our hotel expenses, including both living and travelling from Peshawar to Southampton, were only in the neighbourhood of £90 each.

Members are reminded that an outline map is on the inside of the cover of the JOURNAL.

THE CONTROL OF LAND ROUTES: RUSSIAN RAILWAYS IN CENTRAL ASIA

By W. E. WHEELER

(*California, U.S.A.*)

AFTER the occupation of Turkestan by Russia in 1865 and its conversion into Russian territory administered by a Governor-General in 1867, the question of greater facility of communication with European Russia was first raised. At this time much was heard of a flotilla to operate on the Aral Sea and the Syr Darya, or Jaxartes, and, after the conquest of Khiva and practical conquest of Bokhara in 1873, the Amu Darya, or Oxus. Difficulties caused by the independability of river navigation soon brought about a subordination of these schemes in favour of a Central Asian railway.

In 1873 a Russian official was given the duty of drawing up a report on the feasibility of a line from Orenburg to Tashkent. Early in the same year a former Suez Canal engineer, M. Cotard, suggested to Ferdinand de Lesseps this new field of conquest. De Lesseps embraced the proposition with enthusiasm, and addressed a letter dated May 1, 1873, to General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, recommending a through railway from Calais to Calcutta; the portion from Orenburg to Samarkand to be constructed by Russia, and the portion from Samarkand to Peshawar by England. This project was most favourably received by Ignatieff, and might presumably have gained the support of his Government. In England, however, it was frowned upon by Lord Granville, and permission was refused to the French engineers, who had gone to India, to enter Afghanistan. M. De Lesseps turned his attention to Panama. We may anticipate our argument by a surmise that it was not the railway to India that Britain objected to, but the control of this railway by Russia. Any advantages of a saving in time between the British Isles and India must have been far outweighed by its grave strategic disadvantages.

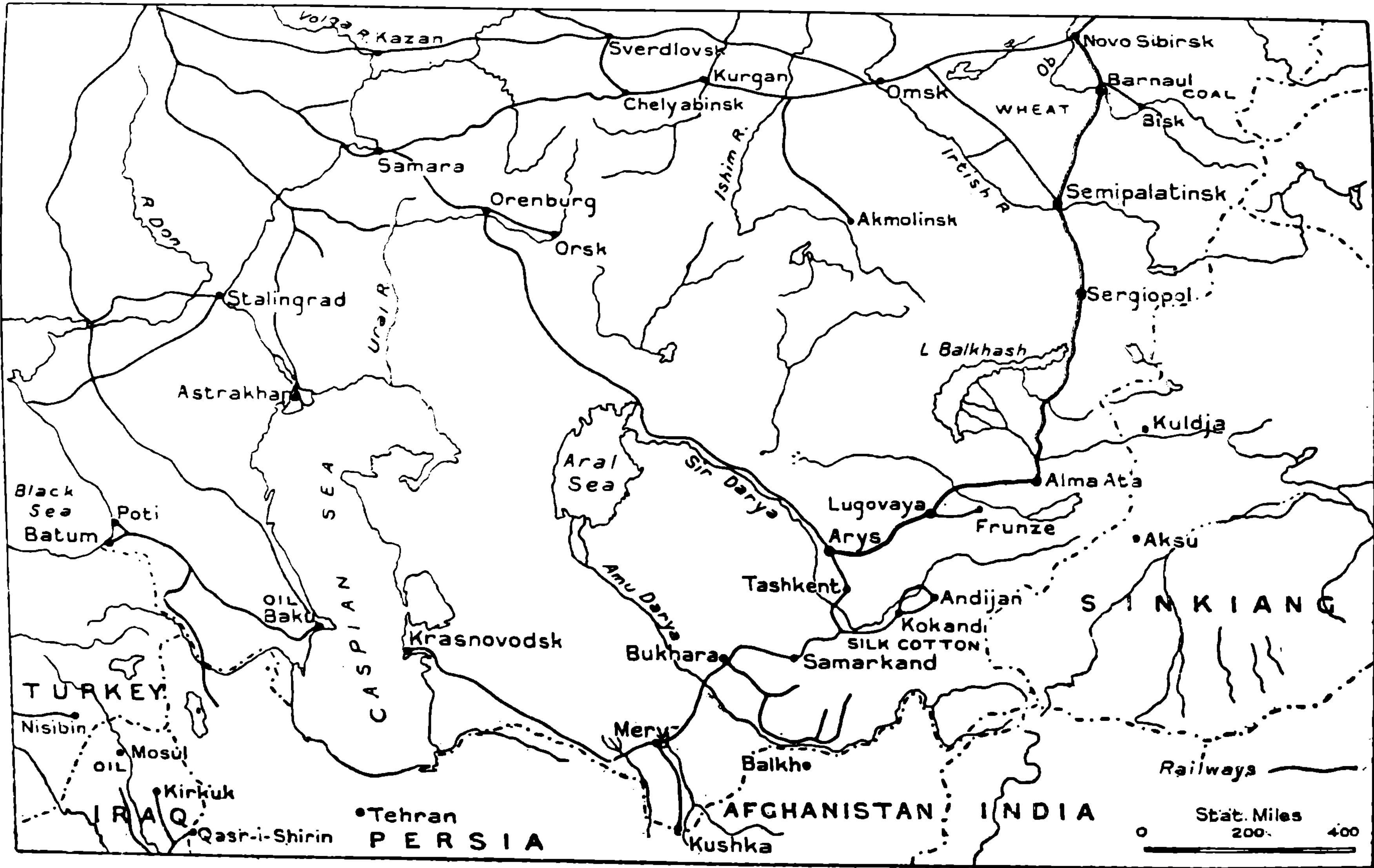
Russian military campaigns in Transcaspia in 1877 and the shifting of the Russian centre of political gravity in Central Asia from Turkestan

to that area revived the plan for a Central Asian railway, but this time not one from Orenburg, but one from the Caspian on the west. This west to east railway was first built. From a purely strategic point of view, and unhampered by any practical consideration of the necessity for subduing a particular group of natives, the Orenburg-Tashkent line, if one only was to be thought of, must have been built. By this line no question of flanking movements could have arisen, and the most direct possible route attained from the centre of military power in Russia. Both Krasnovodsk and Baku are comparatively vulnerable. A flanking railway (the Transcaspian) threatening India through Kandahar and Quetta could in its turn be seriously impaired in strategic importance by a counter parallel railway that might threaten it for its entire length by an extension from Quetta to Duzdab. We shall see later that this was exactly the course taken by England to nullify the Russian advantage.

We may well consider the British Caspian fleet during the World War, and the effect such a fleet would have had on any attempt to invade India *via* a single Transcaspian railway. On the other hand, only the possession of Orenburg, an unlikely contingency from the English standpoint, could have seriously delayed the advance of Russian power from the north. For this reason, then, it seems probable that the Caspian railway was the result of a specific cause rather than the result of a general Imperial policy.

In 1879 mention was made of a Transcaspian railway while General Lomakin was pursuing his none too successful campaigns against the Akhal Tekkes. His successor, General Tergukassoff, in a report stressed the fact that the lack of proper means of transportation through scarcity and loss of transport animals was the stumbling-block to the subjugation of the Akhal Oasis. Work was actually started by General Skobeleff after he had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in 1880. We may remark here that an American engineer named Berry asked the authorities to allow him to construct a line at his own expense from the Caspian to Kizil Arvat, a distance of 145 miles. He is said to have planned to do this with material brought from the States, and to have been ready to hand the road over to the Government on its completion. The offer was refused, and General Annenkoff, Comptroller of the Transport Department of the Russian army, who had ably organized the transport system during the Turkish War of 1877, was given the position of *aide* to Skobeleff and the actual direction of the construction.

He advised the use of 100 miles of steel rails that were to have been



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Kazan
Sverdlovsk
Novo Sibirsk
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Irtish R.
Semipalatinsk
Orenburg
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Sergiopol
Stalingrad
Ural R.
L. Balkhash
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Kuldja
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Sir Darya
Alma Ata
Black Sea
Lugovaya
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SEA
Frunze
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Amu Darya
Tashkent
OIL
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Andijan
SINKIANG
CASPIAN
Kokand
Krasnovodsk
SILK COTTON
Bukhara
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used in the Balkan Peninsula in 1878. These were accordingly shipped to Mikhailov, south of Krasnovodsk; and the Russian firm of Maltseff and the French Decauville works were given orders for limited amounts of rails and rolling stock. At this time Skobeleff evidently considered the railroad as a purely secondary means of transport. At a military council in St. Petersburg in January, 1880, Skobeleff is quoted by Grodekoff as saying that "a railway alone cannot be trusted to bring the expedition to a successful issue, and accordingly he proposed to use camels principally, treating the railway as a secondary line of communication." In *The War in Turkomania*, chap. III., of June, 1880, Skobeleff wrote: "It is evident that the railway now being constructed can, of itself, be of no importance for the narrow aims of the Akhal Tekke expedition." In spite of this strong evidence to the contrary, the writer prefers to believe that the main reason for the line was a fundamentally strategic consideration in the purely local rather than in the international sense.

The success of the movement of army supplies of the first narrow-gauge section was to determine the policy of extending the broad-gauge line. The traction on the narrow-gauge road to Kizil Arvat was by camels—a method probably unique in the world. After the fall of Gheok Tepe the line was changed to broad-gauge and steam traction was used. Skobeleff soon realized the possibilities and importance of the railway, but declared his disbelief in its extension beyond Askabad. Annenkoff, on the other hand, published *The Akhal Tekke and the Roads to India*, in which he advocated the extension of the road on commercial grounds to Herat, and even Quetta.

In December, 1881, the line was completed to Kizil Arvat. Meanwhile, the partisans of the Turkestan route, notably General Tchernaieff, opposed the Transcaspian route in the Press. We are led to feel that the Transcaspian was the result of a narrow and peculiarly Central Asiatic design with reference, quite naturally, to more tribes than the Akhal Tekkes, but excluding in its original form the broad strategy of the Asiatic continent. The terminus of the road remained at Kizil Arvat until 1885. After the affair at Kushk between General Komaroff's troops and the Afghans on March 30, 1885, the entire conception of the railway seems to have changed. From this time onward it appears to have been an implement directed by implication against England.

Regardless of Russian defeats in European diplomacy prior to 1885, and notably in 1878, no definite attempt seems to have been made

before that year to put pressure upon England's Asiatic empire by means of Russian control of Central Asiatic land routes. It is true that before this time various plans for the invasion of India had been submitted to the Czars, but a definite forward movement directed against India, as a part of an Imperial policy, seems never to have been seriously considered by the Russian Government with the exception of a single expedition designed by the Emperor Paul, and with the moral support of Napoleon, in 1800.

During the Crimean War two separate memoranda were presented to the Emperor Nicholas, but no steps whatever were taken to carry out these plans. The rumour of these intentions, and the advance of Russia into Turkestan between 1860 and 1870, led to the negotiation, opened by Lord Clarendon in 1869, which culminated in the celebrated Gortchakoff-Granville Agreement of 1872-3, which contained the statement of the Russian Chancellor that "the Emperor looked upon Afghanistan as completely outside the sphere within which Russia might be compelled to exercise her influence."

During the Russo-Turkish War the opinion prevailed that an Anglo-Russian conflict was inevitable, and Skobeleff at this time formulated plans for exerting pressure upon England by encouraging Afghanistan to make war against India with the promise of Russian support. It will be noted in both instances Russian effort in Central Asia against England was of a sporadic nature, and in direct response to the application of a stronger English power in Europe or the Near East before which either Russian military or diplomatic strength was forced to retire. It seems throughout to have been a passive rather than an active policy with regard to India.

On the English side the policy seems to have been far from passive, with an objective in the predominance of British influence in Afghanistan. Davies, in *The North-West Frontier* (1932), states "that this fear of Russia, a fear at times amounting almost to a panic, was the real cause of the Second Afghan War of 1878-80 is now generally recognized." This is self-revelatory of the English realization that here, at least, the strategical advantage lay with the Russians. A control, however slight, over Afghanistan could easily set at nought the immense sea power of Great Britain. Was not this realization of the purely geographical and topographical advantage of Russia the basis for much of the English view that Russia's expansion in Central Asia was an aggressive policy directed towards an invasion of India? However disconnected might be the advance, or without definite intention of

conquest upon the plains of Hindustan, its potentialities rather than its actualities impressed themselves upon the English mind. Lord Roberts reminds us in *Forty-One Years in India* that the causes of the two Afghan wars were remarkably similar: a possible Russian control at Kabul.

Shall we turn to an English view of local expansion? Davies declares, in support of British North-West Frontier policy, " Any great power is ultimately forced to absorb barbaric states contiguous to its frontiers. This is the verdict of history; it is certainly a true account of what the British have been compelled to do in India." "Lord Roberts, a firm believer in the Forward Policy, laid great stress upon the necessity for good communications. The money that had been squandered upon useless fortifications should have been spent on the construction of roads and railways. In his opinion, all strategic points should be connected with the Indian railway system, so that, in the event of invasion, troops could be quickly despatched towards the scene of action. He was firmly convinced that this massing of troops would be the essential factor deciding the conflict."

He continues by quoting Sir W. D. Bird in *The Direction of War* (1925). " Those who attempt," wrote Napoleon, " to defend a frontier by an extended line or cordon of troops will find themselves weak at all points, for everything human has its limits; artillery, money, good officers, able generals are all limited in action and quantity, and dissemination everywhere implies strength nowhere."

These opinions seem adequately to justify the Russian extension of the Transcaspian system eastward for strategic reasons. British criticism of the Russian advance is certainly without justification.

To quote from *The North-West Frontier*:

> " Any power that fails adequately to protect its frontiers ceases to be great; any Empire that neglects this important duty of self-preservation is eventually overthrown. From the earliest days of the British connection with India there have been two opposing forces at work, a forward tendency and a policy which sought to restrain or to prevent expansion. Governors-General, pledged to the policy of non-annexation and non-intervention, were sent out from England, but, in the majority of cases, they found themselves forced, like the Russians in Central Asia, to move forward and acquire new territories. Although it may be possible to overstate this theory that the only alternative to retrogression is aggrandize-

ment, still the fact remains that the Act of 1784, which declared schemes of conquest to be repugnant to the wish, honour, and policy of the nation, was followed by the conquests of Wellesley, which, in importance, can be compared only with the annexations of Dalhousie. It was the external menace from the direction of Central Asia that forced us to garrison the gates of the north-west."

In another chapter he declares that prestige in India itself was the reason. However this may have been, we are forced to conclude that England was herself rather far advanced in that technique of expansion for which she blames the Russians. It seems probable that both sides were influenced by the desire for a so-called scientific frontier, and both had their advocates of "masterly inactivity" and of "active intervention." Of the two, Russia, it would seem, had the weakest frontier policy, preferring rather to intrigue against the buffer state, Afghanistan, which, like Tibet, was through force of conquest placed in a special category with regard to British India.

Russia assured England in 1874-76-77-78-82-83-84 and '85 that Afghanistan lay outside her sphere of action (*Brit. Documents*, IV., 532, Gooch and Temperley). This assurance, however, was never made the subject of a treaty or convention until 1907. In the convention of that year five articles were included relating to Afghanistan, one of which stipulated that the British were not to encourage the Amir to take any measures threatening Russia. This resulted from what Sir Edward Grey is said to have considered a real apprehension on the part of Russia that England might adopt in connection with Afghanistan an aggressive policy in Central Asia. Russia agreed to conduct all political relations with Afghanistan through the intermediary of Her Majesty's Government. Both countries were to enjoy equality of commercial opportunities in Afghanistan.

With the arrival of Lord Lytton in 1876 the period of "masterly inactivity" came to an end, and, after the Second Afghan War, British statesmen were pre-eminently impressed with the idea of a scientific frontier. To resolve upon this was the great question: Can a perfect scientific frontier be said to exist? It is possible to demarcate on the north-west of the Indian Empire a frontier that would satisfy ethnological, political, and military requirements. In the absence of Russian material in translation the English approach surely constitutes a fair exposition of the frontier problem. Davies declares that, with regard to India, there were four lines of resistance: the River Indus; the old

Sikh line (approximating to the administrative boundary); the Durand line (Indo-Afghan boundary agreement of 1893); and, finally, the so-called scientific frontier from Kabul through Ghazni to Kandahar. It was shown that this last frontier was shorter and could easily be converted into a position of defence with one flank resting on a high range of mountains and the other on an extensive desert. It was thought that an invasion could best be met by advancing to, and holding, this line.

Presumably the Russian Government had its several frontiers in mind in connection with the construction of the Transcaspian railway to Tashkent. We may infer that her own scientific frontier ran perhaps from Mazar-i-Sherif and Balkh to Herat. The greatest difficulty with the Forward school of strategists has always been to know where to stop. We have seen that the rulers of British India had difficulties of this sort, as some military experts advised the retention of Herat as the "key to India," and even of Balkh. That the Russians were faced with an identical problem is apparent from the diplomatic correspondence of Baron de Staal (*Correspondence Diplomatique du Baron de Staal*, I., 42-3):

> "Les circonstances qui ont motivé l'extension progressive de nos possessions en Asie Centrale ne sont que trop bien connues. Les difficultés, sans cesse resaissantes, qui résultent du contact entre une Puissance régulièrement constitutée et des peuplades à demi sauvages nous ont plus d'une fois forcés de dépasser les limites que nous nous étions volontairement tracées et de nous imposer de lourds sacrifices dans le but d'assurer la sécurité de nos confins contre les instincts pillards de ces peuplades."

Let us return to the "expansion policy" of Russia. On June 2, 1885, within two months of the Pendjeh Affair (at Kushk), Annenkoff was entrusted by a Ukase of the Czar to continue the line towards the Afghan frontier. Work was begun on July 13, and, while the English were pushing westward with their Baluchistan railways of Harnai and the Bolan, the Russians pushed south and east. Askabad was reached on December 11 (136 miles from Kizil Arvat). This had been made the capital of Transcaspia in 1882, and the residence of a Governor-General. Merv had been annexed in February, 1884, and it became inevitable that the line should continue to this point. On July 14, 1886, Merv, 500 miles from the Caspian, was entered by rail. In the

same year the line was extended another 150 miles to Charjui and the Amu Darya. Rails were laid at the rate of a mile to a mile and one-half per day.

On February 7 an Imperial Ukase authorized work on the Amu Darya bridge and the completion of the line to Samarkand. This final part of the road was completed in May, 1888, and an inaugural train marking the successful conclusion entered Samarkand on the 27th of that month. The entire length of the Transcaspian Railway was 1,342 versts, or approximately 900 miles (Lobanov-Rostovsky in 1933 gives 1,064 miles).

The original starting-point at Mikhailov had been changed to an island called Uzun Ada, about fifteen miles to the north-west, where deeper water and better harbour facilities were available. The line was constructed on a five-foot gauge which was the same as that of the railway system of European Russia, but not the same as the Indian railway gauge. The rails were made partly in St. Petersburg and partly in South Russia, and were transported along with the entire supply of wooden ties *via* the Volga and Caspian.

Curzon estimates the cost of the railway per mile to have been £2,700, and said of it, " This was probably one of the cheapest railways ever constructed." Lobanov-Rostovsky places the cost at 43 million roubles (about 20 million dollars). The *Gazette Russe* for February, 1888, estimated the cost to the nation of the Transcaspian line at £400,000. General Annenkoff claimed to have reduced this sum by more than one-half. It is interesting to note the comments of Curzon regarding the actual construction of the railway. In *Russia in Central Asia*, p. 53, he says: " I am tempted to affirm that except for the local dearth of material due to the appalling desolation of the country, it is the easiest and simplest railway that has ever been built. The region that it penetrates is as flat as a billiard table for almost the entire distance, the steepest gradient met being 1 in 150. . . . There are no tunnels and only a few insignificant cuttings in the sand-hills. Sometimes the trains run in a bee line for 20 or 25 miles without the slightest deviation to right or left. . . . Over a distance of 900 miles only three bridges were required—across the Tejend, across the Murghab at Merv, and across the Amu Darya."

Tcharykov says of the Transcaspian that it was the cheapest railway that Russia ever built. Krausse tells us that its military character is shown by the fact that it makes no attempt to run near a town, and that many of its stations were placed far from the hamlets it might,

from an economic standpoint, be expected to serve. The Merv station, for example, was located ten miles from the city in order that the railway might not be captured in the event of an uprising. He further states that sufficient rolling stock for an immediate expedition into Afghanistan *via* the Kushk branch was held in readiness on the western bank of the Murghab, so that no delay would ensue even if the Tejend and Murghab bridges were destroyed, thus isolating the Kushk extension.

Curzon declares that the two greatest drawbacks to the construction and operation of the Transcaspian were the lack of water and the difficulties caused by shifting sand. The first handicap was met by the use of conduits from natural springs in the mountains, by canalization, and by the transport by tank cars of sufficient water for the outlying points of the line. Tcharykov says that the water problem was overcome by running one special train every day to carry sweet water in the required quantities to each station. Curzon tells us that in the sand-dunes between Merv and Charjui (the Ak Sakkal Desert) the water was conducted to the line by subterranean galleries leading from the wells. He adds: " The scarcity of water would, however, be a serious consideration in the event of the transport of large bodies of troops and baggage animals in time of war." The distillation of sea-water and artesian wells proved unsatisfactory.

With regard to the difficulty of sand, the soil was hardened with brine; wooden palisades were built; and, lastly, native shrubs such as tamarisk and saxaoul were planted along the right-of-way in order to hold the sand in place. Nurseries were started in the Persian mountains for the raising of these plants. A final difficulty exists in the lack of native coal, with the result that petroleum from Baku was used in the locomotives of the line. Curzon said: " The economy of petroleum is six times that of coal as burned upon European highways." Reservoirs of petroleum for the railway were kept at certain points, the largest being at Askabad.

There can be little reason to believe that any fundamental change has come about in these basic conditions at the present time. According to Curzon, second-class travel in 1889 did not exceed a rate of 1d. per mile, and the journey to Samarkand required 72 hours. The main engineering feat was the Amu Darya bridge, built originally of wood in four sections over the four branches of the river at this spot. The total length of the bridge was 2,000 yards, and the tracks were normally five feet above highest flood water.

With regard to the potentialities of the Transcaspian for a connection with the Indian system, we find topographical difficulties will have no bearing whatever on the question. Curzon definitely disposes of our uncertainty on this point (p. 265, *Russia in Central Asia*):

> "The impassable mountain barrier by which the fond fancy of an unrestricted generation had believed Herat to be defended on the north (became) a chain of low hills, crossed by a pass about the same height above the surrounding country as the highest point of the Mendip Hills above the Bristol Channel."

Tcharykov says of the topography of this region during a surveying expedition described in *Glimpses of High Politics*: "The Paromisus range of mountains, which we had been taught separates Turkestan from Herat, does not exist, and a railway can be easily built across its supposed location on the map, over the Pass of Karvan Ashan, only 300 feet above sea-level." Curzon continues (p. 267):

> "I come now to the suggested extension of the line through the heart of Afghanistan, and its junction with the Indian railway system at Kandahar. . . . The physical obstacles to such a through line are *nil*. I have pointed out that the extension to Herat is easy, and is only a matter of time. From Herat to Kandahar there are no greater difficulties. On June 25, 1838, Sir John McNeill wrote to Lord Palmerston from Meshed: 'I can assure your lordship there is no impediment either from the physical features of the country, or from the deficiency of supplies, to the march of a large army from the borders of Georgia to Kandahar, or, as I believe, to the Indus. . . . The country between that city (Herat) not only presents no difficulty, but affords remarkable facilities to the passage of armies.' What McNeill said of an army applies still more to a railway. At Kandahar the line would be separated by only 60 miles of level plain from the present outpost of British arms and terminus of the Quetta Railway at Chaman. From 600 to 700 miles for the most part over a country as flat as the palm of the hand is, therefore, the very limited extent of the hiatus that still intervenes."

In pausing to study the statement of McNeill, we find that he said "from the borders of Georgia" rather than from the borders of Transcaspia. In what, then, consists the difficulty of a Northern Persia railway *via* Tabriz, Teheran, etc., to Kandahar, if not in a purely political consideration? The Andes of Peru have been crossed by rail

at an elevation of 15,000 feet. Surely the line that would connect the millions of India with the populous plains of Western Europe is faced with no such difficulties. The development of Persia itself must ever be of a quite irrelevant nature. The problem is a problem of Europe and of Asia, and particularly of the control of this land route by either England or Russia.

Curzon frankly states that the main and determining factor in the opposition to a rail connection between the Transcaspian and the Indian system lies in the political opposition of England. England would, in all probability, assume a fiscal loss due to the protective tariff of Russia, which would lose for her any advantage in an exchange of goods; but first and foremost are four reasons: (1) It would be regarded throughout the East as a crowning blow to British prestige. (2) It would entail a coterminous frontier, and would bring the enemy a month nearer to the Indus and to India. (3) It would involve an enormous concentration of troops and a heavy charge upon the Indian Exchequer. (4) It would necessitate a standing increase in the Indian Army.

These conditions are all compelled by a strategic advantage based directly on control of land routes by Russia. Once Russia was in possession of Central Asia, the strategic cockpit of the continent, she would be able to utilize this position on the old north and south connecting-route. Without a railway through Afghanistan, her immense superiority could not be exercised. Admiral Mahan, in *The Problem of Asia,* states that sea power cannot offset the advantage of contiguous territory with regard to a position held overseas.

Curzon, with admirable fairness and keen perception, points out that Russian pressure on England in Central Asia was applied fundamentally rather to gain an added advantage in Europe than in a direct plan of invasion and conquest. If this pressure, when applied, could cause England to increase the Indian Budget, and to keep in constant readiness large bodies of troops for the defence of the North-West Frontier, could not this advantage be turned to excellent diplomatic use in Europe? It is hard to conceive otherwise than that this was the basic policy of Imperial Russia. Curzon in 1889 pronounces: ". . . In entering upon her Central Asian career, I believe Russia to have been actuated by no far-seeing policy, and in pursuing it to have been driven largely by the impulse of natural forces. . . . I am not the less convinced . . . that she is prepared to turn it for her own purposes to the most profitable account. I do not suppose that a single man in Russia, with the exception of a few speculative theorists, ever dreams seriously of

the conquest of India. To anyone, either Russian or English, who has ever even superficially studied the question, the project is too preposterous to be entertained" (p. 319).

These are views which compel consideration, and are quite contrary to the almost universal "scare" propaganda of the British writers of the period. Curzon shows restraint and intelligence, but, moreover, has the candour to admit his conclusions, regardless of the popular demand. He quotes Skobeleff in 1877: "An acquaintance with the country and its resources leads infallibly to the conclusion that our presence in Turkestan can only be justified by precipitating to our own benefit the solution of the Eastern Question—in other words, to dominate the Bosphorus. . . ."

Curzon concludes by a desire "that no Englishman be found repeating the infatuated nonsense that has sometimes found its way into print about turning Russia out of Central Asia, or of sweeping her from the Khanates. The limits of British dominions in Central Asia are fixed by natural conditions which we should be insane to ignore or overlap. . . ." This opinion is valuable, as it shows us the presence in England, as well as in Russia, of inflammatory articles in the Press, and by it we may conclude that the "invasion" theory was not exclusively Russian. At another point he says: "We may regard her presence with equanimity, and watch her progress with friendly interest. At least, let us wish her God-speed in the undertaking." We may ponder his phraseology in the light of his pronounced Forward Policy of "active intervention" after his elevation to the post of Viceroy of India in 1899.

With regard to the extension of the Transcaspian south and east from Bokhara to the Amu Darya, and east along its north bank for fifty miles to Termez, Tcharykov writes: "This railway extension was built by Russian engineers, but at the Amir's expense, and it became possible, of course, only after the trunk line from Merv to Bokhara and Samarkand had been built and proved its utility." He adds that, according to a new Customs treaty between Bokhara and Russia, the Customs frontier was pushed to the newly defined Afghan frontier at the Amu Darya. The Khanate's trade increased, as it received the same percentage of Customs duties (5 per cent. *ad valorem*) as it did before. As a side-light on the economic potentialities of the Transcaspian, we may quote from the same author: "In 1872 the Russian foreign agent wrote of Bokhara as 'the chief point of the Central Asian trade—being an important depôt for Russian and Anglo-Indian wares. Bokhara

carries on an immense and active trade with all the remaining Muslim countries. The bazaar is overflowing with all sorts of goods from distant India, as well as from still more distant Moscow. Bokhara is filled with Russian cotton goods, and there seems to be at least six times as much of them as English goods.' "

As to the other extension of approximately 300 miles to the east and north of Samarkand to Andijan, Tcharykov mentions that it was built by the Russian Government in order to tap the rich cotton-growing region of Ferghana. It is fairly certain that the Andijan extension was intended primarily for economic and trading purposes, and that the Termez extension was, on the other hand, while somewhat less economic than strategic in its implication, for practical purposes as much of a trading route as the British-controlled Khyber Pass Railway.

The extension southward to Kushk in the direction of Herat must have been the main rail threat to British India. It is probable that in the event of hostilities, or threatened hostilities, smaller bodies of troops would be massed at Termez, and perhaps at Andijan, in order to compel an equal strengthening of Peshawar, and even Chitral in the Pamirs, by Britain. This would seem, however, rather in the nature of an attempt to compel troops away from the main line of attack through Kandahar. It would appear the main Russian concentration point should be Merv rather than Bokhara or Tashkent. The Orenburg-Tashkent Railway we must consider the main, strategic line of communications with Central Asia, and along this route the force at the base of Russian activity can be most effectively applied. We remember that Russian expansion in Transcaspia took place comparatively late in the century in the 70's and 80's, whereas the advance along the line of the Syr Darya from the Aral Sea had taken place as early as the 30's and 50's of the century.

Here again we see the predominant importance to a land power of land routes; the sea route *via* Baku or Astrakhan was not undertaken until later, and was considered much less dependable. Curzon describes the number of boats in the Caspian, and ponders whether they would meet a sudden military requirement. It seems to the writer that the prestige of the Transcaspian rather than its fundamental strategic importance constituted its most vital significance. In this respect it may possibly be said to appear strategic, and be quite the opposite: economic and cultural. The Turk-Sib, on the other hand, appears economic and cultural, and is much more fundamentally strategic in immediate potentiality. We are told that the purpose of the Turk-Sib is to trans-

port cotton to Siberia. Why? That it might be efficiently woven and then shipped back to European Russia for distribution? Even if the factories did not exist, can we be sure that people alone do exist in such numbers as to justify this expenditure in order to supply the manufactured article? The Turk-Sib is to provide Siberian wheat and lumber for Central Asia. In consideration of the fact that nearly the entire area of Siberia east of Semipalatinsk is forest land, we may wonder where the wheat surplus will come from. To shift wheat from the Ukraine and the Caucasus to the export quota, and to build a railway, does not of itself create wheat land. We may agree that Turkestan could use a limited amount of lumber. The Turk-Sib is a political threat to Japan, first, and to a less degree, to Great Britain.

To return to the real significance of the Transcaspian we may quote Lobanov-Rostovsky: "With the exception of the Indian system, this was the first great railway built in Asia, and its economic and cultural importance cannot be overestimated. It was a revival of the great Khorassan route which, in the days of Tamurlane, was the main commercial line connecting China with Persia and Europe, and which accounted for the extraordinary prosperity of the cities lying along it in Central Asia. China was brought nearer to Europe (the Trans-Siberian was completed in 1902) and the moribund cities of Turkestan obtained a new lease of life. Modern Russian cities grew up at Tashkent, Bokhara, Khokand, Samarkand, and Merv, Marghilan and Andijan. The population of Tashkent alone had nearly doubled in the ten years after the completion of the line; it increased from 78,000 to 156,000 in 1879." We may remember that Tashkent is the headquarters of the Soviet administration in Central Asia at the present day. Population is only a contributing factor, and leaves unchanged the basic strategy of the region.

It is little wonder, then, that the railway from Orenburg to Tashkent should be a logical succeeding step to the completion of the Transcaspian. This basic link was completed in 1905, connecting the Central Asian lines with the railways to European Russia at Samara. Its 1,185 miles, as compared with the 1,064 miles of the Transcaspian, may perhaps be less desirable from an economic point of view when we consider that at its Orenburg terminus goods must be transported to Russian distributing centres at a comparatively higher rate by rail rather than by boat *via* the Caspian Sea and Volga River system, but the strategic effect of this route must remain as great as before. It crosses the great desert of the Aral Sea which had been such a formidable

obstacle to Russian penetration, and made possible an easy journey of some six days, from Moscow to the borders of Chinese Turkestan or Afghanistan.

Lobanov-Rostovsky says of it: "Strategically speaking, these railways gave Russia a definite hold on Turkestan, making possible rapid transportation of troops—a fact which was tested during the earlier period of the Soviet régime."

The fact that the Orenburg-Tashkent line was built in 1905 rather than in 1889 would seem to show that Russian pressure on England in India was of a most casual sort, and was not based upon a consistent policy. We prefer to consider the Transcaspian the result of a local condition that was utilized in its implications to put diplomatic pressure upon England after it had served its primary and immediate purpose. This threat to India would even then have seemed subordinate to the immediate ends of the railway as a means of subduing and administering the local tribes, and encouraging and developing local trade.

We may remember that the Kushk (Kutchka) extension, as well as being a potential threat to Herat, connected Merv with the fertile valley of the Murghab that was used for extensive cotton plantations as well as some of the Czar's most attractive estates. We remember also that in 1907, after the completion of the Orenburg-Tashkent Railway in 1905, England saw fit to arrive at a definite understanding with Russia in regard to Persia and Afghanistan. In 1899 she saw no such necessity.

If we are to credit Lobanov-Rostovsky in *Russia in Asia* (1933) Russia's " manifest destiny " lay in the East, and it was a natural force that impelled her to advance in Central Asia. Perhaps some distinction is permissible, however, between Central Asia and India. There does not seem to be any valid reason why this eastward march should extend southward into a different geographic and climatic area, at least, until a superior economic and military strength has been built up around the main base of power in Central European Russia. There is every reason to believe that this power did not exist in the 80's and 90's, and that the Russian Government, taking this fact into consideration, had no intention of using their control of land routes in Central Asia until this power could be built up by Witte and Stolypin. Government policy must have used these railroads merely as a threat. If, however, European power becomes actual, there must be real danger to India if that power still governs the routes of Central Asia.

We know that a strong Han Dynasty controlled the Trans-Asia silk routes in the first and second centuries B.C., but that when power at

the centre became weak the outposts were repeatedly withdrawn, until at last only the Jade Gate in North-West Kansu was held by the Imperial Government. China is an excellent example of the control by imperialist expansion of the east and west Trans-Asia overland route from Roman times until the present day. The local inhabitants of Sinkiang are identical in ethnographical composition with those of Russian Turkestan, and include Khirgiz, Tartars, Tarantchis, Dungans, Uzbegs, Kara Kalpaks, Torgots, etc., that have no direct racial connection with the Chinese ruling class. The prevailing religion to-day is Mohammedanism, just as during the ancient Han period it was Ghandhara Buddhism. At this early time the business and part of the administration of the territory was carried on in Kharoṣṭhi (an Indian script) rather than in Chinese.

During the period of the T'ang Dynasty splendour at home, the intrinsic power of the Empire was again extended to include Central Asia and the two main trade routes through Turkestan, one lying to the north through Urumchi, the other to the south through Khotan, came again under Chinese dominion. The power of the Mongols was extended, not only over Russia (in the thirteenth century) and China, but over India; and the Yüan Dynasty, during which Marco Polo visited China, had the old invaluable control of Central Asia and the Trans-Asiatic routes. For this reason, then, it seems probable that power and prestige in Asia and the control of these routes have a definite relation to one another. Britain, by means of an enormous sea power and great economic power, was able to divide this control with a fundamentally weaker Russia. With a stronger Russia it does not seem possible that the *status quo* will remain unchallenged.

We only surmise whether England realizes this from her Baluchistan extension to Duzdab and the Khyber Pass Railway and in connection with her care in maintaining control in Tibet, and as much of the intervening Afghan and Persian territory as possible. The loss of her influence in Chinese Turkestan (which the Turk-Sib may make inevitable) and in Afghanistan and Persia is a vital preliminary to the loss of her influence throughout Asia. It would seem that at this focal point all British energy should be directed. The true beginning of the loss of British prestige dates from the shrewd hint of " high Japanese army officers " (Davies) that the North-West Frontier be included in the terms of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1905.

Lobanov-Rostovsky (p. 311) predicts : " Russia will turn more and more eastward, whereas Europe represents for her something of the

past, something outworn, in which she has no more interest." He adds, however: "Territorially Russia cannot expand further, and her problem is now to keep and develop what she already has."

This can be achieved, he declares, "if Russia has a new word to say in Asia," and by a "new culture" rather than by brute force against which he thinks both the Japan and the China of the future would rise superior. It seems highly improbable that "territory" (topographical or geographical factors) will have anything to do with the future or present Russian boundaries. Dorjiev's plan for the annexation of Tibet, and even of the whole of China in 1903-04, has certainly no geographical obstacle. Viceroy Lin of the Ching Dynasty declared Russia to be China's greatest foreign menace.

The problem is eminently one of the present moment, and of the economy of the Turk-Sib Railway rather than the old objectives of the Transcaspian and the Orenburg-Tashkent, when the main direction of activity, according to the same author, was towards Constantinople, and Persia and Central Asia were to Russia of secondary importance. "Meeting with British resistance in Turkey, Russia increased her pressure further east to frighten Great Britain, and oblige her to release her diplomatic emphasis in Turkey." This seems to contradict the author's thesis that Russian destiny lay in the East. He declares (p. 115): "The main line of Russian interests lay in Turkey and the Balkans, but further afield Russian policy was not only restrained, but even timid. With a small Russian force backing the Persians in 1837 Herat would have been easily captured and made a base for further advance. Equally hesitating was Russia's policy in Central Asia and Afghanistan."

As to the "new word" by which Russia is to repel the "brute force" of China and Japan, we can hardly overlook the fact that economic power and a utilization of the routes over the centre of the continent may have a definite bearing on the events of the future. We see Japan at the present time advancing inward from east to west (in broad perspective), and may surmise that Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan, and Tibet form a definite part of her strategy. A Trans-Mongolia railway parallel with the Trans-Siberian, and aiming at the mineral deposits in the vicinity of Kuznetsk and Lake Balkhash, is quite feasible, and would constitute a more direct threat to the Soviet economy than a superb navy in Peter the Great Bay at Vladivostok. The Soviet Union realizes this, and, like Japan, realizes that the Power that controls Mongolia and Turkestan controls China.

To return to the "new word" and the "new culture," we may suggest that the ideology of China has been changed sufficiently many times in the past to make a further "change" irrelevant to their plan of action. Propaganda, as a weapon of Imperialism or Communism (as during the Han and Sung periods), has been a peculiarly Chinese device throughout the centuries. Western technique has made use of it only in comparatively recent times. We may remember that Buddhism was, by Imperial policy, used to inoculate the barbarians of Tibet and Mongolia in order to render them docile by destroying, through its social implications, the military and family basis of their society, as well as by its ideology to weaken the intellectual resistance of the people.

We can be reasonably certain that the "Imperialism" of Japan or of England, as well as the "Comradeship" of Russia, will be judged by China solely by its effect on China, and will be utilized solely for her own ends, regardless of name or label. The theory that Soviet Russia can be placed in a fundamentally different category with regard to China is invalid in the light of history. The "Chinese" adviser to Ghenghiz Khan, Yelou Chou Tsai,* himself helped to formulate the rigid regimentation of the Mongol Imperialism that combined domination by brute force with the domination by the idea. It is not inconceivable that China herself may expand once more to the west, but this could take place only after a relatively high degree of internal economic development. Japan alone can effectively threaten Russian plans in Central Asia from the east.

We are told that one of the aims of the "Gosplan" in Moscow is to make the component parts of the Soviet Union so interdependent that their economic life would be killed by separation from the greater body politic. This is expected to be the determining factor in the conservation of Russian domination over Siberia and Central Asia. The most important achievements of this plan have been the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, the industrialization of the Kuznetsk region, irrigation and cotton development in Central Asia (in the region of Andijan and the Murghab), and the increase in oil production in the Caucasus.

The Turk-Sib Railway† is 1,442 kilos long (about 900 miles), and connects the Trans-Siberian and Transcaspian Railways running in a

* Strictly speaking, Yelou Chou Tsai was a member of the imperial clan of the Chin Dynasty which the Mongols overthrew, and which was founded by the Nuchen Tatars in Manchuria, who were racially intermediate between Mongols and Manchus.

† For a fuller description of this line, see "The New Aspect of the Central Asian Question," by Bosworth Goldman, *R.C.A.S.J.*, Vol. XX., p. 365 (1933).

north-easterly direction along the frontier of Chinese Turkestan. It opens up to colonization the plains of Kazakstan (former Semirechie), which promises (after population) to become one of the world's large grain-producing areas. Part of the preliminary work, including surveys, had been completed prior to the war, but actual construction started in 1927, and the road was opened for traffic by the Soviet Government on May 1, 1930. A description of the country through which the line runs is taken from an article in the *Novy-Vostock*:

> "The new line begins at the Semipalatinsk station of the Omsk line, and, cutting through the town of Semipalatinsk in a south-westerly direction, crosses the Yrtysh River four miles further on; then, passing the town of Alash from the west of the River Yrtysh, turns towards Kokpekty at a distance of 100 kilos, following the valley of the Tchar-Gurbar River. Hence it heads westward into the valley of the Djarma River. After crossing the Ashtchi-Su River the line ascends the watershed of the basins of the River Yrtysh and Lake Balkhash, descending thence to the town of Sergiopol. Running along the north-western shore of Lake Balkhash, it crosses the River Karatal, and, following first the valley of the latter and then that of the River Biyzh, it winds up amid the Maly-Sary chain on the eastern side, touching the Ili settlement, near which it crosses the River Ili. From here the line heads almost straight in a southern direction towards the Alma-Ata station situated on the northern side of the town. From the Alma-Ata station the line, which here is traced northward from the Frunze-Alma-Ata postal tract, crosses a number of rivers—viz., Kaskelen, Tchemologan, Kargaly, and others; and through the valley of the River Kopa it crosses the Ala-Tau chain by the Tchokpar Pass. Descending from it in the direction of the River Tchokpar, it crosses the River Tchu not far from the Novo-Troitskoe settlement, whence, following a south-western direction, it approaches the River Kurga-Ta, and running along its valley it reaches the station of Lugovaya, situated at the 424th kilometre of the Arys-Pishpek-Orenburg branch of the Tashkent Railway."

The cost of construction based upon the final estimate sanctioned by the Council of Labour and Defence on May 25, 1928, is 203,700,000 roubles (£20,370,000). The Year Book of 1930 places the cost of the

Turk-Sib at £20,000,000, but this sum does not include the cost of the rolling stock.

The Turk-Sib gives Russia the economic domination of the vast areas of Chinese Turkestan and Outer Mongolia. As for Turkestan itself, it is expected to deflect a proportion of the overflow of Russian colonization from Siberia towards this region. Lobanov-Rostovsky declares that "it is a delusion to consider Siberia, particularly Western Siberia, as far underpopulated. The most fertile lands have already been distributed amongst emigrants from European Russia, and the pioneer is now tempted to turn south along the tracks of the new railway into the lands of the Khirgiz, instead of penetrating into the great virgin forests of the Taiga region (to the north). This tends towards an increase in purely Russian stock in Central Asia with the consequent important political results."

From the strategic angle, the railway permits a rapid transportation of troops over a third line to the local points of concentration in Central Asia, and increases the pressure that can be immediately brought to bear on Afghanistan or China. The Bassmatchi revolt showed clearly that the control of Central Asia consisted in holding the railways (1921). The importance of the Turk-Sib is implied in the industrialization of the Soviet state and the military defence of that industrialization.

Kuznetsk is connected with the Trans-Siberian by a branch line roughly 220 miles south of Tomsk, and is not connected with Barnaul on the Turk-Sib, about 150 miles to the west. It means, in effect, that two railways may be used in time of stress to haul the products of Kuznetsk to the west (the Trans-Siberian is a single route from Omsk to Novosibirsk), or to bring up reserves to defend this outlying position which is extremely unprotected from the east. It is roughly 1,500 miles through Mongolia from Manchukuo.

* Here in the foothills of the Altai range, virtually on the borders of Zungaria, is a region which is said to contain the richest coal deposits of the Soviet Union. High grade coal is lying near the surface in varying thicknesses ranging from two to sixteen metres with an estimated total of 400 billion tons. The erection of steel plants in this region will increase the potentialities of Russian action in Asia, either eastwards towards the Pacific or southwards towards India. The location, however, half-way between the Urals and the Pacific of a vast steel industry must inevitably bring about an increase in the local population and a gradual shifting of the Russian centre of gravity eastwards.

* Lobanov-Rostovsky, *Russia and Asia*, p. 276 *seq.*

The industrialization of Central Russia in the region between the Volga and the Yenisei will inevitably bring economic pressure to bear on the north and south Trans-Asia route to India and the east and west route to China. Geographically the Soviet has an immense advantage over England, but a fairly doubtful advantage over Japan, with regard to Kuznetsk.

We remember that one of the reasons for Russia's original advance in the direction of Tashkent along the western boundary of China was the importance of holding the so-called Zungarian Gates and the valley of the Ili through which from time immemorial have poured the Asiatic invasions to the west. Here we find direct access between east and west unimpeded by high ranges or even hills; in fact, the logical route of a Trans-Mongolia railway. If such a railway is constructed under the auspices of China, the logical eastern port might perhaps be Hulutao; if under Japanese auspices, the port would most efficiently be Seishin, Korea, which is on a far more strategically direct route to Tokyo than Dairen.

That Kirin coal apparently is intended to be taken *via* South Manchuria appears from the construction of the largest port in Western Japan at Hakata (in Kyushu) in proximity to the Yawata steel works (near Moji). The proximity of Vladivostok to Seishin would seem to have compelled this South Manchurian route; nevertheless, it appears probable that the main objective of Japan in a war with Russia will be Kuznetsk, or a swift stroke through the valley of the Ili, beside which a Vladivostok, or even an Irkutsk, will be an inconsequential side-issue.

Jehol and Inner Mongolia are but the first step to such a scheme. A Manchurian base is the *sine qua non* of a Russian rather than a Chinese conflict. We may suggest that this conflict would be fought well in the interior zone of Russian industrial development, and the issue would be decided by that power that retains for the longest time the control of Central Asia.

Due to the introduction of air transport, Central Asia will more than ever regain its position as the gateway on the shortest distance route between east and west. A Trans-Siberian plane service through all-Russian territory has been long in operation. Various lines—British, Dutch, and French—fly along the southern coast of Asia. To Nanking and Tokyo there is but one direct route that has remained from Roman and Han times, and that lies directly across Russian Central Asia and the Tarim Basin of Chinese Turkestan to Lan Chow in Kansu in the general region of the ancient Jade Gate. From thence either a northern

route may branch to a northern capital of China, Si An Fu or Chang An, or the present Peiping; or to a Southern Chinese capital such as Nanking or Hang Chow.

With regard to a north and south route, we learn that the Soviet has inaugurated (or at least has successfully flown) the Tashkent-Kabul service of the Soviet airways. The late British official representative in Kabul has knowledge, to his good fortune, that the Kabul-Peshawar line is quite capable of development. About 300 miles in a straight line separate Peshawar from Termez.

With regard to a connection between the Indian railways and the railways of Central Asia, the writer has shown that little in the way of topographical hindrance separates Quetta from Kushk; nevertheless, we believe firmly the British India Government, for political and perhaps as well economic, and surely for strategic reasons, to be fully justified in opposing such a connection. Whether England would have profited more in 1915 by having such a connection with Russia is a question that will never be solved. It seems, however, that a railway connection *per se* to India should not be hastily condemned, and should be judged purely by the benefits it might bring India—provided always that proper control could be exercised on this connection by England. It is the foreign control of this land route that is objectionable rather than the rail line itself. This control must be physical land control, regardless of the actual direction of the line, or the country to whom the dividends are paid.

For this reason it would seem that a line roughly following the contours of the Persian Gulf from Karachi or Duzdab to Basra would be thoroughly under the control of British sea power. A branch from the Baghdad Railway through Qasr-i-Shirin, or by way of Kirkuk or Khanaqin, might be run northward to Tabriz, and *via* Baku connect for Moscow and the English Channel. Roughly 200 miles of rail would allow England to threaten directly the centre of the Soviet oil economy at Baku, and would open a through route to Europe the time element of which would compare favourably with a Transcaspian Railway connection. The Caspian Sea boat crossing would be eliminated. Britain, with no danger to India, could threaten with sea power the very centre of the Soviet industrial economy: Stalingrad on the lower Volga, etc. Russian penetration of Persia and Afghanistan would be menaced from the rear.

If we assume, then, that a Russian connection is advisable (the Berlin-Baghdad-Karachi route would still seem the shortest distance

to London), surely the control of over a thousand miles from Karachi to Tabriz would eliminate the overwhelming Russian advantage of control practically to Kandahar. This Trans-Persia scheme as far as Basra, and omitting only the extension to the Caucasus, was heartily endorsed by Curzon, and its advantages were propounded by him at length. In the event of war a Trans-Persian line (even within five miles of the Persian Gulf) would immensely complicate the defence of the Caspian while any offence was being carried out by Russia in West Afghanistan, and would immobilize large bodies of troops at Krasnovodsk and Askabad.

With regard to spur branch lines in Central Asia, precise information is hard to come by. We know little about developments along the Russo-Afghan frontier.

It is safe to assume that neither the Anglo-Saxon nor the Mongolian has relinquished his claims to the prestige and power that come from the control of the communication routes through Central Asia. Whether the Slav is the intellectual equal in skill and craftiness of his erstwhile master by land or of his consistent opponent by sea remains to be seen. The manœuvre of 1927 ended in the complete route of the Georgian by a more subtle opponent on the Yangtse. The material power of the British Empire, the genius of her people, and the flexibility of her diplomacy were not built in a day. Shall it vanish by night before the creation of these Super-Men of the Steppes, the serfs of Ghenghiz Khan? Shall the maturity that began with the philosophers of Ch'ou and the Legalists of Ts'in quail before the "new word" of the men who were exploited and ruled by the Varangians of the Baltic? Centuries rather than decades will tell.

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KARAKORAM

THE meaning of this word seems to give rise to various difficulties in translation. "Kara" is the ordinary word for black in the Turki language. "Koram," which is more correctly spelt "Kurum," both "u's" being short, is a common everyday word in the modern Turki of Central Asia for stones. It is a collective word, and means essentially loose, separate, or fallen stones, as distinguished from "tash," which means rock, stone *in situ*, or stone for domestic use, as stone for mills. For instance, the heaps of stone, large and small, lying by the side of a river-bed will be "Kurum," and the path over such would be called "Kurumlik," the adjective of the noun.

Likewise the mass of stones brought down a nala would be called "Kurum." On the Nuntagh river is a nala known in Turki as "Kurum Jilga," or the stony nala. The "Wakhi" name for this nala is "Ghor Jerab," an exact translation, as "Ghor" means stone and "Jerab" a valley. Sometimes, for emphasis, "tash" is associated with "kurum," and "tash-kurum" is used to express the complete "stone-i-ness" of the stones. But the point about "Kurum" is that it must have come from somewhere else than where it now lies. A slag heap of a mine would be "Kurum." A caravanbashi, a Turki who knew not a word of any language other than his own, once said, "Let us camp by those white boulders," and used the words "aq kurum" (aq = white).

The Karakoram Pass, with its heaps of black shale lying loose, is just what a Turki would call "Kara Koram," and the same Turki continuing his walk beyond and south of the pass would call the mountains he met with the Karakoram Mountains, for he is ever economic in his nomenclature.

No one has ever suggested that the Balti or the Ladakhi christened the Karakoram Mountains with a Turki name as a friendly gesture to their neighbours.

Captain C. J. Morris (vide *Geog. Journal*, Vol. LXXI., June, 1928, p. 531) is far nearer the mark when he translates Koram as jagged rocks, and notes that the meaning "gravel" is not known. He is right. The translation of Kara Koram as black sand, gravel, or rubble

is not correct. A Turki would use the expressions " sai " (gravel) or " kum " (sand).

The Kurum Jilga has been referred to above. This nala is a mass of the most barbarous devastating rocks and boulders that can be found anywhere. Surely if " Kurum " meant merely sand or gravel, not even a Turki would call this grim valley " Kurum "?

ANNUAL DINNER

The Annual Dinner was held at Claridge's Rooms on July 11, Field-Marshal the Rt. Hon. Viscount Allenby in the Chair. The Society's guests included the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd, His Excellency the Turkish Ambassador, His Excellency the Chinese Minister, Sir Frederick Maze, and there was an unusually large and distinguished audience.

When the King's health had been honoured, Sir Horace Rumbold proposed the health of the Society, coupled with the name of the retiring Chairman, to which Lord Lloyd replied:

I must first thank Sir Horace Rumbold for the kind terms in which he has coupled my name with the toast of the Royal Central Asian Society. I have been connected with this Society for more years than I care to remember, and my heart is very closely bound up with it, if only for the reason that it concerns itself with the study and record of the things I have loved best in my life—Asian travel and Asian affairs. Since my return from Egypt, I have had the honour under the distinguished presidency of Lord Allenby to have been Chairman of the Society, and it is a matter of real regret to me to be relinquishing it, but time and pressure of other public work compels me to do so. I venture to think that I have at least one claim to your gratitude in having persuaded Sir Horace Rumbold to be my successor in the Chair. Every Englishman knows of him as a great Ambassador, but his chief title to our interest and to our confident anticipation is his experience and achievements in office, especially in Persia, in Japan, and Constantinople.

I think I can claim on behalf of the Council that the fortunes of the Society have not stood still in the last three years. They have indeed been constantly in the ascendant. During this period we have been honoured by His Majesty with the grant of a Royal Charter; then, again, no less than 400 new members have joined the Central Asian during those years—all the more remarkable in that they have been lean years when no one of us has added to our subscription list unless we were sure we were going to receive value for money. We have, I think, gained much in repute by virtue of the quantity and quality of our lectures, and, looking back over the last few years, one is struck by how many of them concern our fast communications with Asia not only in the air, but by great roads such as the great Rowanduz road, which gives Persia a valuable outlet for her trade without dependence on Russian railways. Our Journal, too, is even more widely in demand.

What, however, has added most to the lustre and repute of our Society has been the notable journeys accomplished by our members. Those that spring most immediately to our memories during the last four years are, of course, Mr. Bertram Thomas's intrepid and original crossing of the Rub'al Khali at the end of 1930 and Philby's passage to the heart of it two years later. Then we remember that Miss Mildred Cable and her two companions within the last three years have crossed the Gobi four times backwards and forwards on a route previously untouched by Europeans, and also discovered the tomb of the famous Jesuit, Benedetto Goez, who died in 1610 in an attempt to get from India to China.

"Travellers," says Rudyard Kipling, "like sea trout, should be caught fresh, run with their experience still sticking to them"; and in this connection the first name that springs to one's mind as a newly returned traveller is the famous one of Sir Aurel Stein, who is just back from important discoveries in Southern Persia. He and I are very old friends, and I know he will not be insulted if I say that the first flush of earliest youth has left him, and yet he is to-day as formidable a traveller, as intrepid an explorer, as eager an excavator, as indomitable a self-extricator from a hundred hair-breadth happenings as ever he was in his youth. The only pity of it is that the remorseless modesty with which he veils alike his erudition and his exploits prevents us knowing as much as we should like about his work. But whether it be from a journey in the Trans-Oxus, from Chinese Turkestan, from the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, from a saunter down some Hittite road, from mere contemplation or composition on his *marg* in Kashmir, or as to-day fresh from the discovery of ancient trade routes in Southern Persia, or of deserted ports like Sirafi in the Persian Gulf—we, in the Central Asian, shall always welcome him and the rich sheaves of research, discovery, and knowledge which he brings with him. May I add this word about the importance we attach to Central Asian travel: for some reason or other there are far fewer young travellers than there used to be before the war. There was then a definite school of men in the twenties and thirties who used to make one or another country in Asia their particular subject. That seems to be more rare to-day. We have here to-night fortunately one of the exceptions in the shape of Lord Aylesford, who is not long returned from a journey to Kashgar, and who, I hope, will allow no long interval to elapse before starting out again for the roof of the world.

It is now exactly ten years ago that I was the guest of the Society on my return from India. It was a memorable dinner, for Lord Curzon presided and made one of the most eloquent as well as humorous speeches that ever fell even from so rich a fount of oratory as his. I remember he dwelt sadly on what he termed "the lamentable collapse" of Central Asia. He contrasted the then attenuated fortunes of Turkey with its more spacious days when the arch of Turkish dominion threw the single span of its power from Vienna to Bagdad, and when the sentry at Belgrade and the sentry at Basra each sundown salute could shout in single strain: "Padishahimis chok yasha." He contrasted the break-up of the Russian Empire that stretched from the Baltic to Balkh with the disunion of the Soviet States and the semi-detached republics, Usbegi, Tartar, Tajik, and Kirghiz on the frontier. He deplored what he believed was an evanescent constitution in Persia, and although refusing to prophesy—for, said he, prophecy in Asia had always been dangerous; "according as the Hebrew prophets prophesied on a larger or a smaller scale, so they were known as major or minor prophets"; but he was not so far wrong in anticipating the break-up of constitutional governments that have in fact followed in those countries, but above all he stressed the duties, the responsibilities, and the unparalleled opportunities that lay open to us as a great Asiatic Power whose dominions were still intact, whose frontiers were still untouched, still peopled by pioneers and administrators content to devote the substance and strength of their lives to our great work in the East. Such was his noble theme given out in golden utterance. To-day he would have been glad to see that a strong flow of recovery has replaced the ebb of ruin he so deplored in more than one country in Asia.

Take for instance Turkey and mark the definite and notable progress achieved under the Ghazi Pasha. It is three or four years since I was last at Angora, and I remember well how struck I was with the quiet but determined plans then laid down for the military and economic regeneration of the country. Railway de-

velopment in Anatolia is, indeed, astounding, especially when the financial and national obstacles are so great. The Angora-Sivas Railway has been finished a good while; Sivas-Samsun was completed last year, and the more recently accomplished Sivas-Kaisariyeh-Ulukishla line enables through running between Angora and Adana. I understand that the Fevzi Pasha-Malatiya-Arghani line is well on the way—a line that will enable the wealth of copper in Arghani Madan to be exploited. There is also a line talked of from Afiun-Karahissar to Adalia. Some 33 per cent. of the country's revenue has, until recently at any rate, been absorbed by military and aerial expenditure; and when it is realized that these important railway projects have been mainly financed out of the remaining current revenue, one gets some idea of the sacrifices that must have been made in the prosecution of these essential strategic and economic aims. It is, of course, true that this has been done to some extent at the expense of the Ottoman Public Debt, which was written down to one-third in 1928, and still further written down again last year; none the less, the effort shows vitality, foresight, and a will to regeneration, which all friends of Turkey must welcome.

Much the same spirit seems to be alive in Persia, where railway construction is being actively pushed on—in the north from Meshed-es-Sirr on the Caspian (in Mazanderan) and in the south from Khor Musa, on the Gulf, *via* Dizful to Burujird. Quite how the large expenditure on railways, plus heavy outgoings on Army and Navy, are going to be paid for is not so clear. But one thing is certain, that the restoration of law and order and the assertion of military control constitutes a very important achievement of the present Shah, as far as this part of his far-flung Empire is concerned. The establishment of posts of an efficiently organized gendarmerie along the main routes and the opening of motor roads have gone a long way to reduce banditry and to facilitate internal trade. The beneficent effect is now gradually being extended in a south-easterly direction towards Laristan and the coast of the Persian Gulf, where tribal turbulence was hard to cope with before, and general insecurity prevailed. The raising of an efficient gendarmerie and the creation of a nucleus of a well-disciplined military force garrisoned at provincial headquarters appears to have been facilitated by the absorption of a considerable number of Persian officers and rank and file once serving in the South Persian Rifles. The training received, the adequate pay given, etc., in this force under British command are still gratefully remembered over a wide area, together with the names of such officers as Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, Colonel Fraser, and others.

There can be little doubt that the progressive creation of a modern army, as yet limited in numbers, yet probably strong enough, if intelligently led, to deal with any tribal risings, helps greatly to raise national pride and self-reliance. That it fosters also nationalist pretensions and aspirations is a result scarcely avoidable. But whatever the fighting value of the modern Persian Army may be—and I think it ought not to be underrated—it is certain that it is bound to play an important part in the renascence of a nation which has suffered so much for centuries from misrule, internal disorder, nomadic inroads, devastating aggression, and in the end from what might be called anæmic anarchy. I am always led to connect the chequered history of the Persian nation with the very niggardly way in which nature has treated its land. Where cultivation over vast tracts of arid plateaux and barren hills, to say nothing of real deserts, is so limited through the scarcity of water and so difficult to maintain, only human ingenuity combined with great power of enduring perseverance can produce such phases of highly developed civilization as Persia has known at intervals.

It was this innate skill and capacity of persistent application which allowed

Persia to recover its place amongst the great nations of the East again and again after periods of prolonged tribulation. It did so under the Sasanian dynasty after great invasions from Central Asia and internal disruption; under the Abbasides after the Arab conquest; and later on under the Timurids and Saffavis after the terrible destruction wrought by the Mongols. Those of us who are stragglers of Asia, who love its peoples and its ways, who have trod its paths and marvelled at its treasures, will rejoice to see a strong and an independent Persia arising anew.

It is perhaps important to note that this Asiatic nationalist *risorgimento* is not confined by any means to Turkey or to Persia. It is perhaps further east still to the real heart of Central Asia that we must look—and, if we do, we shall discern in the Mongolian situation the beginnings of great and far-reaching changes, that may yet profoundly modify the balance of forces all round both Outer and Inner Mongolia. All the more important is it to note the stirrings of a new mind in Mongolia in view of the unfortunate situation in Sinkiang; and we shall, I know, all wish the Chinese Government success in their attempts to deal with the disorder and difficulties with which they are faced in a province which, alas! is no longer the peaceful Paradise Sir Aurel Stein knew! It is, after all, only 700 years ago that the Mongols were the greatest power in Asia and far beyond it, and produced in Ghengiz Khan one of the greatest geniuses of all time. A great military commander like Napoleon, he piled Austerlitz on Austerlitz and Jenas upon Jenas; like him again, he made a code of law—no mere Attila he—the Yassa—for half a hundred peoples, but, unlike Napoleon, he died in the full tide of victory after having broken down the barriers of the Dark Ages and brought Europe into contact with the arts and civilizations of Cathay. It would not then be strange if the ever-circling wheel of Time and Fate brought Mongolia back as one of the arbiters of Eastern power, and how interesting for us in this generation that have seen so many an Empire rise, and fall, to be the witnesses of so romantic a revival!

I am not quite so sure, however, that in these Eastern countries which are under the Crown, or in which we have control or responsibility, the situation is one about which we can be very proud. I am not going to refer to India to-night except to say that it is a problem which is causing grave disquiet not only to ourselves, but to all those European nations who have responsibility or sway in the East. But I must say a few words about those countries—areas such as Palestine, 'Iraq, and the Gulf, which cover our land routes to India—which as air power develops are becoming daily and hourly of greater importance strategically to us. We have had several lectures, for instance, on the Assyrian problem, and I do not believe there is anyone in this country who is aught but ashamed and unhappy at the fate of a minority for whose welfare we are completely and admittedly responsible. I am not going to discuss the tragic events of which we are all painfully aware. The Assyrians had thrown in their lot with us during the war and had since given faithful service in the Levies under their British officers. Their very espousal of our cause in the war made it impossible for them to live in their homelands save under our guarantee—and we have failed them.

The Assyrian problem, which was referred to the League nearly a year ago, remains precisely where it was. No progress has been made towards a solution. The moral responsibility, however, rests not with the League, but with the British Government, which itself assumed it in so many words *vis-à-vis* the League in 1931 through the mouth of its representative before the Mandates Commission, Sir F. Humphreys. The long delay is fair neither to the Assyrians, whose conditions remain deplorable, nor to the 'Iraq Government, who willingly entrusted the problem to the League in the belief that some practical result would

ensue. It is now for the British Government to find a solution, and I trust that the efforts which I know are being made will soon be successful.

What is more, in spite of our failure to assure them of their future, we are, I believe, still using Assyrian levies for the all-important task of guarding our aerodromes. This, in spite of the fact that under the Treaty it was specifically provided that these guards should be furnished by the King of 'Iraq. The Assyrian levies are British forces and come under the British Army Act, and 'Iraq's obligation is still unfulfilled. Well may we ask His Majesty's Government to give a more prompt reply to our question of "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?"

This failure to give effective protection to our own servants and to enforce respect for our own friends does not, alas! stand alone. It is only a few months ago that our Consulate at Kashgar was attacked by bodies of Kalmuks and Tungans—Chinese Moslem rebels who not only seriously wounded the Consul's wife, Mrs. Thompson, but subjected the Consulate to a running fire over, I believe, a number of hours. The Indian guard, in spite of protests, had been withdrawn in 1928 and the Consulate left defenceless. The fact that no one seems to know what redress was obtained for this outrage did grave damage to our prestige throughout these areas. In the Persian Gulf, too, that area in which presumably Lord Lansdowne's famous declaration still holds good, there have been incidents which cause our friends in all those areas some doubts as to the value of our protection. It is, therefore, absolutely essential, especially in the Persian Gulf, that His Majesty's Government, whether it be in matters economic—I will not talk of the oil situation—or political, should see that our rights are duly protected and that all those peoples, whether they be Assyrians—Trucial Chiefs—or peoples living under our Mandate in Palestine, should feel once again that the shield of British protection is a sure one.

British interests in Asia are one problem, not several: if we allow the foundations of our power to be sapped in one area, we are so much the weaker in all; I sometimes wonder if we have not too often neglected our friends in trying to conciliate our enemies.

But time presses, and I have the dual honour, not only of replying for the Society, but of proposing the toast of the guests. We are indeed fortunate in having so distinguished a company of guests who have honoured us with their presence, some as guests of the Society and some as private guests. We welcome their Excellencies the Turkish Ambassador, the Chinese Minister, the Councillor of the Japanese Embassy, and the Persian Chargé d'Affaires, also Sheikh Hafiz Wahba of Saudi Arabia. Amongst distinguished administrators present and past, we have the Governor of Uganda, Sir Bernard Bourdillon, who has held important posts in both 'Iraq and Ceylon; Sir Harry Luke, Governor of Malta, whose recent book on Near Eastern travel has delighted us all; Colonel Bailey, whose work in Eastern Tibet most specially qualifies him for a place of honour in this company; Sir Malcolm Seton, whose long and particularly distinguished services to India need no reminder here; and last, but not least, Sir Percy Cox. I must not forget another very distinguished public servant, Sir Frederick Maze of the China Imperial Maritime Customs.

Letters are represented by someone entirely after the heart of the Society in Major Yeats Brown, Bengal Lancer and fugitive of Turkish prisons!

I am going to couple this toast with the name of His Excellency Quo Tai-chi. His Excellency's distinguished career from the days when he was a graduate in Pennsylvania University to the time he represented China at the Peace Conference till later he became acting Minister for Foreign Affairs is common knowledge, We can only offer him and his fellow-guests our warmest welcome this evening.

When the toast had been honoured, His Excellency the CHINESE MINISTER replied:

I am deeply sensible of the compliment implied by your invitation to be with you to-night and of the additional honour conferred—or shall I say imposed?—on me of responding to the toast on behalf of my distinguished fellow-guests.

A representative of China is bound to be in a rather special position when called on to speak in the Royal Central Asian Society. For I think that geographically and in the entire tradition of Asian history we cannot escape the fact that China is central to all considerations of Central Asia. Relatively to her every other nation, I may say, is more or less on the periphery.

Central Asia is having a great revival, a remarkable rejuvenation of a history long obscured in the silts of very old time. Even more than this, there is pioneering and planning such as the traditional peoples never dreamed of by the active descendants of those virile groups. And besides this internal development, there is a vivid new sense of Central Asia in the consciousness of all peoples in the world. Marco Polo's caravan trail and tracks are being followed by a horde of tourists, or so it would almost seem as one scans publishers' announcements of this, that and the other book by this, that and the other personage who has done a work of genuine expeditionary research or else a tome merely of curiosity and adventure here and there in Central Asia. The work of arduous savants like Aurel Stein and Davidson Black, not only "voyaging strange seas of thought alone," but submitting their bodies as well as their brains to stern and lonely exploring difficulties, gives lustre to the British record in Central Asia. Similarly, the persistence of the Mount Everest exploring expeditions, whether successfully battling in the air to surmount the world's highest peak or willingly accepting death along the footholds of its perilous upper slopes, has given a crown of glory to English pioneering determination and intelligence.

We used to hear a great deal in rather vague and mysterious terms about the *glamours* of Central Asia and the Roof of the World. Now we are hearing more about the *problems* of Central Asia, with something less of vagueness, but with perhaps an increased sense of mystery and intricacy as the problems become concretely posed to us. Dry bones seem to be both shaking and sprouting in Central Asia, in politics now no less than in geography and anthropology, in chancelleries as well as in laboratories. I know I must leave the solutions of problems in all these fields to the experts and the future, with the simple observation that Old Man Sinanthropus Pekinensis has plenty of marrow still potent in his bones.

The founders of the Royal Central Asian Society back in 1901 showed their prescience of impending great developments within the Mother Continent by organizing this Society as the new century opened. The range of its influence is registered by the roster of its Asian guests as well as its Asian members here to-night. Over on the other side of the Continent from China are those countries of Western Asia which these gentlemen so eminently represent. Their progenitors through all the centuries, even back into the dimness of unrecorded time, joined with China to forge and keep intact the links with Eastern Asia.

I trust that as communication increases its marvels of ease and speed, so may friendship and intercourse of trade and the arts intensify the relationships that their forefathers pursued. Equally I trust that my own country may ever more fruitfully reach across and around to them in our immemorial reciprocal relations. And I trust that in a similar spirit this varied and collaborative Asian intercourse and culture will increasingly reach out to meet the varied and collaborative intercourse and culture of these storied islands and the nations of all Europe. After all, the greatest service that England has accomplished in furthering the Brother-

hood of man and the Federation of the world has been precisely in opening up and steadily increasing the means of communication and close association between Europe and Asia.

It has been extremely gratifying to hear the cordialities and understanding pleasantries and references of Lord Lloyd's speech of formal welcome, and, of course, I am very grateful for his kind allusions to me.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure that all your guests to-night, and especially those of us who are here as representatives of indigenous Asian life, highly appreciate the invitation to be at this hospitable board. It is truly a satisfaction to join in this annual festive celebration of the interest which our English friends and hosts take in the affairs of Central Asia. We are happy to be here, not as intruders upon a programme, but as collaborators in a programme. There is a profound distinction between intrusion and co-operation, whether in banquet-halls or continents, and I know I express the hearty sentiments of all my Asian fellow-guests and Asian colleagues in saying that the members of the Royal Central Asian Society may feel abundantly sure that the relation of hosts and guests of which we are the beneficiaries to-night is a relationship that we shall always be glad to extend to you whenever the occasion shifts, and within our own home continent we can be the happy hosts and you the honoured guests.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Thirty-Third Anniversary Meeting was held on June 27, 1934. The Chair was taken by the President, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby.

The CHAIRMAN said it was with the greatest regret that the Council had received Lord Lloyd's resignation, but pressure of work had made it inevitable. The Society had increased in prestige and in numbers during Lord Lloyd's three years of Chairmanship, and the members would be glad that he had accepted an Honorary Vice-Presidentship. The meeting was therefore asked to approve an alteration in Rule 15, which would now read: "The Council may elect at their discretion *five* (*v.* three) Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Society whose services to the Society are considered worthy of such recognition."

The alteration in the rule was put to the vote and passed. Lord Lloyd and Sir Francis Younghusband, co-founder of the Society, were nominated as Honorary Vice-Presidents.

The Society was exceedingly fortunate, the Chairman continued, in that Sir Horace Rumbold had accepted nomination as Chairman of Council. Sir Horace's distinguished services as a diplomatist were well known, and he would be a worthy successor of the long line of distinguished Chairmen.

Sir Denison Ross was nominated as Vice-Chairman, as Sir Harcourt Butler's health made it impossible for him to attend lectures and Council meetings.

In accordance with Rule 16, Mr. Stephenson and Sir Arnold Wilson resigned their Vice-Presidentships, and Sir John Thompson and Mr. Bertram Thomas, who retired from the Council in accordance with Rule 25, became Vice-Presidents.

Sir Henry Dobbs had already retired from the Council on account of ill-health, and the Council deplored his death, a great loss to the Society and to all who served with him.

The following three members of the Society were nominated to the vacancies on the Council: General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., Sir Ronald Storrs, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., and Mr. G. Martin Lees.

These names were put to the meeting and carried.

The President then asked Sir Horace Rumbold to take the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN called on the Honorary Secretaries to read their report of the 1933-34 session.

Brig.-Gen. Sir PERCY SYKES: We, the Honorary Secretaries, beg to report that during the past year eighteen meetings have been held. To commence our survey in the Near East: the lectures were "Mecca and Medina," by St. John Philby; "Vernacular Broadcasting," by Mr. C. F. Strickland; "A Journey through Kansu and the Tibetan Border Country," by Mr. John Scott; "Climbing Everest," by Mr. Hugh Ruttledge; "Flight over Everest," by Mr. Blacker; "Some Problems of the Indian Frontier," by Sir Evelyn Howell, K.C.I.E.; "Thirty-Two Years in the Indian Forest Department," by Sir Alexander Rodger; "The Economic and Financial Situation in Turkey," by Mr. S. C. Wyatt; "The Country of the Assassins," by Miss Freya Stark; "The Attempt to Colonize Palestine in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," by Mr. C. N. Johns; "Manchuria," by Mr.

Peter Fleming; "British Malaya," by Sir Laurence Guillemard, G.C.M.G.; "Air Control of Frontiers," by Air Commodore Chamier; "The Proposed Haifa-Baghdad Railway," by Mr. Keeling; "The Indus Valley Civilization and its Connections with Sumer and Elam," by Mr. Mackay; and "Zayul," by Mr. R. Kaulback; Anniversary Lecture, 1933: "Air Power in the Middle East," by the Rt. Hon. Sir Philip Sassoon, Bart.

Specialized papers were: "Mandeans of 'Iraq," by Mrs. Drower (E. S. Stevens); "Assyrians in the Mosul Vilayet," by Colonel Stafford; a Discussion on "The Assyrian Problem"; "Pacific Problems and the Banff Conference," by Mr. Woodhead; "Palestine," by Hector Bolitho, and again by Miss Newton; "Liberal Tendencies in Japan," by Mr. Ishikawa; "China's Pattern Men," by Mrs. Florence Ayscough; "The Torguts," by Princess Nirgidma; "A Journey to the Altai," by Anna Louise Strong; "Turkestan," by M. Chokaieff. There was also a joint meeting with the Royal Asiatic Society, when Mr. Mallowan lectured on "Prehistoric Civilization in Aparchiya."

We have to thank our lecturers for a truly remarkable series, which has covered such a wide range in Asia.

The Dinner Club, which is a special feature of the Society, has had an especially interesting season. We owe our thanks to Colonel Newcombe and the members of the Dinner Committee.

The JOURNAL goes on from strength to strength, thanks to contributions of original articles and also of excellent reviews. It contains valuable information that cannot be found elsewhere.

The Annual Dinner was presided over by Viscount Allenby, who thanked Mr. Omar Ramsden for the artistic coat of arms which he had designed for the Society. His health was drunk with enthusiasm. The guests included many scientists and officials of distinction.

The Council regrets the death of twenty members: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Henry Dobbs, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., Vice-Admiral C. M. Staveley, C.B., C.M.G., R.N., Major C. C. J. Barrett, C.S.I., C.I.E., Professor A. A. Bevan, Sir Oswald Bosanquet, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Dr. D. F. Borrie, O.B.E., Lady Burghclere, F. G. Clark, Esq., Major-General W. E. Dent, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., Sir Robert Dibdin, Sir Claude Hill, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Squadron-Leader O'Malley, M.C., Captain A. R. Spurgin, Mrs. Milne Steen, Mr. J. W. Stephenson, Colonel G. Waters, and Colonel F. Webb-Ware, C.I.E.

Forty-two members have resigned, but, on the other hand, we have elected 132 new members, bringing the membership of the Society up to 1,470, thus making a substantial increase.

In conclusion, we especially thank our reviewers and writers of articles. We equally thank our staff. The Royal Central Asian Society is prospering, and it remains for members to increase its membership and thereby augment its influence and usefulness.

The *Accounts* were then read and passed; a copy will be found in the end of the JOURNAL. It was noted that for the first time the year ended with a deficit of £60.

Special mention was made to the great debt the Society owed to the retiring

Vice-Presidents, Sir Arnold Wilson and Mr. Geofrey Stephenson. Perhaps members lately joined did not realize the invaluable work Mr. Stephenson had done, more especially during the five or six years after the war. In 1921 he was made Honorary Secretary with Colonel Yate; and the great increase in membership, which resulted in the regeneration of the Society after its depletion during the war years, was due to the work of these two indefatigable Honorary Secretaries. He held the same office for some years, working with General Sir Raleigh Egerton and with his successor, General Sir William Thomson.

Mr. Stephenson had been responsible for the early years of the Dinner Club, to which he was the first Honorary Secretary, and he had never ceased to take an interest in it, and was now its Honorary Treasurer. He had given his time most generously, and the Society would not stand where it stands to-day if it had not been for the interest he had given to it.

Of Sir Arnold Wilson there is no need to speak; he was one of the most valued members of the Society, and his name was well known to members, who would follow with interest his parliamentary career.

THE WARNING OF IBRAIM PASHA OF BUDA

By "GERIT"

BY Gracious Permission of His Majesty the King I have been allowed to study the "STATO MILITARE DELL' IMPERIO OTTOMANNO, INCREMENTO E DECREMENTO DEL MEDESIMO," by Count Marsigli, in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. As founder of the Bologna Institute, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris and Montpellier, the Royal Society of London and Marshal of the Empire, Count Marsigli needs no introduction to the world. He was born in 1658 and died in 1730, having lived an adventurous life which is partly sketched in his preface.

PREFACE

Fascinated from his earliest childhood by the history of the Ottoman Empire, which had been described to him as invincible, he had the good fortune, when a very young man, of being taken in the train of Senator Ciurani, the new Venetian Ambassador to the Porte, and made a stay of eleven months in Constantinople, 1679-1680, sparing neither labour nor money in the pursuit of his object, which was to study the Turkish military system. Although warned of the dangers involved, to his surprise the Turks, far from viewing this interest with suspicion, gave him assistance in his researches, even procuring for him—at a very high price—a copy of the Canon-Name, more especially the part containing the schedules of the Imperial Revenues, Army Establishments and Regulations. With the aid of an interpreter, Marsigli set himself to master the contents of this work, which he found dealt with Military Administration rather than the training of troops.

At that time Kara Mustapha, the Grand Vizier, was preparing for the great campaign in Hungary. Despising the Christian Powers and encouraged by the rebel leader Tekeli, he had visions of placing the Sultan on the throne of the Western Emperors. Realizing the Turkish ambitions, Marsigli decided to take service under the Emperor Leopold I. and gain some practical experience of the might of the Sultan's

Army. He joined the Imperial Forces in 1682 and in his first campaign was taken prisoner by the Tartars on the Raab, during their great raid into the Hungarian territory bordering on Lower Austria, which country he saw put to fire and sword. He was then sold by the Tartars to Achmet Pasha of Temiswar, who had formerly been Imperial Treasurer, and went with him and the whole Army to Raab. As a slave, he was present in the Turkish Army at the investment of Vienna, and thus involved in the retreat of the Ottoman forces to the Raab. Achmet Pasha having been poisoned, he had fallen into the hands of some Bosnian soldiers, who had bought him during the siege of Vienna, and was taken by them to their country at the foot of Mont Rama and from thence to Dalmatia. Here he succeeded in sending a letter to Senator Ciurani, asking him to obtain money from his family for his ransom. The good old Senator, acting with great promptness, at once sent a boat and money to buy him at any price named. Had he not done so, Marsigli says he doubts if he would have regained his freedom, as at that moment Venice declared war on the Porte and no communication could have got through.

He then re-entered the service of the Emperor, resuming his military duties, and served in various ranks through the campaigns which culminated in the Peace of Carlowitz. He was employed by the Emperor both during and after these negotiations, which was not surprising considering his qualifications. When on a diplomatic mission to the Porte in 1691-1692 he had travelled through Thrace and Serbia; he had also wandered in Bosnia and Dalmatia to Spalatro. As slave and soldier he had acquired an intimate knowledge of Hungary and the provinces of the Ottoman Empire bordering on that kingdom. Moreover, he could speak Turkish, for had he not been able to do so he could not have made the journeys he did, nor probably have regained his liberty.

It may be seen that his information on the Turkish Army was gained first-hand, under very varied aspects and circumstances spread over an active period of some twenty years. His stay in Constantinople when very young, as a slave with both Tartars and Turks, over fifteen years campaigning against them, broken by a diplomatic mission to Constantinople, 1691-1692—during which he accompanied the Grand Vizier Kuiperly to Belgrade and was in his camp on the eve of the march preceding the battle of Slankemen—and finally when after the Peace of Carlowitz the Emperor Leopold appointed him Commissioner-General for the delimitation of the frontiers, a very thorny mission in a country of such mixed religions and races.

I have based this article on one of his works. It is divided into two volumes copiously illustrated, the first consisting of 84 chapters containing the translation of the Canon-Name with explanatory chapters, the second of 27 chapters dealing with the Turkish Army in the field. Taken together, they form a very long book full of most interesting information, and to compress it into the space available has been no easy task, but I have studied the original *à fond* and am now prepared to pilot my readers, as it were, by stepping-stones over the morass of detail, and I must remind those who are sufficiently interested to follow me that they are looking at the Ottoman Empire through XVII.-century eyes.

VOLUME I

INTRODUCTION

The book opens with a very long and descriptive picture of Turkey in the XVII. century, including a résumé of the origin of the Turks. A great deal of this is common knowledge to-day, therefore I have only picked out those points which I think may be less well known, or where contemporary opinion may be of interest. Trained under the Venetian Ambassadors whose despatches are world-famous, and with unique experience as diplomat, slave, soldier and scholar, his judgments are worth consideration. He writes very little about himself—for every personal reference I have inserted—but here and there shows himself to be a deep thinker.

He admits that information regarding the inhabitants of Central Asia was lacking in his day, which he attributes to the general ignorance of Oriental languages and hence the original sources of their history. He declines to venture an opinion on the subject, but says the ancients called them Scythians and the moderns (XVII. century) Tartars, that they were nomadic, but finally settled in Great Tartary, the limits of which were unknown. The conquests of Alexander drove these Scythians and neighbouring tribes to take refuge in the Caucasian and other mountains, but later they redescended to the plains. Having meanwhile increased in numbers, but declined in prosperity, they sought to re-establish their fortunes by fresh conquests and were designated as Tartars. He criticizes the writers of his period respecting their accounts of Genghiz Khan, which he considers inaccurate since they were unable to consult the best Tartar histories. In these histories the Tartars claim not only to have given Emperors to China, Persia, Mongolia and the

Ottoman Porte, but also to have provided the main force at the disposal of the Goths when they overthrew Rome. "I confess that when this was first read to me by a learned Turk who often gave me lessons, I was immensely surprised and at the time it appeared to me incredible. But since then the designs and annexations of the Czar of Muscovy in Siberia and Great Tartary have necessitated a deeper study of the frontiers of those States and Muscovy, and it led me to reflect on the great force of the Tartars, their continual expansions, their simple and frugal habits, and I became convinced that under the designation of Goths the Muscovites in combination with the Tartars may well have been the destroyers of the Roman Empire."

In their annals the Tartars exulted over their victories, but deplored the fact that these ancient conquerors had mingled with and absorbed the civilizations of the vanquished countries and so lost their virility and boasted that but for this the descendants of Tartar nobles would occupy every throne in the universe.

"It is this nation that we term barbarians, since they do not live in luxurious houses, but in tents and on simple food. Because they are frugal in their habits they are not barbaric. Their dominating idea is further expansion, they are attentive to public and private duties and study history and astronomy, on the latter they have wonderful books. They burn and sack, it is true, but are they alone in that?"

He then sketches the history of the Tartars and Osmanli Turks from their early period to the time of Mahomet IV. In his opinion only a small percentage of the Turkomen Tartars, from whom the Turks descend and take their name, really remained with Erdegrul, and that the Osmanli Turks by their contact with Persia, Asia Minor, the Balkan peninsula and Greece soon degenerated into a very mixed race, and as the Empire expanded they became more and more cosmopolitan.

The Ottoman Empire as it was at the time of Mahomet IV. was immense and touched its apex in 1679-1680. Marsigli thinks it might even have been greater had the Sultan and Kara Mustapha listened to the advice of Ibraim Pasha of Buda, as we shall see later on.

Then follows a long political-geographical description of the Empire. After the conquests the original designations — *i.e.*, kingdoms, provinces, districts—were maintained both in Asia and Europe. But vast as it appeared on the map it was very loosely knit together, a heterogeneous mass, with its semi-independent Princes and Rulers, robber infested areas and Tributary States, etc., all of which had to be

Ujvaroska
Neuhäusel
Komorn
Gran
Waitzen
Raab
River Danube
River Raab
Budapest
River Theiss
Szeged
Mohacs
Arsan
River
Siklos
Drave
Zenta
Temiswar
Darda
Essek
Peterwardein
Titel
Slankemen
Mitrovica
River Save
Semlin
Belgrade
Semendria
River Morave
Batochina
Jagodina
River Danube
Vidin
Nish

garrisoned and policed. It was difficult to govern and split up as it is to-day, many of the same problems still confront us and it is curious to read of them nearly three centuries ago.

It required financial and military laws. The Finance Statutes were very fine and well drawn up, and despite abuses could well have served as a model to many Christian countries of the period. In fact, Marsigli maintains that no Government in the world kept such accurate registers as the Turks, with regard to negotiations with Foreign Powers of all nations, of their own dominions, ceremonial to be observed, methods of expedition of orders, decrees and list of officers actually in the service, etc., and finally Finance Registers, as mentioned above.

Two serious problems faced the Ottoman Government, the racial or linguistic and the religious. Even in the XIX. century the Turkish Empire was so shrunk that it is difficult for us to visualize the conglomeration of tongues and religions when it reached nominally from Tangier to within sixteen leagues of Vienna. Touching on languages, he writes: "On the shores of the Black Sea, Tartar is much spoken. From what I can gather it is a mixture of the true old Bulgarian and Hungarian; and I confess that a perfect knowledge of these languages would be useful for studying the history of the Goths, since, as I have stated, the Tartars claim, and probably not without foundation, to have formed the backbone of the armies which conquered Europe."

The three principal religions—Mohammedan, Christian and Jewish—appear to have been all riddled with sects; he mentions no less than forty-eight amongst the Mohammedans. Christ, as we know, was acknowledged as a Prophet in the Near East from early times, and besides the Greek, Armenian and a few Catholics there were several rather spurious Christian sects, but he says the influx of Spanish Jews had had a great influence and led many to embrace Judaism. He mentions a sect of Bulgar Christians between Adrianople and Philippopolis, called Paulitans, who still held sacrifices and whom he visited. The rest is too well known to-day to dwell on.

The Turks at the helm had seen the necessity of softening the Koran Laws with regard to the Infidels, for the latter were the brains of the Empire and they could not afford to lose them. But although they gave religious toleration, they exploited the dissensions in both Christian and Jewish Churches. The Turks were in reality afraid of their foreign subjects who were in the majority. "In the many journeys which I made in Turkey, I never saw any Turkish peasants, except a few in Bosnia, and others in the plains of Dobra, the Turks having sent

peasants from Asia to people it, for fear of the Budgiack Tartars taking it. For although the Tartars are Mohammedans, they and the Turks dislike each other, and in the disastrous campaigns in Hungary the Turks distrusted the Tartars as much as they did the Wallachians, Moldavians and Transylvanians.

XVII.-century historians were apparently deeply impressed by the despotic power of the Sultans, but Marsigli had seen the other side of the picture, and shared the views of the Grand Vizier Kuiperly (killed at Slankemen) whom he knew personally, that this might have been so up to the time of Solyman the Magnificent, but that the race was now effete, and in Kuiperly's opinion, unless they could have a new Dynasty—which Marsigli hints Kuiperly had in his mind's eye—they would never attain to their former greatness.

The Sultan, whose face may never be looked upon because it is divine, and whose image cannot therefore be placed upon their coins, was nothing more than a puppet. In fact, the whole hierarchy was an outer shell of great splendour, ceremonial and etiquette, covering the real power which lay in the hands of the Capiculy troops and the Ulama. If these two acted in concert the Sultan and Grand Vizier were impotent, if they escaped with their lives. The Sultan could make neither war nor peace without the consent of the Ulama and Army. On this subject Marsigli quotes personal experiences both in the negotiations of 1691-1692 and after the Peace of Carlowitz. He concludes this chapter as follows: "From all that I have stated we can draw our own conclusions as to whether the Ottoman Empire should be described as a Monarchy, Aristocracy or rather Democracy."

In a long description of the manners and customs of the Turks he states that their only sport appeared to be coursing—although Mahomet IV. loved the chase—shooting had not yet penetrated to Turkey. They disliked any exertion; it is true they rode, but only when necessary and were very glad to dismount. The inhabitants of what is now the Balkan peninsula were, however, active and made far better infantry than the Asiatics, but both tried to get drafted to the Uturakys or Veterans, so as to be exempted from marching, and all the infantry would sit down on the slightest pretext. "The habit of the Grand Vizier Kuiperly (killed at Slankemen) of walking for a few hours in a courtyard to think out problems as we do, appeared to them most extraordinary."

Children played at throwing darts called "*Gerit.*" This was often done on horseback by the Sultan and Pasha's pages to entertain their

masters. They rode with very short stirrups so as to be able to rise in the saddle to throw the darts and parry those of their adversaries. Marsigli remarks that Christian travellers, who saw this game, often wrote in their journals that the Porte took care to train their youth for war by these pastimes, and that it was a proof of the vigour and force of the nation. This he says was nonsense; a very small number took part, and the Porte merely looked upon it as an amusement and took no interest in it whatever. The Janissaries, of course, did take exercise to harden them, but otherwise, except for their excellent régime of sleep and meals, the Turks would have been the worst troops in the world.

Another absurd statement by travellers of that period was that the Turkish soldiers took opium pills to render themselves intrepid in battle and brave all dangers. Marsigli remarks that they certainly would not have made these ridiculous statements had they known the properties of these pills! But he adds that the language masters in the mosques were addicted to this habit and became stupefied by it and it was a vice in Constantinople at that time. He is very severe on their morals and considers they were heading for their own destruction.

Education appears to have been by no means neglected, and Marsigli deplores the fact that the study of Oriental languages had been allowed to lapse in the Western Universities, which accounted for the ignorance of Eastern culture in his day. Their interest in all the sciences "I can prove by a catalogue of over eighty-six thousand authors of the last century which I have in my library at Bologna for the use of scholars. The Pope Clement XI., who was very interested in all learning, wanted a copy for the Vatican and sent the Abbé Assemani (one of the greatest Oriental scholars of Rome) to make an extract. My library contains several hundred Arabic, Persian and Turkish volumes, and a quantity of Greek manuscripts, of which the Abbé made a list for the Vatican library. I also made a collection of the best works on Geography and Astronomy." Apparently a most valuable collection as he spared no expense.

The Turks did not print their works at this period, but this was not, as was commonly supposed, because printing was forbidden, or that their writings were not worth printing, but that they did not wish to deprive the copyists—of whom at that time there were ninety thousand—of their livelihood, and this was the answer which the Turks themselves gave to the Christians and Jews who wished to introduce printing for their own profit. Marsigli was told by the Turks that

amongst the manuscripts there were translations of quantities of Greek texts relating to the history of the Catholic Religion, which had been translated at the time of the Prophet (*sic*) Mahomet, and of which the Arabic translations alone remain, the originals having been burnt at the time. But the latter, as well as all those in Turkish, Arabic or Persian, would need to be carefully sifted, as a great part of the contents had been brought into line with the Koran.

In his summing up of the Turkish character he writes: "When victorious the earth is too small for their conquests, but when defeated they give way to a despair, which I could not have visualized had I not been amongst them at Vienna and Slankemen. After the latter battle the Imperialists feared that they would kill me out of rage, whereas I never received more courteous treatment, since I attributed the disaster to the rupture of the peace negotiations on the Raab, and the imprudence of the Grand Vizier who should have advocated it sooner." He concludes this part with the words: "It is easier to make war with them than peace . . . and peace delegates should always have a strong army behind them."

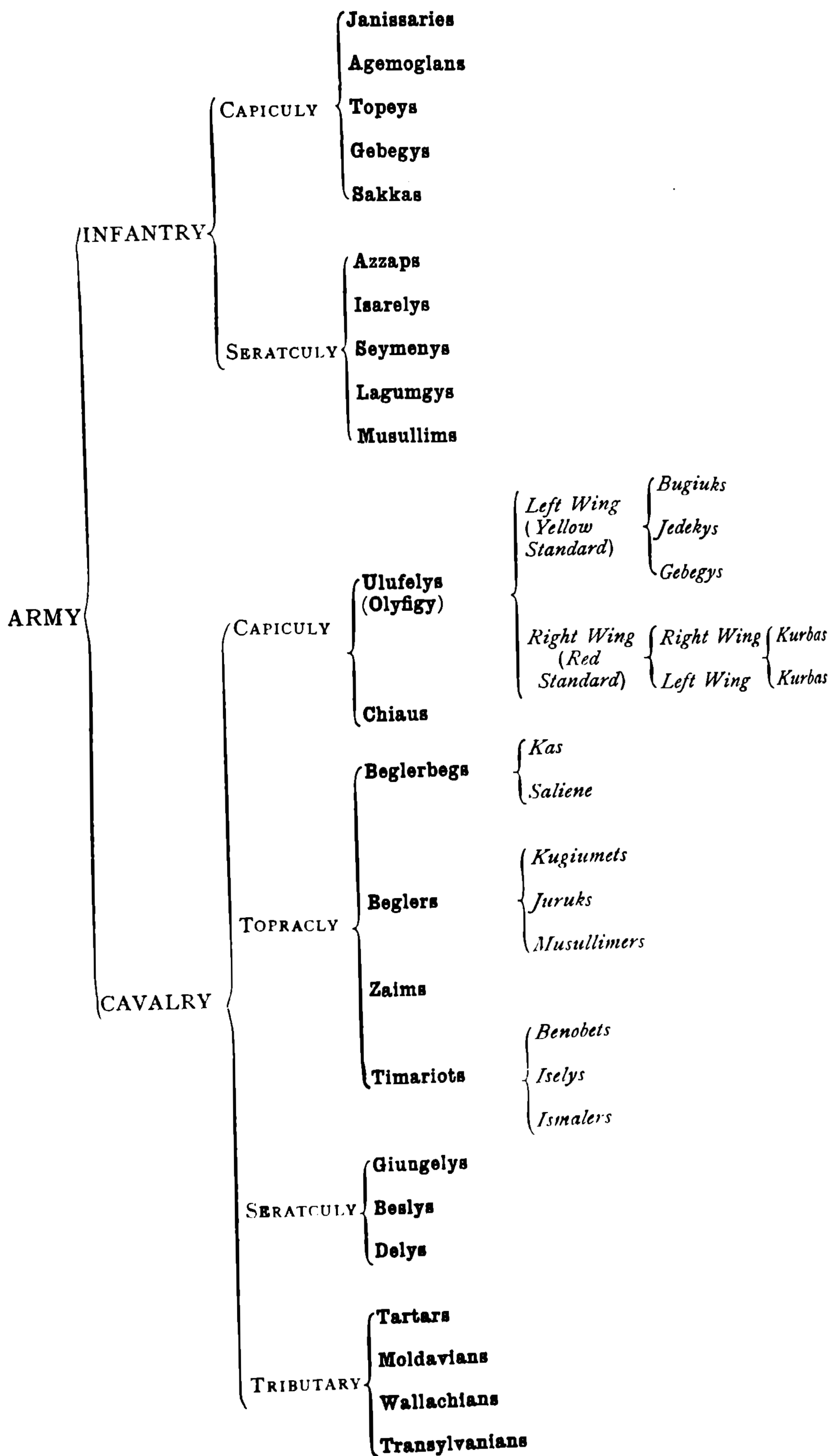
Now follows a detailed account of the trade and revenues of the Porte, but space forbids and we must pass on to that part of the Canon-Name which deals with the military establishments.

THE CANON-NAME

This part, which is not long, should be read carefully, *as it is the key to the second volume*, as will be seen.

INFANTRY. The infantry was divided into two distinct categories, the CAPICULY and SERATCULY.

CAPICULY. This designation was originally intended for those troops who were actually stationed at the Porte, *i.e.* the residences of the Sultan, the word Capy meaning Porte. They were, in fact, the Sultan's own troops and were all paid by him. But the Capiculy infantry lost this privilege under the Sultan Solyman, who at the request of the Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha, then at Belgrade, and although he was not taking the field in person, ordered Kifil Alessi, the Jenizer-Agasy, to join the Grand Vizier with the greater part of the Capiculy infantry. The infringement of the regulations of this body of troops was the forerunner of many more, as generally occurs when privileges have once been encroached upon. Although prejudicial to the prestige of


ARMY
INFANTRY
CAPICULY
Janissaries
Agemoglans
Topeys
Gebegys
Sakkas
SERATCULY
Azzaps
Isarelys
Seymenys
Lagumgys
Musullims
CAVALRY
CAPICULY
Ulufelys (Olyfigy)
Left Wing (Yellow Standard)
Bugiuks
Jedekys
Gebegys
Right Wing (Red Standard)
Right Wing
Kurbas
Left Wing
Kurbas
Chiaus
TOPRACLY
Beglerbegs
Kas
Saliene
Beglers
Kugiumets
Juruks
Musullimers
Zaims
Timariots
Benobets
Iselys
Ismalers
SERATCULY
Giungelys
Beslys
Delys
TRIBUTARY
Tartars
Moldavians
Wallachians
Transylvanians

his corps, the Aga obeyed the Sultan's order and went to join Sinan Pasha at Buda, when the latter was preparing to march to Vesprin below Raab. Soon after the Aga was superseded, the Grand Vizier replacing him by Jemisk Pasha. Thus the corps also lost the honour which it had always enjoyed, *i.e.* that the Sultan appointed its Agas.

Under the heading of Capiculy, the Imperial Registers also included all the personnel of the Seraglio such as *Capigys*, *Bostangys* and others, because they accompany the Sultan during a campaign, but they were not soldiers, merely court servants who followed the Army in the Sultan's household.

(1) **Janissaries.** Marsigli gives the following account of the origin of the Janissaries, which I am inclined to think have sometimes been confused by historians with the Capiculy cavalry. Whether he is right I cannot say, but his statements are very clear and all based on the establishments of the Canon-Name.

The successful campaigns of the Sultan Amurat in Thrace and Macedonia gave rise to the formation of the corps of Janissaries. Numbers of slaves were captured, amongst them a great many children, and the military authorities resolved to bring up these children to do service for the Ottoman Empire. Sultan Amurat referred the matter to Agis-Bictas, who posed as a very pious man, but was one of the biggest hypocrites of his day. Agis-Bictas decreed that these children should be made to kill Christians, so as to accustom them to brutality and cruelty to the infidel, as they were destined to form the Turkish infantry under the name of Jenizers or New-soldiers. Thus the Janissaries, the fruits of their first conquests in Europe, were created by Agis-Bictas, whom they still honoured in their daily prayers as their founder, and at the mention of whose name the Aga rose up in the Divan. A levy of Christian children was henceforward instituted in the Tributary States, these children being brought up in the houses of rich Turks and then drafted into the corps of Janissaries. Sultan Amurat gave them statutes, one of which was that no one should be admitted to this corps who was not of the race of *Versemés* or Tributary and unless he had first been Agemoglan. The Capiculy troops (cavalry and infantry) became very powerful, as they had the right to put the Sultan in prison and appoint a successor. They could draw up Laws to protect the Princes of the Blood and could execute the Sultan or Grand Vizier.

By 1680 this corps had been greatly increased. From the old Registers, under the wise administration of Solyman the Magnificent,

its strength was given as 12,000, whereas in Marsigli's time it numbered 54,222, divided into three different types, *Jajabeys*, *Bolukys*, *Seymenys*, with subdivisions of *Corigys*, *Uturakys*, and *Fodlakorans*.

There were 196 Janissary *Odas* (companies of that period) varying in strength from 600 to 800 men; made up as follows: 101 *Jajabeys*, 61 *Bolukys*, 34 *Seymenys*.

The *Jajabeys* guarded the most important frontier fortresses, of which they held the keys, their officers wearing yellow boots, which signified that they had the right to ride in the presence of their General.

The *Bolukys* had privileges, but not so many, and with the exception of the *Kiaja-Jery* and the *Musur-Aga*, their officers wore red boots, which signified that they had not the right to ride at certain functions.

The *Seymenys*. Their officers wore red boots with the exception of thirty who were supernumeraries, and for special reasons had this privilege.

Each of the three above-mentioned units had a percentage of the following in their Odas.

The *Corigys*. A *corps d'élite* could be selected to the number of 930 for guarding the Royal Palaces of Constantinople, Adrianople and Brusa.

The Uturakys, numbering in 1680 10,100 men under 34 officers, were soldiers released from service but drawing pay for past services (Veterans).

The *Fodlakorans*, numbering in 1680 30,022 men, were orphans drawing a small allowance from the Sultan in consideration of their fathers' services.

The Janissary corps was commanded by the *Jenizer-Agasy*. This high post was usually conferred by the Sultan on one of his favourite slaves, for the Agasy had absolute power with his troops, could promote the least of his slaves to *Seymen-Bascy* or *Chiaja-Begh*, controlled all the garrisons and was a redoubtable personality, and for his own safety it was essential for the Sultan that this post should be filled by someone brought up in his household and whose personal fidelity he could trust.

The hierarchy follows, but I can but name them, giving their approximate ranks, which we must remember are the equivalents in Europe at that period: *Seymen-Bascy* (1st Lieut.-General), *Chiaja-Begh* (2nd Lieut.-General), *Jenizer-Effendi* (Provost Marshal), *Musur-Aga* (representative of the corps at the Court of the Grand Vizier), *Chiaja-Jery* (Major-domo to Jenizer-Agasy), *Bas-Chiaus* and *Orta-Chiaus* (Captains commanding Odas).

The following Odas had special employments, their Oda number being inserted after their designation.

Zacargys (64) kept the Sultan's hunting dogs: *Samsumgys* (71) kept the bearhounds: *Tumagys* (68) kept the coursing dogs and falcons: *Seymenys* (35) called *Augilars* were obliged to hunt, and their *Oda-Bascy* (Lieutenant) was the only one who had the right to marry: *Kaisakys* (14, 49, 66, 67) whose commander would be promoted to the *Tumagys*: *Devegys* (1, 2, 3, 4, 5) were important as regards the other Odas, as their commanders were always appointed as governors of fortresses; the 5th was of the *Boluky* category, but named *Bas-Chiaous* because their C.O. had that title: *Solaks* (60, 61, 62, 63) walked on foot round the Sultan, their commander dismounting to hold his stirrup and help him at difficult passages: *Imans* (84) were the chaplains: *Cerias* (17) had the privilege of putting up their tents opposite that of the Sultan, who had to pass through them to his pavilion, the men making a gangway, their hands joined: *Taalims Kanegilars* (54), the Archery School (their director, carrying bow and arrow case, had the privilege of wearing a Pasha's turban, an honour conferred by Solyman on a very celebrated Arab archer). In Marsigli's time they were being taught musketry: *Zembetekgys* (82) formerly renowned as cross-bowmen, but who still retained the honorary right of camping by the tents of the chaplains of the Jenizer-Agasy. The remainder of the Janissary Odas were only distinguished by numbers and had no other duties than those of ordinary soldiers.

It is impossible to enter into the various duties in the Oda itself, but I will mention one, the *Ascigi* or cook, who, besides his normal functions of cooking, arrested prisoners and put them in irons if required and kept them in custody in the kitchen. As his badge of office he carried a large knife in a sheath at his side.

The Janissaries would only be punished or receive orders from an officer brought up amongst them. The *élite* of the Constantinople corps were sent to garrison the frontier fortresses, or those where the fidelity of the garrison was suspected. When they did not actually defend these places in time of siege they observed the disaffected. A long description of the ceremonial of the Divan follows.

(2) **Agemoglans.** Sultan Amurath established a period of noviciate for the Janissaries, during which they were named Agemoglans and were trained and hardened by manual work for their future services. The Agemoglans claimed the same rights as the Janissaries, of only being punished by an officer brought up amongst them.

(3) **Topeys:** Artillery. Although divided into Odas, there was no fixed establishment. They were commanded by the *Topey-Bascy* (who commanded the troops as well as acting as what we should term M.G.O.): *Duchis-Bascy* (Director of Arsenals): *Oda-Bascy* (C.R.A., Constantinople): *Kiatib* (Registers of personnel, pay and material). The Topeys included the following: all artificers, carpenters and carriage makers.

(4) **Gebeggs:** Armourers (munitions), with H.Q. near St. Sophia.

(5) **Sakkas:** Water carriers. They had no definite units or officers, but were attached as required. A queer crowd according to Marsigli, but most important in a Mohammedan army. This completes the Capiculy infantry.

SERATCULY INFANTRY. The Porte, having found that the Janissary corps alone could not provide adequate garrisons for all the frontier fortresses of the Empire, created a new corps in the provinces to supplement it both in the garrisons and in the field. It was called Seratculy to distinguish it from the Capiculy, and the Beglerbegs had a sum allotted for its maintenance. Marsigli states that the Capiculy and Seratculy had often been taken to be one and the same corps, and great confusion had arisen through mixing up their subdivisions, whereas in reality they were very different, both as regards establishment and functions. It is hardly mentioned in the Canon-Name and only as a reference, since it had no regular establishment like the Capiculy, but was subordinate to the Pashas of the Provinces, who were responsible for its administration. Moreover, it was only paid when employed and its functions were to reinforce or replace the Janissaries. Like the Capiculy, it was divided into five units.

I. **Azzaps.** These were generally drawn from the natives of the country where the corps was raised and wore the national costume, which in Hungary led to their being confused with the Christian Hungarians. They had no fixed strength, but consisted of independent detachments belonging to the different divisions of the Empire, each of these detachments being subdivided into as many Odas as there were days of the week. Their hierarchy was as follows: *Azzap-Agasy* (Azzap Commander), *Azzap-Kiatiby* (Administration), *Derys* (corporals), *Baitactar* (Standard-Bearer), *Oda-Bascy* (Oda Commander).

II. **Isarelys.** These had no fixed strength and were employed in fortresses, mostly on the frontiers, as gun numbers. They were commanded by the *Topey-Agasy* (artillery officer) sent from Constantinople, who was himself subordinate to the Pasha of the Province.

III. **Seymenys.** These consisted merely of badly armed peasantry, enrolled in time of war to swell the numbers. They were of all races and religions, who took service to be exempted from taxes. Their sole chief was the local Pasha. In Anatolia, where they were all Moslems, they were known as *Jaja* or "footmen," and were divided into *Baitaks* (standards) equivalent to an Oda, under a *Seymen-Boluk-Bascy* (Commander) and *Baitactar* (Standard-Bearer). They were usually employed in garrisons and camps. Although the Turks distrusted these Christians, they employed a large number at the siege of Vienna; it was this infantry that put up the strongest resistance on the Kahlenberg slopes.

IV. **Lagumgys.** These were the sappers, mostly Armenians and Christians from Greece and Bosnia. Being accustomed to working in mines, they were very efficient in their work. They were commanded by certain old officers called *Lagumgys-Bascys.*

V. **Musellims.** These were Tributary Christians called pioneers, because they were ordered to precede the advance guard to repair roads and bridges. They enjoyed special advantages, such as exemptions from tribute and even grants of land, from the local Pashas. There was no fixed strength, as this was dependent on the density of the population and amount of land available for distribution. Their sole chief was the *Bas-Musellimi* (controller of exemptions), but those of Anatolia were subordinate to the Beg or Sanjak. Their only weapon was an axe, but when required they were provided with pickaxes from neighbouring villages or artillery stores. They marched a day ahead of the army; in garrisons they helped to serve the guns as far as they were able, and in sieges they worked in the trenches, where they earned a good deal of money, which caused some jealousy amongst the Janissaries. In short, they were to be feared, for although less dangerous on the surface than the rest of the infantry, they were the mainspring of the army.

To sum up, the SERATCULY infantry was not a regular force, being recruited and paid as required, according to the resources of the district and needs of the army.

CAVALRY. The Turks, who had gained their initial victories with their cavalry, paid great attention to this arm. It was divided into four main categories: CAPICULY, TOPRACLY, SERATCULY and TRIBUTARY.

CAPICULY or SPAHIS CAVALRY. They were a regular force paid by the Porte. They formed the Sultan's guard, and unless the sovereign took the field in person only two-thirds of this cavalry went, and they were

always reserved for some brilliant action. They had formerly been termed "Children of the Riches" because they had been drawn from the pages of the Seraglio As-Oda, but this was no longer the case in Marsigli's time, when the corps numbered 15,248 men, divided into **Ulufelys** and **Chiaous**, thus greatly increased since the time when they had fought under the single yellow standard. The Ulufelys were divided into the *Left* and *Right Wings*, not because they occupied these posts in battle, but as a manner of distinguishing them, and both had their subdivisions.

Ulufelys (*Left Wing*) had the distinction of being the cavalry corps which served under Osman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and were the only corps which had fought under his standard. They were highly esteemed for their seniority, and as a mark carried the yellow standard. One of their principal duties was to see that the Musellims repaired the roads and bridges, etc., whilst a certain number guarded the treasure in front of the C.-in-C.'s tent. In camp the squadrons were divided into two wings to surround the person of the Sultan or C.-in-C. They did not go into action unless the sovereign were there in person. Their subdivisions were (1) *Buguiks*, who dispensed alms for the Sultan on the march; (2) *Jedikeys*, who led the Sultan's horses; (3) *Gebegys*, who carried the horses' tails to be put up before the royal tents.

Ulufelys (*Right Wing*). Mahomet II., wishing to honour this corps and promote the children of its soldiers, created a second cavalry corps from it to be designated as *Right Wing* carrying a red standard. Their duties were to guard the treasure of the Sultan, collect the dues from certain parts of the Empire, and pay in the sums from the sale of old royal tents. Otherwise these soldiers were ordinary troopers carrying out normal military duties. They were subdivided into *Right* and *Left Wings*, each having its *Kurbas* of picked troops.

The hierarchy was as follows: The *Spahilar-Agasy*, who was privileged to have a horse's tail plus the yellow standard carried before him. His place was on the left of the Sultan, who regarded him as one of his first officers; (2) *Chiaja* (Lieut.-General); (3) *Chiaja-Jery* (Administration); (4) *Bas Chiaus* (commanding officer); (5) Chiaus (second-in-command); (6) *Kiatiby* (secretary); (7) *Kalfa* (Quartermaster).

Chiaus. These formed the second branch of the Capiculy cavalry and were both soldiers and courtiers. They acted as orderly officers, despatch rides, escort and as A.D.C.'s, and in modern terms seem to be rather akin to staff officers. Their commander was the *Chiaus*

Bascy, whose quarters were always close to the Grand Vizier. The Canon-Name does not mention their number or subaltern officers.

TOPRACLY CAVALRY. This cavalry was a force maintained by the governors of the countries subject to the Sultan from the local revenues called *Maly-Mukata*, pay being made not only in money but in kind under the name of *Uscuir*, meaning tithes, although some were paid direct by the Porte. Their strength was dependent on the revenues, and their designation the same as the title of their chief as follows:

Beglerbegs (viceroys or governors of kingdoms), subdivided into *Kas*, paid from the *Uscuir*, sometimes drawing extra allowances with special privileges: *Saliene*, paid direct from the Imperial Treasury through pay offices established in the district; this was the usual procedure in frontier areas.

Begs (Begs of provinces), subordinate to the Beglerbegs, who had to provide a percentage of men from the revenues received, subdivided into *Kugiumets*, mostly hereditary Kurd or Turkomen Begs. *Juruks*, Begs of the nomads in the Greek provinces, etc. *Musellimers* controlling the Musellimes. *Jaja-Begs*—the Canon-Name makes no mention of their employment, and Marsigli admits he is not sure, but assumes from the word *Jaja* that they were dismounted.

Zaims (Zaims of large districts). Some paid directly by the Porte, others by the Beglerbegs. They were all obliged to bring their cavalry contingent to the rendezvous on the order of the Beglerbeg. There were no subdivisions mentioned in the Canon-Name.

Timariots (Timariots of small districts). The post was sometimes hereditary, and they were obliged to bring their quota of cavalry to the Beg or Sanjak. Only volunteers or those paid by the Sultan were allowed to carry a sword. Special advantages were allowed to sons of soldiers killed in action. Subdivided into *Ismalerys*, *Iselys*, *Benobets*, which denoted certain grades of privileges on hereditary rights, etc.

When the Beglerbeg of Roumelia marched in Europe, he was on the right of the sovereign, but in Asia had to give place to the Beglerbeg of Anatolia. When several were together precedence was given to the senior kingdom.

Marsigli reproduces a map by Abubekir Effendi, an Arab geographer, showing the Pashalats and thirty-four pages of tables from the Canon-Name to lucidate this complicated territorial system, and I assure you it is not so simple as it looks.

SERATCULY CAVALRY. The word Seratculy means frontier troops.

This cavalry was stationed on the frontiers to prevent enemy raids and cover the Turkish expeditions. In Hungary it was distributed amongst the "*Palankas*" (a type of wooden blockhouse) advanced posts. These troops were a fine body of men hardened to war. Their commanders, the *Alay-Begs*, were mostly natives of the frontier who knew the country and spoke Hungarian and Croatian besides Turkish, and who had been promoted to these posts for valour and war experience. They were subdivided as follows:

Guingelys. Formed of natives of the country intended for garrisoning the principal frontier fortresses. **Beslys,** light cavalry composed of picked men to form the flying squadrons, who were distributed in the Palankas in advance of the fortresses. **Delys,** engaged by the Beglerbeg, when required, consisting of Turks, natives of the kingdom or Pasha's servants. Paid partly in money, partly in kind from local bridge tolls, customs dues or fishery taxes, and only in time of war.

TRIBUTARY CAVALRY. This cavalry is hardly mentioned in the Canon-Name, but Marsigli had had some insight into it when a slave with the Tartars and gives the following description. It was provided by the Tributary or Vassal States of the Sultan, Crimea, Lower Podolia, Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania.

Tartars (Krim, Ozacovie, Budgiack). This was apparently on a feudal system of a tenure of land with the obligation of providing a specified number of men. The Morzars or Lords had to bring their contingent of cavalry armed with sabre, bows and arrows, and sometimes lances. The commanders of the cavalry were the Sultans Galga Naridin, Urlu Bas, Governor of the Crimean Isthmus, and Alay Beghi, General of the Budgiack Tartars who went alternately on the campaigns. But the Tartars differed from the other Tributary States in that they were Mohammedans, and, moreover, that their King, the Tartar Khan, whilst owing allegiance to the Porte as overlord, claimed descent from Genghiz Khan, therefore should the Porte require forces over and above the specified contingent, the necessary funds were provided from the Imperial Treasury. At the time when Tartary was densely populated this force never exceeded 30,000.

Moldavians. A mixture of Greek and Catholic Christians under a Voivode. They were crushed with taxes in money and kind and were forced to provide a cavalry contingent at their own expense under an *Attman*, the strength of which is not specified in the Canon-Name.

Wallachians. They were also a mixture of Greek and Catholic Christians under a Voivode and forced to pay similar taxes and provide

a cavalry contingent as the Moldavians, their commander being designated *Spatara*.

Transylvanians. They were a medley of religions and languages and under their Prince formed a buffer state between the two great Empires. Besides money, they were obliged to provide their contingent of cavalry.

A short description of the naval section of the Canon-Name follows, but I have been obliged to omit it for want of space.

VOLUME II

The second volume consists of five main parts—Introduction, Equipment, Operations, Naval Section, and Conclusion. It is correlative to Volume I., which described the Turkish Empire as a whole and the military establishments in the Canon-Name.

INTRODUCTION

Marsigli first traces the causes of the deterioration of the Ottoman Army, which at the end of the XVII. century could not compare with those that had formerly paralyzed Europe. One of the famous Kuiperly Viziers foresaw that, owing to their statutes, the Capiculy troops were becoming a menace to the throne, and he advised Mahomet IV. to undermine the strength of the Janissaries by slackening their discipline. This soon had its effects; instead of attending rigidly to their exercises and military duties within the "Odas," the men began to disperse, some giving way to complete idleness, others taking up trading or some lucrative work. This initial disintegration led to innovations in the appointments of commanders; posts were obtained by favour and interest instead of on merit and valour. Several of those which had formerly been in the gift of the Sultan passed into the hands of the Grand Vizier. That of Jenizer-Agasy was amongst these; we have seen the thin end of the wedge in the days of Solyman. A glaring case of this was the appointment of a man named Aly, of the household of the Grand Vizier, who was suddenly promoted by his master to the post of Aga, thus becoming a General before he had been a soldier and, moreover, at a time of national crisis after the defeat at Nish. The result was that the prestige of the corps suffered, the post of Janissary became derogatory, and whereas formerly it had been honourable and sought after, it was now despised. To make up establishments the

authorities had to resort to recruiting, and even for this to use entreaties, cajolery and promises. In 1692, the winter after the battle of Slankemen, Marsigli saw a *Capy-Cirmak* or Proclamation of the Sultan in all the streets of Constantinople, offering the new Janissaries high pay and special privileges, even allowing them to carry on trades and other professions whilst in the corps. To induce the population to respond, it appealed to their religion in an exhortation that the maintenance of the Janissaries was a service to Allah and the Prophet. He gives a graphic description of the recruiting ceremonies, but states that they adhered to their ancient custom of admitting neither Gypsies nor Arabs to the corps. Thus the Capiculy troops were not only reduced in numbers, but were of very inferior quality.

The Seratculy infantry, intended for garrisoning the frontier areas, where they had been born and bred, and to strengthen the Janissaries, had also decreased, and if originally they had been meant to reinforce the Capiculy infantry, the Authorities were now obliged to distribute the Janissaries along the frontier garrisons to bring them up to strength, and this became the backbone of the modern infantry. In fact, it may be said that the original Seratculy troops were not only depleted, but practically extinct; more especially was this the case in Hungary, where the native soldiers were mostly dead. Owing to the scarcity of man-power the Treasury had been forced to fill up the ranks by recruiting the mountaineers from Bosnia, Herzegovina and Albania. They were a sturdy fighting stock, equally capable of handling *armes blanches* or firearms. An agreement or contract was entered into with their chiefs—as, for instance, Mahomet Beg-Regú—and these soldiers were called upon to serve for three or four months in the summer and then returned home until they were re-engaged for another campaign. In the later Hungarian wars, the Seratculy infantry could not, in fact, have mustered more than 5,000 to 6,000 men had not their deficiencies been made up by these so-called " *Arnauts* " troops (men armed with long muskets), who numbered from 15,000 to 20,000. But the expense to the Treasury was compensated, since they were not called upon to clothe these troops, who did not wear uniform.

The Capiculy and Topracly cavalry had also declined. The latter, having been forced into expenditure exceeding revenues, no longer appeared in the field with that smartness which betokened abundant resources. During these long years they had, in fact, overspent themselves in maintenance, harness and horses, and had deteriorated in " turn out " rather than in numbers.

EQUIPMENT

The equipment is very well illustrated and described.

Defensive. Steel helmets, shirts of chain mail, steel gauntlets, shields and protective shields for horses (used by the Tartars).

Offensive (*armes blanches*). Lances, javelins, darts, bows and arrows, swords, scimitars, hatchets, a sort of scythe, daggers and "*Meggs*" (a type of rapier used on the Hungarian frontiers).

The *armes blanches* were the hereditary weapons of both Turks and Tartars. They learnt the use of firearms from Europe, partly from contact and partly from renegade Christians.

Small Arms. The Turkish soldiers were armed with very heavy matchlock muskets, a flintlock musket more after the Spanish pattern, and a pistol. The long-range flintlock muskets were too heavy to use in the field without rests, but Marsigli states that he saw the Cairo Janissaries fire them very accurately with blank ammunition without using rests.

Since the majority of the troops brought their weapons, which were personal property, the difference of calibre complicated the issue of small arms ammunition. To obviate this the Turks supplied their armies with bars of lead which were distributed to the soldiers, who cut these bars with a hatchet into squares according to the calibre required.

Artillery. Marsigli had the opportunity of examining the artillery—from the heavy siege guns of Buda to the lighter models in the arsenals of Constantinople. Although they differed in length and calibre, he says they were all on the same pattern and discovered they were constructed on the designs of Pietro Sardi. Their arsenals had been reorganized by an Italian during the war in Crete, and in Constantinople he found a Turkish translation of a book on artillery written by Sardi. When with the Turkish Army he made a note of the fact that their artillery moved very quickly and that the gun carriages had curious wheels, some being barrel-shaped, whilst others, from the picture, were a crude form of disc wheels made of wood. The Turks told him that they liked them low, so as not to have to construct such high parapets for them in battery. Marsigli remarks that there were lessons to be learnt from this. At the time of the Grand Vizier Solyman they introduced a four-wheeled gun carriage (with spoke wheels), the gun trunnions resting on two iron forks. In 1690, after the battle of Patacin, they tried pack artillery on camels, but apparently this was a failure.

Mortars. They learnt the art of mortars and mortar bombs from the Christians, and it had been much improved in the XVII. century by a renegade Venetian who turned Mohammedan and rose to high rank. They were effective, for instance, when they hit the magazine during their siege of Belgrade.

Hand Grenades. These, it seems, were indifferent, for Marsigli, who was wounded by one at the siege of Belgrade, states that he would not have got off so lightly had the grenade been made in the Imperial arsenals.

Feu d'Artifice. Amongst these there were two types of arrows with a burning composition fixed on the head which the Tartars shot from bows to set fire to houses they could not attain by throwing a type of javelin fitted in the same manner. Marsigli saw a good deal of this when with the Tartars and Turks, and describes their lighting devices and other incendiary methods used at the siege of Buda and at Belgrade in 1693.

Mines. The Turks were excellent sappers. They had acquired the art of mining from long experience during the siege of Crete; having mines throughout the Empire, their men were highly skilled, besides whom they employed Armenian masons who enjoyed special privileges. When in Constantinople Marsigli conversed with these Armenians, directors of mining, and they answered many questions he put to them which he gives in detail.

Horses. This contemporary account of the equine stocks of the Balkan peninsula and Anatolia in the XVII. century will, I think, interest horse lovers. The Turks, who owed their initial conquests to cavalry, still relied greatly on this arm, which was the largest of the army. Horses abounded in these regions, and owing to the vast extent of the States subject to the Sultan the breeds varied considerably. Great attention was paid to horse breeding and horsemastership. They were very little used for draught or as sumpter horses, being reserved exclusively for riding.

European Stocks. The Hungarian horses were of average size and good, but not so sought after as the Transylvanian, for the proximity of that State to Moldavia provided the advantage of procuring the Moldavian mares. These Moldavian horses together with the Polish were considered the best army horses; they were good-looking, well ribbed up with fine shoulders, and good movers, whereas the Wallachian horses were coarse, rather small, and apt to stumble.

The Tartar horses were apparently ugly, smallish and clumsy with

large heads, but very hardy and tireless, and could live on anything. They always went at a trot, were insensible to heat or cold and nothing stopped them. They swam the rivers with their riders on their backs and would negotiate any bogs or marshes, and since they never needed bridges, they could cut across country anywhere and thus save miles. The Tartars even ate their flesh and drank the mares' milk.

In Lower Bulgaria the horses were coarser, but much bigger, and owing to their size were in great demand for processions and ceremonial, whilst in the mountainous districts such as Bosnia, Servia and Albania they were small, passably good-looking, strong and hardy.

In Greece and Thrace there were no distinct breeds as in the other provinces; owing to the situation near the centre of the Empire the horses were crossbreds of both European and Asiatic strains.

Asiatic Stocks. These horses, with the exception of the Turkomen, which were large and coarse, were more highly bred, much finer in quality and faster. Horse breeding was, in fact, very carefully studied. The stocks improved as they neared the Persian frontier and Southern Arabia, where horses with at least six generations in the studbook fetched very high prices. Although naturally quiet, they had not good manners, which was partly due to their not being broken until five years old. The Turks appear to have been ahead of their age in horse breeding and stable management, but did not understand breaking and training. But these horses were delicate and difficult feeders and could not stand wet or cold. They were always rugged in their stables, where the Turks even lit fires to keep them warm. In the field they had different textured rugs according to the temperature, to keep them warm in the open. During the siege of Vienna many of these horses died from exposure owing to the cold August nights. Marsigli mentions that they smelt the powder of the firearms and disliked it and hence they were very unreliable in action.

All who could had Arab grooms, who spent hours grooming their horses, even dyeing the white hairs in their manes and tails with "kina," used by the ladies for their finger-nails and toes which Marsigli considers a "bizarrè fashion"! He describes the Sultan's stables, where the horses slept on a raised platform covered with felt. He alludes to an interesting treatise on Persian, Syrian and Arabian horses in his possession.

In bridles and saddles the Tartars differed from the Turks; the latter seem to have used a ringed snaffle. Marsigli had had ample chances of studying the Tartar saddlery when he was with them as a

slave and describes it in detail. Their horses were unshod, but they pared the horn with a hot iron. The whip was a great feature with the Tartars, since by driving their loose horses with it they covered distances rapidly and penetrated the countries where they hoped to capture slaves. They drove their horses in this manner across rivers and had a peculiar method of tying a bundle of marsh reeds—called *Sasdan-sal*—to their horses' tails on which they placed their bows and arrows, swords and clothing to keep them dry when the horses swam the rivers. Moreover, the slaves were forced to hold on to the horses' tails with both hands, their legs being tied up, and sometimes had a bundle of reeds on their backs. If the slave let go the horse's tail he was doomed to be drowned, whilst those who refused were decapitated on the spot by the Tartars standing on the river-bank. Marsigli speaks feelingly on this subject, as he made at least four passages over big rivers in this manner when a slave with their tribes, and, moreover, having been badly wounded. There is a delicious picture of this exceedingly grim proceeding. But he adds it was a remarkable sight to see one man in a shirt lying on his horse as it swam the river and by whistle and whip making twenty loose horses and other cattle pass over.

Colours. The most esteemed standard was the horse's tail (dyed red), a heritage from the Tartars which the Turks retained to distinguish their commanders. The Beg had the right to one, the Pasha to two, the Beglerbeg to three, the Grand Vizier to five, and the Sultan when he took the field in person had seven. There were, of course, many other standards and colours which it would take too long to describe, for the Turks loved pomp, and at the siege of Vienna little red cloths were put on every peasant cart and even on the horns of the oxen, as well as on guns and lances, to give the impression that the besieging army was larger than it really was.

During the Hungarian campaigns the Sultan allowed the Standard of the Prophet to be taken from the Seraglio and carried with the army. Marsigli says that he never saw it displayed either on the march or in the Tent of the Treasure. Throughout all their defeats the Turks always managed to save it, as it was sent on ahead under a strong escort. There was a legend that at the battle of Slankemen, by a miracle of the Prophet, its escort were rendered invisible and so passed through the Christian cavalry.

Bands. These were more for ceremonial, and beyond a roll of drums at the start were not used on the march; the instruments consisted of drums, kettledrums, trumpets, cymbals and pipes.

Tents. The Turks had inherited the art of tent-making from their nomadic ancestry. As they became more luxurious, they improved on those of their forbears. " As I saw in the tent in which the Grand Vizier Kuiperly—on the eve of the battle of Slankemen—discussed the subject of peace with me for three hours; in fact, I never saw anything so magnificent nor of such good taste as this tent." Enormous numbers of them were captured in the Hungarian campaigns and they proved of great value to the Imperialists. Marsigli considers the most useful lesson the Western nations learnt from the Turks was the art of tent-making. The Sultan, Grand Vizier and Pashas had duplicate tents sent on ahead to be ready for their reception, but after the disasters Sultan Mustapha stopped these luxuries. In the camp there was one with a pole and no side curtains called *Lailac*, which was the first one set up in the centre as a guide for the setting out of the camp, and there the criminals and slaves were executed. Illustrations of the signs over the tents of each Janissary Oda follow.

Transport. This consisted of peasant carts drawn by oxen, water buffaloes and pack mules and camels. Horses were occasionally used, but mules, the majority from Anatolia, smaller but faster than the Italian, were more common. The camels were of three types, the *Maja*, *Luk* and *Egim*. The latter came from the country round Mecca and commanded high prices. Marsigli was told that Kara Mustapha had two at the siege of Vienna, and that it was owing to the swiftness of these animals that he was able to save the Koran, the Shirt and the Standard of the Prophet.

The peasant carts drawn by the oxen and water buffaloes were rough and bad. The oxen came mostly from Thrace, Bulgaria and Wallachia; they were smaller than the Hungarian and slow. The water buffaloes came from the Danube basin, Bulgaria, Thrace and Greece, and were stronger but slower than the oxen. They could not stand heat and wallowed in any marsh or river. They needed great care, and, like the camels, those captured by the Christians died for want of understanding their management. It may be seen that transport was not very mobile.

Baggage. The vast quantity of baggage carried by the Turkish Army proved how far they had deviated from their ancestors. It was classified under six headings: (1) *The Treasure*, also including silks and clothing as gifts for those whom the Grand Vizier wished to honour. Marsigli received one of these outfits from Kuiperly for his journey from his H.Q. to Constantinople. But in all the camps taken

by the Imperialists the boxes of treasure were always empty and only a few inferior damasks found. (2) *Rations* for the Grand Vizier, his court, the commanders and the Capiculy troops maintained by the Sultan. (3) *Baggage of the Pashas,* including the rations for the Topracly and Seratculy troops. (4) *Merchandise and extra rations* sold by the camp followers, a vast horde in these armies. (5) *Munitions.* (6) *Artillery baggage.* A long description of the distribution of rations in the camp follows.

THE SULTAN'S ARMIES IN THE FIELD

Had the conquerors of Varna and Mohacz really merited their military reputation? In any case there was a great gulf between those days of victory and the seventeen years of defeat from 1680-1697. Marsigli now dissects the Sultan's might in the field. Although after Vienna he seldom refers to himself, I can but assume that he only describes those actions where he was actually present, for the accounts are patchy, details of which may be in four different places, which meant piecing them together like a jigsaw puzzle, complicated by no maps and misprints, the redeeming feature being the battle plates.

Marches. The marches may be divided into three categories: (1) *To the General Assembly Point;* (2) *The Alay of the Pashas* or grand march past of the latter in the presence of the Serasquier, Grand Vizier or Sultan on arrival at the Assembly Point, in which the Janissaries also took part; (3) *Marches in the Field.*

(1) *To the General Assembly Point.* There was an immutable law that whenever the Sultan or Grand Vizier took the field, their tents with the seven or five horses' tails were set up in the plains of Constantinople or Adrianople—wherever the Court was in residence. When the news spread that either of these tents or standards had been set up the whole Empire was informed that the Ottoman Army was about to take the field. Troops from near and far were then on the move, and if the war was in Hungary the Asiatic and Egyptian units had a long way—including a sea passage—to cover. Marsigli describes the routes followed by all these corps, who converged at specified points on the royal road, Constantinople, Adrianople, Philippopolis, Sofia, Nish and Belgrade, which latter in the great days of the Empire was the first Assembly Point of all the troops, with the exception of those from Hungary and Bosnia, who formed a junction with the main body directly after the

passage of the Ozek bridge, and this was the itinerary adopted by Kara Mustapha in the advance on Vienna.

Marsigli states that he saw three of these marches in 1691, when he went with the Grand Vizier Kuiperly from Adrianople to Belgrade, and that the troops moved without any military order, and, to use his own words, were " mere travellers." But he says that he saw the Pasha of Aleppo pass through Constantinople with his cavalry, and that the horses were a picture, they were so beautiful.

(2) *The Alay of the Pashas.* These were carried out with great ceremonial. He saw several when in Kuiperly's camp near Belgrade, and Kuiperly was courteous enough to make them march past his tent. He could honestly join in admiration of the horses, but could hardly restrain his amusement at the equipment. This fine review was, however, marred by one grisly spectacle, the decapitated corpses of those inhabitants who had been executed as rebel subjects of the Sultan dragged past with ropes, followed by those carrying the heads of the victims to be thrown into the Save. The Seratculy troops forming part of the Pashas' contingents sometimes followed the cavalry. The Janissaries also had an " Alay," especially if the Sultan were present, marching in twos, fours or in groups. Marsigli saw one of these on the above-mentioned occasion, carried out in twos by two thousand Janissaries from Cairo, armed with the very heavy, long-ranged musket alluded to in the equipment.

The march of Kara Mustapha to Vienna might be termed a " General Alay," for it was a grand parade of soldiers, servants, slaves and even merchants, Kara Mustapha hoping to overawe Vienna by this host and also cover up the weakness of the actual striking force.

(3) *Marches in the Field.* These were directed by the Grand Vizier or Serasquier by means of written instructions; the Turks rarely gave verbal orders, only on very minor matters or if there was no time to write. Instructions were issued to the Chiaussi, subordinate to the Chiaus-Bascy, who took them to the competent authority. " When at Constantinople I obtained one of these '**Movement Orders**' from the same person who gave me the plans of the camp at Darda of Solyman Grand Vizier, who commanded the largest army the Turks ever had in Hungary after the attempt against Vienna. . . ." " It is the '**Movement Order**' of the Ottoman Army under the same Solyman Grand Vizier drafted by the Chancellor who remains near the Grand Vizier to receive his instructions. A study of it will give a general idea of

how the Turkish Army moved, although they did not always observe the same order."

The Turks had one definite maxim—to repair bridges over rivers and marshes or construct new ones, fill ditches, level obstacles, and cut down trees—remove anything that might impede the advance. In fact, they moved rapidly, often preparing overnight by the light of flares. To use a modern expression, they were apparently "very flexible in the pick-up."

When marching through friendly, safe country the infantry usually moved two or three days ahead. They did not march in units nor follow any regular route, but rested when they liked and reached the camp in complete disorder. Nevertheless they were obliged to reach it before the hour of prayer. The cavalry followed, and although their General was usually at the head their order was no better. They rested by the way, on the pretext of saving their horses. The transport moved in similar fashion.

When marching through hostile country the infantry was kept together. The Capiculy and Seratculy troops were amalgamated, with the sole distinction that the Janissaries marched with their Colour and all officers with their Odas ready to receive their orders. The cavalry were often divided into two wings, but as often left as one corps. They marched under their own standards. The Alay-Begs, who received their orders through the Chiaussi, led their squadrons, the officers being near the Pashas. The artillery was kept near the infantry, but accompanied the cavalry when required.

It was usual for the baggage to follow, and on forced marches it was left behind. But in the later campaigns in the plains of Hungary the baggage carts were used by the Janissaries as flying barricades. This, however, did not apply to the Topracly cavalry, who, having to provide for themselves, kept their baggage with them, which caused much confusion.

This march disposition was covered by a vanguard and rearguard. The vanguard was composed of four to six thousand horse, the best in the army. The commander was termed *Cialcagy-Bascy* and held the post for the duration of the campaign. It moved six to eight hours ahead of the main body.

The Tartars, Wallachians and Moldavians formed a covering force in advance of the vanguard. When these Tartars or rebel auxiliaries were with the army, they preceded it to sack and burn the country ahead, as they did during the advance on Vienna. If the Tartars were

in large numbers, it meant that the Turkish Army was not far behind, as the Tartars were never employed against Christian armies unless supported by a Turkish force. General Veterani had an experience of this, as we shall see.

The rearguard consisted of a thousand cavalry; it protected the baggage and escorted it into camp before retiring to its own positions.

Marsigli is of opinion that the Turkish Army was quick on the move and could stand longer marches than the Western armies. He thinks this was due to the rapidity with which they got under way, their good food, excellent general régime and understanding of horsemastership. He quotes several examples of forced marches, where he was an eye-witness in one or other army, *Patacin in 1689, Slankemen in 1691, Senta in 1697*, which I am inserting in the operations.

MOVEMENT ORDER

Salik-Pasha Cialcagy (Commander of the Vanguard), supported by Osman Pasha of Sofia and Delaver Pasha of Anatolia, will, with all vigilance and courage, do his duty for the glory of our Invincible Sovereign Sultan Mahomet IV., and issue his orders to the Tartars, Moldavians and Wallachians to be watchful in detecting the enemy infidels, sending him immediate information.

Chiaus-Pasha Serasquier, with the Pashas commanding under him, Omer, Pasha of Erzerum, Solyman, Pasha of Bosnia, and Mahomet, Pasha of Temiswar, will, with all zeal maintain strict discipline as Leader of the Army and Commander of the March of our Invincible Sovereign.

Jusuf Jenizer-Aga will, with all the Janissary Odas who are in this Mussulman Army for the glory and service of our Great Invincible Sovereign, follow with strict discipline immediately after Mahomet, Pasha of Temiswar, with instructions to his officers to be watchful, brave and orderly.

Assan Topey Bascy (Commanding the Artillery) will, with all his gunners and guns and a certain number of the ammunition wagons, march immediately after the Janissaries, and will take precautions that there are no obstacles on the road which might retard the march of the same or cause them a breakdown.

Solyman Gebegy Bascy (Commander of the Munitions) will, with all his men and carts loaded with munitions, follow close after

the guns, to be able to supply them constantly with ammunition or anything they may require against the Infidel.

The units of all the Seymenys foot and any other infantry from the Provinces will, maintaining strict discipline and conducting themselves in accordance with their regulations, follow the munition carts to guard them against the Infidel and assist the speed of the march.

It will be the duty of the Chiaus Pasha Serasquier to issue orders to all the Beglerbegs, Pashas and Begs of the Happy Empire, blessed by Allah and our Prophet Mahomet, that they should all march behind their infantry, observing the usual regulations and ordering them to be vigilant and brave.

The Spahilar-Agasy (Commander of the Capiculy Cavalry of both Left and Right Wing) will, according to our will in this march, follow immediately after the Cavalry of the Provinces, his cavalry surrounding Solyman Pasha, Grand Vizier, whom may Allah bless.

The Grand Vizier with all his Court, Teftardar Pasha (Chief Treasurer of the Chiaussy), Reis Effendi (Chancellor), and all the Agas and Volunteers.

Amurat Zairgy Bascy will then follow with all the ration carts, each of which will be escorted by three soldiers on foot.

Should the remainder of the baggage carts not observe the required strict discipline, the disobedient will be punished by Jeghen Pasha Dondar (Commander of the Rearguard).

The same Jeghen Pasha of the Dondar, composed of four thousand picked men, will close the March of the Army of our Invincible Sovereign, whom may Allah preserve for the destruction of the Infidel.

This Jeghen Pasha who commanded the Dondar or rearguard was a remarkable personality, an ex-assassin or road bandit of Anatolia, who, owing to his fame as a soldier, had obtained a pardon from Mahomet IV. and been promoted a Pasha, on condition of serving in Hungary. He proved fidelity to his Sovereign when the latter was deposed, and Marsigli adds he could tell many curious tales about him, but unfortunately for us he stops there.

Camps. There were two phases, the first from the siege of Vienna until 1687, which consisted of the usual crescent-shaped open camp simply enclosed by a cavalry cordon protected by vanguards and rear-

guards and a covering force of Tributary cavalry; the second from 1687, when Solyman Grand Vizier introduced field works in the Ozek marshes.

The former had been that adopted by the Turks in their Asiatic wars and early wars in the Balkans, where fighting methods were very similar to their own. We shall now see how they fared against the armies of Western Europe.

Marsigli bases his description of the open camps on that of the Grand Vizier Solyman Pasha at Darda, prior to the battle of Arsan of which he had obtained the plan. Those of Kara Mustapha at Brandkirchen, a day's march from Vienna, and Kuiperly at Belgrade, apparently differed very slightly, and of course he was present in both of these. Let us take the original plan which is reproduced in his book as the model.

It was in the form of a crescent, and the general effect was of great pageantry. The Grand Vizier with his Court in the centre, round him the Chancellor, Treasurer, Chiaus and entourage, the stores, rations, etc., tents of the Janissaries, with baggage, in front, and wide roads and spaces to admit of movement; in front of the Janissaries and behind the Seratculy infantry came the artillery and munitions, whilst the Capiculy cavalry, divided into two wings, formed a half-circle round this inner camp; the H.Q. of the Serasquier—who when the Sultan or Grand Vizier was present acted approximately as chief of the staff, taking command in their absence—had his H.Q. in the middle of the Capiculy cavalry between the two wings. The great outer cordon was of the Topracly cavalry, each Pasha having his H.Q. just behind his troops, with intervals between each Pasha's contingent. The vanguard consisted of the Pasha of Damascus in the centre, the Pasha of Roumelia on the right and the Pasha of Anatolia on the left, with the covering force of Tributary cavalry well in advance of them; the Tartars in the centre, the Moldavians on the right and the Wallachians on the left, the Dondar or rearguard being behind the Grand Vizier's camp, also vedettes round the camp. A study of the movement order will help to make this clear. The camp covered a large area as it had wide spaces allowed for, essential in a Turkish camp, owing to the enormous quantity of baggage, distribution of rations, etc. It was apparently almost inaccessible to friend or foe, owing to tents, ropes, pegs, picket lines, excavations, and other death traps, an example of which we shall come to later. Thus the real defence of the camp was the cordon of Topracly cavalry with the covering units of the Cialcagy

and Tributary cavalry, which latter remained in their own camps and, moreover, at some distance outside, for it was rare for the Tartars to be camped with the Turks, except under special circumstances, or when forced by an enemy attack to retire to reinforce the Topracly, the whole camp being closed by the Dondar.

Operations. We will now follow the evolution of the fighting methods during this fifteen years' campaign, taking the actions in chronological order.

1683. *Vienna.* As we know, the Grand Vizier had made use of the Tartar and Tributary cavalry to precede his army and carry out those terrible incursions into Hungary of which Marsigli was a victim, but to which we owe his eye-witness account.

Kara Mustapha at Brandkirchen, a day's march before he invested Vienna. "Following as a slave in chains I could not help being impressed by the pomp of this advance in the presence of the defenders. With all the cavalry separated from the infantry, the artillery behind the latter, advancing as if already masters of the situation, the Grand Vizier swelling with pride at the thousands of slaves brought in by the Tartars, fondly imagined that his very appearance with such a host would suffice to impose his will upon his adversaries."

The camp at the investment of Vienna was in conformity with their ideas of warfare, but quite inappropriate for the siege of a great capital, where anyone but the Grand Vizier would have foreseen that a relieving army must come sooner or later. But no provisions were made for such a contingency, and the only precaution taken—indispensable for the very existence of the Janissaries in the assault trenches—was to camp the infantry as near these trenches as the besieged and ground would admit of. When it became known that a relieving army, led by John Sobieski, was approaching panic spread amongst the Turks. At the mere mention of Sobieski's name as commander of the force, the Grand Vizier at once sent for Ibraim Pasha of Buda, a man of over eighty, the doyen of the Pashas and called the "Father of the Army." This Pasha, who had foreseen the inevitable failure of this undertaking, had written repeatedly to the Porte on this subject and had begged the Grand Vizier to abandon the plan and instead to take Raab by assault, blockading Komorn, and send a force to attack Leopoldstadt, whilst letting loose the Tartars and Hungarian rebels into Austria and then Moravia, and adhered to his opinion notwithstanding the reprimand of Kara Mustapha after the retreat of the Duke of Lorraine from the Raab. To punish him he was sent with the Prince of Transylvania to

guard the bridges of the Raab and keep the garrison of Raab in check. On his arrival at the camp, Kara Mustapha posted him on the slopes of the mountains, where he correctly surmised the relieving force must come, and thus gave him a command out of all proportion to his age, which debarred him from taking active command in such a situation, Kara Mustapha's intention being to have the opportunity of executing him if he failed in his task. The pride and presumption of the Grand Vizier made him incapable of appreciating the situation, altering the position of his camp, placing it in a state of defence or taking any of those measures which the most inexperienced commander would have done under the circumstances. The army was murmuring and his avarice had made him very unpopular, as he had imposed a *Zecchino* tax on all slaves bought, which the Tartars flatly refused to pay and nearly revolted. However, had this tax not been levied, and when he found that Vienna resisted longer than he had anticipated and food might become scarce, he would probably have executed all the slaves, which was now impossible, as having paid the tax the army would have mutinied. Marsigli must have felt grateful to this Zecchino tax!

During the three days which preceded the arrival of the relieving force, no one dared to go out to forage or gather grapes, as had been done up till then, for Sobieski was not far behind the mountains. The day before the liberation of Vienna, Kara Mustapha with his main body advanced under the foot of the Kahlenberg Mountains, without taking any special measures regarding his men in the assault trenches. The next day the cry was heard, " The Infidels are near!" and a large proportion of the army instead of thinking of defending the camp began to collect all their belongings, a prelude to the flight which ensued.

Let us follow it in Marsigli's own words: ". . . camped opposite the Soten Gate, I saw the Turkish force covering the foot of the mountains, their white turbans presenting the effect of a great white carpet. I watched them ascending, but with a wavering motion, now advancing a little, now retiring a little, when suddenly they began to fly in thousands, whilst a large number of the Janissaries in the assault trenches, seeing themselves abandoned by their supports, also fled without returning to the camp. I was delighted to see Vienna delivered, but was then detached from the picket to which, as a slave, I was tied and forced to flee barefooted across the vines with the Turk who had bought me; at last, overcome by fatigue, I was placed on a bad horse found

by the road and at twenty-three o'clock we lost sight of Vienna. We marched the whole night by moonlight, and the next morning reached the River Laita, without a halt. It was not till midday that they thought of rallying the fugitive troops, forcing our way through a number of whom we crossed the bridges of the Raab, I having had the consolation, during the march, of having seen the proud Vizier, a fugitive with a bandaged eye, despised by everyone.

" Having crossed the Raab, the army began to camp, no longer in tents, for there was only one, a trooper's tent which was appropriated by the Grand Vizier. About noon the following day there was a false rumour afloat that the Imperial Army was near and this led to a fresh panic. The Grand Vizier then decided to take action and sent about a thousand picked and trusty cavalry to force these fugitives to return, with orders to decapitate those who refused, so that in these plains a second battle took place between the Turks themselves. After having executed Ibraim Pasha, to whom he attributed his defeat, Kara Mustapha set about to dispose the remnants of his army in their usual formation, the Tartars in advance covered by the River Raab with the Topracly cavalry behind, his own position being in the middle of the Capiculy cavalry and infantry on the slopes of a small vineyard opposite Raab. Under cover of night some of the troops took flight in the woods and amongst them was my master. By these woods we reached Buda and thence the Drave, and that was the last I saw of that campaign."

1684. In the next campaign the Duke of Lorraine, having driven the Turks from Waitzen (Vacz) and from the neighbourhood of Buda, a few miles further down, decided to attack their army camped in the vicinity of Ergin on the Danube. But the Turks forestalled him; their cavalry split up into detachments, all charged simultaneously, their chief pressure being on the flanks. But it was badly staged and collapsed under the well ordered German fire; and they retired in disorder on the Janissaries, who fled, abandoning camp, artillery and baggage. But this success made little difference to the siege of Buda, for within a fortnight the Turkish Army returned in full force to harass the besiegers.

1685. The Serasquier Seitan Ibraim Pasha, who had defended Buda the year before, laid siege to Gran, while the Duke of Lorraine was besieging Neuhaüsel. The Duke detached the greater part of his army and crossed the Danube at Komorn to attack the Serasquier, who raised the seige of Gran to give battle to the Imperialists. The Turks

made a cavalry charge, as before, attacking the flanks, but were repulsed by the German fire and fled with their infantry in confusion, leaving camp, artillery and baggage to the victors.

1686. In this year the Imperial Army undertook serious siege operations against Buda, which were far more elaborate than in 1684. The Grand Vizier Solyman Pasha appeared soon after with a well equipped army of about 60,000 men and endeavoured to pass fresh troops into the town. Although he spared neither effort nor expense, he only succeeded once in getting in a few hundred Tartars, but failed to engage the besiegers, who were well entrenched; however, he harassed them and their foraging parties, and the Imperialists had this army to contend with as well as their siege operations. But Buda finally fell, upon which the Grand Vizier retired towards Ozek, where he heard that Szegedin was being attacked, and decided to relieve it with a force of thirty thousand cavalry and infantry, preceded by a large covering force of all the Tartars.

Meanwhile General Veterani, who had been sent to reduce Szegedin, received information during the siege that the Tartars, who had been sent to harass the besieging army, were encamped near Senta on the Theiss. On receipt of this report he detached as much cavalry as he could spare, and under cover of night this detachment succeeded in surprising the Tartar camp, which they found where the guide had reported. They attacked and defeated the Tartars in a sharp action. At dawn their commander, considering that his cavalry needed a rest after the night's work, gave them till two hours after daylight, when he was informed by his outposts that the whole Turkish Army were in sight only an hour's march away. A hasty council of war was held in the saddle, and it was decided to meet the enemy, even at such odds, for the risks involved in retiring and perhaps becoming scattered in these vast plains were far greater. The effect of this bold resolve was unexpected, for it so impressed the Grand Vizier and his whole army of thirty thousand that they fled, leaving guns, baggage, etc., to the victor. Had this information first reached the little camp besieging Szegedin, not only would this detachment of cavalry never have been sent, but the siege would have been raised, as the Imperial force was quite inadequate to tackle the whole Ottoman Army, and would certainly never have hazarded two thousand cavalry for such an enterprise, which, however, produced such a brilliant victory—its sole chance in those plains. This proved what was said above, that wherever there were Tartars in force the Turkish Army was not far behind. It may

be perhaps that the Grand Vizier had argued on this assumption with regard to this small cavalry force.

1687. We now come to the second phase of the camps. The Grand Vizier Solyman had wintered at Belgrade to collect a new army —the largest since the siege of Vienna—and in the Ozek Marshes he evolved a new method by bringing in his van and rearguards and encircling his camp with field works. The first to experience this innovation was the Duke of Lorraine. Anxious to engage this new Ottoman Army, he crossed the Drave a little above Ozek and surprised the Grand Vizier entrenched in his camp, until then an unheard-of proceeding in Turkish warfare. The Imperial Army was within gunfire of the Turkish, when suddenly these entrenchments were observed through a field-glass. The Duke endeavoured to draw the Grand Vizier out of his positions, but the latter remained firmly behind them. The Duke, fearing for the Drave bridges and being cut off from his base, decided that it would be inadvisable to attack such a strong position and carried out a masterly strategic retreat in presence of the enemy. The Turks, unable to distinguish this from flight, were delighted with their new idea and spread abroad that at last they had found a means of defeating the Austrians.

Meanwhile the Duke of Lorraine recrossed the Drave, marching towards Cicloz (Siklos) to reach his supplies at Mohacz, but when at the foot of Mount Arsan on the edge of some dried-up marshes formed by the waters of the Danube and the Drave, he was informed that the Grand Vizier had already passed beyond the Ozek Marshes and was camped in full array in the vicinity of the village of Darda. We have already studied his "Movement Order" and the plan of this great camp at Darda, which has served as our model; it was on the old plan, not entrenched, and was the camp set up after the entrenched camp at Ozek and previous to the battle of Arsan, which we shall now describe.

Arsan. "On confirmation of the above report he (the Duke) sent me with 200 dragoons to Cicloz (Siklos) to prepare its demolition, with the intention of waiting there either with the whole army or with a detachment to cover the retreat of the main body. I was hardly a league away when I received orders to return immediately to the camp, opposite which the Grand Vizier had appeared camped with his whole army amongst the woods and the dried-up marshes. I arrived half an hour before the action. The Duke of Lorraine commanding the right, the Elector of Bavaria the left, no time was lost in attacking, as the Turks were beginning to entrench in the spaces between the woods.

The cavalry with the infantry, assisted by the cover of the trees, at first put up a slight resistance, but as usual soon gave way and fled precipitously, leaving camp, guns and supplies of all descriptions. This victory was most important to the Austrians and disastrous to the dignity of the Sultan Mahomet IV., who was deposed by his army. It saved Buda, the defences of which had not yet been repaired, maintained the blockade of many places in Hungary and subdued Transylvania.

1688. In the following campaign in the area of Belgrade the names of the new Sultan Solyman, the Grand Vizier and all the Serasquiers were completely eclipsed by that of the famous Anatolian ex-assassin Jeghen Pasha. He and Rustam Pasha, who together had reduced Agria, by famine, the winter before, collected a large army and attempted to prevent the Elector of Bavaria from crossing the Save, but they abandoned their efforts under the Austrian gun-fire, and soon after the Elector crossed the river and finally took Belgrade.

1689. *Patacin.* The Turkish Army commanded by the Serasquier Arat Pasha was encamped on the banks of the Morave—where there was a bridge—in front of Alagy-Isar in Serbia, when the Imperialists, who held the bridge over the same river only three leagues from the Danube, crossed the river to seek the enemy, having seen their army advancing towards Jagudino, where the piers of the permanent Turkish bridge were standing. A report came in that the Turks in moving from Alagy-Isar were intending to march to Semendria, the Imperialist supply base, and, moreover, that the Tekely partisans were advancing from the Danube to the Imperialist bridge-head, two marches from where they were encamped near Jagudino. The Austrian Army, threatened with mutiny owing to shortage of rations, suddenly discovered that the enemy had reached Patacin—that is to say, about a march from Semendria, which illustrates the rapidity of their feint marches. Short of food, surrounded by rebels, and a Turkish army threatening the bridge, their only communication with their supply base, the Imperialists were in a very critical situation, being without means of crossing the river to cut off the Turkish advance. Marsigli tells us how, despite the derision it first caused, he evolved the idea and succeeded in constructing a pontoon bridge from hollowed-out tree trunks called "*Cianachi*" used by the native fishermen. Losing no time and with the help of a good guide, he found a narrow stretch of river where the engineers could be covered by the artillery, and with wood obtained from the abandoned houses of neighbouring villages,

the bridge was completed during the night, and the following morning the army crossed and were saved from the most dangerous situation they had ever been in.

Thus Prince Louis of Baden surprised the Turks by his unexpected crossing of the Morave, and the outcome was the battle of Patacin. In this action the Turks showed better battle dispositions than they had done hitherto. They enclosed their cavalry in a small plain in the middle of woods, filling these woods and flanks with Janissaries. The cavalry coming out under cover of an early mist were supported by the fire of the Janissaries, who—armed with hatchets—attempted to destroy the Austrian *chevaux de frise*, the men being replaced as they fell under musketry or artillery fire. But their cavalry, unable to break the enemy lines, fell back, and the Janissaries, seeing their cavalry routed, abandoned their posts in the woods, and the whole army fled, leaving guns, supplies and tents.

Nish. Having rested his army for a fortnight and taken all the necessary dispositions, Prince Louis of Baden, knowing that the Ottoman Army had re-formed in the neighbourhood of Nish, threw a flying bridge over the Morava, on the piers of the old bridge at Jagudin, and in three rapid marches reached the plain where Nish is situated on the banks of the river of the same name and at daybreak on the following day sent out a reconnaissance of the fortified camp under Arat Pasha. The camp was strongly entrenched in front and the two flanks were covered, the right by a fairly steep hill defended by Albanian infantry and the left by the river, which was very high, although there had been no rain in that area. A frontal attack of such a position was hazardous, since the field works were strong and filled with infantry, with all the cavalry drawn up in order behind. But finally after much searching a pass was found behind the hills defended by the Albanians, which Marsigli himself explored with three hundred cavalry. This valley offered an opportunity of attacking the Turkish positions in the rear. The troops stood under arms all night. When the Albanians saw the advance of the Imperialists on their flank they began to waver; whilst the remainder of the Turkish Army, seeing their defences were useless, as the Imperialists debouching from the valley were taking them in reverse, instead of turning round to face the enemy, simply fled to the Nish bridge, where a great number were drowned, and as usual tents, guns and baggage fell into the hands of the Austrians, and the new Sultan who was at Sofia was obliged to retire to Adrianople.

The Imperial Army, masters of the situation, divided into two corps: one under General Piccolomini entered Lower Albania and penetrated to the frontiers of Greece, where they burnt Scopia (Uskub); whilst the other under Prince Louis of Baden turned towards the Danube to besiege Vidin, in the vicinity of which there was a Turkish force commanded by a Serasquier, who on the approach of the Imperialists came out of his camp to engage them. But as his troops had no sort of battle order, his cavalry were repulsed by a few gunshots and retired towards the town, where they rallied, and observing the Austrians pillaging their camp returned to attack them. Had not Prince Louis and General Veterani come to their rescue, these men would have been cut to pieces, for, as mentioned above, a Turkish camp was a jungle of ropes, tent pegs, picket lines and excavations, amongst which they could never have united to re-form, or got out of this maze; as it was, many abandoned their horses to escape to the Imperialist lines. The Turks then fled to Nicopolis, leaving tents, baggage, etc., and even the town in the hands of the Austrians. A thousand men garrisoned in the citadel gave themselves up the following day.

1690. There were no major operations, but Tekely with his partisans had some success in Transylvania against General Aisler, which was partially due to the great disparity between the forces, as during the preceding winter in Albania, where the large forces of Turks and Tartars had harassed the Imperial quarters. The reverses of General Aisler in Transylvania decided Prince Louis of Baden to go there in person with his army; however, no actions took place, but it gave the Grand Vizier Kuiperly a free hand in Serbia.

1691. Slankemen. This great victory cost the Christian forces the heaviest casualties they had yet sustained during this long war. Kuiperly was encamped near Belgrade, with his vanguards across the Save, when from his camp he observed that Prince Louis of Baden was retiring from his entrenched positions at Semelin towards the ruined castle of Slankemen, on the River Danube, opposite its confluence with the Theiss, the Imperial supply boats being on the former river. The Grand Vizier resolved to carry out one of those famous feint marches to which Marsigli has referred. Under cover of night by the aid of flares the Turkish force skirted the Save up to Metrovitz, where they turned off, crossed the Sirmio, and over a ridge of hills reached the heights by the ruins of Slankemen on the Danube. Here they succeeded in seizing the Imperial supply boats, leaving the Austrian

troops without food and cut off from their supply base at Petervaradino, repulsing more than one regiment coming from Ozek to join the Imperial Army. Kuiperly, delighted with these hilly slopes, placed his camp of a few tents on them, which he protected with earth-works, behind which the Janissaries and other infantry were massed, the left flank on the Danube, where all the Imperialist supply boats were under guard, with the exception of those being towed by galleys down the Danube to Belgrade. The right wing was closed by all the massed cavalry completely separated from the infantry. The Grand Vizier thought himself invincible with his infantry advantageously entrenched on these hills.

This unexpected march of the Turkish Army forced Prince Louis to give battle. He likewise divided his cavalry and infantry, placing them on two lines, with his baggage back to the Danube and an artillery battery to sweep the Turkish galleys. As senior officer the Prince of Baden commanded the infantry and advanced against the Turkish entrenchments in a straight line. Marshal Tinevold, commanding the cavalry, had a greater distance to cover to attain the Turkish cavalry on the flank, having to describe a semicircular movement, starting as the Prince of Baden attacked with the infantry, who for some time endured the Turkish fire without intervention from their cavalry. When the latter gained contact with the Ottoman cavalry, the Serasquier Cimengies Pasha hardly resisted the first shock, and retired precipitously on to the Janissaries, who when they saw their flank exposed abandoned their trenches and fled. The Grand Vizier lost his life in trying to prevent this *débâcle*, and the Austrian infantry entered the camp through the entrenchments and the cavalry round the flank of these entrenchments. Thus Kuiperly failed in the execution of his bold design, but the Imperialists had lost heavily and had been forced to regain their base at Petervaradino at the point of the sword. Marsigli (who was in Kuiperly's camp, we must remember) seems to think that had the Imperialists carried out their infantry and cavalry attack simultaneously, many casualties might have been saved, because the Turkish cavalry would have been just as unstable had they been attacked at the same time as the Janissary entrenchments, and the latter sooner demoralized.

1692-1693. There were no major operations.

1694. In this year as the Imperialist forces under General Caprara were below strength it was considered advisable to entrench near Petervaradino, since there were fears that the Grand Vizier might

besiege this place. When the latter arrived a ten-days' artillery duel and mining and counter-mining operations took place. The Turks had hoped by mining to expel the Imperialists encamped in double lines and with a bridge across the Danube behind them, their retreat covered by the fortress. This was a new development, but the heavy rains and their failure in forcing these positions made the Grand Vizier realize the futility of his plan, and one night he suddenly struck camp. It had, in fact, devolved into position warfare.

1695. The sole action was that between the Sultan in person and General Veterani, who had only six thousand men, at Lugos, where the Ottoman power had some difficulty in defeating him, exposed as he was, having been unable to form a junction with the Imperial Army.

1696. The Imperialists attempted the passage of the Theiss to enter the plains of Temiswar, and in the marshes the Janissaries introduced some new tactics, using baggage carts as flying barricades which could be put up on the slightest emergency. No doubt from experience during this long Hungarian campaign they had found that they could not rely on their cavalry either on front or flank and began to dig trenches or put up their carts as barricades until they were defeated owing to the flight of their cavalry. The result of this was that the Elector of Saxony suffered a few minor reverses, and was unable to carry out his plans, but the rumour that went abroad that it was the employment of these new barricade tactics which had prevented the junction with General Veterani was nonsense.

1697. *Senta.* We now come to the crowning victory. The Turks knew that Prince Eugene was encamped in the plains of Basca facing Petervaradino. Sultan Mustapha, who was commanding the Ottoman Army in person, crossed the Theiss below Titel on a bridge of boats carried on carts, after having made a feint march in the direction of Temiswar, which he executed with the usual rapidity. Leaving the Imperialists two marches away on the left, he followed the river and reached Senta, where this bridge of boats—a new type in their army—was immediately constructed under the direction of a renegade Genoese. Directly the bridge was ready, the Sultan, in his anxiety to enter Transylvania, hurriedly crossed it with his cavalry. Prince Eugene, quickly following up this forced march, was about to camp on some dried-up marshes, when a Pasha, taken prisoner by the Christian Hussars, assured him that the Sultan had crossed with the cavalry, and the infantry and baggage were preparing to do the same before nightfall or under cover of the night. Prince Eugene, despite

the discontent of his troops at such a long and rapid march, added to the lack of water in the plains at this time of year, urged the Imperial Army to make this great effort, and on reaching the head of the deserted village of Senta confirmed the report. The Turks, taken by surprise at this unexpected arrival of the Imperialists, threw up their flying barricades and began to entrench behind. The first line of Imperialists overthrew the barricades, and the Turks fled in confusion to reach the only opening, cut in the high bank of the river, to the bridge, but the latter broke in the middle under the great strain. Caught in this bottle neck, they were either shot down by the Austrian batteries on the flanks or drowned. The Sultan, who witnessed this disaster from his camp across the river, took flight with his cavalry and without a single Janissary or his Grand Vizier (who was killed) to Temiswar. The casualties were the heaviest the Turks had ever sustained, as owing to the sole way of escape they could not disperse in flight as they usually did. This crushing defeat opened the road through Bosnia and Serbia to the capital of the Seraglio itself, and the Porte had to sue for peace.

1698. There were no actions and the Peace Congress of Carlowitz was in preparation.

Siege Methods. Marsigli belonged to the century of Vauban, hence sieges loomed large on his horizon and he is discursive.

Attack. The Turks had inherited no siege craft from their Tartar ancestors. In their first conquests the taking of towns cost them nothing. After the fall of Constantinople they developed the art against the Venetians in the Greek Archipelago, but the siege of Crete proved their great school in this branch of warfare and to it they owed their successes in Hungary.

Once the site for the siege operations was chosen, the force was divided into soldiers, equipment, pioneers and labour units. According to the old regulations of Solyman, only Janissaries were to be employed as soldiers, but owing to the length of the siege of Crete some modifications were introduced and Seratculy troops employed. The Janissaries claimed to be the first to advance under their Oda commander, and once they entered the assault trenches they remained there until the siege was over. But Solyman, who had not foreseen long sieges, had also laid down that Janissaries were not obliged to remain in the assault trenches for more than forty days, which nearly caused trouble at Vienna. The pioneers and labour units carried out the rest of the work. Extra pay and the promise of the Prophet's blessing were given

to those of the infantry who volunteered for the advanced ranks. They were sometimes formed into a detachment called the *Sarden-Gity* (Lost Children) and had their own officers and a red standard. The Turks were skilled sappers and relied on mining more than on artillery in sieges. Marsigli remarks that besieged should be careful of Turkish assaults, for they do not spare the lives of their men on these occasions.

Defence. Until 1683 the Turks themselves had never sustained a great siege, but they had learnt some art of construction from Bysance, and the Grand Vizier Kuiperly built new forts at the entrance to the Dardanelles, to cover the older forts at the narrows, which had been in imminent danger owing to a great naval victory of the Venetians. The new were very similar to the old with one exception: whereas at the narrows the gun-fire of the two forts could cross, with the guns of that period this could not be effected at the entrance to the straits, on account of the width, and thus ships could slip through without interference from the coastal batteries. Marsigli says he does not know if the old forts were of Byzantine or Turkish construction, and therefore cannot be certain whether the new ones were of Turkish design, but he is inclined to think Byzantine. When in Constantinople in 1680 he obtained drawings of the Turkish fortresses on the Boristhene Islands.

Palankas. During the long campaigns in the Hungarian plains this species of wooden blockhouse was of great value in this marshy country, and although not very suitable against artillery they could resist a certain amount of gun-fire. The Turks alone seemed to have used them, and it was said they had copied them from the Bulgarians, others maintained from the Hungarians; the latter, however, declared that they had learnt to make them from the Turks. Marsigli states that similar constructions can be seen on the Trajan column, on which that emperor's conquests in Dacia are shown in relief.

After the Turks retook Belgrade, when the bomb hit the magazine and the garrison escaped by crossing the Save, a man named Cornaro, a native of Crete, who had served in that siege as an engineer and who had been employed by the Imperialists at Belgrade, spread abroad that he had been made a slave by the Turks. He was one of Verneda's best pupils in mining and earned a high salary in the Turkish service with Greeks and Armenians under him, and when the Imperialists retook Belgrade in 1693 they found the fortifications had been greatly improved under his direction.

The great maxim of the Turks in siege defence was a sortie by the

infantry supported by cavalry in the plains, as at the siege of Neuhaüsel —where when storming the breach Marsigli was hit in the face by a stone thrown from the defences and fell into a ditch full of water— and the two sieges of Buda. In the second siege of Buda the garrison had been reinforced by bringing in the frontier troops who had been withdrawn from some of the abandoned *Palankas*. When Buda fell this garrison was cut to pieces and the Ottoman Empire sustained a fatal blow, for it was the flower of the army.

The Turks never made use of passwords for guards in camp or fort. In siege they acted much as in battle, a bold ill-concerted attack followed by flight in disorder. If a sufficiently wide breach were made to admit a force in good order, the place was soon reduced.

NAVY

As Marsigli had never served at sea, he says he does not feel competent to treat of the Turkish Navy, and therefore he confines this part to three personal experiences of 1679-1680-1692: (1) **That it is possible to pass the Straits of the Dardanelles and that they are not so impregnable as the Turks imagine.** (2) **The Sultan's Naval Review.** (3) **A few observations on Naval Construction.**

(1) **The Passage of the Dardanelles.** A diplomatic incident is here involved. Senator Ciurani came to succeed Senator Morosini as Ambassador to the Porte. Kara Mustapha first lodged complaints that the ships which had brought the Ambassador had carried a quantity of dutiable goods. The Venetians consented to the payment of the least possible sum and the Ambassador presented his credentials, and Morosini was about to depart in three or four days when the following incident occurred. Condensing it slightly, I will give it in Marsigli's own words.

"I was playing at shuttlecock with Ciurani's son when an Aga followed by two servants arrived and demanded to see the Ambassador, but was informed that he was resting. The Turk then added that he had come from the Grand Vizier. Young Ciurani repeated, 'He is asleep.' I tried to induce him to tell his father, and as he refused I went myself. The Ambassador at once dressed and came to the audience chamber with Peroni, an interpreter. 'I am here on behalf of the Grand Vizier, because all the Mussulmans of Constantinople have complained to him that you Venetians have come with two warships under diplomatic passports to take away slaves on them, and I wish

to visit both ships and remove all these slaves, and I wish it done at once.' On hearing the Aga's words, Oiurani at once ordered pipes, coffee, sherbet and sweets, and, calling me to his side, whispered, 'I have no one at hand; please go at once to Morosini' (who was in a house close by) 'and tell him what you have heard and also that I was quite unaware that there were any slaves sheltered on our ships, and that I would be grateful for his advice on what action to take.'

"I found Morosini with his doctor playing with a little dog. When he heard my message he sent away the doctor, and then, passing his hand over his brow, said thoughtfully: 'Nor did I know that our ships had ever given shelter to any slaves, but since the Turks have assumed the right of visiting ships at the Castles of the Dardanelles, it would be advisable, so as not to give any fresh pretexts to this dog of a Grand Vizier, to allow his Aga to carry out this search at once. My compliments to Oiurani and tell him that I will meet him this evening.' I hurried back with this message and found the Aga eating sweets. Oiurani informed him that he might carry out his search, and sent the interpreter with him with instructions to the ships' officers to permit him to go over the vessels. As the Aga stepped on board, he caught sight of one slave, who, terrified at seeing the Aga, hid amongst the ropes. The Aga attempted to force his way through the sailors to catch him, but the latter, irritated at his action, threatened him, and he was obliged to escape down the ladder at the ship's side and jump into the picket boat and so returned to report to the Grand Vizier. The next day the whole of Constantinople was echoing with this incident. It was rumoured that the Sultan had threatened to seize the persons of the two Venetian envoys and the commanders of the ships, and, moreover, that the two Venetian warships were to be taken to the dockyard and not only be disarmed but broken up to ferret out the quantities of slaves concealed in them. It happened at that time that a great many corpses, in a decomposed state and half eaten by fish, were floating down the Bosphorus, from wrecks in a bad storm in the Black Sea. This gave the Turks a pretext for spreading about that they were the bodies of the slaves whom the Venetians had barbarously murdered to clear themselves of the accusations of harbouring them. All the efforts of the more moderate Turkish ministers failed to persuade Kara Mustapha to come to reason. The two ministers decided to embark personally on the warships and at least share their fate under the Venetian flag. The Chiaus Bascy of the Porte visited the vessels with orders to search them, which he did in the presence

of the Ambassadors and reported to the Grand Vizier that there was not a slave on board, but the latter still persisted in his obstinate attitude. Faced by this contingency, the Ambassadors with great courage finally made up their minds to risk their lives in the 'Seven Towers of the Ambassadors,' in order that the warships should get away safely with all speed, rather than it should ever be said that two Venetian warships which had entered the port under the diplomatic flag, should be disarmed in the Turkish dockyard, the bronze guns dismantled and the Venetian flag dishonoured, for the sake of a single slave who had got there God knows how.

"To return to our point. The captain of the largest vessel, named Bronza, a native of Perastino and an experienced old seaman, who had served through the war in Crete, guaranteed to sail the ships through the Dardanelles, and having studied the nature of the currents, the advantages to be derived from the darkness of night, the construction and site of the coastal batteries, explained how he intended to do it, which I must not divulge, but which taught the navy a lesson regarding this passage, which, as I have said, was always considered to be insuperable. As I grew older and gained experience I realized how this old seaman passed through safely by aid of the currents alone even in a calm.

"The Grand Vizier took fright, and seeing the firmness of the two senators, and that had he seized the ships it might have led to a rupture with Venice, began to bargain for a sum of money, and it was thought advisable to pay the smallest sum the Turks would accept to avoid war. Morosini set sail for Venice and land couriers took the reports to the Republic. The facts being somewhat misunderstood, and the Venetians not wishing at that moment to go to war with Turkey, recalled Oiurani and decreed that the sum to be paid to the Porte should be repaid to the Republic from their private fortunes." Marsigli considers that they were hardly treated, for they had acted with great personal courage and honour, and his great regard for these two senators prompted him to insert this account in vindication of their names.

(2) **The Sultan's Naval Review.** It was a Turkish custom that on St. George's Day the fleet, newly painted and dressed, should pass Seraglio Point in the presence of the Sultan, and after making a rendezvous at the Prinkipo Islands in the Sea of Marmora should sail through the Dardanelles to visit the islands and roadsteads of the Empire to collect the tribute.

Marsigli relates how as a young man of twenty a French Capuchin monk, Father Etienne, gave him the chance of witnessing this Review. Father Etienne was greatly respected and a personal friend of the Turkish Admiral. He was a good doctor, and the Admiral consulted him and often took him on board his ship, where he was able to ameliorate the lot of the Christian slaves in the galleys. Marsigli states that twice when with this monk in the streets the Admiral in passing with his staff stopped his horse to converse with him. Father Etienne managed to take Marsigli with him on the Admiral's ship for the great Review, which he describes in full. The Turks were no seamen, and he gives an amusing description of the rowing on board the *Zaccale*, but of course most of this was done by the Christian slaves. After the rendezvous at the Prinkipo Islands the Review was over.

(3) **Naval Construction.** When in Constantinople in 1692 Marsigli often visited the dockyards, where he was surprised to find Christians of all nationalities directing the shipbuilding. The Grand Vizier Kuiperly had initiated this new naval construction, on the advice of a native of Livorno named Mahomet Aga. This man had first gained the favour of the Grand Vizier by a proposal for debasing the coinage to assist the Exchequer and then offered to build ships. He pointed out that the Turks lacked capital ships, although they had ample resources in timber, artillery and munitions. He made a model for sale which was shown to Marsigli. After Kuiperly was killed at Slankemen this renegade was beheaded at Adrianople, having earned the hatred of the people for debasing the coinage. His belongings were confiscated by Kuiperly's successor, and Marsigli succeeded in obtaining some Arabic and Greek manuscripts from the spoil. But unfortunately his work survived him. However, Marsigli doubted if the Turks could have manned these vessels efficiently in an encounter with the Venetians, for he says that if their gunnery was no better at sea than on land they would not have been very formidable. Their strength lay in their great resources in timber for shipbuilding. After 1691 this fleet of capital ships began to emerge from the Dardanelles which they had not ventured to do hitherto. As he stresses this point several times I assume that in former naval actions in the Mediterranean the Ottoman Empire must have employed the Barbary Corsairs.

The Danube Flotilla. The Turks maintained an armed flotilla on this river with which Marsigli had personal contact. In 1689 the flotilla at Vidin suffered from the moral effects of their army's reverses. In **1690** it was better organized and had been increased. It was

then suggested that the Imperialists should fortify a small island near the cataracts of the Danube, which was named Caroline after the Archduke Charles. It closed the Danube during the siege of Belgrade and proved of value, but the fort fell after the Turks retook Belgrade.

In 1691 the flotilla had again been strengthened, and it did some damage to the Imperialist supply boats, forcing the Austrians also to equip an armed flotilla on the Danube.

Marsigli had further contact with this flotilla in the second siege of Belgrade, and concludes with a lurid description of the crews whom he describes as a pack of scoundrels of all religions and races, who when paid off in the winter became road bandits and drifted to Constantinople, where the Embassies had to be protected from their robberies.

There was a harbour and dockyard for these vessels at Rosgik at the confluence of the Jantra with the Danube. Marsigli visited it in 1691, when he was attached to the English Envoy, and was taken over by the officer in charge, who was very courteous and personally showed him a pontoon bridge to carry baggage and cavalry, which he claimed to have invented, and of which they had forty-nine. But Marsigli adds he was more interested in the crews than in the pontoons.

CONCLUSION

The main theme of the conclusion is what was the real strength of the Turkish Army in the field?

The army which besieged Vienna was always estimated at 300,000. I have read in modern books over 200,000. The Turkish military power was then at its apex. Let us now follow Marsigli's deductions based on the Canon-Name and his own personal experiences.

He says, although the military statutes were very remarkable, in practice they did not justify the impression they had made. Many abuses had crept in and the Imperial authority, whose doom he predicts, was almost nil. A great deal was on paper, the figures appeared large, but the actual man-power was weak in quality and equipment. The extent of the Ottoman dominions may have provided large areas to recruit from, but these also required to be policed and garrisoned; the lines of communication were long, and troops from the outlying provinces had to be transported over land and sea. The Topracly cavalry and Seratculy infantry were a complicated mechanism, and the Turks themselves admitted that a sixth part of the figures on paper might

be deducted from the effectives, especially if the war was of long duration. They were, in fact, a sort of territorial army, and the only available regular troops were the Capiculy.

There are nearly twenty pages of statistics. But as I cannot possibly give them in full I will only attempt the gross totals. The subtractions and additions in the original are by no means *sans reproche*, probably due to printer's errors with which the book is riddled, but they are small and traceable. He admits himself that he may be slightly out, but that the totals can be accepted as approximately accurate.

After deducting troops for guards, garrisons, L. of C., policing, etc., the very utmost that the Sultan could have put in the field at the time of the siege of Vienna were: 29,956 Capiculy troops, 92,829 Topracly, 10,000 Seratculy available in the theatre of operations, 10,000 Tartars, a total of 142,785, of whom only 29,956 were regular troops. This was in the great days of the Empire, and there was only one enemy and one front, as the Poles were fighting with the Austrians. Subsequently 72,000 men had to be found to fight the Poles in Moldavia, the Venetians, and reinforce the Pashas on the coast. This left a force of 70,785 for the main theatre in Hungary against the Austrians.

The disastrous campaign in Hungary had its effects in morale and casualties; man-power was depleted, and when Solyman, Grand Vizier, collected his great army at Belgrade before Arsan he could only have had 60,000, while from that date onward the forces could not have exceeded 45,000 to 50,000 men.

After the Peace of Carlowitz the losses in territory resulted in a loss in recruiting areas, and the Pashalats of Roumelia and Bosnia could no longer provide the effectives they had hitherto done and were below strength. This entailed a reduction of about 40,162, and the forces available for the field thus fell to 102,623, of which 72,000 were needed for the secondary theatres, leaving only 30,623 against the Austrians.

Marsigli remarks that it had been argued that the Porte could recruit easily, since after each defeat they took the field again almost immediately with a new army. But to this he retorts they always ran away in time, abandoning tents, guns, baggage, etc., and merely re-formed elsewhere! What must have been immense were their reserve stores. But had they had a few battles like Senta, they would have been completely beaten. There was a proverb: "The Janissaries have good eyes and good legs"—good eyes to observe the instability of their cavalry and good legs to run away after them.

Marsigli says it was also objected that they might have raised a

Jihad; this, he says, was proposed after Nish and Vidin, but was rejected in the Divan.

The value of the army and its commanders can be deduced from the accounts of the battles. In this long campaign their sole successes were the defeat of General Veterani at Lugos and General Aisler in Transylvania. Marsigli is of opinion that had the armies that won Varna and Mohacz encountered the European armies of the XVII. century, the Turks would have remained in Asia, but as it was the armies they fought were very similar to their own and they won easy victories. We have seen with what confusion the Turks went into action. Their sole idea was a bold, badly staged attack, usually followed by a disorderly retreat. Once their cavalry broke they were defeated. Had these great cavalry cordons shown the same stability against the Austrians as they had against former foes, they might have followed their ancient tactics of coming out to attack under cover of their cavalry. In many ways their tactics were reminiscent of the Numidians of classic times, but without a Hannibal to weld this mass. For they lacked generalship and had no conception of the combination of all arms. Nevertheless a thoughtful study of the operations, to give them their due, will show evolution in their ideas and tactics.

Had the Turks never made the ill-fated attempt on Vienna and restricted themselves to consolidating their possessions in the Balkan peninsula, they might have lived on the tradition which fear of their armies had inspired, whereas in this foolhardy enterprise they exposed their own weakness and the "bubble of their military reputation" was pricked. Kara Mustapha's presumption possibly changed the course of history in Eastern Europe. The Osmanli Turks had gambled for the crown of Charlemagne—and lost; like the born gambler, they attempted to win back their fortune, and in this throw of the dice gambled away a large slice of the Empire their ancestors had won for them, the flower of their army and their resources. Marsigli did not live to see his predictions fulfilled; we know their subsequent history, and so came true "The Warning of Ibraim Pasha of Buda."

TWO EPISODES DURING THE "TWILIGHT IN THE FORBIDDEN CITY"

By W. J. OUDENDIJK, K.C.M.G.
(Late Netherlands Minister in China.)

I HAVE been reading Sir Reginald Johnston's beautiful and impressive book *Twilight in the Forbidden City*. It ranks in my opinion among the most remarkable books on China and is unique in its analysis of the influence of Chinese court life upon the history of our age. It throws a new and vivid light on many things, which even to close students of the events in the Far East had remained obscure.

I was always one of those who looked with compassion on the fate of the young Emperor after the abdication of the dynasty, and I do not hesitate to acknowledge that it was I who listened to his appeal for help which Sir Reginald describes on pp. 324-334. Sir Reginald says on page 332 that he cannot without consent disclose the name of the foreign Minister who took a part in the "thrilling episode" in the Emperor's life in February, 1923. If I had been requested to do so I would gladly have consented to have my name mentioned in the narrative of the events of those stirring days, to which I can add the following details.

It was on a cheerful, sunny afternoon in February, 1923, just after "tiffin," that one of the Legation servants told me that a Chinese visitor had come to see me whom he had shown into the drawing-room. When I entered a bright young man immediately rose from his chair and bowed to me in that dignified and respectful way which shows at once the graceful manners of a perfect Chinese gentleman. He said to me in Chinese that his name was P'u Chieh (not using any title), son of Prince Ch'un, the former Regent of the Empire, and younger brother of the Emperor. He had come to speak quite frankly to me on some confidential business. Thereupon he informed me that his brother had already for a long time been anxious to quit the Forbidden City—a fact which did not surprise me in the least. He went on describing the very unhappy life which the young Emperor was leading in what was considered by the world as a dreamland palace full of mystery and beauty, but what in reality was nothing but a prison yard where a healthy young man was being shut up against his will and his wishes, pining for the

outside world. The Emperor, who had recently married and was consequently of age, had now come to the decision that this terrible life must cease, and he requested my help and assistance; he wished to abdicate entirely; for what, so he said, was the use of retaining the title of Emperor if he had no empire to rule over?

The youth fascinated me; he spoke well and painted such a vivid picture of his brother's sad fate that I could not help being moved by his appeal. On many occasions I had already pictured to myself what the " Boy-Emperor's " life in the courtyards of the Imperial City must have been, first as a lonely child and later on as a young man, without playmates or companions, shut away from the world as in the silent cloisters of a monastery, deprived of the thousand and one little things that make childhood and youth to even the lowest born among men a period of happiness and sunshine.

The Emperor's intentions were to proceed to Tientsin, where a house in the British Concession belonged to one of the Manchu princes, and where he could live peacefully on the modest means at his disposal as an ordinary private citizen.

On three consecutive days P'u Chieh repeated his visit.

I considered the question carefully. I fully realized, of course, that the vested interests of the Imperial clan and of all the numberless hangers-on in the Forbidden City were a formidable obstacle to the fulfilment of the Emperor's desires, and that all these people would be strenuously opposed to any change leading to a break between the Emperor and the Republican Government. As to the latter, I could not but imagine that they would heartily welcome a fundamental change in their anomalous relationship with an Imperial court in their midst, especially if this change were brought about without any action on their own part but by the Emperor himself. They would, moreover, be liberated from the heavy financial obligations which they had proved themselves unable or unwilling fully to discharge.

The fact that by the Emperor's departure hopes of some monarchist groups might be dashed to the ground or that perhaps in other quarters some fresh hopes might be raised needed, it seemed to me, not be taken into account. Therefore I came to the conclusion that I would accomplish a good and humane act if I facilitated the Emperor's departure from Peking. It disgusted me to see a crowd of people living and battening on the misfortune and wretched existence of an unhappy imprisoned youth.

So I told the Emperor's brother that, although it was naturally quite

impossible for me to try and conduct the Emperor out of his palace or be in any way directly concerned with his leaving the Forbidden City, I would be willing to receive him in my house should he succeed in escaping the vigilance of those whom he considered his jailers and accompany him on his journey to Tientsin.

On the morning of Sunday, February 25, a really glorious "Peking day," Prince P'u Chieh called again, bringing in his car a great number of big and small attaché-cases which, he said, contained part of the Emperor's private fortune. These, however, were only secured by their flimsy cheap locks, and it took me some time to affix my personal seal to each of them. I managed to store them away so that not one of the Legation servants observed that something had been brought to me from the Palace. He also handed me a little paper with the impression upon it in red of two of the Emperor's minute seals. Only to the person who afterwards should come with a paper with the identical seals on it was I to hand over the treasure which was thus left in my keeping.

It was arranged that the Emperor should come to my house in the evening of that same day, not in a motor-car, but in the rather shabby, one-horse carriage belonging to P'u Chieh. He would be received as an ordinary visitor and announced as Li Hsien-shêng (Mr. Li). He was anxious to bring his faithful Alsatian dog with him, but I thought this most inadvisable, and reluctantly had to dissuade him from doing so. We should leave together as soon as possible for the railway station, only a couple of hundred yards away from my gate.

I went personally to the station that afternoon, procured two tickets for the journey to Tientsin, and reserved a compartment on the evening train. In Tientsin it would not be difficult in the midst of the excited crowd, which gathers at the railway station for the arrival of every train, to walk unnoticed in the darkness to the bridge which gives access to the French Concession, and from there rickshas could be taken to the house in the British Concession which belonged to a prince of the Imperial family.

Evening came and . . . I waited in vain. At the appointed hour the Emperor did not arrive. Instead he telephoned to me. The strange telephone call immediately aroused a certain feeling of curiosity among the Legation servants, who up to that moment had no inkling of what was afoot. The Emperor said that it was difficult for him to leave the Palace and that he could not come by carriage; he asked me if I could send my motor-car at once to fetch him away. He spoke partly in English and partly in Chinese.

Apart from my decision not to become mixed up with the Emperor's departure from the Forbidden City, the impossibility for any Legation motor-car to drive up to one of the Palace gates and there wait for the Emperor to come out and in full sight of all the guards step into the car and drive to the Legation quarter was so evident that the idea could not for a moment be entertained.

So the Emperor's bid for freedom failed. I could only guess at the reasons.

A few days afterwards one of his uncles, Prince Tsai T'ao, called on me. He thanked me warmly for my willingness to help the Emperor, explained to me that it would be better for his nephew to have some patience and wait till circumstances would alter and make a change in his life more easily attainable, and finally produced a little white paper with the two personal Imperial seals upon it. He took all the attaché-cases with the Emperor's fortune in them away with him. I afterwards heard that they were not taken back to the Forbidden City, and that they were thus saved from confiscation. This at least was one happy result of this otherwise disappointing episode.

The " change of circumstances " did indeed occur, though not in the way that Prince Tsai T'ao had hoped for! It happened on November 5 of the following year. General Fêng Yü-hsiang's soldiers drove the Emperor out of the Forbidden City.

The day before, Prince Tsai T'ao had telephoned to me expressing his anxiety about the Emperor's safety in view of the very disturbed political situation: General Fêng Yü-hsiang had occupied the capital and the President of the Republic had been forced to resign. I replied that I would do for the Emperor what I could. I immediately informed General Fêng Yü-hsiang that in the existing state of uncertainty great anxiety was felt on behalf of the person of the Emperor in whom I took a friendly interest, and that it would create an excellent impression if he could allay those fears. He answered literally: " There is no need for fear. I shall protect the Emperor completely (*wan-chuan pao-hu*)."

It was only a few hours afterwards that Prince Tsai T'ao called on me in person together with Mr. R. F. (now Sir Reginald) Johnston and informed me that troops had penetrated into the Forbidden City and had entered the Emperor's private apartments. From my Legation he got into telephonic communication with the Emperor in the Palace and learnt from him that he was being pressed into signing a " document " . . . and a very historical document it soon proved to be.

The rest of the story is well told in Sir Reginald's book.

I venture to think that my timely request to General Fêng Yü-hsiang has not been without great influence upon the events of that day, and more than probably also upon the subsequent course of history.

As Dr. C. T. Wang (who had assumed the ministership of foreign affairs) significantly and sarcastically remarked when I called upon him that afternoon in the company of my British and Japanese colleagues: "Western nations have often meted out to their dethroned monarchs a fate quite different from mere expulsion from their palaces."

As one who was closely connected with many of the events described by Sir Reginald Johnston and who took an active part as dean of the diplomatic body in China in most of the happenings of those days, I cannot warmly enough recommend his book to everyone who takes an interest in Far Eastern affairs.

The "Boy-Emperor" from Peking is now Emperor of Manchuria, land of his ancestors. A life of serious work and usefulness of the kind that he wished for may yet be in store for him. The sadness of his youth early inclined him not to expect too much of life. Whatever fate befalls him I feel assured that the memory of the exalted friendship of his true counsellor, Johnston, to whom he owes not only the few sunny patches that lay on his path, but also perhaps even life itself, must always fill him with the deepest gratitude. He was indeed fortunate to have had during the impressionable years of his youth the guidance and the friendship of this British gentleman.

Had this book been published a little sooner the Council of the League of Nations might have acquired some very useful knowledge before it allowed its youthful organization to be plunged into the vortex of Asiatic problems, intrigues, and obscurities.

ROME,
May, 1934.

REVIEWS

The Mongols of Manchuria. By Owen Lattimore. Pp. 311. With maps. New York: The John Day Company, Inc. $2.50.

The full title of Mr. Lattimore's latest book is "The Mongols of Manchuria: their tribal divisions, geographical distribution, historical relations with Manchus and Chinese, and present political problems," and by this work he consolidates his reputation for sound and painstaking personal observation combined with careful searching of available documentary evidence. The size and position of Mongolia make political conditions there factors which must be taken into consideration in any serious study of Far Eastern problems. There are numerous records of the experiences of explorers and archæologists in that region, but the absence of any comprehensive modern account in English of the political questions involved has often been regretted. Developments in Manchuria in the last three years have accentuated this need; and Mr. Lattimore sets out to fill this gap, at any rate so far as concerns the Mongol inhabitants of Manchuria and neighbouring territories.

To estimate the success with which the author has carried out his task it is necessary to appreciate the difficulties in his way. Outer Mongolia is highly organized under a form of centralized government, but it is at present closed to investigations by foreign political observers. The Mongols elsewhere are divided between areas controlled—nominally at any rate—by China and by Manchukuo; they are not only scattered in small units over an enormous area between Siberia and Turkestan, but politically disunited and lack representative and trustworthy spokesmen. Reliable accounts of their present political condition are therefore to be obtained only after lengthy, wearisome, and sometimes dangerous journeys undertaken by competent observers with a good knowledge of both Chinese and Mongol. Mr. Lattimore is such a traveller, and has these qualifications; and he has incorporated in this book judgments formed as a result of his personal experiences. But the book is not a record of his travels; it purports to be, as the title indicates, a comprehensive account of the Mongols of Manchuria: and he has accordingly found it necessary to refer to the evidence of other writers both to check and confirm his own opinions and to fill up the gaps in his own knowledge. Here he has necessarily been unfortunate. There are few works in English that could help him. To collect and sift the material that has been published in Chinese, Mongol, Russian, and Japanese would take many years of patient labour, and Mr. Lattimore, who was unable to consult Japanese or Russian sources, had to content himself with some of the Chinese and Mongol material; one feels, however, more wonder that he was able to tap so many sources than regret that he was unable to tap more.

The first half of the book is devoted to demonstrating the importance of Mongolia and the Mongols as factors in the Far Eastern situation; and I think that most readers will willingly concede the author's claims in this respect, even if they are reluctant to subscribe to the sweeping statement he makes in the first paragraph of the first chapter: ". . . Vladivostock and the Siberian frontier of Manchukuo are of minor significance compared with its Mongolian frontier"; or to the statement on page 24 that "Mongolia . . . is the key to the destiny of the whole Far East."

Mr. Lattimore then gives a very clear sketch of the policy of the Manchukuo

Government to its Mongol subjects, and traces the history of Chinese colonization in Manchuria, whereby Mongol interests were neglected and pushed into the background. The repercussions of this on Mongol economy and social organization are admirably described. Of even greater interest, however, is the account given of the relations between the Manchus and the Mongols, of their wars and rivalries, of the intermarriages of Manchu princesses with Mongol leaders, of the form of loose alliance into which they eventually drifted, and of the fact (not generally realized) that the Manchus were the link between the Mongols and the Chinese, so that with Manchu influence removed from the Government of China the latter had no longer a claim over the loyalties of the Mongols.

The second half consists of a detailed account of the various Mongol tribes in Manchuria, with a brief sketch of the history, geographical position, numbers, and importance of each. This section has not the same appeal for the average reader as the first part of the book, and, whilst Mr. Lattimore has evidently gone to a great deal of trouble to accumulate the necessary information, and though its publication in this convenient form is of great value to the specialist, it is somewhat difficult reading for others. The book tails off rather tamely with a list of railways and counties. It is a pity that the author did not adhere to the order of his subtitles, incorporating some of the information in the second half of the book in an account of tribal divisions and geographical distribution, and leading up to a discussion of the political problems facing the Mongols of Manchuria, supplementing the textual account by appendixes where necessary.

The logic or appeal of the way in which Mr. Lattimore presents his material is, however, of small importance compared with the value of the material itself; and there is no disputing that or the timeliness of its publication. The Mongols used to be fighters of the finest calibre; if they are still so and if the present movement to promote Mongol autonomy develops (an account of which is one of the most valuable portions of the book), the course of events in the Far East may take a new and surprising turn. Mr. Lattimore says: "Autonomy for the Mongols in Manchukuo under a 'legitimist' Manchu sovereign is a standing invitation to all the Mongols of Outer and Inner Mongolia to have done with Russia and China alike and revive the old Manchu-Mongol alliance that once dominated China and Central Asia as far as Kashgar—but with 'Manchurians' in place of the almost vanished Manchus and with dynamic control in the hands of Japan."

I could quote pages more, but prefer to refer readers to the book itself. It is well produced and printed; the maps are excellent; and Mr. Lattimore's style is clear and straightforward. This is a book which should be read by all who are interested in the problems of the Far East.

R. H. S.

Red Road through Asia. A Journey by the Arctic Ocean to Siberia, Central Asia, and Armenia; with an Account of the Peoples now Living in those Countries under the Hammer and Sickle. By Bosworth Goldman. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xi + 277. Thirty-one photographs; one map. Methuen. 12s. 6d.

This is no ordinary book of travel. It is rather the record of a personal investigation into the conditions of life obtaining in the more remote provinces of the Soviet Union. The author's method of investigation was to sample those conditions himself, and to this end he travelled in leisurely fashion through the country, living as one of the people, observing their surroundings and conversation and taking particular note of their reactions to the political and social system imposed upon them. These he has recorded in some detail, with an admixture

of anecdote and adventure and some excellent photographs, while the whole is seasoned with more abstract discussions of the various questions raised in the course of his investigations. It may be noted at once that Mr. Goldman was not "shown round" by the official agency which exists for this purpose, known as "Intourist." This organization is, he asserts, useless to the genuine investigator; it isolates the traveller from real contact with the people because it attempts to surround him with the comforts of Western Europe, and such comfort is itself foreign to the inhabitants of the Soviet Union. Mr. Goldman certainly did not allow considerations of personal comfort to limit his investigations, but the almost incredible discomforts which he endured through his at times embarrassingly intimate association with the people of the country have enabled him to give us a record of their lives and environment that carries the conviction of reality.

The author's journey started with a voyage, undertaken at a moment's notice, in a Welsh cargo boat from North Shields to the Kara Sea, which lies between the Islands of Novaya Zemlya (the Nova Zembla of our youth) and the coast of Northern Siberia. His account of this voyage is a story in itself, quite outside the main theme of the book. Suffice it to say that it took him through the ice floes of the Kara Sea and up the River Yenesei (which is 2,200 miles long, and 3 miles wide at a distance of 800 miles from its mouth), through the "Tundra" or flat marsh country, to Igarka, a town of log houses, saw-mills, and mud set in a clearing of the Siberian forest. Here the author spent some time among the lumber-workers, among whom were political prisoners and criminals. Though the general standard of living was far below that of the average British workman, the prisoners did not seem to fare much worse than the rest, while the only apparent distinction between the political prisoners and the criminals was that the latter received pay for their work.

The author changed at Igarka to a river steamer, in which he shared a cabin with a married couple. The accommodation was divided into classes as in any capitalist state, but it was a doubtful advantage to travel in the "soft" class owing to the preference shown for that class by the bugs. On board this steamer he continued his journey southwards to such places as Tunguska and Krasnoyarsk —names that make one grateful for the map on the end-papers. At Krasnoyarsk he left the river and travelled by the Trans-Siberian Railway westward as far as Novo-Sibirsk, the capital of Western Siberia. Thence he meditated an expedition towards China, into the Altai Mountains, but was frustrated by Soviet officialdom. He was able, however, to glean some interesting information about the local political situation, which led him to the opinion that the Soviet Government had introduced Communism into this area in the hope that it would spread into the Sinkiang, and that their tactics were to encourage rebellions against the Chinese governors and then suppress them very leniently with their own troops at the expense of the Chinese. Mr. Goldman's deductions, if correct, may throw some light on the obscure political influences behind the recent Tungan rebellion against the Urumchi Government and its suppression.

From Novo-Sibirsk the author took the southerly branch line known as the Turk-Sib Railway, which runs through Turkestan to Tashkent and the Caspian. This railway, of which a great part was built before the Revolution, was opened in 1930; it was intended to fulfil several purposes, economic, strategic, and propagandist, but Mr. Goldman hints that it actually succeeds in none, owing to the inefficiency with which parts of it are managed. His opinion was no doubt coloured by the fact that his train was eight hours late at Tashkent, where it deposited him at three o'clock in the morning—to be immediately arrested for taking photographs.

As the author approaches the cities of Turkestan, one's interest naturally quickens, and indeed the stimulus of these great names—Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara—seems to instil new life into the narrative. The second half of the book is better than the first. It must be admitted, however, that the author's experiences in these cities go far to extinguish the light of romance that history throws around them. Such mosques as are not in ruins are being converted into "Revolutionary Museums" or workmen's clubs; many of the once famous bazaars are closed; and the minarets are profaned by wireless aerials and loudspeakers. At Tashkent the only sleeping accommodation the author could obtain was between a sweating Afghan and a ragged Uzbek in a room full of other sleepers of both sexes and open to the street. Of Samarkand enough remains "for even the unimaginative to picture the scene as it must once have been," and the "Fine Arts Commission of the Uzbek Republic" is making some attempt to preserve its ancient monuments. It is to-day a place of contrasts; the visitor turns from the ruins of the great mosque of Bibi-Khanem, the dancing-girl wife of Tamerlane, to the "Collective Farm of Stalin," where cotton is grown collectively on the outskirts of the town.

In spite of the Entertainment Park of Tashkent, the fading glories of Samarkand and the palaces of Bukhara, the prevailing note is one of squalor—a squalor that is somehow different from the usual dust and smell of any Oriental town. Mr. Goldman touches the heart of it in a revealing sentence:

> "The dirt of an Asiatic city did not spoil its glamour, but the squalor of a Western slum has now been added."

Elsewhere in Asia and the East the mission of the West has been to cleanse, to drain, to educate; it has been accompanied by some sort of culture, which seeks to raise the standard of human existence. It may sometimes have produced unfortunate results, but never squalor. And it is this squalor—this æsthetic degradation—that emerges from Mr. Goldman's record as the gravest indictment of the Soviet régime where it impinges on the East. A Soviet specialist—a professor of Moscow University—who had travelled to England and America, made this damaging admission: "You say that we have no culture, no appreciation for beauty or private life; that is partly true, and when I am returning from abroad I sometimes feel sad. But things will be better soon."

On the train between Bukhara and Ashkhabad—

> "A man and his wife entered our coach, carrying under each arm a sucking pig, squealing and struggling at the excitement of the journey. The pigs kept up their startled grunting throughout the night; unfortunately they did not leave the carriage at all. To the general smell compounded of dirt, grease, urine, and tobacco, that of the pigs was unhappily added."

At the time, it may be noted, the author was suffering from an attack of dysentery, which was only cured by copious brandy, imbibed during a drunken street orgy at Ashkhabad. At Erivan he lived in a basement with twenty to thirty others of both sexes; at Batum he slept on the cobbles of the street to escape the bugs and contracted fever. When at last he reached Constantinople, he felt that he had returned to civilization.

> "It was intoxicating to be back in a country where beauty and culture received the attention they deserved. Loudspeakers, propaganda films, the Ogpu, "Comrades," bugs and Bolsheviks faded momentarily into a forgotten world millions of miles away."

These notes have, however, been entirely misleading if they have suggested that Mr. Goldman's book is centred on his own sensations. On the contrary, when one realizes how far his emotions must have been engaged—he played his part in argument, drinking bout, and quarrel, and there was a romance at Baku—the narrative is surprisingly dispassionate and impersonal. It is, in fact, the restrained tone of the book that gives one confidence in the author's judgment and impartiality. Considerations of space have prevented any attempt to summarize his observations on the many matters that engaged his attention—the habits of the nomads of the "Tundra," the misery of the peasants, the tyranny of the Ogpu, the enthusiasm of the young Communists and the dissatisfaction of their elders, and, above all, the irritating monotony of the all-pervading propaganda. Nor has it been possible to follow him along the many interesting ethnological, political, social and economic byeways that he opens up in the course of his narrative. One may feel that these digressions are almost too numerous and insufficiently co-ordinated, tending at times to be patchy and confusing, but there is no doubt that they include the most instructive passages in the book.

In conclusion must be mentioned an important point that is made by Mr. Goldman in the latter pages of his book. He emphasizes that Communism could never succeed in England; not only are many of its principles in direct conflict with the dominant characteristics of our race, but, as practised in Russia, it connotes a lower standard of life than would ever be tolerated in this country. This fact, he contends, can best be brought home to the public mind by "accurate and impartial description of conditions in Russia." The impression left by Mr. Goldman's own description of conditions in Russia, which bears every stamp of accuracy and impartiality, fully justifies his contention, and we close the book with a feeling of gratitude to the author that he has enabled us vicariously to experience those conditions and with a fervent hope that it may never be our lot to suffer them in our own persons.

R. S. M. Sturges.

Children of the Yellow Earth: Studies in Prehistoric China. By J. Gunnar Andersson. Large octavo; pp. xxi + 345; 32 plates, 147 figures in the text, and a map. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd. 1934. Price 25s.

This is a very interesting and most unusual book written by the man who may fairly claim to be the father of prehistoric research in China. Although it was originally written in Swedish and translated into English by Dr. E. Classen, it is only an occasional foreign idiom which suggests that it is not an original work in English written by an Englishman.

The construction of the book is reminiscent of the more popular works of Sir Auren Stein, a combination of a narrative of exploration and a popular account of the discoveries made, the whole revealing the singularly attractive personality of the author.

Dr. Andersson is by profession a geologist, and his interests obviously centred originally rather in the structure of the earth than in the remains of early man, but it is clear that his discoveries quickly provoked his keen interest in archæology.

The range of the discoveries dealt with is a very wide one, from the most rudimentary fossil remains of vegetable life to the relics of Chinese man on the threshold of history in the Shang Dynasty, and the book is the first comprehensive account which has been given in popular form of the remarkable discoveries which during the last few years have carried the history of man in China so much further back than had previously been suspected.

Dr. Andersson's account of his travels makes so light of the physical and social difficulties which beset them that it is hard to realize under what extraordinarily unfavourable circumstances the greater part of his researches must have been carried out, in parts of China which were more or less inaccessible at any time, and doubly so during the political turmoils of recent years.

A popular account such as this must necessarily take a good deal for granted in archæological matters, and state as matters of ascertained fact what is necessarily still to a large extent conjecture, and this is particularly true of Dr. Andersson's interpretation of the symbolism of the "painted pottery" which was one of his most spectacular discoveries; but the whole book is written in so charming a manner that it is difficult to criticize, even if one may feel that there is still much research to be done, before the full value and meaning of these amazing discoveries is appreciated. After all, the author himself is the first to emphasize that the work of which he has laid the foundations so securely is still only in the initial stages.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

Des Monts Célestes aux Sables Rouges. By Ella Maillart. Pp. 300 and numerous photographs. Paris: Editions Bernard Grasset. 1934.

It may be said at once that this book is well worth buying and keeping if only for the large number of original and beautifully reproduced photographs on which the authoress is to be thoroughly congratulated. Mlle. Maillart is a Swiss lady who has previously travelled in the Caucasus and who appears to have an excellent working knowledge of Russian. She spent the greater part of 1933 in travelling in Central Asia; and from the fact that she claims to have spent only £90 on this journey, it may be well imagined that she led the life of the people, and acquired thereby peculiar facilities for gaining an appreciation of the real state of the country through which she passed.

As the somewhat fanciful title suggests, the book is of the "chatty" personal type, and has no pretensions to being academic, but this cannot necessarily be regarded as a defect. With a party of Russian Alpinists Mlle. Maillart travelled by rail from Moscow to Frunze (formerly Pishpek), and from there, by way of Lake Issyk-kul, made a short trip into the mountains along the Chinese frontier. Later, alone, she visited Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara, and other parts of Turkestan. Her previous knowledge of life in the Soviet Union, the large number of her friends there, and her rather tempered degree of sympathy with their ideals and understanding of their outlook, made it possible for her to see things which are generally obscured from the eye of the ordinary tourist. Her interview with the enigmatic Faisullah Khodjaiev, once the leader of "Young Turk" nationalism in Bukhara, and now the President of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Usbegistan (Turkestan), is particularly interesting. Mlle. Maillart was unable to induce Khodjaiev to abandon his strictly official attitude, but she received enlightenment on the attitude of the Musulmans to the Russians as the result of a conversation with a "Trotskyist" exile at Frunze.

"Ici bien sür les nationaux (nomme donné aux indigènes) détestent les Russes, qui sont les colonisateurs. On leur a bien dit que les Russes d'après la Révolution étaient tout différents, mais eux-mêmes n'ont pas encore beaucoup à dire dans le gouvernement. On leur donné des postes honorifiques ou des postes d'agents de liaison, d'interprètes entre les Kirghises et l'État. Ceux qui seraient assez cultivés pour remplir d'autres charges, seraient aussi capables de critiquer trop intelligemment. . . . Oui, je sais, ils ont leurs journaux, leur langue, leurs écoles, mais tout doit rester immuablement dans la ligne dictée de Moscou" (p. 34).

Mlle. Maillart gives some account of the Basmaji Movement in Turkestan, which has been made familiar in general outline to English readers through the articles of Mr. Mustafa Chokhaiev, but it remains yet for a European writer to give a coherent and objective account of this formidable movement, which has had, and will continue to have, its reactions not only throughout Soviet Asia, but also in Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan. The heroic, but ineffectual, rôle played by Enver Pasha and other Young Turk leaders in the anti-Russian revolts among the Musulmans of the Caucasus and Turkestan must always remain one of the most obscure epics of the post-war period. Mlle. Maillart gives a moving account of the trial of a number of Basmajis in Tashkent, and her photograph of the scene is a pathetic document.

The bibliography gives the names of Vambery and Rickmers, but not of Curzon, and, while recalling a number of unimportant works, entirely omits the fundamental contributions of the late Professor Bartold to the history of Turkestan. The recent book of Colonel Nazarov on the politics and natural history of the region is also overlooked.

W. E. D. A.

Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India. By Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt. Macmillan and Co. 1934. 21s. net.

"By far our hardest work," say the authors of this book, "has been to avoid a national or racial bias." The effort to fulfil this task is writ large over an interesting and well-mapped volume. It is a pity that a number of small inaccuracies suggest some failure to verify facts. To note only one—Mr. Allen can personally testify that he was not murdered in Dacca or anywhere else.

The book falls into three portions, varying from one another in treatment and to some extent in style. The first is the most fascinating. There are excellent quotations, both grave and gay. Forgotten heroes are brought to remembrance—William Methwold and the dauntless three who chose cold-blooded execution rather than draw sword against their fellow-countrymen. But the main interest centres round well-known figures. The authors regard Clive as largely responsible for the financial immorality which he strove to suppress, but find their admiration aroused by his abounding courage. Warren Hastings is not exonerated from blame in the matter of Nandakumar nor spared in respect of other acts. But it is admitted that he was at his wits' end to raise necessary funds; he gave Bengal "the unique gift of peace" in an India traversed by marauding armies; and it is difficult "to think of any greater name in the roll of English statesmen, or of any spirit of such exalted courage and self-exposure amid every kind of alarm and tumult." As for our conquests, they seem to be at once censured and condoned. Pity is evoked for the fate of Tipu Sahib—admittedly a bigot of abominable cruelty. Wellesley's meddling policy is disapproved; but the rapacity of the Marathas is emphasized, and we are told that their loss of empire was due to internecine strife, that they had become a pest, and that they "deserved the eclipse about to overtake them." We become conscious of an unescapable dilemma—if the British annexed, they were grasping; if they maintained indigenous governments, they supported misrule. The narrative of these earlier days would have been more comprehensible had a little more space been devoted to the Charters and the home affairs of the Company. But it is a good narrative.

The second part opens (soon after 1800) with the beneficent administration of the Marquess of Hastings and Lord William Bentinck—the suppression of the Pindaris and the Thugs, of human sacrifice, suttee, and (so far as possible) female infanticide. All this part of the book is excellent; the style is compact; the

authors make bold to offer guidance in the appraisement of actions. The "unholy policy" pursued towards Afghanistan by a gracious Whig nobleman is rightly and roundly condemned. A balanced (and surprisingly mild) judgment is passed on the conquest of Sind—generally regarded as one of the most indefensible of our actions. Napier's own standpoint is described as disarmingly honest: "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be"; and his subsequent work in the province was magnificent. Then came the wars against the Sikh power, "whose destruction was a feat morally desirable," and the appearance in the Punjab of a brilliant constellation of administrators. Dalhousie's annexations have often been blamed; the authors suggest that that of Oudh has been specially deprecated because it was followed by the Mutiny. Dalhousie indeed receives unstinted praise—"he laid practically all the foundations of modern India" and was "the greatest of the Governors-General after Warren Hastings." The Mutiny itself is briefly and well described; but there are many who have spent half a lifetime in India (even in Oudh) who will refuse to subscribe to the statement that it has remained a bitter memory to Indians.

The story of India under the Crown is the least successful part of this book, especially in respect of events so recent that the dust of conflict still obscures vision. The writers seem to lose their way in a jungle of statements, sometimes ill-marshalled, sometimes open to challenge on the score both of adequacy and of accuracy. The subdivision of holdings and the great increase in the population have no doubt told against the cultivator's prosperity; but due weight is not given to the reduction in the rate of the land revenue and the immense growth in the value of exports during the last hundred years; and it is idle to dismiss Curzon's Resolution on the land revenue as mainly special pleading. The creation of Co-operative Credit Societies receives honourable mention, and the socialistic tendencies of our Government are stressed; but the effect of efforts to relieve famine and the difficulties of that problem are minimized. It is misleading to say that the Strachey Commission "did something to systematize the granting of relief"; it laid down a sound policy which has stood the test of time. It is true that the population of Bombay Presidency dropped by 5 per cent. in the decade ending 1901; but it is untrue to say that the decade included no epidemics; and it might have been pointed out that in the States in direct political relation with Bombay the decrease was 14 per cent. The full reasons are not given for the failure of local self-government as a means of political education. We are told that under Lord Curzon the whole organization of the Educational Service "was revised and to some extent centralized under a new Director-General of Education," and that his Universities Commission advised a measure of official control which led to the Indian Universities being described "as amongst the most completely governmental in the world." The facts are that Curzon did not reorganize the Service, that there was no centralization under an official who was purely advisory, that the recommendations of the Universities Commission were only partially adopted, and that, as was pointed out at the time, the Act of 1904 regularized, but did not officialize, the Universities, rendered them more powerful and independent and increased the proportion of elected members on the Senates of all but one. The Simon Report is depicted as unhappy in its form and conservative in its proposals. Yet the authors do not seem to be enamoured of more radical changes. Speaking of the "new constitution," they foresee an immediate danger—"that the long period of internal peace under British rule has induced a belief that there will always be an outside authority ready to restore order, while the politician, unable to redeem his pledges, will be tempted to raise constitutional questions and revive

racial or religious animosities." They doubt whether a rigid federation can long survive without economic and social changes which should precede rather than follow the establishment of such a democratic organization; and they anticipate dissolution into a series of almost autonomous units, merely sacrificing a measure of sovereignty to something resembling "a miniature League of Nations." Indifference to external dangers, political developments which outrun their environment, communal strife, and centrifugal tendencies—the prospect is not alluring.

H. S.

Imperial Policing. By Major-General Sir Charles M. Gwynn, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 366. Thirteen maps. Macmillan. 1934. 10s. 6d.

A most interesting and instructive book, which ought to be studied with advantage by everyone. The author primarily wishes to give officers of the fighting services, especially the army, useful information and advice to assist them should they be called out in support of the police, when civil disturbances become too serious to be coped with by them. He adds that the subject also concerns the police and magisterial or political officials, who in this case have to co-operate with the army. I think journalists and the general public might also be included, then there might be less popular clamour against men who perform a disagreeable, thankless, and often dangerous duty to the best of their ability.

The cases dealt with and illustrated are those when normal civil control does not exist, or has broken down to such an extent that the army has to be called in to right matters.

These are divided into three classes:

(1) Revolutionary movements to upset Government.

(2) Rioting arising from grievances.

(3) Racial, religious, or political disturbances not directed against Government.

Also three different conditions under which the army may be required to act:

(*a*) Martial law.

(*b*) When the civil power retains its independence, but co-operates with the army to give effect to special emergency legislation.

(*c*) To reinforce the police under ordinary law.

The author shows many advantages resulting from martial law, but stresses the point that when applied no abuse of the powers conferred by it should occur. Absolutely correct, but many civilians regard martial law with strong aversion; they should remember it saves them from something infinitely worse—mob law.

The whole of the second chapter is devoted to principles and doctrine, one of the most important being the necessity for an efficient and well-organized information bureau, especially when operations approximate to guerilla warfare. Numerous sound rules are mentioned; for example, a policy of reprisals is always dangerous; troops should be in readiness in the background till the police alone have first tried to deal with the situation; warning to be given before fire is opened; the troops should never close in a hand-to-hand struggle; if possible only the police should carry out arrests. Following this are a few remarks on modern weapons and equipment in connection with police duties, which conclude the chapter briefly to this effect.

The Air Service has been found of most value for conveying troops to a critical point and co-ordinating their movements. Armoured fighting vehicles can be useful, especially for the transport of infantry, but acting alone have disadvantages. Artillery is rarely required. The rifle and bayonet still remain

the weapons chiefly to be relied on, the bayonet for its moral effect; but actual fighting with it is risky, as the men may get out of control. Rifle fire, if not too long delayed, is better than machine-gun fire, as it is more easily controlled, and the selected individual can be picked out; also the presence of women in the crowd often presents a difficulty. Cavalry has a great moral effect, but slippery streets and wire obstacles are against their use, and they may come into physical contact with the mob and give a good target to automatic pistols. Personally, I have known the butt end of the lance used with satisfactory results, the point being always kept in reserve. The streets should be sanded beforehand. The use of non-lethal weapons is not advisable, as it entails closing with the crowd, and troops not carrying lethal weapons lose their moral effect.

The remainder of the book is devoted to recent instances of army and police co-operating to restore order; they are ten in number, and very clearly and concisely related, so afford very good reading. Each is illustrated by a map, which makes the course of events easy to follow.

The first is the much criticized action of General Dyer at Amritsar. The police there appear to have shown inaction, owing to the age and lack of initiative of their Indian commanders (frequently a weak point in Indian leaders); however, they subsequently did well.

The main questions with regard to General Dyer are briefly:

(*a*) Was he justified in opening fire at the Jallianwala Bagh without giving specific warning?

(*b*) Was he justified in continuing to fire when the crowd was attempting to disperse? It appeared there was only one exit from the Bagh.

(*c*) Was his claim that a severe lesson was required, as a warning to the whole of the Punjab and perhaps all India, a legitimate reason for his action?

In each case the author decides " No." True, but many people must, however, regret that the matter was not privately enquired into and dealt with by higher authority instead of being made a case for a public committee, as any good that might have resulted from this deplorably severe lesson was nullified, murders and outrages again increased, and the extremely bad massacre took place at Cawnpore, where the civilian magistrate was reluctant to act till too late. Another example is the Moplah Rebellion of 1921, which resolved itself into guerilla warfare over a very difficult terrain against an elusive, fanatical enemy, finally broken up into small aggressive bands. British infantry and later Gurkhas were most successfully employed here, and the Royal Navy also co-operated with a landing party from a warship. The lessons pointed out were that in the early phases of such rebellions tardiness in providing sufficient numbers of regular troops, and hesitation in applying martial law (in this case an after-effect of General Dyer's action at Amritsar), may lead to loss of opportunity, and a disturbance will then drag on interminably that might have been finished off at once by relentless operations, great activity, and summary trial of rebel leaders captured.

The chapter on Chanak, 1922, is different; it shows the difficulties of cooperation between troops of various nationalities, each with different ideas of what is best suited for themselves. It is pleasing to read how General Harrington's skill, firmness, and tact called Kemal's bluff and saved a situation which had become extremely dangerous to the peace of Europe.

The trouble in the Peshawar district, 1930, is described at considerable length, for it was a dangerous and difficult time, especially as the Trans-Frontier tribes were ready to join in. The Afridis actually penetrated to the walls of the city. A curious fact is noted, but not recommended, that the Royal Air Force remained throughout under the control of the Chief Commissioner North-West Frontier

Province, not the Commander-in-Chief Northern Command. There were riots in the city to begin with, and a section of armoured cars the Deputy Commissioner took with him inside the gates got into difficulties, proving that they are not suitable for crowded streets, as, deprived of mobility, they are very vulnerable. Another mistake was when the situation in the city seemed well in hand, the troops were withdrawn too soon, with the result that disorder broke out there worse than ever. A full account is given of the invasion of the Afridis, their repulse by the troops, and further punishment by the Royal Air Force. A remarkable feature of the Afridi incursion was the total absence of looting, because for once they were working in with the inhabitants.

There are six other examples of Imperial policing—viz., Egypt, 1919; Khartum, 1924; the Shanghai Defence Force, 1927; Palestine, 1929; the Burmese Rebellion, 1930-32; and Cyprus, 1931—all of which will well repay a careful study. In fact, this is a book that it is hoped will have a wide circulation, and so fulfil its useful purpose.

E. A. W. STOTHERD.

A Foreigner Looks at India. By P. Staal (Consul-General for the Netherlands at Sydney; formerly Consul-General, Calcutta). Pp. vii+252. 8″×5½″. London: Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.

In matters Indian it is of no small advantage for the Briton to see himself as others see him, more especially when the observer has exceptional qualifications for his task. The "foreigner who looks at India" in this study of Indian politics possesses not only actual experience of the critical developments which he describes, backed by an intimate knowledge of the methods under which another Eastern Colonial Empire is administered, but has had the chance of examining at first-hand the latest developments of democratic government in a country which can be labelled neither European, American, nor Asiatic. The author, M. Staal, a distinguished official in the service of the Netherlands Government, has made the fullest use of his opportunities as Consul-General for the Netherlands at Calcutta and Simla, and latterly in the same capacity at Sydney, and has provided the British public with much food for thought, should that august body show any desire for such a regimen.

M. Staal is under no illusion as regards India. It is long since the most impassioned recital of India's wrongs has evoked the slightest thrill in the heart of any European nation. With businesslike logic they are more concerned with the question whether Britain is losing her hold on India, and, if so, whether the civilization of Europe, the United States, or the Dominions can survive the severance. The Brahmin propagandist, rightly regarding France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium as unprofitable soil, turns for sympathy against his British oppressors to the nascent culture of the Middle West, or the ingenuous innocence of the British Socialist. So convinced is M. Staal that the Indian Empire can be upheld by the British only, that they alone have the happy blend of political genius and strength necessary for the task, that he does not hesitate to lay upon the Briton a twofold burden—one duty towards the white race, and one duty towards the Indian—both equally important. It may be impossible to dispute the truth of this picture (with Egypt inset), nevertheless it is far from inviting, and is only made tolerable to the Briton by the moral support which M. Staal's reading of the situation connotes.

The author's analysis of Indian constitutional developments engendered by the modern spirit, by education, and by the sympathy of Liberal classes in England, is as clear-sighted as his enunciation of the principles governing the general

problem of modern India. He is alive to the snares and pitfalls caused by the similarity of words and phrases which beset Anglo-Indian constitutional jargon; above all, he has grasped the fundamental truth that the orthodox Brahmin was the first to perceive the possibilities which the new situation—the development of democracy—offered for the weakening of British power. The orthodox Brahmin has since had reason to perceive other possibilities—the possibility, for instance, that the Muslim, with or without the assistance of the British, might re-establish his rule over the peoples of India. All these interesting features of the first quarter of this century are faithfully portrayed.

It was, however, inevitable that the course of constitutional advance pursued by the British should fail to win the approval of our " foreigner." Slow methodic progress in development, very thoroughly carried out, is the characteristic of Dutch administration in Netherlands India. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that M. Staal should condemn with fervency and conviction the " fatal policy started in 1861, which dreamt of satisfying the ambition of the Indian by giving him a minute share, and retaining the real power in the hands of the British." He is clearly shocked by the " facilis descensus " since 1892; and events of the last seven years must present to him a nightmare as of an escalator out of control. Yet is it not better, however undesignedly this result may have been brought about, that the nightmare should be rolled away and realities dragged into their right perspective? To speak seriously, this is what has happened since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

It is now clear how far the Indian is capable of running the Parliamentary machine; above all, how far he is hampered by Communal trouble. If only from the fact of the Communal Award, it is now manifest to the British public as never before that the realization of any form of self-government in India, provincial or Imperial, must depend on alien dominion, whoever the alien may be, and however veiled the dominion. Even the Indian has forced himself to a recognition of these facts, an achievement vastly to his credit. It now remains to reinforce the mass of democratic form with the concrete manifestations of British supremacy, for not otherwise can the stupendous task of a new Constitution for India be brought to fruition.

A. M. S.

Economic and Social Aspects of Crime in India. By Bejoy Shankar Haikerwal, M.A., LL.D. Foreword by Radha Kamal Mukerjee, Ph.D. Pp. viii + 237. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 10s. net.

From the foreword by Radha Kamal Mukerjee it appears that this book was begun at his instance while the author was a research student at Lucknow. To him, therefore, belongs a share of the credit for initiating work of a kind which must be undertaken to an increasing extent if India is to advance along the lines now being laid down for her. He rightly refers to it as "a pioneer work"—in the sense that hitherto research work into the economic and social aspects of crime has made little or no appeal to Indian students and writers.

Bejoy Shankar Haikerwal has made a very creditable and useful beginning, if, in all the circumstances, it is not surprising that the volume is one of very uneven merit. He covers a wide field. He deals in an interesting manner with such varied aspects of the main theme as customs and crime, panchayats and crime, the criminal tribes, and the attempts made to deal with the problems they present by means of " criminal tribes settlements." He has made a serious attempt to study

the relations between social and economic conditions and crime; but it is impossible to resist the impression that he sometimes makes use of terms such as " modern penology " or " criminology " for the sake of the sound of them rather than for any concrete meaning in the particular context. This is a difficulty which besets people who have to study a culture and a whole world of thought entirely foreign to them, and to write in a language not their own. Such being the case, the author, whose command of English is exceptionally good, has been very successful. The hope may be expressed that with wider experience he will undertake a greater work, both more scientific and more comprehensive.

The book now under review is open to criticism in certain respects. There is a certain lack of continuity in the argument. The various chapters are rather more disconnected than they need be. The insertion of large blocks of statistics in the text is not a wholly satisfactory way of dealing with them. The use of Indian words without any explanation will confuse readers who have no Indian experience. There is too much " paste and scissors " work. His severe condemnation of the staffs of Indian gaols and of " certain inhuman forms of labour " is not—and indeed cannot be—supported by facts, and his ideas regarding the need for reform in accordance with the requirements of " modern penology "—we are not told very clearly what that means—might be more temperately expressed, and so carry conviction more readily. Readers with a knowledge of the conditions of crime in England will be somewhat astonished to read that crime in India is less violent than in the West, when they learn a few pages further on that in a single province 109 murders were committed in a single year in the course of some 1,400 dacoities. (A dacoity means, as a rule, a night attack on a village by an armed gang of robbers.)

There are a number of interesting reflections on the problems of modern India. He remarks, for instance, on the manner in which " the emphasis of individualistic ideas imported from the West " is slowly disintegrating " the religious proprietary family " of India; and he shows how the modern system of industry tends to the break-up of family life in the great cities. The reactions of the ancient Indian village peoples to the " megalopolitan civilization " of to-day—it may be remarked in parenthesis and without accepting the validity of Spengler's arguments—deserve comprehensive study by sociologists.

Mr. Haikerwal has some hard things to say of the courts. Some of these are perhaps based on inadequate knowledge or are not quite fair comment; but he deserves attention from the rulers of India when he refers to the complexity of the procedure; to the delays and costliness of justice; to the extraordinary number of false complaints; to the belief that the law is for the rich and cunning, and that it tends to become a great gamble; to the helpless feeling of the illiterate masses in the face of " the practical though unintended favouritism of the law and its processes," with the result that they lose that ancient reverence for the law which they have cultivated down the centuries.

This suggestion of the unsuitability of the British legal system to Indian conditions is pointed by his reference to the advantages of the ancient Indian system of the " panchayat." While these arguments may be valid so far as they go, the whole question of inventing a system adapted to the needs of India to-day is too complex to be solved in so simple a manner.

It is only fair to add that Mr. Haikerwal does not definitely offer this as a complete solution. Indeed, he does not bring any of his arguments to a very definite conclusion; but, it may be repeated, his book is a very useful beginning.

J. CURRY.

The Lure of the Indus. By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. 9″ × 6½″. Pp. xiii + 280. Twenty illustrations; four maps. Jarrolds. 1934. 18s.

In *The Lure of the Indus* Sir George MacMunn sketches the great expansion of our Indian Empire that took place in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign, and describes the wars that were the accompaniment or sequel of that expansion. Of these last he has written a stirring and, indeed, an excellent narrative. His descriptions of the battles that were fought, the armies that fought them, and the fields on which they fought, are vividly alive. He illustrates his narrative with maps, and portraits and pictures of much interest, admirably reproduced. This part of his work should have a wide appeal.

On its historical side he is less successful. He writes with vigour and conviction, but quotes no recognized authorities. Hence his work is not free from mistakes. Warren Hastings did not set up the Moghul Emperor, Sháh Alam, as a ruler in the Doáb (p. 23). Clive did this in his famous settlement of 1765, when he assigned to Sháh Alam the Allahabad and Cora districts in the Doáb along with the Bengal tribute. Hastings resumed both grants in 1772, when Sháh Alam had quitted Allahabad for Delhi and established himself there in alliance with the Mahrattas, whom Hastings regarded as public enemies. He restored the two districts to the Nawáb of Oudh by his well-known Treaty of Benares (1773).* Sháh Alam was imprisoned and blinded at Delhi by a savage Rohilla chieftain in 1788, when Sindhia, the great Mahratta captain, had temporarily lost his hold on Delhi. Clive was not impeached (p. 37): Hastings, of course, was, and both these great men may be said to have been martyred at Westminster. Lord Auckland's Governor-Generalship dates from 1836, not 1831 (p. 37). The policy of Lord Auckland's "Tripartite Treaty" of 1838, which led to the despatch of the "Army of the Indus" through Sind and Baluchistan to Kandahar and on to Kabul, was, Sir George says, "a wise policy, too hastily conceived, and miserably carried out" (p. 15), though, possibly, very ill-judged (p. 43). The best authorities of the time, the Duke of Wellington among them, condemned the policy, which has met with practically universal condemnation at the hands of historians.† Sir Alfred Lyall holds that the whole plan was ill-conceived politically. It was prompted by the menace of the Russian advance in Central Asia, as Sir George notices (pp. 36 and 38), which caused the Home Government to press Lord Auckland to take decisive measures in Afghanistan. Lyall points out that we had no quarrel with the Afghans, from whom we were separated by the five rivers whose floods unite in the Indus.‡ The Victorian writers who commented on the immoral invasion of a friendly "neighbour" (p. 43) were, probably, not free from political bias, but their attacks were not without foundation.

Lord Ellenborough, who replaced Lord Auckland in February, 1842, came to India with a considerable reputation. He had been three times President of the Board of Control, and was a statesman of great ability, well versed in Indian affairs. He was nominated by the almost unanimous vote of the Court of Directors, and sent to India at a very critical time. In the course of his brief administration the British armies in Afghanistan, at Kandahar and Jelalabad, were withdrawn to India through Kabul; Sind was conquered and annexed; and the formidable army of the Mahratta State of Gwalior was crushed and broken to pieces in a short decisive campaign. All these were measures of first-class

* Strachey, *Rohilla War*, *passim*.

† P. E. Roberts, *History of British India*, 1925, pp. 317 and 312.

‡ Lyall, *British Dominion in India*, ch. XVIII.

importance, successfully carried out. The credit for the first of them belongs rather to the two Generals, Nott and Pollock, than to Lord Ellenborough, the effect of whose first orders, had they been acted upon, would have been lamentable. The Gwalior campaign needs no justification: the unruly State army was a grave public danger.

That was not the case with the conquest of Sind. This Sir George describes as "obviously ripe and a duty to humanity." But the conquest was not undertaken with purely altruistic motives. There is a strong case against it which Lord Curzon summarizes when he speaks in his sketch of Lord Ellenborough of "the annexation of Sind, which few will be found to condone." Sir George is one of them, but the weight of modern history is against him. It is obvious that the people of Sind have received immense benefits from the British Administration, which Sir Charles Napier inaugurated with characteristic vigour and ability. Yet the view that "no one has ever successfully defended on moral grounds British policy in regard to Sind" is based on very cogent evidence, which has not been shaken.* Lord Ellenborough's administration was abruptly ended by his recall by the Court of Directors. In recalling him, the Directors, with whom he had long been in conflict, exercised their constitutional right for the first time.† He had challenged them to remove him, and they took him at his word. He was much esteemed by the army: Sir George is, rightly, very loyal to his memory. He is not counted among the great Governors-General, but, notwithstanding his admitted errors of judgment, there is something great about him. Sir Henry Hardinge replaced him in June, 1844.

The second half of the book covers the two Sikh wars, and the situation at Lahore which preceded the first of them. The tale of the terrible drama at the Sikh capital cannot even now be read without a shudder. There is no controversy regarding the grave and menacing provocation that compelled us to engage in these wars. In his account of them, and of the battles so fiercely fought, and sometimes hardly won, Sir George is at his best. He does not mention that the justice, as well as the policy, of the annexation was strongly opposed in England by Lord Ellenborough, and that the Cabinet of the day was inclined to his way of thinking. Lord Dalhousie took the reins in his own hands and annexed the whole of the Panjáb by proclamation on March 29, 1849, thereby carrying our territorial frontiers across the Indus to their natural limits, the base of the mountains of Afghanistan.‡ And here the story of Sir George's five wars closes.

It is difficult to appraise the value of Sir George's book. He writes colloquially and carelessly: misprints are all too numerous, and there are other shortcomings. His war narratives are, as has already been said, excellent. The writer of this review, with a valued medal before him inscribed to "The Army of the Indus," with clasps for Goojerat and Mooltan attached to its faded ribbon, has a special reason for his warm appreciation of their merits. Sir George is a faithful interpreter of the thoughts of the army in times of crisis. It is well that

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* Lord Curzon, *British Government of India*, Vol. II. Sir A. Lyall, *British Dominion in India*, ch. XVII. Roberts, *History of British India*, ch. XXVI.

† Sir Robert Peel, in answer to Macaulay, said in the House of Commons that the Court of Directors had exercised the power that the law gave them to recall the Governor-General.—J. Irving, *Annals of Our Time*, April, 1844.

‡ See Sir W. Lee-Warner, *Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*, Vol. I., p. 346. Also Mr. Roberts, *History of British India*, ch. XXVII., and Lyall, *British Dominion*, ch. XVII.

"politicals," and secretaries, and perhaps even higher dignitaries, should know them.

A. L. P. Tucker.

Forty-Four Years a Public Servant. By C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., I.C.S. (retired). $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 312. Blackwood. 12s. 6d.

This book is indeed a refreshing change from the turbid spate of rubbish which is pouring out about India nowadays. The reason is that the writer knows the country in the districts and villages. As 90 per cent. of the people of India live there, it is not surprising that such knowledge is a help to correct conclusions.

The book is written with a modern frankness, and there is an entire absence of that timid reticence which turns so many chroniclers into bores. Mistakes in the administration receive free comment. But the inexperienced reader must not be led into believing that our Indian Government is bad. All Governments make mistakes, and these Olympian slips are fair game for the ordinary mortal.

The author has some original views. For instance, he suggests that young District Judges in India ought to be attached to High Courts for training. The writer of this review has usually heard the suggestion that High Court Judges ought to go to District Courts for that purpose.

The book is full of good things. We hear how the Nawab of Junagadh had a gay, happy smile put on his face by the Court Painter, so that when he attended Lord Curzon's Darbar he could enjoy his midday sleep without detection. We are also told of the decision of the Bombay Government when asked to support the author's *History of the Mahratta People*: "If it is a good book, it will sell without Government assistance. If it is a bad book, Government should not support it." A truly Oriental pronouncement, and, as the author says, of the same type as the Caliph Omar's decision in the libraries of Alexandria.

The author is a realist in his views of Indian political charges. He notes that disunion in the Indian Civil Service favoured the introduction of the Montague "reforms." There is a bitter reference to thirty pieces of silver, and a vivid description of the author, sick at heart, walking round the statue of Nicholson at the Kashmir Gate at Delhi. He has a shrewd cut at favourite catchwords, repeated with parrot-like insistence, such as "favourable atmosphere" (to excuse the loosing of political criminals) and "good government is no substitute for self-government" (as if this queer antithesis were unavoidable!).

He accurately describes the timidity of the Government of India in the Legislative Assembly, and correctly attributes many of the difficulties in the present Indian administration to the feeble and injudicious revision of the code of Criminal Procedure in 1923.

One of the strangest episodes in the book is a description of a case which the author tried. One Hindu eloped with the wife of another Hindu, and the latter prosecuted the former. When the letters of the wife to her seducer were read out during the case, the whole court rang with yells of laughter. The author checked the merriment, and tried to protect the unfortunate prosecutor. But though the case ended in the conviction of the seducer, the injured husband could not bear his shame and committed suicide. A Hindu of decent caste will hardly ever have his women brought into court in a case. He will suffer an injury through or against them in silence, and trust to a chance of private revenge.

J. C. French.

"The Transferred Departments." (Education, Health, and Agriculture in India since 1921.) By the Duchess of Atholl, D.B.E., M.P. Reprinted from the *Empire Review*. Pp. 8.

This small pamphlet of eight pages is of great importance at the present time. For the fate of India is trembling in the balance. Is it to be full parliamentary government or not? Now for the past twelve years India has been "enjoying" parliamentary government in a partial and tentative form, and this pamphlet covers the departments in which the experiment has been tried.

The tale is a gloomy one. We are reminded of the depressing findings of the Simon Commission's special Auxiliary Committee on Education, and of the remark in the 1931 Census Report that the unduly low proportion of primary to secondary education had increased during the decade. In the Punjab we hear that local bodies are fighting the inspectors of schools "to wrench the power" from their hands.

As regards public health, the progress, to quote an Irish bull, has been in a backward direction. From the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa come complaints that some local authorities have used their new-found freedom to spent money on archaic systems of medicine. The writer can testify that the same inclination exists in Bengal. To bring home what this means to an average Englishman, let him picture a county council or borough giving a grant to a hospital which was worked on the lines of a black-letter herbalist book of the Middle Ages. Extracts are given from the damning evidence of the medical witnesses before the Joint Committee on November 14 last.

Attention is drawn to the very pertinent inquiry of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India as to why the Usurious Loans Acts, which should have given effective protection to many small cultivators, has been allowed to remain a dead letter. The answer may be found in the new nickname which the Montagu "reforms" have produced for our rule in India. Vakil Ka Raj has now given place to Bania Ka Raj.

It is difficult to conceive more unpromising conditions for the extension of parliamentary government than those disclosed in this pamphlet. Would that more members of Parliament would imitate the author in her thorough and conscientious study of this vital Indian problem.

J. C. French.

The First Two Nawabs of Oudh. By A. L. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D. Lucknow, India: Upper India Publishing House, Ltd.

This account of the first two Nawabs of Oudh was written in 1931, and was submitted as a thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Lucknow University.

Indian Universities nowadays produce history of a high standard, well written and carefully documented. It seems, therefore, hardly fair to the author or to his University or to the public to publish a volume admittedly disfigured by misprints, full of imperfect English, and containing little but a jejune chronicle of obscure events and characters. Chapter XVIII., "On the Condition of the People," might possibly merit some of the praise bestowed on it by Sir Jadunath Sirkar, but a vast amount of study and expansion is required before the author can hope to hold the attention of those really interested in history.

The work, in short, is immature, and should have been withheld altogether from submission to the publishers or to criticism.

A. M. S.

The Ideals of East and West. By Kenneth Saunders, Litt.D. Pp. xiii + 246. 9″ × 5¾″. Cambridge University Press. 1934. 10s. 6d. net.

This book is a study, within a modest compass, and a comparison, from the point of view of an advanced but wholehearted Christian, of the world's principal systems of religion and civilization (not, however, including the Egyptians or Islam) on their ethical side. Dr. Saunders has already appeared as a writer on Buddhist history. The six divisions of his present work relate to India, China and Japan through the centuries, and the Greeks, the Hebrews and Christianity. There are also introductory and concluding discussions between imagined followers of the various faiths who are pictured as meeting by chance at Ephesus in the first and at Changan in the ninth century A.D. respectively, which bring out interesting contrasts and points of contact. The antecedents and beginnings of each system are carefully illustrated, and its "context" is given, very unequally, and sometimes with too much fullness.

Buddhism slants across three divisions of the book. After noting its impact upon Hinduism, Dr. Saunders skips lightly over Shankar, barely touches upon *yoga*, and concentrates upon the Bhagvad Gita and Gandhi. "Can India," he concludes, "retain her gentleness and add energy, preserve her devotion to God in serving men, practise detachment in acquiring zeal? If so, she can help to cure us of the worship of the machine, and can work out with us a more humane order of society."

Has the national story of the Chinese been that of rationalism misled by mystics like Lao-tse and the Buddha, or of romantic mysticism racked on the procrustean bed of a rationalist ethic? In Dr. Saunders' view neither is the case. China re-thought Confucianism in the light of Buddhism in the Sung period. Each of the two was in large measure congenial to her; but she has constantly forgotten both.

The riddle of Japan's greatness is not one of Dr. Saunders' subjects. But he observes: "If the Japanese are like the Greeks, they combine Athenian with Spartan qualities, the zest of life, the quick response to beauty with hardihood and stoic detachment. To both Buddhism made its contribution." Zen Buddhism, he points out, did much to deepen and refine the *samurai* spirit which came to be called Bushido. The core of Japanese imperialism, he states, is still loyalty, and the army itself full of idealism. The *samurai* is being transformed from the servant of the overlord to the servant of the people (one would like to have had an illustration of this). The strength as well as the weakness of the loyalties of the Japanese has been their narrow range and their intensity.

The book does not attempt a high scientific or philosophical level. But on its own plane and within its own limits it is undoubtedly successful and valuable. It presents on broad lines, but with a great deal of suitable quotation and detail, subjects with which very few scholars are able to deal in combination. It is true that the reader, by the time he has finished the section on Hebrew ethics, may regard human ideals, from Socrates to Chu Hsi, and from Honen to Ezekiel, as rather a mixed grill, and in his subconscious mind thank heaven for the Shorter Catechism. On turning back, however, he will find innumerable comments and comparisons thrown out in the course of the work, and almost every religion brought into some kind of relation with Christianity. In the section dealing with Christianity—how short and how Protestant it is, by the way!—he will find threads from several parts of the world drawn together.

Two criticisms of detail may be made. The ascription to the Moslem spokesman, in the concluding dialogue, of the remarks that women are "the playthings of men" and "made for man's enjoyment" cannot be excused by the reference

to the houris of paradise which accompanies. This is, in fact, a serious blot on an otherwise reliable book. The Qurán contains a specific promise of forgiveness and reward to devout and virtuous Moslem women, equally with devout and virtuous Moslem men; and the attitude of the Moslem world towards women surely differs little from that of most other Oriental societies. Coming to Japan, when he refers to the further advance of Confucianism as the cause of the unfortunate decline in the position of women in that country after the eleventh century, Dr. Saunders may possibly have authority for his statement; but Sansom, a recent authority known to and used by him, ascribes it to the insecurity of conditions in the centuries succeeding the Fujiwara era.

In general, the author shows not only wide learning, but the power to disentangle and appreciate the most diverse moral ideas. At the same time, he is too much in touch with missionary effort to overlook the weaknesses of Asiatic religions and philosophies, or even the shortcomings of Christendom, as distinguished from Christianity.

A. F. K.

An Eastern Chequer Board. By Sir Harry Luke, C.M.G. Pp. 286 and thirty-two plates. Lovat Dickson, Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.

Sir Harry Luke's book takes us over a good part of the Near and Middle East from Greece to 'Iraq; the first seven chapters are descriptions of places and things in pre-war days, so utterly different to that which has been brought about in these regions in the last years. In the final chapter, " Retrospect, 1904-34," Sir Harry shortly alludes in graphic language to these very vast changes; for example, " the little Greek khan, which sheltered tourists at Rhodes in 1908, is now replaced by a luxurious Italian Lido Palace hotel with bathroom and bedroom "; the " Prince of Bulgaria " no longer makes his annual salaam at Constantinople; " the present powerful Wahabi King was thirty years ago a cloud no bigger than a man's hand "; and so on elsewhere.

Sir Harry's first chapter is devoted to a description of a journey to the now well-known monasteries of Greece hard by the Thessalian plain, but very inaccessible in certain respects, and he then describes a visit to the island of Rhodes in 1908.

As above remarked, the setting then was very different from what it is now, and numberless tourists descend upon Rhodes every year to see the wonderful bastions and fortifications of the Knights of St. John and other objects of antiquarian interest in this beautiful island. No Mediterranean traveller should miss likewise visiting the neighbouring island of Cyprus, a British colony and in no wise inferior to Rhodes in its medieval, antiquarian, and historical associations generally. Sir Harry devotes two chapters to Cyprus, where he served at one time in the administration. In these chapters Famagusta, where Shakespeare placed the greatest of his tragedies, and which has been more than once in history one of the greatest emporiums of trade, is described at some length, and the island itself generally—

> " Where is the home for me,
> O Cyprus set in the sea?
> Aphrodite's home in the soft sea foam,
> Would I could wend to thee."

A visit to Konia (Iconium), still, I think I am correct in saying, the home of the dancing dervishes, tales of the great Turkish humorist, the Khoja Nasr-ed-Din, a description of the Old Seraglio, once the Sultan of Turkey's residence at

Constantinople before he exchanged it for Dolma Baghche, and visits to Mount Athos, on the Chalcidice Peninsula, where are situated twenty units of a monastic republic with peculiar customs, bring us to a present-day story of Jerusalem, where the author was Assistant Governor in 1920. This is, together with the succeeding chapter, "The Holy Sepulchre and the Holy Fire," excellent reading. Well may the British administration pride itself on its manner of dealing with such thorny and quarrelsome questions that arise between the different religious bodies over the Holy Sepulchre and Holy Fire ceremonies, the Stone of Unction, Patriarchs, Beatitudes, and what not, apart from Jewish and Moslem rights and sensibilities. And yet in this particular respect of religious difficulties, the Turk was not so bad after all when he ruled.

Finally, we have three chapters devoted to 'Iraq and the country round about. "Prester John to Mar Shimun" is at present extremely apposite in view of the fate of the unhappy followers and countrymen of Mar Shimun and the attention which has had to be directed to that question of late. Surely the poor remnants of a race that had once flourishing missions and followers so far afield as China and the vast territories of Central Asia deserve a better fate than to be chased away from the vicinity of their ancient homes in the mountains of Kurdistan. "And those to whose imagination the little heir (viz., the present young Patriarch) to a mighty tradition makes appeal must hope that a Mar Shimun may reign once more in his ancestral home by the banks of the Zab, one of the rivers of Paradise, and may yet again date his encyclicals according to the ancient form: from my cell on the River of the Garden of Eden."

Sir Harry closes his present delightful volume, before the Retrospect, 1904-34, already mentioned, with an account of the home of the "Worshippers of Satan." Gentle people, these Yezidis, with peculiar rites, inhabiting the Jebel Sinjar, west of Mosul. Their serious attention is bestowed upon him whom, when we wish to be polite, we denominate the Fallen Angel and who is a power to be propitiated; but I should not quote further and so spoil what ought to be fully read.

There is a glossary to this book and some ancient prints of maps.

F. C.-O.

History of Palestine. The Last Two Thousand Years. By Jacob de Haas. Pp. xxvii + 523. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1934. 15s.

Of the making of books about Palestine there is no end. Mr. Jacob de Haas, who is a leading American Zionist, and was one of the first followers of Dr. Herzl, has sought to find a new subject which has not already been covered by many predecessors—the history of Palestine during the last two thousand years. Recently there appeared in English a short history of the land from before Bible times to the present day. This book has a more modest scope, only two millennia. On the other hand, it aims at a much fuller treatment. Each period from the Roman Conquest to the granting of the Mandate for England is described, largely by first-hand authorities from which the author has culled extracts. Little attempt is made, indeed, to weigh the statements of a host of writers of very varying accuracy and understanding. But the author combines the collection of excerpts together with his own picturesque reflections on the development of humanity in a country which, he says, "With its age-old service as a world highway, with its varied and intractable population, has maintained a perpetuity beside which all Empires have been fugitive and transitory."

Mr. de Haas is not concerned to set out merely the political history of the country. He records faithfully the changes in the nature of the land, the destruc-

tion wrought by every serious earthquake which has been chronicled, even the damage done by storms. Thus in telling of the last struggle of the Latin Kingdom, he notes that a typhoon accompanied by a big hail in 1293 added to the misery of the country. He records, too, such information as is available about the economic conditions in the different periods. The statement is not, indeed, always illuminating, because we have no measure of values in the different ages. It is interesting to note that during the Mameluke era the sugar industry was the principal resource; that in the same period Akaba was a safe haven for Oriental trade, and that caravans of five thousand camels are frequently mentioned. It is interesting to learn, again, that in the eighteenth century, when Zaher of Tiberias made himself master of the northern part of the country, the price of a bath, one Para, is mentioned with a groan, that Nablus was the principal industrial centre, and that Jaffa was engaged in manufacturing and shipping soap to Egypt.

The author at the end of each chapter gives his references faithfully to the sources. He has read widely and diligently, but his accuracy is not equal to his industry. And the pages are studded with mistakes in names, while he plays strange pranks with Latin. He states in the preface that he has made an attempt to employ a uniform method of translating Hebrew, Arabic, and other names. Yet within a few pages he refers to Kait, Bai, Bey, and Bek. But these are small matters, and the book is alive with colour and with movement. In the crowded canvas there is a certain plan and a clearness of composition. It is the living human story which arrests the author and through him is conveyed to the reader. One cannot finish any chapter without a consciousness of the part which Palestine has played and is playing in the development of civilization. And he makes us realize that the derelict Palestine of the nineteenth century was a very different land physically and culturally from the Palestine of the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, the Arab conquest, and the Latin kingdom. " It was merely the bedraggled tassel of the bespattered and much buffeted Turkish Fez, the emblem of a hated bureaucracy."

The last chapters deal with the World War and the war intrigues. Inaccuracy mars the account of those events of our own time as well as the account of past ages. The troops, he says, in the first attack on Gaza fought their way through a mirage, when it was actually a mist. By the end of 1916 General Murray, we are told, sent 150,000 men from Palestine to reinforce the Western front. The authority for that is an American book; but the fact is that General Allenby sent away the British Divisions in the beginning of 1918. Nor does it seem fair in a historical work to give as evidence for an—absurd—suggestion that British officials abetted the Arab disturbances in 1921, a novel written by an Anglo-Jewish barrister who lived in Palestine.

N. B.

The Ottoman Empire and its Successors, 1801-1927. With an Appendix, 1927-1934. By William Miller, M.A., F.R.H.S. Pp. 638. With maps. Cambridge University Press. 16s.

Dr. Miller's book, originally covering the period from 1801 to 1913, was republished in 1927 to carry on his chronicle to that year, and it was then reviewed at some length in the Society's JOURNAL.

His appendix now deals with events to date, and it is a striking proof of the comparative quietude of the Balkans in recent years that he is able to confine this appendix to a mere thirteen pages. The change from the pre-war stormy days of continual unrest may perhaps be attributed mainly to two causes: (1) the

exchange of populations making the different states now to be inhabited by more or less homogeneous peoples, and (2) the lesser interference of the Western Powers.

Such events as have happened have been to a great extent internal matters, of some importance to the countries concerned, but of less to the outside world.

Dr. Miller narrates the many changes of government which have taken place in Greece, but these do not upset the general life of the country to any great extent.

Turkey is lightly touched upon, one of the chief points of importance being the "miracle" of the treaty of friendship and pact with Greece. In foreign affairs, much "pacific" activity; in local matters, municipal votes for women and the compulsory use of the Latin script.

Rumania, with its 18 million inhabitants, the most populous of the six States of South-Eastern Europe, can record the return of King Carol and currency stabilization, but political troubles have been frequent and the activities of the various parties have not made the situation in that respect an altogether easy one.

Yugoslavia, the second largest Balkan state, with a population of 13 millions, had a period of abolition of parliamentary government, but has now more or less returned thereto. Relations with Italy are not always happy, but with Bulgaria there is an improvement, and a Yugoslav-Turkish treaty of friendship has likewise been signed.

Bulgaria stands aloof from her neighbours, and her delegates seceded from the Balkan Conference. She stood aside from the "Balkan Pact" (alluded to below). The Macedonian revolutionary organizations unfortunately raised further trouble, but also took to murdering one another.

Albania decided to transform itself into a monarchy, but the interest in this State lies in the relations with Italy. The signing of an alliance in 1927 for twenty years, with various concessions to Italian representatives, gave rise to feelings of apprehension, but recent legislation has been "national" in sentiment, and it has been officially stated that "the policy of Italy in no way menaced the integrity or independence of Albania."

There are three matters concerning the Balkan area as a whole which must be noticed: (1) The Tripartite Pact, entered into by Yugoslavia and Rumania with Czechoslovakia, organizing the permanent Council of the "Little Entente"; (2) the "Balkan Pact," signed this year by Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, mutually guaranteeing all their Balkan frontiers, etc.; and (3) the disregard of financial obligations and agreements in the case of inter-Greco-Bulgarian payments, and also, what is more important, in regard to payments on loans issued under the auspices of the League of Nations, to Greece and Bulgaria.

Dr. Miller has compiled a very useful addenda to the special bibliography of this part of Europe.

F. C.-O.

Lights of Singapore. By Roland Braddell. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ Pp. xi + 265. Methuen. 1934. 7s. 6d.

Everyone who is interested in Malaya should read this book. It is the work of a man of culture and common sense, a student and man of affairs, the bearer in the third generation of a name held in honour in Singapore, who writes about the country which he knows and loves. "If one wants to find out about the place," he writes in his preface, "there are plenty of books of various kinds, but as yet there is none which will give you history without tears, and such facts as you are liable to want to know in easily digestible doses. This book tries to supply that want."

The book more than justifies this modest claim. It gives a faithful and vivid account of the Malaya of history and the Malaya of to-day, and should open the eyes of those whose ideas of the country are based on the hasty impressions of the illiterate globe-trotter, or the poisonous nonsense of the third-rate sensational novelist.

Japan u-die Japaner-eine Landes-und Volkskunde. By Dr. Karl Haushofer. 9″ × 6¼″. Pp. viii + 240. Twenty-eight maps; fifteen plates. Berlin: Teubner. 1933.

Herr Haushofer has written a comprehensive book in a comparatively short space, starting with a survey of the history of the country and the people. In this, the second edition, he outlines the geographical, geological, and climatic characteristics. There are chapters on the Administration, Constitution, Population, Origin and Character, Customs and Manners, Literature, Art, Music and Handicrafts, the Family, and Military System. The chapter on post-war development is of interest, more particularly as the author seems fully to realize the fact that Japan has become an important factor in world politics. The book draws an interesting parallel between Japan's adoption of Western civilization and Britain's change over from a "raw material" to an industrial country.

The remarks on the rhythm of the weather are attractive and to the point, though sometimes the author's sentences become lengthy and involved, even for German! He stresses the importance of the fishing industry and shows how nature helps by bringing the fish close to the islands of Japan by warm currents. As one would expect of an island people, the consumption of fish is enormous; owing to the long stretch of land from north-east to south-west polar and tropical water denizens abound. This consumption is increased by the Buddhistic idea that fish may be eaten, but not meat.

The silk industry, employing six millions of people, might perhaps have been dealt with at greater length, but perhaps this is too much to expect in a treatise of this size.

A good deal is said about Japan's self-sufficiency disappearing, and this is daily becoming more marked. Her search for markets renders good relations with other countries not only desirable but absolutely necessary. The shortage of coal and iron within the country answers the question of why Japan looks to Manchukuo to supply this deficiency.

Herr Haushofer describes Japan's coast-line as the most beautiful in the world, and, leaving out some of the eastern archipelagos, perhaps he is right. He also points out the immense cost of lighting such a broken coast-line.

The chapter on origin of population states that there are now only some 600 pure Ainus, the aborigines of Japan, and presumably it will not be long before the entire disappearance of this race in the same way that the Negrito race of the Andaman Islands is rapidly dying out. The other main origins of the Japanese race are stated to be Mongol and Malayan. I presume Herr Haushofer would agree that the Tungus of Manchuria were the common ancestors of Manchu and Japanese.

In trying to describe the racial character, the author stresses the strong family and national sense, the indifference to the individual, their keenness to receive new impressions from other races, though always retaining their own tradition. He criticizes the comfort of their houses, very little furniture—but do not we Occidentals have too much?—the lack of chimneys, the heaviness of roofs to protect them from the heavy rain, and the lightness of construction underneath.

The manners of the Japanese include frequent and prolonged silences, but it is pointed out that these have the same significance in speech as the blank spaces in pictures. They always have a meaning.

Tolerance in religion is a marked characteristic. The Emperor is the descendant of the Goddess of the Sun. Buddhism came to Japan some 2,000 years ago, and is now the predominant religion. Christianity came in the seventeenth century, but was suppressed and was tolerated only from 1875. Dogmatism is foreign to the Japanese race as they flourish on fantasy. Buddhism and the ancient Japanese religion walk calmly side by side.

Japanese art is strongly influenced by Chinese art, but it has branched a long way from the parent stem. They " think " their pictures and resultant representation is in " thought form." Detail is not essential, though when represented it is meticulous. Japanese art expresses the character of the people in that emotion is strongly controlled and *restraint* is an essential part of all Japanese art.

Family life is highly important. The Emperor is most certainly the Father of his people. The father of the family is the ruling influence and makes every family decision, the wife's chief duty being to bear children, except in few very modern families. This family life crystallizes in an intense patriotism and passionate love of country which is deeply imbedded in every Japanese heart.

Herr Haushofer is sometimes rather unnecessarily diffuse, repeats himself and sometimes lacks clarity of expression, but to any student of Japan and the Japanese people I recommend the careful reading of his book.

H. StC. S.

The Nine Magazines of Kodansha. The Autobiography of a Japanese Publisher. By Seiji Noma. Twenty-five illustrations. 9″ × 6″. Pp. xi + 290. Methuen. 1934.

When I picked up this book to read I wondered if I was likely to be interested in the Autobiography of a Japanese Publisher, and decided quite definitely that I was not. However, I started to read the author's modest foreword, which rather captivated me. Seiji Noma's accounts of his early struggles, his idleness and peccadilloes are very human. The help given him ungrudgingly by his relations is an illustration of the strong sense of family amongst the Japanese.

The account of his life in the Luchu Islands as a teacher is quite fascinating and is paralleled by the life of a young Englishman a generation ago in some Eastern appointment to India or the Straits Settlements. The early struggle in the magazine publishing world is vividly told, and the wholehearted support accorded to him by his staff is good to read about. In one instance he allotted two whole holidays a month to his staff. One man refused to take these at all, and said that by not taking them he achieved two objects: one, if he was working he could not spend, and two, he was doing good for his employer by working. This example so fired the other members of the staff that they asked for the cancellation of their two holidays a month.

The romance of starting magazine after magazine is well told. The first following on the love Noma had for public speaking, on every occasion that presented itself he apparently got up on to his hind legs and delivered an oration, which seems to have been well received. *Yuben*, the first magazine, came into being to encourage public speaking, and the second was started to tell the man in the street in Japan the historical romances told by word of mouth by the professional story-tellers known as Kodanshi. Magazine followed magazine, affluency followed penury, a daily paper and book publishing came after, and

Seiji Noma earned the soubrequet of the Northcliffe of Japan. The illustrations in the book show the growth of this publishing organization, and incidentally the pride of its creator in his life's work.

The book is thoroughly worth reading, if only as a picture of the struggles of a self-made man and of the triumph of foresight and hard work over seemingly insuperable difficulties. It is also an answer to the question, "Whence comes Japan's success?"

H. StC. S.

The Manchukuo Year Book, 1934.

This is a valuable book of reference, and its value is likely to increase when further reliable statistics become available from the whole country—*i.e.*, Manchukuo outside the South Manchurian Railway Zone and the Kwantung Leased Territory. The book is compiled by the East Asiatic Economic Investigation Bureau, and in the current edition fresh chapters have been added and a book of 850 odd pages is the result. There is a good map of communications from which it is interesting to note that there are regular passenger air lines from Korea to Autung, Mukden, Dairen, Hsinking, Kirin Harbin, and Manchouli.

The book comprises a "Who's Who," some good illustrations, and many informing statistical pages. It can be confidently recommended to anyone desirous of up-to-date information about Manchukuo.

H. StC. S.

Political Handbook of the World: Parliaments, Parties and Press as of January 1, 1934. Edited by Walter H. Mallory. New York: Published by Harper and Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. $2.50.

The Council on Foreign Relations, to which this book owes its existence, is an American organization created for the laudable purpose of disseminating information regarding current international problems and discussing the American attitude towards them. The book, which is one of many published by the Council, is an annual publication—that is to say, it is revised annually—though it is not clear how many editions, if any, have preceded the one under examination.

It is claimed for this volume on the dust-cover that it—

> "gives in compact and readable form the essential information regarding all the countries of the world. . . . It provides the facts necessary to an intelligent understanding of world events as they are reported from day to day."

Faced with so formidable a title and so ambitious a claim, one is surprised to find that they are attached to a slim volume of some 200 pages of large, well-spaced print. The attempt to justify the title and the claim within these limits necessitates, as may be imagined, a superficiality of treatment that in some cases leaves one unsatisfied. The "essential information" consists of statistics (beloved by Americans and useful to most people on occasion) of population and area, names of capital towns, of rulers, presidents and prime ministers, composition of cabinets and legislatures, brief telegraphic notes on party programmes and political leaders, and, finally, what may well prove one of the most useful features of the book, comprehensive lists of newspapers with the name of the editor or proprietor and an indication of the political complexion of each.

The "countries of the world," which are treated seriatim in alphabetical order, number only some seventy odd, and the editor has implicitly drawn his definition to exclude colonies, with the result that the New World quite upsets the balance of the Old. No less than twenty-one of the countries are American Republics, whereas the entire African continent is represented only by Egypt, Ethiopia, the Union of South Africa, and Liberia. No doubt the editor was forced to draw the line somewhere, and he may have felt that colonies ought not to be interested in politics—a sentiment which will be shared by many a harassed colonial administrator. Still, this unequal treatment seriously detracts from the book's value.

The facts and statistics given are such as are not readily available elsewhere, while the attempt to provide for each country a political framework is as courageous as it is difficult. To a large extent the experiment is successful, especially in regard to the American and European countries, which form the large majority. (The remaining three continents are credited with only sixteen countries between them.) Six illuminating pages, for instance, are devoted to the obscurities of the French political system, wherein "the names of (parliamentary) groups are not the same in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, nor do they correspond to organized parties in the country at large." The editor must have turned with relief to Italy, where he could write more briefly that "in November, 1926, the Fascist Government suppressed all parties with the exception of the Fascist Party." Some of the political information is, of course, already out of date, and one must be constantly checking it by the date of the Handbook's publication. This difficulty is inherent in any attempt to focus the kaleidoscope of politics, and it is not wholly met by an annual revision. There have been more changes than one might think among political leaders in Europe during the past few months, and one hesitates to enquire into the fate of the many presidents and premiers of the American Republics. Divergence between profession and practice must also have bothered the editor, and one detects a plaintive note in his reference to political programmes in Liberia: "The Party programs given below are the professed programs, but the dominant True Whig Party in practice often acts directly contrary to some of its alleged objects."

In Asia the editor is not so happy as in Europe or among the American Republics. Eleven Asiatic countries are represented, of which no less than six (including Afghanistan, 'Iraq, and Saudi Arabia) are lumped under the heading "Other Countries," together with such states as the Principality of Liechtenstein (65 square miles) and Monaco (370 acres), regarding which information is restricted to the name of the capital town, area, population, form of government and name of ruler. The notes on Indian politics, with one fugitive reference to Mr. Gandhi, are too sketchy to be of much value, and, while the Chinese and Japanese sections are more informative, there is no mention of Tibet, and it is surprising, even when allowance is made for the date of publication, to find Manchukuo included in China under the heading "Party Programs and Leaders."

No doubt the Handbook's deficiencies will be remedied in future editions; its usefulness as a book of reference will then be increased for journalists and others who need ready to hand and in tabloid form just those elementary facts about the different countries of the world that it is difficult to remember or to find elsewhere.

R. S. M. STURGES.

Moscow Excursion. By P. T. Pp. 114. London: Gerald Howe. 1934.

This amusing little book is an account of one of the Intourist conducted tours to the Soviet capital. It is well written, and we must hope for more solid fare from the pen of P. T. (whoever he—or she—is).

" The wind tosses backwards and forwards, now breaking on the yellow and white façades, now on the angels and the horns of plenty, and moaning wildly between them. A sense of death pervades everything. A city built upon the bones of the dead, its foreign splendour imposed upon, not growing out of, the level swampy land. Men lying dead under the wind——"

" 'Let's go!' says the guide, and with a sigh of relief we fall in step behind her. It is outrageous to be tourists in such a place of tragedy."

It is a pity that there is only one of the attractive illustrations by I. G. H. W.

W. E. D. A.

Russian Seesaw. By Baron Michael Budberg. Pp. 254. London: Martin Hopkinson, Ltd. 1934.

This book is the very readable account of the adventures of a young Baltic baron, who, when still a boy, was left to fend for himself in the Russia of the first decade of the Revolution. " When I was a child I lived at Siverskoe in Count Friedrich's palace "—the book begins. The boy managed to fit himself into the life, half pathetic and half humorous, which was the inevitable lot of an aristocratic waif of that time. He got himself mixed up in gun-running adventures in the Far East. He became a cabin-boy in a Soviet ship, and must be one of the few individuals alive who has got away with answering back Djerdjinsky. There is a curious picture of Chicherin giving the author a few roubles for the sake of an old friendship with his family.

" 'Oh yes, I remember you. . . . How're your father and mother?'

" 'Dead!'

" 'I'm sorry.'

" There seemed to be nothing else to say, so he took out his wallet and gave me seven roubles—all that was in it. The soldiers watched us in amazement, and I took my leave."

The story ends with the author tricycling round " with parcels of sugar and tea " as temporary assistant to a grocer in Fulham—it is, in fact, an epic of the extraordinary vicissitudes of life in our generation.

The book is brightly and vividly written, and as a picture of modern Russia is worth all the statistics and half the tomes by conscientious and enthusiastic intellectuals with which the book market is overwhelmed. The book has been practically unnoticed, but the reader who falls upon it is in luck, and we may well wish the best of luck to its plucky and spirited author.

W. E. D. A.

Egypt Since Cromer. By the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd. Vol. II. 9″×6¼″. Pp. viii+418. Macmillan. 21s.

Lord Lloyd, in the second volume of his book, *Egypt Since Cromer*, carries us from the year 1920 till 1929 and thus renders us an account of his stewardship. In this connection he apologizes if he takes a biassed and personal attitude, but the apology is entirely unnecessary, as he states his case with clarity, conviction and scrupulous fairness, and supports it with documentary evidence.

The book opens with the arrival of the Milner Mission in Egypt at the end of 1919, and describes the new policy decided upon by that body—a policy based on self-determination which, as Lord Lloyd points out, has been a failure wherever it has been applied in Oriental countries. Briefly the Mission, which was hampered in its work by a complete boycott from the start, decided to scrap the existing Protectorate and all the powers that a Protectorate implies, and institute instead a vague controlling influence confined to essential British interests in the country till such time as a friendly treaty could be negotiated. That the Milner Mission failed to grasp the situation and the temper of the country was amply proved in a very short time, and to quote only one instance, one may mention the question of the dismissal of British officials. "The idea of any Egyptian Government, however free to do so, attempting to make a clean sweep of its foreign officials is a chimera," the report states, and yet in 1927 this was precisely the situation with which Lord Lloyd himself was faced, and it is solely due to the firm attitude that he adopted at that time that there are any British officials serving in the country to-day.

Lord Lloyd is no believer in self-determination—a policy that since the war we have used as a cure for all evils—and he attributes most of our mistakes in Egypt to regarding—or professing to regard—the problem with which we are faced as a political one whereas it is really administrative. As a proof of how self-determination and a parliament elected by the free vote of the people have failed in Egypt, Lord Lloyd writes most convincingly of the hopeless confusion that reigned during the first Eygptian Parliaments. To quote Lord Lloyd: "It clearly showed how foreign to the Oriental mind is democratic government. The Egyptian Parliament could not yet grasp the difference between legislative and executive functions—to the Eastern mind power means direct and personal power. Until the alternative meaning is grasped and the old tradition dies, constitutional government cannot have sure foundations, and the danger must always remain that autocracy is the

only means of saving the administration from chaos." Lord Lloyd then goes on to point out how during the various Wafdist Parliaments the deputies appointed themselves as provincial dictators—usurping the powers of the Mudirs (Governors) and police officers, swarming into Government offices, reading files, offering advice, and even issuing orders. The confusion and corruption that reigned as the result of this state of affairs was beyond belief, and the book amply justifies itself if these pages are read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested by those who advocate vast and sweeping changes in the existing constitutions of our Oriental possessions.

The book also goes far to prove that at all times since the war the Foreign Office never really understoood the difficulties of the Egyptian situation nor the character of the Oriental. This was proved again and again during our premature and abortive attempts to negotiate a treaty; and, as Lord Lloyd aptly puts it, the negotiations were only abortive so far as Great Britain was concerned, for every concession dangled in front of the Egyptians during the various conversations has remained as the foundation for the next effort. In other words, in the five separate attempts to come to terms we have given away every scoring card and received nothing in return, so that it will be exceedingly difficult in the future to get the Egyptian nation to grasp that the concessions offered in the past are not taken for granted as the basis on which further negotiations will start.

In the chapter that deals with the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, Lord Lloyd has some trenchant criticisms to make of the ultimatum that was delivered to the Egyptian Government, and is of opinion that the Gezira water clause might very well have been omitted in favour of more effective assurances that the campaign of violence should cease. The foreign Press at the time called attention to the fact that Great Britain had inserted a purely commercial clause in an ultimatum that should have aimed at security only. He, however, gives full credit for the action that enabled the Sudan to be at once evacuated by the disaffected Egyptian troops and officials, but in common with most people cognizant with the situation at that time, he obviously holds the view that the brutal assassination of the Sirdar was the direct result of the Wafd party's campaign of incitement to violence, and that the opportunity was offered then to settle the Egyptian question for all time. It is a well-known fact that the day after the crime the cafés and streets of most of the big cities were deserted and all Egypt remained indoors, awaiting with trepidation the action that Great Britain might take.

The ultimatum when it arrived was considerably milder than the Egyptians themselves expected, and this, followed by what Mr. Winston Churchill aptly describes as a "period of sloppiness," resulted in a general "hardening of Pharaoh's heart." It is interesting to remember in this connection that it was Sir Lee Stack who acted as Mr. MacDonald's adviser during the first Labour Government's negotiations with Zaghloul Pasha, and it was on Stack's recommendation that the Premier adopted the firm attitude he did. As Sir Lee Stack's part in this affair was well known to Zaghloul and the Wafd there is circumstantial evidence to prove that this party were personally interested in the Sirdar's assassination.

The most interesting part of Lord Lloyd's book is that which deals with his own High Commissionership, and in this respect one must bear in mind that during Lord Lloyd's period of office he had to deal with Governments who were openly and bitterly hostile to Great Britain and who missed no opportunity to take any action that would weaken or discredit our position in the country. His term of office was one long struggle against legislation and situations deliberately framed to shake the British hold of the country, whereas his successors have had a very different atmosphere in which to work, as, since 1930, the whole energy of the Wafdist Nationalists has been devoted towards the ousting of Sidky and his party from office, and, in the bitterness of this inter-party strife, the presence of British control in the country has been almost entirely lost sight of. Moreover, the Governments that have held power during the last four years have realized that the presence of the British in the country—*i.e.*, British police and army officers and officials—has been the sole factor that has prevented a state of anarchy, so that in place of the hostility with which Lord Lloyd had to deal, his successors in office have met with Prime Ministers who were almost painfully anxious to please. As Lord Lloyd's book ends with his resignation in 1929, this factor has not been dealt with, but it is a point that readers should bear in mind, for it makes a considerable amount of difference to the task of the High Commissioner in office if the Wafd Bobbery Pack is hunting a native-bred fox instead of yapping round the legs of the British Lion.

Among the very difficult problems with which Lord Lloyd had to deal were the Public Assemblies Bill, the proposed dismissal of every British official in the country, and the question of political interference with the Egyptian Army. Lord Lloyd deals with all these episodes, and his clear and concise style in telling the story of those difficult

years enables one to grasp the difficulties of the situations, which were enhanced by our policy of surrender in the past and the uncertainty—in lieu of a harsher word—of the Foreign Office in backing up their representative.

The Public Assemblies Bill was a most iniquitous measure carefully framed to put mob violence in complete power, and can be dismissed briefly as a Bill that provided for the most drastic and harsh punishment of police officers who attempted to put a stop to rioting and the mildest of fines for all inciters of rebellion. Lord Lloyd very rightly objected to the passing of this measure, and despite the lack of help from the Foreign Office obtained his end. In 1927 he was faced with the removal of every British official serving in the country, and as three-quarters of the original number had been retired between 1924 and 1926 with the concomitant loss of efficiency, he, again without backing from home, insisted on the retention of the greater part of the remainder, and it is Lord Lloyd that one must thank that anarchy and chaos do not reign in the country.

The question of interference with the Egyptian Army was a more difficult one and necessitated an ultimatum with the wording of which the Foreign Office concurred, but when the crisis was at its most critical stage an almost entire *volte face*, conveyed in a letter to Sir William Tyrrell, who was then staying at the Residency, left Lord Lloyd completely in the air. The skill and tact that he showed in negotiating a satisfactory conclusion from this impasse will remain as a lasting memorial to Lord Lloyd's tour of office.

The chapter that deals with Lord Lloyd's enforced resignation in 1929 is enlightening and, if one may say so, sorry reading as it discloses a lack of straightforwardness on the part of the Foreign Office that is strangely at variance with our national ideals. The true facts of the case have been known for a considerable time to those in touch with Egyptian affairs, but it is high time that the rather discreditable business should become common knowledge.

Lord Lloyd states his case with great fairness and restraint, and refutes absolutely Mr. Henderson's unjustifiable accusation that he had been ungenerous and deliberately misinterpretative with regard to the views and intentions of his late chief by reproducing the two letters that Mr. Henderson instanced as proving his wild statement. These two letters contain nothing to which any exception could be taken, and the whole episode is revealed as a rather questionable expediency to remove from office one of the most capable High Commissioners Egypt

has ever seen, to enable the Socialist Government to initiate at once their policy of compromise and surrender.

Although Lord Lloyd's book does not carry us so far, it is interesting to remember that the events of the next three years entirely vindicated him and proved that his view of the situation was the correct one. Through the Socialist Government's ill-advised interference in the purely internal affairs of Egypt, Mohammed Mahmoud's Government fell and in its place was elected the violently anti-British Ministry of Nahas Pasha. There followed six months of gross misrule of the country, the futile attempt to negotiate a treaty—which everyone cognizant with the situation foretold as hopeless from the start—and after months of unrest and rioting the final stabilization of Sidky's dictatorship. The wanton mishandling of the situation and the unseemly haste with which Mr. Henderson hurried on the negotiations for the treaty set the clock back in Egypt for five years, and we stand to-day exactly where we stood in 1929.

Volume II. of *Egypt Since Cromer* is, as was predicted, a most valuable and enlightening contribution to history, and the crisp and easy style in which it is written with its flashes of satiric humour make it enjoyable as well as instructive reading.

SIR AUREL STEIN'S RECENT JOURNEYS TO THE INDO-IRANIAN BORDERLANDS

The Huxley Memorial Lecture of the Royal Anthropological Society was given by Sir Aurel Stein on July 31. A full account of the lecture will be found in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, and it is hoped a short account may be in the next number of the Journal.

Sir Aurel describes his recent journeys and discoveries in this lecture.

OBITUARY

SIR HENRY CONWAY DOBBS, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

BORN AUGUST 26, 1871; DIED MAY 30, 1934

THE death, at his home at Cappoquin, Co. Waterford, after a long illness, of Sir Henry Dobbs, in his sixty-second year, has deprived Ireland of a gifted son and the Empire of a great public servant with an unusually varied record of interest and of work, accomplished in public and private life.

A scholar of Winchester and then of Brasenose, Henry Dobbs passed into the Indian Civil Service in 1892 and was posted to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Here his exceptional abilities soon attracted the notice of higher authority, and in 1896 he became Private Secretary to his distinguished countryman, Sir Anthony MacDonnell, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, with whom he remained for the period of his incumbency, his services being then transferred to the Political Department. Starting his new career at Mysore, he went on, a little later, to a succession of posts on the North-West Frontier and beyond; and after a short spell as Political Agent in the Zhob Valley he was transferred in 1902 as Consul in Persian Seistan, from whence he proceeded a year later as one of the British Commissioners on the Russo-Afghan Boundary Commission. 1904 found him in Cabul, in the capacity of Secretary to the Mission despatched by Lord Curzon to the Amir Habibullah, whom, three years later, he accompanied on his Indian tour. The attitude of Amir Habibullah, who had succeeded Amir Abdurrahman in 1901, was at this time causing great anxiety to Lord Curzon, who in 1894 had formed a most favourable opinion of his personal charm and political wisdom. But Habibullah, as Amir, proved a very different person from Habibullah the Heir-Apparent. He declined to meet the Viceroy at Peshawar, and it was generally believed that he intended to ally himself with Russia. A settlement, the terms of which were practically dictated by the Amir, was eventually effected by Sir Louis Dane, but not without an acute clash of views between Lord Curzon and the Home Government. Dobbs, as Sir

Louis Dane's Secretary, was thus early in his career initiated into the underlying realities of foreign policy; the clash not only of national interests, but of strong personalities.

In 1906 he went to Simla as Deputy-Secretary in the Foreign Department, after a brief but notably successful tenure of office in Rajputana as Famine Commissioner. In 1908 he was posted to Baluchistan, where he remained in various capacities till early in 1914, when he went back to the North-West Frontier Province as Revenue and Judicial Commissioner. Then, in August, came the outbreak of the Great War, and, in November, the entry of the Turks into the conflict and the opening of the campaign in Mesopotamia.

The seizure of Basrah and the advance of our Expeditionary Force placed us in occupation of a gradually increasing tract of enemy territory, and our announcements to the Arab inhabitants at the commencement of the campaign, to the effect that we intended to treat them as a friendly population so long as they behaved as such, made it incumbent upon us to provide a civil administration for them behind the fighting line, in replacement of the Turkish régime, which melted away as we advanced. The creation of this civil administration was primarily the task of Sir Percy Cox as Chief Political Officer to the Force, and the personnel needed for the working of it had either to be supplied by the G.O.C.-in-Chief from officers serving with the Force or others specially requisitioned from the Government of India.

Henry Dobbs, who arrived from India in January, 1915, was one of the latter category, and the senior among them, and the Chief Political Officer was fortunate in securing his services for the reconstruction of the Revenue Department. This was not the newcomer's first acquaintance with Turkish Arabia by any means. In 1902 he had travelled extensively in Persia; had visited Baghdad on his way from Seistan to Aleppo; had investigated the oil fields in the neighbourhood of Kasr-i-Shirin; studied the problem of the Baghdad Railway; and journeyed up the Euphrates from Baghdad to Aleppo. He had, in fact, just been nominated to the post of Resident in Turkish Arabia and Consul-General at Baghdad, when the entry of Turkey into the War put an end to all peace-time dispositions in that region.

The task with which he was confronted, as Revenue Commissioner with headquarters at Basrah, was by no means an easy one. The organization of revenue collection, that essential attribute and duty of a government, first engaged his energies. The initial difficulty in this case, as, indeed, in that of every other department, lay in the total lack

of superior local personnel; for all the executive and higher officials of the late régime had been Turks, and these fled with the retreating troops as we advanced, after destroying or removing as much of their records as circumstances permitted; but fortunately some of the clerical staff had been of local origin, and the services of a number of these, as they gained confidence and came out of their shells, were gradually enlisted. The dearth of revenue-records was, however, a very great handicap.

To the collection and administration of revenue, in which task he had for some time the helpful services of Mr. R. W. Bullard and Captain (now Sir Hubert) Young as his assistant, were added, in rapid succession, responsibility for the department of Pious Foundations, Land Records, Crown Lands, Customs, Ottoman Public Debt, Excise, and the Tobacco Regie, which last had to be wound up in a legal manner by the collection of outstanding debts. To these responsibilities were added the supervision of educational institutions and the organization and financing of municipalities. For all these departments, with the exception of Customs, Henry Dobbs retained personal responsibility, and during this period he toured extensively, in hot and cold weather alike, inspiring political officers with his own zeal and tirelessly collecting essential data. It is not surprising, therefore, that his strenuous labours, in the trying conditions of life which a military occupation involves, proved too great a strain upon his health and necessitated, in August, 1916, his being invalided to India. But he left behind him a machine in practical working order manned by a staff of assistants on whom he could fully rely to carry on his work on sound lines; and it was with peculiar satisfaction that the officers who had worked under him in those early days welcomed the news of his appointment to succeed Sir Percy Cox on the latter's retirement in 1923.

Though restored, after a few months' rest, to normal health, Henry Dobbs did not return to Mesopotamia, but spent the next two years in the Baluchistan Agency, filling the appointment first of Revenue and Judicial Commissioner and then of Agent to the Governor-General. The year 1919 saw him appointed Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and he was in occupation of that post when that futile Afghan diversion, now known as the Third Afghan War, was sprung upon the Government of India.

The gallant adherence of the Amir Habibullah, throughout the Great War, to his undertakings to Great Britain will always be a gratifying phenomenon in the history of our relations with Afghanistan:

unfortunately those happy auspices did not survive the Armistice. Amir Habibullah was murdered in his bed in February, 1919, and was succeeded by his son Amanullah Khan who, apparently misled by exaggerated reports of the difficulties with which Great Britain was confronted both in India and Mesopotamia, was tempted to try conclusions with her by proclaiming a holy war and launching an attack on the Khyber. The Afghan force, however, was speedily expelled by a British column advancing on Dakka, and our concentration was barely completed when, on May 28, Amanullah, realizing his folly, sued for peace. This was concluded on August 8 and was followed by an Anglo-Afghan Conference at Mussoorie in April, 1920, at which friendly relations were re-established and the ground cleared for a treaty of friendship. At this Conference Henry Dobbs was the leader of the British Delegation, and at the end of the year he proceeded on a diplomatic mission to the Afghan capital, to negotiate the terms of the proposed treaty. After nearly a year, spent in patient and skilful negotiation, his efforts were brought to a successful conclusion, and Henry Dobbs received the K.C.S.I. for his services.

After reverting for a short period to the post of Foreign Secretary, on which he had a lien, Sir Henry was appointed, towards the end of 1922, to the newly created post of Counsellor to the High Commissioner of 'Iraq, with prospect of succeeding to the higher appointment. The present High Commissioner, Sir Percy Cox, when responding to the wish of H.M. Government in the autumn of 1920 that he should return to 'Iraq to establish a National Government, had undertaken to hold the post for three years only; his term was now drawing to a close, and it was intended that Sir Henry Dobbs should don his mantle. Sir Henry arrived in Baghdad to take over his new post on December 22, 1922, at a juncture which proved to be a profoundly important one both for 'Iraq and for her Mandatory, owing to political happenings in England.

The Coalition Government, under whose auspices the treaty with 'Iraq of October 23, 1922, for which the term provided was twenty years, had been framed and signed, had resigned ten days later, and the question of our policy in regard to 'Iraq had become a prominent plank at the election about to take place. As part of it, a lively campaign had been launched in the Press against a continuance of the heavy expenditure of British money on the administration of the country, and a number of members of the new House of Commons had specifically pledged themselves to their constituents to work for our speedy release from our commitments.

The controversy had become so lively that the Government decided to set up a Cabinet Committee to decide on the lines of our future policy, and on January 19 Sir Percy Cox proceeded home to assist at its deliberations, leaving Sir Henry Dobbs in charge. He returned from his mission on March 31, bringing with him the result of the Cabinet's deliberations in the form of a draft Protocol to the treaty of 1922, reducing the period of its duration from twenty to four years, to date from the ratification of the Peace Treaty with Turkey. The Protocol also provided for the execution of a fresh Treaty in due course, which would regulate the relations between the high contracting parties on the expiry of the earlier one.

The signature of this Protocol by himself and the Prime Minister of 'Iraq on April 30, 1923, may be said to have been Sir Percy Cox's last official act as High Commissioner, as he proceeded home in May on hot-weather leave pending retirement. In connection with his departure he remarked that it was not often that a retiring official had the profound pleasure of being followed, as in this case, by the comrade whom he had most wished might succeed him.

As we know, Sir Henry brought to his new post a wealth of experience of the country and people, acquired both before and during the War, but even to a man with that advantage the task of the British representative in watching and assisting the progress of the young State was by no means an easy one; and now the reduction of the period of British Mandatory control from twenty to four years, which seemed to be merely a surrender to the "bag-and-baggage" outcry at home, though no doubt welcome to the younger politicians in 'Iraq, was by no means regarded without misgiving by the bulk of the population.

As he scanned the horizon of his charge, the new High Commissioner realized that the Turkish threat on the northern marches of 'Iraq was getting the more aggressive as the Conference at Lausanne seemed to be drifting towards collapse, while the more domestic but thorny problem of the control of the Kurds gave little less food for anxiety. In such circumstances there seemed little chance of holding the needed elections to the Constituent Assembly, whose formation was essential for the ratification of the Treaty. However, with the cordial co-operation of the Royal Air Force, these difficulties were gradually reduced, though not overcome, and by the end of the year it was found possible to set the election machinery in motion. By the middle of March results were declared. On June 10, at the eleventh hour, after much harassing discussion and a considerable amount of judicious

pressure by the High Commissioner, the Assembly ratified the Treaty and Subsidiary Agreements, recording a rider to the effect that they did so on Sir Henry Dobbs' assurance that after ratification H.M. Government would amend with all speed the Financial Agreement, "in the spirit of generosity and sympathy for which the British people are famous."

The ratification of this Treaty was an international event of great interest, for it was the only instance in which a Mandate had been interpreted in the terms of a Treaty. That the 'Iraq nation was, as a whole, satisfied with the terms of it was demonstrated by the number of congratulations which the High Commissioner received from all parts of the country; and it was promptly accepted by the League as adequately satisfying the provisions of the Covenant for the regulation of the relations between 'Iraq and the Mandatory Power.

It is impossible to follow in detail the course of Sir Henry's career through the six eventful years of his High Commissionership: the record of it is, in fact, an account of the gradual advance of the State of 'Iraq towards the goal of complete independence. But as regards the early days of his incumbency—and, in fact, throughout his time—he never failed to emphasize the great part which the presence and co-operation of the Royal Air Force had played in promoting the security and administrative progress of the State, thus justifying triumphantly the bold experiment decided upon at the Cairo Conference of 1921, in placing all the Imperial Forces in 'Iraq under the Air Officer Commanding and entrusting the responsibility for external defence and internal security to the Royal Air Force. How great a support the Air Arm was to the High Commissioner will be appreciated when it is remembered that the frontier with Turkey remained completely in the clouds for three years after his appointment as High Commissioner; during the whole of which time the northern portion of the Mosul Vilayet remained, in consequence, a centre of potential, if not actual, unrest. It would take too long to record here the various phases of that troublesome problem; it is enough to say that Turkey continued to persist obstinately in her demand for the rendition of the whole Mosul Province and refused altogether to accept the frontier recommended by the Commission sent out by the League, and afterwards confirmed by it after a reference to The Hague Tribunal as to their title to give an award.

It was not until May, 1926, when Sir Ronald Lindsay, our Ambassador at Angora, entered into personal negotiations with the Turkish Government that they adopted a more amenable attitude and, to the

general surprise of those interested, agreed to the terms of a tripartite Treaty between Great Britain, 'Iraq, and Turkey, which was signed at Angora on June 5. In that instrument what had come to be known as "The Brussels Line" was accepted as the frontier with one slight variation, and provision was made for the periodical meeting of a joint Frontier Commission.

During the three years preceding its conclusion, it had been only by the exercise of the greatest skill and tact that frontier unrest had been prevented from breaking out into actual hostilities, and it can well be imagined what immense relief the conclusion of this Treaty brought both to the Government of 'Iraq and to the High Commissioner; H.M. King Faisal celebrating the occasion with a State Banquet, at which he expressed his profound gratitude to H.M. Government and its representatives for all that had been done for 'Iraq.

The High Commissioner was now comparatively carefree and able to direct his energies more than had hitherto been possible to the economic and domestic problems of the country. Of most of these his war-time service as Revenue Commissioner had equipped him with an intricate knowledge, and some of his administrative subordinates, who had to deal with questions of tax-liability and land-tenure at that time, were loud in their appreciation of the skill which the High Commissioner brought to bear in seeking solutions of the many complicated cases submitted to him for decision or advice. In this connection it was always a source of great regret to him that, at the time of his departure, notwithstanding the years of thought and labour which he had personally devoted to the problem, some, even of the main principles of land-tenure in 'Iraq should have remained undetermined, and that tribal rights to land, which the Turks had so persistently sought to extinguish by unpractical legislation, should be still unrestored.

But though the improved relations with Turkey resulting from the tripartite Treaty undoubtedly relieved the High Commissioner of a considerable amount of anxiety, the difficult problems involved in the treatment of the Kurds, the settlement of the Assyrian Christians, 'Iraq's relations with her neighbours in Persia and in Nejd, like the poor, were always with him, and it was not long before yet another Anglo-'Iraqi Treaty had to be framed, in order to keep pace with the rapid progress which the country was making towards full independence and membership of the League of Nations.

In this connection it will be remembered that on his assumption of the post of High Commissioner the broad principles of policy which

His Majesty's Government wished him to carry out were enunciated to him in the following terms:

"The basic principles underlying the relations between the two Governments is co-operation towards a common end—namely, the progressive establishment of an independent Government of 'Iraq, friendly and bound by obligation to His Majesty's Government."

The Treaty of December, 1927, in the negotiation of which Sir Henry played a sympathetic part, was a normal development of the above policy. In it His Majesty's Government undertook—this time without reservation—to support the candidature of 'Iraq for membership of the League in September, 1932. As we know, that election proceeded according to plan, and Sir Henry lived to see it.

The conclusion of his long and eventful incumbency of the High Commissionership was regarded with feelings of sincere regret by 'Iraqis and the British community alike, the latter interpreting their affection and esteem by the presentation to him of the wherewithal for a portrait of Lady Dobbs, this being the form which he preferred their good wishes to take.

On his retirement Sir Henry and Lady Dobbs decided, to the regret of their friends, to settle at his ancestral home in Co. Waterford, and their visits to England were comparatively few and far between; but an occasional article in one of the daily papers, or a letter to a friend on some subject of lively interest, showed that, notwithstanding comparative exile, he had by no means lost touch with current affairs, whether in 'Iraq or in the world in general. In this connection it is perhaps not generally known how many-sided his tastes and interests were. Among other things, he published in his salad-days a monograph on the glass and pottery of the North-West Province and Oudh; he was the author of a drama; and in 1932 he had provisionally undertaken to write a history of Mesopotamia for *The Modern World Series*. But his health now began to deteriorate, and when he and Lady Dobbs came over in February, 1933, he was undoubtedly a sick man; it was on this account, no doubt, that he appeared to his friends to be taking an unwontedly gloomy outlook on things in general, and was, in fact, chaffed by some of them for his pessimism. After reading a paper early in February to the Royal Empire Society, in which he gave a masterly review of Great Britain's work in 'Iraq, he told some of his friends, who expressed the hope that his visits would not continue to be so rare, that the family, whose youthful interests had been the main cause for their remaining at Camphire, were now of an age to leave the roost, and that

in consequence he was seriously contemplating migration to England, probably to Cheltenham. It was in this hope, no doubt, that he accepted nomination this year as a Member of Council of this Society, but, alas! this was not to be, and it is to be feared that the malady which carried him off a year later had now begun to show itself. In spite, however, of the state of his health, his mind and interests remained as gallantly lively as ever, and even up to a week or two before his death he was corresponding with friends in London in regard to current political questions of the day.

In him the Royal Central Asian Society loses one of its oldest and most distinguished members, and the writers cannot close their tribute to their comrade without respectfully offering to Lady Dobbs and her children their own profound sympathy in their bereavement and that of the Institution to which they are privileged to belong.

P. Z. C.
A. T. W.

THE ASSYRIANS

The Times of September 7 reports that an agreement is said to have been reached between the Governments of 'Iraq and Syria regarding the transference to Syria of 1,400 relatives and dependents of Assyrians who crossed the frontier from 'Iraq to Syria last year; and in *The Times* of September 29 a long article by Sir John Simon explains the present plan of settling a large number in British Guiana.

CORRESPONDENCE

IMPERIAL PERSIAN LEGATION,
10, PRINCES GATE, S.W. 7.
3rd September, 1934.

DEAR SIR,

In the issue of the Society's JOURNAL of April last a paragraph appeared under the heading, "The American Mission in Urmia," in which it was stated that the Persian Government had ordered the American missionaries to leave Urmia, etc.

I beg to state that from enquiries made by the competent authority in Persia, it appears that as the Persian Government had themselves established schools and modern health and sanitary institutions there, and the financial position of the American Mission at Rezaiyeh (Urmia) moreover not being satisfactory, the missionaries, by arrangement with the Ministry of Public Education on their own initiative, disposed of their premises to the Persian Government, and there was no pressure brought to bear upon them or any compulsory action taken, as implied by the paragraph in your esteemed JOURNAL.

Will you therefore be so good as to correct the unfavourable impression which the paragraph would no doubt create.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. SCHAYESTEH,
Persian Chargé d'Affaires.

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 77, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1933.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To *Office Expenses:*						
Salaries	316	17	4			
Rent	160	0	0			
Telephone	13	11	1			
Stationery	13	19	8			
Printing	26	9	3			
Postage	82	4	0			
Office cleaning	30	15	9			
Audit fee	5	5	0			
Bank charges	7	16	8			
Lighting and heating	3	8	4			
Sundries	15	11	11			
				675	19	0
,, *Journal:*						
Printing	545	14	2			
Postage	63	4	1			
Reporting	5	11	0			
Maps	3	10	0			
				617	19	3
,, *Lectures:*						
Lecture halls	45	11	0			
Lecture expenses	45	8	11			
Lantern	17	16	6			
Lantern slides	14	18	3			
Maps	4	13	0			
Printing	56	0	10			
				184	8	6
,, *Annual Dinner*				167	10	6
,, *Library*				16	3	9
,, *Donation to Congress of Anthropology*				10	0	0
,, *Income Tax Schedule "D"*				1	5	0
,, *Corporation Duty*				0	0	0
,, *Amount written off Society Premises Account* ...				20	0	0
				£1,693	6	0

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By *Subscriptions received:*						
Subscriptions (1,393 Members)				1,392	9	7
,, *Journal:*						
Subscriptions and Sales				52	13	2
,, *Interest Received:* (less Income Tax)						
War Loan and Consols	5	13	6			
Abbey Road Building Society	4	10	9			
				10	4	3
,, *Annual Dinner*				129	8	6
,, *Dinner Club:*						
Contribution to expenses				19	19	10
,, *Donation*				1	0	0
,, *Surplus on Realisation of War Saving Certificates*				25	17	6
,, *Balance, being excess of Expenditure over Income carried to Balance Sheet*				61	13	2
				£1,693	6	0

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 77, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

BALANCE SHEET AT DECEMBER 31, 1933.

LIABILITIES.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Sundry Creditors:						
Subscriptions in advance	26	0	0			
Office expenses	76	14	10			
Lecture expenses	28	17	10			
Income Tax Schedule "D," 1933-1934 ...	1	5	0			
Persia Fund	11	0	11			
				143	18	7
Life Subscription Fund as at January 1, 1933 ...				118	15	0
Crest Fund:						
Subscriptions	120	2	1			
Less: Expenditure to date	95	19	0			
				24	3	1
Income and Expenditure Account:						
Balance as at January 1, 1933	185	14	2			
Less: Deficit for year to date	61	13	2			
				124	1	0
				£410	17	8

ASSETS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cash:						
In hand		11	3			
At Lloyds Bank, Ltd.	33	8	11			
On deposit with Abbey Road Building Society	1	0	0			
				35	0	2
Investments (held against Life Subscription Account):						
£100 3½ per cent. War Loan at cost	100	0	0			
£231 18s. 10d. 2½ per cent. Consolidated Stock at cost	175	17	6			
				275	17	6
Society Premises Account:						
Balance as at January 1, 1933	120	0	0			
Less: Amount written off for year to date ...	20	0	0			
				100	0	0
				£410	17	8

PERSIA FUND.

ACCUMULATED FUND.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance January 1, 1933	398	10	11			
Add: Interest on Investments (less tax) ...	12	5	6			
				410	16	5
Less: Amount donated to Royal Central Asian Society for Gertrude Bell Memorial Fund ...	10	0	0			
Corporation Duty	2	0	1			
				12	0	1
				£398	16	4

INVESTMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
£467 8s. 3d. 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan at cost				331	17	3
Cash in deposit account at Lloyds Bank, Ltd. ...	55	18	2			
Cash in hands of Royal Central Asian Society	11	0	11			
				66	19	1
				£398	16	4

I report that I have examined the above balance sheet, dated December 31, 1933, of the Royal Central Asian Society with the books and vouchers, and have obtained all the information and explanations I have required. In my opinion such balance sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs at December 31, 1933, according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

HAROLD J. JONES, F.C.A.
(Williams, Dyson, Jones and Co.,
Chartered Accountants.)

22, BASINGHALL STREET, E.C. 2.
June 25, 1934.