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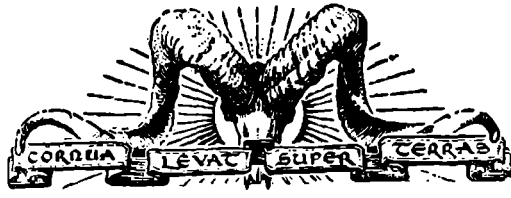
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FIRDAUSI MILLENNARY LUNCHEON

A LUNCHEON in honour of the millenary of the Persian poet Firdausi was held at the House of Lords on October 31, the Rt. Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Your Highness, Your Excellency, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Presumably I have the honour to preside on this interesting occasion from being one of the earliest members of the Royal Central Asian Society, and especially that I was the first and last President of the Persia Society, when it became enveloped in the affectionate and far-reaching embraces of the Central Asian Society. However, my feelings remained with Persia: Persia, the unique figure of earliest civilization, ever a centre of culture till now, when she has entered a new life of vigour and individuality under the rule and guidance of His Imperial Majesty Riza Shah Pahlavi.

Persia, on making her rapid advance of administrative and material improvement, is to be congratulated in not being unmindful of her ancient literature. The celebrations of the millenary of the famous epic poet Firdausi have excited world attention, and have provoked a correspondence in *The Times* as to the rival merits of old-time Persian poets. One notable letter was that of His Highness the Aga Khan, in which he dethroned Omar Khayyam from the high place which he had hitherto occupied in Western literary opinion. Two other features were revealed by this correspondence: First, that there was a series of great Persian poets throughout the ages. Secondly, that, as was pointed out by Professor Browne, most educated Persians can compose poetry, and this in the language and metre of 1,000 years ago. Whilst Persia is to be congratulated on the development of material prosperity with high culture, has not the rest of the world had relief and distraction from the gloomy anxieties that confront it, by taking a not inconsiderable part in these Firdausi celebrations?

We are honoured by the company to-day of Mr. Anthony Eden. He has for months been engaged in trying to solve world problems, and to bring about agreements and peaceful understandings between the nations. So I trust he may find a respite from his labours and a change to a brighter atmosphere in coming here.

He is an accomplished linguist, and at Oxford took a first-class honours degree in Oriental languages, so he is well qualified to address us, and I thank him that in the midst of his work he should find time to come here.

I have the pleasure to call on Mr. Eden.

The Right Honourable ANTHONY EDEN, M.C., M.P., Lord Privy Seal, proposing the toast of "Firdausi and the Poets of Persia," said: Some months ago when the Council of your Society was so good as to invite me to propose this toast which stands in my name, I accepted this rare privilege with alacrity, but I confess that as the date has drawn nearer I have become more and more fearful of the predicament in which my enthusiasm had placed me. To-day, as I glance round this table and note the varied distinction and renowned scholarship represented here, I am frankly appalled at my own temerity. There is, however, one link that binds us all. For whether we are countrymen of Firdausi, like the Persian Minister, whom I am so glad to join in welcoming here to-day, or whether we are Oriental scholars, or whether, like myself, we are only humble amateurs, we all of us share a genuine admiration and a deep love for the poetry of Irán.

To-day we are here to honour the immortal memory of Firdausi, as the father of that poetry. Firdausi's fame rests upon his *Sháhnámeh*, or Book of Kings—the great epic poem which tells the history of Persia from the beginning of time to the Arab conquest in the seventh century of our era—a truly stupendous poetic achievement which has won for Firdausi a comparison with Homer. I am not sure that Dante is not an even truer comparison, for Firdausi, like Dante, revived national consciousness and was the precursor of national unity, and both remain to this day emblems of such consciousness and such unity.

What kind of man was this, whose memory is so revered to-day, a thousand years after his birth? How did he live? Where did he work? There are many accounts of Firdausi's life, some of the later ones containing matter which is no doubt legendary, but fortunately the earliest account that we have is also the best. It is contained in a delightful volume, which is, incidentally, one of the best early examples of Persian prose, the *Chahár Maqála* of Nizámí of Samarqand. These discourses were written in the middle of the twelfth century by a man who himself visited Firdausi's grave a century after the poet's death. This is a summary of the account Nizámí gives:

Firdausi was one of the *Dihqáns*, or landowners, of Tús in the district of Tábarán. There he enjoyed an excellent position "so that

he was rendered quite independent of his neighbours by the income which he derived from his lands, and he had but one child, a daughter." His one desire in writing the *Sháhnámeh* was to obtain by it an adequate dowry for his daughter. The work took him twenty-five years. He did not spare himself in its achievement and, in the words of Nizámí, "he raised his verse as high as heaven, causing it in sweet fluency to resemble running water." In due course Firdausi repaired with his work in seven volumes to the Court of Sultan Mahmúd, where, thanks to an introduction from the Prime Minister, he was well received. Unhappily, however, the Prime Minister had enemies who were, again in the words of Nizámí, "continually casting the dust of misrepresentation into the cup of his rank." These enemies persuaded the Sultan that the religious orthodoxy of the work was in doubt and, instead of the reward which Firdausi looked for, he received in all but twenty thousand dirhams. The poet was, not unnaturally, bitterly disappointed. He went to the bath and, on coming out, bought a draught of sherbet and divided the money twixt the bathman and the sherbet-seller. After this, Firdausi had naturally to flee the Sultan's capital. The years went by and at length an apt quotation by the ever-faithful Prime Minister recalled to the Sultan his injustice to Firdausi. He sought to amend it and dispatched to the poet's home sixty thousand dinars' worth of indigo on the King's own camels. But, as the camels were entering through the Rúdbár Gate, Firdausi's bier was being borne forth from the Gate of Razán.

So much for Firdausi's life and death. His work, however, lives on. In the proud and concluding lines of his own magnificent epic :

"I shall live on; the seeds of words have I
Sown broadcast and I shall not wholly die."

Indeed, in another passage he says of himself, as truly as ever Horace did :

"The homes that are the dwellings of to-day
Will sink 'neath showers and sunshine to decay,
But storm and rain shall never mar what I
Have built—the palace of my poetry."

The tribute which is now being paid to Firdausi will, I trust, open up not only to students, but to all lovers of good literature, a wider understanding of the scope and power of Persian poetry. Perhaps the most popular misconception of Persia's poetry to-day is the belief that its range is limited. "Very beautiful, no doubt, but don't you

get a little tired of the eternal rose and nightingale?" That is the kind of comment with which many of us in this room must be familiar. There could be no greater misconception than to think that the poetry of Irán can be so described. On the contrary, its range is very wide. Indeed, if I may dare to adapt two lines from Shakespeare :

" Age cannot wither it nor custom stale
Its infinite variety."

Moreover, with no people does poetry play a more integral or more vivid part in their national life and consciousness than with the Persians. Hence Firdausi's significance, for he gave form and consciousness to this national inspiration and he gave it continuity. Nothing is more remarkable than the extent to which, despite the rise and fall of successive Persian dynasties, despite successive waves of foreign invasion, the spirit of Persian poetry has always risen again undaunted, and, often indeed, strengthened by the ordeal it has undergone. Firdausi made this possible. There was always the Sháhnámeh to come back to. In its 60,000 couplets the poets of a later generation could, and in fact did, refresh their national pride, and from the glory of an imperishable past drew renewed inspiration for the future.

So it always seems to me superfluous to discuss whether or not Firdausi was the greatest poet of Persia. Others may prefer, as I confess that I do myself, the genius of Háfiz as revealed in his odes, or the wit of Sa'dí, the mysticism of Rúmí. That is not the point. The significance of Firdausi was not only what he achieved himself, but what he made possible for others. He was not only a poet: he was an example. Let it therefore suffice for us that his influence has endured through the ages, that it is still strong wherever Persian is spoken, written, or studied to this day—one thousand years after his birth. You and I, who in this twentieth century have taken pleasure in the work of the poets of Irán, some of them writing centuries after Firdausi's death, may well pause to pay tribute to the memory of the man to whom they and we owe so much.

Each one of us in this room has, I suppose, at some time or another come under the spell of Persian poetry. Wherein lies its appeal? In the charm and melody of its verse with its depth of mysterious richness, in its descriptive and varied vocabulary, in the subtlety of its thought, couched in a language as beautiful as it is expressive. What Payne says so well in the delightful poem with which he prefaces his translation of Háfiz might as truly be applied to the spirit of Persian literature as a whole :

“I am he whom men call teller of things that none may see,
Tongue of speech of the Unspoken, I am he that holds the key
Of the treasuries of vision and the mines of mystery.”

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PERSIAN MINISTER, replying to the toast, said :
The Lord Privy Seal is a most attractive and, I may say, mesmerizing
personality. He has all the attributes : Youth, beauty, eloquence. He
knows, moreover, a great deal about the East, its literature and culture.
It has been a treat to listen to his graceful flow of language, and
learned dissertation.

The ease and competence with which Mr. Anthony Eden turns
from thorny problems of international politics to discourse wisely and
eloquently on the great Persian poet would almost everywhere be
thought an astonishing feat, but in England and in Persia both there
has been a long tradition that the statesman could and perhaps ought
to be a widely cultivated man, especially at home in the humanities.
If the philosophers in Plato's sense have not yet become kings in either
country, that is perhaps just as well, but at least in both lands there
has been an appreciation of the merits of the philosopher as ruler. Our
kings themselves have frequently been calligraphers, painters, and on
several occasions poets, since the time of the Samanid kings one
thousand years ago. Our present Prime Minister Feroughi is our
outstanding historian, and a predecessor of mine here, Taqi Zadeh,
is a scholar of eminence and an authority on the Sháhnámeh. This
combination of literature and politics is also common here. How
many countries can boast of a statesman and noted scholar as Arthur
Balfour, to mention but one of many? And it is whispered that Mr.
Baldwin has to sternly repress his delight in Virgil's Georgics in order
to execute the great tasks to which he has set himself, and it is well
known that your Prime Minister has a more than ordinary knowledge
and love of fine painting. I must not forget your distinguished Secre-
tary of State who, when the oil controversy was on at Geneva, cited
to me passages in Greek from Strabo about Persian naphtha.

It is surely a mark of a great civilization that the humanities and
particularly poetry and art are not foreign to the concerns of State but
are rather the proper attributes of kings and counsellors; and that so
many men eminent in your Government should have found the time
to honour us with their felicitations and goodwill on the occasion of
our great millenary demonstrates a point of view which will especially
delight all Persians. In the affirmation of common ideals in the realm
of culture, in the sharing of the great spiritual treasures of each nation,

a sharing which involves neither conflict nor envy (a share which does not demand but rather increases the goods that are to be shared)—this is a type of international goodwill and co-operation which is significant and important. May it become even more of an international habit and contribute to enlightenment and happiness the world over as it has so profoundly to us Persians.

Having heard and admired the Lord Privy Seal's excellent speech, you will sympathize with me and agree that it is a formidable task to be called upon to speak after him.

Were I not in familiar surroundings—for I used, in years gone by, to attend Westminster School, which, as you know, is not far from here—I should really be intimidated, more especially as I realize that you are paying an unprecedented and unique compliment to a foreign poet. Persia is especially favoured, this being the second luncheon in four years given within the noble walls of the House of Lords in honour of her art and letters.*

I am encouraged and cheered, however, by the friendly faces around me, full of warmth and enthusiasm for Firdausi.

Let me then try to express to you, however inadequately, the deep appreciation and thanks of the people which has given you the poet whose millenary we are celebrating. One of the characteristics of the Persians is their gratitude. If you like what they like and respect what they respect you will gain their friendship and sympathy for ever.

It is fitting that, under the auspices of the Royal Central Asian Society, Firdausi, among all other poets, should be commemorated in the Upper House of England. His epic verse is majestic, it has grandeur of style, stateliness and measure which are the very characteristics of the language used in this Chamber by the peers of the realm, except that here there are no battle scenes; the contest between the heroes of Irán and Túrán (the Government and Opposition) are those of words of weight and moderation.

I think I said that you were doing an unprecedented honour to a foreign poet. I ought to have said that Firdausi belongs to you as he belongs to humanity. He had all the qualities necessary to become a universally great man. The Sháh-námeh is the long history of the beatings of the human heart. It is a faithful recital of all that the Aryan race has suffered during its contests with the barbarians who attacked civilization.

* A luncheon was given on January 8, 1934, at the opening of the Second International Conference on Persian Art.

It is the first book which has created a nation. Firdausi realized that one of the most important factors in national unity is participation in a common stock of old memories and traditions. Therefore at a time when the Persians had almost forgotten their ancient glories, lost their old religion, their language, their sovereignty and their territory, Firdausi composed his great epic and thereby helped to revive the Persian language and Persian nationalism.

The spiritual unity and force of character to which Firdausi thus contributed so decisively helped to sustain Persia through a series of tribulations which more than once in her long history threatened to submerge her. The Book of Kings is at the same time one of the first monuments of democracy and liberty. Its episodes abound in moral principles, solicitude for the weak, respect for women and children. He speaks of his wife with admiration and calls her "Mehrbán Juft"—that is, the "Kindly half." The Sháhnameh abounds in romances where women are the heroines.

Firdausi has been an apostle of peace and goodwill. Everywhere, in describing with fire scenes of battle and carnage, he has laid stress on the enviable calm which peoples at peace enjoy. Moreover, he feels for the misfortunes of the oppressed classes and stands up for justice and equity; witness these lines of his in the Sháhnameh :

" Hurt not the ant beneath thy feet
 Carrying along a grain of wheat,
 For it hath life, and life is sweet;
 Hard is the ruffian's heart who'd give
 Pain to the smallest things that live."

Persia, during her 3,000 years of history and thirteen centuries of literature, has given many famous men to the world. Among them Firdausi holds a high rank.

We can justly class him with Cyrus the Achæmenian who created Persian sovereignty, Darius who established Persian administration and policy, Ardashír Bábakán the Sassanian who resuscitated the Persian State and Government, Zoroaster who founded Persian doctrine and religion.

I know that if you in England celebrate the thousandth anniversary of Firdausi's birth it is not only as friends of Persia that you do so, but also because you admire in his works and teachings the qualities of manliness, courtesy, sportsmanship and fair play for which you are yourselves distinguished. You know that his principal hero Rustam is the embodiment of valour and chivalry, always ready to succour

those in distress and danger. His other hero, Káveh, raises the whole country against foreign oppression.

Firdausi has shown in his immortal work that Irán did not seek war, but always defended herself against foreign invasion. His kings and warriors are always humane and just. It is a happy coincidence that his millenary should be celebrated at a time when England, through the instrumentality of statesmen like Mr. Eden, seeks by every means to bring about peace and goodwill among the nations and a reduction of armaments to the minimum necessary for defensive purposes.

Mr. F. S. SHADEMAN then recited some verses of the Sháhnámeh, of which a beautiful and moving translation was given by Sir Denison Ross. Lastly the toast of "The Guests" was given by the Rt. Hon. Sir HORACE RUMBOLD, Chairman of the Council, and, when it had been duly honoured, His Highness the AGA KHAN replied for himself, for His Excellency the Persian Minister, and for the Lord Privy Seal, who were the Society's guests at the luncheon.

THE BEDOUINS OF NORTHERN 'IRAQ

By MAJOR J. C. GLUBB

Lecture given on September 19, 1934, General Sir Percy Cox in the Chair. In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman gave a short account of his career and spoke of the extraordinarily interesting work he had done and was still doing amongst the bedouins of 'Iraq and Transjordan, where he is Administrator in the tribal districts. He has made a name for himself amongst the tribes comparable to that which Major Leachman had before the war.

AS the subject of this lecture is the bedouin tribes, the first necessity appears to be to define the much abused term "bedouins." In Palestine and Western Syria, semi-civilized countries with little interest in tribesmen, almost any countryman wearing Arab clothes is sometimes casually called a bedouin. The man who works in the kitchen garden or sells firewood at the door may be a "bedouin." Even in 'Iraq, where tribal matters are better understood, many Europeans are apt to refer to any tribesman as a "buddoo." In the present lecture, however, I adhere to the stricter interpretation of the word employed by the bedouins themselves.

The first requisite is that the bedouin must be a nomad who breeds and keeps camels. Any non-nomad is automatically ruled out. But there are tens of thousands of nomadic tribesmen in Syria and 'Iraq who live in tents and are continually on the move, but who are not bedouins, for they do not primarily breed camels, but sheep and donkeys.

Having decided that a bedouin must be a nomadic breeder of camels, however, we have not completed our definition; for he must also be able to trace his descent from certain recognized pure-bred bedouin tribes. You and I could never become bedouins. A pure-bred Arab, an agriculturist in 'Iraq or Trans-Jordan, could never become a bedouin unless he could prove pure bedouin descent. We find therefore that a bedouin, in the strictest sense, is a camel-breeding nomad of certain specified tribes.

Nomadism

The reason for nomadism in Arabia is a simple one. While that barren subcontinent supports considerable numbers of livestock, yet,

at the same time, what we in the Arab countries call fair grazing land often looks to a European like a bare expanse of gravel. If the tent be pitched in such a spot for a few days, such sparse grazing as there is round the camp is eaten up, and the nomad is obliged to roll up his tent and move on to fresh pasture.

Again, wells are few and far between. If the camp be pitched only close to the mouths of wells, as is the case in summer, the surrounding grazing is eaten down. But should rain fall in winter, it may leave behind it pools of water in the rocks and wadis, in areas inaccessible from the permanent wells, where the grass has grown long and the bushes luxuriant. At such times the tribes hasten to move off the crowded well mouths and to pitch their tents near the rain pools on virgin grass.

The third reason for nomadism in Northern Arabia is the extremes of heat and cold in the Syrian desert. There is thus a continual tendency to go down to valleys and south in winter and to move north and up hills in summer.

One is very liable to imagine that the further one penetrates into Central Arabia, the more desert and waterless would the country become. This, however, is an error. Nejd is comparatively well supplied with wells and springs. Apart from the Empty Quarter in the south, therefore, the Syrian desert is one of the largest waterless tracts in Arabia. Very few tribes can summer in the Syrian desert for this reason. In summer, therefore, the bedouins of the Syrian desert divide into three directions :

(a) Some move east to the Euphrates.

(b) A second division move west to the hills and springs of Syria and Trans-Jordan.

(c) A third move south to the Nejd wells scattered from Jauf to Kuwait.

In Northern Arabia, therefore, there are four reasons for nomadism :

(i.) To secure, as far as possible, a day-to-day change of grazing.

(ii.) To take advantage of rain pools whenever they form at a distance from wells.

(iii.) To move to the north or up hills in summer, and to the south or down valleys in winter.

(iv.) In the Syrian desert the lack of water drives nearly all inhabitants away in summer.

The Tribes

There are seven or eight principal bedouin tribes in Northern Arabia.

(1) Anaiza, the most numerous, fill the greater part of the triangle of the Syrian desert.

(2) Shammar bound Anaiza on the south, with a branch in Northern 'Iraq between the Tigris and Euphrates.

(3) Mutair and the Dhafir lie in the extreme south-east of our area, while Beni Sakhr, the Huwaitat, and Beni Atiya occupy the south-west corner.

In addition to these, however, there are certain ignoble tribes scattered everywhere amongst the bedouins. I am sorry to admit that I have never been able to find anyone who could give me a thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the ignoble tribes. There is nothing in their features to differentiate them from other nomads, and they live in most cases by breeding camels. But centuries of servitude have undoubtedly made many of them less independent-minded and more servile than their bedouin masters. Until comparatively recent times, they did not fight and were immune from raiding, but paid tribute to the pure bedouins. Such tribes are the Sulubba, Sherarat, and Awazim. Bedouins, who are great sticklers for genealogy, will, of course, never intermarry with members of ignoble tribes.

Livelihood

In some quarters it is commonly believed that bedouins live largely by plying their camels for hire. This is an error. The bedouin is before all else a breeder of livestock. Until the last three or four years, the number of real bedouins who worked their camels for hire was absolutely negligible. Perhaps in times of war they might supply animals for the Government or their own rulers, but they were never professional caravaners. The bedouin bred animals—camels, sheep, and goats, and, in small but select numbers, horses. These he annually sold to merchants. The camels seen carrying loads for hire in Syria, Palestine, or 'Iraq were formerly scarcely ever attended by bedouins, but by merchants, villagers, and professional carriers. In the same way a great landowner in England might breed and sell horses, many of which might find their way into tradesmen's carts or brewery waggons. But the landowner would not have driven a tradesman's cart himself, delivering groceries from door to door.

Within the last three or four years, due to the great prevalence of famine and distress, the poorer bedouins have in places begun to work for hire, but this, in any remarkable numbers, is quite a new development.

It is difficult to give you an exact budget of a bedouin family, because, as we all know so much to our cost, the value of currency is apt to fluctuate. At the present moment money is scarce and life in Arabia is cheap. The figures which I give could, ten years ago, have been multiplied by eight or ten.

There are in the Syrian desert one or two shaikhs on whom generous governments have in the past bestowed salaries on a somewhat prodigal scale. Omitting, however, such chiefs as Ibn Hadhdhal, or Ibn Shaalan, one is safe in saying that all bedouins are, according to our standards, pathetically poor. The bedouin shaikh who owns thousands of head of livestock is largely a figment of the imagination. Under present conditions £250 a year would be a handsome income for an important shaikh.

A poor bedouin family can live nowadays on, say, ten pounds a year, and some indeed live on nothing at all, for amongst tribesmen it is difficult to die of hunger, for everybody helps everybody else.

At certain times of the year, chiefly in autumn and winter, the camel merchant visits the tribes to buy. Having purchased such animals as he wants, he accompanies them, grazing slowly as they go, to Syria, Palestine, or Egypt, the camel markets of Arabia, where they are sold either for carrying purposes or for butcher's meat. Egypt has always been the greatest market for Arabian camels, chiefly for slaughtering, but the Arabian trade has been greatly reduced there lately, owing, I am told, to the preferential treatment accorded by the Egyptian Government to animals from the Sudan.

Let us now consider a typical bedouin in reduced circumstances, who owns, let us say, ten camels. He can afford probably to sell two of these a year without reducing their numbers, for camels multiply slowly. If we assume their average value to-day at £4, we find that he derives £8 a year from selling camels. In 'Iraq or Nejd he could probably live on this amount. In Trans-Jordan or Syria, where food is more expensive, he would be distinctly hard up, and might try to supplement his income.

In these peaceful times, with loot and plunder almost out of the question, he might work in the fields at harvest time, although it is only within the last three or four years that poor bedouins have

demeaned themselves by labour of this nature in considerable numbers. If, however, he happened to possess a few sheep in addition, he could probably make ends meet fairly comfortably, for sheep can always be sold in a town for meat, and in addition produce wool and cooking oil.

Once or twice a year the bedouin goes into a town to buy supplies. He may take in money, the price of camels which he has sold to a camel merchant with the tribes, or he may take in a camel, a few sheep, a sack of wool, or a load of butter to sell in the town. With the proceeds he buys rice and flour and perhaps dates, and probably a new shirt for himself and another for his wife. If he is more aspiring he will need also coffee, sugar, and perhaps a bag of onions. The luxurious will buy a little tea and a new carpet or a red quilt.

Bedouins live almost entirely on flour, rice, and dates, with occasional cooking butter or olive oil. They never eat fresh fruit or vegetables from one year's end to another. In good grazing times milk becomes a staple food, but if grazing be bad it may be unobtainable.

These remarks may have given some idea of the budget of a poor bedouin family. I have already remarked that some bedouins have within the last three years descended to plying their camels for hire or even themselves to working in the harvest. This has, however, I believe, been largely limited to Syria, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan, not to 'Iraq or Nejd.

In itself, however, it is no slight innovation, for the bedouins have always considered themselves the aristocracy of the world. War and hunting, they believed, were the only fit occupations for free men. Paid labour they considered as an ineradicable ignominy. To call a man by such terms of abuse as "workman" or "artisan" was as much as your life was worth. To call him a murderer would have been as meaningless as to abuse an Englishman by calling him rheumatic. To kill a man in Arabia or to suffer from rheumatism in England is just an accident which might happen to anybody. But to work for his living—never.

These were the old standards which the hardships of the last few years have, in Syria and Trans-Jordan, begun to break down. The prejudice against agriculture was equally strong. In their palmy days the bedouins often held up the agricultural villages to ransom, but no bedouin would put his hand to the plough. To call a man a "fellah" was only less insulting than to call him an "artisan."

Before I leave the subject of how the bedouin obtains a livelihood, I may refer to one other vocation, and that is military or rather police

service. Before the war the Turks employed a certain number of camel men on the Damascus-Hejaz side, although not, I believe, in 'Iraq. In the war they employed a Nejdi camel corps in one of their operations against the Suez Canal. These men were, however, largely townsmen of Hail or the Qaseem in Nejd, intermixed with Nejdi nomads, but rarely including bedouins of the Syrian desert.

After the war the French raised similar camel companies in Syria, and the 'Iraq Government kept one based on Ramadi on the Euphrates. All these also were originally recruited from Nejd. In 1928 I myself raised a bedouin police force in the southern deserts of 'Iraq, and in 1931 I performed the same task in Trans-Jordan. In recent times all these forces have tended more and more to recruit from their local bedouin tribes, instead of employing pure mercenaries from Central Arabia. This has been partly the result of the division of Arabia between the various governments concerned, and partly owing to famine and hard times, which have made governments consider the employment of tribesmen from their own country, in order partially to relieve distress.

Apart from service in the Police Camel Corps of 'Iraq, Trans-Jordan, or Syria, which are uniformed and drilled units with a more or less European organization, Nejdi tribesmen can also obtain service with their own rulers. The Rashids in former times, the Sherifs, the Shaikh of Kuwait, and now the Saudi rulers, have all employed large numbers of bedouin retainers. These are not drilled or dressed in uniform, and are perhaps best described as retainers.

Recreations

I have already referred to the fact that bedouins consider war and hunting as the two occupations worthy of a free man. Of war I will speak in a few minutes. Hunting is carried out chiefly with hawks and greyhounds, the game being bustard or hare. Game is, however, much more plentiful in 'Iraq and Nejd than it is on the Trans-Jordan and Hejaz side.

In almost every encampment the shaikh or principal man of the camp "pounds coffee," as the expression is. His tent is divided in half by a curtain, one half only being occupied by himself and his family. The other half is empty of gear of any kind, except a set of coffee pots and a few carpets spread on the ground to sit on. This half tent represents the club and recreation room of the camp. Here

the men assemble in the morning and evening to drink coffee and talk. Here guests dismount, cases are argued, and news is exchanged.

In summer, when large concentrations of tents collect round permanent wells, the men spend a great part of the day in paying visits from one coffee tent to another, gossiping and exchanging the news.

Story-telling and poetry, amongst a people none of whom can read or write, are accomplishments greatly valued. Bedouins are inveterate poets, although some tribes are much more proficient than others, especially the Nejdis. In the area which we are considering, Shammar, Mutair, and the Dhafir are superior to Anaiza and the Trans-Jordan tribes in poetical compositions. The subjects of bedouin poetry are limited and treat principally of warlike exploits, descriptions of camels and women. In fact, this is pretty well the order of importance of these subjects to the bedouin mind. The rhythm of the bedouin ballads is magnificent, even if they are sometimes difficult to understand.

It is impossible to leave the subject of the bedouin's daily life without referring to his hospitality. To us rather logically-minded Europeans, the bedouin often appears to be an incongruous mixture of opposing qualities. He is undoubtedly greedy and avaricious; he will sell his loyalty for cash and even demand money in a manner which seems to us utterly shameless.

The same man, however, who, after paying one a visit, will demand ten shillings as a present, will, if one passes his tent, compel one to come in almost by force and will insist on offering one a meal which will cost him three months of his ordinary income. A man who possesses only one goat in the world, on the milk of which he largely lives, will readily kill it to provide a meal for a guest, who may be a perfect stranger.

The bedouins even carry their admiration for this virtue to the most extravagant lengths. Antar ibn Sheddad, the mythical bedouin hero, is made to slaughter hundreds of camels on the occasion of his wedding to provide entertainment for the birds and the wolves. The tales related of Hatim of the Tai are scarcely less fantastic. I myself knew a man nicknamed "Ma'ashi al Dhib," or the diner of the wolf, because, when he heard a wolf howl, he used to tie up one of his sheep outside the tent as dinner for his guest.

War

The Arab princes of Central Arabia have never been able to maintain standing armies. The revenues of Nejd are, to begin with, in-

sufficient for the purpose, and, secondly, the bedouin tribes, all armed and mounted at their own expense, form a cheap weapon ready to hand. Thus the principal part of the armies of Arabian princes has always consisted of levies of the bedouin tribes.

Incidentally this state of affairs has produced certain important results :

(a) It has added great importance to the tribes, and hitherto has kept them remarkably free and democratic. No prince dares to oppress them, for they form the greater part of the army.

(b) It has maintained the rival states of Arabia in continual activity, endeavouring to win over the tribes of their neighbours. The transfer of the allegiance of a tribe from one ruler or government to another was, in the past, equivalent to the desertion of a division of the army.

(c) Centuries of politics of this nature have made the bedouins professional mercenaries. They feel practically no loyalty to rulers, and unashamedly transfer their allegiance from one to another to further their own advantage. To them this means no more than if a clerk or an engineer in England threw up a job with one firm in order to take a better paid appointment elsewhere. We should not call him a traitor.

When Arabian rulers declare war and march against one another to offer battle, they levy their bedouin tribes to swell their forces. The ruler may have a kind of old guard, composed of family or paid retainers or slaves. He will also have contingents from towns and villages, should many such be under his rule. But the bulk of the army will consist of bedouins, camel and horsemen.

Infantry in Arabia is virtually unknown, as a man on foot is, of course, unable to cross the desert. If, however, a pitched battle is to be fought, the two armies will be drawn up opposite one another, and the camel-men will then dismount and advance on foot. In such cases each tribal contingent will form up separately, so that each man fights surrounded by his nearest kinsmen. The Arabs have little skill in close tactics, especially with large forces. They have little idea of advancing in alternate rushes, for example, or of covering fire. On the whole, they are bad shots, but, as they fight at very short range, they succeed in inflicting a certain number of casualties.

In strategy and the approach to battle, they are much more skilful. They fully understand the value of obtaining accurate information of the enemy while deceiving him regarding their own intentions, and then, by a sudden forced march in an unexpected direction, they take

the enemy by surprise and inflict a crushing defeat. They are assisted in this by the fact that both infantry and military transport columns are unknown. Animals live by grazing, and each man carries a little flour or dates in his saddle-bags.

While this absence of a supply organization facilitates rapid marching, however, it renders prolonged campaigns almost impossible. A man on a camel can, of course, carry a considerable amount of food for himself, say for a month or two. But as soon as these rations are finished the continuance of the campaign becomes very difficult.

The bedouins are also familiar with what is known, in military parlance, as "protection"—that is, pickets, outposts, scouts, advanced guards, and so on. While, however, they are well versed in these principles, they often fail in practice, owing to the democratic spirit of the tribes and the lack of discipline, as a result of which the outposts probably do not hold the position allotted to them, or all go to sleep, or even the whole force refuses to go on outpost duty.

Tribal Warfare

The bedouin is not particularly fond of pitched battles between rival princes, because there is little chance of getting much loot. What he prefers is that the different rulers be in a state of war, without undertaking too rapid or conclusive operations against one another. A state of hostilities dragging on like this without a conclusion means free raiding by the tribes of one side against those of the other.

The same purpose is achieved when all central authority becomes weakened, owing to internal or external disturbances. The bedouins seize upon any weakening of central authority in order to recommence raiding one another. Inter-tribal raiding may therefore be the result of war between rival princes, or merely of a weakening of all governmental authority. Indeed, for several hundred years past, Arabia has been without stable government much more often than the reverse. Such a state of anarchy is the bedouin paradise—he yearns and sighs for it day and night—or, the next best thing, a good long and desperate war between his rulers. The Locarno spirit has not yet penetrated Arabia.

The bedouins nowadays rather like to say that they have been ruined by the prevention of inter-tribal raiding. It is, of course, obvious that bedouins cannot live on raiding one another, any more than by taking in each other's washing.

Raiding provided the bedouin with honour, excitement, and the

hope of gain. There can be no doubt that the hope of praise, honour, and distinction was a powerful incentive. The bedouin is a raiding fanatic—he discusses raids and raiding morning, noon and night, with even more enthusiasm than the most single-minded devotee of bridge or county cricket. Famous raiders acquired great reputations, and the ubiquitous poet was always at hand to celebrate their prowess in sonorous ballads.

Raiding also provided a magnificent sport, with its long and laborious rides, its hasty meals in the great deserts, the long night marches by the clear southern moons. Then the wild excitement of the charge, the galloping horses, the deeds of prowess—an hour's mad intoxication. Then the triumphant return driving the looted flocks and singing.

From the point of view of actual gain, raiding had something of the fascination of gambling. Some became rich, some were ruined; there was a net loss on the whole. But everybody lived in hope, and everybody always believed that the next time he would come home driving untold flocks and wealth.

From time immemorial until a few years before the Great War the bedouins were principally armed with swords and lances. It was only during the war that modern rifles became universal and the lance was finally abandoned. Many of their customs were exceedingly picturesque, and the bedouins, alone perhaps in the world, retained the customs of chivalry until twenty or thirty years ago.

When hostile forces faced one another in the desert a shaikh would canter out before the lines, and perhaps call out to a shaikh of the other party to come down and break a lance. Most commonly the knights would call out the names of their sisters as a war cry: "The brother of Hamda"—"The brother of Aliya." Indeed, any tribesman will do this to this day when angry. Sometimes, however, he would call the name of his lady—"For the eyes of Nura"—as he rode at his adversary.

It is interesting to compare these customs with histories of Spanish chivalry in the Middle Ages, where so many of the knightly traditions were probably borrowed from the Arabs.

Feudal lords in the Middle Ages in Europe were accustomed to attach to their personal names the names of their lands and castles, and in all Europe "de," "von," or "of" following the name was an essential sign of nobility. The bedouins have no lands or castles, but both are, in a measure, replaced by their camels. It is impossible to

convey to our unfamiliar minds all the romance and glory attached in the bedouin mind to the idea of camels, in seizing or defending which so many give up their lives. They contain something of the associations which a regiment derives from its colours. Warriors were thus in the habit of calling their flocks by names, which they employed in battle as war cries, in the same manner as the names of women. Men would thus fight, calling out "The horseman of the Aliya" or "The horseman of the Gurwa," referring to the titles given to their flocks.

Another interesting custom in old days, when the bedouins went into battle, was the "'amriya." This was an especially gaily decorated camel litter, in which rode a beautiful maiden of the tribe, probably the daughter of the shaikh. The camel and its burden went into action with the men of the tribe, and in the thick of the battle the girl would sing, tear her garments, let fall her long hair, and urge on the warriors with praise or scorn. The indiscriminate use of the rifle rendered the entry of girls into battle impossible.

A striking sidelight on the chivalry of the bedouins in war is afforded by the fact that nowadays women are rarely, if ever, interfered with, although they may be entirely at the mercy of the victors. Women are not captured in war or carried away by the victors.

On the other hand, with so many honourable customs, it is remarkable to us that bedouins have no instinctive horror of killing. They will kneel on a man's chest and cut his throat with a dagger as easily as you or I would peel an orange.

The state of feeling in existence between tribes at war varies a good deal according to the incidents of the feud. In many cases, however, hostile tribes show a most sporting spirit. I remember once being present when a small party of Anaiza raided a flock of camels from the Dhafir. The latter galloped out in pursuit; a running fight ensued in which one man was killed and one wounded, and eventually the looted animals were recovered and all the raiders captured. But the victors hastened to bring back the vanquished as guests, the best carpets were spread, and sheep killed for dinner. The prisoners rested for a week in the tents of their captors, and then started for home, provided by their hosts with food and water for the journey.

The tactics employed in inter-tribal raids may be subdivided into three :

(a) If the raider be in great strength, he will endeavour to attack the enemy camp at dawn, and capture everything—flocks, tents, gear, provisions, and all. Obviously, however, the men of the tribe will fight

with determination to defend all that they possess, and a weak force would doubtless be driven off by them.

(b) A weaker party will wait until the flocks go out grazing as far as possible from the tents, in charge only of the herdsmen, and will endeavour to round up a flock and make away before the alarm can reach the camp and the warriors set out in pursuit.

(c) Very small parties, two or three men, will wait until night, and will try and crawl into the camp and steal a camel or a mare. Stealing animals in this manner is a recognized and honourable act of tribal warfare, although, curiously enough, it is not done to burgle the clothing or other articles from tents. Only fellaheen and other low-class people do this.

Europeans, whose minds are accustomed to the wholesale slaughter of European wars, sometimes stigmatize the bedouins in their raids as cowardly, because the casualties in individual raids are small. It must be remembered, however, that bedouins in the raiding days were continuously at war. If they suffered casualties in these actions such as European armies are trained to endure in a single battle, raiding would have had to cease after a few months, and peace endure for twenty years to allow for recuperation.

Women and Marriage

The remarks which I have already made regarding chivalry will have shown that women enjoy an influential position amongst bedouins. Living in tents, also, seclusion is impossible, in addition to which women have many outdoor duties which take them round the camp or out into the country, often alone. There is little seclusion or secrecy in the camp, and every man and woman in a group of tents will know each other personally, and speak to one another freely by their first names.

The principal rule of marriage is that every man is entitled to marry his first cousin. If they do not care for each other, however, the man will usually accept a present from the outside suitor, and in return will forgo his right to his cousin. Apart from this first-cousin custom, most marriages are the result of courtship and mutual consent. It is only in towns and villages that the bride is not seen by her suitor until after they are married.

Amongst fellaheen and the lower classes in towns, the parents of a girl will demand large sums from the suitor before giving their consent to a marriage. While these bribes are politely called by special names,

the result is only a thinly disguised form of sale. The girl is rarely consulted, and the more beautiful she is, the higher is the sum demanded.

Amongst true bedouins this practice is unknown. It is the custom for the bridegroom to make a present to the bride's parents, but the value of the present is not great, perhaps one camel, or the equivalent of five or six pounds sterling.

A man can divorce his wife whenever he feels inclined by simply saying, "I divorce you." A woman cannot divorce a man, but amongst bedouins in tents it is impossible for the husband to shut his wife up. Dissatisfied wives therefore simply walk out and return to their homes. The woman cannot marry again unless the husband agrees to divorce her, but this can usually be arranged. A woman who has left her husband and returned home is practically never forced to return to him. Amongst the more "civilized" lower classes in towns women are often unable to escape from husbands whom they may detest.

Some Europeans have the idea that every Muslim has forty wives. This is a mistake. Some bedouins have more than one, however, as many men are killed in war, and their widows are thus comfortably and respectably provided for. In any case, they are limited to four wives each.

With this ease of divorce and legal polygamy it is rather surprising how many times the first wife retains her husband's affections all through life. Often married when almost a child, the man may marry and divorce other wives at intervals, but it is remarkable how often the original wife keeps on to the end.

To conclude the subject of marriage, I may mention the case of a man I knew who was married a month or two ago, after eight years of waiting, to a girl of another tribe. For eight years the parents refused their consent and tried to marry the girl to one of her own tribe, but were unable to shake her resolution. An eight-year engagement would be quite a romance even in England.

A noticeable fact amongst bedouins is that women are not expected to do heavy manual work, as they are amongst fellaheen and villagers. Amongst fellaheen it is a common sight to see a man riding a horse or donkey in front, smoking a cigarette, while his wife walks behind carrying the luggage. This is not so amongst bedouins. When the poorer tribesmen are on the move, you still always see the women riding the camels, although the men may be walking. Amongst the more wealthy the women ride in gaily decorated camel litters.

Law

The key to the comprehension of tribal law is that it is an endeavour to afford some protection to the individual in a society where there is no central governing authority. The results are :

(a) That the whole attitude of bedouin law is that offences are offences against the individual. There is no such thing as an offence against the State. In European law the individual is, on the contrary, completely subordinated to the State.

For example, if one Arab murders another no public authority wishes to punish the murderer—assuming the absence of a non-tribal government. But the relatives of the victim are entitled to murder the murderer or to obtain heavy compensation. If they, the aggrieved parties, like to forgo their right, it is nobody else's business. In England the question of whether the relatives of the victim are annoyed or not does not enter into the matter; the State arrests and hangs the murderer.

(b) The second corollary of the absence of central authority is that, while the tribal laws are often just and the decisions given under them correct, the sentences as often as not are not enforced. For example, if A and B have a dispute, they may agree to refer the matter to a tribal judge. The latter rules in favour of A, and condemns B to pay five camels, let us say. But there is probably no authority to enforce the decision, and B may quite well refuse. A will then endeavour to seize the five camels awarded to him, and so the matter drags on.

Having grasped this essential fact—namely, the absence of any central authority interested in the suppression of crime—the next fact to appreciate is the existence of the tribal system.

The tribal system combines the functions of an insurance company, a provident society, unemployment benefit, an old age pension, and every other device of man to make his future safe. Whatever a man does to outsiders, his tribe shelters and assists him. Even if they disapprove of his actions, they will defend him from their consequences, protect him, and contribute to any sums he may have to pay in compensation. Should he die, his family, widow and children will be cared for. Should he lose all his possessions, he will be fed and maintained, and his neighbours will contribute to set him up in life once more.

This is not to mean that the tribe is communistic. There is no property held in common by the bedouin tribe. Every man has his

own flocks and possessions, which he can increase or squander by his own efforts or his own idleness. Rich men gain in honour and influence, while poor men sink into insignificance.

But the tent of each rich man will be surrounded by the tiny tents of the poor, who will, as a matter of course, be fed and supported by the rich. No tribesman or woman can die of hunger, unless it be in some huge catastrophe in which the whole tribe are brought to starvation.

It is curious to think that in the most anarchical days of raging tribal chaos in ungoverned Arabia before the emergence of the Akhwan or the present establishment of law and order, there was probably less fear and apprehension abroad than there is to-day in peaceful England. In an individualistic state every man is constantly battling to keep his head above water. If he relaxes his efforts or makes a mistake, he may go under and be lost. None will help him then, and even his former friends and associates will probably abandon him.

Another point to remember in tribal law is that the criminality or innocence of an act depends on the circumstances and on the identity of the victim far more than it does in Europe. For example, to steal from a man of the same tribe is a crime; to steal from a man of an unfriendly tribe is a gallant performance, to steal from a guest an indelible disgrace. To murder a blood enemy in revenge is a duty, to murder a man of a strange tribe is an accident which might happen to anyone, to murder a man of one's own tribe a terrible misfortune, to murder a man under one's protection or in one's own tent a despicable disgrace.

In England murder is murder, whether performed in one's own house or in the victim's house, in a wood or on the seashore.

The absence of a public authority to suppress crime under tribal conditions may be described in another way—by saying that under bedouin custom there is only civil, but no criminal, law. If a man steals, kills, assaults, or commits any other offence, it is nobody's concern except that of the victim. The latter will usually retaliate in kind by trying to steal from, kill, or assault the offender or one of his relatives. These retaliatory measures may induce the offender to agree to a settlement, or his relatives may bring pressure upon him to do so. If he refuse, however, retaliatory stealings or assaults will continue until both sides agree to go to law about it. They will then present themselves before some shaikh of their tribe, and request his arbitration. After hearing the evidence he will give a decision, which is almost invariably based on precedent, the judge often quoting the

specific case on which he bases his decision. "Legal" decisions are always based on ancient custom. Sometimes the judge will make a common-sense settlement between the disputants, but he will not give such a settlement as "right," but will offer it to the litigants as a composition for their approval or rejection. Even, however, after the judge's decision has been given, there is no public authority to enforce it. If, however, the judge has supported his verdict by quoting tribal precedents, public opinion will be against the man who refuses to carry out the decision.

Political Influence

The political influence of the bedouin tribes in 'Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan was, in the past, out of all proportion to their numbers.

To explain the reason for this state of affairs, I will compare the desert to an inland sea, which washes the shores of Trans-Jordan, Damascus, and 'Iraq. Central Arabia, which possesses towns and settlements, we may liken to an archipelago, with the towns for islands. The camel has often been called the ship of the desert, and the simile is here remarkably apt to our purpose. If we regard the desert as a sea, the bedouins are a nautical people, and indeed used to be the only people who possessed ships. The settled population and the Turkish authorities were unable to follow the bedouins more than three or four miles into the desert, the limits fixed, by lack of water, to infantry or cavalry.

Thus the bedouins, ranging at will on the high seas out of sight of the "coast," were able to pounce down upon settlements near the "shore," loot and plunder the villages, and disappear again into the blue before troops could be collected or counter measures adopted. To avoid this fate all the villagers near the desert "shores," down the Euphrates or in Syria, paid tribute to the bedouin tribes to secure immunity from being raided. Before the war a single ragged bedouin could ride through great and prosperous villages in 'Iraq, collecting tribute, with none to repulse him.

Secondly, this inland sea intervened between 'Iraq on the one hand, and Syria, Palestine, and Egypt on the other. It also surrounded the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, which we must regard as islands. Therefore all merchants or pilgrims proceeding from one Arab country to another were obliged to cross the desert sea, and the bedouins were careful that none succeeded in doing so without paying for the privilege. The dues exacted were more or less regularized, and if one shaikh of

a given tribe had collected a fee, he protected the merchant or traveller from all other members of his tribe. In a way, with Government impotent, the bedouin shaikhs actually contributed to public security—for a consideration.

In some cases, as in the pilgrim route from Damascus to Medina, the Turkish Government itself paid salaries to all the bedouins near the track, in lieu of the bedouin "right" to take tolls from the pilgrims.

The key to the bedouin predominance of past centuries is always the fact that they alone possessed riding camels, and thus always held the initiative, and always had a safe retreat open into the desert, where no one could follow them.

When the present administrations took over control in 'Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan, they at first continued to follow the Turkish procedure, and paid salaries to the bedouin chiefs to ensure their good behaviour. The complete subjection of the bedouins has only come within the last four years, as a result of the combination of two things :

(a) The discovery of the speed and ease with which cars can be used in the desert. This destroyed the bedouin supremacy in mobility, of which, in the desert, the possession of the camel had hitherto given him the monopoly. It was as if a seafaring race had hitherto terrorized the coast in triremes or catamarans, and a government had now arrived with battle cruisers. The motor-car was incalculably swifter than the camel, and carried machine guns incomparably more deadly than the bedouin's often worn-out rifle. Aircraft also proved to be of supreme value to prevent large mass attacks, but to employ them to search for small parties of raiders was uneconomical.

(b) British aircraft and armoured cars were used periodically in the desert from 1921 to 1928, but nevertheless the bedouin tribes still continued to raid freely and were never more than half under control. This was due to the fact that the personnel were not of the desert race. British troops or regular Arab forces like the 'Iraq Army were unable, even with cars, effectively to control the bedouins. They were occasionally rushed into the desert to repel an important raid or on a punitive expedition, but the cost of rationing and watering such forces in the desert for long periods was prohibitive.

Even the motor-car did not seem to have destroyed the semi-independence which the bedouin had enjoyed for centuries. A further step was required, and that was the enlistment of the bedouins themselves to man the motor-cars and machine guns. Living for twelve months of the year in the desert, knowing every yard of its surface,

every detail of its tribes, and every trick of its raiders, bedouin forces in armed cars accomplished what no Government had succeeded in for centuries, the complete subjugation of the bedouin tribes of Northern Arabia.

The Governments of 'Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan have now learned the art, and will probably be able to maintain their control fairly well, unless they should themselves collapse for other reasons. The political importance of the bedouins will therefore become, in the future, reduced, and the establishment of firm control will destroy many of their most attractive qualities—their sturdy independence, their chivalry, their raids, and their poetry. Already their chiefs are showing signs of taking to politics or agriculture, while their ambitious youths are seeking enlistment and promotion in the police.

There is no reason to expect an early extinction of nomadism, as camels, sheep, wool, and butter will still find a ready market, and can only be reared in large numbers by nomads. But in Northern Arabia, touching on 'Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan, the bedouin will lose his influence and most of his distinctive qualities. In Nejd, where a greater proportion of the population is nomadic, the bedouin may retain some of his importance rather longer.

Major YETTS: The lecture has been indeed most interesting and it seems a pity that the good old raid must cease. Will Major Glubb tell us how the politics of the bedouins are affected by their circumstances?

Captain LESLIE WILLIAMS: A bedouin custom which the lecturer has not mentioned is the *bairaq* or war standard. This standard is carried on the march and into battle, and it is in the bedouin code of honour that the standard shall never move back. As an example—soon after I formed the first camel-corps, we marched to capture the town of Rowah on the Upper Euphrates. It was late in the evening when we camped, and it was not until I started to post sentries that I realized that what had, in the dusk, seemed a good position, was in reality covered by hills on the other side of the river, well within rifle range. We had passed an excellent camping ground two miles back, but the men refused to take the standard back, and we had to proceed a further ten miles before we came to an equally suitable spot, where both grazing for the camels could be found and which was safe from snipers.

The CHAIRMAN: Until the South African War there was a great scarcity of rifles in Arabia, but after that war a violent arms traffic

sprang up; rifles poured into Muscat, where their import was legal, and from there passed via Persia and Mekran to the inland frontiers and to the tribes on the North-West Frontier and of India. I should like to ask Major Glubb if the bedouin have yet arrived at any understanding of what a political frontier is, for before the war they could roam right up to the borders of Anatolia.

I should also like to ask if the Tribal Crimes Regulations are still in use in 'Iraq.

Major GLUBB: In answer to Major Yetts' question, the bedouin have, as yet, little or no understanding of politics. Captain Williams spoke of the *Bairaq*; various objects are used in this way, not only actual banners. The Shaikh of the Ruwalla employs a camel litter decorated over with ostrich feathers. In the tribe of Mutair a flock of black camels belonging to the Duwish, the principal shaikh, and known as the "Sharf," is likewise used as a rallying point for the tribe in time of war. It is too great a generalization to say that they *never* go backwards.

The tribal criminal and civil disputes regulations are still in force in 'Iraq. Compliance with these regulations, however, must be tried under Government supervision in a town—a stipulation which makes them inapplicable to tribes which camp far out in the desert. Among the pure bedouin tribes, therefore, most cases are referred to arbitration by their own shaikhs.

Sir Percy Cox asked about frontiers—the bedouin have no conception of political frontiers, and their grazing grounds overlap them, with the result that many tribes are continually crossing from one government to another in the course of their normal migrations. Such political frontiers in Arabia have, of course, only been created since the war. The subdivision of the desert by so many frontiers between so many different Governments has caused much trouble in the last fourteen years, but we hope that there is now a better understanding and that further relations will continue to run as smoothly and efficiently as they are running at the present moment.

The CHAIRMAN: We have had a most interesting lecture—the true bedouin are attractive people, and I hope they will not be swept away too rapidly by the spread of civilization.

SINAI*

By MAJOR C. S. JARVIS, O.B.E.

IF I had given a lecture on Sinai a matter of twelve years ago, I should have been speaking about a country in which very few people had travelled, and of which very little was known, for, with the exception of Murray's Army that marched across the coastal belt in 1916, very few people indeed had seen anything of Sinai beyond the stretch of sandy shore extending from Port Said to the frontier at Rafa. And this, when one has got over the first thrill of a blue Mediterranean washing up on yellow sand with the traditional fringe of date palms behind, becomes deadly monotonous. The last twelve years, however, have seen a general opening up of the peninsula—partly due to the improvement in motor-cars, and to a certain extent to the fact that I have made some rough desert roads across the province, so that a journey by car from Egypt to Palestine now presents very little difficulty. The result is that a very large number of people have crossed Central Sinai—which was previously almost a *terra incognita* except for the officials who administered it—and an equally large number have toured in the mountains in the south, so that Sinai is now becoming the playground of the Cairene. Whether this is a good thing or not is a matter of opinion—some people hold the view that a wilderness such as Sinai with its old-world associations should remain always inaccessible except to those hardy travellers who are willing to put up with the discomforts of a journey on camels. To a certain extent I think I agree, and feel that people who visit the Monastery of St. Catherine should do so by means of a camel trek through the mountains, as I did on my first few visits, and not by means of a day's run in a car; but we live in an age of mechanism and I see no prospect of keeping the deserts immune from cars. I mention this because I have, from time to time, been severely taken to task for making things easy for joy-riders across Sinai—a holy land which some people think should not be defiled by the smell of petrol and lubricating oil.

* Lecture given on September 26, 1934, Sir Ronald Storrs, K.C.M.G., in the Chair. In introducing the Lecturer, the Chairman spoke of his Governorship of Sinai, where he followed Colonel Parker.

There are two things that make Sinai important—first and foremost its strategical position as the link between Asia and Africa, and secondly the presence of the Monastery of St. Catherine, which stands at the foot of Mount Moses, the traditional site of the Law-giving, so that to a certain extent it may lay claim to being the birthplace, or one of the birthplaces, of our religion. In recent days it has been very much in the public eye owing to the purchase of the Codex Sinaiticus from the Russian Government.

Strategical Importance

With regard to the strategical position, one may say that the passage of time and the improvements in means of communication seem to have made no difference whatsoever to the importance of the peninsula. From the earliest days of history it has always been a conqueror's parade, and I once took the trouble to count the number of armies that have marched across Sinai in the course of known history, and found that they numbered forty-five—and as I am no historian the number is probably wildly incorrect, for there are no doubt many invasions that I have overlooked.

Since the Hyksos invasion of Egypt some 4,000 years ago, Egyptians, Syrians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Crusaders, Turks and French have marched and counter-marched across the peninsula, and the Great War was only a few months old when the invasion of Egypt through the Sinai desert was attempted by the Turks, to be followed almost immediately by a counter-invasion of Palestine and Syria. There was nothing very novel about this, incidentally, as it has been the rule during the ages that an invasion of Egypt or Palestine via Sinai resulted almost invariably in a return call and a turning of the tables. This is a point that future invaders might take to heart.

In 1798, when Napoleon crossed Sinai, the strategical importance of the peninsula was as great as it had been 2,000 years previously, though muskets and cannon had replaced bows and arrows and the spear; and this importance has since been increased by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Sinai is now not only the land that links Africa with Asia—it also encloses the waterway connecting East with West, and the gradual replacement of a sea-borne traffic by aircraft will in all probability have little effect on the situation, for Sinai is still on the direct route—or at any rate the simplest route—from Europe to India; whilst the possibilities of the head of the Gulf of Akaba as a seaplane base of the first order cannot be overlooked.

Description

Sinai, however, is better known throughout the world as the Wilderness in which the Israelites wandered for forty years, and when people hear that I come from Sinai they usually say, "Sinai? Isn't that the place where Moses spent such a very long time? I often wonder what he found to do there." I must admit the same thing has often puzzled me, though to the best of my ability I tried to explain away the mystery in a lecture to this Society two years ago. For the benefit of those who have not been to Sinai I will explain that it is a peninsula 250 miles long and 130 miles wide and that it tapers to a point in the Red Sea at the end of the Gulf of Suez. I would also remind you that Sinai is a part of Egypt, and that it has always belonged to that country. I am not suggesting that such well-informed people as the members of the Royal Central Asian Society need instruction upon this point, but I have found that there are quite a number of people who believe that it is the southern part of Palestine and is a portion of that Mandate, while others think it is a recent Egyptian acquisition due to the removal of the Turk from Palestine and Syria; but the fact remains that Sinai was a part of Egypt in certainly the eighteenth dynasty and has belonged to that country ever since.

Sinai may be divided into three parts—firstly the sand-dune area, which extends over the whole of the north-west corner from Port Said to Rafa on the frontier in an easterly direction and along the Canal as far as Suez to the south; secondly the vast gravel and limestone plateau that begins at the end of the sand-dunes and stretches southward till it reaches the granite ranges at the apex of the peninsula, where mountains some 8,000 feet high intersected by deep, rocky gorges form the third part of the peninsula. (*See map, facing p. 48.*)

Sand-dune Belt

The belt of sand-dunes in the north, which is some twenty-five miles deep in the vicinity of El Arish, dies away as it reaches the Palestine frontier, till at Rafa it extends inland a matter of only two miles or so. There is every reason to believe that this sand-dune area is of more or less recent origin, as in the comparatively short time I have been in Sinai—namely, twelve and a half years—I have noticed a steady advance of sand, particularly on the gravel plain in Central Sinai in the vicinity of Hassana. Here, when I first came to the country, there was one big sand-dune that had advanced over the shoulder of Gebel

Hallal and was lying across the main road from Palestine to Egypt. This sand-dune has now marched a mile away to the south-east, and behind it there is now a serried line of formidable dunes stretching across the road and covering over four miles of the gravel plain. If all the sand has advanced at this rate it is probable that even when Napoleon crossed Sinai some 130 years ago the sand difficulty was a far less serious problem than it was eighteen years ago, when our troops marched on Palestine. The oldest inhabitants of El Arish say that when they were boys there was no sand between the town and the sea shore, and at the present time vast dunes extend from the edge of the village to the sea—a distance of a mile and a half. I cannot say how long ago it is since this stretch was clear of sand, as the inhabitants of El Arish seem to live as long as they like, and it is only recently that an old man has died who stated that he had seen Napoleon march through the town. I had a long talk with the old gentleman myself, but unfortunately it was on one of his off days when his memory was missing on two cylinders, for he told me that he had seen Napoleon—"napoli" as he called him—riding at the head of cavalry wearing plumed hats who were called Orsetrylains, with infantry behind that wore no trousers but were clad in skirts like women—which proved that the advance he was referring to was that of 1916 and not 1798; so if the old man had really seen Napoleon he had mixed up the two campaigns.

The gravel plateau that starts twenty-five miles south of El Arish is broken by several small ranges of mountains that rise to a height of 3,000 feet and is intersected with wide wadis and water-courses in which vegetation and stunted acacia trees grow. This gravel area extends southward for about 130 miles, rising gradually till it reaches a height of nearly 4,000 feet, when it falls away in a steep escarpment at the foot of which rise the volcanic ranges that extend to Ras Mohammed at the apex of the peninsula.

The Monastery

In the heart of these mountains, and set in the wildest and most awe-inspiring scenery, is the Monastery of St. Catherine, the walls of which were built by Justinian in the sixth century, though the church inside is considerably older and is attributed to Queen Helena, who erected it in the year 342 A.D. Previously the monastery was one of the most inaccessible places in the world, as a visit to it necessitated a voyage in a steamer to Tor and a three-day camel trek through the

gorges of the Sinai mountains. Nowadays it is possible to get there by car in ten hours from Suez, though the route up the Wadi Feiran is probably one of the roughest car tracks in the world.

The monastery has been described so often in various magazine articles, and nowadays has been visited by so many people, that I do not propose to say very much about it here, and I certainly do not wish to take part in the controversy as to how the Codex Sinaiticus came into the possession of the Russian Government. The Arabic press of Egypt, whose idea of dates and history is at times somewhat nebulous, seemed to think that I must be mainly responsible, but I must plead "Not guilty," for, though not exactly in the first blush of youth, I do not date back to 1859!

The monastery stands in a narrow gorge at the foot of Mount Moses, at a height above sea level of 5,500 feet, and immediately behind it the mountain itself towers a further 2,500 feet and is a most imposing, not to say awe-inspiring, sight. After days of jogging on a camel or hours of jolting in a car through a barren desert of stern granite mountains, one rounds a rocky corner in the midst of desolation to see, in a cleft in a mountain-side, a group of cypress and almond trees and behind them the grey walls of the monastery. It comes as a surprise and a shock—a pleasant one, I admit—to see anything that savours of civilization in this rugged wilderness, and it is hard to realize when one is sitting with the monks and dealing with a glass of wonderful old liqueur brandy that five minutes earlier one was without doubt in annihilation's waste in its wildest form.

Another peculiar and distinctive charm about the monastery is the incense-like smell of the various small scrub bushes that grow on the mountains. Every one of these plants has a strong spicy scent, the most penetrating of which is that given off by a plant called the *sheer*, which looks like a species of sage; and the combination of all of them to anyone burdened with a marked olfactory sense is remarkable and not unpleasant. I use the word burdened because normally a good nose is very far from a blessing in the East, but in the vicinity of the monastery the strong aromatic scent that permeates everything gives an odour of sanctity in the literal sense to the surroundings.

The walls of the monastery, which are built of massive blocks of granite, enclose a space of 250 feet by 280 feet only, but inside there is a veritable town, and the number of buildings crowded into this small circumscribed space is extraordinary, for not only is there a large fourth-century church and a mosque that dates back to the tenth

century, but also a rest-house capable of accommodating ten people, rows of cells for the monks, quarters for the archbishop, half-a-dozen or more small chapels, a refectory, flour and olive mills, etc. The monastery is an absolute mine of interest, with its unique library of old manuscripts, its crypt with the bones of the monks who died over 1,000 years ago, its church ornaments, vestments, jewels, etc., but more than all else I have always been intrigued by the rough coats of arms that the Crusaders who visited the monastery during the Crusades have carved and painted on the refectory walls and on the church door. Mr. Rabino, the British Consul-General in Cairo, has recently paid the monastery a visit solely to study these inscriptions, with a view to tracing the individuals, and I hope that very shortly we shall have the opportunity of reading an article by him on the result of his investigations.

Population and Census

The population of Sinai is an unknown quantity, for the very simple reason that accurate census work with a nomad population is impossible, and also because nothing will induce the Arab to believe that a numbering of the hosts is carried out for any other reason than for the purpose of conscripting them for the army. I really don't know why the Arab fosters this belief that the Egyptian Government desires above all other things to enlist him for the army, as Egypt at present takes only about one-tenth of the men available in the Nile Valley, and so long as she can obtain lusty fellaheen standing five feet ten inches in their socks she is hardly likely to worry about the Sinai Arab, whom somebody, not myself, likened to roasted snipe. The belief, however, persists, and when, with the Declaration of Independence in 1922, lists of electors were registered for the general election, the Arabs of Sinai would have nothing to do with it. One could explain to them for hours that the lists were compiled merely to enable voters to vote for their chosen candidate for Parliament. The Arab knew better. A list of available men with their ages could mean only one thing—conscription. And so the Arabs have taken no part in the constitution of Egypt. They were rather sorry for it afterwards when a vote fetched from ten shillings to two pounds according to the market rate.

I estimate that the nomad Arabs of the peninsula number about 30,000, and the people of El Arish about 10,000. At least, that was about the number when I left El Arish about a fortnight ago, and at the rate they are breeding it is probably a hundred or so more now.

The Arabs are mostly offshoots from the big Arabian tribes, and

as such are of the purest descent and of first-class Arab stock; but they are undoubtedly the most striking examples of decadent and decayed gentry in the world. Their poverty is beyond belief, for only the wealthiest possess tents, and the average assets of a Sinai Arab are a decrepit camel, four goats, two sheep, an iron cooking-pot, and the clothes he stands up in. An Arab can exist on a cup of goat's milk a day, and if that fails can keep body and soul together by chewing raw barley, husk and all. Nevertheless, he never forgets he is of gentle birth and gets extremely excited if a female member of his family contemplates marriage with one of the erstwhile black slaves of the tribes. It is most amusing to hear a very grimy, dishevelled old gentleman who has never washed in his life, and whose garments consist of a shred of white calico turned pepper and salt colour by fleamarks, holding forth at great length on the indignity his family will suffer if his niece should marry a rank outsider—a man of no birth. It would give Mr. Maxton and his Glasgow friends a terrible shock.

The Arab is not one of the world's workers, as all forms of manual labour are abhorrent to him, and in his opinion it is bad form for a man to soil his hands with a mattock or shovel. One realizes this when one shakes hands with a Beduin, for, instead of making contact with a horny, calloused palm, as one would expect from a hairy desert product, one touches a skin as soft as silk—softer and silkier even than the palm of a young woman who spends her mornings in a beauty parlour.

The Arab works about ten days out of the three hundred and sixty-five. During the autumn he spends five days ploughing a suitable stretch of desert for his barley crop with a pair of any animals he possesses—two camels if he is a man of substance, if not a camel and a donkey; occasionally a donkey and a goat; and sometimes his wife and daughter. His plough is a bent bit of wood with a sharpened point and is precisely the same in every way as the plough his forefathers used three thousand years ago. In the spring he and his family put in another five days harvesting the crop, and judging by his equanimity if the barley is a complete failure owing to drought, one can only come to the conclusion that he is on the whole pleased, as the awful necessity of garnering the crop is obviated, and moreover he will have no taxes to pay—the fact that he will also have to go hungry does not seem to worry him at the time. This is typical of the race, for I have never met any people that live so entirely in the present as they do; the future worries them not a jot, and with them time is not a dimension, it is

merely a state of mind. If the store of flour is sufficient only for to-day why worry about it, as the situation will not become acute for another twelve hours at least. It is difficult for us to understand this point of view, but perhaps we go to the other extreme—in every paper we pick up we see assurance companies' advertisements asking the chilly, impertinent question whether we have made adequate safeguards for the future, and if not why not? The problem of providing not only for to-morrow, but for twenty years hence, has probably filled more graves prematurely than anything else.

Arab Law

The Arab has only one joy in life, and that is litigation—he may have other hobbies, but if so I have never discovered them, and my experience is that lawsuits occupy his mind to the exclusion of all else. This is due partly to the fact that litigation costs nothing in the Sinai Arab courts—if an Arab ever had to settle an English solicitor's bill of costs for a trifling action it would knock litigation on the head as far as he was concerned for all time.

In Sinai the Egyptian Government have recognized the use of Arab Law among the Beduin, which, to be brief, recognizes tribal and not individual responsibility, and if a crime is committed by one Arab against another, the injured party and the Court hold the tribe responsible for the fine or blood money to be paid. If the offending tribe like to apportion the blame and the payment of the money among the relatives of the aggressor this is entirely their own affair—the Court concerns itself only with the responsibility of the tribe of the offender.

Blood Fines in Camels

Sentences of death and imprisonment do not figure in Arab Law, and the punishment inflicted is always a fine—or, to be more exact, compensation, which, to make payment more intricate and difficult to enforce, is always pronounced in camels instead of money. That is to say, a tribe is ordered to pay six camels one year old, four camels two years old, three female camels four years old, and a first-class hageen or riding camel. It may be thought that this is not a particularly satisfactory method of settling a case, but the point one has to bear in mind is that the last thing an Arab wants is to have a case settled definitely; if the payment of a fine is made in camels of different ages, a case ought to last a man his lifetime, as naturally the defendants are not

very conscientious about observing either the dates for payment or the exact ages of the camels paid as a fine. I remember once seeing a group of my Arabs pushing a starved wreck of an aged camel up a pass—it was too weak to walk alone. I asked what they were doing and they said they were taking it to Akaba to pay over to the Howietat tribe as blood money, and it figured on the list as a hageen—a first-class riding camel. It was only when I exploded with laughter that they themselves saw some glimmer of humour in the situation. The Howietat saw nothing funny in it, as the camel died directly they received it, and we are still arguing to-day as to the age and condition of that camel.

It is, therefore, a great mistake to rush around one's province and settle definitely every outstanding Arab case. One's action, though laudable in British eyes, is not appreciated by the Arab—any more than we should appreciate the action of a lord of the manor if he closed the village golf course and tennis courts to the general public.

From time to time, however, cases occur in which feelings run high, and one must be able to detect these and deal with them promptly, otherwise there will be reprisals and bloodshed. The seriousness of such cases may be perfectly obvious, such as the ruthless killing of a man for no reason, or on the other hand they may be seemingly quite trivial, such as one man telling another his face is black; but one can generally tell how the business is regarded by the attitude of the litigants, and take action accordingly.

Old Cases

In Sinai we have one or two hoary old cases of no importance concerning utterly valueless stretches of the bleakest desert, and I have purposely never settled these, as in the dog days of summer, when there is nothing much happening, the Arabs can come into El Arish and have a delightful morning yelling at each other in the court-room till they are completely exhausted. I go into the court-room two or three times during the morning to see that everything is going satisfactorily—in much the same way as a mother visits the nursery to see that the children have not got into mischief—and when everybody has completely lost his voice I adjourn the case for six months. These cases have kept my Arabs happy and contented for twelve years, and I hope that they will last out my time.

Queer Legal Customs

Arab Law was not adopted in its entirety by the Egyptian Government, as some of the customs were too mediæval even for that backward and very conservative race, the Beduin. One in particular that was specially open to abuse was the Wisaga, which allowed a man to take and kill a sheep from the flock of his neighbour if by chance a guest should call whom it was necessary to entertain suitably. This system may have worked very admirably in the spacious days of Saladin, who from all accounts was a man of integrity, but it was a dismal failure in Sinai, where unfortunately the standard of honour is not particularly high, as no attempt was ever made to compensate the owner of the sheep until the matter had been brought to Court. Even then the animal given in place of the one killed was always a barren old ewe of no value—and in some regrettable cases was only a goat, whereas, according to the plaintiff, the sheep taken was invariably a most remarkable animal in every way and had been specially imported from the Hedjaz at great expense for the improvement of stock. There was, of course, always a conflict of opinion over this, as both the host and his guest would affirm that it was the toughest bit of meat they had ever put their teeth into, but as the sheep had been eaten the situation resembled those claims that the English farmer puts in to the local hunt for poultry destroyed by foxes, when the missing birds are always young pullets of pedigree strain that have only just come on to lay. I have often wondered at the marvellous discrimination of the fox, who never by any chance makes the mistake of taking an old hen.

Bishaa

Another custom that the Egyptian Government refuses to recognize is the Bishaa—or the trial by ordeal by means of the hot spoon. This is used by the Arabs when there are no witnesses to a crime, and the suspected man is then compelled to submit to this trial by ordeal or be found guilty. The sheikhs of the two tribes assemble with the assessors and the sheikh of the Bishaa—for this is an important post and a hereditary one—heats a big iron ladle in a fire till it is white hot. The suspected man then washes out his mouth with water—the spoon is held out to him and he licks it with his tongue three times. The tongue is then examined by the assessors, and if it shows any sign of burning the man is found guilty; if not, he leaves the Court without a stain on his character. One would imagine that the tongue would

be badly burned on every occasion, but this is not the case and frequently the spoon leaves no mark at all. There is a certain amount of common-sense in the idea, as the Arabs say that if a man is guilty he will be frightened and his mouth will be dry; if he is not frightened, there will be sufficient saliva on his tongue to protect him. That, at any rate, is the Arab belief.

Arab as Fighting Man

We have always been taught to believe that the Arab is a first-class fighting man, and the belief, started first with the Arab invasion of the seventh century, was consolidated by the success of the Saracens against the Crusaders, though it is a very moot point whether the Saracen armies were pure Arab stock or were largely recruited from Syrians, Palestinians, and Turks; and the idea was confirmed by the success of the Mahdi's rising in the Sudan in the 80's. The Arab of the Sudan, however, is a very different type of man from the Arab of Arabia and Sinai.

The Arab is a very spectacular fighter, and if the first shock of his charge succeeds he is terrifying in his impetuosity and ferocity, but he is naturally averse to discipline and there is nothing to hold a force together if the first shock fails or the pursuit goes too far. The Australians described them as being very good ten-minute fighters, and there is a very marked difference between the Arab pursuing a defeated enemy and the same Arab trying to drive a few disciplined infantry out of a trench.

Arab as Father of the Desert

Sinai is always alluded to as a desert, but to my mind the word "wilderness" more aptly describes it. A desert proper is an arid stretch of land devoid totally of water in any form, in which nothing grows, and throughout Sinai there is a water-hole or well on an average every twenty miles, whilst after a good rainy season every depression in Central Sinai wears a mantle of green, and in the wadis one will see patches of wheat and barley standing four feet high with ears six inches in length.

The Arab is sometimes called "The Son of the Desert," but Palmer, who knew the Beduin well, said that in his opinion this was a misnomer, as the Arab is really the Father of the Desert, having to a very large extent created it himself. I personally think this is no exaggeration, for in all the Arab countries in which I have been—Sinai,

Southern Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and the Libyan Desert—one can see traces of extensive cultivation, proving that prior to the Arab invasion of the seventh century these stretches of semi-desert were farmed intensively. In Southern Palestine in the past all the wadis or water-courses were dammed every fifty yards or so to collect the silt and store water; and deserted towns with huge storage tanks are dotted about in the desert south of Beersheba where now one Beduin family can barely exist. In the vicinity of Petra and on the western slopes of the mountains that come down to the Wadi Araba every hillside is terraced for vines and olives, where to-day not a tree exists, and this area is populated by the most miserable type of degenerate Arab who exists almost entirely on goat's milk. In the Roman days the Mariut coast as far as Matruh was the granary of Rome, Mariut wine was famous all over the Empire, and the whole of the coastal belt was farmed extensively. To-day it is merely a stretch of desert on which haphazard crops of rain-crop barley are grown—though I must admit that during the last few years the Egyptian Government have taken the situation in hand and are creating olive and vine gardens all over this stretch.

This state of affairs is due almost entirely to the occupation of the country by the Arabs, who, by failing to repair the ordinary wear and tear caused by weather and wantonly destroying everything for which they could find no immediate use, have allowed the country to slip back to the desolation from which a more virile race reclaimed it prior to their coming. In his campaign of destruction the Arab has been loyally assisted by his two animals, the camel and the goat, both of which are vandals and Philistines of the first water.

Goats and Camels

In the Old Testament the goat is referred to frequently as an evil beast—a leader in mighty wickedness—and it would seem that the inhabitants of the Near East in those days were fully alive to the harm that the goat can do and has done. Personally, I attribute the invasion of sand that has spread all over Northern Sinai to the goat, ably assisted by his companion in crime, the camel. By eating out the heart of every living plant they have removed all the binding material provided by nature for the stabilization of sand, and the accumulation of rapidly-moving dunes is the result.

In one or two places in Northern Sinai I have fenced small areas for afforestation and the propagation of the Australian salt scrub, and the growth of scrub and coarse grasses inside these wire enclosures is

almost beyond belief when one looks at the naked shifting sand outside. In two years the whole area becomes covered with large, spreading scrub bushes, whilst the local couch grass gets a firm hold and grows to a height of six inches. The sand becomes absolutely stabilized and covered with rotted vegetation, and this is fairly conclusive proof that the Arab and his grazing flocks are very largely, if not entirely, responsible for the stark wilderness in which he has his being. Both the tamarisk and a form of acacia called the *sayal* grow to profusion in Sinai on the rainfall if the grazing goats will give them a chance, and it requires no great stretch of imagination to envisage the coastal belt covered with trees—and as trees attract rain a general improvement in the climate. This, however, would mean the depopulation of Sinai, for the Arab lives by his goat, which he calls the poor man's cow.

Arishia

The people of the town of El Arish are of a totally different type and are not Arabs in any sense of the word. The town started as a convict settlement in the fifth century B.C., and all the really desperate criminals of Egypt, having had their noses cut off so that they could be easily recognized, were sent to El Arish, where it is reported they lived on the flesh of crows. The name of the town in those days was Rhinocolorum and this name persisted till the Mohammedan invasion in the seventh century, when it was tactfully changed to El Arish. During the period between 500 B.C. and to-day practically every race in the Near East has contributed specimens to the town owing to stragglers falling out from various armies and pilgrim caravans.

During the Crusades, Baldwin of Jerusalem maintained an outpost at El Arish, and their descendants, who are called the Bardawils, the Arabic plural for Baldwin, are now a thriving fishing community. They were very much intrigued a few years ago when I told them that their cousin in England was Prime Minister. And Napoleon's troops, during their year's stay in the town in 1798, left an unmistakable mark on the inhabitants. The Turk used to keep a Bosnian regiment in the fort during the first part of the nineteenth century, and owing to their failure to maintain a system of relief for time-expired men the ex-soldiers had to settle in the village, and quite one-third of the existing inhabitants are from this stock.

The result of this weird mixture is a sturdy, virile race with a marked propensity for hard work, but an extraordinarily crooked, suspicious outlook on life generally. This is due probably to the fact

that, being the inhabitants of a frontier town in the desert, they were harried and exploited by their Turkish governors, who in those days were appointed without pay on the understanding that they made what they could out of the people, and it is still extremely difficult to get them to realize that the Government is anything but a ravening wolf from which no good but much evil may be expected.

The Arishia are easily a match for the desert Arabs in wits, and, being hard-working and avaricious, have managed to absorb, estreat, and wangle from their Beduin neighbours practically every stretch of land that has any value for cultivation. The Arab has only himself to blame for this state of affairs, as he is so hopelessly indolent and haphazard in his methods that he enters willingly into some intricate partnership with a member of the town, by means of which he draws groceries in lieu of rent for his land, and finds after he has consumed a pound or so of tea and half a sack of sugar that he has sold his birthright and all his land. So long as there are Esaus in the East, so long will there be Jacobs to filch their birthrights for a mess of pottage.

Smuggling

Public security is maintained in Sinai by 250 locally-enlisted police—most of whom are camelry—and 200 Sudanese Camel Corps and Light Car Patrols. Some years ago the Police and Camel Corps were actively engaged in repelling raids from Trans-Jordan and Arabia, but incursions on a large scale have now ceased entirely, and the forces of the province devote most of their activities to anti-contraband work.

You have probably heard something of the anti-drug campaign in Egypt, and, though the use of heroin and cocaine is now, I understand, definitely in hand, the smoking of hashish remains an ever-present problem, and the favourite route for smuggling the drug is across the Sinai Desert from Syria and Turkey. Stopping hashish smuggling is rather like an attempt to dam a stream with a clay barrier—directly you have plugged up one hole the water comes through in another place.

Hashish comes in through the Customs in kegs of olives, in grand pianos, in millstones, kitchen ranges, etc., but I am concerned chiefly with the old primitive method of running it across Sinai on camels or on foot.

One would think that the best place to catch the smuggler would be the Canal itself, where it is swum across in waterproof bags, but actually this is not the case, as on a moonless night the smuggler has

little difficulty in getting across without detection. He waits on the east bank till the headlight of a passing steamer shows up the patrol on the west side and then enters the water and goes across as silently as an otter and slips out between the patrols on the far side.

We concentrate on patrols about thirty miles from the frontier, and immediately a track is seen there is a general hue and cry all over the province—outposts are telephoned to and patrols converge from every quarter on to the line the smugglers are taking. The police are all trackers and possess a sixth sense that enables them to spot the track of a smuggler at once and to discriminate between the footprints of camels and men going about their lawful occasions and the law-breakers. They can tell from the footprints if the camels are lightly laden or not—if they are travelling quickly or whether they are moving by night or day.

When the smugglers are sighted they invariably drop two or three men, who open fire on the patrols, and this makes it more difficult, as it is no fun jogging along on a camel at six miles an hour with a gentleman armed with a modern rifle taking well-aimed shots at a range of about 300 yards. The patrols, however, stick to the chase and nine times out of ten bring off a complete capture—men, hashish, and camels. Recently we have been greatly assisted in our work by the new so-called camel-foot tyres with which our cars are fitted. To be brief, they put the same pressure per inch on the sand as the foot of a camel and have a nine-inch tread, and are pumped up to about eleven pounds per inch only. Cars with these covers will travel over flat sand at a rate of forty miles per hour and will negotiate with ease soft going in which the ordinary car would stick in the first ten yards. These tyres have revolutionized absolutely desert travel and have quite spoilt things for the smuggling fraternity. I shall never forget the amazement, not to say disgust, of the first party of smugglers we ran down in the open with cars—they adopted the attitude that we were not playing the game in the old public school tradition, and I felt almost as ashamed of myself as I should if I shot a fox.

Sinai and War

Sinai, as I have already said, has had a chequered military history, and the Great War of 1914 was only a few weeks or so old when Turkish patrols began to work into the peninsula with that airy, go-as-you-please attitude with regard to frontiers that has always been a marked feature of Turkish methods. When Turkey came into the

war openly on the side of the Triple Alliance in November, 1914, the police were withdrawn from the peninsula altogether and Sinai was left to the invader, for the military authorities had decided to defend the Canal from the Canal banks, being of opinion that 130 miles of desert would be of sufficient protection in itself. That this view was unsound was proved later when the Turks brought a considerable striking force across the desert to the Canal in the vicinity of Ismailieh. This force was accompanied by medium artillery that were dragged across the desert on sledges drawn by oxen, and, though the attack was beaten off, the shipping in the Canal was held up for a week owing to shell fire. It therefore became obvious that the guarding of the Canal itself was of no value unless the enemy were prevented from establishing himself within effective artillery range of the passing shipping.

After the attempt in February, 1915, the defences of the Canal were pushed out a distance of from ten to fifteen miles into the desert, and when I drove by this line of deserted redoubts on one of the hottest days of this summer searching for a crashed aeroplane, I realized that the troops in Egypt did not have such a good war as was commonly supposed by those who served in France. The temperature in these sand-dunes stood at 115° , with a scorching wind from the south that burned like a blast from a furnace, and as the troops in these defences had no protection except bell-tents, that seem to attract the heat rather than dispel it, they must often have longed for the water-logged trenches and soaking rain of France.

Stories

The war in Sinai is famous for many things, but what struck me most was the candid and forcible opinion of the desert I read in the letters to relatives at home written by the men in my command that, in accordance with the custom of those days, I was compelled to censor. Luckily we were not called upon to delete bad language, otherwise I should have used up many blue pencils erasing priceless masterpieces of verbal embroidery. The great thing we aimed at in those days was to ensure that the men did not disclose to their relatives where they were serving—a fairly fatuous proceeding when one considered that our enemy at all times knew exactly where our divisions were placed. The letters I censored, however, must have completely deceived their recipients, for after reading the lurid description of the Sinai Desert

they must have come to the conclusion that the unfortunate soldiers had passed over and were serving in Hell.

There is also the priceless Canal Defence story, implicitly believed by everybody in the Mediterranean Force, that in the early days of the defence of the Canal a ship arrived from England filled with sand-bags ready filled with sand! I should like to say this story is true, but, though I met hundreds who knew men who had actually seen the unloading, I never came across a real eye-witness—in this respect the sand-bags of the Canal resembled the mythical Russian Army Corps that passed through England in 1914.

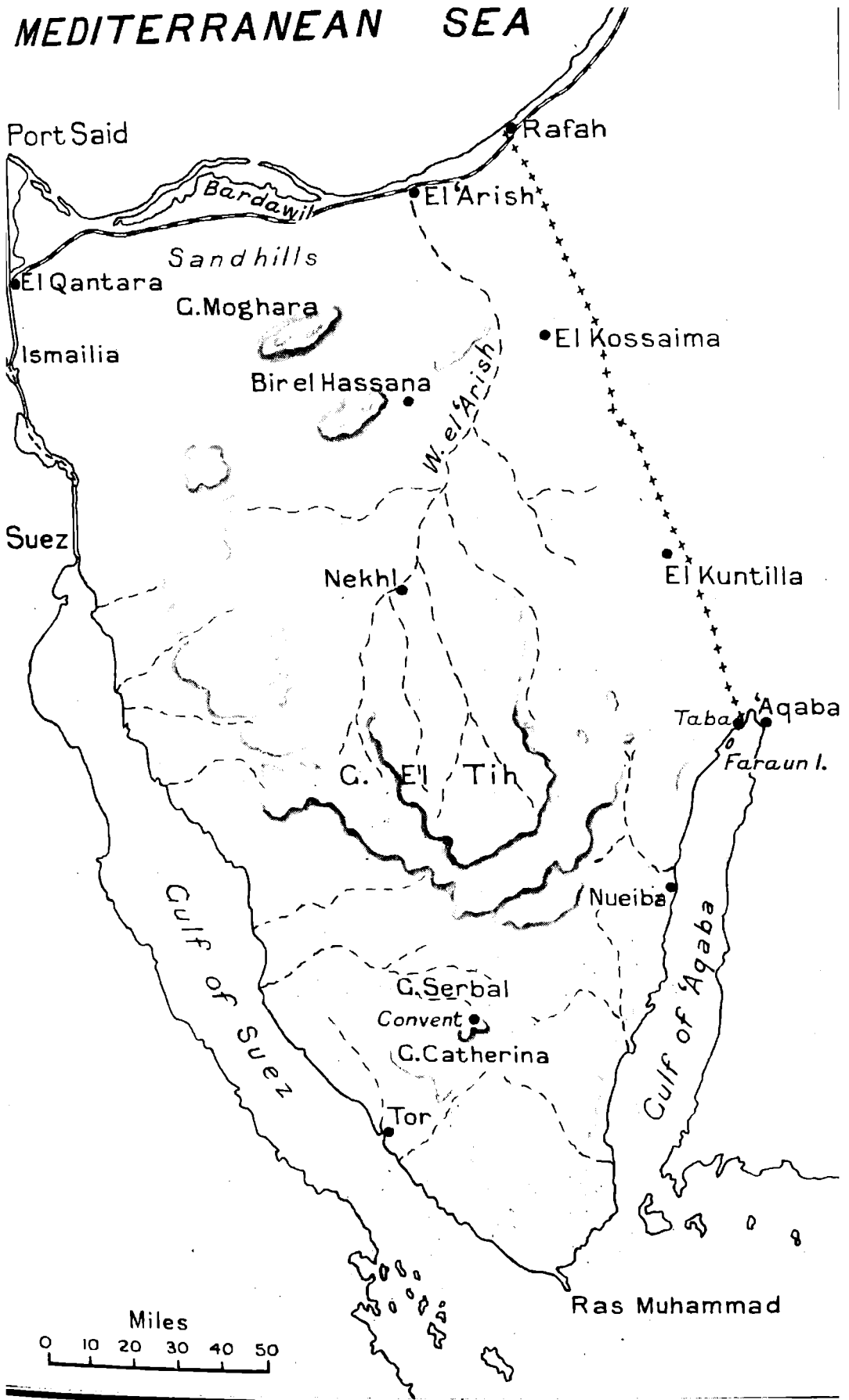
The war in Sinai was also responsible for some wonderful gems of English literature in Divisional and Brigade Orders. The best of these concerned the wearing of shorts which our troops adopted in summer, but old brigadiers with pre-war traditions hated shorts as being unmilitary, untidy, and generally sloppy. Also the troops would wear them far too abbreviated, which resulted in the order from one brigade to the effect that if the 2/5th Loamshire Regiment wore their shorts any shorter they would not be allowed to wear them any longer.

Attacks

In their attacks on the Canal the Turks had the choice of three routes—the coastal route via Gaza, El Arish, Romani to Kantara; the central route via Beersheba, Hassana to Ismailieh; and the southern route via Nekhl to Suez. The coastal route is sand practically the whole way; the central route is hard gravel going to within thirty miles of the Canal, but is not so well watered; and the southern route is hard going to within twenty miles of the Canal, but there is a difficult pass at Mitla and water is scarce.

The Turks chose the central route for their attack in February, 1915, and this was probably due to the fact that the force employed was quite inadequate to take possession of the Canal, and the attack was launched solely with the idea of encouraging the inhabitants of the Nile Valley to rise against England. A temporary success at Ismailieh would bring them in touch with the inhabited areas behind—at Tel-el-Kebir and Zagazig—and on to the Cairo railway; whereas a local success in the neighbourhood of Port Said or Suez would not have the same effect, as these two towns are isolated in the desert. Moreover, at Ismailieh it is possible to close the Sweet Water Canal that supplies both Port Said and Suez, and a success at Ismailieh would mean that the two flanks could be cut off from water.

MEDITERRANEAN SEA



THE SINAI PENINSULA

This attempt, as everyone knows, was a complete failure, and the few Turks who managed to cross in pontoons were at once captured, and the following day were marched from Cairo station to the prisoner-of-war camp at Maadi through the main streets of the capital. In the East there is much truth in the saying "Seeing is believing," and the demonstration was very useful, as the wildest rumours were being spread of the Turks marching on the capital.

The second attempt, which was made in August, 1916, was via the coastal route to Romani, and was launched on a far bigger scale with better quality Turkish troops. It, however, had not the faintest chance of success, as at that time Egypt was full of men—most of them veterans from the Dardanelles—and General Lawrence, who conducted the defence against this force at Romani, was more concerned with how big a defeat he could inflict on the invaders than on the actual defence of the Canal. Actually, the Turks lost a matter of 8,000 men, 3,000 of whom were prisoners, and after this the advance of the British troops to El Arish and Rafa, with the newly-constructed railway behind them, made any further attack on the Canal an impossibility.

Neither of these attacks can be regarded as really serious attempts to force the defences of the Canal and invade Egypt. The first was designed in the hope that a spectacular temporary success would cause the whole of Egypt to rise; whilst in the second the Turks were undoubtedly the mugs in the game and were forced by the Germans to make a serious, but quite hopeless, demonstration to prevent the despatch of further British divisions to the Western Front.

A force of 16,000 men, wearied by marching across 130 miles of sand and suffering from dysentery caused by the foul water found in the palm groves in the vicinity of Romani, had not the faintest chance of success against the fresh, well-fed army that awaited them on the Canal.

In the last war, therefore, the Sinai Desert proved itself a fairly efficient defence against an attack on a large scale against Egypt, and until some means can be devised to enable the P.B.I.—Poor Unfortunate Infantry, who when all is said and done are the chief factor in every battle—to march with ease over shifting sand-dunes, and chemists can discover some method of turning the saline wells of Sinai into a suitable drink for fighting troops, so long I think will this desert prove a fairly effective aid to the defence of the world's most important waterway.

DISCUSSION

The Chairman asked the Right Hon. Lord Lloyd to open the discussion.

LORD LLOYD said that he was glad to take this opportunity of greeting his old colleague Major Jarvis, and, as he listened to him, he could not help reflecting that there was one other lecture which would have given him great pleasure—that was, the Sinai Arab on Major Jarvis; he knew that Major Jarvis would be as entertained as anyone by such a lecture. Major Jarvis had that happy mixture of discipline and good humour which brought about the excellent relations which existed in Sinai. Six or seven years ago Signor Mussolini had asked Lord Lloyd why British officers were so successful in the East, and Lord Lloyd, asking permission to speak frankly, had said it was because such an excellent type of man went out. Such men were of exceeding value to the Empire.

Major Jarvis was too modest, and had forbore to tell how exceedingly resourceful the Sinai Arab could be. When Lord Lloyd was visiting Sinai and was preparing to cross the desert the police had stopped the car and proceeded there and then to search it. The search was fruitful, for the car had been stuffed with hashish, the Arabs thinking that there could be no better way of smuggling this than in the car of the High Commissioner himself. (Laughter and applause.)

When a few questions had been asked and answered, the CHAIRMAN (Sir RONALD STORRS) said: Lord Lloyd has forestalled my remarks and said much that I had meant to say, but there is still one point on which I must join issue with the Lecturer. He spoke most scathingly and depreciatingly of the goat. Now I hold no brief for the goat, but whether one likes him or not the goat holds a high place in the political economy of the East. It is from the goat that the Arab gets the irreducible amount of milk for cheese; from him when dead he makes the receptacles which hold his worldly goods, the bags and pockets which he uses when travelling; and the only meat he gets, if sheep are not available or too dear, is goat. Maltese goats are more tactful than their Sinai brethren, for they do not destroy the young trees—perhaps because their owners take care they can never get at them. For so many hundreds of years the goat has held its place in the East that it is unlikely that Major Jarvis's attack will drive the Arabs or the inhabitants of Cyprus off the Goat Standard.

Eastern conception of time is, of course, utterly different from ours

and is conceived on a different basis. We, do we not, have Andrew Marvell's lines ringing in our minds :

“ And, in my mind, I always hear
Time's winged chariot hurrying near,
And yonder all before us lie
Deserts of vast eternity.”

We have so much to do in this world and we feel time pressing close on our heels, but to the Arab it is otherwise : to him time has no meaning—and is he so wrong? If, as our scientists tell us, time and space are interchangeable, why should not those who live in the deserts where the horizons are limitless consider that as kings of limitless space they are also lords of illimitable time?

We owe a great debt of gratitude to Major Jarvis for the way in which he has imparted so much definition and actuality to a place with which most of us have been hitherto familiar as a name only. A lady visitor to Palestine once said to me, “ I am so glad I have seen Jerusalem; I always thought it was a place in the Bible,” and Major Jarvis has shown us Sinai, not only as a place where the children of Israel wandered, but as a place filled with life and interest for us to-day. (Applause.)

JAPAN AND EAST ASIA*

By CAPTAIN MALCOLM D. KENNEDY

THE title of my talk to-night is "Japan and East Asia." You may wonder why I say "East Asia" instead of the "Far East." My reason is to be found in the speech delivered by Mr. Hirota before the Diet on January 23 of this year. In that speech he used the expression East Asia in preference to the Far East all the way through, and thus set an example which has since been followed by

* Lecture given on November 22, 1934, Brigadier F. S. G. Piggott, D.S.O., in the Chair.

In introducing the lecturer, the CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you are all disappointed at seeing a stranger and not a distinguished member of your own Council here to-night; but it is really not my fault that at the eleventh hour I have been detailed to take the chair, and I hope you will bear with my shortcomings.

A Chairman has three duties: to introduce the lecturer, to keep the audience in order, and to sum up at the end. I do not know whether the summing up will be easy or difficult; as regards keeping the audience in order, I do not expect much trouble; but as regards introducing the lecturer, I am glad to be able to tell you that it is child's play—in fact, almost too easy. Captain Kennedy is a friend of mine of many years' standing, and there is not much about his past that I do not know. (Laughter.) To go back to the beginning: about thirty years ago, when he was still in his perambulator, the British Government decided to send young British officers to Japan to learn the Japanese language, and that excellent plan has been carried on until to-day. Towards the end of the war, in which Captain Kennedy was severely wounded, he was selected to go to Japan, and not only did he learn the language very well, but he was attached to the Japanese Army and made a very great number of friends. He returned to England in 1920, was employed for some time on the General Staff, and then, unfortunately for the British Army, retired with a wound pension. However, his heart was still in the East. He went out to Japan again on business, and became a prominent commercial magnate in that country; later, he decided to throw his net still further afield, and to try journalism. As a preliminary, he wrote a book which is now the standard work on the Japanese Army;* and eventually became Reuter's correspondent in Japan, an appointment he has only just given up. You see, therefore, that you have in Captain Kennedy a real expert, and it is betraying no secret to tell you that four successive British Ambassadors in Tokyo owed not a little to his knowledge and advice—Sir Conyngham Greene, Sir Charles Eliot, Sir John Tilley, and Sir Francis Lindley—and felt themselves fortunate to have in the British community such an authority as Captain Kennedy. So you will agree with me that the Royal Central Asian Society is very lucky to have him as our lecturer to-night. (Applause.)

* *The Military Side of Japanese Life* (Constable).

Japanese writers and speakers in general. As a result the term Far East has fallen into almost complete disuse in Japan, and, in its place, the term East Asia has come to be substituted.

At first sight this may appear to be little more than a quibble, but I am inclined to think it is something more. I think it goes deeper and is more significant than that. The Far East may be taken to mean all territory east of Singapore. East Asia, as I understand it, refers primarily to Japan, Manchuria, and China. This is an important point when it comes to the question of Japanese rights and interests, and it is in connection with the protection of Japanese rights and interests that the term East Asia is mainly used.

This point will become clearer if we consider recent developments in what is known as the Pan-Asiatic movement in Japan. Prior to the Manchurian outbreak in September, 1931, this movement was almost entirely confined to a mere handful of extremists with a bee in their bonnets regarding the desirability of Japan standing forth as the leader and champion of the so-called coloured races against the "oppression" of the white races in general and of the Anglo-Saxons in particular. They worked in conjunction with Indian political refugees, seditionists like R. Bihari Bose and Mahendra Pratap, the former of whom participated in 1912 in the plot against Lord Hardinge at Delhi, the Lahore outrage in 1913, and the Ghadr conspiracy of 1915. The latter is the self-styled "Servant of Mankind," who helped to set up the so-called Provisional Government of India at Kabul during the war, and who, later on, appeared in Japan as the self-appointed representative of Afghanistan, although he was actually a native of the United Provinces. It is men of this type with whom the Pan-Asiatics work.

Following the Manchurian trouble and the violent outbreak of national sentiment in Japan resulting from Geneva's unfortunate handling of the problem, the Pan-Asians saw their opportunity and seized it. They exploited this feeling of resentment and tried to make their countrymen imagine that the whole thing was a plot on the part of the white races to strike at Japan because she, Japan, had refused to bow to the white man and had, in addition, barred the way to further exploitation of Asiatic peoples by the nations of the West. This propaganda succeeded to no small extent and the Pan-Asiatic movement began to increase the number of its adherents and to develop rapidly. It was helped still further by the abrogation of the Indian Trade Agreement last year and by measures taken to curb the flow of Japanese imports into various parts of the British Empire.

The rapid spread of the movement began, however, to alarm the Japanese Government authorities, who recognized the dangerous possibilities if it were allowed to continue unchecked. The Government was quite as determined as anyone else to safeguard Japanese interests, but it was not prepared to countenance a virtual crusade to free India from British "tyranny" or other Asiatics from French, Dutch, or American rule. Quietly, therefore, the Japanese authorities set about turning their countrymen's passions into safer channels. The little band of Pan-Asiatic extremists continued to demand "Asia for the Asiatics" and the release of Asia from Western oppression; but the more responsible elements began to make the more moderate demand for co-operation between Japan, Manchuria and China against Western interference and encroachment and the protection of Japanese interests in those parts. In short, they adopted the stand that Japan should take up the defensive and oppose any attempt on the part of Western nations to extend their influence any further in East Asia rather than continue to harp on "Asia for the Asiatics" or to talk of the Far East, as both of these connoted a somewhat belligerent attitude towards Western nations in Asia.

Mr. Hirota's studied use of the term East Asia instead of the Far East on January 23, 1934, merely served to emphasize this point, and gave the cue to the vernacular press and to Japanese writers and publicists in general, who were not slow to follow his lead. Three months later the idea behind it was crystallized in the now famous Amai Statement of April 17, 1934, which, you will remember, called forth much comment and adverse criticism abroad, where it was interpreted as a Japanese Asiatic Monroe Doctrine and as a violation of the Open Door and Equal Opportunity.

More will be said later regarding this statement by Mr. Amai, the official spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office. Here it is sufficient to note that, in view of what I have said about the origin of this statement and the motives behind it, the Japanese Government was apparently not so deserving of censure as generally believed, as it was aimed at staving off the development of a situation replete with serious potential danger to world peace.

Now let us consider this question of a Japanese Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, or, rather, Monroe Doctrine for East Asia, in greater detail.

It is generally said that this doctrine was first enunciated and preached by Viscount Ishii in the United States, when he was serving there as war-time Ambassador prior to the signing of the Ishii-Lansing

Agreement, which recognized the special rights and interests of Japan in Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. But as a matter of fact another Japanese statesman, Viscount Kaneko, writing in a Japanese periodical a year or two ago, claimed that the idea originated with Theodore Roosevelt, who suggested to him, shortly after the Russo-Japanese War, that Japan should take the leadership of Asia in the same way as the United States had taken over the leadership of the whole of the American Continent. Roosevelt's suggestion, according to Viscount Kaneko, was that Japan should assume the leadership of Asia in order to remove the temptation to European encroachment, and to shield Asiatic nations while reorganizing their national systems. Actually, with but a slight stretch of imagination, the germ of the idea might be traced back as far as the sixteenth century, to the days of that great Japanese warrior-statesman, the Taiko Hideyoshi. And there are to be found, if one studies the pages of Japanese history, several occasions on which, prior to Roosevelt's day, the idea may be seen gradually taking form in the minds of individual Japanese, and it is not without interest to note that, in the early 1870's, a fellow-countryman of Roosevelt's was putting forward much the same idea to his Japanese friends. This was the late General le Gendre, a former American Union officer, who, at the time, was American Consul-General at Amoy. Convinced in his own mind that Japan would suffer the fate of India and China if she failed to take steps to consolidate her position before it was too late, he urged the Japanese Foreign Minister, Count Soyeshima, to formulate a policy aiming at "the expansion of Japanese territory to form a crescent skirting the Asiatic mainland and embracing both Formosa and Korea." He cited as a precedent the Louisiana Purchase, the annexation of Texas, and the acquisition of Alaska by the United States, all of which, he pointed out, had been necessary for the proper working of the Monroe Doctrine.

Unfortunately there is not time to go into the whole question as thoroughly as it deserves, and we must now turn to more recent times.

It was not until 1932 that the question came into any great prominence in Japan. In the early months of that year the late Mr. Kaku Mori, a very able, ambitious, but rather reactionary politician, began to advocate a Japanese Monroe Doctrine. Subsequently both Count Uchida and Mr. Hirota, in their respective capacities as successive Foreign Ministers, have put it forward, each time with added clarity.

In his address to the Diet on August 25, 1932, Count Uchida said: "The day is not far distant when Japan, Manchukuo, and China, as

three independent Powers closely linked together by the bond of cultural and racial affinities, will come to co-operate, hand in hand, for the maintenance and advancement of the peace and prosperity of the Far East." Although non-committal, you can see the germ of the idea there all right. The object aimed at was to be achieved through co-operation.

A few months later, on January 21, 1933, Count Uchida was more specific. "The League of Nations Covenant," he said in his speech to the Diet, "very wisely provides that regional understandings shall be respected. In this sense, our Government believe that any plan for erecting an edifice of peace in the Far East"—note that he still used the term Far East, not East Asia—"should be based upon the recognition that the constructive force of Japan is the mainstay of tranquillity in this part of the world." His reference was, of course, to Article 21 of the League of Nations Covenant which was inserted—at the insistence of President Wilson—to preserve the American Monroe Doctrine. It recognized "the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

Uchida was succeeded by Mr. Hirota, the present Foreign Minister, and in his speech before the Diet on January 23, 1934, the expression East Asia, in place of Far East, was used for the first time. He asked America "to perceive the actual condition of the Orient and realize Japan's rôle as a stabilizing force in East Asia." He added: "We should not forget for a moment that Japan, serving as the only corner stone for the edifice of the peace of East Asia, bears the entire burden of responsibilities. It is this important position and these vast responsibilities in which Japan's diplomacy and national defence are rooted. . . . The Japanese Government has serious responsibilities for the maintenance of peace in East Asia and has a firm resolve in that regard." In this, it will be seen, Mr. Hirota made it clear that Japan considered herself responsible for the peace of East Asia. It remained for the Amai Statement to crystallize the idea of a Japanese Monroe Doctrine for East Asia.

Mr. Amai was the official spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Office and the Statement put out through him was intended to clarify Mr. Hirota's policy of peace and harmony. But it went further and warned the nations that Japan would not tolerate interference in Chinese affairs, if detrimental to Japanese interests, and would not allow them to supply China with war planes or build aerodromes in

China or send military advisers or make loans to China which might be used for political purposes, as Japan "would oppose all such projects." This was very clearly laid down and, of course, the Statement caused a furore in England and America, where it was interpreted as implying deviation from the principle of the Open Door and Equal Opportunity. Mr. Amau denied this and asserted on April 20 that what it did mean was that "Japan objects to any action by other Powers that may lead to disturbance of peace in East Asia." He cited by way of illustration the supply of planes and aviators to China and the laying out of air fields in China by America and other nations, the misuse of the cotton and wheat loans, and so forth, all of which he asserted tended to increase the feeling of instability. He asserted also that Japan had no intention of interfering with the independence of China or with the vested rights of other nations, but that she wanted China to achieve unification and prosperity. He further asserted that Japan had no territorial ambitions in China or Manchuria.

In regard to this question of independence, most people contend that Manchuria is not really independent. The question to be asked is: What is independence? Lord Lloyd's great work on *Egypt since Cromer* does in a sense supply an answer. Egypt is nominally independent, but we still have a considerable say in her affairs, especially in the matter of defence and in the protection of foreign lives and interests. In the case of Manchuria Japan goes further; but there does arise the question of what is independence, and it is just as well, when considering Japan, Manchuria and China, to consider how far we ourselves and others go where questions of independence affect us. For that matter there are many who tell us that Japan is always working against the unification and prosperity of China; but Japan's retort to this is that a unified, prosperous, and contented country is a far safer neighbour than one which is too weak to guard its own sovereign rights, and that therefore the allegation is plainly absurd. I think this point is worth bearing in mind.

As for the statement that Japan has no territorial ambitions, we might again compare our own position with regard to Egypt, where obviously we have no territorial ambitions, but where, also, we could never afford to see any other Power encroaching, and might conceivably be compelled by force of circumstances to take action amounting to virtual annexation—as witness our action during the Great War and our position there prior to the establishment of the Milner Commission.

To return, however, to the Amau Statement. There were, even

among the Japanese, many who considered that the Statement was unnecessarily crude and clumsy and inopportune as well. This is, of course, a common failing with Japanese actions. It is not so much what they do as the way they do it that rouses misunderstandings and resentment abroad. The Japanese Foreign Office said it aimed at giving the world a clear conception of Japan's position in East Asia, and many close observers took the view that Japan merely intended to bring matters to a head so that everyone should know just how they stood. The British Ambassador and the American Ambassador were reassured by Mr. Hirota, and Sir John Simon stated in the House of Commons on April 30 this year, in reply to a question, that he was satisfied with the explanation given to Sir Francis Lindley in Tokyo. Subsequently, on being asked in the House on May 7 regarding Japan's opposition to foreign activities in China prejudicial to peace and order, Sir John Simon voiced the hope that such opposition would be common to all signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty; from which it may be inferred that he was not unduly worried.

As a matter of fact I had a very interesting talk with the Ambassador of one of the leading European Powers just before leaving Tokyo in June, and I was very much struck by the way he emphasized that, in his opinion, any country in Japan's position would be justified in protesting against the arming and training of China's military forces by other nations. If the League and the Powers in general object to the "Hands Off China" policy, he contended, they have only themselves to blame, as it is they who are preventing Japan from settling her differences with China, and it is they who, in consequence, are responsible for the continuance of the present instability in China—instability which is the cause of the policy enumerated in the Amai Statement. "The Powers should try to facilitate the settlement of these differences between the two instead of continuing their present attitude towards Japan, which only makes things worse." This opinion was expressed, in the course of a private talk, by one of the leading Ambassadors in Japan and it simply bore out what I had noted so often before, that the majority of the senior foreign diplomats in Japan are very sympathetic towards Japan and the position she has taken up, even though they may be critical of some of her actions. It is certainly not their fault that the Manchurian question was bungled so badly at Geneva, as they warned their own Governments of what to expect, but their Governments failed to heed their warnings.

There is, of course, a great deal of mutual misunderstanding on

the Amau Statement and on other matters relative to East Asia. The Japanese Foreign Office undoubtedly feared possible assistance by the League to China, without consulting Japan, through loans, the supply of arms, munitions, planes, aerodromes, military instructors or advisers, and the like. Each side feared that the other was planning to seize control of China. That seems to be at the bottom of a great deal of the trouble.

This leads us to the question of the Open Door. One of the criticisms of Japan about the United States is that they are inconsistent about the Open Door. They close the door to Japan in America; but they insist on Japan keeping the door open in the Far East. For that matter there is little doubt that the Powers in general are guilty, to a greater or lesser extent, of virtually sitting on what are, in effect, the three main safety valves of Japan: (1) Territorial expansion; (2) emigration; (3) exports. Even though the first is taboo and the second is debarred, the Japanese could still solve many of their problems if they could sell their goods; but with tariff barriers increasing as of late, one cannot help wondering what is to be the outcome. You cannot sit tight on *all* the safety valves without expecting trouble sooner or later. Although this is only indirectly connected with the question of the Open Door, it is bound to be taken into consideration if a proper understanding of that question is to be obtained.

In so far as interests in China are concerned, foreign interests are, of course, very great, and we and others very naturally dislike the idea of Japan telling us what we may and what we may not do. But Japanese interests in East Asia and the Western Pacific are infinitely greater, owing to pressure of population, poverty of resources, and, above all, to geographical propinquity. Japan's interests are vital and immediate, and it is for this reason that Japan wants a navy strong enough to prevent others from interfering in what she considers her own sphere and to look after her vital and immediate interests in that part of the world. It is in order to safeguard these interests, not to strike at Britain or America, that Japan is insisting on naval parity ("equality of security," as she calls it); and if you consider Japan's position you will see that the idea of Japan "going off" against other countries is simply ridiculous.

Japan is at present in a wonderfully strong, compact, strategic position. She could retain that compactness even if she extended into the Maritime Provinces or Mongolia; but she would lose all the benefit if she went off on a filibustering expedition against America or Aus-

tralia, although it is true that, ever since the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Australia has been nervous lest Japan should do so. This has necessitated the construction of the Singapore Base and the increase of our naval commitments and expenditure, and has served to rouse Japan's fears for her own security, lest Great Britain and America should combine together against her.

While, however, circumstances may compel Japan some day to expand into the Maritime Provinces or Mongolia in order to counteract Soviet penetration, I do not, myself, consider that she has any intention of expanding into China Proper—*i.e.*, China south of the Great Wall. The fact that she played so prominent a part in the separation of Manchuria from China, and that Japanese troops made a drive southward in the spring of 1933 almost to the walls of Peking, has led many people to believe that Japan is prepared to carry out eventually a conquest of China in whole or in part. The so-called "Tanaka Memorial" is frequently quoted in confirmation of this and similar beliefs. Even those who are prepared to recognize the spurious nature of this mischievous document are able to point to the chauvinistic writings and utterances of reactionary professors and others in Japan in support of their apprehensions.

Those who argue on these lines, however, are labouring under as great a delusion as those who, when Japan withdrew so unexpectedly from Shanghai in May, 1932, interpreted her withdrawal as an acknowledgment of defeat. This interpretation arose from the mistaken belief that Japan's real aim had been the seizure and permanent occupation of Chinese territory in the Yangtse Valley, and that her withdrawal merely followed her discovery that the Chinese defence and defenders were stronger than she had anticipated. The fact, of course, was that she withdrew as soon as she had carried out her declared intention of driving the Chinese troops back to the 20-kilometre line and ensuring, by signed agreements, that they remained there.

The mistaken interpretation in this case as in others arose from the common failure to realize that in Japanese eyes Manchuria and China Proper were two entirely different matters. To the Japanese, Manchuria was something akin to a No Man's Land. China Proper was very definitely Chinese territory. She drew, and still draws, a sharp distinction between what she considers justified in the one and in the other. She was prepared, accordingly, to act in Manchuria in a way that she would never think of acting in China Proper. Whereas

a situation necessitating temporary invasion of Chinese territory south of the Great Wall might arise at any time—as happened in the instances of Shanghai in 1932 and North China a year later—there is little or no valid reason to believe that Japan has any particular desire to expand her empire at the expense of China south of the Great Wall. Apart from any question of ethics or altruism, she is fully alive to the serious international complications that would be brought about by such action, as well as to the immense difficulties she would encounter in trying to control and administer, against its will, a country so vast in size as China.

Japan may some day be forced by circumstances to expand further than she has gone already, but personally, for the reasons set forth above, I do not think she has any territorial ambitions in China Proper. This is a point that should be borne in mind, because it is not generally recognized.

Now that we are on the subject it seems timely to refer briefly to Sino-Japanese relations in general. Without attempting to condone everything that Japan has done with regard to China, one cannot help remembering that the Shidehara policy of friendship and conciliation towards China met with constant rebuffs and was regarded by China as a sign of weakness. As Woodhead remarks in *A Journalist in China*, à propos of American denunciations of Japan: “What would the United States do if they encountered the same obstruction, provocation, and defiance in the Panama Canal zone as Japan has encountered in Manchuria?” The United States obtained this concession by means that reflected little credit. If, however, the Republic of Colombia started a “rights recovery movement” like the Chinese in Manchuria, and attempted to reassert its authority over Panama and the Canal zone, would the United States allow the Kellogg Pact and other such instruments to interfere with the protection of their interests? The same question may be asked with regard to ourselves in Egypt and the answer is obvious. We could not sit down under it and do nothing, and the Japanese could not either; and they did not. For that matter, the Japanese position in regard to Manchuria is comparable in many respects to our own position in Egypt, including even the position in regard to the Emperor Kwang-teh and King Fuad respectively. We have to see that the Egyptian Throne is occupied by a ruler friendly to ourselves, and the same might be said of the Japanese with regard to the ruler of Manchukuo. One could go into this question very much more fully if there were more time; but, in

any case, I see one of the leading experts on the subject in the back row, and he might well trip me up!

Now a word with regard to Soviet-Japanese relations. Fundamentally it may be said that the outbreak in Manchuria was due to Japan's anxiety regarding the Soviet and was largely in the nature of a precautionary move against the Soviet. China was blocking the way to Japan's exercising the right to build certain railways in Manchuria of vital importance if ever she went to war with Soviet Russia. Chinese procrastination and provocation finally exhausted Japanese patience and so helped to precipitate the outbreak. Primarily, therefore, it was a move to checkmate the Soviet, and in due course Manchukuo was established as a strategic dam against the Soviet inundation of the Far East—or East Asia.

Japan has long been fearful of Soviet penetration into Mongolia, and lest China should become a virtual Soviet province; for the Soviet is both a military and a political threat to Japan. For these and other reasons Japan has felt compelled to take certain steps which are quite understandable, even though they may not meet with the approval of other people.

To some extent we ourselves are threatened in the same way by the Soviet in India, where Peshawar, Pindi, and other important points are well within 400 miles of the Oxus, near to which the Soviet have aerodromes from which they could launch an attack. At the same time, the Soviet is extending its influence in Sinkiang and other parts of Central Asia and is encouraging Communism in India. The extent of Soviet activities in these regions has been well shown by Mr. W. E. Wheeler in his article on "Control of Land Routes in Central Asia," which appears in the current issue of the Journal of this Society. There is no need, therefore, to repeat what he has already said, though it may be well to recall that, in the trouble in China between 1925 and 1927, Soviet activities played a very considerable part and were aimed at Britain as a step towards world revolution.

When you consider all these points, it surely seems to be to our advantage to give Japan a certain measure of moral support and help her to stabilize the Far East by recognizing the new State of Manchukuo. Unless and until this is done the Soviet and China will continue to provoke Japan and increase Japanese anxiety, thereby compelling Japan to increase her arms; and so you go on, round and round in a vicious circle.

Personally I do not think that either Japan or the Soviet wants a

war just at present; but, as Owen Lattimore puts it in an article in *Pacific Affairs* (March): "The real question is whether war can be avoided. If it cannot be avoided then either nation may 'want' war in the sense of preferring to fight at a time convenient for itself and awkward for its opponent." This probably sums up the position as well as one could wish. Neither country wants a scrap, but both are taking precautions and something may happen eventually.

Turning now to Japan's relations with America. We hear a lot of talk about the possibilities of an American-Japanese war. While I do not consider even a Soviet-Japanese war to be either imminent or inevitable, I consider a war between America and Japan altogether out of the question—with one qualification: If ever America should try to interfere actively with Japan's policy in East Asia, Japan would be bound to strike back. With this one proviso, I cannot personally conceive any likelihood of war, and I cannot help thinking that Americans have sufficient sense to realize this. But in February of this year certain American Congressmen were quoted as saying: "Japan would not have invaded Manchuria or occupied Shanghai if the American Navy had been up to treaty strength." This was said by way of urging that the American Navy should be built up to full treaty strength, and would seem to indicate that they considered that a treaty navy would be capable of offensive manœuvres in the Western Pacific several thousand miles from its own base. Little wonder, then, that the Japanese papers, commenting on this remark, pointed out: "We do not object to parity in mid-Pacific, but we insist on a margin of superiority on our own side in home waters, for that is the only way to enjoy security in East Asia." It is for this reason that Japan has demanded the abolition of the ratio system which, while making it impossible for Japan to attack the United States, makes it possible for the United States to interfere with Japan in East Asia. Such a position is considered intolerable by Japan, and there can be little doubt that if ever America should take active steps to interfere with Japan's actions in East Asia war would become inevitable. Hence Japan's insistence on what she calls "equality of security."

Now a few words on Anglo-Japanese relations. Since the termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1922, Japan has been wavering between a feeling of grievance against ourselves, with a consequent toying with the idea of rapprochement with the Soviet, and a desire to return to her old policy of friendship and co-operation with England. Since as far back as 1838, when Takano Nagahide urged friendly rela-

tions with England, and again in 1858, when Sanai Hashimoto urged an alliance with either England or Russia but preferably with Russia, Japan has wavered between a desire for one or the other as a friend. It may be recalled that at the time the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was concluded in 1902 Prince Ito was actually in St. Petersburg trying for better friendship with Russia. On receiving the news that an alliance with Britain had been concluded, he went back to Japan, as there was no longer any object in pressing for Russian friendship. This shows, however, how Japan has wavered between one and the other; and this fact was impressed on me at the time of the Shanghai troubles in 1932, when Mr. Matsuoka, in the course of a private conversation, emphasized to me the necessity for Japan to align herself either with Britain and America, or with the Soviet, in carrying out her Chinese policy. Japan, he said, must look for a friend in one place or the other. Last year again, owing to the Indian trade question and, subsequently, owing to the question of Lancashire and the trade quotas in England and the Crown Colonies, anti-British sentiment was aroused in Japan and, for a brief period, there was talk once more of rapprochement with the Soviet. Owing, however, to fundamental differences in outlook between Tokyo and Moscow, this did not go very far, and lately the desire for a return to close friendship with England has again come into prominence.

This surely is a point that should be borne in mind. If Japan must have a friend, it is obviously to our advantage that she should look to England and America, rather than to the Soviet, for friendship. Is trade rivalry between us too great to allow a return to the old friendship? I personally do not see why it should be. In spite of this keen and even bitter rivalry, we were able to fix up a mutually satisfactory Indian trade agreement on January 3 this year, and if that agreement could be fixed up, why not others? Surely it shows that trade rivalry is composable if both sides make up their minds to find a way out of the difficulty. Both Sir Harry McGowan and the F.B.I. Mission have been urging co-operation with Japanese industrialists, and the Japanese have been evincing readiness to reciprocate. Undoubtedly both countries stand to gain by composing their differences and both stand to lose by failure to reach an understanding. Failure to compose differences will only engender increased bitterness and may eventually lead to war, as economic strife is all too often but the prelude to armed struggle, and trade war is liable to precipitate real war.

In the final analysis it comes to this, that we have to choose between

friendship and enmity with Japan. Looking at it even from the lowest motives, it seems obvious that we have far more to gain than to lose by friendship, and that we should have grave cause for anxiety if ever Japan should become our enemy. Hong-kong, for example, would be seriously endangered if ever there were trouble with Japan, and the position of our garrison there would be distinctly unenviable. Our fleet, presumably, would have to clear out to the open sea in order to avoid being penned up like the Russian fleet in Port Arthur, and with them would go all our aircraft, as all our planes there are based on the one aircraft carrier. Hong-kong would therefore be left to carry on as best it could without aircraft, and the garrison would be liable to suffer the fate of the defenders of Port Arthur. Our two battalions in North China would likewise have a very unpleasant time, as they would be cut off completely.

This is, of course, all hypothetical; but it is worth bearing in mind when people, who do not know our position in the Far East, talk glibly about bringing pressure to bear on Japan. Hong-kong would be doubly endangered if the Cantonese sided with Japan, a contingency by no means out of the question. For that matter, too, India would become more restive than ever in the event of an Anglo-Japanese clash, as Japan would undoubtedly give full rein to a Pan-Asian policy and urge India to rise. It is not a pleasant picture, but it is one that cannot be ignored with impunity. Friendship is obviously far better for both. Personally I do not think Japan has any desire to clash with Britain. Rather does she wish for co-operation and friendship with ourselves and for a better understanding and appreciation of her own position vis-à-vis East Asia.

Captain KENNEDY summed up his answers to the questions asked as follows:

Mr. GULL has mentioned the Lytton Report and the Nine-Power Pact and has suggested that I should give a defence of certain actions in connection with Japan's alleged violation of her treaty obligations. I should like to do this, but it would take too long a time to deal with such questions as adequately as they deserve.

One of the criticisms made by the Japanese about the Report was that, in not a single place was it unfair to China, but that, in a great many places, it was very unfair to Japan. At the same time, Japanese do admit that it was good in parts, and I remember a certain Japanese high military officer who said to me at the time it came out: "It is

really very worrying to me to have to run down the Report so much in public, because I think there are some damn good things in it!" I think that remark reflected the feeling of most thinking Japanese at the time—that there were some very good things in the Report, but that, while it was always scrupulously fair to China, it was seldom so to Japan.

As for the Nine-Power Pact, I rather agree with Mr. Gull. I have already mentioned in my talk that a certain European Ambassador in Japan had spoken to me on Mr. Amau's statement. On the same occasion he said: "Of course the whole trouble with the Nine-Power Pact is that it rests on an entirely fictitious basis, the maintenance of the peace and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. How can you bind yourself to maintain two things that do not exist? There has not been peace in China for years, and there never has been any real territorial or administrative integrity there."

With regard to Mr. Gull's query as to how I can compose Japan's attempts to such rapprochement with Russia with my contention that Japan's actions in Manchuria in 1931 were aimed primarily at the Soviet, I can only reply that I cannot see why the two should be considered incompatible. The action Japan took in Manchuria was in the nature of a precautionary measure, as she was worried regarding the Soviet's intentions in the future. But I do not see why this should necessarily preclude her from trying, at the same time, to patch up friendship with the Soviet, especially as we ourselves were apparently not prepared to give her the friendship she desired.

The next question was by Dr. PARKER—whether the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was scrapped in order to please America. It is quite true that America had a great deal to do with it, and personally I am one of those who have always thought it among the worst bits of British statesmanship to abrogate the Alliance. But there were one or two other considerations besides America, and one of them was the attitude of Canada, which, being close to America, was strongly affected by the American outlook. While, therefore, the American outlook probably played the most important part in deciding the British Government of the day to scrap the Alliance, there is no doubt that the reaction in Canada also played a very large part. Nevertheless, I still feel that some way might have been found to avoid terminating the Treaty.

Sir REGINALD JOHNSTON asked about demilitarized zones. I do not know just how far matters have gone, but it will be recalled that in January, 1932, the Soviet put up a proposal for a non-aggression pact.

Japan replied that she saw no need for this, as the Kellogg Pact was just as effective. Shortly after, it was suggested that Japan, Manchukuo, and the Soviet should organize a joint committee to deal with all border disputes. Later it was suggested that there should be some sort of demilitarized zones, but the proposal never materialized. I did notice, however, that in the Japanese papers two or three weeks ago there was a reference to a Foreign Office statement to the effect that the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow had approached the Soviet authorities with the idea of setting up something akin to demilitarized zones. He suggested that one way to remove tension would be for the Soviet to withdraw their huge military establishments on the Manchurian border, and pointed out that, under the Portsmouth Treaty, Japan and Russia agreed not to have any troop concentrations along the border between Korea and Siberia. So far as I can remember, the suggestion was that something of the same kind should be applied to the Manchurian-Soviet border. But whether it has gone any further I do not know.

Sir Reginald mentioned the Chinese using the term "the so-called independent state of Manchukuo." I do not know if he knows it, but, as a matter of fact, the Chinese carry this to such an extent that if you send a telegram in which you use the word "Manchukuo," the Chinese telegraph officials always prefix it with the word "so-called" and charge it up to you! I speak from bitter experience, because I have taken up the matter officially and there is no redress. This is true of telegrams both leaving and entering China.*

* Sir REGINALD JOHNSTON said: I venture to protest once more—although I know I do so in vain—against the continued use, when we are speaking English, of the term *Manchoukuo* (or the less correct *Manchukuo*) as a substitute for our familiar word *Manchuria*. The change was quite unnecessary, because our word *Manchuria* was nothing more or less than an anglicization of the Chinese word *Manchou*, and that is the Chinese name of the new state to-day, just as it has been one of the Chinese names of *Manchuria* since the first half of the seventeenth century. *Kuo* added to *Manchou* merely denotes the separate nationhood of the country. It is a Chinese word meaning an independent state and is not applicable to a mere province. When we are speaking the Chinese language we are, of course, fully justified in saying *Manchoukuo* (assuming that we recognize the new state's independence), just as we are fully justified in saying *Deutschland* instead of *Germany* when we are speaking the German language. People in this country seem to assume that when *Manchuria* declared its independence it changed its name from *Manchuria* to *Manchoukuo*. Of course it did nothing of the kind, because *Manchuria* is an English and not a Chinese word, and the country was never so called by the Manchurians themselves, any more than England is called *Angleterre* by the English when they are speaking their own language. The Chinese had and have two names for *Manchuria*. One is *Manchou*—which has been anglicized as *Manchuria*—the other is *Tung San Shêng*, which means "the

The question asked regarding the likelihood of a unified China is a very large one. My own impression is that a unified China (I am not an expert) would only be possible under a return to the monarchical system. It is not unlike our own case. If the British Empire was a republic, the Australians would want an Australian as President, the Canadians a Canadian, the Scots a Scotsman, and so on. The result would be continual trouble and the probable break up of the Empire. So it is in China. You must have an entirely neutral authority at the

Three Eastern Provinces." It is naturally the second of these names that is still used by those Chinese who refuse to recognize the independence of the new state; and it is an odd thing that it has apparently never occurred to those governments and peoples who accept the findings of the Lytton Report and the judgment of the League of Nations that they would show greater consistency if they adopted that term—*Tung San Shêng* or "Three Eastern Provinces"—instead of *Manchou*, which, when the Chinese word *kuo* is added to it, implies recognition of Manchuria's independent status. Our politicians and others stultify themselves when they say, "We do not recognize the independence of Manchoukuo," because what they are really saying is, "We do not recognize the independence of *the independent state of Manchuria*." The Chinese may well object (as I know many of them do) to our use of the word *Manchoukuo*—unless, indeed, we put the word within inverted commas, as was done in the Lytton Report—and it is rather surprising that they have not officially protested against what is to them an objectionable misnomer. The Chinese themselves never use the word *Manchoukuo* without prefixing the Chinese expression *so wei*, which is the spoken equivalent of inverted commas and means "so called." By sticking to our euphonious and familiar *Manchuria* we could have given justifiable offence to no one. The Japanese and Manchurians could not have objected to our doing so, because, as I have said, it is simply the anglicization of *Manchou*, and is no less applicable to an independent state than to a dependent state or a province; and the Chinese could not have objected, because it was the name we applied to the region when it was still part of the old Empire and the Republic. *Manchuria* has the further advantage—no mean one—of being a word which Englishmen can pronounce. I have never yet heard *Manchoukuo* correctly pronounced by anyone who is ignorant of the Chinese language.

I should like to emphasize the fact that my objection to the incorporation of the Chinese term *Manchoukuo* in the English language is not political but linguistic. I am not expressing any opinion as to the political status of Manchuria. I merely wish to point out that if we insist, when speaking English, on abandoning our word *Manchuria* in favour of a crude attempt to say *Manchou* or *Manchoukuo*, we should show consistency by giving up all other anglicizations of foreign place-names and say (for example) *Deutschland* instead of *Germany*, not only when we are speaking German (in which case, of course, we are right in doing so), but also when we are speaking English. Why should Manchuria be the only country in the world the name of which we must try to pronounce exactly as it is pronounced by the Government or people of that country?

The lecturer told us at the beginning of his admirable lecture that in our relations with Japan we must choose between friendship and enmity. If that be so, I for one fervently hope that we shall always choose friendship.

centre. The King is just such an authority. He is British in the broadest sense of the term and he is on the Throne as the representative of all parts of his dominions. Every bit of the Empire looks to him and is satisfied. War lords can never hope to attain such universal loyalty. This is a purely personal opinion on my part, and, as I do not lay claim to having studied Chinese questions as closely as those of Japan, it may not be worth anything at all.

A lady in the audience said she was an Australian who had spent eighteen months in Japan, and on her return home, after the Manchurian crisis, found that there was a general sense of relief in Australia. I heard something to the same effect from a press correspondent attached to the Lathan Mission. He told me much the same. How far it is justified I do not know, but it seems only natural that an explosion should occur if you sit on all three of the safety valves which I mentioned in my talk. The Manchurian outbreak was, in part, the result of the Powers' action in sitting on these valves. Personally, I think it was probably the best thing, from Australia's and from our own point of view, that could have happened. If the explosion had not occurred there, then it might have done so somewhere else, somewhere far more dangerous to ourselves. Japan can do much good in Manchuria and is doing it, and it is to everyone's advantage to help her to get on with it. You cannot bottle up the Japanese indefinitely and expect them to sit down under it. We would not tolerate such treatment ourselves.

Finally, there is the question put by Colonel HILL, a rather difficult one concerning the 21 Demands. I would not go so far as to say that Japan has dropped all the ideas behind those demands, but she is definitely concentrating now on bringing about her objects by means of co-operation between herself, Manchukuo, and China. This, of course, brings up the old, old question that you can take a horse to the water, but you cannot make him drink. It remains to be seen whether China will co-operate. It depends to a large extent on how other nations act towards East Asia. So far as territorial ambitions are concerned, Japan has apparently none in China Proper; but if China continues to refuse to co-operate, there is no saying what may happen. If ever there should be further military operations, you would probably see much the same happening as before. Japan would probably give China another rap over the knuckles, but would not remain in permanent occupation of Chinese soil south of the Great Wall. The Japanese have always withdrawn when they have said they would withdraw, as, for example, in the case of Tsingtao (three times), Shanghai 1932, and North China

1933. Personally, I do not think she ever intended, in any of these instances, to do anything else but withdraw as soon as she had achieved her objects, for Japan draws a very great distinction between China Proper and the outlying districts. She may, in years to come, be prepared to do things in Mongolia if circumstances compel her to take action, just as she has done in Manchuria; but I do not think she will ever attack China with the definite object of seizing territory in China Proper.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks both to the lecturer and to Brigadier Piggott.

CHINA TO-DAY

By ARCHIBALD ROSE

Lecture given on December 5, 1934, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold in the Chair. In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman spoke of the good fortune of the Society in having secured a lecture from one who knew so much, not only of the Treaty Ports, but of inland China, and was an acknowledged authority on that country.

ON return from my rather frequent visits to China I am constantly asked whether I notice any difference in the country—just as they ask me in China whether I notice any difference in England from year to year. Never an easy question to answer, except in general terms. As regards China I shall venture to-night on a general statement—

China is growing stronger. I am confident that this is true. Yet I must confess that the impression of strength comes to me instinctively as I travel about the country, rather than from any array of facts. When I come to marshal the evidence I hardly know where to begin. The trouble in talking about China is that there is too much evidence. The country is so big. So many things are happening. And, against a background of deep and vast continuity, action is often surprisingly swift.

It is only twenty-three years since the Revolution—the outward manifestation of a dynamic change in political and social thought among 400 million people. I speak deliberately of the 400 million, for the change is actually nation-wide. He would be a bold man who would prophesy what will happen in China in the next twenty-three years.

But you will not be content with this general statement. I must try and select a few facts from the mass, conscious always that the presentation of facts about China as a whole is full of snares. I have been travelling about the country at varying intervals for many years. I see things that interest me, and things that astonish me. But I am never sure whether I have got them in true perspective, or whether I appreciate their true significance.

We British folk are apt to judge a country by the effectiveness of

its Government—quite naturally, for the Government is the outward and visible sign of a People in its relationship to other Peoples. The National Government of China has now been established for six years—a long spell as modern Governments go. They have been stormy years, full of action and unrest. Ambitious rivals for power have been active in many provinces and have had to be conquered or appeased.

There is no serious opposition now to the Central Government. The power of that Government may not be very great in outlying areas. But it is tacitly accepted throughout the country; its authority is effective over a greater area and over a greater population than that of many Governments with more dramatic claims. The Central Government of China has seldom attempted or claimed to dominate the social life of its people, who have always asserted and enjoyed a substantial measure of freedom in the conduct of their local affairs.

In considering the position of the Central Government a conspicuous factor is the existence of a personal leadership. General Chiang Kai-Shek is a leader, accepted as such, able, tireless, moving swiftly about the country on tours of inspection, devoting his life to the education of young leaders from every province in the task of nation-building. I do not want to convey the impression that the Government is a personal Government. There is a recognized governing Group, some at Nanking, some in other centres. They work in close co-operation with General Chiang. He is also supported by a wife who has an unusual gift for recognizing and meeting Chinese tradition.

The General's appeal is for unity, organization, economic development and national strength. Madame Chiang's appeal is for social order and family happiness—an appeal expressed in the tenets of the New Life Movement, which borrows inspiration from familiar Confucian ideals.

The National Government of to-day is faced by many problems which were of minor importance to earlier Chinese dispensations—problems of nation-wide concern such as defence, foreign affairs, communications, budgets, currency, the balance of trade, taxation, education and industry. Its area of direct administration is half as big as Europe, and its hands are very full.

It is easy to be critical. It is not to be expected that solutions of such problems over such an area will be found without intense effort. It is more important to realize that, under each head, marked progress is being made.

Local Government is being tightened up and reorganized, especially

in the more populous and prosperous portions of the country—the Yangtze valley and the area under the more direct supervision of Nanking. There is a growing recognition of responsibility on the part of local officials, evidence of alertness in municipal affairs, and an awakening sense of citizenship among the people.

It is sometimes believed that the movement towards progress is confined to a number of young and western-educated men. My own observations do not confirm that view. The men and women of the towns and villages in the interior show a marked consciousness of national feeling, and a practical determination to improve conditions. The Chinese of to-day are not only well-informed, they are extremely modern-minded.

Popular movements are important, and they are often more conspicuous than Government activities. They are at once a reflection of and a stimulus to the Government. Some of the Mass Movements, both political and industrial, are disturbing. They are the result of new activities and the new social conditions arising from them—the growth of industry, organized labour and Party politics. They are sometimes destructive in their effects, largely owing to lack of experience—and experience is the only remedy. It is useless to decry them. Patience and reason will gradually overcome their destructive manifestations, for the Chinese are far too practical to like destruction for destruction's sake.

But the general note of the popular movements is healthy and vigorous. The Mass Education Movement—teaching the village folk to read and write—is creating a literate population, largely through the efforts of voluntary teachers. A simplified written language has been popularized in the Press and in current literature, through the crusading zeal of Dr. Hu-Shih and a group of eminent scholars. The use of a unified spoken language (which we know as “Mandarin”) is making rapid progress throughout the country. Centres of administrative training, of agricultural research, of co-operative societies, and of social training—activities with a special appeal to the Chinese—are doing valuable though unobtrusive work throughout the country. These are basic movements, the signs of a popular renaissance.

The students, who for several years were more concerned with politics than with learning, have returned to work in their schools and universities, where discipline has been re-established.

The popular Press is attaining a high standard, and leader-writers are courageous and constructive. There is a swing of the pendulum

all over the country away from the negations and destructions of the 1925-1928 period. Small industries suitable to China, with a minimum of machinery and a maximum of man-power, are being established in all parts of the country. A modern banking system has been established, and will become a factor of first-rate importance. The soldiers in many areas, freed from the preoccupations of civil war, are occupied on works of public utility, road-making, tree-planting, and conservancy. The railways are being rehabilitated, the tracks improved, the trains running punctually and filled to capacity.

Currency problems have been forced into prominence by the rise in the price of silver, which is the foundation of the Chinese dollar. China is now trying to prevent an outflow of silver in an effort to safeguard her currency and to prevent undue disturbance of commodity prices and further depreciation of the coppers which form the currency of the people. There is a growing perception in responsible quarters that high tariffs induce smuggling and loss of revenue; and that taxation has reached a point when it is ruining the farmers, the backbone of the country. There is a practical realization that trade has to be balanced somehow, and that (in the absence of world demand for China's exports) unproductive imports have to be paid for to-day by an export of gold and silver which can ill be spared.

A conspicuous factor in China to-day is the dynamic quality of the young people. A new and liberal form of education has touched their minds and their imagination. They have fine intellectual qualities. They come of solid practical stock. They are taking care of their physique, and there is in the making a generation of young men and women of high type, intelligent, zealous, robust and comely. They are attracted by endurance almost for endurance' sake—a spiritual quality which China is sharing with our own and other countries in this generation.

The most pressing problem of China to-day is the problem of poverty. Prolonged internal unrest; external fears; floods and droughts; a slack export market partly caused by world depression; an agricultural population working with too little capital; taxation which is too high for the productive margins of the people—all these factors have had a cumulative effect in intensifying the poverty of the people. Sir Arthur Salter estimates that the population of India, with fewer natural advantages than the Chinese, has attained a standard of living more than twice as high as that of China. This gives us some indication of China's capacity for recovery if once the wheels are set in motion.

We cannot avoid a question to ourselves—how does all this affect us? Even if we put it on the most material grounds it affects us a good deal. Prosperity in China affects the happiness of a fifth of the human race; without prosperity they are naturally restless and an incentive to restlessness in others. The Chinese race stands instinctively for peace and, if only through its bulk and its resistance, can prove a bulwark of world peace—given the opportunity to develop in an atmosphere of security.

Further—at the risk of repeating a truism—the Chinese market is the greatest undeveloped market in the world, a hopeful outlet for British manufactures and British capital. China needs capital for development, especially on the railways. She needs material, especially capital goods such as this country produces. She needs technical help, though her own technical men are coming on quickly. She needs the fertilizing influences of capital combined with experience in the establishment and conduct of co-operative enterprises. Every well-conducted enterprise is an object-lesson to a people who are seeking practical guidance in building up a new machinery of commercial and industrial organization.

There is only one way in which China can be brought into harmony with the rest of the world economy, provided that the process is to be reasonably quick. That way is by a supply of capital in one form or another.

There are difficulties in the way of supplying capital by public issues, some arising from international considerations. With these I cannot deal here, except to express the opinion that China in her growing strength will certainly find ways of getting financial help; and it seems worth while for her old friends to make a vigorous and concerted effort to help before old securities grow weaker and new sources of supply are tapped. The quotations on the Stock Exchange for Chinese Bonds are practical evidence of a healthy upward movement in Chinese credit.

Here in London, as I understand, there is an embargo on lending abroad. It may be, and I do not doubt that it is, a wise provision, while the Treasury is nursing our own finances back to health after their nervous breakdown of two years ago. Of course, convalescence must be slow and sure, but as soon as we are restored to financial health I hope that our first footsteps will be in the direction of helping the rehabilitation movement in China, which I have been endeavouring to describe.

Apart from public finance there remain many outlets for capital and enterprise from private sources. Co-operative enterprises are urgently needed in many forms of industry. The experience of those who have already tried co-operative experiments suggests that they can be conducted on sound lines to the benefit of China and of the foreign investor. They need care and local knowledge which can only be obtained by enlisting the help of men who have that knowledge.

We have good men out in China, putting up a gallant struggle—but they now need more support from home. Our big industrialists and financiers could profitably study this problem on the spot. They are not giving to China the same personal attention as are enterprisers from other countries. And we shall not reap the benefits from China's development unless we share in the initial risks. There is no country in the world to-day which offers better opportunities for enterprise than China. There is no country where the men on the spot have to carry so big a burden of responsibility. There is no country where British officials can do so much to help enterprise. The new China is in the making. It will remain predominantly an agricultural country, a producer of raw materials. But certain local industries are essential. Communications are spreading quickly—long-distance telephones, roads, air-routes and all the subsidiary enterprises involved in a modern economy. China will welcome anything which helps to replace her present poverty by wealth and strength.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the need for a more lively interest in China. Her own leaders are now well established, they have vast problems on their hands, they need support. They are building a new structure of Government, of Laws, of Company Legislation, of Regulations affecting the welfare and security of enterprise in all its activities. Those who are in England can help both our own countrymen and China—by strengthening the prestige and the facilities of the British Minister in every possible way; by making it easy for him to keep in closer contact with the Government at Nanking and with the British Community at Shanghai; by seeing that our man-power is of a quality to render the fullest possible service to the men of high calibre who are to-day in control of China's political and business affairs; and by devoting to China that personal interest and attention which alone makes enterprise possible and sound.

As there was no time for questions the meeting closed with a very hearty vote of thanks from the Chairman and audience.

PALESTINE'S PROGRESS*

By NORMAN BENTWICH

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have just spoken to a late member of your Council and he tells me he was last in Palestine in 1884 and that at that time the journey from Jerusalem to Damascus took nineteen days. Now, of course, you can do it—perhaps too quickly—in less than nine hours. There has, indeed, been an amazing change of pace about everything in Palestine since the British occupation. Constant reference to Palestine as a land of progress has become almost wearisome. While the rest of the world has been depressed, this little country has had a period of unexampled expansion, so that it has become the land of prosperity and fulfilment as well as the land of promise. I cannot give you first-hand accounts of the latest progress because I have been away longer than at any other period since the war. It is a year and a half since I was in Palestine, and a great deal has happened in that time. Perhaps more has happened in these eighteen months than in any other period of Palestine's history in modern times. But if we look at the developments of recent years a little further back we may say that the progress has been social, intellectual, and political, as well as material. The clearest idea of the basic developments in Palestine is to be obtained from the report of the census of the country made by the Government in 1931. The results of that census were published in two large volumes, one only to be understood by mathematicians, but the other by the ordinary public. The figures of the change in the population between 1922—when there was a first census—and 1931, when the last census was taken, are very extraordinary. The population had grown in that period from 750,000 to 1,050,000. The increase of the Arab population was about 200,000, of the Jewish about 80,000. The Arab increase was natural and was about 30 per cent.; the Jewish increase was mainly due to immigration, which accounted for 100,000. But while there had been this great increase of the Jews coming back to their national home, the Arabs, owing to their high birth rate and declining death rate, had increased by double that number. Whereas, before the

* Lecture given on October 17, 1934, the Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bt., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., in the Chair.

British occupation, Palestine and the Near East generally were countries of emigration, now this is changing and Palestine is a country of immigration for Arabs as well as Jews.

So much for the growth of population. In all other material respects there has been in these last years an equally amazing development of the country. If you look at the trade of Palestine, while before the war the imports of that country never, I think, rose above £2 millions, and the exports were well under £ $\frac{3}{4}$ million, last year the imports had risen to £12 millions and exports to between £3½ and £4 millions. If you look at the principal product of Palestine known to the world—the orange of Jaffa—in the first year of the British occupation the export was 300,000 cases, while last year it was over 6,000,000 cases, and it is still increasing at the rate of a million cases a year as the groves laid down come to bearing.

If you turn to the figures of the Government revenue, you have the same tale of amazing expansion and growth. The Government revenue to-day is between £3 and £4 millions; and the Palestine Government, again, without parallel in the world, has an accumulated surplus of nearly a year's revenue. The currency figures show the same expansion. Palestine had no currency of its own until 1928. After the occupation the Administration used Egyptian currency. But in that year a currency was started in notes and coins, and I believe the first issue was about £1¾ millions. The currency in circulation a year and a half ago amounted to £2½ millions, and at the end of last year it was £4 millions. The Government profits from it amounted to £100,000. So that there again you have amazing proof of rapid development of the economic life, trade, and energy of the country.

I will deal in a few minutes with the human elements which have produced this prosperity, but there have been, of course, certain large economic factors. The building of the harbour at Haifa, finished some twelve months ago, has revolutionized the place of Haifa in the life of the Near and Middle East. To-day it is the third greatest port in the Eastern Mediterranean, and it is bound to become greater with its wide hinterland of Syria, 'Iraq, and Persia. This month also there has been finished the pipe-line which brings the oil from the largest oil-field in the world down to the sea at Haifa. In the papers this week it is announced that the first oil had actually flown through the pipe-line and had been delivered at Haifa. This line stretches some 600 miles from the oil-field to the sea, bringing oil to Haifa and inducing there the construction of an oil-port.

Then there has been an amazing development of industry in Palestine during the last few years, which again means that the country must take a new place in the development of the Near and Middle East. It was until the time of the British occupation almost entirely an agricultural country. To-day, through Jewish development, it is becoming an important industrial country. Already a few large factories are springing up in Jaffa and Haifa and to a much less extent—and for this we must be glad—in Jerusalem itself. But the small factories producing for the country are numbered in hundreds. Industrial life is reshaping the whole destiny of the country.

That life has been made possible partly by the human energy of the Jews and partly by the electric energy from the River Jordan. The big electrification scheme which excited such controversy has been carried out and completed some years ago; and now electricity is carried from the power house of the Jordan on pylons that bestride the fields and hills to all parts of the country, so that there is now relatively cheap power.

Another natural resource of Palestine, not tapped until recent years, though it made Palestine famous in classical days, is the wealth of minerals in the Dead Sea. The Dead Sea is a huge reservoir of chemicals, the largest in the world. There are 35,000 million tons of potash, and I believe this is estimated to be sufficient to supply all the potash requirements of the world for the next 5,000 years at the present rate of consumption. This great reservoir is to-day being tapped by the Palestine Potash Company, and a busy area at the northern shore of the Dead Sea has sprung up where 500 men are constantly working, half Jews and half Arabs. The heavy water is taken from the Dead Sea, run into great pans, evaporated by the natural heat, and the residue of potash, bromides, salt, and other chemicals is left as a deposit. This resource is not being fully used yet, but when it is developed fully it will give Palestine a place in the economic structure of the Empire and in the chemical and mineral supply world equal to that held by any other country.

Thus, all over there has been an amazing development, in these last years, of this little country which is no bigger than Wales. I know there are those who lament this development and regret that Palestine has not remained the idyllic land of the Bible. But this is really to take a wrong view of what the Palestine of the Bible was like. Palestine in Bible times was a land with a very full and varied life, very unlike the country which we found at the time of the British occupa-

tion and still more unlike the country as it was under Turkish rule. It probably had then between four and five million people; and it was not merely an agricultural and pastoral country, but had a population of tremendous energy and great intellectual vitality. So we are now actually getting Palestine back to the condition in which it was, rather than taking it away. There, anyhow, it is. Palestine has become and must continue to be not simply an agricultural, but an important industrial country and a great trading centre for the Near and Middle East.

There has been a great development of the urban life of the towns, especially of Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa. By Jaffa I mean the twin cities Jaffa and Tel Aviv, which is the Jewish township that has sprung up by the old port. Jerusalem has 100,000 inhabitants. Jaffa and Tel Aviv together form a considerably larger town, and this is due almost entirely to the miraculous expansion of Tel Aviv. Sir Ronald Storrs, whom I see here, will remember that in 1917 there was a little garden suburb, with not many trees and some two or three hundred houses, which was called Tel Aviv, "The Hill of Spring." This is to-day a town of 80,000 to 100,000 inhabitants; and by to-day I mean yesterday, for every day it grows by the continual coming of Jews from Europe. Haifa is certain to be the great economic centre and has grown since the occupation from a population of 30,000 to 40,000 to nearly double that number. These towns have, however, not grown simply through the Jewish population; because the Arab has also increased, not in the same proportion, but probably in the same numbers.

You must not think that the Jewish population is merely urban; and one of the best things in that census report is the striking growth of the Jewish rural population in proportion to the town population. In 1922 the Jewish rural population was 18 per cent. of the Jewish inhabitants: in 1931 it was 25 per cent. or more, and it had a total of 50,000. It is one of the most encouraging signs in the Jewish national home that there is this return to the soil and to the simpler life. Amid many discouraging features in this distressed world which some of us have been facing in connection with the problem of Jewish refugees from Germany it is a hopeful circumstance that, amongst young Jewish men and women, thousands to-day are preparing to go out and live on the soil of Palestine and to work there with their hands. They are turning away from the intellectual pursuits to a simpler kind of productive life; and they are doing it with an enthusiasm which augurs especially well for the future of the country in which they will live.

All this that I have been speaking of is almost entirely material development. The thing which has most of all led to this development and has produced this physical and material transformation is, without a doubt, Jewish immigration, which has been flowing into the country continuously if not steadily from the beginning of the British occupation. Jewish immigration was large in 1925-26 and it declined a little after that, and after the "trouble" of 1929 it declined again. But in the last two years it has been rising to a higher level than ever before. Last year it amounted to between 30,000 and 40,000, and this year it will reach an even higher figure. One great cause of that immigration is the desire of thousands and tens and even hundreds of thousands of Jews denied freedom and opportunity in Europe to get back to their national home and live in the free atmosphere of Palestine. That permanent cause has been amazingly stimulated by what has happened in Germany, and has led to thousands and tens of thousands of that very intellectual and highly developed Jewish community turning to Palestine as their one hope. Since the summer of 1933 there has been immigration at an average rate of a thousand a month. Yet the German flow has not been the main part of the immigration, even with that new impulse. A much larger proportion of the Jewish immigrants come from Poland, which has still three millions of Jews and which has been the principal source of Jewish immigrants to Palestine. But this tragedy to Jewish life in Germany has stirred the Jews more deeply than the events of the war and than the first attempts to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish national home.

Palestine, in consequence, has experienced something unparalleled in the present state of the world: no unemployment, but actual under-employment, a lack of labour, especially in the towns. That has produced a not very healthy rise of wages and a not very healthy drifting back of Jews from the villages to the towns because of the insistent demand for labour in building and industry. These things are, perhaps, not so good. On the other hand, it has led to a much larger employment of Arab labour, particularly in the Jewish villages. It has led also to an increase in the prosperity of the whole population, Arab as well as Jewish. It has also meant the immigration into Palestine of Arabs from the surrounding country. Dr. Weizmann has recently said that, as the Jews could not go to Trans-Jordania, the Arabs were coming from Trans-Jordania to the Jews, and to Palestine to enjoy the prosperity.

There have been, too, other happy signs of development in the

Arab population in these last years. Among them is the development of the village co-operative society among the Arabs of the country. Amongst the many countries into which Mr. Strickland has carried his gospel of co-operation is Palestine. His memorandum shows the need for co-operation in the village life as the only means of giving the Arab independence from the throttle-hold of the moneylender. The Jews in Palestine have already more co-operative societies to every thousand persons than in any country in the world. There are 500 registered societies, and probably a large number of unregistered ones. The whole structure of the economic life of the Jewish population is on a co-operative basis; and that influence will now be spread and developed in the Arab population equally with the Jewish. The Arab and Jewish village societies will no doubt start by being separate; but if they begin on the same lines they will come together as the workmen of the two peoples do already in Trade Unions and organizations of that sort.

A remarkable picture is given of the march of civilization in Palestine in an article by Sir Herbert Samuel written on his return from Palestine this spring. He had not been in that country since 1925 until this year, and he described how he passed through the once marshy and malarial Vale of Esdraelon or Jezreel which runs from Haifa to the Jordan, and was through the ages a great passage-way for armies and one of the vital strategic points of the world. There he saw every form of transport—camel, horse, railway, motor-car, aeroplane, and below his feet the pipe-line carrying the oil; and in the surrounding country the intensive agriculture of new villages dotting the plain where, three thousand years ago, Deborah destroyed the army of Sisera. That sort of picture of history through all its stages, from the simplicity of antiquity to the most complete modernity, is constantly before the eyes of those who live in Palestine or who just visit it, and gives a peculiar thrill.

In the plains you see a marked improvement of the economic life of the Arabs; and there has been a great development of the well-being and prosperity of the Arabs also in the towns of Palestine. But beyond that, and really more important, the possibility exists to-day that the intellectual life and the whole standard of living of the Arabs will be raised by the spread of education. The Government has a large surplus, and now it can embark on extended services of agriculture, education, and other social services. Agricultural and technical education is being extended. And so this pouring of human energy and capital into Palestine is a thing which, partly through the Government

and partly through the quickening of the general life, is already affording the possibility of a higher standard of life and greater opportunities to the whole population.

Sometimes it is said that the proportion of the budget which is spent on public security in Palestine is abnormally high, and that this is due to the tension between the different elements of the population. But on examination this does not appear to be the case. In fact, a smaller proportion of the revenue is spent on security than in Syria or in Egypt.

Sir Herbert Samuel has said that there could be within a few years a population of 2,000,000, all of whom might be maintained in a happy state of life. To-day the population is 1,200,000; and it is increasing at the rate of nearly 100,000 a year. While it was said in the census report of 1931 that the population would, at the then rate of growth, be doubled in twenty years, it is quite possible that it will be doubled in twelve years and certainly in less than twenty.

So much, then, for this material and social progress—this transparent progress—which has taken place in Palestine in these last years. But I do not want you to think, and you will not believe, that all is roses in Palestine and that it is a story only of progress. There are still problems; and those problems are, I think, very much to the fore in the thoughts of everyone concerned with that country. May I say that I think Palestine has been peculiarly fortunate in its present High Commissioner; and I am sure there is no man in this country or out of it who has a deeper concern for the well-being of the Holy Land than the High Commissioner. That itself gives great hope that the problems will come nearer to solution.

In a recent article in *The Times* it was mentioned that three main problems are troubling the country and the Government:

1. The introduction of representative institutions.
2. The immigration quota.
3. Land settlement and the fear of dispossession of the Arabs from their land.

The first problem concerning representative institutions I will pass by almost entirely, because it is *sub judice*. The last year has seen development in the direction of municipal government and elections which will give some guide as to the progress made in the peoples' power of working representative institutions. The Government passed a new law about municipal government, and elections have been held

on a fresh basis so that there will be in the larger towns a mixed municipal council of Jews and Arabs. The High Commissioner announced nearly two years ago that, after some experience of local government, he would proceed with a plan for a legislative assembly for Palestine. We must now be approaching the time when that will have to be considered. It is a question on which it is very difficult to judge whether it would be of benefit to have a legislative assembly at once or to wait for a little time. "Opportunity," said Pindar, "is the crown of everything." There is much to suggest that it might be better to wait until there has been more experience of the working of the municipalities. The proportions of Jewish to Arab populations are getting nearer to each other; and it would be better if they were not too widely distant in representation on the legislature.

The second problem—that of the immigration quota—is much exercising the minds of people in Palestine. Complaints come from both sides; perhaps the more vocal from the Jews, who complain that there is not a sufficient number of immigrants for the economic needs of the country. The Government has applied the formula that immigration shall be limited by the economic absorptive capacity of the country, and this has to be decided by the Government every six months for people coming in without capital. You are, in Palestine, "of independent means" if you have £1,000; and for persons of this class there is no fixed limit. But for those coming as workers there is a definite control based on the prospective needs of the population. This is an extremely difficult thing to do at a time when you have an extraordinary development of enterprise and the pouring in of material wealth. Last year, apart from the sums sent by public bodies, a capital of £10 millions was brought into Palestine by private persons. This capital creates employment and a demand for labour, and it is said that this demand has not been adequately met by the half-yearly quota granted by the Administration. The Jewish complaint is not so much that the immigration as a whole is inadequate, but that the immigration of workers is inadequate. With so many people coming in with capital there is a real lack of labour forces required for the enterprises springing up all over the place. But one may be sure that the Government will try to discover what is to be regarded as the true economic absorptive capacity, looking to the immediate future as well as the present, and will determine its schedule by that test.

There has, of course, been a certain amount of gate-crashing by Jewish immigrants. That was inevitable, partly because thousands

of Jews to whom life elsewhere offers no security and certainly no future will turn desperately to Palestine. Possibly also another factor causing this gate-crashing is this genuine lack of labour in the country. Persons abroad know that they can find work and employment if they get into Palestine as tourists or otherwise. It is something of a vicious circle. The Government tends to be cautious in fixing the numbers in the schedule because it believes there will be illicit immigration; and this illicit immigration is itself stimulated because the Government has been perhaps over-cautious.

The third problem is that of land settlement and the fear of dispossession of the Arabs. That, I believe, is in the main a false apprehension; and I do not think it is such a difficult problem. Palestine certainly is a very small country. Its total area of cultivable land at present estimates is about 10 million dunams, equivalent to about 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ million acres. Of that area the Jews to-day have only $1\frac{1}{4}$ million dunams, a much smaller share than is their due according to their proportion of the population. They acquire land under the very strictest scrutiny of the Government, which is determined to prevent the Arab from being dispossessed of his land. They will only allow land to be transferred from the Arab owner to the Jewish purchaser if there is provision for the maintenance on the land (not, of course, on the whole of it) for any Arab tenants and squatters. That policy can be carried out in practice because it is one of the certain things about Palestine that the good development of land for Arab as for Jew depends on the peasant turning from extensive to intensive cultivation. It is not possible for the Arab to obtain a higher standard of life unless he uses more productively a smaller area of land. The large land-owners will sell part of the land to get capital. The Government has to see that credit is provided, not for the owner who is selling the land, but for the Arab smallholder; and the Government is pursuing that policy partly by the formation of an Agricultural Bank. There is a growth of the use of credit in the Arab as well as the Jewish population. Sir Herbert Samuel was informed that £4 millions of capital are deposited in the banks belonging to the Arabs. This is a larger capital than ever before was available in Palestine.

A great to-do is made—and a rather exaggerated to-do—about a provision in the leases of the Jewish National Fund, which is the Jewish public body purchasing land for the settlement of the Jews, that the tenant may not employ any hired labour on the land except Jewish labour. One has, however, to remember that the Jewish

National Fund obtains its money by voluntary contributions from the Jewish people in all parts of the world for the specific purpose of helping the Jews to get back to the soil and work with their own hands. A fund that has such a purpose and such an ideal is only carrying out its function if it sees to it that the people settled on that land are Jews who are going to work the land and not exploit it. This is the ideology of the Jew returning to his national home. If there is to be hired labour—which is comparatively rare—then it is to be Jewish labour. The Jewish National Fund, however, is not the principal Jewish body owning land in Palestine to-day; and other colonizing organizations have no such provision in their leases. A good deal of Arab labour is employed on their land, a growing amount because of the tendency of the Jew in these last two years to find work in the town.

There is no real conflict of interest between the Arab fellah and the Jewish land settlement. It is the coming of the Jew, with his energy, his capital, his science, which will enable the Arab as well as the Jew to become prosperous and which will make Palestine produce five and ten times what it produces to-day. The Jew is developing before our eyes a return from the soil which had never been developed before. The new Institute at Rechovoth for agricultural research, of which Dr. Weizmann is director, has for its ideal the making of four blades of grass to grow where one grew before. By the application of science to the soil, Palestine will be able to support the thousands of Jews and Arabs who are multiplying on the land.

And now one word about the more comprehensive problem of the relations between Jews and Arabs. There is no immediate solution of this problem. No formulas can be found for it, no politics or policy will bring about the solution rapidly. It will be solved by the steady development of public opinion, and better understanding in the coming generations of the two peoples. It can be furthered by the building up of that better understanding and larger knowledge on the side both of the Jew and the Arab. There are signs that this is beginning.

I was at the Assembly of the League of Nations this year, and when the report of the Mandates Commission came before the 6th Commission of the Assembly, a representative of 'Iraq as an independent State was present for the first time. It struck me as a happy thing to hear this delegate of 'Iraq (Jaffar Pasha, I think) refer to the Jews as his cousins, and he said, perhaps a little trustingly, that Palestine

was fit and ripe for self-government because, among other reasons, it had produced prophets of old, and it was a fine thing for a country to produce prophets. That is the right spirit, and I think that as education in the country develops you will begin to get a development of friendship between the two branches of the Semitic people.

There is in Palestine and out of Palestine a section of the Zionists who believe that that building up of understanding and the pursuit of the well-being of the Arab is a fundamental political need and duty of the Jews. That outlook has in it the promise of peace. It has a very definite following among Jewish leaders, if not yet among the mass. One of the things lacking in Palestine to-day and which cannot be supplied from the Arab side is an organized effort for the building up of a corresponding opinion in the Arab population. The Arab must realize that there has to be real respect between Jew and Arab; and that Palestine is a national home of the Jews as well as of the Arabs. The Arab at present has no great sense of history, and does not realize what Palestine means to the Jew. I think the feeling can be built up best by the English in Palestine and English opinion out of Palestine. Palestine is a world responsibility. It is a responsibility of civilization. The whole world must play its part in bringing about peace there; and the English people, in England and in Palestine, have a definite function to fulfil in holding before themselves and before the country the vision of the Arab and Jew coming together to co-operate and coming together in pursuit of their ideals. It is not the function either of the British Administration or the public to be simply the honest broker in Palestine. They must do more. In the words of the Psalm they must "seek the peace of Jerusalem. They that love thee shall prosper."

DISCUSSION

Dr. PARKER asked how Poles and Germans, who cannot get on well together in Europe, agree in Palestine?

Mr. BENTWICH: Do you mean as between each other?

Dr. PARKER: Yes.

Mr. BENTWICH: In Palestine they become Palestinians, but I am bound to say that I have not been there in the last year and a half. There was a small German immigration before and then no feeling at all. When the Jew from whatever country goes to Palestine, he is a Jew.

Dr. PARKER: Are they educated together and do they speak the same language?

Mr. BENTWICH: Yes.

QUESTION: May I go back to 1925, when I was there? The Hebrew University was established in Jerusalem and I asked about languages. How can the Arab be instructed there if they only speak Hebrew?

Mr. BENTWICH: There is in question the almost complete separation of the Arab and Jew. The Arab learns in Arabic and the Jew in Hebrew. There is a great renaissance of both languages. There are a small number of Arabs who go to the Jewish University. It is not difficult for an Arab to learn Hebrew. I had a messenger—a boy who was paid £3 or £4 a month—and one morning he came in and addressed me in excellent Hebrew, which he had learned at some evening class in two or three months while he had been in my service. The Arabs and Jews will have their own educational systems during this generation, but the young Jews are almost all learning Arabic, and in the next generation there should be no language difficulty.

The CHAIRMAN: Two points struck me in the address which we have just heard. The first was the modern farming methods of the Jewish rural population, which struck me as a healthy sign. The second was the great import figure as compared to exports. How is the balance of trade adjusted?

Mr. BENTWICH: That is a feature which will be permanent, and is partly accounted for by invisible exports. It consists partly of money which the great and increasing number of tourists bring into the country and partly of large sums of money sent in by people outside Palestine. Both amounts are considerable; a million or more is sent directly from outside Palestine, and it is mainly through new industry that this difference between exports and imports is accounted for. One may say that the greatest invisible export of Palestine is its history and religious associations, which can be set off against some millions of money.

A question was asked as to Bolshevik and Communistic activities in Palestine.

Mr. BENTWICH: I do not think there are Bolshevik activities there now. I think it is a misunderstanding to think that people living in a communal order are Bolshevik. They are Russians—that is true—but by Bolshevik and Communist one means people anxious to overturn the existing order of the State. There are a few agitators of this kind,

but there are no such Communist settlements in Palestine, and the Communists to which the lady is referring are those who hold the idea that they should share all things in common.

QUESTION: If the Palestine Treasury have so large a surplus, why do they have to borrow £2 millions from this country?

MR. BENTWICH: The Lords of the Treasury decided in their wisdom that there should be a reserve in case there should be a set-back to the present prosperity. They considered it better to do this than to use the existing surplus.

QUESTION: I agree there is industrial prosperity, but is the speaker aware that Ruttenberg's Hydro-Electric Company is charging 1s. 8d. per unit for electricity?

Further, with regard to potash. Everyone knows that potash exists in vast quantities in the Dead Sea. Why not exploit it so that it can be sold to the farmers in England who have to pay £10 a ton for it?

MR. BENTWICH: I am amazed to hear that electricity is charged at 1s. 8d. per unit. The concession lays down that the maximum rate was, as I remember it, $3\frac{1}{2}$ piastres, about 9d. I should be very surprised to find it was sold at more than double that rate. My information was that electricity was being sold at a less rate than that laid down in the concession.

QUESTION: My informant was very reliable, and when I asked at home about it they said that the concessionaires would certainly have to bring their price down.

MR. BENTWICH: As to your second point about the potash of the Dead Sea and why it is not used in England, I am sure the company will be anxious to sell in England. It may be that the potash from Germany is as cheap, but when Palestine potash is developed more fully it is pretty certain that the farmers will buy from the Dead Sea as readily as from Alsace.

MRS. SOANE MALCOLM ELLIS: I have just returned from Palestine, having lived there on and off for the last two years. I found the country was saturated with the most appalling obscene literature (mostly from Germany) which can be had on almost any bookstall. The High Commissioner has taken strong measures to prohibit it, but I fear it is still finding its way into the country.

During Purim—one of the Jewish festivals—I decided to go to Tel Aviv to see it. Unfortunately the few decent hotels were full, and the only accommodation offered me in the smaller ones was to share

a room with both men and women, which apparently they think nothing of doing.

I also found that the majority of people in Palestine, both Arabs and Jews, were living a hand-to-mouth existence. Practically every immigrant that goes out opens a shop—the result is that there are nearly as many shops as there are people. Several have told me, especially those from European countries, that it is impossible to make a living, and they would willingly sell up their goods for a tenth of what they paid for them should they find a purchaser. Is that a sign of prosperity?

Major R. B. BURNEY: There is a particular interest in this lecture to those of us who were personally associated during the war with the operations that ended the old régime and heralded the new.

I had many opportunities of observing the Arab freshly emerged from Turkish subjection, and learning from him at first hand the kind of freedom he had enjoyed until our advance released him from a rule he had borne with resignation. One instance stands prominently in my memory. Next to my last camp on the way to Gaza was an Arab farmer ploughing his land, driving the same plough, wearing the same garb, and slowly progressing across his field behind his camel as had Jacob when he served Laban for Rachel.

Our men had been forbidden to accept gifts since it was impossible to eradicate from the minds of the few remaining inhabitants the custom of making propitiatory offering to authority. When I explained to the farmer that the troops would be punished if they accepted presents, he replied, "What I offer your men freely is all that my Turkish masters used to leave me." In truth, the only liberty the Arab has ever enjoyed was brought to him in the knapsack of a certain Thomas surnamed Atkins. Much has been made and is still made of the disturbances between Jew and Arab. For this there is neither racial nor religious reason. In other lands the Arab and the Jew display little antagonism. Bear in mind that the Arab is the most quarrelsome devil on the face of God's earth. An Arab village is an apotheosis of quarrels.

But apart altogether from this there exists and always will exist between a new and an old régime a feeling of prejudice and resentment, more or less acute, arising out of the disturbance of long settled customs, subverted by newcomers or by new ideas. Enterprise and adventure confront indifference and inertia. Who has not heard the cry "Why can't we stay as we are?" It was voiced in Scotland when, in the eighteenth century, the English first made roads. It was heard in England with the first railway and dire were the prophecies against

it. It was heard, and some of us here heard it, when the suburban fields of Hampstead were transformed into Golders Green. "I have wandered here or I have worked like this, or I have travelled so, and my fathers before me—why come and disturb with buildings and motors and steam ploughs and busy industries over old Sleepy Hollow?" The transition period is no longer than youth. In a few years men will be too busy to be disgruntled. Someone just enquired how do Jews from mutually hostile countries meet in Palestine. How do they meet here? And is it very relevant? Is it not more to the point to consider how will their sons and their grandsons meet when the amalgam of common interests, the pride of common nationality combine them?

Why, too, should we discuss, as the member behind me desires, the immorality in some hotels in, I think she said, Tel Aviv? What would they say out there, if they were in the least interested, about the moral conditions revealed recently in our police courts in connection with some orgiastic club proceedings, affecting a large number of London citizens? Or will she translate into Arabic and Yiddish to-night's poster of an evening newspaper, "Does it pay to be a good girl?" and send it to Tel Aviv? I shall leave this hall after our meeting for my club, a few hundred yards away, and shall be fortunate to reach my destination without obtrusive molestation. And there were quite recently hotels within a few minutes' walk that might have founded the establishments of that distant city. If this lady is under the impression that immorality is some new phenomenon in the Near East, I can assure her she is mistaken. Morality in some Arab centres is simply non-existent and the most appalling conditions prevail.

I would far rather maintain this discussion at the high level to which the lecturer brought it. We are privileged to witness one of the finest experiments in government the world has ever seen. That it has fallen to the British Government to nurture it is a matter of supreme pride to every Englishman, be he Jew or Gentile, and there can be surely no single person in this audience who, abating all quibbles and all small and carping criticism, does not wish that Jew and Arab and the land of their inheritance may justify the high hopes of all who desire to assist in establishing a great and exalted ideal.

Sir RONALD STORRS: I have nothing to add to this debate in the way of question or query, but I am wondering if all the guests understand what sort of man was their lecturer or what sort of work he did for Palestine. When the Military Government was established we went on for some time without any judges or any lawyers. We were, you may

say, in a state of innocence. We managed very well, and then I got up from Cairo Orme Clark to be the first legal adviser, and he was assisted by Mr. Norman Bentwich. When Clark had to leave Bentwich took over and became Attorney-General, a position he held with great distinction for more than a decade. What his abilities are as a speaker you have been able to judge to-night. As a writer many of us have followed his never fading form. He never once failed to keep the most impartial judgment between Moslems, Christians, and his own co-religionists. I would like to say, as one who worked with him, that he is not only the delightful writer and lecturer we know him to be, but a man of the most strict impartiality it is possible to conceive. I very much regretted having no opportunity to pay him the tribute which I thought was his due when he left Palestine.

The CHAIRMAN and audience gave a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Bentwich for his very interesting lecture.

Mr. BENTWICH: I should like to say a word of thanks to Sir Ronald Storrs, who is always too generous. If I appear to be sharp or unkind in replying I am sorry, but I do feel that all of us have got to keep our eyes continually on the larger vision.

EVENTS IN WESTERN ISLAM*

By CAPTAIN F. H. MELLOR

THROUGH the centuries Morocco has been remarkable for the intense religious fanaticism of the Arab and Berber inhabitants, and it is therefore by no means strange that the country should, until very recent times, have remained practically unknown. Although intensely Muslim, the Moors have ever differed from their co-religionists elsewhere in that they never acknowledged the Sultan of Turkey as Khalifa, but looked upon their own ruler as "Lord of the Believers," owing to his descent from Mulai Idriss and the Prophet. Thus the greatest asset of the Sultan has always been the "baraka," or power of blessing granted from on high, on account of which the prayers are said in his name in all the Mosques in Morocco.

The last really independent ruler was Mulai Hassan, who by incredible exertions and numerous campaigns succeeded in keeping his tottering empire together. After his death in 1894 Abdul Asez and Mulai Hafid found themselves unable to resist the gradual penetration of their country by the unbelievers, particularly the French who had for years been firmly established in the neighbouring territory of Algeria. It was not, however, until 1912 that events came to a head when the French, with the consent of the British, declared Morocco a Protectorate and appointed Marshal Lyautey the first Resident-General.

Under Lyautey, towns, roads and railways appeared as if conjured up by some enchanter and a policy of penetration was at once initiated. Strong mobile columns were dispatched to important points: Marrakesh, the southern capital, was occupied, while the key to the country, the Telouet pass in the High Atlas, was held for the French by their devoted friend Hadji Thami Glaoui. Once a district was occupied pacification soon took place, for the Marshal used a market filled with new and delightful things as handmaiden to the sword, a combination which the inhabitants, like children for all their subtlety, could not resist.

It seemed as if the outbreak of war in 1914, however, would undo all this work, for Morocco was emptied of troops, and the Marshal was even asked to evacuate a large part of the country. With remarkable

* Notes on a lecture given on September 26, 1934, at the Royal Society's Hall, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O., in the Chair. The lecture was illustrated by some excellent lantern slides.

courage and wisdom he refused to do so, and held on by his eyelashes, remarking: "I have scooped out the lobster but I have preserved the shell."

The war over, there was still trouble owing to the success of the Riffian leader Abd-el-Krim, who raised the standard of revolt against the Spaniards and almost drove them out of the narrow strip of hilly country on the Mediterranean which formed the Spanish Protectorate. Carried away by his triumph, Abd-el-Krim then attacked the French, nearly reaching Fez, but was at length defeated and captured during combined Franco-Spanish operations.

From then onwards Morocco has gone forward in majesty and security, continuing the rapid developments initiated by the master builder, Marshal Lyautey. His policy of penetration has been continued, and every year new tracts of country have been occupied in the name of the Sultan. For this purpose a field army about 30,000 strong was collected: it consisted of troops of all arms, the Foreign Legion, Spahis, Goums, Zouaves and Partisans, and soon became the most efficient fighting machine in existence. In 1928, Ouarzazate and the territory beyond was occupied, and the country of the Berber tribes was systematically dealt with year by year, until at last, in 1933, Oskounti, the Berber leader, was compelled to surrender his lair on Mount Badou in the Middle Atlas.

There was still, however, a large portion of the Sus to be occupied, and in February of this year the field army, once more under the supreme command of General Huré, commenced operations. The country to be fought over was not so difficult as that in the Middle Atlas, and, in addition, a good deal of the army had become mechanized. As a result success was immediate; the group of General Catroux advanced from Tiznit along the border of the tiny unoccupied Spanish possession of Ifni, while the mechanized column under General Giraud, debouching from the passes of the Anti Atlas at Akka and Tatta, pressed forward with remarkable speed round the right flank of the dissidents. The Blue Moors had to go, and a Spanish force having landed at Ifni, the troops of General Catroux reached the line of the River Draa, on the borders of the Spanish territory of Rio del Oro, where they took up position. Meanwhile the victorious mobile column continued over the Draa plateau until it gained Tindouf, in Algeria, a town near the east frontier of the Rio del Oro, the key to the old Caravan route, which had never previously been occupied owing to the presence of hostile troops in the rear. For the first time in history the

whole of Morocco came under the effective rule of the Sultan, and a route was opened by which, according to General Giraud, Timbuctoo could be reached in three days from Casablanca. It also opened communication from Senegal through Mauretania to Morocco, the idea no doubt being the speedy transportation of black troops to the north in the event of a European war.

In spite of these successes there was in the summer of 1934 a certain amount of unrest in Morocco. I noticed myself that round Marrakesh the people appeared desperately poor and unhappy, and a Muslim-Nationalist movement, which had been growing for some time, became very active. On May 10 H.M. Sidi Mohamed, visiting the Mosque of Mulai Idriss, became the unwilling centre of a violent demonstration expressing anti-French feeling. So important was this considered that a French adviser immediately hurried to Fez, and at once returned to Rabat with His Majesty, while the Grand Vizier issued the following declaration: "After the splendid reception which the town of Fez has given to H.M. Sidi Mohamed, some evil people have taken advantage of his visit to the shrine of Mulai Idriss to display reprehensible dislike of the French Government. His Majesty, who intends to remain a friend of France, shows his displeasure by returning to Rabat immediately."

Further incidents took place on May 24, when the Sultan proceeded to Taza and Oujida to inaugurate the new railway line, and the authorities suppressed several vernacular newspapers. Since my return from Morocco in June there has also been trouble in Algeria.

French rule in Morocco presents a curious contrast to British rule in Northern Nigeria. Governing the people as they do, with far greater severity, they yet allow the dirtiest street urchin to behave with almost incredible familiarity. The Moors, great exponents of *fraternité* amongst themselves, have never extended the hand of friendship to their European conquerors. The Mosques remain closed to the Unbeliever, the shrine of Mulai Idriss in Fez is even yet a place where it is not wise to linger, and the only occasion when I saw an inhabitant of Morocco look really pleased was when a cavalier persuaded his horse to kick me.

The Sultan still proceeds in splendour to the great Friday Prayer, and to this day the Christian may not pierce the line of black guards, though the humblest Muslim may. But the guards are commanded by a French officer, gay in red and blue, and as "the Victorious by God" rides back from the Mosque under the Royal umbrella a mere handful of his subjects cry out, "May God preserve the life of our Lord."

THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN TRANS-JORDANIA

By I. CHIZIK

1. The Istiklalists

The Istiklalist Movement was formed and started in about the years 1907-1909 with the aim of forming an Arab independent State, combining all Arabs as one nation totally free from foreign interference. This party was first known as Hizb al 'Ahd (Unity Party), but assumed the name of Istiklal during the War. It is working towards the unification of al 'Iraq with Syria, and later with Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Such a unification of an Arab State under a constitutional monarchy will form a nation of about 8 to 9 million people, who, together with the Arabian kingdom, will be able to repel any invasion from the west. The present policy is one of non-co-operation with the Mandatory Powers. They place their hope in the next war from which they expect to emerge as victors, and not to repeat the mistakes which, they allege, the Arab leaders have committed. They claim to be responsible for the freeing of the Arabs from the Turks, and boast that they will free the Arabs similarly of all foreign oppression. Thus far they have instigated the rebellion in 'Iraq in 1920, the Syrian Revolt of 1925, and have aided the Arabs in Palestine during the trouble of 1929. Most of the Party leaders are in exile, but nevertheless they are quite active, and one wonders what their next move will be.

ON the whole there has not been any formidable change in the social structure of the Trans-Jordanians. Beside the gradual transformation of the nomads to agriculture and settled life, there have not arisen new classes based on economic differences—as is the case in progressing Palestine. There are no labour, nor middle-class industrial or merchant elements in Trans-Jordan. The only change is the new intellectual element of government officials, teachers and professionals (most of whom are not Trans-Jordanians), which has grown up since the establishment of the present administration of Trans-Jordan under the Emir Abdullah. The population at large is not interested in politics, and they will support any government, on condition that this government is strong and firm.

When Abdullah first established his government at Amman in the spring of 1921, with the approval of Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Secretary of State, who then visited Palestine, his government was weak and lacked both money and arms—two most needed factors in a country like Trans-Jordania—so that it was possible for some of the leaders of the sub-districts to challenge the government, which had neither authority nor prestige at that time. Among those who came into open conflict with the government were Kulib al Shrcida, of

Kurah in the Aglun district, and Sultan al Adwan, paramount sheikh of the Adwan tribe. The latter was a local prince who thought himself the right person to be Emir, rather than Abdullah who came from the Hedjaz. These so-called revolts did not have a national character, however, and were easily and quickly suppressed by the Arab legion with the help of the Royal Air Force. The government soon established its authority and gained prestige. The Bedouin have been loyal subjects of the Amir ever since, and support his government in all its policies. Moreover, Sultan al Adwan, who fled to Jebel Druze and was pardoned by King Hussein, who arrived just then in Trans-Jordan, has returned to his tribe and is now an ardent supporter and personal friend of the Amir Abdullah.

In the cities the situation is, however, different. The urban population has been considerably increased by a large influx of Arab nationalists who were repeatedly disappointed in Damascus, Jerusalem, Beyrout, and Cairo, many of whom flocked to Amman, where they thought they could receive Arab culture and work for an Arab renaissance; Amman, in fact, became the Mecca of Arab nationalism.* These non-Trans-Jordanian Arab nationalists, most of whom came together with Abdullah, did not approve of the treaty between the Amir and Great Britain, and insisted on a complete independence. Most of these newcomers were Syrian Istiklalists who thought that by serving Abdullah they were helping their own country towards its restoration under King Feisal. But when they saw that Abdullah was satisfied with Trans-Jordan they left him and have ever since opposed him. The revised and officially signed Treaty of 1928 has not appeased these few nationalists, who "demand a treaty which will make out of Trans-Jordania a second independent 'Iraq State.'" It is not likely that the recent agreement will change the attitude of these nationalists. This party, headed by Hussein Pasha al Tarawna, calls itself the party of the Trans-Jordanian Executive Committee. This Executive Committee is not the Executive of the Trans-Jordanian Congress held in

* *The Arab Federation Weekly*, published in Jerusalem, May 28, 1934, which aims at an independent Federation of the lands of the Fertile Crescent—namely, Palestine, Trans-Jordania, Syria, and al 'Iraq. The recent visit of the Amir to London has resulted in an additional agreement revising certain articles. In the original treaty of February 20, 1928, this new agreement provides for communication between Great Britain and other Powers on the one hand, and Trans-Jordan on the other, to be made through the High Commissioner and the British Resident in Amman; for the appointment of Trans-Jordan consuls in neighbouring Arab states; the defraying of ordinary civil administration expenditure entirely by Trans-Jordan; and the removal of all Customs barriers between Palestine and Trans-Jordan except by agreement.

1917, but a group of people who formed themselves into a political party under that name. The secretary of this party, Adil al Adhmah, is a Syrian born in Damascus and is an ardent Istiklalist. He is a lawyer and the brother of Nabir al Adhmah, who lives in Jerusalem and was twice the Director of the Arab Fair. Al Adhmah's right-hand man is Dr. Soubhi Abu Ghanima. In general, the leaders of this party have Istiklal ideals of a Pan-Arabic Federation, and are in close co-operation with the Istiklal leaders of Palestine, Syria and 'Iraq, and are in opposition to the present government. The followers and supporters of this party are mostly Syrians from Damascus, and other non-Trans-Jordanians who have made Amman the centre of their pan-Arab activities. They went so far as to suggest, in their Congress of 1933, the annexation of Trans-Jordan to 'Iraq. They communicated their proposal to King Feisal, who was then visiting Trans-Jordan and who, it seems, approved of the plan. Abdullah naturally opposed this plan and worked unceasingly against it, and to counteract the annexation of Trans-Jordan to 'Iraq he began to make plans for its unification with Palestine. The Amir then, through his able Prime Minister, Ridu Pasha al Rikabi (military governor of Syria during Feisal's reign, and who is now heading the Royalists, who want to make Ali, Abdullah's brother, King of Syria), dismissed the Istiklalists from Government service and sent some of them away. But though very few in numbers, they are not completely suppressed. Their greatest ally and supporter is the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Ameen al Husseini, who fears lest he lose his influence in Palestine by the rise of Abdullah. The Grand Mufti, who was a great supporter of the Hashimite family, has gone over to King Ibn Sa'ud, whom he favours as King of Syria. The Istiklalists are heard from time to time, and their capable leaders propagate their case (for achieving actual independence for Trans-Jordania within an Arab Federation, preferably under the kingship of Ghazi, King of 'Iraq) quite ably. They demand: (1) The establishment of a responsible representative form of government (*i.e.*, responsible to the people). (2) The revision of the Treaty with Great Britain. (3) Retrenchment in the unbearable Trans-Jordania budget.

They opposed the Amir's visit to London, fearing lest the visit might have a bearing on the annexation of Trans-Jordan to Palestine, and on the selling of land.

2. The People's Party

The second party is *the People's Party* (The Sha'ab Party founded in 1927), and it is headed by Naji Pasha Azzim. The People's Party

supports the government and the Amir. The present Prime Minister, Ibrahim Hashim (a Palestinian from Nablus) is a member of this party. The supporters and followers of this party are all Trans-Jordanians, including most of the leading tribal Sheikhs. This party disapproved of the large influx of Arab "foreigners" and the influence they assumed as officials of all kinds in the government. And in spite of all blood ties and emotional connections with these foreigners, there arose a territorial patriotism which demanded the dismissal of these "foreigners" and their replacement by Trans-Jordanians. Then was heard the ominous cry of "Trans-Jordan for the Trans-Jordanians." And before the unprejudiced and honest Arab patriots could oppose the new propaganda, a legislation confirming the granting of government posts to Trans-Jordanians only, and regarding all Arabs from Syria, Palestine, 'Iraq, and other countries, as foreigners, was passed.* This territorial nationalism which is growing quite rapidly in the Near East, manifesting itself especially in 'Iraq and Trans-Jordan, is a death-blow to the exponents of the Pan-Arabic idea. The Trans-Jordanians—the majority of whom are ardent supporters of the Amir Abdullah—reject vigorously the meddling of the Palestinian Arabs, especially of the Mufti party (the Majlessin), in their affairs, and have denounced the unfriendly attitude of the Palestinian (especially the Mufti) press, as expressed in the last few months, during the Amir's tour of Palestine and during his visit to England. On the other hand, friendly relations exist between the Palestine Opposition Party (the Opposition to the Mufti and to his supreme Council and to the Arab Executive, the majority of whom are supporters of the Mufti), and the Christian Arabs of Palestine and the Amir Abdullah.

All these political intrigues, however, are strange to the population at large, whose main desire is to improve their own economic condition and gain a livelihood in the face of the famine which befell the country during the last few years. The country has a debt of £P 40,000 and its yearly expenses are rising every year without increasing its sources of income. The country is waiting to be developed, and the people at large are willing and will welcome any attempt to improve their condition and the general progress of their country.

NOTE.—The conclusion reached in the last paragraph is not held by everyone, but is a legitimate one, giving one point of view.

* Arab Federation, May 26, 1934.

THE REBELLION IN CHINESE TURKESTAN

THE state of affairs in Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan offers little hope of a satisfactory ending of the civil war that has devastated the country. It will be remembered that the origin of the present anarchy was the rising of the Tungans or Chinese Mahomedans against the Chinese authorities. Tungan rebellions are a well-known phenomenon in Turkestan and Kansu, where ruined villages and deserted fields extending over large areas may be often seen.

The cause of the present insurrection was primarily due to the seizure by the Chinese provincial government of the feudatory state of Hami or Kumul when the late Khan, Maqsud Shah, died in 1930. Hami was full of Tungans; and they, together with the independent subjects of that small country, rightly resented the sequestration by the Chinese of their land, for such action was uncalled for and due to greed only.

After much fighting on the road between the capital of the province, Urumchi or Tihwa, and Hami, the Tungans moved south in two parties, one by the western route through the Yulduz, the other by the east through old Turfan and the Kuruktagh, uniting again at Karashahr. The Torgut Kalmucks in the Yulduz suffered grievously at the hands of the fanatical Mahomedans, whose religious feelings were aroused at the sight of such blatant Kafirs as these Mongols. It is now reported that after this affliction the whole Kalmuck population fled north to the Altai and Outer Mongolia, and that the rich pastures of the Yulduz are now deserted. The Tungans then swept south from Karashahr, murdering the Chinese on their way. Their objective was Kashgar, the richest city in Sinkiang and the only place of financial importance, for the revenue drawn from that city and its surroundings forms by far the greater part of the income of the whole province.

Before the arrival of the Tungans, the authorities of Kashgar, where the Taotai or Governor, Ma Shao Wu, was himself a Tungan, armed the local Kirghiz nomads (against the advice of the leading Turki citizens), and later considerable fighting ensued.

The Tungans eventually occupied both the new and old cities at Kashgar. The Kirghiz proved utterly untrustworthy—for no Kirghiz has any idea of honour—and looted Kashgar.

By this time the rebellion, which had been given for propaganda purposes a pseudo-Islamic colour, was general throughout the pro-

vince, and sporadic risings took place, of which the most important was in Khotan, where two Amirs proclaimed a Moslem state. The late Taotai of Khotan, Yang, has never been heard of since. The point to bear in mind is that, had the rebels consisted only of Tungans and Turkis, the Chinese authorities would have been able to come to terms of some kind. The whole situation, however, was aggravated by two disturbing factors, the Andijanis and the Kirghiz. The former consisted of a nucleus of refugees from Andijan in Russian Turkestan who had fled from Russia and had settled near Kashgar. The Kirghiz, who had been armed by the Chinese, joined the Andijanis. In numbers the Andijanis and Kirghiz were originally small, but they received well-armed reinforcements from across the Soviet frontier, a sinister and significant fact.

The Andijanis-cum-Kirghiz were the most evil feature of the whole struggle. They were murderous, undisciplined robbers, whose sole object was loot, and they were indifferent as to whom they pillaged. There is little object in describing the confused and confusing guerilla warfare of which Kashgaria was now the scene. It was in every way a wretched business, cruel, treacherous, and objectless. The chief sufferers were, as always in civil war, the innocent villagers and townsfolk.

The early months of 1934 saw the Tungans in occupation, with the fugitive Chinese, of Kashgar New City, whilst the old city was left to the Andijanis, Kirghiz, and Turkis: and the condition of its inhabitants was lamentable. A civil war took place between the garrisons of the two cities, and it was owing to this strife that the casualties in the British Consulate-General on February 24 took place, when the Tungans were attacking and defeating the Andijanis.

Later in the year matters took on a different complexion owing to the arrival of Chinese troops known as the North-Eastern force (in Chinese "Tung-bai-tsun"). These came from Manchuria, through Soviet Russia, and were known as the Manchurian Volunteers. When the troubles between China and Japan over Manchuria took place a force was raised from the merchants and settlers in Manchuria, who, when defeated, fled to Russian territory and were disarmed. These Manchurian troops are wholly Communist: so, too, are many of the Andijanis, and it is this fact that gives so much significance to the present state of affairs in South-West Sinkiang.

After the arrival of the North-Eastern force, the Tungans withdrew east to Khotan, where they arrived in the middle of June, 1934,

and where they behaved satisfactorily, and established their rule. The frontier between them and the Chinese Communists is a little west of Karghalik, an important town and the starting-point of the trade route to India via the Karakorum Pass. The head of the Tungans has been Ma Chong Ying, more usually known as Ga-si-ling, which is the Chinese for "Young Commander," because when he first rebelled against the Chinese in his native province of Kansu he was only eighteen years old. He is a very attractive personality, brave, highly intelligent and well-mannered, and in all respects very competent. On the arrival of the Chinese North-Eastern force in Kashgar, Ma Chong Ying was advised by the Soviet Consul-General there to go to Russia. He accordingly was escorted to the frontier at Ulugh Chat (it used to be Irkeshtam, but it has been "advanced") by Monsieur Constantinoff, the Secretary, and by some members of the trade agency of the Bolshevist Consulate. It was reported that he had died on arrival at Moscow. The present state of affairs in Sinkiang is that the nominal head Governor-General or "Chairman" of the provincial government is Li-yung, a Chinaman born in Sinkiang, and for many years Taotai of Urumchi. He is an old man, and in the time of the late governors, Yang and Jen, was a complete cipher. The only change in his condition is that he is a very frightened one at present.

He succeeded Ju, C.I.E., the former Taotai of Kashgar and later of Aksu, well known to many foreigners for his charm, courtesy, and hospitality. Mr. Ju, alas, after being acting Chairman for two months, died in April, 1934—a natural death, be it noted. He was an old man, but one of great ability, competent to deal with any of the innumerable problems that Sinkiang can offer a ruler.

The Military Governor, known as Tu-pan or Director-General, is Sheng Shih Tsai. He is a Japanese-trained student, and was formerly adviser to Jen, who succeeded Yang as Chairman or Governor-General when he was murdered in 1928.

Liu Tin-cheng or Educational Commissioner of Urumchi in the time of Yang, who was the confidant, bosom friend, and adviser of that great man, is now under surveillance at Urumchi as a plotter against the government. He is an old man, well over seventy, and an able financier and administrator. He is the last survivor of the old school of mandarins in Sinkiang who gave that province many years of peace, prosperity, and happiness.

It is interesting to note that General Li Hi Ju, a graduate of Pao-ting-fu military academy, for five years governor of Chuguchak or

Tacheng in Western Sinkiang, and also, at the same time, by a miracle of bi-location, governor of Hami, a thousand miles to the east, is now with the Tungan forces at Khotan, having surrendered to them at Guchen when the Chinese were defeated there on the march of the Tungans from Hami to Urumchi.

The Vice-Chairman of the country is Khoja Niaz Haji, the Turki who has played the most prominent part of all his countrymen in the anti-China movement. The Ambans are now all Turkis, and quite useless, but their powers are negligible, and the Chinese military officers—*i.e.*, officers of the North-Eastern force—control the country.

The Tungans in Khotan are anti-Chinese, and they have no intention of settling down under the present conditions, but maintain that they will fight to their last man. Everyone admits that the Tungans have great military ability and are very courageous—rare qualities in Central Asia—but they have shown great hatred towards the Chinese. It was only in Kashgar that they curbed this feeling, spared the Chinese, and combined with them. It was not at the intercession of the Tungan governor, but because of the presence of two foreign Consulates that their behaviour was modified. Elsewhere countless Chinese have been slain by them. It is well to remember that Chinese-Tungan feeling has always been bitter and irreconcilable, and that the Tungans were often avenging old wrongs on the innocent.

The Central Government in Nanking has made attempts at peace. Their first commissioner was Hwang Mu Sung, a Cantonese, who went to Urumchi but accomplished nothing. He had great difficulty in leaving the province and returning to China Proper. He was refused petrol, motor-cars, or an aeroplane. However, he managed to escape, and apparently his failure so pleased the authorities in Nanking that he was sent as head of the Chinese mission to Tibet, where he now is. He must have profited by his experiences in Sinkiang, as, before entering Lhasa, he sent ahead a present of a lakh of rupees in cash to ensure a friendly welcome.

The second peace commissioner was Dr. Lo Wen Kan, now Minister of Justice under the Nanking Government. He is a man of ability as well as a patriot, and has no desire to see China lose Sinkiang. He, too, experienced great difficulty in leaving the province, and it was only by the aid of the Eurasia Aviation Company that he returned to Nanking.

The Chinese now in power in Sinkiang are pursuing the old policy of refusing to allow any Chinaman, official or non-official, to leave the

country. There appears to be a reign, if not of terror, at any rate of suspicion, at Urumchi, indicating the precarious tenure of those in power. Mr. Tao Ming Yuh, the former talented Amban of Kashgar Old City, has been a victim of this suspicion. He, with Chang-jun, an officer sent by the Central Government of China to train the troops, and Li Tien Sio, who was in charge of the air force, were all put to death for "plotting against the government."

At present there are 2,500 of the North-Eastern force in Kashgar and its neighbourhood. These men are all Communists. In fact the south-west of Kashgaria—that is the area of country including Kashgar—the Pamirs, Yarkand, the whole western flank along the Russian frontier up to the Tien-shan, with Aksu and Uch Turfan, is now in the hands of the Communists. The situation seems to suit the Soviet, who have opened a school under a Tartar master in their Consulate at Kashgar to inculcate the principles of Marxism in the Turki youth, and have sent a number of Turkis to Russia to expedite the spread of those doctrines which have brought bliss to New Russia. Turki military officers are going to Tashkent for instruction. Many Russian subjects, Kirghiz, Andijanis, and others, all Communists, are in Kashgar itself. It is noteworthy that the supply of arms, including bombs, to the Kirghiz and Andijani revolutionaries are of Russian make.

To those who knew Sinkiang in former times the present state of affairs is deplorable. In Kashgar New City all the temples have been destroyed; in the Old City not a single Chinaman remains. The fine shops and houses of the well-to-do Turkis were deliberately burned by the Andijani Communists. Old Kashgar has been looted thoroughly by the Kirghiz, Tungans, and Andijanis. In the north, at Ili or Kulja, the deaths were greater than at Kashgar, whilst in the Pamirs the Andijani marauders drove away the flocks, leaving the wretched owners nothing to live on. The bazaars of the country are well-nigh empty; not a single copper cash is to be seen; discredited paper is the only currency, and the exchange has reached a fantastic premium. The authorities at Urumchi are trying to borrow ten million dollars from Nanking, but it is unlikely that this debt can ever be repaid owing to the dislocation of trade and changing conditions.

The situation now is precisely similar to that which prevailed in Outer Mongolia after the death of the Bogdo Gegen and the removal of the four Wangs or Mongol chiefs. In a few years Outer Mongolia became what it now is, a Bolshevist possession, a docile appanage of Moscow. Nothing can save Sinkiang from a similar fate. It is true

that in the east the Tungan forces in Khotan may offer some opposition, but they cannot ultimately succeed, especially if many Tungans have been inoculated with the virus of Bolshevism.

Old Sinkiang is gone. Its kindly Chinese mandarins are dead or exiled; its marts are ruined; its nomads fled or in rebellion. The well-filled bazaar, the cheap foodstuffs, the fat, easy-going Turkis, and the general pleasant, happy-go-lucky, careless existence have vanished; and in exchange the joys of Communism and the advantages of state trading have come, with a complete denial of all freedom.

The Sovietization of Asia progresses apace. First Outer Mongolia, now Sinkiang, next Tibet will pass under the red flag of the Hammer and Sickle, and the Koran and the Buddha will succumb to oligarchic Communism.

In the summer of 1934 the provincial authorities of Sinkiang sent a pacification commissioner from Urumchi to Kashgar. This was Kung Chen Han, an officer of the Manchurian volunteers or North-Eastern troops. He reached Kashgar before the arrival at that place of General Liu-pin, also of the same force. When the latter officer reached Kashgar, Kung returned to Urumchi without having accomplished anything, and indeed he could not possibly have succeeded.

General Liu is now in supreme control in Kashgar, being both civil governor and military commander, and Mr. Ma Shao Wu is, as has been said, a figurehead only.



CENTRAL ASIA FROM WITHIN

A MEMBER who had an opportunity of speaking with a prominent Turki, temporarily domiciled in Kansu, has sent us the following list of his questions and the answers he received. It is interesting as showing the growing interest in political matters among the educated Central Asians.

Where is the Tungan leader, Ma Chong Yong, at present?—He is in the Kashgar-Aksu neighbourhood.

Is it true that his armies are largely Chinese and Tungan?—No. There are few Tungan, scarcely any Chinese, but large numbers of Turki.

Did he go to Russia, and was he interned there?—No, not according to my recent news.

Do you think that he is controlled or at least influenced by the Soviet?—Undoubtedly he is to a certain extent. His rifles are largely Russian built, most of them dating from the pre-war period, say 1908 to 1914.

Is not one of his former chiefs-of-staff or advisers an Ottoman Turkish colonel?—Yes, he is Colonel K. from Stamboul.

Is this man interested in the Soviet programme?—No. He is more interested in Pan-Turanianism. He speaks some Russian and English but is very fluent in French.

Where is he now?—He is in the Hami-Turfan area, and has some connection with the present Turki Government established in that district during recent months.

If General Shen Chih-ts'ai co-operates with the Soviet in Dzungaria, why does not Ma Chong Ying link up with him?—Never. Jealousy is the main reason. Ma Chong Ying is reported to have made gestures of peace with Tihwa, but his offers have been rejected. There are various reasons for this.

Does Russia have more than simply business interest in Dzungaria?—Yes. Her agents permeate all of the country north of the T'ien Shan. They may be business representatives outwardly, but in reality they exercise more than even extra-territorial control. It is reckoned

that an army of 100,000 troops could be raised by those agents in a few days' time. They would work through the small Chinese officials.

What relation does General Shen Chih-ts'ai bear to the Soviet?—Outwardly at least he seeks their help and may be powerless to do otherwise. They furnish him with military equipment and he gives them business considerations in return.

To what extent would you say that Russia controls Dzungaria?—All small matters rest with the Chinese. Important matters are directed by Soviet agents.

What is the present modern equipment of Tihwa apart from manpower?—The Government have three hundred motor trucks, twenty aeroplanes, and twenty tanks.

What relation does Yolbash of Hami bear to the Tihwa Government?—A watchful and waiting attitude.

To the Nanking or Kansu Government?—The same.

How far south does Shen Chih-ts'ai's attitude extend?—He has nominal control of Turfan and the Turfan "gate," no further.

Are Soviet agents penetrating further south into southern Sinkiang from the Dzungarian side?—No. From west of Turfan to the far western Kashgarian border Russians are afraid to go because the Turki hate them so much. It is unsafe for other foreigners to travel because they are mistaken for Russians.

Who controls in the Kashgarian area?—It is hard to say. There is some loyalty to a Chinese Government and some loyalty to an independent State. There is a Turki-Chinese army organized.

How does British India view the situation?—She is exceedingly anxious concerning her northern frontier.

Are the English within striking distance of Kashgaria?—Their headquarters at Gilgit are connected by motor roads south for reserves and supplies. Their aircraft could fly north to Kashgar in three hours.

What relations does Japan have to Sinkiang?—General Shen and his wife are both graduates from Japanese schools.

Does Japan count on them?—I think she does secretly. Outwardly General Shen is anti-Japanese and pro-Russian. When the proper time comes he could very well turn over his entire military forces to Japan and unite with Japan against Russia.

What is the present condition of Russian Turkistan?—My friends report that it is wretched.

Are the people pleased with the cotton-growing programme?—No.

Do they like the present industrialization of certain areas?—No.

How does Russia work her propaganda? — Through Soviet controlled press and through the schools. Her promises are good to listen to and her doctrine has some flavour, but her practice so far seems to have been exactly the opposite of her declarations.

What about the educational programme to which you refer?—Russia's first step is to latinize the entire language of Turkistan. This tends to break down all former religious and social ties between the students and their elders. Her second step is sure to come—that is, to force the people to learn the Russian language.

Are people leaving Russian Turkistan?—Yes, many. Some have fled to China. Recently large numbers have fled to northern Persia where refuge has been provided by the Persian Government. An American mission in the district has done much toward famine relief among these poor people.

How does Russian cloth come here to Kansu?—By way of the Siberian railway, through Urga by motor, to the Kansu border by camel caravan.

Is any of the cloth woven in the new industrialized Urga?—No. It is made in the industrial areas along the Siberian railroad.

Does Tashkent cloth reach us here?—No.

Is this an "open" business along the China border?—No. It is transacted at night. North of Edsin Gol there is regular contraband business. Grain, not coin, is given in payment.

How many refugee families from Sinkiang are there in Tunhwang?—About one hundred families from the Hami area, sixty to seventy from the Kuchengtzu area, none from Turfan, a few from the Lob Nor country. About two hundred altogether.

How far is it by ordinary stages to the Lob Nor country from here?—Twenty to twenty-four ordinary stages. Fast horse, fifteen; slow, heavy camel, twenty-five.

What town will you go through first which is of any importance before you reach Cherchen, Keriya, or Khotan?—Cherkelik.

Is the road good going?—Excellent. The water is sweet. The open country gives one a consciousness of freedom and a sense of joy.

How long will your complete journey from here to Kashgar occupy?—From sixty to sixty-five days.

Is it shorter than the northern route?—Considerably, several days at least.

Are the Chinese capable of governing Sinkiang in your opinion?—Certainly not the type which we now find in Sinkiang.

Would Kansu Tungans in your estimation be able to govern?—Certainly not.

Is it not the secret desire of the Kansu Tungan generals to move to Sinkiang and control it?—Yes.

Would they be able to do so?—Certainly not. They are poorly equipped and would stand no chance against any Government backed by the Soviet.

Would the English be willing to occupy?—No.

Would the Russians?—Yes, but they are disliked all through Sinkiang, especially southern Sinkiang.

What about Dr. N. of the Sino-Swedish expedition having been driven out from the Lob Nor country?—He was mistaken for a Russian spy. Besides, he had with him a Russian fur-trader whose reputation among the Lob Nor Turki was very bad. This agent was highly unscrupulous in his dealings with the local people about the supplies of strychnine used for trapping, etc.

What do you consider Japan's line of action for Sinkiang?—It is not a question of Sinkiang, but a larger issue, that of isolating Eastern Asia and Siberia.

How will she effect this?—She will occupy Mongolia and Sinkiang and at once cut the Transiberian Railway and its feeders at six points: Ili river bridge of the Turk-Sib, Chuguchuk feeder to Turk-Sib, Kobdo feeder to Trans-Sib, Urga, Northern Manchuria, and Vladivostok.

What is the extent of Japan's "dream" in this regard?—Japan will link up with Turkey in Europe and later with Arabia to unite the Moslem peoples with the Japanese.

How does Great Britain view Japanese "aggression" in Central Asia?—She is with Japan against Russia. She is with China against Japan.

How about Britain and China?—Britain wants as strong a China as possible as counter-balance to a strong Japan and a strong Russia.

Are you aware of the excellent Japanese maps of Sinkiang?—Yes.

What makes you think that Japan is interested in a Pan-Turanian movement?—News of Eastern Asia is published regularly at Tokyo in the Turki language.

What place do you give the Nanking Government in the present scheme of things?—It is hard to say. They are "wise to the problem" but powerless to effect a solution. It is reported that they are secretly preparing at Lanchow with a view of first thoroughly subjecting the small Kansu Tungan war-lords, and of then moving towards Sinkiang.

What do you think of the so-called constituted republic of "Islamistan"?—It is hard to say. It may be effective. It may not. I have heard that two Britishers by the name of _____ are interested and instrumental in the movement for a republic.

Would you advocate the independence of Sinkiang Turki peoples?—Certainly I would if feasible. This is hardly possible, surrounded as we are by great nations. I can imagine that fifty or one hundred years hence, when the Turki have fully awakened to political life, we shall demand such independence if it has not already taken place in the interim.

Do you think that China should retire to the Great Wall?—It looks as if it were the best move which they could make at present.

Is the report true that some Britishers were killed recently during the attack on Kashgar by General Ma Chong Ying?—I do not know. I have only heard that some of the legation guard were wounded in trying to prevent a forced entry by the Tungan leader, who was apparently in search of fugitives.

Is literacy increasing among the people of Kashgaria?—Yes.

How do you account for the script in the "Cave of the Thousand Buddhas"?—Those caves were not built by the Chinese. They are the work of my own countrymen several centuries back who were Buddhists. You will find the three largest systems of caves in Tunhwang, Turfan, and Kuche.

When were they built?—Off-hand I should say some time during the Western Liang dynasty, which was Turki, and whose chief centres were at Tunhwang, Turfan, and Kuche.

How about Islam in Central Asia?—She is undergoing tremendous changes. Social and political institutions as well as religious ideas are changing.

What is it that appeals to you in religion, be it Buddhism, Islam, or any other?—Emphasis upon the heart and its order. Not so much on the outward forms of religion.

What appeals to you in Christianity?—Just this emphasis upon the correct heart.

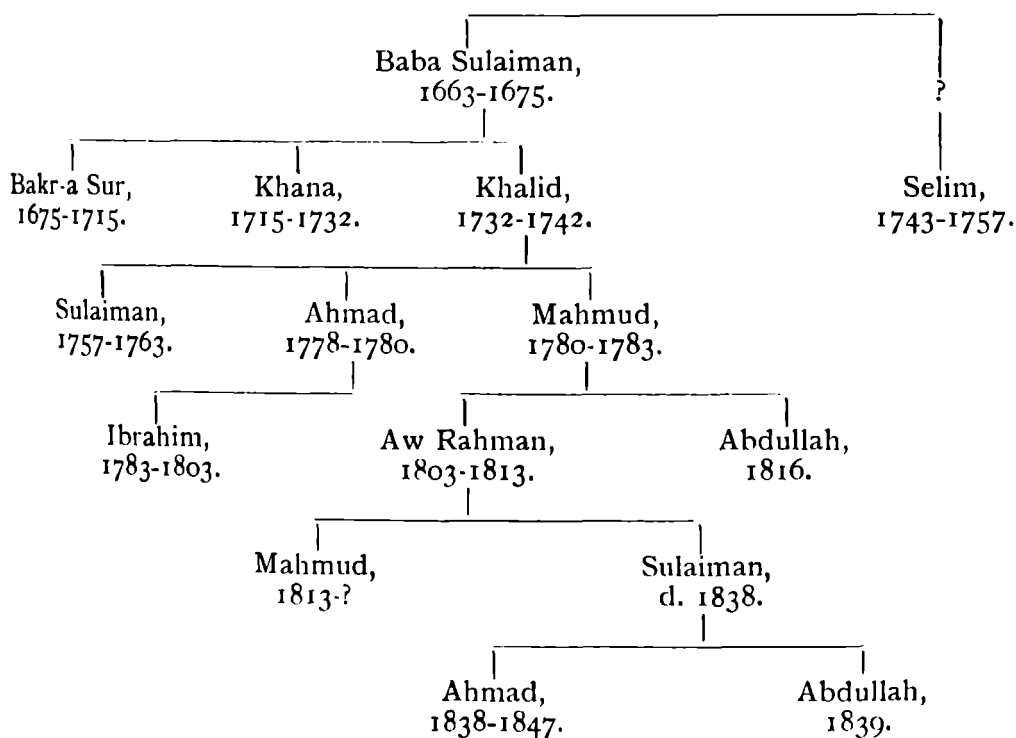
What is your opinion of the Soviet division of Russian Turkistan?—It is only an attempt to weaken the solidarity of our people; to play the one republic against the other and to create hard-and-fast lines of economic interdependence.

A KURDISH LAMPOONIST: SHAIKH RIZA TALABANI

By C. J. EDMONDS

I

FROM the second half of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth there ruled in Southern Kurdistan the autonomous dynasty of the Baba. The following tree, based for the most part on information culled from the Kurdish *History of the Baban* Rulers in Sharazor and Ardalan*, by Saiyid Husain Mukriyani (Ruwandiz, 1931), shows the relationship and order of succession of the more important Princes:



From Khana onwards each ruler bore the title of Pasha. The dates are given only as a general indication. The authorities are not consistent; conversions from the Hijra to the Christian era are always liable to an error of one year unless the day of the month is known;

* The correct Kurdish form is Baba with both *a*'s short; Baban with both *a*'s long is a Persian or Turkish corruption.

in some later cases confusion between the Hijra and the Rumi or Turkish civil calendar might account for another year. Owing to internecine family disputes, fomented by the rivalry of Turkey and Persia, many reigns were interrupted more than once; several rulers had more than one term of power. There were thus reigns within reigns, and opinions may obviously vary as to what constitutes temporary usurpation, and what effective occupation of the throne. The constant changes from 1763 to 1778 and from 1813 to 1847, in particular, are impossible to disentangle. Some of the dates given are certainly correct; that of the accession of Ahmad Pasha may be mentioned as having been fixed by the following chronogram of the poet Nali :

Shah y Cemca, Naliya, " Tariyx y Cem " Tariyxiye.

The King who ranks with Jam(shid), O Nali,
" The date of Jam " is his chronogram (date).*

According to the *abjad* system of notation the sum of the numerical values of the Arabic letters that make up the words *Tariyx y Cem*, the date of Jam (spelt, of course, according to the Persian and not the modern Kurdish rules), is 1254 = A.D. 1838.

The first centre of the Baba authority was Qalachuwalan, the ruins of which can still be seen near the village of Chwarta, the present administrative headquarters of the qaza of Sharbazhair. Ibrahim Pasha, who acceded in 1783, transferred the capital some twelve miles to the south-west, across the Azmir range, to the village of Malkendi in the fertile Sharazor plain, and built a new town, which he is generally stated to have named Sulaimani, after the then Pasha of Baghdad; a Kurdish tradition, however, lingers to the effect that the site was that of an earlier Sulaimani built by Baba Sulaiman; Malkendi still survives as one of the quarters of the town.

During the second of the periods of especial confusion referred to above Kurdish autonomy became more and more compromised. Yet almost to the last the character of the administration continued

* Proper names in the English text, personal and geographical, have been transliterated according to the normal English practice and R.G.S. System II. For other transcriptions from the Kurdish I have used the system described in my article, " Some Developments in the Use of Latin Character for the Writing of Kurdish," published in the *J.R.A.S.* of July, 1933. For the present purpose it is sufficient to explain that of the consonants *x* represents the guttural aspirate commonly transliterated *kʰ*, while *c* and *j* have their Turkish values, viz., English *j* and French *j* respectively; of the vowels *a*, *o*, *ö* and *ê* are always long; *i* is the neutral vowel, *y* is pure short *i* as well as a consonant, *u* is always short; long *i* and *u* are represented respectively by *iy* or *yi* and *uw* or *wu*.

essentially Baba, and the rulers maintained their own regular army and other outward signs of petty royalty. Finally, in 1847, Ahmad Pasha was defeated near Koi by Najib Pasha of Baghdad, and the princely Baba dynasty came to an end. Ahmad's brother, Abdullah Pasha, was put in charge of Sulaimani, but specifically as a Turkish official, with the grade of qaimmaqam; he was dismissed in 1851 and replaced by a Turk.

Claudius James Rich, the Honourable East India Company's Resident at Baghdad, who visited Sulaimani in 1820, has left us in his *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* a lively account of the Baba court in the reign of Mahmud Pasha. (It is interesting to note that the scroll of "dates and facts connected with the History of Koordistan," translated at pp. 385-387 of vol. i., records under A.H. 1199 = A.D. 1784 the "second building of Sulaimania.") Captain R. Mignan, of the Bombay Army, in the spring of 1830, found Sulaiman Pasha, brother of Mahmud, on the throne; in the course of a disappointingly meagre account he says that the government was "administered by a pasha, who is by birth a Koord, subject neither to Turk nor Persian" (*A Winter Journey*, chapter xii.). J. Baillie Fraser in the spring of 1834 describes the "small state" of Sulaimani as "the prey of an accumulation of misfortunes which have reduced it to extreme misery," and Sulaiman Pasha as "a pleasant person" but harassed by Persian exigencies (*Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia, etc.*, Letter VI.). Felix Jones accompanied Sir Henry Rawlinson to Sulaimani in September, 1844, and has left on record (*Journey through Parts of Persia and Kurdistan*) a high opinion of the then ruler, Ahmad Pasha, of whom he mentions that he had within a year of his accession "raised and disciplined, according to European tactics, a respectable force, which at the present time amounts to about eight hundred men."

The Kurds of Sharazor resemble their neighbours the Persians in that the gift of "saying" poetry of quite a reasonable degree of merit seems to be almost universal among the educated, and by no means rare even among the illiterate. Under Baba patronage a galaxy of poets flourished at the court of Sulaimani and in the subject districts. The compositions of the favourites have been handed down in manuscript notebooks called *beyaz*, or orally. The *diwáns*, or Collected Works, of two of these, Mulla Khizr "Nali" (1797-1855), already mentioned in connection with the chronogram fixing the date of Ahmad Pasha, and Mustafa Beg "Kurdi" (1809-1849), have recently (1931) been published at the Dar-us-Salam Press in Baghdad. The

diwáns of two other Kurdish poets have also been published in 'Iraq: that of Shaikh Muhammad "Mahwi" (1835-1909) of Sulaimani at the Government Press, Sulaimani, in 1922; and that of Hajji Qadir of Koi (1817-1894), who spent most of his life and died at Constantinople, also at the Dar-us-Salam Press in 1925.

The modern school of Kurdish purists retains little admiration for the pre-war Parnassians with their orthodox models and mixed vocabulary of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words side by side with the Kurdish. But two, at least, of them seem likely to preserve their popularity: the above-mentioned Hajji Qadir of Koi, less perhaps for anything particularly inspired in his poetry than for the sturdy patriotism that gives a rare music for Kurdish ears to the humblest of place-names in the hills; and Shaikh Riza Talabani, the subject of this paper.

II

Shaikh Riza wrote in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, as well as in Kurdish. There is no edition of his collected works; but a few examples of his poetry are to be found in *Diyariy' Kurdistan*, a magazine published at Baghdad from March, 1925, to May, 1926, and in *Encumen y Ediyban y Kurd*, an Anthology of Kurdish Poets, edited by Amin Faizi and published at Constantinople in 1921; in the latter Shaikh Riza is represented by fourteen pieces in Kurdish, together with several metrical letters in Persian and some fragments. His Kurdish poems thus made available seem to fall into five main categories: (1) Autobiography and Reminiscence; (2) Love; (3) Satire on tribal enemies; (4) Begging Letters, frequently combined with Panegyric or Blackmail; (5) Satire on the parsimonious. His outstanding merit is what the Persian criticis would call *zúr-i kílám*, vigour of diction. Unfortunately this quality must be almost entirely lost in the closely literal translations to which I have adhered, in order to give greater interest to the Kurdish texts for the numerous readers of the *Journal* who know Persian or Pushto.

In Kurdistan the title of "Shaikh" denotes, not as in Arabia a member of a tribal ruling family, but a religious teacher, generally associated with one of the dervish orders, or the descendants of such. The Shaikh, in his capacity of teacher, is the *murshid*, or "Spiritual Guide"; the disciple is the *muríd*, or "Aspirant"; the teaching is the *tariqat*, or "Path." The Aspirant, after making a declaration of repentance (*tauba*), "receives" the Path from the Guide who "gives"

it; when he has become sufficiently proficient in knowledge and practice of the Path he may be granted a certificate appointing him the *khalifa*, that is "Vicar" or "Successor," of his Guide; he is then entitled in his turn to pass on the Path and so becomes the spiritual director of a new generation of Aspirants; if the new *khalifa* sets up as a teacher he generally assumes the title of Shaikh. Every such certificate must contain a complete list of the succession of *khalifas* back to Abu Bakr or to Ali ibn Abi Talib, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, the ultimate authorities for every Path. A hereditary Shaikh cannot by reason of this birth alone become a Guide and initiate neophytes in the manner described. Saiyids, descendants of the Prophet, as might be expected, frequently take a Path and in due course become Shaikhs; Shaikhs who are not at the same time Saiyids are distinguished in Kurdish as *shêx y bermalh*, prayer-carpet Shaikhs.

The dervish orders with the greatest following in Kurdistan are the Qadiri and Naqshbandi. There were in Kirkuk some years ago a few members of the Rifa'i order, but in the absence of any authorized *khalifa* to hand on the torch of the community is almost, if not already quite, extinct in Southern Kurdistan; Rifa'is are said to perform wonderful feats and are particularly associated with cures for snake-bite and rabies.

The Talabani Shaikhs are Qadiris. Riza has himself recorded the foundation of the shaikhly family :

Xuda, wextê ke hez ka bendeyêk y xoy bika xoshnuwd,
 Le rhêge y duwrewe boy d'ê be pê y xoy shahyd y meqsuwd.
 Le Hyndistanewe sheshmange rhê ta xak y Kurdistan
 Xuda Shêx Ehmed y Hyndiy' rhewan kird bo Mela Mehmuwd,
 Mela Mehmuwd y Zengane. . . .

When God wishes to make a servant of His happy,
 The destined charmer of his heart comes to him of his own accord from
 a long way off.

From Hindustan a six-months journey to the land of Kurdistan
 God sent Shaikh Ahmad the Indian to Mulla Mahmud,
 Mulla Mahmud of Zangana. . . .

The poet goes on to describe how the precincts of Mulla Mahmud's tomb echo continually with the dervish ejaculations of *Yá Hú* and *Yá Ma'búd*, O He! and O Worshipped! and how the shaikhly mantle received from Shaikh Ahmad descended from father to son down to Shaikh Ali, his brother; he ends by apologizing for his own unworthiness to belong to this pious family :

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The dervish orders with the greatest following in Kurdistan are the Qadiri and Naqshbandi. There were in Kirkuk some years ago a few members of the Rifa'i order, but in the absence of any authorized *khalifa* to hand on the torch of the community is almost, if not already quite, extinct in Southern Kurdistan; Rifa'is are said to perform wonderful feats and are particularly associated with cures for snake-bite and rabies.

The Talabani Shaikhs are Qadiris. Riza has himself recorded the foundation of the shaikhly family:

Xuda, wextê ke hez ka bendeyêk y xoy bika xoshnuwd,
 Le rhêge y duwrewe boy d'ê be pê y xoy shahyd y meqsuwd.
 Le Hyndistanewe sheshmange rhê ta xak y Kurdistan
 Xuda Shêx Ehmed y Hyndiy' rhewan kird bo Mela Mehmuwd,
 Mela Mehmuwd y Zengane. . . .

When God wishes to make a servant of His happy,
 The destined charmer of his heart comes to him of his own accord from
 a long way off.

From Hindustan a six-months journey to the land of Kurdistan
 God sent Shaikh Ahmad the Indian to Mulla Mahmud,
 Mulla Mahmud of Zangana. . . .

The poet goes on to describe how the precincts of Mulla Mahmud's tomb echo continually with the dervish ejaculations of *Yá Hú* and *Yá Ma'búd*, O He! and O Worshipped! and how the shaikhly mantle received from Shaikh Ahmad descended from father to son down to Shaikh Ali, his brother; he ends by apologizing for his own unworthiness to belong to this pious family:

Rheza'sh l'ew nesleye; biy bexshe, ya Rheb; chunku qet nabê
Gulh y bêxar u behr y bêbuxar u agir y bêduwd.

Riza too is of that stock; forgive him, Lord, for there cannot be
A rose without a thorn, or a sea without vapour, or a fire without smoke.

In Kurdistan religious teachers tend, or tended, to amass wealth and acquire worldly power. In two or three generations the members of the Talabani family (so called from the village of Talaban, where Mulla Mahmud died and where his son and successor first set up as a teacher) had established themselves as the owners of numerous villages in the districts of Qara Hasan, Gil and Tauq, east and south-east of Kirkuk, on both banks of the Sirwan (Diyala) River, between Kifri and Khaniqin, and in Koi to the north; and thereby acquired the character of tribal chieftains. When the British forces occupied Kirkuk in 1918 they found Shaikh Hamid, great-grandson of Mulla Mahmud and first cousin of Shaikh Riza, the astutest and most influential personage in the province.

According to his relations, Shaikh Riza died in A.H. 1328 (A.D. 1910), aged 69 years. This makes the date of his birth 1841 or 1843, according as his age was reckoned by the solar or the lunar year. He may thus well have retained some childish memory of the glories of the Baba court, as he claims in the following poem :

Le biyrim d'ê Slêmaniy ke Dar-ul-mulk y Baban bu;
Ne mehkuwm y Ecem, ne suxrekêsh y Al y 'Usman bu.
Leber qapiy' sera sefyan debest shêx u mela w zahyd;
Mutaf y kabe bo erbab y hacet Gird y Seywan bu.
Leber tabuwr y esker rhê nebu bo meclys y Pasha;
Seda y moziyqe wu neqqare ta eywan y Keywan bu.
Drêgh bo ew zeman, ew deme, ew esre, ew rhoje,
Ke meydan y crydbaziy le desht y Kaniyaskan bu.
Be zerb y hemleyê Beghdayi tesxiyr kird u têy helh da
Slêman y zeman, rhastit dewê, bawk y Slêman bu.
Erebl inkar y fezl y êwe nakem; efzelin; emma
Selaheddiyn, ke dinyay girt, le nesl y Kurd y Baban bu.
Qubuwr y pirh le nuwr y Al y Baban pirh le rhehmet bê;
Ke baran y kef y ihsanyan wek hewr y Niysan bu.
Ke Ebdullhah Pasha leshkir y Waliy' Sney shirh kird,
Rheza ew wexte umry pênc u shesh, tifi y debistan bu.

I remember Sulaimani when it was the Capital of the Babas;
It was neither subject to the Persians nor slave-driven by the House of Uthman.
Before the palace gate Shaikhs, Mullas and Ascetics stood in line;
The place of pilgrimage for those with business was Gird-i Saiwan.
By reason of the battalions of troops there was no access to the Pasha's audience-chamber.

The sound of bands and kettle-drums rose to the halls of Saturn.
Alas for that time, that epoch, that age, that day,

When the tilting-ground was in the plain of Kaniyaskan.
 With the shock of one charge he took Baghdad and smote it;
 The Solomon of the Age, if you would know the truth, was the father of
 Sulaiman.

Arabs! I do not deny your excellence; you are the most excellent; but
 Saladdin who took the world was of Baba-Kurdish stock.
 May the bright tombs of the House of Baba be filled with God's mercy,
 For the rain of bounty from their hands was like April showers.
 When Abdullah Pasha routed the Wali of Senna's army
 Riza was five or six years old, a little boy at school.

Gird-i Saiwan is a small hill just outside Sulaimani, formerly, as the name indicates, the place where the great reception tent was pitched, now the cemetery. Kaniyaskan, the fountain of the gazelles, gives its name to a quarter of the town. Aw Rahman Pasha, father of Sulaiman and Mahmud Pashas, was the principal member of a coalition which, in 1810, took Baghdad and overthrew the Pasha, Kuchik Sulaiman, and elevated in his place Abdullah Agha, nicknamed Tutunchi, the Tobacco-man; the incident is mentioned by J. M. Kinneir, *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, 1813. Sayid Husain Mukriyani gives the date of Abdullah Pasha's victory as A.D. 1839, that is two years before the poet's birth; the liberty taken with the facts of history may be pardoned to his patriotic exuberance.

As a young man Shaikh Riza travelled extensively for those times. He spent some eight years in Constantinople under the patronage of Kamil Pasha, the Grand Vizier; was for two years Persian tutor to the sons of the Khedive of Egypt; and performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. He finally settled down in the city of Kirkuk, among his relatives.

The following anecdote, told against himself, of an adventure with a nephew, falls, like the two poems already quoted, into the first category :

BRAZA EZIYZEKEM

Rhuwm kird e bezm y xas y braza eziyzekem
 Emshew, be sed tewazu' u ixlax u serkiyiy.
 Nwarhiym le dirz y qapiyewe; xoy u taby' an
 Da nyshtibun duw rhiyze le dewr y Xle y Keziy.
 Det wut temê krabu be mexsuwsiy qapiyewan;
 Xoy kird be nêre Tirk u wuty: "*Kim bilir sizi?*"
 Pêm wut: "*Minim, fhane kesim, Mame Shêx Rhezam;
 Bilmexmisin, Humeyyis Efendi, meger bizi?*"
 Em sedd y babe bo mine? Izhar ke ta birhom,
 Yan mer-hemet ke, hiyze, le serma gunim teziy.
 Wextê ke l'em mu'amele zaniym gherez chiye,
 Der-halh gerham e pashewe, emma be aciziy.

MY DEAR NEPHEW

I went to my dear nephew's private party
 This evening, feeling most polite and friendly and unassuming.
 I looked through the crack of the door; he and his cronies
 Were sitting in two rows round Khizr, Kazi's son.
 You would have said the hall-porter had been specially warned;
 He drew himself up like a lusty Turk and said, "*Qui vous connaît?*"
 I said to him: "It's me, I'm So-and-so, I'm Uncle Shaikh Riza;
Ne nous connais-tu pas donc, Monsieur Humeyyis?
 Is this shutting of doors for me? Speak out, that I may go away,
 Or allow me . . . you beast, my feet are numbed with cold."
 When I perceived what the object of these proceedings was,
 At once I returned home again, but feeling vexed.

This Khizr was a celebrated raconteur of racy stories; in countries where there are no surnames it is usual for a man to be known by his own name followed by that of his father; in Kurdistan it is not uncommon, as in this case, for a man to be described as the son of his mother. The Kurdish scholar will have noticed that I have taken two small liberties with the translation of the ante-penultimate line. Knowing Shaikh Riza as we do, we may suppose that he was vexed less by the disrespectful conduct of his nephew than at missing Khizr's stories.

There is nothing particularly original or interesting in the single example of a love poem given in the *Encumen*.

The Talabani family was at almost permanent feud with its tribal neighbours. Perhaps the best known of all Shaikh Riza's works is one belonging to the third category, a long poem of 102 lines purporting to describe the religious beliefs and ceremonies of the sect of the Ahl-i Haqq, the People of the Divine Truth, commonly called Ali Ilahis (the sect to which one of the neighbours belongs), and ending with a description of the orgies in the dark with which they, in common with most of the secret sects of Middle and Western Asia are, I believe wrongly, credited. I have never met in any literature a piece of descriptive verse at the same time so (it must be confessed) divertingly spirited and so obscene. It does not figure, very properly, in either of the collections mentioned, but is said to have been reproduced at Constantinople in 1919 in the periodical *Kurdistan*; it is sincerely to be hoped that this scandalous composition will not be seen in print again when the time comes, if it ever does, for the publication of Shaikh Riza's *diwân*. My own manuscript copy, at any rate, will be kept carefully locked away.

The *Encumen* has one short poem of this same category describing a Talabani victory over a coalition of three hostile tribes. But this also, owing to the wounding references in the conspiracy scene to the religion of the Divine Truth, and the crude description of the symptoms of fear that manifested themselves when the allies turned to flee before the charge of the Talabani youth, I am precluded from transcribing.

The following are three short examples of begging letters, category four. The first is a blatant piece of blackmail; the third, if there is no threat, takes compliance rather for granted; panegyric is by its very nature dull, and there is no example particularly worth reproducing.

BERXE NÊR

Qewmekan, b'ew Zate wa hukmy Leser behr u berhe,
 Berxe nêrê ger nenêrê her kesê xawenmerhe,
 D'em be gijya, dey dirhim, ger *fi'l masâl* shêr y nerhe.
 Ba neqewmêt u nezanin em hemuw shorh u sherhe
 Gisht Leser biznê shel u kawrhê gerh u berxê lerhe.

MALE LAMBS

Relations! By Him who ruleth over land and sea,
 Whichever of you is a flock-owner and does not send a male lamb,
 I'll attack him, I'll rend him, though he be by reputation a ravening lion.
 It's better that it should not come to this, and that people should not know
 that all this scrapping
 Is over a lame goat, a mangy kid, and a skinny lamb.

KELHESHÊRÊ

Kelheshêrê be Rheza lazime, Kirmashaniy,
 Ziyrek u chabuk u demgerm u dirh u sherrhaniy;
 Kelheshêrê ke qepy girt le binagö y kelhshêr
 Pîrh be dem biy pichirhê wek seg y Hewramaniy;
 Kelhshêrê ke eger shêr y nerhy bêt e mesaf
 Rhay rhfênê be sheqê mysl y ker y talhaniy;
 Be drêjîy weku Mewlan Begeke y Miyr y Beyat,
 Be cesamet weku Kôxazileke y Biybaniy.
 Ey Neqiybzade, binêre kelhshêrêk y weha
 Bo Rhezake y segeke y qapiyeke y Geylaniy.

A GAME-COCK

Riza wants a game-cock, a Kirmanshah one,
 Clever and quick, a strong pecker, aggressive and pugnacious,
 A cock such that when he snaps the lobe of another cock
 He will tear out a mouthful, like a dog of Hewraman;
 A cock such that if a ravening lion encounter him,

He will drive it back with a kick, such as one gives to a looted donkey;
 As tall as that Miran Beg, Mir of Beyat,
 As hefty as Headman Fatty of Bibani.
 O Naqibzada, send a game-cock like this
 To that Riza, that watch-dog of the Gaylani gate.

The Hewraman is the sector of the Zagros east of the Sharazor valley; for some distance the crest forms the boundary between 'Iraq and Persia. The point of the reference to the looted donkey is that a donkey is difficult to urge along at any time; it therefore requires superhuman efforts, as every Kurdish schoolboy knows, to get away with a looted one before the pursuers come up. The Beyat are a tribe said to be of Khurasan origin, now partly Turkish- and partly Arabic-speaking, established near Tuz Khurmatu, south-east of Kirkuk. Bibani is a village between Kirkuk and Altun Köprü. The *beyaz* referred to in the postscript of this paper has four additional lines between 8 and 9, which Amin Faizi has omitted, not surprisingly, from his Anthology. The Naqibzada to whom the letter is addressed was Saiyid Nuri Naqib, who is still alive in Sulaimani. The shrine and mosque of Shaikh Abdul Qadir-i Gailani in Baghdad are the headquarters of the Qadiri order of dervishes.

TUWTIN

To kemnezery der heq y min êsteke, Agha;
 Min mawe hewa y suhbet y tom her le demagha,
 Bo tuwtineke y Bêsheme wu Shawur u Shêtne
 Shêt buwm u nehat; wexte dilhim der chê le dagha;
 Caran chi be cagh u chi be bar bot ehenardim;
 Nay nêry emêste ne be bar u ne le cagha.
 Rhê y newteke, bacgiyry eger zore defermuwy,
 Rhê y Xase be shew xalhiye, ba b'ê be Blagha.

TOBACCO

Agha, you are inconsiderate to me nowadays;
 As for me, longing for your company persists in my mind.
 For the tobacco of Baishama and Shaur and Shaitana
 I am mad, and it has not come; soon my heart will burst with the torture.
 Formerly you used to send it to me either in jars or in bales;
 Now you do not send it either in bales or in jars.
 If you say the excisemen are numerous on the oil-spring road,
 The Khasa road is deserted at night, so let it come by Blagh.

This letter is said to have been addressed to Hajji Asad Agha Huwaizi of Koi Sanjaq. Shaur is a valley north-east of Koi which gives its name to the highest grade of Kurdish tobacco; Shaitana is a

village; Baishama the name of a tobacco with a characteristic flavour. The oil-spring road approached Kirkuk from the west, through what is now the 'Iraq Petroleum Company's field. The Khasa is the broad, shingly watercourse, generally dry, which flows from the north-east through Kirkuk city. Blagh is the spring at the foot of the mound on which, until it was completely destroyed by the explosion of a Turkish ammunition dump in 1918, stood the very early Christian Church of the Kirkuk Martyrs; the spring gives its name to the northern quarter of the town. Lines five and six do not appear in the Anthology; they have been added on the authority of the *beyaz*, which has also been used for one or two verbal emendations elsewhere.

In conclusion, to illustrate category five, I transcribe below an impudent example of looking a gift-horse in the mouth.

ÊSTIR Y DIYARIY

Miyr be sed mynnet henardy êstirêk y rhuwt u quwt,
 Chwarpely sist u seqet, endamy her wek enkebuwt.
 Xaweny aliyky, nalhêm, pê nedawe, mutlheqa
 Dawiyet ê, emma, weku bystuwme, quwt y layemuwt.
 Pishty rhêsh u shany zamdar u cedew bu; na ilac
 Chend qroshêkim hebu bom da be newt u enzeruwt.
 Sey Fetah y meyerim rhojê be huccet lêy newiy,
 Kilky der hêna le bin; enca be astem göy bzuwt.
 Gerchy natwanê bibizwê, hênd lerh u kemquwwete,
 Denke coyêky nyshan dey, ta qiyamet d'ê le duwt.
 Puwsh le lay helhwaye, hetta ger peloshey ching kewê,
 Bay deda, luwly deda, quwty deda manend y huwt.
 Ger qelhew bê em ecinne y nêre, char nakrê, meger
 Shêx y Rheffayi ilacy ka be esma y Celceluwt,
 Meslhehet waye, heta ney xwarduwim, biy nêrmewe;
 Zor detirsim def'eyê quwtim bida, bim ka be kuwt.

THE GIFT-MULE

The Mir as a great favour sent me a mule, all stripped and bare,
 His four legs weak and lame, his body just like a spider's.
 His master gave him, I will not say no fodder; of course
 He gave him some, but, as I have heard, only just enough to keep him
 from dying.
 His back was sore, his shoulders blistered, his withers galled; perforce
 The few coins that I had I spent on oil and astringent herbs for him.
 Saiyid Fettah, my groom, one day in exasperation bent over
 And pulled his tail out by the roots; at that he twitched his ear a trifle.
 Although he cannot move, so thin and weak is he,
 If you show him a grain of barley he will follow you till resurrection day.
 Straw for him is a sweetmeat; if only he gets hold of a thistle,
 He shakes it, he rolls it on his tongue, he swallows it like a lusty whale.
 If he gets fat, this lusty monster, there will be nothing for it but for

A Rifa'i Shaikh to treat him with the names of Jaljalut.
 It would be wise, before he has eaten me, to send him back;
 I much fear some time he may swallow and make a meal of me.

The recipient of this letter was Miran-i Khizr Beg of the Khushnau tribe, grandfather of Miran-i Qadir Beg, now a Member of Parliament for Arbil. The point of the first line is that no bridle, saddle, or blanket accompanied the mule. Anzerut is said to be a grass with a poisonous yellow flower, resembling the tobacco flower in shape; it is commonly used for the purpose here referred to. The Rifa'i order of dervishes has been referred to above. Jaljalut is apparently one of the supernatural beings invoked in their charms.

III

Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, chapter xxxiii.) has distinguished among the insipid legends of early Church history the memorable fable of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, the seven Christian youths who were walled up by the Emperor Decius in a cave and slept for one hundred and eighty-seven years till the reign of Theodosius. It is reproduced, with advantages, in the eighteenth *sura* of the Qur'an, the Cave, where the period of the sleep is given as three hundred and nine years, and the picturesque detail added: "in the entry lay their dog with paws outstretched." Of the number of the "Companions of the Cave," as the Sleepers are there called, the Qur'an records:

Some say, "They were three; their dog the fourth":
 Other say, "Five; their dog the sixth": . . .
 Others say, "Seven; and their dog the eighth."

This the Muslim theologians have interpreted as meaning that the dog is included in the number of the Companions and is, therefore, covered by the assurance that they shall enter Paradise.

Shaikh Riza Talabani died at Baghdad and is buried there in the precincts of the mosque of Shaikh Abdul Qadir-i Gailani. The epitaph in Persian now engraved on his tomb was composed by himself before his death, and refers to this legend:

Yá Rasúlu'lláh! Chih báshad, chún sag-i asháb-i kahf,
 Dákhil-i jannat shavam dar zumre-yi ahbáb-i to?
 U ravad dar jannat u man dar jahannam kai ravást?
 U sag-i asháb-i kahf u man sag-i asháb-i to.

O Apostle of God! Why should not I, like the dog of the Companions of the Cave,
 Enter Paradise in the company of thy friends?

That it should go to Paradise and I to Hell, how is that seemly?
 It being the dog of the Companions of the Cave, and I the dog of the Com-
 panions of thyself.

POSTSCRIPT

Since completing this paper I have had access to the *beyaz* of Shaikh Riza's poems in the possession of my friend Shaikh Habib Talabani (younger brother of, and not, he assures me, the original "My dear Nephew"), for many years M.P. for Kirkuk province and now (1934) Mayor of the city. Hardly a family of note in Northern Iraq, Kurdish or other, can have escaped the lashes of Riza's vitriolic tongue. Here I have dealt only with the "safest" of his Kurdish poems, those made available in the Anthology and in *Diyariy' Kurdistan*. Perusal of the *beyaz* shows Shaikh Riza to have been everything I have said and more. One can only marvel at the vigour of diction, technical mastery of the poetic art, and obscenity of mind combined in this extraordinary man.

REVIEWS

The Cambridge Shorter History of India. By J. Allan, M.A., Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum; Sir T. Wolseley Haig, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the School of Oriental Studies, University of London; H. H. Dodwell, M.A., Professor of the History and Culture of the British Dominions in Asia, University of London. Edited by Professor H. H. Dodwell. Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

This book is for "the general reader" and is intended to provide him with an account of Indian *political* history from remote ages to the year in which the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were initiated. It has been criticized because it goes no further. But the last fifteen years have not yet passed into history. "True perspective comes only at a distance." The sixth volume of the larger Cambridge History stops at the same point, and was criticized on this account by a reviewer who seems to have expected an up-to-date annual register.

Mr. Allan has been unable to avail himself of Vol. II. of the larger history which has not yet appeared. He begins by referring to recent archæological discoveries which have revealed that India possesses "relics of a culture as old and advanced as the ancient civilizations of Sumeria and Elam with which it has links and similarities." He writes of early invasions, of famous emperors, of shadowy kings, of coins and inscriptions, but barely mentions the caste system, that great legacy from those remote ages which is a vital feature in India to-day. Nor does he refer to the "dharma" or sacred law, which impressed on the tillers of the soil that in return for the Raja's protection they must make over to him a large share of the produce of their labours—a share which increased as time went on.

Sir Wolseley Haig was the editor and mainly the author of Vol. III. of the larger history, which treats of earlier Muslim rule and is of lasting value. But Vol. IV., which is to tell the story of the Moghal Empire, has not yet appeared; and Sir Wolseley suffers here from severe but unavoidable limitations of space. He tells a story of wars of succession, of wars of religion and political catastrophes, stormy times producing some remarkable rulers who left behind them noble buildings, one of all-surpassing beauty, as well as a system of administration which formed the groundwork of the British system. He briefly describes Akbar's methods of governing, but Akbar's reign was a remarkable episode, and the fruits of his genius and his tolerant policy were gradually dissipated. Sir Wolseley does not give us a clear picture of the impact of the Moghal system upon the masses whose position had previously become stereotyped under Hindu and early Muslim rule. The fundamental idea was, as Mr. Morland has shown us in his admirable studies, that the conqueror had a free hand and could, if he chose, dispossess unbelievers. The efforts of wise sovereigns such as Sher Shah and Akbar to confine the claims on the producers within reasonable limits did not take root. With the dissolution of the empire the cultivator fell into the hands of various powers who dealt with him through grasping intermediaries. Over his head fighting was incessant, and power was for ever shifting. Countrysides

were frequently ravaged, and famines were marked by suicides, voluntary enslavements, and cannibalism.

Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa formed the first province of the decrepit empire which the East India Company essayed to govern. It had been taken from Afghan sovereigns by Akbar, but only imperfectly subdued. As the empire decayed, it fell under the rule of a race of Nawab Nazims who, nominally lieutenants of the Emperor, soon became independent. Lord Zetland, in his *Heart of Arya Varta* (p. 95), says that ballads handed down among the country people of Eastern Bengal unfold a tale "of land racked and riven by anarchy, of deserted homesteads, and of a people harried and panic-stricken under a chaotic administration." Orissa fell into Maratha hands, and the borders of the rest of the province were subject to Maratha raids. Plassey followed and its aftermath. Attempts to administer the province through officials of the old régime broke down; and very reluctantly the Directors of the East India Company commissioned Warren Hastings to start government through a staff of clerks and merchants generally untrained in administrative work and knowing little of the people.

Bengal proper was the largest, most important, and difficult charge. Its people are largely differentiated by climate, origins, and characteristics from other Indian populations. In 1772 there were neither maps nor communications; large areas long since cultivated were jungle infested by wild beasts; the physical features of the eastern districts—a water country which of late years has afforded convenient harbourage to political dacoits—were intractable. The only law-courts in the province outside Calcutta were located in Murshidabad, the capital of the Nawab Nazims, and their jurisdiction was practically limited to its immediate neighbourhood. In the districts, which were not yet compact administrative units, Zamindars and other intermediaries collected what they could from the cultivators and endeavoured to rule over them. Justice was sold to the highest bidder. "Thugs" and bands of dacoits, with the secret connivance of the Zamindars, preyed upon the community. There were ancient Hindu and Muhammadan laws of inheritance and succession, but there was no regular civil or criminal procedure; the Muslim Penal Code included impalement and mutilation; the law of evidence rejected the testimony of an unbeliever against one of the faithful. The assessment of the land revenue was not governed by the rules prescribed by Akbar for the central territories of his empire, but amounted simply to bargaining with representatives of villages or larger areas. Government officials called "Kanungos" were supposed to keep registers of Zamindaris showing what sums ought to be collected, but as they had long been in collusion with the Zamindars, their registers were unreliable. Without surveys and protracted investigations the value of the crops, the rents realized, the nature of tenures, the boundaries of Zamindaris could not be ascertained. And meantime year by year revenue must be collected to carry on administration, furnish the means for protecting the province from anarchy and invasion, and provide the Company's "investment."

Such were the conditions when Warren Hastings started work. The Regulating Act passed in 1773 made him Governor-General of three presidencies, but weighted him with ignorant and hostile colleagues. Only after Hastings had gone was effective central government at Calcutta gradually permitted by Ministries in England, and then it was dual government charged with general direction of the Company's affairs and policy in India as well as with the direct administration of Bengal and Bihar. After Hastings came Cornwallis with orders to lose no time in settling the land revenue permanently with the Zamindars at fixed amounts. This was unfortunately done. Enquiries into rents, rights and values ceased in Bengal from that time, and, as Professor Dodwell explains, administration there

has ever since suffered from heavy disabilities. For some time, however, the Central Government was unable to perceive the damage done by these initial errors and endeavoured to Bengalize land revenue settlement in other provinces; but fortunately the Court of Directors was more amenable to the teachings of experience. It was not, however, until 1854 that Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa became the separate charge of a lieutenant-governor, and later still their district-officers became permanently magistrates as well as collectors and were able to exercise the powers entrusted to district-officers in other provinces. Even then they could draw no assistance from the subordinate revenue staffs, field-to-field village maps, and records of rights which arrived elsewhere with "temporary" settlements and brought the executive branch of the service into close touch with the countryside.

All this is clearly explained by Professor Dodwell, who bases his work on the chapters devoted to Administration in Vols. V. and VI. of the larger history, but gives his own independent views. Of course, mistakes were made, for civil servants were working in great provinces devoid of modern communications, with little preparatory training and without the guide-books, orders and codes which are familiar nowadays. They were indeed fording a deep river with an unknown bottom. But the testimony of Abbé Dubois, a French missionary, who between 1792 and 1812 travelled and lived among the people of the Deccan and Southern India, wearing their dress and trusted by Indians of all castes and conditions, shows that, on the whole, administrators did their best. The fall of the old rulers had, he said, occasioned no regret. The Hindus considered themselves lucky if their religious and domestic institutions were left untouched by those who by good fortune or force of arms now held the reins of government. The system of government was another reason for the acceptance of British rule, "the effort and anxiety of the English to make the people less unhappy than they had been hitherto, their unviolable respect for the customs and religious beliefs of the country, and the protection they afforded to the weak against the strong."

But some customs and beliefs clashed with the strenuous humanitarian and educational policy initiated by Bentinck's abolition of "sati." Missionary activities and influence increased both in England and India. As Professor Dodwell puts it (p. 727): "It was evident that the foreign government was no longer content, as it had been, to leave affairs to follow their traditional course, that it was being driven forward by ideals and purposes unquestionable by the modern world, but strange, dubious and alarming in the eyes of a people belonging to the world of the past. Two things should be evident to us who can look forward with the knowledge of what was to come. One is that the British Government was, by its nature, its ideas, its Western outlook, bound to give a series of shocks to the world of Hinduism; the other that the Hindu world was bound to react sharply and convulsively to these external impulses." This Hindu reaction combined with Muhammadan unrest and other causes, pointed out in Chapter XI., Part III., to influence the Bengal army, the sole organized body of Indian opinion which, "lacking in civil life, existed in the military sphere" (p. 732). Laxity of discipline and official blindness, general but not universal, contributed to bring about the Mutiny. Fifty years later we find Lord Minto remarking to Lord Morley, after the trouble in the Punjab in April, 1907,* on the suddenness with which "this critical state of affairs was sprung upon us. . . . There is a barrier of native thought very impenetrable to European eyes." So it was in 1857. The tragedies of that year are clearly described in this history; but a sentence on p. 748 gives the incorrect impression that Nicholson, the real taker of Delhi, did not arrive on

* Lady Minto's *Minto and Morley*, p. 131.

the Ridge till early in September, whereas he first came on August 7; and after a brief reconnaissance rejoined his column, leading it in on August 14. Eleven days later a force under his command fought at Najafgarh in order to clear the way for the siege-train which arrived with Punjab reinforcements on September 6. Further on the chapter omits to mention the fate of the Rani of Jhansi. But these are matters of detail.

Space fails us to comment on the narrative of events from 1858 to 1914. Our ship has now moved well away from that long coast-line, and Professor Dodwell helps us to single out its prominent features. He takes us over constitutional and administrative developments, Central Asian and frontier affairs, relations with the Indian States, educational and political developments, and that first real break with the old autocratic system, the Morley-Minto reforms. He shows us how Hindu resentment among a class combined with the new ideas which sprang from Western learning and rapidly increasing contact with Europe, with largely extended communications and commercial progress, to call forth new aspirants to power. He observes (p. 852) that Monro, Elphinstone, and others had expected a day when it would be expedient for Great Britain to withdraw from the task of administering India. "But their anticipations had not taken all the factors into account. They had expected their successors to be called on to deliver Indian rule back to the princes, the nobles, the warriors, whom they regarded as the natural leaders of the country. But the nationalist spirit was developing, not among these, but among castes which, with a few notable exceptions, had always held a subordinate place in Indian governments, and among races which had been notably unwarlike. Could these new claimants impose themselves on grounds of intellectual superiority alone upon classes which in the past had relied upon the judgment of the sword and the shrewd manipulation of purely material factors?" There was also the sharp cleavage between Hindus and Muslims; and it was not understood how "democratic ideals of universal liberty could be sincerely adopted by a society founded on the principles of caste." Moreover, whatever might be hazarded with the small educated minority, there were the rapidly increasing masses caring nothing for letters, absorbed in their fields and their quarrels with their neighbours and landlords. To these masses efficient paternal government meant everything, representative government and electoral institutions meant nothing whatever. It was thus a puzzle, a Gordian knot which the Declaration of 1917 attempted to cut.

The spontaneous and general outburst of loyalty in August, 1914, took the world by surprise. For nearly two years princes and politicians, Hindus and Muhammadans, united in showing a remarkably clear appreciation of the real character and record of British rule. "Their unexpected enthusiasm permitted the Government to make a far larger contribution to the struggle in men and munitions than had ever been dreamt of." The attitude of the Princes never altered in the slightest degree throughout the vicissitudes of the whole war-period. Combined with the strenuous labours of the administrative services, it made all the difference. Then there came the triumph of the idea that the future of India depended upon the development of responsible parliamentary government; and a start was made in the direction of bringing the masses within the political circle. The eventual results of this departure have yet to be disclosed. But, whatever may be the final outcome of pending legislation, the India of the great majority will still stretch for endless miles beyond the council-walls of Delhi and the provincial capitals, and it is to reach this India that the efforts of the enemies of ordered government will certainly be bent. Whatever may be the changes, good and efficient administration will remain a vital necessity.

Professor Dodwell's style is luminous and attractive. The value of his work lies in the width of knowledge behind it, in the independent and original thought which it shows.

H. V. L.

Beyond the White Paper. By Philip Cox. George Allen and Unwin. 3s. 6d.

The study contained in this little book of the discussion in committee on the proposals contained in the White Paper is of real, though somewhat ephemeral, value, since the report of the Joint Select Committee itself will set at rest all conjecture as to the effect of such discussion. It may be suggested that the author is too inclined to take the written or spoken word as a safe constitutional guarantee. For example, on the difficult question of the security of pensions he remarks: "The subject need not detain us for long, since a number of adequate replies were made by the Secretary of State in response to questions that were put to him. Surely the question is whether the financial safeguards referred to by the Secretary of State will be adequate in practice. Again, while the author rightly points out that the Ruling Indian Princes can only enter into Federation by free consent and free agreement, it is perhaps unwise on his part to anticipate and hope for a rapid movement of democratization in the Indian States. Such a prospect may not be an inducement to even the most conscientious of Ruling Chiefs to commit himself and his State to Federation. The author is a firm supporter of a wider female franchise than has been proposed in the White Paper, and apparently accepts the statement that the attitude of Indian women is strongly non-communal. It may be hoped that this is correct, but there is no real evidence for it. The two causes of communal dispute and ill-feeling are religious prejudices and economic pressure. The latter is perhaps the stronger factor of the two, but the women are as much interested in both as their menfolk are. It is perhaps dangerous to speak of a Provincial Governor as a "constitutional symbol," though the author is careful to point out that this is only theoretical, and that in fact the burden on the Governor's shoulders will be great: perhaps too great to be borne by any than men of the highest class. The book, however, gives a careful analysis of what will doubtless be the framework of the coming Constitution of India.

The Population Problem in India. A Census Study. By P. K. Wattal.
7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. xii + 185. Rs. 3.8.

The population question in India is a complicated one, interlinked with many of the baffling social problems of that country. In *The Population Problem of India* Mr. P. K. Wattal covers in small space a remarkable variety of these problems, dealing with such questions as marriage and sex ratio, the present system of registration of vital statistics, migration, nutrition, methods of cultivation, the world surplus, etc.

India, he tells us, in spite of an appalling toll of death, is now "the most populous country in the world, China not excepted." (Reliable statistics for China are, however, not available.) The past decade has shown in India an increase in population of 34 millions, nearly equalling the total population of Italy. Should this rate of increase be maintained in coming decades, he estimates that "the twenty-first century would commence with a population of 700 millions in this ancient country—a truly staggering prospect."

The outlook is indeed black, if already, as in the writer's opinion, "the increase in the agricultural population is reaching the saturation point, and extensions and

improvements in agriculture, including canal irrigation, afford no prospect of relief for the large annual addition to the population that is now taking place." He estimates that not less than 60 per cent. of the population is suffering from malnutrition, and quotes the statement in 1933 of the Government Agricultural Chemist, that owing to a shortage of nitrogen in the country India produces only two-thirds of the necessary food supply of the population, and that one cultivated acre contains only sufficient food for one person.

As, in British India, by Mr. Wattal's estimate, there are 228 million acres under cultivation, there is therefore a shortage of approximately 50 million acres.

Nor in this age of surplus can India, with its poverty and low standards of living, become an economic market for the present excessive world production of foodstuffs. It may be cheaper to burn wheat instead of coal in the farming State of Idaho, although in China starvation is still "the accepted check on over-population." Throughout Asia the world problem of underconsumption is sharply accentuated.

Emigration also affords negligible relief to the surplus population. As Mr. Wattal points out, Indians living outside India amount only to 2½ millions, and not more than 100,000 leave the country yearly.

The gloomy view that India's population is on the verge of scarcity is, however, not endorsed in the pages of the 1931 Census, where the opinion is expressed that the ability of the land to feed its population is not yet seriously taxed, although it is diminished by other factors such as lack of capital for cultivation.

But it is not with the quantity of inhabitants and the economic questions connected with their increase that Mr. Wattal is alone concerned in this little book. He is equally concerned with the quality of the population and the need for improvement in health and well-being. Much space is devoted to the widespread and disastrous custom of child marriage, one of the most important, and most dysgenic, factors in the population's increase. Although, as the writer points out, "from the demographic point of view the marriage of immature persons is thoroughly bad," its most injurious features, the high incidence of infantile and maternal mortality, as well as the lack of fecundity associated with it, result in a lower birthrate and survival rate than would be the case in more mature unions.

The prevalence of child marriage is shown to be increased by the disparity in numbers of males and females. Since 1901 Census returns have revealed the ratio of women to men to be abnormally low. There is now a disparity of 11 millions, which is considerably aggravated by the presence of 26 million widows, only a small proportion of whom (mainly Muslims) remarry. Owing to this shortage of prospective wives amongst their contemporaries, would-be husbands frequently draw upon the children of the next generation for their brides.

The writer reviews certain theories advanced to explain this excess of masculinity in India, but dismisses lightly the neglect of female life so obviously probable in a country where a son is necessary to his father's salvation, and where a daughter is a heavy financial liability. In the Census this is admitted: "The capacity for survival of the female infant is neutralized in infancy by comparative neglect, and in adolescence by the strain of bearing children too early and too often." Mr. Wattal holds the optimistic view that the educative value of the Sarda Act has been great, and that the next Census will show a decided fall in the prevalence of child marriage. It is to be devoutly wished that he is correct, in spite of the fact that measures in support of this reform have been hitherto conspicuous by their absence. Without an active educational campaign, in which official and non-official forces unite, much headway will not easily be made against so established and ancient a custom.

The purpose of Mr. Wattal's book is, as he states, "to present a problem and not to suggest remedies." He stresses, however, the connection between the high deathrate and high birthrate of India and discusses the question of birth control. Official clinics, where advice is provided free of charge, would, in his opinion, be necessary. Here we are confronted by an obstacle familiar to all who consider the solution of India's many social problems. Two essential needs are at present lacking—*e.g.*, sufficient money and trained personnel. The many necessary reforms outlined in this little book depend ultimately upon adequate financial support and armies of efficient workers.

A. R. CATON.

The Tragedy of Gandhi. By Glorney Bolton. George Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

Estimates of Mr. Gandhi's character naturally differ very violently. There are those, including many of his own countrymen, who regard him as a vain and largely self-seeking politician, both astute and elusive, with standards that appear capable of adaptation. There are others who go to the extreme of blind admiration. A large proportion of those who have had to deal with him, or who have studied his career, sincerely admire him, while allowing his vanity, capriciousness, and general unaccountability. Among these latter is the present author, who admits a strong personal bias in Mr. Gandhi's favour, while out of sympathy with his asceticism and (as the author holds) excessive praise of poverty. The author's brief experience as a journalist in Bombay is perhaps an inadequate qualification for an authoritative study, and instances of his lack of personal knowledge are not uncommon. Rajkot is not, for example, the principal state in Kathiawar. Sir Pherozshah Mehta was a great man, but he would have been astonished to hear himself described as a great philanthropist. It is surely surprising to find a Bombay journalist, after the performances of the Maratha regiments in the Great War, speaking of the Bombay army as disbanded. The account of Mr. Gandhi's life is, however, pleasantly and succinctly written, though allowance must be made for its being naturally based upon Mr. Gandhi's own autobiography and upon the writings of admirers like Mr. Andrews. Stress is, for example, laid on Mr. Gandhi's services as a recruiting sergeant in the war. The real fact is that Mr. Gandhi never produced a single recruit: his suggestion that he might do so may have been a gesture, but it was not a very serious one. The incident is sometimes mentioned as showing that Mr. Gandhi entertains no hostile feelings against the British. This may be so, but another incident may also be recalled, of Mr. Gandhi as a boy in Kathiawar eating meat, against all his caste principles, in order that he might acquire bodily strength to expel the English from India. Now the people in Kathiawar, who live under their own rulers, have no quarrel with the British, whom they still regard with gratitude as their rescuers from the tyranny of the Marathas. The incident, trivial as it is, indicates the intense Hindu feeling against all outsiders, which is a keynote to Mr. Gandhi's character. Even his undoubted good-will towards the Untouchables is based on his desire to bring them within the Hindu fold, and thus, it may be assumed, to assure Hindu supremacy in India. Mr. Bolton evidently approves of Lord Irwin's dealings with Mr. Gandhi rather than of the policy of the present Government of India. We think a comparison between the condition of affairs prevailing in India at the end of the former Viceroyalty, and particularly the disheartenment of certain Provincial Governments, with the

restoration of order and confidence under Lord Willingdon might have been instructive.

The tragedy referred to in the title of the book appears to be the undoubted failure of Mr. Gandhi at the Round-Table Conference. The author describes his performance in London as pitiable: nor is the expression too strong. He was a bitter disappointment to his intellectual admirers in England: he was incapable of constructive suggestion or discussion at the Round Table; and he refused to agree to terms for the Untouchables far less liberal than those which he was afterwards compelled to accept by the Yeravda Pact. We doubt whether the author is correct in holding the working committee of the Congress as responsible for "sending M Gandhi to his doom" by selecting him as their sole representative to London, or for "hurling him into a Civil Disobedience movement" on his return to India. In each case Mr. Gandhi seems to have followed the dictates of his own somewhat unaccountable will. But it appears not unfair to say that his failure was due to his bluff, so often successful in the past, being called in each case.

The author suggests that Mr. Gandhi may now choose the retirement and contemplation to which he is fully entitled. There are others who believe that he will not willingly accept the switching off of the limelight which he has so long enjoyed. The author claims that the Mahatma taught his countrymen self-respect and has undermined the foundations of Untouchability. Others will consider this claim to be too highly pitched, and will hold that Mr. Gandhi's "experiments with truth" have not been always happy. This study, written in terms of sincere but not uncritical admiration, is worth the perusal of all who are interested in Mr. Gandhi.

Everest, 1933. By Hugh Ruttledge. Pp. xv+390. Fifty-nine photogravure plates; geological and meteorological sketch maps and two folding maps. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1934. 25s.

The literature devoted to the climbing of Mount Everest will soon require a shelf to itself, for this is the fourth major volume in the series, which started with an account of the preliminary reconnaissance carried out in 1921. Up to date between thirty and forty Europeans, not to mention the hundred odd Sherpa and other porters, have taken part in the sieges—no other word adequately describes them—which have now been going on over a period of thirteen years. Already several generations of Everest climbers have been forced to retire from the battlefield by reason of age, and the present writer notes with something akin to shock that when he accompanied the 1922 Expedition, as almost its youngest member, the junior climber in the 1933 party was but thirteen years of age!

It is natural to wonder whether in this long interval we have got any nearer to the solution of the problem of how to reach the summit of the mountain. The actual height records of the later expeditions differ but little one from another; but each time some fresh experience has been obtained, some new data recorded, and each subsequent expedition has added a little more to the common store of knowledge. Mr. Ruttledge constantly draws attention to the value of the experience gained on previous expeditions; but in actual fact his undoubted genius for the details of organization has set quite a new standard for future expeditions. This is particularly evident in the matter of acclimatization, which has never before been treated with such scientific consideration. As a result, although as badly treated by the weather as was the 1924 Expedition, Ruttledge's party was

able to stick things out through a number of terrible storms, such as have caused at least a partial disorganization of previous parties, and he himself attributes this, rightly, I think, to the better acclimatization of his party, although the more comfortable tents of the 1933 Expedition were an added advantage. Incidentally, the reader who is familiar with earlier Everest volumes will note with interest that the North Col—a wind-blown ledge half as high again as the summit of Mont Blanc—now comes into the category of “lower camps.” This itself is an index of progress in at least the moral sphere; and moral counts for much in the conquest of Everest.

All things considered, I think this is undoubtedly the best of the Everest books. Mr. Rutledge writes with an economy of words such as one always hopes for but seldom finds in books of travel, and his narrative has an easy and continuous flow that holds the attention throughout. It is entirely free from overstatement and there are no “high lights.” What, for instance, could be better as pure narrative prose than his quiet statement that “it is disconcerting, especially at night, to have a few hundredweight of snow fall with a thump close by, and explode like a shell through the door, covering you with fine drift. Nothing could be done while the storm lasted, for the slopes below could not be descended, except catastrophically, and in any case we must not abandon the rôle of supporters to Camp V.”?

One of the most thrilling incidents of the Expedition was the finding of an ice-axe, obviously belonging either to Mallory or Irvine, above Camp VI., some twenty-seven thousand feet above sea level. With this discovery is bound up the question of whether Mallory and Irvine did or did not reach the summit before they met their death in 1924. The solving of this problem resolves itself into that of whether Odell really did see the two climbers where, and at the time, he thought he did. Interested readers may remember that he only had a momentary view, and the mountain face was then obscured by clouds and mist. But if Odell is correct in his beliefs, then it certainly seems likely that Mallory and Irvine lost their lives on their way down from the summit, for neither would have essayed such a climb without his ice-axe. In a later chapter Mr. Smythe, in describing his own magnificent solitary climb, points out how easy it is to mistake a rock or group of stones for a human being, especially when one has only a momentary glimpse and one's senses are themselves dulled by the effects of altitude. But this is a fascinating theory and one full of possibilities. Mr. Rutledge gives all the available facts and leaves the individual reader to draw his own conclusions. He could, I think, hardly do otherwise, for the solution of this particular problem can never rest upon more than mere hypothetical possibilities.

The 1933 Expedition was unsuccessful: that is to say, it was not able to reach the top of the mountain. In every other respect, however, it appears to have been a brilliant success, and a great deal has been added to the common store of knowledge and experience upon which success will eventually rest. These expeditions, provided there is no political difficulty, will, of course, continue. Surely no one would wish otherwise, for they have done much to foster the spirit of adventure in our youth, and have done more than anything to open up the Himalaya in a way previously quite unknown. “The conclusion, therefore,” notes Mr. Rutledge in his final chapter, “appears to be this: bring your parties, climbers and porters, slowly up to Camp IV., conserving energy the while; aim at reaching that point with your best acclimatized men somewhere about the middle of May; allow a short period for acclimatization there; and then go for the high camps and the summit as rapidly as possible, keeping the slower acclimatizers in reserve at Camp III. The rest is on the knees of the gods.” Put thus, it all sounds

childishly simple; but Rutledge's final sentence covers nearly every imaginable mishap, and up to date the gods have not been kind.

This book is beautifully produced, and the illustrations have been not only well selected, but excellently reproduced in photogravure. The map of the mountain, a really beautiful piece of work, is the same as that issued with the previous volume. There seems to be, however, a conspiracy amongst publishers that any volume dealing with Mount Everest shall be not only expensive, but also quite unnecessarily heavy and bulky. The present book is no exception to the rule and is far heavier—it actually weighs 4 lbs.—than is necessary. It is also of interest to note that Rutledge's actual narrative occupies but 227 pages of large type: the remainder of the book, while of extreme interest and importance to the specialist, is unlikely greatly to interest the ordinary reader, who has, I imagine, no wish to know the details of medical or quartermaster's stores, nor to wade through many pages of meteorological tables. It is essential that these and other data should be put on record for the benefit of future explorers, but the proper place for them would seem to be the pages of the appropriate scientific journal; and their omission from the general account would have enabled the book to have been issued at a much lower cost, and thus to have become available for a much wider public than it can ever reach in its present expensive form. It is much to be hoped that the publishers will now see their way to issue in a cheaper form Rutledge's own narrative stripped of the numerous appendices. This, with a suitable selection of photographs from the larger volume, would tell the general reader all he required to know about this and former expeditions, and in such a form the book would be brought within reach of the youth of the country, the future conquerors of "Everests" of every description.

C. J. MORRIS.

The Naked Mountain. By Elizabeth Knowlton. 9½" × 6½". Pp. iii + 229. Plates. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1933.

This is a graphic description of the German-American expedition to climb Nanga Parbat, the Naked Mountain, in 1932.

The writer, an American, was the only lady member of the party, and accompanied the expedition as far as the base camp. An experienced mountaineer herself, she climbed to the lower camps on the mountain.

In the Epilogue the authoress acknowledges the assistance she received from the other American member, the gifted and versatile young Rand Herron, an eager mountaineer, who by the irony of fate lost his life through a fall on the second pyramid at Cairo on the return journey from India.

The story is told from the start at Munich throughout in a light-hearted vein, many incidents being related which, though trivial in themselves, illustrate the happy spirit of comradeship and optimism which enabled the party to carry on in spite of all difficulties, privations, and disappointments.

It was mountaineering alone, for funds did not allow of geographical or scientific operations being undertaken.

The route chosen for the ascent was from the north up the Rakiot glacier.

Difficulties were enhanced by ignorance of Eastern peoples and their ways. It is freely admitted that the party were buying their experience. "None of us had ever even been in India before, and there is much to learn." The services of a young officer of the Indian Army, lent to the expedition for assistance in this respect, are gratefully acknowledged.

Much delay was caused by strikes among the coolies of various classes—

Kashmiris, Astoris, Hunzas, and Baltis; the last named being the best. The recruitment and treatment of the porters form a vital factor in Himalayan mountaineering, and this was brought home to the expedition by bitter experience. Some of the party visited Darjeeling before they left India, with a view to engaging Sherpa coolies for their next attempt upon Nanga Parbat.

The shortage of carriers that resulted from desertions and sickness necessitated a relay system of taking the loads forward. Proper supervision became impossible, and when all were assembled at the base camp it was found that a large sum of money and invaluable sacks of warm clothing had been stolen.

By strenuous efforts seven camps were established on the mountain, the highest at 22,800 feet, a little below the Rakiot peak, but it was nearly the end of August when all was ready for the final attempt upon the summit. The season was then too far advanced, and the climbers were overtaken by a relentless snowstorm, which defeated all their efforts, and forced them to retreat, abandoning the supplies so laboriously collected at the higher camps.

The resolve to try again another year is evidence of fine courage and determination. A poignant interest is added to this book by the tragic ending to the renewed attempt made in the summer of this year by the party, now purely German. After establishing camp No. 8 at 22,800 feet, the leader of both expeditions, Herr Merkl, with Drs. Wieland and Welzenbach and seven porters, lost their lives in a blizzard with intense cold which overtook them on July 11.

A letter received lately by the reviewer from one who met the survivors on their arrival at the Wular Lake in the vale of Kashmir on their return is significant as regards the spirit which sustained the party on both expeditions: "We had expected to find them a bit gloomy and 'down' after the tragedy, but far from it! They spoke very nicely and quite openly about it—said it was a dreadful shock at first, but they'd simply had to make themselves get over it, and laugh and joke to be able to carry on at all." The writer continues with praise of Lewa, "the famous Everest and Kanchenjanga porter," who in this last expedition supervised the transport, and no doubt smoothed away many difficulties.

The book is beautifully illustrated, though many exposed films were lost in the abandoned camps, and there is a small but clear plan of peaks, ridges, and glaciers of Nanga Parbat.

There are naturally some mistakes in Indian terms.

J. K. T.

Himalayan Wanderer. By Brig.-General the Hon. C. G. Bruce, C.B. 9" x 6". Pp. i+309. Twenty-two photographic illustrations. London: Alexander Maclehose and Co. 1934. 12s. 6d.

This is General Bruce's autobiography: it is in addition—it could hardly be otherwise—a history of Himalayan exploration up to the present day, for no single individual has done more than he to arouse interest in these magnificent mountains and to show what can be accomplished even with slender resources. Since he first joined the Fifth Gurkhas towards the end of the 'eighties, most of his leisure hours have been spent in the mountains, and so many parts has he visited that even to mention them individually would result in a mere catalogue of names. He it was who first saw the possibilities of training Gurkha soldiers in the intricacies of snow and ice work; and as a result he undoubtedly laid the foundations of the tradition that has gradually arisen amongst the Sherpas and other mountain peoples that alone makes Himalayan exploration possible.

Apart from special chapters devoted to his experiences in the Great War and in many campaigns on the North-West Frontier of India, there is one of the greatest interest on the subject of Indian professional wrestling. In his early days General Bruce studied this difficult art in great detail, and even became sufficiently proficient to be in great demand as a referee in professional matches, a unique honour for a European. So little is known concerning Indian wrestling that it is much to be hoped that the author will be able to find time to expand this sketch which is of necessity confined only to the broad outlines of the subject.

General Bruce has never belonged to that narrow school of mountaineers—far too numerous nowadays—whose sole interest is in the solution of intricate problems. He has always been what is perhaps better described as a mountain traveller—that is, a lover of mountain scenery of every type and description—and he conveys his love to the reader in a most attractive way. His book is written with immense gusto and his joyful personality shines through on every page. It is for the most part a record of happy days, and he succeeds in a remarkable manner in passing on this happiness to his readers. Those who know him well will be able to discern the places where he broke out into that infectious laugh of his as he wrote, as I am perfectly certain he did, and as they laugh with him they will be grateful for this life-like picture of one who, perhaps the greatest of all Himalayan travellers, has ever been ready to place not only his experience at their disposal, but also to give his personal help to all those who have wished to follow, however humbly, in his footsteps.

Some of the illustrations are magnificent, but there is no map. This, however, is almost unavoidable in view of the fact that the book deals with so many little-known parts of the world.

C. J. MORRIS.

The Continent of Asia. By Lionel W. Lyde. 8½" × 5¾". Pp. xxii + 747.

Maps and diagrams. Macmillan. 16s.

I must confess that on reading the preface of this book my first feeling was one of repulsion. Such phrases as "I look on Steppe as a disharmonic intrusion in an oceanic peninsula" make one wonder how much of what follows will be lucid and intelligible to the ordinary reader. But though the book contains much of this sort of writing, and though the style is often involved and the argument difficult to follow, the reader, if he perseveres, will obtain a very vivid impression of the anatomy of that vast continent which sprawls like a great scaly monster over such a large portion of the globe's surface.

The most noticeable feature of the work is the manner in which the author has correlated geography and history, or even politics. His doctrine is summed up in the following words (p. 175): "In proportion as geography can or cannot throw light on any influence of place conditions in all this" (*i.e.*, the development or decay of nations) "and in the consequent relations of the people and the place, it is fertile or futile." The book, therefore, besides giving us a detailed description of the physical features, climate, vegetation, etc., of the continent, endeavours to show how the various geographical factors have been moulded and are moulding the history of the numerous peoples that inhabit it. The author is often categorical in his assertions, and one may not always agree with him, but his conclusions are always interesting and give much food for thought. What he has to say about modern political development in India is particularly noteworthy, and many will agree with him when he refers to the "fundamental truth,

realized only too well by I.C.S. men on the spot, but apparently unknown to or disregarded by politicians—*i.e.*, that the heart of India and the hope for it are in the village, far the most valuable, but the least voluble unit."

The work is divided into two parts. The first thirteen chapters are "General," and give us a description of Asia as a whole. Chapters XII. and XIII., entitled respectively "Man" and "Some Controls," deserve special study, as they apply the author's doctrine enunciated above to the continent which he is describing. The rest and far the greater part of the book is "Regional," and deals in turn with the various countries that go to make up the continent. This part of the work is somewhat more simply written, and therefore more readable, but the subject-matter is naturally of less general interest.

There are a few misprints in the book—even one of the passages I have quoted contains one—and I have noticed some inaccuracies of detail in the description of the countries with which I am familiar. A large number of small and very clear maps in black and white are furnished in the pages of the book, but one rather feels the lack of a good general map of the continent. The index might be fuller, and has perhaps not been very carefully compiled. For instance, only one reference is given against "Chitral," whereas the place is mentioned at least three times in the book.

W. H.

The Civilizations of the East. Vol. IV., Japan. By René Grousset. Translated from the French by Catherine Alison Phillips. With 211 illustrations. Hamish Hamilton. 25s.

"Japan" completes the English version of M. René Grousset's "Tour of Asia," a series of four volumes on the cultural ideals of the East, principally regarded in their manifestation in the arts. The three previous volumes have dealt with the Near and Middle East and China. This final volume contains a general index to the series. Actually it is not really the final volume, as a fifth will appear in which the author will attempt a summary of his conclusions on the art of Asia as a whole, as compared with that of the West, for he recognizes that there is a unity beyond the bewildering diversities of Asiatic culture, and that, on the other hand, the distinction between East and West is ultimately valid.

M. Grousset's achievement is a remarkable one, and the four books, which are all profusely illustrated (largely, by the way, from French collections), contain an enormous amount of information, imparted in a taking and graceful manner. The translation is good.

It is a feature of the plan of all the books to give a considerable amount of historical and political detail, and the author has endeavoured throughout, often by well-chosen literary quotations, to relate the art of the different countries, in each period, to contemporary thought, religious movements, and the conditions of social life. In the present volume he might perhaps have curtailed some of the historical matter without sacrifice of balance; and one is tempted to suggest that the particularly strong appeal which Japanese art has for him has made him over-scrupulous to avoid giving more than its share to the purely artistic side.

Some of M. Grousset's views are closer to those of a few decades ago than

those fashionable to-day. It would be absurd to suggest that anyone so well abreast of modern views and discoveries is old-fashioned, but it is a noteworthy fact that he ascribes to the Japanese a greater and wider originality than they are usually credited with. It is, of course, a question of degree. He refers repeatedly to the parallelism between Greece and Japan, and the Greek and the Japanese spirit; but it is not easy to follow him all the way in this. In power and profundity the two are surely widely separated. On the other hand, the picture which he draws of the Japanese realizing their genius by extracting from and transmuting (and that they did transmute cannot be denied) what they received from foreign sources, Hellenic, Hindu, and Taoist, is brilliantly done.

In the last chapter of the book we come back to India, for it is concerned with Bengal, Nepal, and Tibet. Like Japan, Tibet received at once the double impact of China and India, and it is fitting therefore that this seemingly incongruous section should be included here. M. Grousset points out that, owing to the conservatism of Tibetans and the remoteness of their country, there have been preserved there "intact, buried in the monasteries, the traditions of the medieval Buddhist art of the Ganges Valley, the Pāla art of Bengal, Nepalese art, and, in quite a secondary place," specimens derived from China; and it is here, in particular, that it is possible to study Indian art on the "third route" by which it reached the world beyond the plains. He would, in sculpture at least, prefer to speak of a wider school of "Pāla-Tibetan" art instead to classing Tibet art by itself, and he makes a good point in this connexion: "The persistence of these tropical nudes—though now in an ornate style, decked with flowers and garlands—on the high Tibetan plateaux, in a region where they are absolutely opposed to climatic conditions and native habits of life, bears witness to the fact that Tibetan art is foreign . . . preserved, so to speak, on ice among the glaciers." The quotation is typical of the author's suggestive and learned book.

J. V. W.

Tents in Mongolia : Adventures and Experiences among the Nomads of Central Asia. By Henning Haslund. 9½" x 6". Pp. xvi + 366.

Sixty-four plates and a map. London: Kegan Paul. 15s. net.

Mr. Henning Haslund builds up an unusually interesting book from his long and varied experiences of life in the very heart of Mongolia. With trade in furs coupled with farming as their objective, the author was one of a party of six or seven young men who in '23 left Copenhagen and, after a journey of considerable adventure, arrived in Urga and ultimately reached the relatively unexplored region of Bulgun Tal to the north-west of the capital. The hardship and difficulties encountered by the way were great, but nicely counterbalanced by excellent hunting and fishing.

The planning and construction of their encampment and fur-trading station and the raising of crops on the Mongolian steppe were attacked with plucky endurance and are described in a straightforward and simple style, reproduced in what appears to be a very good translation by Elizabeth Sprigge and Claude Napier. To those who have not been in Mongolia and have no experience of her temperamental and superstitious nomads, some of the episodes related might appear "tall stories." Those who have, however, will be ready to credit them, for they will remember many a highly coloured picture and not a few ghoulish nightmares.

In the intervals of trading with trappers who came to sell their skins—and it

need hardly be added that an astute Chinese was employed for dealing with them—Mr. Haslund lost no opportunity of learning all he could of the manners and customs of the country and, incidentally, collected a number of little folk-songs which, with their accompanying notes, form the headings to some of the chapters in his book. These call to mind an ineffaceable little picture of a beautiful Mongol youth who, on the borders of the Gobi, was ordered by his father to make music for the writer of this review. It was a plaintive little melody in a minor key, sung shyly to the soft tinkling of his mandolin as he squatted on the ground in the yourt, brilliant sunlight streaking in through the smoke-hole at the apex, leaving all that fell outside its range in deep and mysterious shadow.

A practical side to the book deals with the training that must precede expert dealing in skins and furs, as well as experimental farming with Yak-drawn American ploughs and irrigation by means of water-wheels. These, which were erected in the neighbouring river, were fitted with birch-bark cups and tipped their contents into hollowed-out tree-trunks and so on to the land. Results seem to have been promising, and crops of wheat, barley, rye and oats were produced, while a flock of 300 sheep, 115 head of cattle and a number of those splendid little beasts, Mongol ponies, were supported. Dairy farming, too, was successfully undertaken. To those who know something of the Russian dominance, which has been steadily increasing during the past quarter of a century in Outer Mongolia, the end of the story will not be unexpected. It includes terrible tales of ruthless Bolshevik brutality, the unfortunate author himself falling into Soviet hands. The manner of his escape bears additional witness to the courage and resourcefulness displayed by him and his party throughout its sojourn.

BEATRIX MANICO GULL.

A Desert Journal. Letters from Central Asia. By Evangeline French, Mildred Cable, and Francisca French. 7½" × 5". Pp. i+261. Constable and Co. 1934. 7s. 6d.

This is a collection of letters written during the period from 1928 to 1932 for circulation among the writers' friends in England. The letters recount the experiences of three ladies of the China Inland Mission on missionary journeys in the far north-west of China, the province of Kansu, the Gobi desert, and Chinese Turkestan. The letters were written and despatched under great difficulties, and "when brigands controlled the area and censored all letters, the journals were cut into strange patterns, to be brought together again by the friends who received and circulated them."

The book is illustrated by photographs taken by the writers, and there is a good, clear map of the main trade route across the Gobi desert, showing the diversions made to visit outlying centres of population.

Suchow, near the border of Mongolia and of the Gobi, was the mission station from which the journeys were made in various directions, chiefly north-west along the main route, but also south to the Richthofen Mountains, and north down the valley of the Edsingol. Diversions were also made to Tunhwang and the caves of the thousand Buddhas, to the beautiful Barkul lake, to oases in the Gobi desert, to the Turfan depression in Turkestan, and elsewhere. The whole country was in the turmoil of civil war and brigandage, overrun by bands of Moslem insurgents and mutinous soldiery. It was also to a great extent devastated by famine, pestilence, and earthquakes. For ladies to travel under such circum-

stances, unaccompanied except by Chinese servants, needed a high degree of courage and devotion, yet they write simply and unassumingly, with a keen sense of humour that makes their letters delightful reading. Their chief means of progression was their mule cart "The Flying Turki," but at times they had to resort to riding on camels, mules, or donkeys. Great extremes of climate were experienced. Snowstorms and blizzards on the Tian Shan Mountains, fifty-six degrees of frost in Urumchi, desert hurricanes, and intense heat in Turfan and the Gobi. The most trying phase of all their journeys was probably when one of the three contracted cholera in the heat and squalor of Hami, and in a state of collapse was conveyed thirty miles by her companions as the only chance of saving her life.

The inns along the route usually furnished shelter when not occupied by soldiery or marauders; at other times the travellers' "home was a small tent in which three tidy people can live in comparative comfort," and on some occasions in the desert they "lay out in their sleeping bags on the soft clean ground with the heaven's twinkling lights above them."

It is made clear on every page that the support that carried these ladies through all vicissitudes and gave them confidence in all emergencies was derived from their sublime faith in divine guidance and protection: a faith that was justified again and again in remarkable ways, notably in the respect and restraint observed towards them by armed bands that were normally engaged in ruthless brigandage, and even by the savage young leader of the Moslem army when they were brought before him as his prisoners.

Some incidents in this book can hardly be surpassed for dramatic interest, as, for example, the sudden invasion by an armed band of the Khan of Hami's peaceful summer resort where the tired missionaries were enjoying a well-earned rest; the presence of the band at evening service in the prayer tent, and the leader's request, after listening to the story of the prodigal son, for a copy of the Gospel. Or, again, the interview with the Prince of the Torgut tribes at his residence on the Edsingol, synchronizing with the visit of a lama from the land of the Communists, whose declaration "There is no God" bewildered the Prince by its "catastrophic negation" of the Christian message: "God commands men everywhere to repent." Then, again, the occupation of Tunhwan by the Moslem army retreating before the Government forces, and the summons to the ladies to proceed under military escort to brigand headquarters in "the City of Peace!" and their reception by the truculent young General of only twenty-one years. These are mere incidents from a story that is full of human interest, pathos, and tragedy.

The evangelist mission on which the writers were engaged brought them into intimate relations with the various peoples of the countries traversed, and the sympathy and earnestness of the missionary ladies evoked remarkable manifestations of goodwill. Their message met with response in most unlikely directions, from Tibetan lamas, Taoist priests, officers and soldiers of the army, and others. There are interesting comments, too, upon the political awakening of China and the tendency of the Central Government to tighten their hold on these outlying parts, "with the tyrannical control that China is rapidly learning from its neighbours on the north."

J. K. T.

Turkestan Reunion. By Mrs. E. H. Lattimore. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xi + 308. Illustrations; map. New York: The John Day Company.

In this book Mrs. Lattimore tells a fascinating tale of her travels in Central Asia. Her husband had gone on a journey of exploration across Mongolia to Chinese Turkestan. She was in Peking; and she was going to join him in that remote corner of the Chinese Republic. The account of her travels falls into two parts—the one dealing with her experiences when she was alone, and the other with her adventures when she had the escort of her husband. Accordingly she set out from Peking in the winter of 1927, and travelled by the Trans-Siberian Railway to Semipalatinsk, whither her husband was to journey from the north-west corner of Chinese Turkestan in order to meet her. As, however, she climbed out of the train on the snowy platform of the railway station of Semipalatinsk, what was her dismay when she saw no husband! As she learnt afterwards, he had been held up at a mud village known as Chuguchak on the Chinese side of the Russo-Chinese border, all because the Soviet Consul at Chuguchak had refused to visa his passport. Undaunted by her predicament, Mrs. Lattimore resolved to perform the journey by herself to the Chinese border. Chuguchak is 400 miles away—across a desolate waste of snow, infested by Kirghiz bandits; and in February the Siberian cold is terrific. Mrs. Lattimore made her arrangements, however. She hired a sleigh at Semipalatinsk; and floundered along on bad roads, through icy blizzards, and halted at night in snow-buried and flea-ridden Kazak huts, so small that there was only room for all to sleep on the floor, packed like sardines. Finally, after seventeen days of awful cold and physical discomfort, in the course of a journey of no small danger to a lonely woman, she reached Chuguchak, and there met her husband—"feeling like a maiden in a fairy-tale who, after fighting dragons, slaying monsters, struggling through impossible obstacles, quicksands, walls of ice, tangles of forest, came to the castle in the enchanted land where she found her true love at last." Now she is on the threshold of Chinese Turkestan, in the very middle of Asia. "And," says she, "doesn't the sound of Bishbaligh (Urumchi) and Prester John and Jinghiz Khan and Uighurs and Mongols and Zungars make you think of wide lands, great herds of ponies, rich rugs and gay banners, and brave warriors in lacquered armour?" But she adds rightly, with a woman's true instinct: "And one sees the cold and privation, disease, misery, flies in the sour milk, and hairs in the rancid butter" that historians omit to relate.

In the year of her visit Turkestan was comparatively peaceful, governed as it was then by Yang Tsen-hsin, one of those ruthless war-lords "who invited undesirable subordinates to ceremonial feasts and had their heads chopped off, while the band plays in the courtyard." Still, one must not deny to Yang Tsen-hsin what credit was due to him. Surrounded by intriguers, traitors, and would-be assassins, he nevertheless kept his Province in an orderly condition, whilst everywhere else in China was turmoil. But his iron rule eventually came to an end: he was assassinated; and, strange to say, by the very same means that he adopted for the disposal of his own enemies—he was treacherously shot down at a "friend's" dinner table. It is pleasing to note that when she was at the Provincial capital of Urumchi, she came across two actual members of the Royal Central Asian Society. The one was the Rev. G. Hunter, the veteran China Inland Missionary, who, in bygone days, when my husband and I were at Kashgar, used to cheer us in our solitude. The other was Mr. Pan, a young Chinese gentleman, whom we used to know—now following in his late distinguished father's footsteps by taking upon himself a share in the Provincial administration, despite the troublous time through which the Province is now

going. Mr. Pan-chen, his father, who died in office in 1926, will always be remembered throughout Hsin-chiang for his high character and rare integrity. It was he who in 1893 brought about the abolition of slavery in the Province—a measure which, by the way, owed its origin to the Kashmir Durbar asking for the release of some Kashmiris who had been captured by Hunza slave raiders and sold into captivity in Yarkand. From her lively and humorous descriptions, it is evident that Mrs. Lattimore had a pleasurable trip through Chinese Turkestan. Nothing damped her ardour, not even the fording of rivers with icy water up to the saddle, nor blinding dust-storms, nor long back-aching marches through sandy deserts. They journeyed through the Province from north to south, passing through the oases of Turfan—where they had a look at some medieval Græco-Buddhist remains—Kuldja, Aksu, Kashgar, and Yarkand. When in the mountains they camped with Kirghiz nomads in their round felt tents, and drank their fermented mare's milk; and when down in the plains they pitched their tents in gardens or orchards round about the towns, and feasted with Chinese officials in their Yamêns. At Kashgar, however, they stayed in dear old Chini-Bagh (the British Consulate); and I confess I felt quite home-sick on reading again about the house we built for ourselves in 1912, during the disturbances of the Chinese Revolution, as a result of which officials were murdered wholesale even in far-off Kashgar. But if Mrs. Lattimore found Chinese Turkestan difficult to enter, she discovered the country to be no less difficult to get out of. She and her husband were making for Ladakh; and between them and their destination was still a whole month's journey through the Himalayas, along what is probably the highest and most difficult trade route in the whole world. They went through this arduous ordeal without mishap in spite of some half-dozen passes, all over 16,000 feet high; and finally found in Leh's dak bungalow the beginnings of Western civilization.

The book is delightfully written, informative as well as entertaining; and to me, who once lived in Central Asia, it has been a real pleasure to read *Turkestan Reunion*, so vividly does it bring back to me past memories. The book is to be recommended not only because it records truly and without exaggeration the incidents and hardships of an adventurous and, at times, dangerous journey, but also the frank reactions thereof to the mind of a Western woman, cultured and sympathetic, who for the first time sees the grandeur and the squalor of Central Asia. Men may write learnedly about a country they have visited, but it is the woman's sensitive intuition that brings out best that mysterious quality attaching to every land which, in default of a better word, I can only call "feel," without which one can only half know a place, however many scientific facts one may have collected about it. In this respect Mrs. Lattimore has been highly successful; for anyone reading her book can almost imagine that he has seen Turkestan.

T. MACARTNEY.

Tibetan Trek. By Ronald Kaulback. Pp. 294; illustrations. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1934. 12s. 6d.

Any information regarding this little-known corner of Tibet must be of interest, not only to serious students of Tibetan affairs, but also to the general public, even if it has not the same scientific value as is contained in more serious works.

The author of this entertaining narrative, Mr. Ronald Kaulback, accompanied

Captain Kingdon Ward part of the way on his last botanical expedition. *Tibetan Trek* is an account of the journey from Sadiya in Assam through the hinterland inhabited by the savage Mishmis into the province of Zayul in Tibet, and from there to Fort Hertz in Burma. It is much to be regretted that some error in the Tibetan passport prevents his readers from following him still further into Tibet; but this separation led to some new ground being traversed.

It is most refreshing to read a book of travel which deals so much with the human side of a long and, at times, arduous journey, and which is not a bare record of facts, heights, and Latin names, as so many books of this kind are apt to be. The author has given us some interesting sidelights on domestic life in Tibet, but probably most of those who have visited that country will find it hard to share his enthusiasm for Tibetan tea, even when made according to the best recipe.

The Tibetans of Zayul make a kind of toffee from honey; this is probably the "toffee made of butter" which so puzzled the author.

It would have added to the interest (more especially of those of his readers acquainted with the Lhasa nobility from whom district officials are chosen) if Mr. Kaulback had mentioned the family name and Tibetan title of the "Governor" of Zayul. The author's tribute to "A.K.'s" mapping and statistics again brings out the great accuracy which that romantic figure invariably achieved. There appears to be a misprint on page 61. Mr. Dundas and his party certainly did not visit Rima in 1903. It was not, we believe, until the early days of 1912 that the first party from India under Mr. Dundas succeeded in reaching Rima.

From the author's account of his troubles with bees, sand-flies, leeches, and other pests, one is inclined to wonder whether he was suitably dressed. The frontispiece would lead one to think that he was inviting pests of every kind! The Tibetan sense of humour is amusingly shown by their putting Mr. Kaulback down to talk with a deaf Mishmi supposed to understand Hindustani and then collecting to see the fun! It was fortunate for everybody that the author kept his temper and took the joke in the spirit in which it was intended. Another characteristic of the Tibetans is brought out in the account of the way in which his coolies helped their small companion along the road when he was tired and lagged behind. This doubling of their work to help a weak companion is very pleasant reading. Mr. Kaulback evidently liked and appreciated the people among whom he travelled, and we shall not be surprised to hear of his return to that country.

I. B.

Confucianism and Modern China. By Sir Reginald F. Johnston, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., M.A. (Oxon.), Hon. LL.D. Pp. 272. Eight illustrations. Gollancz. 1934.

This book is an expanded form of a course of lectures delivered at Bristol and will appeal to a wide public, which is gradually becoming interested in Chinese affairs, but has not the necessary historical background for understanding the people of China. The making of the race is largely due to its firm belief in the ethical teaching of Confucius for over 2,000 years, and by the acceptance in all

classes of society of his dictum that Learning and Goodness are the most important things in the world. Sir Reginald says that in academic Chinese circles at the present time Confucianism is considered out of date and that the present tragic condition of affairs is due to its influence, but he considers it still a living force among the people and of great value both for the present and the future.

The book is very readable and full of interesting information and humorous illustrations and quotations. There is a brief account of the Sage's teaching, with fourteen "texts" (translated by the author) of what he considers the most important rules of life. Confucius stated that his chief concern lay in scholarship, right conduct, loyalty to duty and sincerity. He said that "the practice of right living is the highest of all arts. Other arts are of minor importance. First to be aimed at is the moral life; all else is subordinate." "Religion is not a thing which comes to man from without. It has its origin in his innermost being, and is born in his heart. When emotion stirs the heart there is an outward manifestation of it."

Separate chapters are devoted to the "Cult of Ancestors," which played so large a part in Chinese life formerly; "Filial Piety," a much wider subject than is suggested by the title; "Teacher and Pupil," in which a present-day Chinese scholar is quoted as saying "in China friendship is everything . . . and of friendship that of teacher and pupil is considered as the most intimate and weighty; and this has produced much of Chinese history and a goodly portion of her civilization." Political Loyalty is a chapter largely composed of quotations and stories by various Chinese writers, beginning with Mencius, who, like his master Confucius, laid great stress on the mutual obligations of monarchs and their subjects. The chapter on Music and Ceremonial is particularly interesting and suggestive. There is a remarkable similarity between the stress laid in Greek and in Confucian teaching on the ethical value of music. Ceremonial is a somewhat vague term, and Dr. H. A. Giles translates the Chinese word *Lias* "ceremony," also giving "etiquette, politeness, presents and offerings," and also even "worship."

The chapter on Fortunes of Confucianism in Ancient and Modern Times is mainly concerned with one or two dramatic events in the history of Confucianism during its long existence, such as the burning of the books, with regard to which the author makes a somewhat curious reflection to the effect that the burying of the scholars was "a matter of relative insignificance"—the "mere execution of four hundred and sixty Chinese dons." In 1913 he says there was a violent agitation to destroy the cult of Confucianism, and it was carried so far as to cause an attack to be made on the great imperial temple at Ch'ü-Fou. Yet another similar attempt was made in 1930, but neither was successful.

There is an account of the revival of Confucianism under the auspices of the Confucian Association, which took place not only in China, but also in its colonies overseas. In 1909 a large and flourishing colony in the island of Java felt it necessary, in the interest of the rising generation, to have a good system of education. They sent a deputation over to China to consult a brilliant leading scholar, who was a Government official of renown. He gave them not only good advice and encouragement, but also a handbook of Confucian teaching, of which he was the author, and this became the basis of Confucian teaching throughout the schools in Java, and was also much used in both schools and families in China. This learned scholar is now Prime Minister in Manchuria, and his pamphlet is used there in all Chinese schools.

The chapter on "Is Confucianism a Religion?" raises a thorny question, and the writer admits that he finds it not only difficult, but embarrassing, as he is addressing a Christian audience, so he prudently declines to give more than a

"tentative and inconclusive" answer. He gives a good account of Roman Catholic and Protestant views on the subject and also those of Christian and non-Christian Chinese. An early Roman Catholic missionary gave a fine description of Confucius as a man and of his teaching, but admitted that he laid down "no definite rules for the guidance of explorers in the spiritual realm." The result of this, says the author, is that "multitudes of spiritually-minded Chinese have found Confucianism adequate as a rule of life, but inadequate as a guide to the spiritual world, and have therefore sought additional consolation and enlightenment, such as Confucius could not give, in Buddhism, Taoism, or (in modern times) Christianity." It is certain that Confucius refused to teach about the spiritual world on the ground that he did not know it: he was a thoroughly honest agnostic, and he would equally certainly have refused to be considered a god himself.

If we take Confucianism direct from the fountain-head, it seems clear that there is nothing contradictory to the Christian ethic. He sets forth not a creed, but a way of life. The same is true of Christ, but in addition Christ answers the appeal of humanity for the knowledge of God.

In the chapters on the Revolution of 1911 and on the Republic Sir Reginald has much to say, especially with regard to the part played by missionaries. He quotes one as saying "the initiator of the Chinese Revolution was the Christian missionary," and describes the important part which certain Chinese Christians took as leaders of the movement, while many missionaries showed approval when it was successful. He does not discriminate between the attitude towards the Revolution taken up by different nationalities and different bodies. Roman Catholic missions have always claimed temporal power, and have used their position to protect their converts in the law courts. On the other hand, *British* Protestant missions have an express understanding that they are on no account to interfere in political matters or assume any political status. The Edinburgh Conference Report, which he quotes (which took place two years before the Revolution), recommending that "missionaries should keep clear of all party and faction," was an international one, and societies were represented there who would not feel bound as were ours. The same must be said of his allegations about the desecration of the Altar of Heaven. All decent Englishmen have respected the religious shrines of other nations and religions. Sir Reginald says "there were a few wise and experienced missionaries who took no part in the anti-Confucian Movement, and watched its progress with deep misgiving." As one who has been in close contact with China and the Chinese for more than forty years, may I say that it would be more correct if, instead of saying "a few wise and experienced missionaries," he had said "the *bulk* of wise and experienced missionaries took no part in the anti-Confucian movement," etc.? In all parts of China there are mission schools where the Confucian classics have been and still are regularly taught.

In the closing chapter of this comprehensive book—"The China of To-morrow"—there is an optimistic view taken of the increasing attention given to the study of Confucianism, more especially in the north, south and west of the country. In Canton the birthday of the Sage is kept with great enthusiasm and rejoicing, all the shops being shut. When the Confucian Association sent a mission to England a year or two ago I took part in the celebration of the two thousand four hundred and sixty-ninth anniversary of the birth of Confucius, and a direct descendant of the seventy-seventh generation was present. The object of the mission was to promote friendly relations with this country and in the interests of international peace.

There is a quotation from a manifesto of the Confucian Association in the Straits Settlement and Malaya which shows the strong feeling about national decadence: "Among the so-called modern Chinese there is a marked absence of the sagacity requisite to a proper appreciation of the ethical philosophy and teachings of Confucius and a lack of zeal for truth and justice, industry, self-denial, moderation and public duty." This Confucian revival may possibly be checked, Sir Reginald fears, by an important movement which was started at the beginning of this year, called "The New Life Movement." It was created by Marshal Chiang Kai Shek, and has spread rapidly throughout the country. It is constantly referred to in the Chinese Press, and has evidently answered a widespread feeling of need for reform in all classes of the population. Chiang Kai Shek and other leaders of thought have advocated it in speeches and in writing. He urges a return to the old Confucian virtues, "which may be said to denote courtesy and good manners, justice and uprightiness, frugality and integrity, modesty and self-respect." It is a matter of considerable interest that these are the words of Chiang Kai Shek, an avowed Christian and active worker.

The book is illustrated by charming photographs of Confucian Ch'ü-Fou, where his grave and temples are situated, but no photograph can give any conception of the idyllic beauty of the resting-place of the Sage and the glorious colouring and grandeur of the imperial temples. The generous hospitality extended to the stranger who visited them and the charm of the welcome accorded by everyone completes a picture which can never be forgotten.

The notes at the end of the book fill seventy pages, and many of them give useful additional information to those who are interested in the subject.

E. G. KEMP.

Son of Heaven. A Biography of Li Shih-min, Founder of the T'ang Dynasty. By C. P. Fitzgerald. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. ix + 232. Cambridge University Press. 1933. 12s. 6d.

White Jade. By Maude Meagher. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1930.

"Some talk of Alexander," of Cæsar or Napoleon, and endeavour to assess the extent to which each has left his mark upon the history of the world. The first of these books is a biography of the founder of the T'ang Dynasty—sometimes called the Golden Age of China—Li Shih-min, who eventually became Emperor under the style of T'ai Tsung, one who has surely been given insufficient consideration in this connection. The son of an insignificant and inefficient father, it became obvious when he was in his early 'teens that the profligate Emperor Yang Ti was doomed to be the last of the short-lived Sui Dynasty: even before the latter was deposed and murdered, a round dozen competitors for the throne appeared in different parts of the country. The vacillating, easy-going Duke of T'ang, Governor of the Province of Shansi, became one of this number mostly on the advice and at the instigation of Shih-min, his second son: but first, also on his advice, the headquarters were moved to Ch'ang An (Sianfu), the old capital of the Empire, and the book traces how the other competitors were disposed of—singly where possible, but eventually, at the decisive battle of Ssü Shui, the two most formidable together—until in the almost incredibly short space of seven years Li Yuan was established as the undisputed Emperor of China. It was

obvious that he owed his throne to the courage, coolness, foresight and appreciation of the strategic values of positions and of the time to wait and the time to strike possessed by his son. The only failures of the T'ang arms were recorded when Shih-min was unable for any reason to lead them: seldom was there any considerable success except when he was at the head, and in the most important of these—the expedition which resulted in the acquisition of the Yangtze Valley and all South China—signs of his influence on the plan of campaign are seen in the utilization of the advantage given by possession of the Upper Yangtze and Han Valleys and their fleets of junks with hardy and experienced crews, which constituted the main factor in the victory.

When all rivals had been disposed of a new danger appeared in the growing jealousy of Shih-min's elder brother, Chien Ch'eng, who had been nominated as Crown Prince, and with the third brother and the ladies of the Court plotted to murder him and came within an ace of success—only the loyalty of a small band of friends and a flash of the decision so often shown in the field enabled him to turn the tables on them in the end. Soon afterwards his father abdicated in his favour, and he became Emperor at the early age of twenty-six. History was to repeat itself, and he eventually had to treat his own unworthy son in the same drastic fashion as his brothers: but otherwise, after a few strenuous campaigns on the North-West Frontier had reduced the Turks to impotence for a century to come, and a not too successful Korean expedition in his later years, he was able to settle down to a reign which, while all too short, was yet long enough to establish the T'ang Dynasty in China and set up a pattern which was followed throughout all the vicissitudes of fortune, successive invasions, and the rise and fall of dynasties, down to modern times.

The book is written in a lucid and very readable style: one of the chief difficulties of following Chinese politics—the lack of individuality in proper names—is disposed of by a list of the more important ones in the beginning, and the promise that if the reader will attempt the by no means impossible task of mastering it he will have no trouble with the problem of identifying the actors later: place-names are similarly reduced to reasonable numbers. An interesting parallel is drawn between the civil wars of those times and the similar struggles during 1923-30: times have changed and the centre of the country has shifted from Sian, but the essential problem was the same—a sort of gigantic game of "noughts and crosses," known as the struggle between the "vertical" and "horizontal" theories. The author remarks that it was obvious "he (Shih-min) . . . had studied the military history of the warring states period of the Chou Dynasty, 400-223 B.C.," and suggests it would have been of advantage to the leaders in the civil wars of recent years if they had studied his. To this one might add that what both sides lacked in the civil wars of the last decade was his appreciation of the importance of mobility and of keeping his communications clear, of making full use of geographical advantages, and of the time-factor—more than once his whole strategy was based on the fact that river currents were in his favour and against the enemy, and, with a restraint that must have seemed strange in a youth of his age, he was prepared to sit down and wait until supplies began to run short in the opposite camp and attack only when their plans were disarranged by the need of replenishing them. He was famous for his personal courage and his chivalry in an age when it was customary to execute not only the defeated rival, but all his family: and perhaps it would have been a better thing for China if some of his modern counterparts could have emulated him in all these respects—having the courage to venture their lives, the tenacity to fight a war to the finish, and the perspicacity to know how to find and to keep loyal

subordinates, frequently chosen for their brilliant qualities displayed on the opposing side.

But it is as the great ruler who reunited the Empire when it was falling into chaos and restored the ancient system, including an efficient and regular Civil Service (which lasted into modern times and is believed to have suggested our own), that he is best known to Chinese: and his chief claim to fame is as the beneficent monarch and patron of the arts rather than as a brilliant soldier: and it is this view that is reflected in the second book under review. This is the story of Yang Kuei Fei, the concubine of a later T'ang Emperor, Ming Huang, who, after ruling her royal lover and his empire for twenty years, ruined everything and nearly brought the dynasty to an end by indulging a mad passion for a clumsy Tartar lout, An Lu-shan, who, after his life had been spared, finally turned against the Emperor and drove him out, sacking the palace and capital, only to be murdered shortly afterwards by his own son.

The theme is a favourite one in Chinese literature, and many poems (some of them reproduced in this book in translation) and plays, both classical and popular, are based upon it. The authoress chooses a novel method for telling her story: two young men of a later generation, filled with sentimental admiration for the long dead imperial concubine, decide to devote themselves to collecting all the information they can about her life and her end: on revisiting Ch'ang An, the Imperial City, they are fortunate enough to encounter some of the persons who were actually present during the fatal time—now outcasts and beggars, playing and singing for their living at fairs and such-like—from whom they hear the tale as the narrators saw the events or themselves heard them at first-hand.

The book is interspersed with poems which, whether actual translations (as some purport to be) or imitations, are well done: and partly, no doubt, owing to this and partly to the authoress's predilection for translating literally the somewhat flowery Chinese proper names and figures of speech, the style is quasi-poetical, and the general picture is of a China much idealized and difficult to recognize as the same country as, for instance, that described in *The Good Earth*. In *Son of Heaven*, but for a few minor differences, one might imagine the events had, or could have, happened yesterday: *White Jade*, on the other hand—especially at its fantastic end, which carries the research into Hades and the occult—has more of an Epic atmosphere where even the very ordinary persons who appear in the foreground take on something of the quality of the protagonists whose story they exist to tell.

A. G. N. O.

Understand the Chinese. By William Martin. Translated from the French by E. W. Dickes. With an Introduction by Sir Arthur Salter. Pp. xiii + 249. Fourteen illustrations, a map, and an index. Methuen and Co., Ltd. 1934. 7s. 6d.

In the introduction to this book Sir Arthur Salter describes William Martin as "a great publicist; a great liberal; a great internationalist." This high praise would, perhaps, be seconded by all who followed the author's column of "exact and vivid summaries" in the *Journal de Genève* during the decade preceding his untimely death in the winter of 1933-34.

Certainly it was as an enflamed internationalist that William Martin produced this, his last, work—a potpourri of apologia, observations, interpretations, travelog descriptions, and ruminations on China's past, present and future. He crusades the reader to Shanghai and the razzle-dazzle of the international community, and

bids him: Understand the Chinese. Thence he crusades to Peiping, Nanking, Canton, and back to Geneva, with the same admonition. The point on the map may, but generally not, be germane to the flow of ideas. The running defence of things and ways Chinese often breaks into direct assault upon both Westerners and Japanese. The result is a book of which the title is a command, and the contents at once deeply sincere and highly intemperate, neither of which would characterize the subject of the book.

In his first chapter the author writes: "I arrived in China with no preconceived ideas. Of China and the Chinese I knew little . . . I deliberately left unopened the books written by those who had been before. . . ." And yet he cannot very well refrain from correcting some of the popular errors about China (incidentally initiating, in passing, what might be fresh errors), which would indicate a certain knowledge of the good and the bad contemporary literature. That point aside, the author's method of relying for the most part solely on what he could see and hear gives his writing the tone of eminently true narrative, but also the overtone of vast, unexplored spaces. This is not to quarrel with William Martin, who, in the words of Sir Arthur Salter, is always "stimulating, picturesque, and interesting." It is rather to question whether even the splendid equipment he brings to bear in literary talent—verve, knowledge of international affairs, and sincerity—is sufficient to depict, after a brief visit, the enormously complex maladies gnawing at the suffering vitals of China.

If there is a general theme it is that no one should blame China for the difficulties resulting from the substitution of a new civilization for an old one. "Almost anything that excites disapproval or wonderment in her critics is due to the fact that China is modernizing herself, not, like Japan, through a harmonious process of evolution, but amid the pangs of a new birth." Which is a true observation, but in fixing the blame the author is inclined to bear down hard on the foreign residents, lumping them all together as anti-Nanking. To such generalizations as "the ravages of alcohol are worse here (Shanghai) than those of opium," and "it is the thing in Shanghai to be pro-Japanese," he adds that Japan fomented discontent to keep China divided, and rises to white heat with the statement that "not a rifle is fired in China but its powder is paid for by the Japanese." Without in the slightest relaxing his fear and hatred of Japan, the most patriotic Chinese could sorrowfully challenge such a reflection on the tax-collecting powers of his local and central authorities.

But all is not polemic. The author makes many suggestions which the friends of China would like to see carried through: the gradual abolition of the concessions, the eventual abolition of extraterritoriality, etc. He defends the choice of Nanking as the capital, "a sound political idea," despite the love of the foreign diplomats for the comforts and delights of the intellectual metropolis of the Far East, which is Peiping. Especially interesting is Chapter VII, "The Southern Capital." He writes:

"Here we are in the presence of the birth of a cult. In this country, in which religion seems to play so unimportant a part, it is necessary to give the Government a mystical character to enable it to endure. The Emperors were Sons of Heaven, and Sun Yat-sen's friends are likely to turn him too into a divinity.

"Every Monday morning throughout China children in the schools, students in the universities, soldiers in the barracks, officials in the public departments, employees in the shops, assemble in front of a portrait of Sun Yat-sen, which is draped in the national and party flags. The testament of

the Master—it was the work of Wang Ching-wei and was signed by Sun Yat-sen with a trembling hand on his death-bed—is read to them in a loud voice. Hymns are sung, litanies recited, heads are bent in silence several times, and the oldest person present preaches a sermon. Nothing is lacking but incense, and that is present in every heart.

“The idea of this weekly service was suggested to the Chinese by the Russians, who pay homage in the same spirit to the memory of Lenin. It would be found in various forms in Turkey and other countries under a dictatorial régime. It was left to our age to imitate the ancients by deifying contemporaries, sacrificing to Augustus.”

In discussing the Government, William Martin describes the Kuomintang as made up of contradictions. “It is Bolshevist, hard and cruel in conception; Chinese, gentle in origin and spirit.” He dwells on the precautions taken against dictatorship in the Constitution, and observes: “The Chinese Government is a strong room with a thousand keys. From fear of personal power, the corporative system has been carried to its furthest limits. In theory no Chinese can decide anything alone. . . . As often happens, the precautions taken against personal power resulted in the end in making it necessary.” He quotes various officials to show that the chief dangers are demoralization, and not corruption, but inefficiency, in the administration. (He plays with a mock danger, the habit of Nanking officials of week-ending in Shanghai—“the sleeping car, which, week by week, carries the Chinese politicians out and back again. A derailment would be a disaster: the Chinese Government would be annihilated.”)

He deals at length with the men who rule China, especially the triumvirate, Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei, and T. V. Soong. In ascribing to Chiang Kai-shek the utmost prudence, and too much knowledge of his countrymen to seize personal power, he adds: “It would be entirely wrong, and unfair, to imagine that Chiang Kai-shek is pro-Japanese. But he is aware of Japan’s technical superiority—he studied in that country—and he is not a man to bang his head against a brick wall.”

In citing China’s many feats of absorbing conquerors in the past he says: “The Japanese are entering China and installing themselves there—what does it matter? They will end by becoming Chinese.” Which prophecy may not allow for the fact that the Japanese rarely intermarry with other races.

Other interesting observations are:

“. . . the real Communist peril does not lie in the Communist regions to be reconquered. It lies over the whole country, in minds and hearts; not only among the masses, but among the intellectuals; among the youth of China, who see the capitalist nations powerless to aid their country and find evidence of good-will only in the Russians; and among the unhappy coolies, who live in perpetual hunger.”

“. . . because our Christian civilization rests in our day on an intrinsic contradiction, because it contains many elements of Christianity and yet is no longer Christian, it is for that reason that Christianity fails to reach the hearts of the Chinese masses. . . .”

“Sometimes people imagine that China is in danger of falling to pieces. Not a bit of it. The detached pieces have but one ambition, to get stuck together again. The Cantonese are the very reverse of separatists.”

For the League work in China William Martin has praise, in general, but finds that the technical experts often “acted like the doctor who ordered a poor devil

to take a holiday on the Riviera"—excellent advice, but impracticable, because the cost involved was too heavy. It was unfortunate in the Manchurian affair, writes the author, that the "naval Powers without whom the League could do nothing were precisely the Powers who had been continually injured and irritated by the policy of the Kuomintang in the course of the earlier years of the national revolution. On the top of all this, the Chinese failed to defend Manchuria, or even Jehol, although they had had a year in which to prepare to do so. . . . They were entirely docile and amenable; they followed all the advice their friends gave them. On the other hand, they did not help the League. . . . They forgot the saying, so apt in this case, that 'Heaven helps those who help themselves.'" The achievement of the League was that "it proclaimed the justice of China's cause, and prevented Japan from acquiring any legal standing in Manchuria; it left her conquest precarious."

William Martin ends his book with a rising note of hope, that China has "resources, possibilities of development, and a vitality that tired Europe no longer possesses . . . and that in the course of the coming centuries China will, perhaps, be one of the world's great centres of civilization and productivity."

All in all, it is a very human book about one of the most baffling of the human problems of our day, how it is that the great Chinese race of fine intellect and unequalled physical stamina can become the prey of races less gifted from far and near.

B. H.

The Pageant of Chinese History. By Elizabeth Seeger. Illustrated by Bernard Watkins. London: Routledge. 1934. 8s. 6d. net.

To undertake the reviewing of yet another book on Chinese history would seem at first sight no light-hearted task, the number of books on this subject being almost legion. Miss Elizabeth Seeger has, however, succeeded in dealing with her material in a refreshingly original way. She has clothed the dry bones of history with a gossamer web that binds them all together in the deftly woven thread of her story.

The authoress is a teacher of history in accordance with the Dalton Plan, whereby children start their studies with Egypt, the earliest known civilization, and are led to other ancient empires in the Near East, then to Greece, Rome, and to Mediæval and Renaissance Europe. From there to the great discoveries made in voyages to the East and West and then to the history of their own country. It is thus a logical continuous story and an excellent preparation for the study of modern history, but with one great gap in the scheme—the Far East with its important religions and civilizations was entirely left out. So it was decided to include a year of Oriental history in which the children could follow Marco Polo into China and discover the people of Asia as the people of Europe had done. Not finding any suitable textbook for her purpose, the authoress was constrained to undertake the work herself. *The Pageant of Chinese History* is an amplification and a completion of the school textbook. The *motif* of her work lies in the following extract:

"Surely, though perhaps I speak with partiality, there is no history more thrilling and delightful than that of China. I cannot agree with some writers who state that the interest of Chinese history begins with foreign relations, or who give one-fifth of the space in their books to China before 1500 A.D. and four-

fifths to the rest of its history. If it were not for very recent developments I should be more inclined to say that the interest of the history ended with foreign relations. It is the Chou dynasty, which began in 1122 B.C., with its astonishing visions of social life, its philosophy, its dramatic events, and its subtle and humorous anecdotes, that richly repay the student. It is the adventurous and inventive dynasty of Han, the magnificent renaissance of the Tang and the exquisite art of the Sung dynasties that delight the soul even more than the later history."

The opening chapter deals with mythical times: then the legendary times of Yao and Shun are recounted; while succeeding chapters tell of the dynasties in chronological order from that of the first King Yu (2159 B.C.) to the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1912. Special treatment is given to the subject of Altar and Temple, the beginnings of religion, and to the sages Lao-tse, Confucius, and Mencius—a wonderful trio of sapient men. In telling the tale of the dynasties the evolution of Chinese thought, of arts and crafts, social customs, of rebellions and revolutions are described well and every salient feature is noticed. The reader is rarely troubled with dates: the thread of the story gives a sufficient idea of the period. In the latter part of the volume the gradual introduction of foreigners and their trade, and the wars into which China found herself drawn because of foreign aggression are told in an impartial manner. Little fault can be found with the last chapter on the Manchu dynasty with its story of the Empress Dowager and the events which led to the foundation of the Republic.

It is probable the authoress has never been in China, but that this is an advantage is shown by the absence of ill-digested personal opinions formed locally, often on insufficient grounds and experience.

The interest of this book lies in the able way the whole story has been written so that it can be read with pleasure and profit by young and old alike. It is, indeed, "History without Tears." No event of any importance appears to have been omitted, and some parts, notably the romantic story of the Ming dynasty, are made so absorbing that the reader will come with regret to the end of them. And yet, tested by other works on Chinese history, there is no serious inaccuracy or omission. The volume could be usefully read by missionaries and others who are setting out to take up their life-work in China. It gives a comprehensive grasp of the modes of thought, past and present, in that great country. And for those of us who have lived there its pages will be found to yield some happy hours in absorbing its contents, prepared as they are so appetizingly. The book is well named, for the characters pass before our eyes in one long cavalcade of colourful pageantry. It is moderately priced at 8s. 6d., and the illustrations are all appropriate.

G. D. G.

Through the Dragon's Eyes. Fifty Years' Experience of a Foreigner in the Chinese Government Service. By L. C. Arlington, Commissioner, Chinese Postal Service (retired). With a Foreword by E. Alabaster, Commissioner of Chinese Customs (retired). With thirteen plates in colour, eleven in half-tone, and a Map. London: Constable and Co., Ltd. Cheap edition 7s. 6d.

Mr. Arlington's book was well received when it first appeared, and the cheap edition now published should gain for it a still wider public. His tale is well worth the telling: there is no lack of "derring do," deeds which show how calm courage and non-excitability can bring a man safely through critical incidents.

When there are so many thoroughly interesting aspects of Chinese life it seems a pity that the author should elect to make half the number of his illustrations depict Chinese tortures of the worst kind. Perhaps he has an object in view, for, though these methods of refined cruelty are now considered illegal, they are still practised by Chinese detective departments. They claim that Chinese criminals will deny everything unless they are tortured, and, as the author points out, the terrible crimes committed merit drastic measures. The general complaint of the Chinese during the past few years is that the present laws are far too lax and are mainly the cause of so much crime.

Mr. Arlington's adventurous life, before he left America, fitted him well for the rôles he has played for fifty years in China, in the Navy, the Maritime Customs, and the Post Office. In all of these posts he has served his masters well: he was keen and non-self-seeking.

At times he is hypercritical, as, for instance, in describing the work of the China International Famine Relief Commission.

This is a very good and readable account of life in China by one whose lines have been cast in ancillary posts and who heard and saw a great deal of what was going on round about him and has the ability to make an excellent story of it. His book, however, lacks comprehension of many administrative steps which those in higher posts had to take to meet exigencies as they arose.

But the whole volume is full of life and action and reflects the opinions of a man who has lived more among the Chinese than almost any other foreigner of his time. The author does not like missionaries, judging by the instances he gives of their interferences in Chinese politics.

G. D. G.

Chinese Destinies. Sketches of Present-Day China. By Agnes Smedley. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. ix + 284. London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd. Price 12s. 6d. net.

This is not a book which will find much favour among the members of the Royal Central Asian Society, as it is subversive of all ordered thought and gives no proper account of China and anything that pertains to it. The authoress, Miss Smedley, is a journalist on the staff of German and Indian newspapers, probably of the Communist kind, and she must have worn spectacles made of Communist glass when she went to visit China, for it is only through the medium of that crazy idealism that she has envisaged all she saw and heard. Chinese workers do not express their thoughts in the way she describes: it all sounds too unreal. The book is full of massacres, unrefined tortures, rapes and executions. British authorities massacre harmless Chinese; British officers run about "with bloodshot eyes" behaving ferociously. The authoress got into a Chinese crowd in Shanghai who were shouting "Down with Imperialism," and there she met "an armed English officer with a long club in his hand." "The officer yelled furiously, but the Chinese crowd only stood back and watched him in his fury dashing here and there. A shopkeeper a short distance away from me laughed aloud. The officer heard, rushed at him and dragged him bodily over the counter and struck him over the head with his club."

Later on he came across a young student "whose face was beautiful. This white, British, officer raised his club and struck the unresisting boy a blow right on the head. The boy collapsed without a sound." Everyone who is not Communist is described as "feudal." There is a laughably foolish chapter on "The

Foreigner in China," which does not in any way reflect the character or outlook or mode of life of the average foreign resident. We are told how "in Shanghai, Chiang Kai-shek inaugurated the White Terror by a frightful massacre of workers and intellectuals"; how that "there are white Russian regiments in British uniforms in Shanghai who march and sing Czarist songs"; how in Peking "the Chinese Police massacred a large number of students demonstrating against an ultimatum by the Imperialists."

There are long accounts of the doings of young girls steeped in Marxian principles, and about concubinage and *mui tsai*. It would be idle to deny that there has been a great deal of insensate cruelty practised in China of recent years since the Communist societies took shape, for the Red Armies have both given and received hard knocks. But in the volume under review the whole question is dealt with in such a radically partisan spirit that the authoress's descriptions and comments cannot be regarded in any other light than those of an ardent propagandist.

The book leads us nowhere, and its publication could not in any way further the subject about which it was written. A more appropriate title than *Chinese Destinies* would be "A Journalistic Muck-rake in China."

G. D. G.

The Chinese People: Their Past, Present and Future. By Lieut.-Commander A. S. Elwell-Sutton R.N. (retired), Bachelor of Arts (History Honours), Panel Lecturer of the University of London Extension Board. With a Foreword by Professor J. Percy Bruce. London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, Ltd., 44, Essex Street, Strand, W.C. 2. 1934. 4s. 6d. net.

Into a handbook of 253 pages Lieut.-Commander Elwell-Sutton has compressed a history of China, beginning with the rise of the great philosophers in the seventh century B.C. and concluding with a review of recent political events and a chapter on "The Future." The Chinese people do not enter into the story at all as far as their personal characteristics and modes of life are concerned. The book is really a survey of the cultural development of China and puts all its matter in a compact, concise way; in fact, so compact is it that the reader would be the better of some previous knowledge of the subject in order to get the full value of the potted fare provided. The chapters are collected into groups or books. At the end of each "book" a well-selected bibliography is provided. We are told in the preface that the material for the building of this work took twenty years to collect, and that it has already been utilized for numerous University Extension lectures. The author, if unoriginal, has been painstaking enough to get his facts correct. Having regard to his Service experience, one might say he has compiled a superior Intelligence Report which is in no way elaborated by any expression of personal opinion—just historical facts or data. His estimate of China's future is a cautious, almost nebulous one.

This book is one of a series published in the University Extension Library, designed to meet the needs of busy but thoughtful readers in subjects that are worth while. As such it can be commended, for it is full of authentic information.

G. D. G.

Scrambles in Japan and Formosa. By the Revd. W. H. Murray Walton, M.A., F.R.G.S. Twenty-six illustrations and maps. London: Edward Arnold and Co. 18s.

The Revd. W. H. Murray Walton has contributed a valuable addition to the small collection of books which deal with present-day Formosa, and, while expressing his views freely and with commendable impartiality, he pays a sincere tribute to Japanese methods employed in the colonization of the "beautiful isle" and in the taming of the savage tribes.

A visit to Formosa—the inner recesses, that is—is exactly like being rapidly transferred from commonplace reality to life in a fairy story. The unbelievable picturesqueness of the aborigines; their bows and arrows and the scanty skin garments which are the fruits of these primitive weapons; the scarlet hibiscus stuck behind the ears; and, not least, the merry head-hunting expeditions undertaken merely in order, perhaps, that some valiant youth may be "blooded" upon reaching maturity. These are the existing conditions, though doubtless they are slowly yielding to the difficult advances made by the Japanese towards the civilization of the nine tribes.

When in '95, as a result of her war with China, Formosa was formally ceded to Japan, as many head-hunters as could be rounded up were compelled to surrender such firearms as they had acquired, and, although head-hunting at the time received a check, some 4,000 Japanese and their Formosan allies lost their lives in the process. Since then there have been many revolts and massacres, as recently even as 1930. Patience, however, is an essential characteristic of the Japanese, and their paternal attitude towards their "tamed savages" is indicated by the friendly understanding that exists between rulers and ruled. For purposes of *legitimate* hunting "guns may be borrowed from the police"; bows and arrows, spears and javelins, however, remain the weapons of everyday use. As a set-off to this heroic civilization it has to be recorded that "we (the author and his friends) were shown a recent photograph of two children's heads which had been secured by way of revenge from a neighbouring tribe." That the Japanese have not been above making use of the very methods they are endeavouring to suppress is suggested by the following episode. Finding themselves powerless to dislodge an obstreperous tribe secure in the almost inaccessible mountains, the aid of a friendly tribe was invoked. Mr. Walton saw a photograph of the return of the expedition. "The warriors of the victorious tribe were sitting on chairs with their Japanese rulers behind them. Between each tribesman's feet was a human head!"

Mr. Walton admits in his preface that he is faced by the problem as to what particular interest he should write for. His stimulating book certainly will not come amiss either to serious climbers—by whom his figures, heights of mountains, etc., will be found invaluable—or to the traveller in search of undeniable adventure, or to the anthropologist and others whose researches lie in ethnographical directions.

BEATRIX MANICO GULL.

Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs. By Prince P. H. Mamour.

Pp. 230. London: Luzac. 1934.

Probably the best comment we can make on this book is a statement in the plainest words possible of the problem with which it is concerned. Shi'ite doctrine holds that a divine grace was bestowed upon 'Ali, from him transmitted to the Imams, his legitimate heirs. The exact nature of this grace is viewed differently by different Shi'ite sects, but all agree that it was transmitted in strictly hereditary descent. The sixth Imam, Ja'far as-Sadiq, disinherited his elder son Isma'il and chose a younger son Musa in his place: but some of the Shi'ites, apparently only a small minority, did not acquiesce in Isma'il's rejection and remained loyal to him. Isma'il predeceased his father, but left a son Muhammad, who, according to the minority sect, became the seventh Imam at Ja'far's death in 765. But at once this Muhammad "went into concealment," the adherents of the Isma'ili sect remaining loyal to this concealed Imam. This obscure sect was reorganized by a certain 'Abdullah some time before 864, about a century after Muhammad's disappearance, and it soon began to cause much trouble to the Government in Baghdad by its association with various revolutionary movements. The claim was made, perhaps by 'Abdullah, certainly by his successors, that he was the heir and representative of the concealed Imam, though non-Shi'ite opinion insisted that he was an impostor, the son of a Persian oculist named Maimun. From 'Abdullah were descended the Fatimi rulers of North Africa and Egypt, and from him the modern Khojas, prominent in India and South Africa, trace the descent of their leaders. This present work maintains the thesis that Maimun the Oculist was himself the Muhammad who had gone into concealment, changed his name, taken refuge in Persia, and devoted himself to medical studies. The author classes all historians who have previously dealt with this problem as either advocates for, or opponents of, 'Abdullah's claims: he does not admit the possibility of an unprejudiced enquiry without partisan bias: he is not of that neutral tint, but a wholehearted advocate of 'Abdullah, though of this we have no reason to complain, as he gives the work the title of "Polemics." The subject of a long missing heir and a claimant arising to his heritage is a familiar theme in history and in romance.

Prince P. H. Mamour makes a very fair case for the claimant, and avails himself of recent research—*e.g.*, in showing that the description of successive grades of initiation in the Isma'ili society is pure fiction (pp. 57-58). He explains the "concealment" of Muhammad as due to fear of the 'Abbasid rulers, though he does not show why no such concealment was found necessary in the case of the *Ithna'ashariya*, a much larger and presumably more dangerous Shi'ite sect. Admittedly Eastern Persia was a hotbed of Shi'ism, and that would make it natural for Muhammad to take refuge there. Even the suggestion that a princely Imam turned to medical studies is not without strong probability: the sixth Imam Ja'far lived at a time and in a place where Greek science was being revived by the Muslims, and tradition describes him as devoted to chemistry. Greek science came to Islam through Jundi-Shapur and Emesa from Alexandria, and in its last phase the School of Alexandria was almost exclusively a medical academy. All the most unlikely details have a plausible explanation. The author sets forth his case as a distinctly able advocate, and it must be admitted that he makes a good case, though most of his material has to be obtained from definitely hostile

writers, themselves Sunni Muslims and writing under a jealous censorship; the few Shi'i authorities available are of comparatively late date. The weakest part of this work is perhaps the summary of the "reasons for the 'Abbasid denouncement of the Fatimis' origin" on pp. 16-21. That a caliph would dislike an anti-caliph is in the nature of things; it needs no detailed explanation, and some of the reasons assigned credit the 'Abbasids with a far-reaching foresight which they possibly may have possessed, but more probably did not: it is hardly likely that one of the reasons for the "'Abbasid denouncement of the Fatimis' origin" was "jealousy because Cairo . . . had superseded Baghdad as a centre for the arts, sciences and literature." We have no indication that the arts and sciences were taken so seriously. Such points are, however, quite trivial; the fact remains that the book is a serious and valuable contribution to the study of an extremely interesting historical problem.

DE LACY O'LEARY.

Lady Hester Stanhope. By Joan Haslip. Pp. 284. Cobden-Sanderson, Ltd. 10s. 6d.

This entertaining book is not the first that has been inspired by that extraordinary woman, Lady Hester Stanhope. But hers is a story that can well be told many times, as are the histories of all the world's outstanding personalities. Miss Haslip has spared no pains in gathering together all the information available, as witness the bibliography appended to her book; and she has marshalled her facts and impressions with a keen perception of the dramatic and with a glowing pen. Who that has seen the flowers of the Near East in spring can fail to appreciate such a description as "The minarets of Brusa rose amidst the purple haze of Judas trees, and rivers of white irises fell down the slopes of Mount Olympus, rivalling the snows of its lofty summits"?

Throughout the strange and turbulent life of her heroine, from the days when she queened it in Downing Street as hostess for her uncle, William Pitt, until as "Queen of the Arabs" she rode triumphant into Palmyra, or scornfully defied Mehemet Ali, Miss Haslip never allows her reader's interest to flag. Towards the end most vividly do we see *Es Sytt* at Djoun, ill, in rags, yet arrogant and dominating all those around her; eccentric, and dispensing mad largesse though heavily in debt; listening to her many spies, or babbling to her distinguished visitors, travellers of many races and creeds, of sorcery and magic, of religion or the stars. Little wonder that in the Lebanon the memory of *Es Sytt* is still so green that the villagers and peasants speak as if they themselves had known her.

Miss Haslip is perhaps at her best in the latter part of the book, though there are details such as the garb of the Arabs who welcomed Lady Hester Stanhope at Palmyra which seem strange to those familiar with the dwellers in the Syrian desert. But such trifling blemishes and a few misprints detract in no way from the excellent entertainment afforded by an admirable book. An index adds to its value as a history, and though Eastern terms are wisely avoided as far as possible a short glossary is given of those few that occur.

DOROTHY MACKAY.

Shifting Sands. The True Story of the Arab Revolt. By Major N. N. E. Bray. 8½" × 5½". Pp. xii + 312. Map. London: Unicorn Press. 12s. 6d.

The main interest in Major Bray's book lies in its challenge to the policy and the strategy that are inseparably woven with the name of Lawrence.

The author claims the "will to freedom" of the Arabs was universal and should so have been treated, and that the Arab movement needed the direct inspiration and immediate control, not of an Englishman, but of a great Arab; and that the Arab should have been Ibn Sa'ud rather than King Husain and his son Faisal.

Ibn Sa'ud was then, as he is now, the greatest of the Arabs and would unquestionably have been a most effective commander. The book, however, offers no proof either that he was ready to accept the burden of leadership or that he would have been welcomed as leader by the other tribes. Actually the great Shammar tribe and the tribes of the Hedjaz were bitterly hostile to him. And even had the movement been universal and subject to Ibn Sa'ud, how were the Bedouins, notoriously disobedient even to their Sheikhs, to be fed, controlled and united for battle in those vast and barren areas between Cairo and Muscat and between Mosul and Aden? To sustain the vaunted "will to freedom," Lawrence poured out gold and arms like water in a limited area close to the sea of which we had the command. Yet even so he found it difficult to keep his followers up to the scratch. He would have found it much more difficult to have financed and equipped Arab legions scattered over the length and breadth of Arabia. Husain was the weapon to hand and we used it. Ibn Sa'ud was a finely tempered sword, but distant and possessed of two edges, one presented to the Turk and the other to Husain. The criticism as to the command being exercised by an Englishman rather than an Arab cannot be sustained, for Lawrence and Faisal formed a rare and effective combination in leadership.

In his challenge to the strategy of the Arab movement, Major Bray is no more successful. There is nothing to show that Lawrence could have given Napoleon 7 lb. and an easy beating, as some of his admiring biographers would have us believe, but he was unquestionably a first-class partisan. He was given advantages that seldom fall to the lot of any leader, but he had peculiarly difficult material to deal with, and the writer of this review, who has a considerable experience of Arab soldiery, believes that he made the best possible use of it.

There is plenty of interesting matter in the book, but it is immature in expression and, judging from the official history of the campaign, not always accurate as to fact.

H. R. R.

Sword for Hire. By Douglas V. Duff. 8" x 5½". Pp. 352. John Murray. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Duff's *Sword for Hire* is one of those all too rare books that are both instructive and extremely readable. From the point of view of the Royal Central Asian Society it is the latter half of the book, which describes his service in the Palestine Police, that is of particular interest, for here we have an absorbing and thrilling account of the everyday life of a policeman in this not particularly peaceful country. Mr. Duff, although he is willing—not to say eager—to lead his patrols in street fighting and crack the crowns of rioters with his Irish blackthorn, is also a student of human nature, and has some very sound ideas on the none too satisfactory situation in Palestine. If he does not suggest a solution of the difficulty of ruling this religion-ridden, too much Promised Land, he at least gives a very clear understanding of the various pitfalls that lie in the administrator's path, and sums up the situation from a much closer view-point than any previous book on the subject has done—*i.e.*, that of the man on the spot

in the midst of the turmoil instead of the skilled writer of reports from the security of his office chair.

Although the book is written primarily to amuse and interest—and there is not the slightest doubt that the author has achieved this object, for it is so absorbing and the narrative flows so smoothly that one cannot lay it down till one has finished it—it nevertheless imparts a considerable amount of sound information and solid reasoning in the Arab-Jew *impasse*, a state of affairs that will continue to trouble this Mandate for many years to come. Mr. Duff rather goes out of his way to tell his readers that he is merely a swashbuckling, mercenary soldier of fortune, but the style of the book refutes this, for reading between the lines we see that he is not only a student of humanity, but something of a scholar as well. There is little of the chequered history of Palestine that Mr. Duff does not know; and his description of the various stations in which he has served is seasoned by a short account of the forgotten cities that now exist merely as mud-brick villages. His account of the Samaritan Feast of the Passover and description of the faith and national pride of this remnant of the oldest family of Israel is one of the best chapters in a particularly well-written book.

Mr. Duff explains that he is neither pro-Arab nor pro-Jew, and states that he has every sympathy with the cultivators of both nations, but none whatsoever with either the half-educated tarboused effendi, who is the root of all the trouble, nor the townsman Jew who keeps a small shop in Jerusalem, Jaffa, or Haifa.

This explanation of the preference for the Arab shown by the administrative officials of Palestine may cause some heartburning, for Mr. Duff does not mince his words and his opinions are stated very clearly, if abruptly:

“The official glories in the subservience of the Arab and resents the independent attitude of the Jew. Most of the Palestine officials are men whose only claim to distinction was the holding of a temporary commission in Allenby's armies. . . . This type of official liked the manner in which the Arab approached him. He paid him no end of deference and made him feel a second Lawrence of Arabia, Clive and Kitchener all rolled into one.”

Mr. Duff is definitely pro-Palestine, and is of opinion that it has a great future, as there is room in it for everyone. His intimate knowledge of the country leads him to believe that a further million Jewish immigrants can be settled on the land without overcrowding, as on the plains of Sharon and Armageddon there are hundreds of square miles at present undeveloped and neglected that some day will be the market garden of the Near East. It is only the jealousy and fanaticism of the Arab that delays progress. There is, however, the question of how many more orange groves can be brought into bearing before the saturation point in citrus fruit is reached.

The book starts with the author's life in the *Conway* training ship, and then describes his experiences as a cadet in transports during the war when he was twice torpedoed. He then takes us to his two years as a Novice of the Franciscan Brothers at a monastery in the Fen country, and from the cloisters suddenly switches us to the bogs and mountains of Western Ireland, where he has shed his monkish frock for the “slop-chest” uniform of the “Black and Tans.”

The book is a saga of a man who, though only thirty-five years of age, has crowded more into two decades than any three ordinary individuals can get into their lifetime, and the narrative reads like an Elizabethan romance. There is no fault to find with the book except from Mr. Duff's point of view only, and that is he has been most profligate with his material and has crammed into the

volume sufficient incident and information to provide a professional writer with stock-in-trade for five publications.

C. S. JARVIS.

Sword and Spear. By Captain F. H. Mellor, F.R.G.S. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 288.

With sixteen illustrations. Selwyn and Blount. 15s.

This lively book gives an account of Captain Mellor's adventures from the autumn of 1918, just before the Armistice, to the time when he came home on leave from Nigeria at some rather undefined date about 1929. Whether he returned to Africa the reader is not told, but as the last line of the book speaks of "a farewell from the land of the sword and spear," we are perhaps to suppose that he did not, and his book may therefore be taken as covering a definite period in the author's life. *Sword and Spear* is a book of incident, hardly to be called an autobiography: of the private side of the author's life we learn next to nothing. He was at a public school, and then served for fourteen months in the Great War, and it is at this point that his narrative begins. He served first in the Indian Army, until 1922: this period was broken by two years, from 1920 to some time in 1922, in Turkey, where he took part in the operations against the Kemalists in the Gulf of Ismid. Then he was for rather more than a year a trooper in the British South African Police; then from August, 1925, onwards we see him as Assistant Commissioner of Police in the Northern Province of Nigeria. This African service was broken by an interval of leave spent in Spain. From the period of his service in the war, the reader may conclude that Captain Mellor is still well on the right side of forty; the book therefore contains the experiences in various forms of military service of a young man in his twenties and perhaps a few years after.

However this may be, our curiosity on this personal matter is a tribute to the interest of the narrative. Captain Mellor hardly strays beyond what he saw with his own eyes; he does not concern himself with politics, or even much with general questions of service and administration. From his own memories he puts together his narrative, and gives us plenty of remarkable experiences and excellent stories. Many of these are of the cheerful sort not very unusual from a man who, like our author, has a keen sense for a naturally funny situation; the complete freedom from any kind of malice or unkindness makes one able to enjoy without any compunction the most "knock-about" of these pleasant tales. But Captain Mellor can also tell us of not a few things really worth hearing. I may pick out the inventory of the objects of power in the wallet of a black magician—black in all senses, and very properly given "nine months"; the account of the ordeal by flogging to which candidates for manhood and matrimony among the Fulani are subjected; the story of the man who made himself up as a leopard and went prowling out at night to catch and devour children, an incident which sheds a real light on the odd problem of lycanthropy; and there are plenty more. A captious critic might remark that the author makes a slip every now and then. When we hear of a Turkish brigand "Aslam, known as Kara, or Lion," we may surmise that the man was, in fact, called Kara Aslan, the Black Lion. Nor was the Parthenon blown up in the course of the war in which Byron played his well-known part. But I cannot feel that such little departures from scientific accuracy really detract at all from the value of this book; certainly not at all from the pleasure which any reader at all sympathetic to the character and way of life of the author is bound to get from it. What

makes it all, at least to the present reviewer, so attractive is the obvious liking which Captain Mellor has felt for the simple folk with whom he has had to deal; with the Pathans and Rajputs in India; with the Turks, and this in spite of the rather trying circumstances in which he met them; and not least with the various African peoples, whose more flagrant disorders it was his official duty to restrain. His accounts of the Basques and their game of pelota and of a wonderful musical party which he enjoyed at Burgos show that he was as much at home when on leave in Spain as when on duty in the wilds of Africa.

The book has an index and some good photographs. Captain Mellor has written a story which most people will like; many people will like it very much indeed.

R. M. DAWKINS.

The Winning of the Sudan. By Pierre Crabitès. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. vii + 280. Map. London: Routledge. 1934. 12s. 6d.

The Winning of the Sudan is an informative book: smoothly written, generously documented. The narrative is lucid, the comment pointed, and the author commendably impersonal. His presentment of history is strictly objective, his impartiality cannot be questioned. In a word, the historical chapters might have been written by an Englishman desirous of recording Great Britain's achievement in Northern Africa: as a matter of fact, the book is the work of an American.

The volume opens a little abruptly with the failure of Sir Charles Wilson to relieve Gordon beleaguered in Khartoum. It was a perilous retirement, and Crabitès tells the story dramatically enough. No less may be said of his account of the withdrawal of the expeditionary force—an evacuation conducted against Cromer's judgment, though Cromer acknowledged later its necessity. There follows a spirited relation of Wad en Nejumi's romantic incursion into Egypt, and of Osman Digna's activity in the neighbourhood of Suakin. Each was a devout Moslem: the first personified "the principles of Militant Mahdism," the second "knew thow to lead a revivalist movement." Toski was the turning-point of this interminable frontier warfare. Wodehouse held Wad en Nejumi off Wadi Halfa: Grenfell, coming from Cairo, delivered the final blow. The issue was a triumph for the new Egyptian army, recreated by a handful of British officers. From this point the commanding figure of Kitchener dominates the scene. Gordon thought well of him, Cromer preferred him to Wodehouse. Crabitès hints that Kitchener's succession to the Sirdariate was hard upon Wodehouse: but contemporary opinion supported the choice, and subsequent history justified Cromer's judgment.

Crabitès stoutly defends the impartiality of the members of the Appeal Court Mixed Tribunals, who required the Egyptian Government to refund the £500,000 taken from the Commission Public Debt to finance the advance into the Sudan in 1896. Cromer doubted whether law was solely responsible for the judgment, and Crabitès, qualified to express an opinion, is concerned to defend the honour of the Court. His reasoning is sound enough: but surely Cromer did not exaggerate when he stated that "the air was heavily charged with political electricity." Oddly enough, Great Britain profited from the accident. She returned to the Public Debt the sum borrowed, and so became a financial as well as a military partner in the campaign that terminated at Omdurman two years later.

Defining the Sudan Convention as a "palladium of common sense," the author of *The Winning of the Sudan* passes on to review the post-war history of the Sudan. His temperately written accounts of the mutiny of the Egyptian units, of the murder in Cairo of Lee Stack, Sirdar and Governor-General, of the punishment that followed that crime, and of the Nile Waters Agreement, are superseded no doubt by Lord Lloyd's recently published vol. ii., *Egypt Since Cromer*: for Lloyd bases his history upon official documents withheld from earlier writers, among whom Crabitès must presumably be included. None the less, the latter's review of the period, and in particular his observations upon the Lloyd-Mohammed Mahmoud Nile Agreement, are a welcome contribution to the history of these days. As a jurist, Crabitès seems unable to give Egypt's extravagant claims to the Nile his blessing; as an historian, he refuses to commend the bitter attack of the Wafd upon the agreement in question.

The book closes on a speculative and unconvincing note: whether Great Britain would not gain by "the elaboration of an accord with respect to the Sudan." The answer depends upon the type of the accord, and Crabitès's views will not command unanimous approval. The solution of the problem is hampered by half a dozen contingencies. British financial commitments are not the only contingency; the wishes of the inhabitants of the Sudan are certainly of equal importance. Great Britain and Egypt, in short, are not the only parties concerned. Would the Sudanese accept Egyptian suzerainty with all its implications? The answer to that question is doubtful: so doubtful, indeed, that responsible Egyptian opinion has not yet formulated its views.

Finally, it must be said that Crabitès is an honest historian. He does not distort facts, nor twist their relation by earlier writers to make a point.

P. G. ELGOOD.

The Knights of St. John in the British Empire. Being the Official History of the British Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. By Colonel E. J. King, C.M.G., A.D.C., etc., Knight of Justice and Librarian of the Order. With a Foreword by the Earl of Scarborough, K.G., Sub-Prior O.St.J. Pp. 236 and index and 49 illustrations. 1934.

The author tells us in his preface that this book is the second edition of his *Knights of St. John in England*, the title having been changed, the whole work rewritten from beginning to end, the number of illustrations doubled and two new chapters added, one dealing more thoroughly with the "heroic period" (which he defines as the history of the Order in the Holy Land) and the second bringing its history down to the present year. Part I. of the volume before us is entitled "The History of the Order" and occupies the first 160 pages; Part II. has as its title "The Foundations and Work of the Order," and this part carries us down to page 206, the remaining 41 pages being occupied by eight instructive appendices and an excellent index. It should be noted that our author uses the word "Order" in two senses. In Part I. he is telling us of the history of the old Order under its (Grand) Masters from its foundation in Jerusalem in 1099 to its downfall in 1798, when Napoleon took Malta and dispersed the Convent. In Part II., however, the "Order" is the revived Grand Priory of England now officially designated as "The Grand Priory in the British Realm of the Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem." This distinction should be borne in mind. Colonel King would have us date the birth of the Order from the day

and month in 1099 when the city of Jerusalem was taken by Godfrey of Bouillon and his crusading army, and this is as good a date as any other if one need not wait for Pope Pascal's Bull. The origin of the Hospital, of which the Blessed Gerard was the first Master and which has given its name to our Order, has led to much monkish literature—the desire to find a really long pedigree for the Hospital or Hospice after it had become famous being too strong to be resisted. One monk, thinking things had gone too far, tried to struggle back to firmer ground, and declared in his opening sentences, "Let us quit vanity and stick to truth, for the boasting of lies is displeasing to God." Bishop Barnett has an apt sentence on this point, which is perhaps worth quoting. Referring to the chronicles kept by the monasteries, he writes: "It is true most of these were written by men of weak judgment, who were more punctual in delivering fables and trifles than in opening observable transactions; yet some of them were men of better understanding and, it is like, were directed by their abbots, who, being lords of Parliament, understood affairs well; only an invincible humour of lying, when it might raise the credit of their religion or order, or house, was through all their manuscripts."

In the space at his disposal, our author gives a graphic account of the fortunes of the Order, marking the usual milestones in its history—the capture and loss of Jerusalem, the sieges of Acre and the loss of the Holy Land, the sojourn in Cyprus, the seizure of Rhodes (where it became a Sovereign Order) and its two celebrated sieges, its subsequent wandering, and its final settlement in Malta, to the siege of which in 1565 he devotes a whole chapter, though the English tongue had already by that time been dissolved by Henry VIII. in spite of the fact that in addition to his title *Fidei Defensor* he was also "Protector of the Order." Written for the instruction of members of the Grand Priory in the British Realm, Colonel King has naturally emphasized, wherever possible, the influence of the English members of the Order; and if critics may say that, on the whole, that influence does not seem outstanding, no pure Englishman—as distinct from Anglo-Normans—was ever Grand Master, it must be remembered that the Order was predominantly French, three of the conventual Bailiffs of the original seven being Frenchmen. There is an interesting chapter on the English Commanders and Bailiffs, which those who wish to obtain an insight into the interior economy of a Priory will be glad to read; and finally the whole subject of the restoration of the Grand Priory of England, after a dormancy of over 270 years, in 1831, is very fully and satisfactorily dealt with. The general public is familiar with the work done and is accustomed to the sight of the men of the St. John Ambulance Brigade in this country, but it may not be realized that these modern Crusaders, who wear the eight-pointed Cross of the Order of St. John, are to be found in every dominion and in India and in practically every Crown dependency of the Empire. In South Africa, in New Zealand, and in Canada Commanderies have been formed, and in Palestine, the home of the Order, an Ophthalmic Hospital was established, largely by the influence of the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII.), in 1882, which now has a staff of four surgeons, who are also responsible for the ophthalmic sections of the ten Government Clinics. The Order has also purchased part of the Muristan—the site of the old Hospital or Hospice, where the Blessed Gerard and Raymond du Puy looked after the poor pilgrims seven hundred years ago, and where it is hoped ere long, when funds are forthcoming, a Hospice may be built for the benefit of members of the Order. In 1927 a further extension of the work of the British Order in a new field of philanthropy was undertaken when the Order became identified with and, later, assumed control of the British Humane Association, now known as the "St. John

Clinic and Institute of Physical Medicine," in Pimlico. This Clinic is "a pioneer institution for the practice and development of medical science for the benefit of humanity." The work of the St. John Ambulance Brigade in war is well known, but it is set forth with historic accuracy in the last chapter of this interesting record. Well may the modern Order under the ægis of His Majesty, its Sovereign Head, and guided by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught as Grand Prior, lay claim to the distinction that its members are carrying out the work of their forerunners in the Middle Ages, whose proudest boast was that they were devoted to the service of their Lord and to the welfare of their masters, the poor and sick. To all who would know something of the history, ancient and modern, of the oldest Order of Chivalry in the world this book can be heartily recommended.

J. T. WOOLRYCH PEROWNE.

Extracts from the Koran. By Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah. Published by Messrs. Blackie. 5s.

Perhaps in this small book, *Extracts from the Koran*, Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah has wholly vindicated his claim as an interpreter of the East to the West. In the main it is a wise and scholarly collection of various quotations from the Koran; and although such excerpts are neither totally representative nor are they culled as the choicest passages from that Immortal Book of Islam—a fact, indeed, which the Sirdar himself admits—yet it has the decided merit of providing a convenient reference of Koranic rulings upon many affairs which bewilder the modern man in his course upon the path of Islam to-day.

The most useful part of the book, however, consists in the lengthy explanations of rulings which the Koran enjoins upon the Faithful; and as such the value of the book is undeniable. For the rest it is sufficient to add that this son of Islam has done no inconsiderable amount of service to present his faith in right perspective to Europe in his eighteenth book.

A. M.

Russian Sociology. By Dr. Julius Hecker. With a Foreword by Sidney Webb, P.C., LL.B. 8½" × 6". Pp. xvi + 312. Chapman and Hall. 1934.

So many books have been written about Russia in recent years that it must be difficult for most authors to find something new to say. The Tzarist régime and the Bolshevik experiment have both been minutely investigated with varying sympathies and differing deductions. The politicians, economists, and journalists of the world have been attracted to this strange land where East and West meet, where the impact of Western ideas has crashed through the changelessness of the old régime and set up something in its stead that must exert the most profound

influence on the future of mankind. There has, however, been a gap in our knowledge which Dr. Hecker's volume seeks to fill. Every student of this subject has read Marx and Engels and of the influence they exerted on modern Communism. Many, however, do not adequately realize that neither of these was original in his conceptions, nor exerted the influence on Russian ideas that he seems to have in the rest of the world. It is the history of the earlier sociologists, their views, their influence on contemporary thought in Russia and their personalities that Dr. Hecker catalogues in *Russian Sociology*, and traces on the social-political background of revolutionary thought the development of the various sociological schools from the earliest writers to the present day.

He takes as his starting-point the reign of Catherine II., who first let in the light of learning to Russia and allowed the French and English liberal thought of men like Grimm and Montesquieu to reach the newly developing intellectual class; he shows how the earliest philosophers were loyal, indeed nationalistic, in their conceptions of society; orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationalism was their trinity of thought. Then gradually influences of the West, particularly French, gained sway, and measures of reform by Alexander II. and his successors failed to stem the tide which was rising to revolutionary height. Outbreaks occurred and executions and banishment followed which drove the various movements underground, and there commenced that guerilla warfare between the Government and the secret societies which only ended in 1917. The truth was that the Tsars thought they were rulers of an Eastern Empire, while the thinkers impregnated with Western theories were pressing Western ideals; and no possibility of compromise could be found. It is with that background and in those conditions that the various social-political schools of thought are analyzed one by one; the theories of Lavrov, Mikhalovsky, and Kareyev; the sociology of the anarchists; the Juristic and Historical-Genetic schools; the Franco-Russian school; leading up to the Communism of Marx and Lenin and the great struggle between the Menshevists and Bolsheviks. The final chapters are devoted to the Revisionists of Marxism led by Peter Struve and Baranovsky.

The book is well-arranged in historical sequence and each phase of sociological evolution explained in clear if somewhat technical language. The author, however, has tried to do too much: he calls his work *A Contribution to the History of Sociological Thought and Theory*. The book must be taken, therefore, as an essay in history. Now an historian has every right to draw deductions from the facts of history, but he also has his duty as an historian to be impartial and to resist the temptation to lower himself to propaganda.

The book is not written for the general public, for the ordinary man could never understand the long words and technical language used: it is only for the advanced student of social theories; the type of mind quite able to draw his own deductions from stated facts; and it detracts from both the attractiveness and the value of a carefully thought out work to have comments at the end of each chapter which obviously show the author's Communist leanings.

One other observation: in the preface by Lord Passfield, P.C. (incidentally why is he so ashamed of being a Peer of the Realm that he calls himself Sidney Webb and yet not ashamed of being a Privy Councillor?), he defines sociology, as does Dr. Hecker, as a science. But is it? Surely a science must have definite limits; we must be able to draw deductions accurately from a given set of facts. But every one of the sociologists whose theories are described has a different definition of the word; and in the nature of things the study of society or the theory of social progress (whatever general definition one can give) depends on so many imponderabilia from which might be deduced so many theories that it surely

cannot be a science; a matter for study, a subject of theory perhaps even fit for a philosopher's chair, but not a science.

The student of social history and of the theories of social progress and evolution will find much to interest and instruct him in this book, but let him beware of the comments at the end of each description; let him draw a veil over them and think out the deductions for himself.

J. A. L. D.

Russian Diplomacy and Opening of the Eastern Question in 1838 and 1839. By Philip E. Mosely. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. iii + 171. Index. Harvard Historical Monuments. London: Humphrey Milford. U.S.A.: Harvard University Press.

This is an impartial and masterly survey of necessarily an intensive kind, and therefore condensed, of a momentous crisis in European affairs, the perusal of which should well repay the seeker after knowledge as to what really took place in the matter of Constantinople and the Straits during the quarter of a century ending in 1840. Owing to the grant of a research scholarship the author had the advantage, so he tells us in the preface, of being able to visit Russia, where he was permitted by the Soviet authorities to consult the diplomatic records dealing with the subject of his book, preserved in the State Archives. The fact that the author had free access to official sources of information in Russia cannot but enhance the value of this interesting monograph, though not a few of his readers may be of opinion that the issue of a work with the imprimatur of Harvard University is in itself a sufficient indication of the value attaching to it. A few words seem called for at this stage about the Emperor, whose successor, Nicholas I., fills so many pages in Mr. Mosely's absorbing story.

Alexander I. died at Taganrog in South Russia on the 1st December, 1825, at the age of 48, a tired, disillusioned, unhappy man, a ruler harassed and unbeloved, seeking, as did the Emperor Charles V. before him, relief by abdication from the pressing cares and intolerable burden of government.

Russia at this time was in a far from satisfactory condition—there was much poverty among the peasantry, and a mutinous spirit was abroad in the ranks of the soldiery.

Under such sad conditions as these was it ordained that the mighty Czar, unstable as water, should pass into history as "the man of unfulfilled purposes." But inasmuch as to the full understanding of any question we must seek its roots in the past, it may be well here to call to mind the general aspect of the Turkish question at this time. Nicholas must have known full well of the inborn hatred of his countrymen for the Turks, akin to their Tartar oppressors during 300 years, a hatred borne witness to in 1576 by the Venetian Ambassador Soranzo.

"The Muscovites excite the mistrust of the Sultan, because the Prince of Moscow belongs to the same Greek faith as the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Greeks.

"These peoples are on this account devoted to him, and would at any time be ready to take up arms in order to throw off the yoke of the Sultan and become subjects of the Prince of Moscow."

He must have known of the hostilities with the Turks during the reign of his grandmother Catharine II., and of the treaty of Kutschuk Kainardji in 1774, under which, at the instance of her adviser Potemkin, Russia claimed to be the natural protector of the eastern Christians, a claim which thereafter formed one of the

guiding principles of her policy, and indeed never ceased to serve as a pretext for interference by Russia in support of her co-religionists in Turkey. And lastly, he must have been well aware of the long hostilities during 1806-1812, which were brought to an end in May, 1812, by the treaty of Bucharest, on the conclusion of which the Russian commander in Moldavia, Admiral Chichagoff, led his army northwards to the support of his fellow-countrymen in their struggle with Napoleon. After a march of some 600 miles he arrived in November at the scene of operations, and occupied Borisof, an important road centre on the main road from Moscow and Smolensk to Vilna and Warsaw, where there was a bridge across the River Beresina. The Russians destroyed the bridge, but withdrew their forces from Borisof under the belief entertained, it is said, by Admiral Chichagoff that the French Grand Army would be passing the River Beresina lower down stream.

As it was, Napoleon promptly devised measures for the construction of two temporary bridges in the vicinity, but the loss of some days at this point of passage at a very critical juncture in the retreat was cruelly enhanced by a frost almost unparalleled in its severity, which suddenly supervened on the completion of the passage by the French, and enabled the Russian troops, including the artillery, to pass over the frozen surface of the river in pursuit. The treaty of Bucharest of 1812, which was actively promoted by Stratford Canning, the British diplomatic representative at Constantinople, who in later years and under different political conditions became the stern opposer of Russian aggressive policy in Turkey, may be counted from the point of view of its unforeseen military results as having been a factor in the downfall of Napoleon, as later on the non-fulfilment of some of its clauses by the Turks may be held to have led up to the Russian invasion in 1828 and the peace of Adrianople in 1829.

Nicholas, who henceforth dominates the European scene for the space of thirty years, now ascended the Russian throne.

His age was twenty-nine, he having been his late brother's junior by nineteen years.

At this time he was without knowledge of statecraft, for Alexander had not initiated him in the affairs of government, his interest in life having hitherto been chiefly confined to things military.

Having accompanied his predecessor during the march of the Russian Army to Paris in 1814-15, he must, however, have been acquainted with the leading personalities in Europe, and should have been fairly *au courant* with foreign affairs, a branch of administration which, with the assistance of his Minister, Count Nesselrode, he personally controlled during the rest of his reign. *Vis-à-vis* Europe, his settled policy was "to uphold the cause of legitimacy and autocracy against the Revolution," while in regard to Turkey his policy was to preserve the Ottoman régime until such time as the process of decay then manifest should allow of Russia quietly taking possession of Constantinople and the Straits.

To this end it was imperative that every effort should be made to keep in regard to Turkey as free as possible from fettering engagements contracted with the Powers of Europe.

But he succeeded to a tangled web of negotiations with the four Powers, under which Alexander had sought their concurrence in a Russian advance through the Danubian principalities for the redress of the many grievances under which Russia had for years suffered at the hands of the Turks, owing to the failure of the Porte to carry out the provisions of the treaty of Bucharest.

Each conference on this subject broke up in its turn, not because the Russian grievances were not real, but because of the fear of the Powers that a Russian victory might mean the possession by that Power of Constantinople.

Alexander had, before his death in 1821, determined on war, in spite of the European Powers, and this was carried out by his successor in 1828, which resulted in the peace of Adrianople in 1829, and the treaty of Unkiar Iskelessi in July, 1833, in both of which cases the result was disastrous for the interests of the other Powers.

A further complication was the revolt of the Greeks against their Turkish oppressors, a revolt which enlisted much sympathy among civilized peoples, as well as the unofficial active field support of individual volunteers—Lord Byron being one of them.

Here again the fear of the Powers was that Russia might, when independence under conditions was extorted from the Sultan, claim, or try to exercise, a dangerous though unavowed protectorate over the Morea.

However, in the course of time—the Greek question dragged on for several years, a partial solution being facilitated by the naval defeat of the Turks at Navarino in 1827—it became clear to the statesmen of Europe that conjoint action on every possible occasion on their part was the sole method of preventing independent action on the part of Russia, and for such Nicholas proved himself to be willing, owing, it would appear, to his belief that a waiting policy was the true Russian one, and, therefore, one calling for the preservation, or rather conservation, of the Turkish Empire meanwhile, added, it would seem, to his trust in Lord Palmerston, the English Minister of Foreign Affairs, with whom he had so long dealt.

E. ST.C. P.

Unending Battle. By H. C. Armstrong. Pp. xv + 302. With maps. London : Longmans Green. 1934.

The "unending battle" is the struggle of the Georgians for independence against succeeding Russian régimes. It is a great story, and Captain Armstrong had a great opportunity. Unfortunately he has missed it. The author has taken as his central theme the life of Leo Keresselidze, the grandson of a Georgian landowner who, as a youth of twenty, was a member of the Georgian Revolutionary Committee during the outbreak of 1905, and who took a leading part in acts of terrorism against Russian officials and in attacks on Russian troops. Keresselidze was also involved in the running of a cargo of guns (said to have been financed by Japanese agents) to Sukhum, and the story of this obscure incident is well told. The author throws much interesting light on the attitude of the old Sultan Abdul Hamid (who had many Georgians about the Palace) to the Russians and to the Georgian revolutionaries. The Young Turks continued the tradition of Turkish sympathy towards anti-Russian movements in the Caucasus, and at the moment when the Turks were contemplating intervention in the autumn of 1914, Keresselidze was granted an interview with the Young Turk triumvirate (Enver, Talaat, and Jemal) at which von Wangenheim was present, and it was arranged that he should form a "Georgian Legion" for the purpose of co-operating with the Turkish armies on the Caucasian front. The Legion was to be an independent force, paid by the Germans. The Legion, which appears at one time to have amounted to about a thousand men, apparently largely recruited from the Muslim Ajars and Lazes, was stationed at Trebizond, and was attached to Colonel Stange's column operating against Batum. Unfortunately, Captain Armstrong's account of the raid into Ajaria is really valueless, which is the more to be regretted since the only available account so far published is the brief reference in Larcher's *La Guerre Turque dans la Guerre Mondiale*.

The "Georgian Legion" did not survive the collapse of Enver Pasha's Sarikamish offensive, and as a result of differences between Keresselidze, the Germans and the Turkish authorities at Trebizond it was soon disbanded. Keresselidze himself was transferred to the Mosul area, where he took part in intrigues and operations along the Turko-Persian border. Here, again, Captain Armstrong had a great opportunity for writing some unwritten history, but he does not avail himself of it.

After the collapse of the Russian armies in the Caucasus and the proclamation of Georgian independence in the spring of 1918, Keresselidze was able to return to his own country. He played no important rôle, and the significance attached to his personality by his biographer is very much exaggerated. Captain Armstrong's account of events in Georgia for the period 1919-21 is full of inaccuracies which are so obvious that it would not be necessary to refer to them were it not for the reputation as an historian of modern events in the Middle East which the author has deservedly acquired through his other books.

Page 280. Of the Georgian Government the author writes: "They had not been elected by the people, nor did they represent the people." This is a simple misstatement of fact. Whatever may have been the faults of the individual members of the Georgian Menshevik Government, it is a fact that they had been legally and regularly elected by the people with an overwhelming majority of votes, and they certainly enjoyed the confidence of the country in the immediate post-Armistice period.

Page 281. Of the Armenian offensive in the Borchalu region: "The Armenians, with arms and money from the Russians, were advancing rapidly." The hypothesis that any of the Russian parties were financing the Armenian Government during a critical period of the Russian Civil War is untenable.

Same page. "After hard fighting he (Keresselidze) defeated the Armenians and, chasing them back almost to their capital at Erivan, forced them to make peace." Actually an armistice was imposed by Allied officers after some small Armenian successes.

Same page. The revolt among the Ossetians, which Keresselidze is alleged to have suppressed, was probably spontaneous. If Russian influences were at work, they were more likely "Red" than "White." The statement that the Ossetians are "Germans by descent" is very hypothetical, and requires, at best, considerable qualification.

Pages 281-2. The account of the fighting round Akhaltzikhe (Armstrong, Akalzika) during 1919 is founded on fact, but it would have been interesting to have had a coherent account of this episode, instead of the extraordinary jumble which Captain Armstrong has made of it. Here is an extract:

"The position was critical. He ought to have insisted, thought Leo (Keresselidze), he ought to have insisted that Marthe (Mrs. Keresselidze) stayed behind. Still, it was too late now. They were all in for it together.

"'Bejane,' he called, and Bejane, who was behind him, came up close beside him. 'We may get caught in here,' he said under his voice, so that no one should hear. 'Say nothing to anyone else. But if so, and I am killed, I trust my wife to you. Never let the Tartars get her: you know what they are: you must kill her before that. Swear to me.'

"'I will see to it,' said Bejane, with a grim nod of his head."

As a point of interest the "Tartars" round Akhaltzikhe and Ardahan are not "Tartars" at all, but Georgian Muslims and Kurds, with a sprinkling of Osmanli Turks.

Page 284. "On the north slopes of the Caucasus Mountains," Captain Arm-

strong has discovered, "lived the Circassians, half-brothers of the Georgians." Small communities of Circassians still live in the valley of the Kuban and its tributaries, but here Captain Armstrong is not really referring to "Circassians" at all, but to the important Chechen clans who occupy all the country between the main chain of the Caucasus and the Terek, about four hundred miles to the east of the "Circassians." During the course of 1919 there was much confused fighting, both in Chechnia between the troops of General Denikin and local forces, and in Daghestan between the "Whites" and "Reds" and local elements led by Turkish officers. It is exceedingly doubtful whether the Georgian Government supported Usun Hajji (Armstrong, "Uzum Kaladji") to the extent suggested, since their policy against both "Whites" and "Reds" remained one of rather "over-caution" on their northern frontiers. It is, however, certain that Usun Hajji never had any numbers approaching twenty thousand men in the field, as indicated by Captain Armstrong (page 285). The Chechnian and Daghestan operations were separate episodes, and General Denikin himself was not personally responsible for the conduct of operations in either of these areas. Nevertheless, Captain Armstrong makes the extraordinary statement that, "unable to go directly south, and with Reds at his back, he (Denikin) made eastward for the Caspian Sea. . . . He would go that way into Azerbaijan and attack Georgia from the east." With Denikin as the imaginary commander of imaginary operations on the one side, Keresselidze appears as the imaginary commander of imaginary operations on the other. "The Georgian Government recalled Leo (Keresselidze), and made him Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Caucasus, put him in command of this force, and sent him off post-haste to Baku with officers, instructors, and the staff and organization for forty thousand men. . . . While the Circassians (*sic*) attacked from the west, Leo, with an army of Georgians and Azerbaijanis, advanced from Baku (*sic*), caught Denikin (*sic*) in a bad position on the Yalama River, drove him back into Derbent, and prepared to assault the town and finish him off" (page 287).

In fact, none of these operations ever took place in anything like the form described by Captain Armstrong. The nearest approach to them were the defeats inflicted on Denikin's forces in Daghestan during September and October, 1919, by mixed bands of Daghestan insurgents, some under the command of local Communists like Korkmazov and Kazbakov, others under Turkish officers such as Nuri Pasha and Kazim Bey. The "Whites" did not lose Derbent until March, 1920, and General Denikin himself was not in the town. These facts should not have been difficult for an author of Captain Armstrong's resources to check. Apart from General Denikin's own memoirs, the Communists Todorski, Samurski, and Takho-Godi have all written at length on the fighting in Daghestan. But when one reads (page 284) that "in the early summer of 1919 . . . Denikin and his White Russians had pushed the Red Bolsheviks back and were in front of Moscow," one is forced to the conclusion that Captain Armstrong does not even read his daily newspaper with any care. The "White" armies, even at the height of their success, never passed Orel, some three hundred miles to the south of Moscow.

Captain Armstrong's brief description of the final invasion of Georgia by the Red Armies is, if not equally inaccurate, obscured by the vague and loose use of words—and is quite valueless.

"On came the Russians, an immense force, a hundred to one superior in numbers, sweeping over the whole land like a tremendous destroying wave, until they were in front of Batum."

Even if the Georgian army could be put as low as 20,000 men, Captain Armstrong's statistics would fix the Soviet force at two millions. As a matter of fact, the rapid success of the Soviet invasion was very largely due to the element of surprise, and to the use of small, mobile converging columns.

Apart from its errors in historical fact, this book has few merits even when regarded as the biography of an individual. There is something very unattractive in the following pen-picture of an incident in the life of an historical personality who is still living, and whose friends will doubtless peruse this book.

"In two strides he was beside her. She fought him back. Small though she was, she was strong. Then she gave way and let him take her mouth, fought a little more as he crushed her close and took possession of her" (page 141).

Captain Armstrong has probably written a "best seller," but recently Miss Haslip's *Lady Hester Stanhope* and Captain Liddell Hart's *T. E. Lawrence* have demonstrated that "best sellers" can still afford to be accurate history and sober biography.

W. E. D. A.

Stories of the Holy Fathers and Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. Oxford University Press. 1934. 10s. 6d. and 8s. 6d.

These two volumes represent a re-issue, in a cheap edition, of Sir E. A. Wallis Budge's *Paradise of the Fathers* (published by Chatto and Windus in 1907), and they will serve to make that most attractive and interesting work known to a still wider circle of readers. The former volume includes a life of Palladius, author of the *Paradise*, a native of Galatia, born about A.D. 364, who travelled widely among the ascetics of Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor, visited Rome and Constantinople, and was successively Bishop of Helenopolis and Aspuna, in Galatia.

His book, known also as the *Lausiak History*, giving an account of the Holy Fathers of the Christian Church in Egypt, was produced in A.D. 420, at the request of Lausus, a high official of Constantinople; hence the name given to it. Written originally in Greek, it was translated into Syriac by the monk Rabban Ānān-Īshō in the early part of the seventh century, and it is from this Syriac version that Sir E. A. Wallis Budge has made his translation. Ānān-Īshō divided his book into two parts, the first containing the histories of the Holy Men, composed by Palladius, followed by a history of the Egyptian monks, reputed to be by St. Jerome, but more probably by the Archdeacon Timotheus of Alexandria. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge includes also, in his first volume, a life of St. Anthony of Egypt, attributed to Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, and this throws much light on the study of Christian monasticism in Egypt. The second part of Ānān-Īshō's book consisted of sayings and questions addressed to the Fathers and their answers, and this collection is also ascribed to Palladius, but probably some of the material belongs to a later period. These sayings have been included in the second of the new volumes, under the title of *Wit and Wisdom of the Fathers*.

The two volumes combine to give us a vivid and instructive picture of the lives of the early ascetics and monks in Egypt. There, the tendency to asceticism, including the custom of seclusion in cells and the practice of celibacy by both sexes, had been found before Christianity. Christians therefore had a precedent, when tribulations came upon them, for taking refuge in the desert and the mountains, partly to escape persecution and dishonour, and also to submit themselves to self-discipline for religious ends, a discipline of the will and the soul as well as the body, which could best be carried out in solitude and seclusion. The earliest of these ascetics led a solitary life, seeking to attain thus to purity of body and soul, but later there was a tendency to gather into groups round a teacher, such as St. Anthony, who was responsible for the systematic establishment of monasticism in Egypt, but as yet it was of the eremitic type. Then, by his contemporary, Pachomius, born about A.D. 292, was originated the cœnobitic system in Egypt, and he established the famous monastery of Tabenna in Upper Egypt. Small groups of monks were also to be found in the Desert of Nitria and Scete, in addition to large numbers of anchorites living in isolated cells. At the same time, nunneries were established for women who sought to live the ascetic life.

These ascetics lived the simplest and most frugal of lives, keeping themselves by the labours of their own hands. It is emphasized in the *Wit and Wisdom of the Fathers* that a man is kept from sin by three things: detachment from men, silence, and contemplation. The virtues of patience, obedience, humility, and incessant vigilance in regard to thoughts, words and deeds were inculcated. Mutual charity and service to each other and to strangers was a primary duty, and it was extended to the humbler creation; many stories testify to the friendly relations existing between the hermits and the creatures of the wilds.

Palladius shows us the important part played by women in the Christian world of the fourth century, for the women lived as strenuous a life of asceticism as the men; there were many nunneries, and large numbers of women also led the solitary life.

"To Palladius," writes Sir Wallis Budge, "we owe the oldest and best history of the lives and words and deeds of the solitaries and cœnobites of Egypt, and every student of the history of religious thought should be grateful to him for a work which describes truly and impartially a great Christian movement, the effects of which exist even in our days." But to Sir Wallis Budge himself we owe our thanks, too, for making the work of Palladius available to so many readers in the West, enabling them to gain a clear and vivid idea of the lives of these early Christians, and in his translation neither the spiritual teaching of the Fathers nor the entertainment afforded by many of these stories have lost any part of their attraction and value.

This new edition, finely produced by the Oxford University Press, will undoubtedly receive a warm welcome from all those interested not only in religious thought, but in the everyday life of these early saints.

MARGARET SMITH.

The War Memoirs of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Roger Keyes.
Demi-oct. Thornton Butterworth. 21s.

This book is, without question, one of the best of war books. There are no sensational revelations, although certainly fresh light is thrown upon some of the most interesting events of the War. But these memoirs are absorbing, largely

because the author's tremendous personality stands out so vigorously. He states his facts and his opinions clearly, and, though he does not hesitate to point out mistakes or remark on failures, yet there is, throughout the story, a complete absence of acrimony and bitterness. This is one of the not least pleasing features.

The memoirs open shortly before the War. After a skirmish with Lord Fisher, Captain Keyes was appointed Inspecting Captain of Submarines "to bring the submarines into close touch and co-operation with the Fleet." From that time until he was relieved in February, 1915, Commodore Keyes was embroiled in many a hard struggle over the design and construction of our submarines, in addition to training the personnel and considering submarine and anti-submarine tactics.

Part II. deals with his early experiences in the War. An excellent partnership at once sprang up at Harwich between his submarines and Commodore Tyrwhitt's destroyers, and within three weeks they were to co-operate in the action of Heligoland Bight. The early story of the submarines in the War, including their passage into the Baltic, is one of intense interest, and we are made to realize very vividly the tremendous difficulties our submarines had to face when operating in shallow and misty waters.

Early in November Lord Fisher returned to the Admiralty as First Sea Lord. Keyes, who had spoken his mind to the great man some years previously, anticipated his immediate relief. Fisher indeed intended it, but without reckoning on the First Lord, and Winston Churchill supported the Commodore. It was not until after the battle of the Dogger Bank, when a curious mistake revived all the First Sea Lord's old enmity, that Keyes represented his very difficult position. Winston Churchill agreed, and, at a day's notice, the author was sent out as Chief of Staff to Admiral Sir S. H. Carden in the Mediterranean to bear his part in the greatest of all our amphibious operations—Gallipoli.

In honesty, humanity, and forcefulness, this account of the Dardanelles operations excels all others. We are presented with all the stages and incidents in the clearest possible way. The early naval attacks; the coming of the army; the capture of the beaches; the true co-operation between the Army and Navy Commanders and their staffs; the evacuation—all are here presented to us in a story which is all the richer for the present telling of it.

This part of the book is great. It teems and teems with lessons for every class of reader. There are lessons—tragic lessons—in leadership, clear thinking, clever planning, and the higher conduct of war. But there are also examples which we, in the future, must try to imitate of stout hearts, pertinacity, and true loyalty and co-operation between the services. Not until evacuation had been more or less decided on do we find any real fences raised between the army and navy leaders, and it comes as a surprise to read, on page 498, that "General Birdwood had received a definite order that neither he nor his generals were to hold any further communication with the Admiral, except through G.H.Q."

It is difficult to blame the Government for all the vacillations. Their naval and military advisers, both at home and on the spot, were at variance. Some said that the Fleet could force the Straits, others that it must not take the risk. Some said that the Army must help, others that the Army was exhausted.

The reader of these memoirs is given plenty of substance to think on, and maybe some preconceived opinions will be altered. At any rate, there must be some who will wish that Admiral Wemyss or Keyes himself had been given the chance to lead the Navy against the Narrows. Sir Roger Keyes never varied, never has varied, his view that the Fleet could force the Straits. It is easy to be wise after the event, but surely there will be many who will agree with him.

Perhaps some will find one question outstanding—who should command in an amphibious operation? On p. 425 we read Sir Ian Hamilton: “Every personal motive urges me to urge him on. But I have no right to shove my oar in. . . .” On p. 469 we read that Admiral de Robeck left the meeting, “as it was a military consideration.” On p. 468 Sir Roger Keyes gives his opinion: “What is really wanted is a MAN to decide.” This point is one which all should consider, whether of the fighting services or not.

In conclusion, we can look forward with the keenest anticipation to Admiral Keyes' next volume. These memoirs must inspire all with that spirit of self-sacrifice and strong purpose which we should strive to imitate. They are the real feelings of a true leader.

St. J. C.

Ottoman Debt: Fifth Annual Report. June 1, 1933, to May 31, 1934.

The Council of the Distributed External Debt of the former Ottoman Empire has published its Fifth Annual Report, covering the period from June 1, 1933, to May 31, 1934. It is signed this year by Monsieur F. des Closières, representing the French and Swiss Bondholders, who presides over the Council in alternate years with Mr. S. C. Wyatt, the representative of the British and Dutch holders.

The Report, dated Paris, November 5, 1934, gives information not only as to the operations of the new Turkish Debt, but also as to the old Ottoman Bonds.

As to the Turkish Debt, the Council explains its relations with the Turkish Government and the conditions of the new Bonds of the Turkish 7½ per cent. Debt of 1933, which were issued in respect of the Turkish share of the old Ottoman Debt under the arrangement of April 22, 1933.

The coming into force of this arrangement was subject to its acceptance by Bondholders by the encashment of a special coupon for that purpose in June, 1933. It was provided that the arrangement should come into force when the adherents exceeded 50 per cent. of the nominal capital of the old Ottoman Bonds then in circulation. A percentage of 51·12 was obtained, and consequently the arrangement came into force as from September 12, 1933, the date of the official notification of the fact to the Turkish Government.

The percentage of adherents gradually increased month by month until by August 31, 1934, it reached 86·04.

Three coupons have been paid so far on the new Bonds, those of November 25, 1933, May 25 and November 25, 1934.

The redemption of the new Bonds has been effected regularly; and up to May 31, 1934—that is, to the end of the Council's last financial year—6,642 Bonds of the three Series, representing a nominal capital of 3,321,000 French francs, had been redeemed, out of a total of 962,136,000 francs.

Further, the Debt Council notifies Bondholders that the Turkish Government, having redeemed the concession of the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway Company, has made a second issue of Bonds, shown as those of the 7½ per cent. Turkish Debt (2nd Series), 1934, of a nominal capital of 162,468,000 francs.

These Bonds have the same characteristics as those of 1933, except that it is stipulated that their service is to be solely in French francs, whereas the 1933 Bonds are payable either in French francs or in a second currency to be indicated by the Debt Council.

The Council has undertaken the service of this new issue, with the same rôle and duties as for that of 1933.

With regard to the old Ottoman Bonds, the Council, after indicating the operations resulting from contracts and arrangements prior to 1933 with Turkey, Syria, Italy, Palestine, and 'Iraq, explains the action taken with regard to those Successor States which have not yet concluded arrangements for their shares of the old Ottoman Public Debt. In this connection it is to be noted that the unsettled portion of the Debt is represented by Provisional Certificates, which have been issued, side by side with the Turkish 7½ per cent. 1933 Bonds, in exchange for the old Ottoman Bonds. The Council, after referring to its numerous demands addressed particularly to the Greek and Bulgarian Governments, states that negotiations were opened in November last (1934) in Athens with a view to arriving at a settlement with the Greek Government.

In addition to information on all these matters, the Report contains the Council's Balance Sheet as at May 31, 1934, together with numerous tables and statistical data relative not only to the old Ottoman Debt and to the new Turkish Debt, but also to the financial and economic situation of the Turkish Republic.

A. T. WAUGH.

CORRESPONDENCE

DEAR SIR,

“T. E. LAWRENCE IN ARABIA AND AFTER”

By LIDDELL HART

There is a large body of opinion, military as well as other, now ranged up behind Lloyd George in accusing the soldiers of lack of imagination, of playing the German game by opposing them on their chosen front instead of in the Achilles heel in the East: by relying on “attrition” actually more damaging to the Allies in preference to supporting the wavering Balkans at the right moment. Many such thinkers fail to appreciate the colossal Q services of a modern army, especially if attacking German on interior lines. The Balkans are ill-supplied with communications for such movement, and such as do exist are mainly in the wrong direction. Yet most students still feel more might have been done to support Serbia and Roumania before they were overrun, and in opening up the comparatively narrow belt needed to supply Russia. The political objections advanced by the French against cutting communications from Alexandretta are pilloried in this volume. In fact, the distressing absence of vision or even co-ordinated planning of those years, in many directions and in all allied councils, is beginning to stand out as one of the lessons of history. It is a relief in such studies to turn to this the writer’s instance of reasoned initiative, even though its sphere was in a minor theatre and the actors have only a local influence.

Yet the reader cannot avoid a subconscious impression that the author is not himself altogether convinced by his own dexterous arguments against the old methods of “1066 and all that.” His wide military reading has shown him why the conservative army leader feels that he must use the bravery of the British soldier to attack in front with the bayonet, and that no other plan can be regarded as quite cricket. Most important British wars have been won by some form of homage to such methods, even though the old worship is wearing thin now that cannon fodder is beginning to express individuality.

One wonders whether this glowing tribute to an admittedly brilliant series of irregular actions would have been so convincing if Liddell Hart’s personal attitude to his hero had been antipathetic rather than tinged by a glamour of friendship and swayed by a rational leaning towards the Lawrence Cult. T. E. L. is an unusual type—some would call it genius, and others by a harder name. Not an easy man to work with, a terrible thorn in the side of Allenby’s staff. Yet in his own sphere, once given a really free hand, a leader able to inspire his Arab tribesmen, if not always his own kind. There is little doubt that his ideas in leaving the 12,000 Turks in Hedjaz and the south to keep Turkish commitments extended were sound. There seems too little reason to deny that his was the mind which conceived the storming of Aqaba from the land side instead of wasting men and material on Medina, or in holding Wejh and Rabegh. The Turks played into British hands by their attempts to keep open the line to Ma’an and beyond instead of confining their efforts with an inferior force to resisting the main British offensive in Palestine.

Yet when all was said and done, Lawrence's methods were not so much new as an adaptation of tribal warfare by employing the Arabs in the only way they understood fighting. Perhaps this in itself was genius.

Lord Allenby comes on the scene immediately after Aqaba. Too big a man to be obsessed by the foibles and vagaries of his difficult subordinate, he decided to make effective use of an obviously outstanding irregular leader. It was his tact and vision which made possible in the twentieth century this semi-barbaric combined Arab offensive, like some modern relic of a crusading age. But when that is said, no unbiased soldier can withhold admiration from the genius with which Lawrence used his assets. A variety of circumstances had equipped an already gifted personality with just the factors needed for this sort of success. A voracious study of early military thought, contributory to a hobby of defensive works through the ages. Years in the Near East, often on such slender resources that his outlook had been habituated by personal association to that of the Arabs he now led. A natural intolerance of conventions which, in preconceived disgust against all Regular methods, incited him to exploit opposite conceptions where he could. These factors led him to use his camels like Nelson used his frigates, as self-contained carriers for raids. To employ one automatic per two men, with Stokes mortars or mustard gas for lightning raids out of the blue, which was denied to the Turks as once the sea had been to our enemies. To concentrate on scientific demolitions, and methodical destruction of isolated posts and detachments. All these Lawrence developed, as the author says, a generation ahead of his day. Few will deny Lawrence his place as supreme Arabian writer of his generation. Why, then, should the pedants strain at a measure of outstanding genius in his chosen specialized form of war?

A. M. R.

A NOVICE IN JAPAN

By LIEUT.-COLONEL F. CUNLIFFE OWEN, C.M.G.

As a stranger to the Far East, a recent visit to Japan has been indeed a revelation to me. From what I had seen, such as it was, recorded in print, I was totally unprepared in the way of what to expect. For one thing I had heard that the formalities to which foreigners were subjected were most annoying, and that even when in the country itself a very disagreeable watch was often kept upon one's movements. I can only say that, as far as I was concerned, the greatest courtesy was shown; no hindrances whatever were placed on my movements, and the conditions of life were amazingly easy. I was shown everything I wanted to see, given all facts I wanted to know, and came away impressed indeed by the nation as a whole.

People say that much of the above was studied propaganda work. I dare say; but it was very pleasant propaganda work, and, after all, one can always read between the lines if so inclined.

Tokyo itself is in all respects a far cleaner and quieter city than a European capital. Excessively broad streets, few motor horns, people quiet and orderly, calm and unexcitable, and, to all appearances, cheerful and polite. Restraint and self-control.

As far as Westernized manner of living is concerned, American influence

seems supreme; few English persons are to be observed, and modes of life where non-Japanese are distinctly Americanized. It may be that American ideas penetrated shortly after the war, when British shipping in Far Eastern waters diminished and American Pacific traffic increased.

The public works and industrial concerns, entirely run by the Japanese, are a marvel for the East, and cheapness is no word for the ordinary amenities of living.

It is a pity one cannot leave the matter there and just think of Japan as simply a wonderful country in which to stay, but I suppose we have to get away from that and necessarily delve into the bothersome world questions of an era when every country is apparently trying to "do" the other, economically and commercially, however much the pundits at Geneva spend their time on disarmament and other so-called problems, really not half so vital as those just referred to. So therefore in matters Japanese one has perforce to talk about trade rivalry, tariffs, quotas, Manchukuo encroachment, immigration, naval agreements, and so forth.

It appears to me curious that a large number of persons in England and some English people in the Far East view Japan with suspicion and say she is not to be "trusted," whatever that means. I presume this dates from the time when she learnt her commercial methods from ourselves and others and certain standards or non-standards of commercial morality. However this may be, our authorities appear to "trust" certain other nations—Soviet Russia and Germany, for example—on far more flimsy bases than is the case with Japan.

For instance, we say that Japan has broken her Treaty word regarding the integrity of China by her action in Manchukuo. But why? Japan affirms that Manchukuo has broken away from China of her own free will, has reverted to the real and ancient Manchu dynasty, and gets far more advantageous treatment than under the Nankin Government. Why is Japan to be disbelieved even if she has helped matters somewhat along in this line?

Just listen to some pronouncements by Japanese and also others. "Japan entertains no territorial ambition, but she has a population of nearly 100 millions. Having no rich resources, nor any big colony, she can hardly sustain her increasing population unless the necessaries of life are imported from abroad with the profits realized in trade and commerce." Be it observed that there is no demand here for "colonies," such as more than one European nation has given utterance to from time to time lately.

Again: "Manchukuo ought to be given a fair chance. Let the mainland of Eastern Asia boast of at least one orderly government, to stand as a bulwark against the encroachments of Russia on the north and as an example to anarchistic China on the south. If administered wisely as an object lesson, Manchukuo may easily save China from communism. Japan is no angel, but she is the sole representative of orderly government on Western ideals."

As regards the Chinese boycott directed against the Japanese as a protest to their action in Manchukuo, the outside powers took a very different view in 1905 when the boycott was directed against themselves; the movement was then described as an irregular and illegal prop to Chinese diplomacy, a hostile form of blackmail, etc., and the American fleet was ordered to prepare to enforce these views. Again during the Shanghai affair of 1927, when Great Britain with others sent troops, not only did the League refrain from protesting, but the Chinese Government refrained likewise. As the British Government stated in this case that there was not "any way in which the assistance of the League in the settlement of the difficulties in China can be sought," Japan similarly saw no way in which the League could help her in Manchuria.

Now to turn to the thorny economic question, which seems to convulse the Western labour world.

Here is a Japanese statement by a responsible authority. "The economic problems which confront the world to-day are of such magnitude and complexity as have never been encountered in the history of mankind. The situation calls for the general mobilization of all the co-operative efforts of the world. Despite the prevailing depression, Japan, because of the ceaseless and tireless endeavours on the part of her industrialists and business men, has been able to forge ahead in export trade. And it has now become Japan's problem how to combat the measures taken by foreign governments to restrict or prohibit the entry of Japanese goods into their territories. It is a curious and sad aspect of the situation that at this time, when a free and untrammelled development of international commerce should be the prime objective of all governments, desiring restoration of world prosperity, most of them are preoccupied with devising the means of clogging trade channels with all sorts of obstacles. The Japanese Government is eager as always to negotiate with all foreign governments for the solution of any problems on the basis of fair play and justice, and to do her full share in insuring the freedom of trade for the sake of universal peace and prosperity.

"Certain countries have now enforced quota systems against Japanese goods, a system of economic control in direct opposition to the spirit embodied in the most favoured nation clause, and yet enforced in spite of commercial treaties in which is incorporated the principle of equal opportunity. The interesting thing is that the advance of Japanese merchandise has been all due to the hard work of the Japanese nation as well as to the technical progress which has been made by the Japanese industrialists in the face of foreign competition. Far from being apologetic for the cheapness of the merchandise they produce, the Japanese are proud that they can turn out articles so cheaply. Japan produces superior articles through the untiring industry of her workers and the profound scientific study of her experts, and finds herself in a position to sell these articles at prices which are found to be far lower than those demanded by her competitors. There can be no wrong in this. In fact, other nations have closed their own doors in the face of Japanese merchandise and turned their backs on the principle of the open door, all the while demanding the open door in China and charging Japan with having attempted to close it."

All this is very true from the Japanese point of view, but at the same time this economic question does not offer the acquiescence which we could reasonably give to the other—namely, Manchukuo question, as alluded to above.

I am no commercial expert and would not dare to discuss such a problem here, involving as it does standards of living, cheap purchases, and so forth from the British aspect more difficult on account of the diverse interests of the component parts of the British Empire.

For America the problem is easier, because they have a basis for economic exchange. Except for Japan's raw silk, American silk mills would probably have to shut down, and except for America's raw cotton, Japan would have to fall back upon inferior cotton from elsewhere. Not only do these two countries depend on each other for these two important commodities; they exchange them in such quantities that if commerce in them were shut off the national revenues would be seriously diminished.

As shown above, Japan does not produce her goods by sweated labour, and the recent report by the International Labour Organization representative is altogether favourable to the general conditions of work in Japan. The people are happy, and the fact is that the line of development has been different from that of the West.

In trying to solve, as between the British and Japanese, this great trade difficulty, it seems a pity that many English people, when efforts are being made, such as those of the Barnby Mission, should attempt to decry these efforts, and are at great pains to point out that the mission is not fathered officially in any way. Certain parts of the Empire also really do not want the quota system enforced—Singapore, for example—but one of the perhaps most pertinent answers to this particular subject seems to be that made at a meeting in Manchester recently. The speaker said that “to me it is unthinkable that Lancashire, which only twenty-nine years ago was supreme in the textile trade, should collapse and throw up the sponge at the first real onslaught because others have shown themselves more efficient, alert, and hard working, if less scrupulous. Japanese competition has come to stay, and tariffs were utterly futile as a means of meeting such competition except as a very temporary measure. The way to deal with lower wage competition is to increase the productive capacity of your workers by better training and organization, by superior machinery, mass production methods, and co-ordinated research, and by getting into closer touch with the consumer, finding out what he wants, and helping him to overcome his difficulties.”

In relation to the immigration problem, Japan has no idea of now wanting to plant her people in Australia, Canada, America, etc., whatever the ethics of this question. Likewise it is not in Manchuria where she hopes to place her population in any numbers, as the climate is not suitable, and the Chinese work for a very considerably less amount than even the Japanese worker. As pointed out before, the surplus population must be provided for by increased work of production and industrialism.

Finally, the naval agreements. These now being under discussion, it is not much use in making remarks at any length. But I would mention two points: (a) Is it right for Britain and others to vindicate the right of economic self-defence and deny the right to Japan of naval self-defence? (b) Can anybody reasonably suppose there is danger of war in the near future between Japan and America or Britain?

“This virtual impossibility of war surely must engender among the naval powers a sense of security, based not on treaties and foreign ideology, but on geographical and technical facts. In the shadow of that security surely it should be possible for Britain and America to accede to the Japanese demands, which are not necessarily for increased naval strength, but simply for freedom to determine the nature of that strength, subject to the one condition that it shall never exceed the strength of the other naval powers.”

Having stated one seemingly reasonable Japanese naval thesis, I do not propose to dive further into the nebulous, and to the ordinary observer rather fruitless naval, military disarmament and ancillary questions. What about an Anglo-Japanese Alliance once more? Here again I suppose we are up against League of Nation commitments, as in the case of Manchukuo, but whether the British Empire gains as a whole by the ties of the League is an arguable matter. Apparently the original Alliance lapsed as a result of the Four-Power Treaty and American feeling. The Four-Power Treaty appears all right as far as it goes, but as an American writer points out, the Powers that should really come to an agreement are Japan, China, and Soviet Russia, and he goes on to say that if Japan secures and maintains the friendship and confidence of China and America, as well as of an independent and prosperous Manchuria, she can deal with Russia, *Great Britain's friendship being almost a foregone conclusion.*

As far as I could make out, the feeling in the military circles is somewhat doubtful in regard to an actual Anglo-Japanese Alliance, but the Foreign Depart-

ment declares its conviction that Japan's traditional amity with the British Empire would remain unshaken, "the two sea powers occupying geographically similar key positions, one in the east and the other in the west, can effectually serve the cause of universal peace, through sympathetic appreciation of their respective stands and wholehearted collaboration in all quarters of the world. It is in this sense that our Government are seeking to readjust whatever conflict of interests relating to questions of trade there may be, and to strengthen further the ties of friendship that bind our Empires." I suspect the military feeling is due to suspicion of our genuineness in respect to military and naval support and commitments, but it appears to me that, apart from the fact that the Japanese nation has qualities that are so eminently praiseworthy and worth while as an ally, our position, somewhat exposed in the Far East, and towards the Middle East, indeed, too, would immeasurably gain by some settled insurance such as an Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

A thoroughly efficient and organized people, with an utter disregard for death, based not on merely fanatical feeling, but on a deep national and ancestral sentiment to exist throughout the ages, is a force not only to be respected but cultivated. The Imperial precepts to the soldiers and sailors are a model in the inculcation of sentiments of which any nation or group of persons should be appreciative.

It is curious how history repeats itself. The antagonism to certain things Japanese among some of our commercial folk, not so much in our colonies as in treaty ports, etc., may be likened to the feeling in pre-war days in the Levant. Put Turkey for China, and the Balkan States for Japan, and one gets the old hostility of our Levantine and commercial families in the Near East against any change in the *status quo* and replacement of Turkish rule by that of others. This is due to the fact that far easier terms and concessions were wheedled out of the Turks than could ever be hoped for when dealing with more Westernized peoples such as the Greeks, Serbs, and others. Such an attitude, as in the case of China, held up the introduction of modern and more civilized methods, and indeed peace, in the Near East for decades.

September 30, 1934.

The Editor, "The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society."

SIR,

My attention has been drawn to a passage at the end of the lecture delivered by Professor Gibb on June 25, 1934. He says, in referring to the Regulation regarding tribal disputes in Iraq, that "the Ministry of Justice does not like it and wants to try and reduce everything to a deadly uniformity by introducing legal systems which are impossible to apply in such a situation as that of the tribes of Iraq."

A number of Iraqians read the Journal and attach to the opinions of the lecturers the weight to which the considered conclusions of well-informed persons are entitled. Whatever meaning Professor Gibb may himself attach to the expression "wants to try," his sentence will be read as an authoritative statement that the Ministry of Justice is engaged in an attempt to abolish the application of tribal custom and to obtain similarity of treatment for tribesmen and others. There is no foundation whatever for such a statement, and it would be regrettable to let it pass unrefuted.

I have been adviser to the Ministry of Justice for the past twelve years. During that period discussions have arisen as to the merits of particular customs, the convenience of procedure, the status of tribesmen, and other matters incidental to the general principle of applying tribal custom in proper cases, but nothing has been done or proposed by the Ministry or by any other Department which could justify Professor Gibb's utterance.

The Regulation is not the only source of authority to apply tribal custom. The Penal Code contains a provision permitting the ordinary judicial courts to do so, and that provision is repeated in the new draft Penal Code prepared by the Ministry of Justice, and now before Parliament.

Professor Gibb may entertain and express fears as to what Western and Westernized administrators may do, but here he goes further. He makes a statement of fact which, in its inaccuracy, gives a totally wrong impression of the attitude of the 'Iraq Government towards one of its most important problems.

I am, sir,

Yours faithfully,

E. M. DROWER

(*Judicial Adviser 'Iraq Government*).

December 11, 1934.

The Secretary, Royal Central Asian Society.

SIR,

On pages 297-8 of his recent book *Shifting Sands*, Major Bray describes an interview in Paris, at which I was alleged to be present, between the late King Feisal and a representative of His Majesty King Ibn Saud. At the time mentioned I was not in France, but in 'Iraq. From what I know of His late Majesty it was impossible for him to commit the breach of etiquette alleged.

I have the honour to be

Your obedient servant,

JA'FAR EL ASKERI.

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December 18, 1934.

SIR,

As you have very kindly allowed me to read Mr. Allen's criticism of my *Unending Battle* before its publication, I hasten to answer his criticisms so that his review and my reply may appear in the same volume of your Journal. With the two together before them, your readers will be in a good position to judge between us.

Unfortunately, as I have only twenty-four hours in which to prepare this reply, in order to catch you before you go to print, I cannot answer all the criticisms now. I must recheck some of my facts from the gentlemen who supplied them. These gentlemen are scattered far and wide. One is in Russia, another in France,

another in Constantinople. Leo Keresselidze himself is in Morocco. I have communicated with them, and I hope you will allow me to complete my answer in your next volume.

I find it great fun to see Mr. Allen attack me. In all these Near East countries there are a few experts, and they resent the intrusion of any outsider. Each one howls, "Who is this fellow? Out him! Kick him out of *my* Temple!" Mr. Allen is one of the few experts on Georgia. He has written a book on the history of Georgia.

Mr. Allen complains that I do not give the detailed history of the raid into Ajaria (the word "raid" is humorous, for Stange and Keresselidze nearly took the great Port of Batum, which in turn would probably have led to the evacuation of the Caucasus by the Russians; and the fighting lasted for twelve months), the operations on the Turko-Persian border, and those round Akalzika. He must have missed my introduction, in which I expressly stated that I was not writing such history. I gave the campaigns in outline and the part played by Keresselidze in great detail. The history of those campaigns is correct, but none the less I used them merely as a background for the story of the man and of his people fighting for liberty.

It is in Mr. Allen's line, as the historian of Georgia, to thumb out the minute details of these insignificant campaigns about which few people care a brass farthing. None the less, it is good heavy work and will no doubt bring its own reward. But it is for me to use the results of the labour of Mr. Allen and his kind and to give the history life and colour and value.

Mr. Allen criticizes my spelling, Akalzika for Akhaltzikhe.

This is the old quarrel between the pedants and those who, like myself, believe that a name should show easily to the eye and sound easily to the ear as it is pronounced and not be spelt in accordance with some rigid rules of transcription laid down by professors (whose accents are sometimes exceedingly fantastic). Such spelling as Mr. Allen uses, like the complicated formulas invented by scientists, will frighten off even a persistent library-subscriber, much less a book-buyer, and so close the story of Georgia to many people. Khodja for Kojja, Djemal for Jemal, Khaliph for Calif, Sa'ud or Se'aoud for Saud, and Akhaltzikhe for Akalzika. No Georgian, however full of drink, ever made a noise like Akhaltzikhe. He would have to gargle himself into an apoplexy before he got anywhere near it.

It is time, as I have repeatedly said, to hold a conference to simplify the spelling of the names and words of the Near East, and this conference should avoid the crankish stuff put up by Mr. Allen. I repeat that the use of complicated spelling often drives away readers from an otherwise admirable book.

Mr. Allen states that my history is incorrect, but I am glad that he quotes Miss Haslip's *Lady Hester Stanhope* as an example of accurate and sober history, for I was responsible for checking the details of that book. Once again Mr. Allen must have avoided reading the introduction and acknowledgment pages of Miss Haslip's book, or perhaps he never reads these. They might be light and amusing. Awful thought! History that should dare to be light and amusing. Mr. Allen might remember the ancient tag that heaviness is no criterion of correctness.

But to deal with each of Mr. Allen's criticisms of my history.

He says that I have exaggerated the importance of Leo Keresselidze in the Proclamation of Georgian Independence. I did nothing of the kind. Keresselidze was ill in Berlin at the time and had nothing to do with the proclamation.

Page 280. Mr. Allen says that the Georgian Government in 1919 "enjoyed the confidence of the country." Anyone who went to the Caucasus of 1919

knows that that is not correct. Both the old aristocracy and the peasants disliked the Socialist Government at Tiflis, and Georgia is a peasant country.

Page 281. Mr. Allen says the Russians did not help the Armenians against the Georgians. There is not a shadow of doubt that the Russians sent money and help to the Armenians. Mr. Allen can never have seen the evidence nor taken the trouble to thumb out the details. I cannot resist this *tu quoque*, for I was invited at that time to be High Commissioner of Armenia and had the dossiers of evidence in my hands.

Mr. Allen also says it is untenable that the Russians should help the Armenian Government in a critical moment in their own civil wars. He may have forgotten that it is an incontrovertible fact that they were sending assistance to the Turks in Angora at that very time. If they could send to Turkey, why should they not send to Armenia?

Page 281. Mr. Allen says the Georgians could not have taken Erivan, and were, in fact, being beaten by the Armenians and the fighting was stopped by Allied officers. The Georgians, who were commanding at that time, were convinced they could have taken Erivan. The primary successes were gained by the Armenians, but they were driven back later by the Georgians. And why does Mr. Allen talk of "Allied" when he means British? As he accuses me of using loose language, I cannot resist this *tu quoque* also.

Page 281. Mr. Allen says that it is very hypothetical that the Ossetians are of German descent. I agree, but there is quite a lot of evidence to that effect. He says that the Russians were not helping the Ossetians in their revolt against the Georgians. Here again Mr. Allen just does not know the facts.

Pages 281-282. I have answered his complaint about my description of the Akalzika campaign above.

Page 284. Mr. Allen criticizes my whole account of Deniken's defeat. Unfortunately for him he has sent me a personal letter inviting me to consult with certain experts. This campaign, which I only gave in brief outline as a background, was worked out by one of the very experts which Mr. Allen advised me to consult. Surely Mr. Allen would never suggest that any of his authorities were wrong. Though in this connection, both in his review and in his letter to me, he bases much of his information on Bolshevik sources which for this period are the worst possible evidence. I begin to grow sceptical of some parts of Mr. Allen's history of Georgia.

Mr. Allen says I exaggerate in using the expression that Deniken was "in front of Moscow." I plead guilty that this is an exaggeration—he never got further than 200 miles from Moscow. But there was no force between him and Moscow to prevent him taking the city, and he could have marched straight on to the city without any serious opposition. Deniken, however, was possessed with the idea that he would take the Caucasus at the same time as Moscow, and he refused to take any advice on the subject, and so got defeated. It was a defeat richly deserved.

Mr. Allen says that it is "doubtful whether the Georgian Government supported Usun Hajji (Armstrong, Uzum Kaledji) to the extent suggested." I accept the criticism of this spelling and this shall be corrected straight away, but Keresselidze repeats the facts as I have stated. Mr. Allen is only "doubtful" and as a critical reviewer he has no right to be doubtful. He should be sure or say nothing. So let him produce his evidence or hold his peace, and let the word of Keresselidze as the man who carried out the details be believed.

Mr. Allen says that the defeat of the Georgians by the Bolsheviks was due to the element of surprise and the use of small mobile converging columns, and that

I have exaggerated by describing them as being "a 100 to 1." I plead guilty again to an exaggeration, but the facts are that the Bolsheviki's success was due first to surprise—that is, attacking without warning or declaring war; secondly, by vastly superior numbers against the Georgians who were lacking in arms, money, and men. Here again Mr. Allen just does not know the facts.

Finally, Mr. Allen vigorously attacks my book on general lines because it deals with the private and intimate life of Leo Keresselidze and does not gloss over his failings. Mr. Allen is shocked and terrified that anyone should dare to write about sex, as if it was not more healthy than eating and as moral as swimming. He would intone *De Mortuis Nil Nisi Bonum* and at the same time "Keep your nasty hands off the living." His method would produce a crop of memoirs and biographies out of which the historians of the future would have to do the best they could, and then once more in some later generation there would come another band of Lytton Stracheys and Aldous Huxleys who would cheerfully debunk the lot, which would be good for the debunkers' bank balances, amusing for the readers, but probably of no great value either to literature or history. In reality the blame for that would lie on the shoulders of Mr. Allen and his kind. Let us get down to facts now.

I thank you, Mr. Editor, for allowing me to use your columns.

Yours faithfully,

H. C. ARMSTRONG.



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PART II

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AERIAL GEOGRAPHY

By PIERRE LYAUTEY (Légion d'Honneur)

Lecture given at the Royal Society's Hall on March 6, 1935, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the Chair.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It may seem a little pretentious on the part of a Frenchman to speak to the Royal Central Asian Society on geography, here in England, to a people whose Navy and Empire created geography.

When you speak of aviation you always think of the magnificent flight from London to Melbourne, or you fear bombs, gas, and so on. But to-day we shall make a wonderful trip, and we will observe the earth from the sky. My suggestions are the result of my travels and flights in China, Japan, Manchuria, India, Morocco, Egypt, Italy, Greece, and in France.

It was when I was in the Far East, in Manchuria, that I had the first idea of "aerial" geography. I had heard of the works in Syria of Father Poidebard on archæology. I had heard of the works of British geologists in South Africa. After visiting Mukden, Hsing-Hsing, Harbin, Dairen; after having heard so much about the Chinese, the Japanese, Manchukuo; after having read so many reports, so many contradictions, I looked for a synthesis. Flying over Manchuria between Mukden and Harbin, I could see the rôle of all these farms spread out all over the country, and I could understand the interests of Japan. I could see the rôle of Manchuria: a sort of street between two chains of mountains, two empires. Arriving in Harbin on the banks of the Sungari, I could realize more easily the historic rôle of Manchuria.

Some months afterwards, visiting Indo-China, I could admire from a motor-car the high-roads, the villages, the population; but it was from an aeroplane that I could see the extraordinary formation of that water-logged country, the inundation, the rôle of the village, apparently half drowned, in reality the refuge of civilization, and I understood the psychology of the Delta. First let me give you an example of aerial geography; let us take Italy. You will notice that the same study has to be carried on everywhere in Asia as well as in Europe. My slides will give examples from all over the world.

The first time I crossed Italy by aeroplane I was coming from

Vienna. Italy was first visible behind the marvellous screen of the Carnic and Julian Alps; just before arriving at the Tarvis Pass, I saw beyond the mountain ridges—although it was one hundred miles away—the outlines of the Gulf of Trieste; I had the impression that the Adriatic was rising towards me. Even from a mountain you do not see the earth rise upon the terrestrial hemisphere. Here the Adriatic rises upon the terrestrial hemisphere. This screen and this col passed, I made a descent of 150 kilometres by inclined plane to Venice. I had left the Germanic country, Austria; I was seeing, suddenly, towards Udine, slipping down the last slopes of the Alps and into the plain of Venetia, the Italian villages, vigorous, compact, absolutely different from those much more elongated and spindle-shaped ones which I had seen in Austria. These Venetian villages, usually circular, are dominated by the open campaniles through which you can see the country streaked with fields in quincunx. The Italian village had not at all the characteristics of what, with us, we commonly call a village; it is a city in miniature, the Latin “*civitas*.”

Then we approached Venice. I envy those of former times who arrived at Venice by boat. Those who approach it now by rail or over the big bridges by car can get the impression that Venice is bound to the earth, that the “isolated lagoon” is to be forgotten. These cannot see how in reality Venice is upon the open sea. The rôle of the Venetians can best be appreciated from the air. For when we walk in Venice we have the impression of a flat town, a low-lying town, asleep in its lagoon. On the contrary, looked at from the sky, each one of the Venetian isles seems somewhat like a caravel. I will go even farther and say that these islands are the elements of a mountain, with their houses mounting from terrace to terrace, the summits which are the church domes. For that matter the upper terraces bear the name of “*altana*.” Keep this image in mind: here is a town which is in the sea and has, nevertheless, the characteristics of a mountain town.

If now we fly to Rome, the crossing of the Adriatic, which is made just before the mouth of the Po, presents a real geographical interest. When we are travelling by car in the neighbourhood of the Thames estuary, the waters of the river can only be faintly seen as they mingle with those of the sea. It is not the same in an aeroplane; from a plane one could photograph the exact force of a river. Indeed, each river has water of a colour peculiar to itself: yellow, mauve, golden. Following the stream of the river, you can see it advancing into the ocean, a half-mile, a mile, or two miles. If one photographed the

penetration of these waters into the sea for each one of these rivers, one could by measurements and comparisons find out their particular dynamism. One would see that there are lazy rivers and strong rivers, predestinated to play great rôles in history.

We are flying over the mouth of the Po. We have seen the rivers coming down from the Alps, the Tagliamento, the Brenta; they enter the sea in one dash. The force of the Po is such that you see it spreading itself out into the Adriatic like an obese Chinaman with its fan of alluvium and sand. There would be, besides, a very interesting calculation to make upon the dynamism in the sand of rivers. We see, too, just as there are lazy rivers and strong rivers, so there are feeble shores and vigorous shores. Here, beginning with the Apennines, the curve of the Italian shore is extremely tense. The Apennines are drawn in by the sea as the cord stretches the bow.

On the line with the Rubicon one enters Central Italy. The rock of San Marino is very striking. The roads scale the mountains with the movement of threads in a spinning mill. When we were children and they asked us to draw an outline of Italy, we had a tendency to represent it as a boot, to trace a line in the middle and put in oblique strokes to the right and the left. But what is quite striking is that in reality there is no line for the watershed. Central Italy, between the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, is filled with mountains in opposition and parallel to each other. Italy is a country of hills. The mountain is the rule, the plain the exception. France, on the contrary, is a country of plains. The mountains are on the borders or in the central plateau. The Frenchman is a farmer attached to his soil. The Italian is a mountaineer used to looking from his hills over the neighbouring valleys. He is predestined to the rôle of the mediator. The Frenchman is a peasant bound to his fields. The national emblems themselves are symbols which authorize such comparisons. Formerly the Romans rallied to their eagles, the vulture of the mountain. The Frenchman, in other times, took the *fleur-de-lis*, a flower of the fields, as his flag.

We shall see very soon that Italian architecture is born in the mountains. Let us simply note that the mountains of Italy have the form of domes and that the churches often have cupolas for their belfries. The mountain pines have the form of parasols and recall the cupola. The rivers and the streams which descend the Apennines, either on the Adriatic shore or the Mediterranean, are generally torrential. From the air one sees the great yellow river-beds which twist serpent-like in arabesques.

At a certain moment among these rushing streams I was struck by something quite different. I had been following from its source a stream, a real stream, which kept well to its bed, and which appeared vigorous and lively. No overflowing, no sandbanks. On consulting the map I discovered that it was the Tiber.

If you follow the Tiber by car you cannot perceive its peculiar traits very well. If, however, you can see this river which, from its very source, is *born* a river as the Rhone is born a river in leaving its glacier, you will realize that there are predestined rivers. There are rivers which, like certain persons, are marked from their infancy by their genius. The waters of the Tiber have the qualities of a river which exercises a distinct influence upon its shores and the scenery. There are rivers which, from their birth, announce the historic rôle they are to play.

In following this air route of Central Italy, one remarks the character of the Apennines. Every time I have flown over them (and I have done this in every season, in summer, in the spring, and in the autumn) I have found them covered with clouds. It seems that upon our planet there are countries which are always angry and others which are always serene. That good or bad temper of a country would be very interesting to determine psychologically. There are countries which distribute good or bad temper, as, for instance, Mount Bali, in the Honolulu Islands, which directs the bad weather towards the North or the South Pacific in accordance with its fancy. In any case, I ask meteorology, instead of crystallizing its information in fixed observatories, to send out a detachment of reconnoitring aeroplanes in the regions where bad humour prevails. The forecast of the weather would undoubtedly gain thereby.

We are approaching Rome. Ordinarily one arrives at Rome by rail or car over the hilly plains, and the traveller concludes that the capital is in a plain. His feeling is fortified if he contents himself with looking only at the Appian Way and the Catacombs. But Rome is not in a plain, but like the Apennines in miniature, traversed by a valley comparatively closed in. Rome is in the mountains, the city on the Seven Hills. Moreover, the tourist is often disappointed to see that the Tiber is so small. That is because one compares it with the Seine, with the Thames, or with other rivers. When one has flown over the Tiber, one can take account of the essential rôle it has played in the development of Rome. You can see that even in the character of its *Thalweg* it remains a river of the mountains, and the hills of Rome, which we

now have so much difficulty in discovering when we visit the Eternal City, surge up from the earth. Their silhouette is comparable to that of the mountains of Central Italy. We have just left a series of towns which, like Padua, like Narini, are mountain towns, capitals in little. Rome belongs to the same family. I may perhaps contradict certain ideas of the great lovers of Rome, but Rome is a mountain town. This city is not in a plain, as Chateaubriand wrote to Fontanes.

Since I have seen from the air the different cities of Italy, I have perceived certain peculiar characteristics of Italian architecture. I have understood them still better when returning to France, when, for example, I looked at Versailles—Versailles, which, compared to the Florentine and Roman palaces, is on the very level of the plains and of our forests in the dimensions of the Ile-de-France. On the other hand, let us look at the architecture of Rome; the palaces have deep vaults, obscure copies of the mountain gorges which I have seen in flying over the Apennines. On the first and second stories sculptured statues are standing on the terraces in the poses of mountaineers. Everything in Rome evokes, indeed, that mountain range over which we have just flown. I have seen people leaning against the walls of their shops in that classic pose which the painters have evoked, the pose of the mountaineer. And, like the mountain dwellers, the Romans have the taste for water and for fountains. The stone personages dominate the Place Navone, and before the Trevi Fountain the people of the town sit like statues.

This is an idea which I do not insist upon, but to which I call attention; it seems to me rich in hypotheses concerning the psychological characteristics of Italy.

If we now take the southern route, and if we go down from Rome towards Brindisi, crossing once more the Apennines, we notice that the little towns, the villages, and the small settlements have the air of mountain towns. While the French town or village is on the road itself, the Italian town is almost always upon a promontory disengaged from the rest of the plateau. The population do not have their habitations in the depths of the valleys; on the contrary, they have chosen the mountain for the fixed element in their habitat.

Continuing across the Apennines, we arrive in the southern provinces, between Pescara and Brindisi. There it is an entirely different spectacle: a great plain, the Roman colonization spreading out to right and left of the Appian Way. Here there is an abso-

lutely regular design. A city on the coast; thirty kilometres further on, another city; another thirty kilometres and there is another town. The perpendicular routes which lead to the interior are spaced, too, at intervals of thirty kilometres, exactly as though the seashore had been displaced. I cannot make clear enough how very geometrical the scene is. It is what in America they call the "Middle West." It shows the orderly, classic, logical character of the Roman colonization. When you are at Brindisi the Appian Way seems cut by the sea. The shore along here—can it be that it, too, is displaced?

Let us take a third route, going up from Rome towards Milan and the Alps. I want to recall to your attention the different volcanic lakes which are to the north of Rome, Lake Bracciano and Lake Bolsena. In following the course of the Tiber, we have left these lakes on the left—that is to say, to the west. Here there is another rather curious sight. As you fly along the side of the hill the lakes are dominated by a little of the plain to the west, then by the Mediterranean Sea. To us the earth seems to be the essential part and the sea the exception. But when you have travelled a great deal by aeroplane you know that upon our planet it is the land which is the exception and that it is the ocean which is the general rule. The solid part of our planet takes on the aspect of an island. I must point out the beauty of these lakes. I do not express myself completely in using the word "beautiful"; I want to emphasize the very different colours of the water, different from those which we see when we are down on the earth. One can certainly compare and contrast the water of the Seine, that of the Loire, that of the Atlantic, and that of the Mediterranean seen from the ground; they are variations on the scales of blues—royal blue, blue-grey. But seen from the aeroplane, these lakes, volcanic in character, are of "metallic" water, while, on the other hand, the water of the Tiber is the colour of syrup and the mountain streams have *condensed* water. I underline this quality because it gives us a number of new conceptions as to the character of these streams coming from the colour of their water. When in the time to come photographs have been taken in colour of these rivers and lakes seen from the air, we shall get a very exact observation as to the quality of the rivers and even as to their chemical or dynamic properties.

We are now near Florence. It is exceedingly interesting to see from the air the difference which exists between Florence and Rome. Those who could fly some little time over these cities could reach definite conclusions. Rome has for her own a solid mass of mountain,

her plain, while Florence is very much at the base of the Apennines. Florence was never able to be the "centre" which Rome, from the most ancient period, became. The Alban Mountains, the Sabine, formed a barrier. Upon that barrier cities are placed—secondary personages. You search and you find the star in the centre of the scene: Rome upon her hills. The mountain rises up anew from the Roman Campagna to give birth and pretext to Rome. Rome has her aureole immediately designed—just as the Ile-de-France had—formed by a series of plains: the aureole of the Paris Basin. On the contrary, Florence is hemmed in as on a buttress. She was never able to become a centre and a capital; from that sprang her rivalries and her tragic genius.

Let us pass a last time over the Apennines and arrive in the plain of Milan. Here what interesting theories one might build upon the design in the tilled fields. Even here I cannot come to positive conclusions. But I believe that no one is exactly on the right path. We are at the stage of hypothesis. Why do the fields of Milan have this form? Why has such a manner of cultivation been adopted? The explanations lead back to history, to the language, to the social life, but are still insufficient. What I want to point out is the service which aerial photography could render. Let us constitute first of all a good collection of photographs; let us look at a great many different regions and fields and the hypothesis will spring from these studies. Thus we shall penetrate the secret of the shape of our fields.

One thing is very clear, that the transitions appear with a precision unknown when we are on the ground. I do not speak of the transition from the fields of the plain to the fields of the mountain, that is too evident; I speak of the transitions in the same plain, the transition between two ways of farming: cattle-raising and farming, the vineyards and other crops. You can trace the frontier between them as easily as the frontier between two countries.

These are suggestions which I am allowing myself to make, for it seems to me that here we might make many scientific discoveries. If, with a little method, we could photograph the natural boundaries, we could see them with an exactitude unknown to those who pass along the highways on horseback or by car.

Let us then obtain first of all exact facts as to the natural frontiers of countries. Having thus fixed the boundaries with care, we would know then whether the cultivation in a region depended upon its geology, its history, or its social life; we would know in what com-

partment we were working, while at the present time the maps cannot give us any precise indications on this subject.

The ascent above Milan towards the Alps is majestic. The view of the lakes gives us the feeling of the infinite. One of these lakes seemed to me too small on the map; it is the Lake of Lugano, between the Lake of Maggiore and Lake of Gomo. The Lake of Lugano has an extraordinary form. It has wings like a butterfly. It seems to me that the map does not give it the importance it deserves.

To fly from Milan to Zürich takes an hour and a half. After leaving Bellinzona one flies for thirty-five minutes among the glaciers; it is a symphony of motion, mountain streams, and glaciers—all is unfinished! When flying over France one has the impression that everything is settled and definitely placed, but beyond Bellinzona what chaos! The scene here is indeed a symphony.

I am convinced that aerial vision is also going to transform geology. When geologists have wings and see from another angle the moraines, the anticlinals and synclinals, they will explain to us much better the ages of the terrestrial crust. The aerial vision lets you conjecture the movements of our mountains, of our oceans and their course.

Let us return to our psychological conceptions. When we reach the Lake of Constance and the Lake of Zürich, with the memory of Italy, of its vigorous compact cities, its ochre-coloured scenery a little Mediterranean, we are struck in Switzerland by the sight of its verdure. But there is still another impression: it is not a country of meadows. Here it is another thing: the village and the surrounding fields are cut out of the forest. In Switzerland, in Germany, you have the vision of the Germanic forest, of the great historic forest. Just as on this planet the earth is the exception in the midst of the ocean, so the Germanic village and farms appear to be the exception in that great forest which commences on the northern slope of the Alps to continue on to the North Sea.

In this talk I have wanted merely to indicate some observations, many of which are still at the empirical stage, but which give some idea of the wealth of information that one may have through aerial vision.

I am going now to present to you a certain number of photographs, and before I begin I owe you several excuses. The aerial photograph is usually taken for the purpose of making maps; it is taken flatwise for certain predetermined ends. As for me, I need relief and light. The photograph can be taken with other definite ends, as, for example,

in Tunis, where they photograph the olive orchards to determine the number of trees in view of the payment of taxes upon them. The photograph can also be used for industrial purposes, as in the fisheries, where they photograph the banks of fish to transmit them to the fishing-boats. . . .

But the aerial photography meant to explain the history of a town, its sociology, its psychology, its demography, does not yet exist. It is, besides, hard enough to do because one must begin by observing the country and then come back there afterwards to take the characteristic and explanatory photograph. And then it rains or there is a mist. One can fly, but the picture cannot be taken. And then the weather is fine and one is not at liberty. And then perhaps one is free and the weather just right and one cannot take the picture of some scenery interesting from the sociological point of view, because it is a "secret" of the National Defence.

What I have learned from these photographs of Italian towns is the very regular plan of the Roman military cities. We will find that geometrical silhouette in Southern Italy, the Italy which was colonized. And we see, too, in modern Italy, the feeling for tradition, for continuity. On the Lido where we find the same perpendiculars as, for example, in military Ostia. Pescara in Southern Italy is a town of the colonized Italy. Here are the same perpendiculars; the city is established as a rectangle. The highways, perpendicular to the shore, rejoin at thirty kilometres those of other towns parallel to the coast. It is like this from Pescara to Brindisi. This geometry comes from Roman colonization; it can be found again in the American Middle West. This aerial view gives you an idea of the orderliness of the Roman expansion.

We get again the rectangular cities in parts of North Africa. I think that in juxtaposing a series of photographs of the oases of the Sahara, the cities of India and those of China, we could, perhaps, discover certain relationships which have, up to now, escaped our observation. Why does the sight of Marrakesh evoke to such a degree that of Peking? Was this design imposed by the Mongols or before that, and by whom?

Again in the modern epoch, they are building agricultural towns, like Sabaudia in Mussolini's Italy, upon the land destined

for colonizing. The present colonization has followed exactly the plan of the antique colonization, and one can say that Sabaudia is descended from Ostia. Mussolini has accomplished a task which was inscribed in the logic of the soil and of the race. The system holds together. Always for the sake of comparison, let us look at a Moroccan city, Meknes. The city of the sultans has the same rectangularity and arrangement that we found in the Sahara, in the Tafilalet and in antique Rome. By what common ancestor were they influenced?

But the relation between the palace or the castle and the farm exists also between the fields and the garden. For example, in France, in the vicinity of Paris, following the road from Paris to Orleans on a fine day, we fly over a farm of the Beauce. Seen from the aeroplane, the Beauce furnishes us many explanations on the architecture of the chateau and the parks of Touraine. That classic French orderliness can be better understood when you analyze the design of the fields of the Beauce.

Let us take another example. To go by aeroplane from Paris to Prague you follow the Marne, cross the Champagne of the vineyards to Vertus. From where you leave Paris until you arrive at Vertus you see a series of woods and forests where the clear spaces, the alleys, the parks, the "land-points" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be traced. You love France the more for these. This flight over the Ile-de-France, the heart of my country, leaves you with such a sense of rhythm, of order, of harmony, of nature disciplined by the men of the classic centuries! To understand the origin you must return to the regular design, precise and rectangular, of our farms of the North and of the Ile-de-France. Here you see alternating the farms and the chateaux. Through the aerial photograph the relation of the one to the other appears more plainly.

I must draw your attention for a moment to the configuration of the fields. The studies of different geographers in this order of ideas are not sufficiently advanced to allow us to say why the fields have in any one region such a form and such a configuration. But we can now see that France is divided into two regions, completely distinct from each other. There is the France where the fields have no demarcation, and a France of hedges. The historical explanations are as yet unsatisfactory. The contribution of the German, the Frank or the Roman does not give us the key to the mystery, nor are the geographical explanations any more satisfying: humidity, geology,

hygrometry give incomplete answers. The frontier between the France of hedges and the France of the open country can be, from now on, fixed with great precision. It is a line starting on the confines of Normandy and Pas-de-Calais, passing to the west of Chartres, a little to the north of Chateaudun, crossing the Loire to reach the Sologne, quitting to the south the central plateau and taking its way to the Saône. Numerous theories have been developed on this subject. They are still, at the present time, unsatisfactory. How does it happen that in Lorraine and in Champagne there are no hedges? The explanations which are given are contradictory; you can meet them all with arguments; but the problem is well posed—there exist two of France: a France of the hedges and a denuded France. It is the exact map of their frontiers, the photograph of the habitations and the fields which will give, after study and comparison, the elements of the answer.

Let us put side by side the chateau of the Loire and a farm of the Beauce; the main part of the buildings of the farm is the ancestor of the wings of the chateau. The haystacks have very evidently inspired the towers. The open fields, the country seen from the air offer you haystacks in series; some have remained at the "thatched" stage; the others are in store at the angles of the main body of the chateau.

When you fly over the region of Paris-Vichy, the Beauce gives you an explanation of the Bourbonnais. The Bourbonnais is like the Touraine, an Ile-de-France of rectangular chateaux. If, after this, you go to the central plateau, first of all you notice that you have left the France of hedges for that of the chestnut tree; you see another shape of village: the "cités" are circular—they are the fortified cities of Roman days. Return to Touraine and we will find that exactitude of design which we see when we cross the Bourbonnais. We have a vision of what I call the logical arrangement of the centre of France.

We have seen in Southern Italy the orderly, methodical, rectangular plan of Roman colonization, but the towns of the Italian renaissance—Sienna, Orvieto, Assisi, for example—are circular. When one comes to Bologna one has flown over the Cyprus region, and the towers of Bologna seem to repeat in their architecture the cyprus form. I have so often noticed that one finds the architectural features of a town repeat that of the landscape over which one has flown. For instance, in Northern Africa I have seen the curves of the valley of Tafilalet repeated in the arrangement of the black tents of the Arabs.

When the tribes assemble for an important manifestation, as, for example, a great fête, comparable to the fairs of Champagne, at the

Mousssem of Moulay-Idris, the tents of the different tribes are placed in a circle, in imitation of the "gourbis" in the great valley of the desert.

Again, when you fly over Athens you see between the Pentelique and the Acropolis a series of mountains which are like attempts at being mountains.

I want to terminate by some observations upon the route which, leaving Brindisi, leads us towards Greece. Certain people say that the aerial view adds nothing to what one can see of the earth, that it is much more agreeable to be on a boat upon the Mediterranean and to meditate there. For those who think thus I advise taking just once the aerial route, and to fly over Corfu.

After having left the Isles of Paxos and Antipaxos, you see to the south such perfect lines that even those who do not know their geography and who do not know the names of the mountains which they divine, have nevertheless the feeling that they are approaching the land of perfection. When, in clear weather, you see the Peloponnesus, the shores of the Adriatic, the mountains of Albania, of the Epirus, seem secondary creations. The sovereign land is down there; it is Greece. These are, together with those of Mount Fuji in Japan, the lines which are the finest in the world.

When you make this journey in the month of May you have, in approaching Parnassus, an extraordinary illusion. You do not see the buttresses of Parnassus, the blue of the rock being the same colour as the azure of the sky. Above Lepante you see in the sky a crown of snow. It answers to the conception of the ancients: Parnassus, the abode of the gods.

In flying over the Bay of Athens you see better—not the lines and the colours—but the exact geometry. Salamis seems bound to the Continent. It pushes its feelers in all directions; the islands and the peninsulas are the echoes and the answers.

Going on to the Cyclades you see the islands which seem placed on the water like balls on a billiard table. You see them all at a glance, while from a boat you would be looking only at the coast directly in front of you. These islands have very nearly all the same outline; they seem to be women lying down for a sun bath. The Cyclades are placed at hazard upon a seashore and each one is trying to obtain a different exposure. All have the profile, the silhouette of the goddess of Athens.

Go to sleep when flying over Greece. If, on waking up, you per-

ceive the islands with silhouettes like those of women you are among the Cyclades. Let us continue our voyage to Asia. When sailing one approaches Asia, and when one thinks of the word "Asia" one cannot manage to make it very concrete. Is one approaching Alexandria, Beyrouth? We see from a distance a strand opening upon the hills of Palestine, but there is no way of entering deeply into that which represents for us historic Asia.

In an aeroplane, when we have left Greece and have flown over the circle of perfection which is made up of the ancient bays, we carry away an image of order and logic. It seems that no rock could be taken away. Each island is exactly so; demolish a headland and you mutilate it. On leaving Athens you still see a little verdure; the rocks have a greyish tinge. When you have left Delos the isles become brown under the effect of the sun. These women were Greeks; they have become Bedouins.

Quite suddenly Asia makes itself felt by its colour and its line. You perceive an enormous bastion; you see the Amanus and the Taurus. You have been flying for several hours over a country of small regular valleys of that precise drawing in miniature; suddenly the massive chain of the Taurus and the Amanus appears before you, and in spite of yourself there rises that evocation of the Asia of empires, of the Asia of the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Hittites.

You understand then what imperial Asia possesses of dominating force. How can you get that impression on a boat? The eye held by the coast opposite; impossible then to seize that powerful and vigorous framework ("anatomy" if you wish) which so explains the history. You have left behind you a divided Europe, and you have before you the Asia of empires.

I would appeal to those who take the journey rather frequently from London to Paris. What a contrast between these two countries! One has been flying over a somewhat monotonous England, its indefinite meadows, at times certain points which are the golf-clubs, the thatched cottages scattered in the country. Then, after twenty minutes of the channel, France appears with her vigorous villages, crossed by the roads which join each other, which twist and turn in opposite direction, these routes which are so many nerves that run upon the earth. . . .

You have seen first the France of the chateaux, the France of the woods with land-points, the regular France as we saw it in Champagne. After Germany there appear upon the earth the different points of resistance to the Turkish invasion. The fortresses stand out, Vienna, Buda-Pesth, Belgrade, so many bastions opposing the nomads. The fortresses rise up as though underlined by history. In one place you perceive clearly the very cultivation of the farms changes its nature between Austria and Hungary, where the terrestrial voyager would think he was always on the same plain. Beyond Hungary you notice that the village is Asiatic. No more roads, only great trenches, as it were, earth roads which seem to be twenty metres wide, along which houses are camped: the villages have the air of a bivouac. The unlimited fields are parallel to the muddy track and have the air of the steppes.

The limits to the Europe of the West and the Europe of the East are definitely between Vienna and Buda-Pesth, about fifty kilometres from Vienna. There, too, the frontier ought to be photographed to determine its line from north to south.

When, after having left Yugoslavia and the Gates of Iron, you have flown over Rumania, l'Oltenia, the valleys which come down from the Carpathians, you are moved by the latinity which is again evident, the same little compact villages as those we have seen in Roman Italy. That Latin character of Rumania, so interesting from the historical point of view, springs from the vision of the soil after those visions of Eastern Europe.

The remarks which I have presented to you to-day are still in an embryonic state, but I have the conviction that this aerial information, pushed with conscientiousness in different countries, will bring us very rich results. I have recalled only a few of them.

Our observations have centred upon the form of the fields, the formation of villages and cities. They have touched upon architecture; we see better now the affiliations, we seize better the relation of the town and soil, the adaptation of a style to its country, how the chateaux of Touraine, the chateaux of the Bourbonnais originate in our farms in the Ile-de-France, how French gardens are born of our fields.

We have noted in passing what interest there could be in the study of rivers, the colour of their water, their sandbanks, their dynamism when they penetrate the ocean. One could deduce from that explanation their agricultural rôle, provisions for the future, eventually even the use of their force at their mouth.

We have signalized, in passing, the character of a country, its good or bad humour, its sky, with or without clouds.

That word "clouds" recalls to me this memory: when you fly over the Apennines and look for Vesuvius on a foggy day, you are amazed to ascertain that the smoke of Vesuvius has never the same colour as other clouds; it is always clearer, incandescent, and it is by this quality that you recognize the position of Vesuvius, even when you cannot see the crater.

From a psychological point of view numerous authors have left descriptions which are famous. But I have the conviction that certain of our political surveys, once the country is well studied from the historical or the social or the financial point of view, could not be determined without a flight. Through that we arrive at interesting syntheses.

I would not want to stop merely at that synthetic vision, for I have, indeed, the feeling that the analysis would be richer. Taking into consideration only the soil of France, we do not know all its traits, all its aspects. We do not yet know exactly why there is a France of hedges and a France of open country. We define its frontiers badly. It is aerial photography which will determine them. We do not know well where commence and where end our natural regions. We do not know why the fields of the centre, those of the east, and those of the north have such and such forms. The farmers know the importance of the question from the survey. It is the aerial observation which will be able to distinguish our ideas. Just as sociology, demography will make great progress from the moment we shall have analysed from the air the villages and dwelling-places.

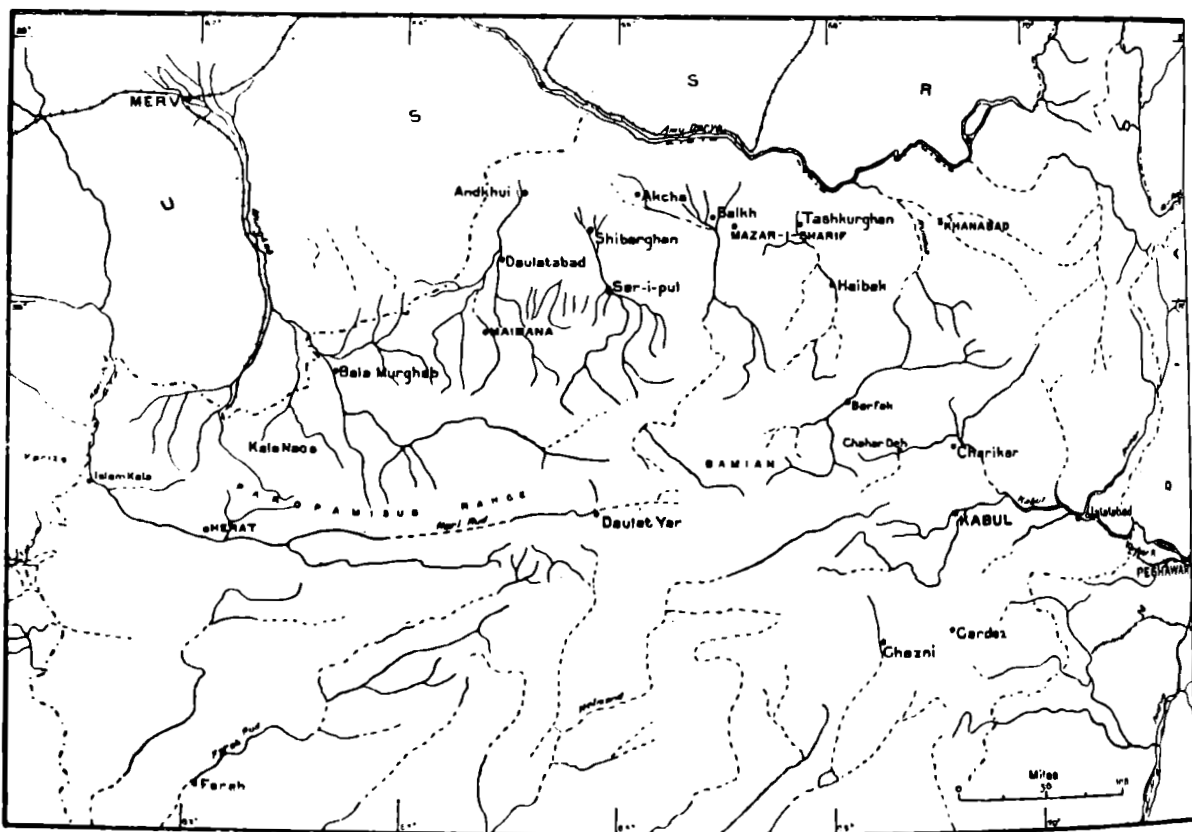
Ladies and Gentlemen, I make my excuses for having held your attention for so long. I want to thank you for your kindness. I wanted particularly to come to present to you very tentatively to-day these facts which, when they are completed, will be of value in the instruction of youth. One cannot conceive of instruction in history, in geography, in sociology without explanations due to aerial photographs.

Ladies and Gentlemen, let me thank you. I hope that in this audience many of my new friends will now have the idea of observing the world from the air. Our bombs will be our eyes. Our bombardments will be the progress of history and geography.

FROM HERAT TO KABUL

NOTES ON A LECTURE BY ROBERT BYRON

Lecture delivered at Burlington House, December 19, 1934, Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair. The lecture was illustrated with a fine series of slides.



I HOPE you will be content to listen to a very amateur account of Northern Afghanistan. I am not a specialist on the country, but went there partly because the opportunity was too great to be missed, and partly for the chance to see some good buildings. We were not by any means the first travellers in this part of Afghanistan. From Herat to Balkh our predecessors were Burnes, Stoddart (who was afterwards murdered at Bokhara), Ferrier, Vambéry, and the members of the Anglo-Russian boundary commission of 1885. From Balkh to Kunduz we were on the road followed by Marco Polo, and, in more recent times, by Moorcroft, who died there, and by Wood, the dis-

coverer of the sources of the Oxus. From Khanabad to Baghlan the road was traversed by the fourteenth-century Arab geographer, Ibn Batuta. And, lastly, M. Hackin, of the French archæological mission in Afghanistan, motored from Kabul to Herat by this route, but went a shorter way, avoiding Khanabad and Kunduz.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, when the son of Timur the Great ruled in Herat, the road from Herat to Balkh was the chief artery between the two halves of the Timurid dominions. Herat was the centre of civilization under the princes of the Timurid dynasty in the fifteenth century; along this road travelled their ministers of state, governors of provinces, architects, artists and craftsmen, merchants, pilgrims on their way to Mecca, and embassies to and from China. In course of time the splendour of Herat passed away, and to-day it is chiefly remembered as the city of Jami, the great mystic, and for the paintings of Bihzad. It is four and a half centuries now since these glories departed. The lands along the Oxus fell to petty Khans, who spent their time in raiding one another's territory. But when, in the last century, Russia began her advance into Central Asia, the Oxus frontier again became important. To maintain the integrity of Afghanistan became the great aim of British policy. In the last half of the nineteenth century the Amir Abdur Rahman consolidated his kingdom and established his authority in Afghan Turkestan. More recently, the unity of the kingdom seemed threatened with the downfall of Amanullah. But no disturbances followed the assassination of Nadir Shah, which occurred a week before I arrived in Afghanistan. That there should have been no disturbances surprised not only me, but many Afghans also.

It has been possible for some years to go by motor along the road from Herat to Kabul via Kandahar, but not until 1933 was a motor-road opened from Herat to Kabul via Mazar-i-Sherif. I tried this road in the winter, leaving Herat in November; the lorry was delayed a week, and when we finally crossed the Paropamisus range it got stuck in drifts caused by a snowstorm on the other side, in a small town called Kala Nao. Here I got dysentery. I went back to Herat and decided to try again in the spring. This I did.

The citadel at Herat was built in the thirteenth century, was destroyed by Timur, and rebuilt by Shah Rukh in 1415. The tower at the north-west angle is rather peculiar, because the pattern is in glazed tiles, while the tower itself is built of sun-dried unburnt brick. The Masjid-i-Jami, the principal mosque, was built in 1200, and is

now rather defaced by time. Arcades surround the central court, and are very like those of the Kalian mosque in Bokhara, being, I think, of about the same date. An adjacent mausoleum is decorated with Kufic stucco, said to be of the time of Ghiyas ud-Din, who is probably not the Ghiyas ud-Din of the Ghorid dynasty, but another Ghiyas ud-Din who lived in the fourteenth century, of the Kurt dynasty.

Outside Herat are the remains of one of the finest groups of buildings ever erected in Asia. Here you see seven minarets and a mausoleum. Two of these are all that is left (two fell in an earthquake), remains of the College of Gohar Shad, the wife of Shah Rukh. She was one of the greatest patrons of painting and of architecture that Islam ever knew. The India Office possesses a picture of this college as it stood before demolition in 1885, painted by a member of the Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission.

The other great building of this group was the College of Sultan Hussain Baiqara, dating from the end of the fifteenth century. This again the Afghans themselves pulled down in 1885-6, when they feared a Russian invasion. Originally there were eight Timurid princes and one princess buried in the domed mausoleum nearby. The roof of this building is fluted, like that of Timur's mausoleum in Samarcand. Mullahs still teach there, and good Mussulmans sit there to read on Friday afternoons; thus the site has still an atmosphere of learning about it.

The tiles on the minaret of Gohar Shad's college are all inset in a network of white faience, which glitters, while the tiles themselves are of silver-blue, bright blue, verdigris green, and copper colour. The Kufic inscriptions round the base are carved in the local marble.

The minarets of the college of Sultan Hussain date from the end of the fifteenth century. The tiles which face them are again set in a network of white, the rest being of light silvery blue and purple. It is the finest tile-work that I have ever seen.

Outside Herat lies the famous shrine of Gazar Gar. Its chief *aiwan* is studded with faience bosses. In the precincts of this shrine is a garden pavilion decorated with blue and gold paint. Ferrier in 1847 noticed there the signature of an Italian artist, Giraldi, who was in the service of Shah Abbas.

After crossing the Paropamisus, our car broke down and we took to horses. We rode on horseback along the gorge where the Murgab River crosses the main range of the Band-i-Turkestan, below a castle which, as usual in Afghan Turkestan, is said to have been built by

Alexander the Great. On the opposite bank we saw a camp of black tents. During this journey we came on a partridge fight. On a quiet evening in Afghan Turkestan you hear all round the crying of partridges, for partridge fighting is as popular in this part of the country as cock-fighting was with us a century ago, and all Afghans keep them. We stayed in a caravanserai at Maimena. There was a grassy meadow outside the town, and in the evenings the people used to have wrestling matches there, or partridge fights, and sit in the tea-houses and sing songs. It was a picture of what life must have been in Central Asia in the Middle Ages.

We got up to Andkhoi by hiring a lorry. Here, on the Oxus plain, we met numerous flocks of those famous sheep which produce the best lambskins in the world. The quality of their wool is due to the peculiar dryness of the scrub on which the sheep graze. Its being so dry makes the wool curl tightly. There are two kinds of sheep there: the Arabi, whose tails form a kind of doubled lump, and the Karakuli, with heart-shaped tails. At first the Uzbek shepherds were prejudiced against us, because they took us for Russians, whom they strongly dislike.

We met many Turcoman refugees from the Russian side of the frontier. These Oxus Turcomans do not wear the usual Turcoman busby, but a pointed fur cap, with a brim of a fur which I took to be otter. When I entered one encampment a woman attacked me with a stick when I tried to photograph her.

At Bakh is the shrine of Khoja Abu Nasr Parsa, the only interesting building that I saw in Balkh, although for those who are interested in Buddhist remains there are some important ruins outside the city.

The shrine of Khoja Abu Nasr Parsa is noteworthy for its corkscrew fluting and ribbed dome, typical of the fifteenth century. The colour of the tile-work is silver blue, of a paler and more silvery quality than most tile-work in Persia. The sixteen windows in the drum of the dome are latticed; the mosaic is coarse but effective. The ribs of the dome end in supports formed like stalactites. Muhammad Gul Khan, the present governor of the province, is beginning to rebuild Balkh, though he himself resides at Mazar-i-Sherif, where we stayed in a new hotel he has built. He has also rebuilt the bazaar and laid out public gardens.

The shrine of Ali at Mazar is notable for the fact that, according to the local tradition, the Caliph Ali lies buried there instead of at Nejef. It was built in 1481. Balustrades have been added to the

parapets within the last ten years. The effect, with silver finials on the blue domes, is nevertheless very pleasing.

The smaller shrines outside the town mark the graves of various royal houses, from the sixteenth century onwards. We were not allowed to enter either of these.

From Mazar-i-Sherif we went in one lorry right down to Peshawar. The roads are indescribable, and it is a tribute to the genius of our lorry driver that on the nine hundred miles' journey we had not one puncture and the bonnet was never opened. Besides the driver, who was an Afridi, we had an escort of two men as far as Khanabad. They should have left us there, but we were so sick of changing escorts, which in effect meant changing servants, as we always persuaded them to act as servants to us, that we took these two on with us.

For ninety to one hundred miles out of Mazar the road ran over level ground, then came a pass with a view across the Kunduz plain and the province of Kataghan to the Badakhshan hills—at least, in my imagination. We were here following the road traversed by Marco Polo. We had calculated our marches so that we should not spend a night in the Kunduz marshes because of the danger of fever, but the bridges across the dykes were somewhat primitive, and at one place a lorry that was crossing the bridge ahead of us fell in, so that we were forced to stay there that night. Next day we pulled it out unhurt, and it sailed away down the road ahead of us all the way. It is the custom in these lorries always to pile bales of merchandise, bedding, and so on, on the floor, and for the passengers to sit on top. Hence, if the lorry upsets, the passengers find themselves underneath, with all the weight of their bedding on top of them. The shrieks of some women led us to suppose at first that this had happened when the lorry in front of us fell over the bridge, but fortunately it was a false alarm, as the passengers had got out before the lorry attempted to cross.

We came to the Kunduz River, which is crossed by a ferry composed of two high-prowed boats lashed together. The river flows so rapidly that to guide the ferry they have a team of men swimming, with gourds tied round them to buoy them up and a rope to hold on to. Even so they can only make the point they wish to reach on the opposite bank by towing the ferry about half a mile upstream. They guide her nose out and, leaving go of the tow-rope, let the boat whizz like a bullet down the river, to hit the opposite bank with such force that we were hardly surprised to hear a week later that the whole craft had sunk.

There are Buddhist remains also at Kunduz, but they did not interest me, being entirely formless. Then for thirteen miles we crossed a most lovely plain of yellow asphodel. At Khanabad they made us an encampment in the shade of a grove of great plane trees. On asking how old they were, we were told that they went back to the "days of the Mirs," which was the only time we encountered any memory of the petty principalities of former days.

One cannot blame the Afghan authorities for the badness of the roads, because the whole surface of Afghan Turkestan, up to a height of 5,000 feet or so in the Hindu Kush, is simply earth, with no rock or stone in it. There is thus no local stone to metal the road, and it would be impossibly expensive to import it. Hence, if the road has not lately been rolled, craters form.

We eventually got stuck on the Baghlan plain by a stream that appeared to have become swollen with melted snow, and we had to remain there twenty-four hours. The lorry then entered the water, and the driver drove downstream 150 yards before an admiring audience of villagers.

We crossed the Hindu Kush by the Shibar Pass. Owing to rain terrific slides of mud had come down, and the road was bogged; we had to get fifty men to dig us out of mud three feet deep.

We reached Kabul, and, after being hospitably received by the members of the British legation, drove on to Ghazni, whose citadel has seen various British exploits. One of the towers outside the town was built by Sultan Mahmud in the eleventh century, and was originally more than twice as high as it is to-day. Its surface consists partly of brick arranged in patterns, and partly of incised stucco, and is of a coffee colour.

The present building that constitutes the shrine of Sultan Mahmud is new. But inside is the original tomb, generally covered with black cloth. I was touched to see it sprinkled with rose petals. It is remarkable that the memory of a man who died in the year 1030 should be still so vivid. The tomb is of beautiful translucent marble, carved with Kufic characters and smoothed with devotion, like the statue of St. Peter at Rome.

It was from this tomb, or rather from the former building over it, that the gates of Samunath were taken away by the English in the Afghan War. I could not help thinking that it might be a pleasant gesture if the Government of India could give them back. I do not know if it would be possible to do so. But where they are now, in

Agra fort, no one notices them and few people are even aware of their existence.

We reached Peshawar in one day from Kabul, whither we had returned, having left that town at 5.30 a.m. and reaching Peshawar at 4.30 p.m., by the road through the Khyber Pass, which is familiar to all, if not from experience, at least from photographs.

AFGHANISTAN IN 1934*

By ABDUL QADIR KHAN

IF the progress of Afghanistan cannot be judged by ordinary standards, it is because the whole plethora of events, which goes to complete the year that has just ended, has an unusual background. I am not proposing to go over the ground so well covered by better contemporary Afghan historians, in giving you details of an order of revolution that blazed in that country only a few years ago; but in consideration of affairs in Afghanistan—at least recent events there—one cannot escape the conclusion that real history has begun only since the advent of the Nadir Shah régime in Kabul.

It is, therefore, for me to remark that what I am about to mention regarding Afghanistan's progress during the year 1934 is really not a continuation of a chapter of earlier days. It is a section of that wise policy which H.M. King Nadir Shah envisaged on truly national lines. One, then, in the circumstances cannot speak of Afghan matters of to-day as a detached epoch of history; in time, it might be so, but in spirit, and, indeed, in the progress, what has happened in Kabul during 1934 is the first fruit of that noble tree which was planted by the magnanimous hands of Nadir Shah himself.

The present King, H.M. Zahir Shah, assisted as he is by such devoted servants of the nation as the Prime Minister, the War Minister, and His Royal Highness Sirdar Shah Wali Khan, now the Afghan Minister in Paris, fully bears out the expectations of his people that the great design and purpose of that much and universally lamented King Nadir Shah shall be carried on to the glory of Afghanistan.

Evidence of this we see almost in every walk of life in that country. King Nadir Shah wished for progress in international affairs, and advancement and peace at home. The events of 1934 have fully vindicated that hope.

For various reasons it is necessary that the army of the country should be efficient. Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan, the War Minister, has seen to that. Every effort is being made to reorganize the army on efficient and modern lines.

The nature of the country demands that for the army to be effective its transport must be perfect, and therefore we see that two large depots

* Lecture given on January 23, 1935, Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Chair.

for the rapid transference of troops have been created recently; one in the northern and the other in the western section of the country. Apart from the repair of older frontier posts, a new one has been built at Zulfiqar on the Afghan-Persian frontier.

A department at the Afghan War Office to tackle the science of military survey has been installed; cadet colleges and barracks have been built; older ones repaired; a school for military music is now in existence; a translation bureau for military books and tracts has been created; many new instruction books have been issued. A monthly journal called the *Afghan Military Review* is one of the publications issued by the War Office.

In the civil matters an equal amount of progress is shown. The Police Department, both for investigation and domestic, has been thoroughly reorganized, and the Passport Office at Kabul is being run on modern lines.

A great deal of reshuffling in the matter of consolidating the provincial cohesion has been undertaken during the year in question. Certain districts, which in former years hung rather loosely to provinces and did not facilitate the smoothness of administration, were adjusted to their proper sections, and a whole new province in the north, with Shabrghan as its administration centre, has been created.

Many buildings which had suffered during the revolution have been repaired, and rest houses have been built at outlandish places, both for travellers and government officials. The municipalities of various towns were further the object of attention, and sanitary arrangements have very considerably improved. The old town of Farrah in the western section of Afghanistan has once again come into its own by having now a new hotel, cleaner bazaars, and a Town Hall of its own.

Nearly two thousand miles of good roads have been laid, and now for the first time travellers can journey from the northern provinces into Kabul by cars.

The Law Courts are to function now according to legal procedure as laid down by the Shaya. There were 160 cases tried by the Supreme Court, 5,612 by the Law Courts, and 73,084 in the Lower Courts.

I shall speak of the wealth of the country later, but would mention that the finances of Afghanistan are in excellent condition, for the Budget is balanced in spite of the fact that 9 per cent. increase has been made in it due to the newer and more vigorous education and reconstruction items which the Government instituted last year.

Educational enterprise has shown a marked improvement, for

several new schools have been opened in the larger towns, more schools repaired and built. Archæological finds are housed in a museum; ancient and historical buildings are being preserved as national monuments; and a very large number of Afghan students have been sent for higher education abroad, either to Paris, Berlin, England, Scotland, or America.

As agriculture and trade go hand in hand I shall deal with them jointly. Regarding agriculture, I am happy to say that the year has been good; the Government has installed experimental farms, dairy farms, and colleges for forestry. The Research Department of Agriculture has added a new section for locust-pest research, and now three branches of it exist, at Mazar Sharif, Kataghan, and Badakhshan. The Afghan Minister in London and myself had the honour to represent the Afghan Government at the Locust Conferences held in London.

In regard to trade, a very important step has been taken in Afghanistan by the creation of a National Bank. It exists in virtue of a Charter granted by H.M. King Nadir Shah. The bank has direct connection with many European centres, and its branches in India are doing business at Quetta, Karachi, and Peshawar. Because it is the only banking organization in the country its importance is obvious.

Since the creation of this bank the Government has been empowered to issue banknotes valued at 5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 Afghan currency up to 19 million Afghanis. The installation of this bank is a great step forward in transmitting monies to and from the Afghan territory, because prior to King Nadir Shah there were but ancient methods of exchange transactions, inasmuch as the local Hindu bankers used to remit such monies by means of Hundis to their correspondents in Peshawar. All this is now being done by the Afghan National Bank.

Its predecessor was the Shirkat Ashmi Bank, but in 1932 the Government decided to increase the capital from 30 millions to 36 millions (about £820,000), reserving 35 per cent. for the Treasury. The first instalment of the rest of the 65 per cent. was floated the year before the period under review, and the second in the spring of last year, with which the National Bank of Afghanistan started its business in infinitely greater magnitude than before.

Only two or three such Hundi exchange transaction men now ply their trade in Afghanistan since the birth of the bank; but it is not only in this direction that its interests lie, because it now has the issue of the Afghani notes, the purchase of the bullion for the Mint, also the monopoly of sugar, within its province, as well as the purchasing of

all imports for the Government and priority of exploiting the natural resources of the country. No one but the Afghans can purchase shares in the Afghan National Bank.

Turning now to other improvements in Afghanistan, I might mention such matters as the creation of various factories in Kabul which are turning out building material: ginning factories, printing presses, sugar manufacturing enterprises; even an effort is being made at paper making. In the realm of public health, too, we find advancement, for in every village of any size public dispensaries are opened; a medical faculty has been added to other faculties in the Afghan National University, and the good work which the Rafqi Sanatorium has done for the people needs no praise from me.

It was the desire of the late King to keep in good relationship with his neighbouring countries, and also to take every opportunity of adding the Afghan goodwill and endeavour to any international effort for promoting world peace. That programme is faithfully carried on by the present Government, for not only in the Disarmament Conference, but in the Assembly of the League itself Afghanistan has now entered to pull her weight.

Regarding the entry of Afghanistan into the League of Nations, which occurred last September, I might enlighten my hearers in one or two respects, for her last-minute entry into the League has made many wonder.

Geographically Afghanistan is so situated that she has, during the development of the Middle Eastern diplomacy, figured conspicuously. Sandwiched between two very powerful empires like England and Russia, that mountain country of 10 million well-armed and devout Moslems had formed a buffer State even much before Napoleon's project to make a Franco-Russian Alliance for a sweep upon India through the historic Khyber Pass. The Czarist Russia and Imperial England time and again had bargained for Afghanistan's friendship, as on one side that country barred the gates of India against Russia, and on the other hindered the English approach on the Chinese frontier from abutting too closely on the Russian territory.

Only for a brief period during the Great War this rivalry between England and Russia in Asia was lulled, because Czarist Russia was then the ally of England, but with the Red Revolution the threat was supposed to be even more accentuated. In all these difficult times Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, was as great a cock-pit of Asiatic politics as was the Court of Sultan Abdul Hamid in Constantinople.

The heritage of these remarkable diplomatic moves was to be received by the ex-King Amanullah in 1919, when his gallant Commander-in-Chief, Nadir Khan, won independence for his country. It was then realized in Afghanistan that a new era had dawned in the land-locked kingdom of the Afghan Amirs, and that the future programme of the people, very largely furthered by Nadir, was towards a national progress on right lines.

On ascending the throne, the very first action of Nadir Shah was to re-establish international friendship with the neighbours of Afghanistan and to strive to the full capacity to promote the various activities in Afghanistan.

With peace and plenty thus having become an established fact, Nadir Shah, his son—the present Afghan King—and his lovable brothers in Kabul, turned their attention to the international aspect of Afghan politics. The progress of world economics was felt in Afghanistan; other factors, too, which go to make up the complexity of modern times made it imperative for Afghans to enter the world arena, both in regard to peace movements and in respect of economic developments.

At the Disarmament Conference Afghan's voice was lifted in no uncertain manner towards the reduction of armaments. In short, the internal peace of Afghanistan, which is the result of a logical conclusion of the service of the present Nadir Shah's régime of selflessness, made it necessary for the nationals of that country to throw in their lot in all movements calculated to bring about contentment and progress amongst mankind. The coming of Afghanistan into the League of Nations fills in a gap in Asian politics, which prior to its entry into the League was considered as a weak point in the League's armour; for if the League is to be made effective it should be universal, and its universality in Asia is perhaps as important as its universality in Europe; for no one can seriously doubt that the cultivation of peace in Europe alone cannot maintain the peace of the world; in that respect Asia must be an active co-operator.

Situated as Afghanistan is as a bridge between such important empires as that of England, Russia, China, and Persia, it was but necessary that she should be welcomed in a joint effort; for, as His Excellency Ali Mohamed Khan said so well in his address at Geneva: "Afghanistan's entry into the League is of consequence, because by tradition and belief we are wedded to maintain peace in the world"; and with this gap having been filled I do not conceive any reason why the peace and progress of East and West may not now be complete

for generations to come; and that, ladies and gentlemen, Afghanistan has performed during 1934, with happiness at home and cordiality abroad.

MEMBER: How far have the changes made in Afghanistan by the Government of King Amanullah been permanent?

Mr. QADIR: Amanullah Khan wanted to make these changes too rapidly, irrespective of the traditions and conditions of life in Afghanistan. No doubt the present Government is not too conservative. We wish to have the science and the best knowledge of the West to help us. But such changes as Amanullah Khan wished for, such as the abolition of the purdah, are too much a matter of mere fashion, and are out of the question.

Brig.-Gen. Sir PERCY SYKES: May I take the opportunity of saying that when I was Consul-General in Khorasan I met Afghans constantly as I looked after their interests. I admired their virility. The great Amir Abdur-Rahman once remarked to Sir Mortimer Durand that on virility you can graft anything. As the lecturer has told us, under a wise Government progress in the natural way can be assured. But putting people who sit on the ground into European clothes is a mistake. The clothes get all out of shape, and are most unbecoming. Again, the people of Afghanistan are deeply religious Moslems, and to attempt to crush religion is doomed to failure.

On the other hand, people who are virile are obstinate too. And I am sure the King has had great difficulty in getting them to do what is wanted, and to develop the country along the right lines.

Has the new district been taken from Badakshan?

Mr. QADIR: No, but altered to the best advantage. Now it is under the direct control of Kabul.

Mr. MORRISON: I may perhaps be allowed to mention that only fourteen days ago a new science laboratory was opened in Kabul. It is said to be particularly well-equipped, certainly the best equipped laboratory in the Middle East.

MEMBER: How far are tourists encouraged to visit Afghanistan?

Mr. QADIR: That would first depend on the tourist. (Laughter.) But supposing him to be a person who is acceptable to his own Government, and that his passport is in order, the present Government of Afghanistan has tried to give every facility to visitors to the country,

that his stay may be as comfortable as possible, and to help him in every way as long as he is in the country. And many visit Afghanistan; not only merchants and those who come on business, but writers, artists, tourists, or Civil Servants from India, like Mr. French. He travelled from the Khyber to Herat, and he told me that it was a safer journey than to cross Piccadilly. (Laughter.)

Mr. MORRISON: What is the present position in the motor trade between Peshawar and Kabul? Formerly garages dealt individually with customers in Afghanistan, but last summer it was impossible to deal except through the big Government trade agency; the lecturer will know better than I do what its name is. Also I should like to ask if the lecturer can tell us what was the result of the Exhibition held last year in Kabul?

Mr. QADIR: The name of the agency is the Sharket-i-Motarani. There is now the Afghan National Bank, but Mullahs would not allow interest to be taken on loans, therefore in the earlier days this was not called by the name of "Bank," but that is what it corresponds to among Western peoples. The Sharket-i-Ashami Milli Afghan controls the export trade. Every car must have a license. All foreign companies must deal directly with the Sharket. This is no disadvantage to them, for formerly they dealt with individuals who lacked the capital and backing to buy as extensively as a Government bank can do.

The Exhibition, which was organized by the Afghan National Bank (the Sharket-i-Ashami) was a great success. All the goods exhibited were sold, and goods from British India, which does much trade with Afghanistan, led the business. There were also German, French, and American exhibitors. We hope for another Exhibition soon. I was given every facility to do business with British exporters, but they said that the time allowed was too short. Textiles, electric machinery, textile machinery, and leather goods are very popular imports.

Mr. C. G. HANCOCK: Will the lecturer tell us, now that Afghanistan has joined the League of Nations, if there is a branch of the League of Nations Union in Afghanistan, and if the League is popular in the country?

The LECTURER: The League of Nations is very popular in Afghanistan, because to the average man the League has a policy which strives for peace. It is not so much criticized as over here perhaps; the Afghans do not go into its various failures, but they see it as the best effort yet made towards maintaining world peace. Afghanistan is now

represented at the Olympic games. And perhaps through the Afghan Home Office, if the gentleman who asked this question would like to start it, a Branch of the League of Nations could be organized. Most probably a certain section of the population would welcome it.

QUESTION: Can the lecturer tell us if there will be another Exhibition at Kabul this year?

The LECTURER: If you had asked me this before I would have said Yes, but now I cannot say.

MEMBER: Why is there no representative of Reuters or of *The Times* in Afghanistan?

ANSWER: We are quite willing to have a representative of *The Times* or of Reuter at Kabul if anyone would like to go there. I imagine that they think their representatives in India are sufficiently well supplied with news.

QUESTION: Can you tell us if the road from Kabul to Herat is in good condition?

The LECTURER: A road already exists, and is in working order in the winter months, but is not so much used in the summer. Between Kabul and Kandahar the road is always open, and is a good road. Between Kabul and Mazar-i-Sherif the road was formerly in a very bad condition, but a proper road has now been constructed on that section, and one now takes two days to do a journey which formerly needed twenty-five days. This has been organized in the last two years.

QUESTION: May I ask if I was right in understanding the lecturer to say that the exports of Afghanistan were more than the imports?

ANSWER: No. What I said was the opposite; the imports exceed the exports. The country has to spend money to buy necessities abroad. As you know, Afghans must pay for these goods in rupees in India, or sterling in Britain. Since the exports from the country do not equal the imports, this affects their currency. And if exports could be increased, the currency would balance better.

CHAIRMAN (Sir Michael O'Dwyer): If there are no further questions, I must congratulate the lecturer on behalf of the audience on having answered his questioners in a thoroughly Afghan manner. The Afghans are a race who know what they want, and know how to get it. Mr. Abdul Qadir Khan has given us a remarkable and interesting account of affairs in Afghanistan in the last year. And it must be very gratifying to him to know that his lecture has led to so many practical questions.

It is gratifying, when so much of the world is suffering from economic and political troubles, to us to hear of the progress of Afghanistan under the late and the present King, loyally assisted by his three very able uncles. They are fortunate in three things: they can balance their Budget; there is no Public Debt; and the Afghan National Bank, in the first year of its existence, paid a dividend of 28 per cent. I thought of that as an attractive investment, but when I heard that shares were limited to Afghan subjects my hopes failed.

The present Afghan Government knows how to harness Afghan energies to real progress. Most of us who knew Afghanistan in the old days had in our minds the soliloquy of the Amir Abd-ur Rahman in his palace at Kabul, where, according to Sir Alfred Lyall's poem, he says:

Shall I stretch my right hand to the Indus
That England may fill it with gold?
Shall my left beckon aid from the Oxus?
The Russian blows hot and blows cold.
The Afghan is but grist to their mill,
And the waters are moving it fast.
Let the stone be the upper or nether,
It grinds him to powder at last.

Well, those days are happily long gone by. To-day Afghanistan is completely independent. And we as the rulers of British India rejoice in that independence, for a strong and friendly Afghanistan increases the security of India. Her Government is successful in maintaining friendly relations both with Soviet Russia, with ourselves, and with Persia, and her decision to join the League of Nations can only be to the good. As the lecturer said, you cannot achieve world peace with only the assistance of the European nations. Peace is needed in Asia also, especially just now in the Far East; and we welcome the help of Afghanistan in the maintenance of peace in the world.

The lecturer gave us some interesting information about the reception of tourists in Afghanistan. Those who have read a very interesting book, *An Eastern Odyssey*, recently written by three French travellers, will see that they received warm hospitality from both officials and non-officials on their journey through Afghanistan. Mr. French also, of the Indian Civil Service, to whom reference was made just now, did a daring journey through Afghanistan two years ago, and speaks of the very great courtesy and the almost overwhelming hospitality that he met with not only from officials, but from all classes.

I am sure that you will join me in thanking Mr. Abdul Qadir Khan for the lucid and interesting way in which he has told us of conditions in Afghanistan to-day.

The LECTURER : Our British friends here to-night have taken such a keen interest in Afghanistan that I leave with pleasant memories. But we want you to go there for your sport, your travel, and your pleasure, and we will try to make you welcome.

THE REINDEER TUNGUS OF MANCHURIA

By E. L. LINDGREN

Lecture given on February 20, 1935, Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair.

In opening the lecture Sir Denison Ross referred to the Chinese and Psychological Triposes which Miss Lindgren had taken at Cambridge, and said that in order to equip herself for these studies she had travelled a great deal. In olden days it was enough for a man to travel to entitle him to come home and write a book. Then he had to do some shooting and bring home some heads; but it is a much more difficult thing nowadays: one must photograph the beasts, and every traveller seems to take a ciné-camera as part of his equipment.

IN this lecture I shall try to give a picture of Reindeer Tungus life as I came to know it in the course of three visits to the north-western corner of Manchuria.* Although there are now less than thirty families of this tribe in Manchuria, they have held so tenaciously to their own language, religion and material culture that they richly reward ethnographic research.

The little that we know of their history refers to recent times. It seems that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Reindeer Tungus living in the Yakutsk Government in Siberia were constantly losing their best hunting grounds to the Yakuts, a more aggressive tribe with an aptitude for trade. Many Reindeer Tungus migrated towards the Amur country, and one group finally settled in the virgin forests of north-western Manchuria, their descendants surviving, in diminished numbers, to the present day.

Since then almost their only contact with the outside world has been through their barter trade with Cossack settlers, whose villages have sprung up along the Siberian frontier at various times since 1644, when they first appeared in this region as exploring marauders. After the Russian Revolution many Cossacks left Siberia and settled on the Manchurian side of the border, soon building up new villages of solid log houses like their former homes and resuming their old occupations. They not only engage in agriculture and keep horses, cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens, but add to their income Tungus-fashion by hunting fur

* The lecture was illustrated by a film and slides from the author's journeys to Manchuria in 1931 and 1932. The film was photographed by Mr. O. Mamen. The lecture has been slightly rearranged and amplified for publication.

animals and, in the spring, the male wapiti, the antlers in velvet being highly valued by the Chinese as medicine.

The traditional trade with the Manchurian Reindeer Tungus is also carried on by these emigré Cossacks, who in winter travel on sleds over the snow-covered ground and frozen rivers to appointed meeting-places in the woods, bringing flour, cloth, tea, tobacco, lead, gunpowder, sweets and alcohol to the Tungus in exchange for their squirrel and other skins. In the summer months, when the Cossacks are busy in the fields and unwilling to enter the mosquito-infested, swampy forests, the Tungus come for what they need to the Cossack villages, which represent all they know of sedentary civilization.

It was through these Cossacks, who know the few paths that intersect the swamps and forests of the Khingan valleys, that I was able to find the nomadic Tungus. On my first journey in 1929* I followed the right bank of the Argun River until reaching Chuehrkanho, a Manchurian village of emigré Cossacks opposite the old Siberian settlement Ust-Urov; then turned eastwards into the forests, and finally came upon two groups of Reindeer Tungus living on lower right-hand tributaries of the Bystraya River. After observing their mode of life in summer on this visit, which was curtailed by shortage of food, I was anxious to study their activities at other seasons. My second journey was made in the autumn, two years later, and benefiting by information gathered from Tungus and Russians I succeeded in taking a much more direct route, starting from a village in the Three Rivers District and crossing to the Bystraya basin from one of the sources of the Gan. No surveying has been done in this part of Manchuria, and the course of the long and tortuous Bystraya River is quite incorrectly shown even on Russian maps.

Winter had already set in when I found two Reindeer Tungus tents encamped on an upper right-hand tributary of the Bystraya. In one of them was a shamaness called Olga, a very clever woman, both respected and feared by the other Tungus. After hearing the call of the spirits she had studied her profession thoroughly under an old shaman of the Kumarchen,† whereas some untrained members of her tribe also claiming shamanistic powers only exercised them, she told me, when intoxicated.

* See *The Geographical Journal* for June, 1930.

† A Tungus tribe living east of the Reindeer Tungus, along the Kumara River. See S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social Organization of the Northern Tungus* (Shanghai, 1929), pp. 71-74.

Olga and her husband, a successful hunter, were prosperous by Reindeer Tungus standards, having a fine herd of deer and reserves of flour in their storehouse. They had no children, and it is said in North Manchuria that famous shamanesses are always childless. Olga had adopted a little boy, however, when she heard that he was being ill-treated by his stepfather. At the time of my visit the other members of her household were an orphaned niece and nephew and a young man who helped to look after the deer.

The second tent was occupied by a widow and her children. The two households nomadized together, and Olga's husband or nephew assisted the widow by putting up the framework of poles for her tent at each new camp site. The widow hunted squirrels, however, like the men, leaving her ten-year-old daughter to do an adult woman's work during her absence. This little girl hauled logs into camp, chopped them up for firewood, brought large blocks of ice from the river on her back, and meanwhile kept an eye on her younger brother. I once saw her go down a steep bank for water on a dark night, at a new camp where the lay of the land was quite unfamiliar to her; but when I remarked on this self-reliance to the shamaness she said that any four-year-old would do the same. When Reindeer Tungus children wander off into the woods to play and are gone for a long time their elders show no anxiety, and babies are allowed to play with sharp knives, the mothers assuring one that accidents never happen. Parental authority is sometimes defied very much as in European families, however, for I have seen two little boys calmly continuing to do gymnastics on a fragile horizontal pole from which tea-kettles and cooking pots were hanging while their mother shouted at them indignantly, but ineffectively, from inside the tent.

The shamaness was quite willing that my party should nomadize with hers provided that our pack-horses always took the trail far ahead of their reindeer, which would otherwise be frightened. The squirrel-hunting season was in full swing, and in order to find the maximum number of squirrels the Tungus frequently moved their camp. On these occasions the women spent all the hours of daylight looking for and packing the deer, proceeding to the next camp and there unpacking again as night fell. With the thermometer sometimes dropping to 48° F. below zero at breakfast-time they found these constant exertions very arduous and often complained of the cold and their restless life. It is not surprising that many Reindeer Tungus suffer from rheumatism.

When the Tungus move the men always walk ahead to blaze the

trail and prepare a new camp site, usually shooting a few squirrels and hazel-hens on the way. First, however, the pack- and riding-deer must be caught and haltered, for they scatter far in their search for moss, and the journey is sometimes deferred until the next day because one of the larger animals has not been found. If there are many deer to pack and too few women in the household to do the work alone, one of the younger men remains behind to help them. Such exceptions to the ordinary division of labour between the sexes illustrate the essential *reasonableness* of Tungus customs. Thus a widow hunts squirrels for the support of her household in spite of the fact that hunting is definitely a masculine occupation, and a man is said to be willing to assist his wife at childbirth if no woman is on hand to do so. Olga told me with horror of how a Kumarchen woman, when about to give birth to a child, is required to live all alone in a separate tent some distance from her fellow tribespeople; they do not help her in any way, even when moving camp, until the child is a month old. "In that tribe a woman's life is pure misery," said the shamaness.

When all the deer have been caught and tied to a nearby tree or shrub, they are led one by one to the neat row of packs and saddles beside the tent. Every pack- or riding-deer has its own saddle and halter, which are only transferred to another on its death. A reindeer saddle consists of carved bone or wooden V-shaped pieces at each end and a wooden framework at the sides which is covered by cushions stuffed with elk hair. A little rug made of elk head-skins bordered with bearskin is thrown over the saddle, and another is used to protect the whole pack from the weather if there are enough rugs to go round. Next come the saddle-bags. Those containing flour, which must be kept dry, are made of two layers of birch bark covered with deerskin, but others are made of skin only. The heavy elk- or wapiti-skin bands covering the lower part of the Tungus tent in winter are folded and bound by thongs into the shape of saddle-bags. The cloth bands covering the upper part of the tent are treated likewise, various small objects being tucked inside. Kettles, low tables, squirrel carcasses, birch-bark boxes for crockery and, in general, all fragile or inconveniently-shaped things are fastened on top of the packs. The cases containing shamanistic images are placed as far as possible on pure white reindeer.

A small baby is tied in its cradle and then packed like a saddle-bag, carefully balanced against an equal weight on the other side. The reindeer on which it is loaded is sometimes attached some distance away from the mother in the long train of deer which she leads on the

trail. Slightly older children sit astride on top of a pack, but are bound to it so firmly that they cannot move; while still older ones ride only part of the way and help with the deer. The Tungus reindeer in Manchuria are much tamer than those of the Lapps and many other tribes, but intractable animals do occur and cause disturbance when they form part of a train of deer, sometimes numbering twenty-three in one string, as it winds through the forest. Therefore when a shortage of flour and game or the necessity for a shamanistic sacrifice forces the Tungus to slaughter some reindeer, these are usually the first to be chosen.

There are always many halts on the trail, for packs must be readjusted after every steep climb or descent, and the owners must always assure themselves that the yearlings, which run loose, are following their mothers. If the calf is not in sight the home-made wooden clapper or purchased cow-bell on the neck of the parent reindeer is sounded until the calf, recognizing the sound, comes running up.

Meanwhile the men have chosen a new camp site and are busy putting up the cone-shaped framework for the tents. The poles are made of young larch trees stripped of their branches and neatly tapered off at the top. Other Tungus tribes use roughly-fashioned poles and allow them to project unevenly above the tent, but the Reindeer Tungus show a sense for careful craftsmanship, order and beauty in all their work. Their high standards were sometimes an inconvenience when I was trying to complete my ethnographic collection, for Olga, in particular, would not allow me to acquire any old and shabby objects, if new ones were lacking, to represent her tribe abroad.

When the framework of the tent is finished the men clear the snow from the future dwelling, spread larch branches all around and make a fire in the centre. They spend the remainder of the time in collecting dead larch trees as firewood; the Reindeer Tungus never burn birch, which they say smokes too much.

The train of deer does not reach the new camp until it is growing dark. The men help to unload the pack animals, releasing all but the few cows which can still be milked, while the women hurry to unpack the bare necessities of life in the short winter twilight.

If the Tungus move to a camp site that has been used before, they are free to use old tent poles, ovens, or anything else that they may find there, whether the former camp was theirs or not. Similarly, a canoe put on a laying-up frame for the winter can be used by another family the following year if the makers are living in another part of the

country. Individual possessiveness is strikingly limited with regard to the products of the chase, which are divided equally among all the households at the successful hunter's encampment. But this does not apply to squirrel skins, and in other matters the Reindeer Tungus have very definite ideas of personal property; thus a woman has full rights over her dowry and anything she makes herself. Theft is unknown.

Every Tungus family has one or more dogs, but they take no part in the care of the reindeer. In squirrel hunting they are invaluable, however, chasing the squirrel to a tree and barking at the foot of it until the hunter comes up. The best dogs, such as those that trail elk or bear, have usually been trained by the Cossacks, who sell them to the Tungus.

On winter days when the Tungus are not moving the men are out hunting and the women at home baking bread. This they accomplish with a frying-pan before the open fire in the middle of the tent, but it is a long task and the draught that comes through the door with any visitors is very unwelcome. In summer, when the Tungus remain several weeks at one camp, they use a simple outdoor oven made of large stones, sometimes putting up a shelter to protect the drying bread from passing showers. The bread is leavened and has an excellent flavour.

A Russian woman told me an interesting story concerning methods of baking bread. Some years ago she and her Cossack husband, who was fleeing from justice, took refuge among the Reindeer Tungus and followed their mode of life for a year. She said that it took her some time to learn the art of baking bread Tungus fashion, and at first the open fire scorched her face and hands. Later, when she was living in an emigré Cossack village, all the inhabitants were obliged to flee from bandits and camp out in the woods, suffering great hardships. She was able, however, to teach the incredulous Cossack housewives how bread can be baked without the traditional Russian oven, and this proved a blessing to the refugees. Thus a circle of cultural borrowing was completed: the secret of bread-baking, which the Tungus learned from Russians generations ago, was returned to the latter in a new form, adapted to nomad life, when they stood in sore need of it.

The Tungus have no festivals, but "holidays" from work and routine are provided by the winter meetings with the Cossack traders in the woods, the summer visits to the village, and finally *shaman performances*. These take place when someone is ill, when a hunter wishes to know what his luck will be, when the first green appears in the spring, or simply when the shaman feels "called" to perform.

While I was camping with the Tungus, Olga decided to shamanize in order to learn from the spirits whether her husband would soon kill an elk, and also whether a Cossack trader imprisoned by the Chinese was still alive.

Two families nomadizing not far away joined Olga's encampment so that they could take part. A whole day was devoted to the preparations. A reindeer was slaughtered and the partly cooked meat and blood were placed on a special platform as an offering to the spirits. This was all done by men, and Olga's husband brought the shaman costume into the tent through the spirits' section, opposite the door, which is taboo to women.

In the evening as many adults and children as could squeeze into the tent witnessed the ritual dressing of the shamaness by her male assistants and the performance that followed. She danced, drummed and sang, the audience taking up the refrain at the end of each theme. Questions were put to the shamaness through her assistants and were answered by means of a curved stick which she threw on the ground: if the concave side came uppermost the reply was interpreted as favourable.

This performance lasted only two hours, but I have seen a shamaness in another tribe continue for more than eight hours. In any case the dancing is a feat of endurance, since a shaman costume weighs about forty pounds and the headdress is surmounted by heavy iron antlers. Olga's dress was made by various members of the tribe. The widow had embroidered the broad chamois leather panels and Olga's brother, a skilful smith, had forged the iron pendants representing spirit-animals and parts of the human body. Small sleigh-bells, which add to the clang of metal when the shamaness dances, were obtained through the traders.

Early in the nineteenth century the Reindeer Tungus and other Siberian tribes were nominally converted to the Russian Orthodox Church, reductions in taxation proving a strong inducement. Since then the Tungus have used Christian names and patronymics in the Russian manner, but Tungus nicknames survived and, since the Revolution, have been used for children whose parents are not able to find a priest to baptize them. Most Reindeer Tungus families have ikons, which they occasionally hang up in their tents. When an elk, wapiti, wild pig or bear is killed, however, the old shamanistic images are still taken out and some of the cooked meat placed before them. I have never seen the symbols of the two faiths in evidence at the same time, and the shamaness seemed to recognize their incompatibility

when she said of the Kumarchens: "Of course they have good shamans, because they have never been baptized." Yet Olga herself has been baptized and married by Christian rites and owns three ikons!

During the weeks I spent with this group of Tungus they had been camping in high valleys where reindeer moss abounded but little grass could be found, and my visit was brought to a sudden end by the critical condition of our horses. In spite of forced marches back to the Gan River, where oats awaited them, three died on the trail. In the light of this sad experience I have given much thought to the problems involved in nomadizing with the Reindeer Tungus during the colder months of the year. The Tungus have too few deer to supply travellers with pack-animals, and dogs would have to be brought from afar; horses are the only means of transport at hand. They could survive much longer if they were allowed to graze on the larger Bystraya meadows after depositing the ethnographer with the Tungus, but men must be left to watch them. The ethnographer would have to live in a Tungus tent and carry his cameras, bedding, etc., from camp to camp, rejoining the horses after his studies were completed.

This is reckoning without the Tungus themselves, however, for they do not decide in advance what direction their migration will take, and what few plans they have they never communicate to each other. This reserve is even kept up between neighbours setting out from the same encampment for two days' hunting in the summer, and no questions are asked although curiosity runs high. Etiquette also protects the returning Tungus hunter, who is permitted to enter his tent, change his footwear and drink at least one cup of tea before anyone ventures to inquire whether he has, at last, killed anything or not.

On my third journey to the Reindeer Tungus I followed the same general route as on the second, and spent part of May and June near a five-tent camp on an upper left-hand tributary of the Bystraya. Here I found the widow and Olga's two brothers, one of them a smith; but Olga herself was nomadizing elsewhere.

Tungus smiths forge keen blades that even the Cossacks and Chinese are glad to buy. I had brought two bars of steel with me, since the Tungus have difficulty in obtaining it, and Olga's brother set to work to make a long knife called "utkan" for my collection and another for himself. In the skilled hands of a Tungus an "utkan" does the work of a plane, making boards thin and smooth enough to form the curved top of a cradle; it also takes the place of an axe in cutting down small trees.

Women are not allowed to approach the smithy, which is set up in the area back of the tents where the spirits are thought to reside. The professions of shaman and smith are closely associated in some Siberian tribes, and it is therefore of great interest that this Reindeer Tungus smith should be Olga's brother. Their grandmother was also a shamaness.

In the comparative leisure of summer days the Tungus made several things for my collection, including a pair of skis. Pine wood is used for these and they are very broad, with elk-skin covering their lower surface. Three young men undertook to construct a model canoe, but they found it very difficult to make the various parts in correct proportion and finally gave it up in disgust. The smith later succeeded in completing a very small one.

Meanwhile Olga had gone for provisions to her storehouse, some distance away on the other side of the Bystraya, and there she found a message from her brother saying that my party had arrived. The shamaness and her husband immediately set out for her brother's encampment and we were all happy to meet again, renewing the friendship formed during our winter wanderings together.

They had crossed the Bystraya on reindeer-back, but the following day the river began to rise, cutting off their return. As there was no canoe stored in this region, the Tungus were forced to make a new one. For this they needed large strips of birch bark, which had to be sought far from camp. The bow and stern pieces, gunwale and ribs were made of pine wood and fastened to the bark with larch roots and wooden pegs. Larch sap was used to stop up cracks.

In two days the canoe was finished, and after drying for another day it was carried by young men to the Bystraya bank. There the reindeer were unloaded, five of them tied together in a string and then gently pushed into the water, while a man in the canoe held the halter of the leading deer. The reindeer swam easily and almost overtook the seven-yard-long canoe, which is so narrow and shallow that it must be handled with great skill, keeping the bow upstream. When all the deer had crossed, the Tungus and the packs were taken over in several journeys and I went too, as Olga had asked me to pay her a visit. We reached her camp the next morning.

It was a joy to see her fine herd of reindeer again, now augmented by a number of handsome calves. At this time of year there is a sharp change in the behaviour of the reindeer. In May and early June the deer scatter much farther than in winter in their eager quest for the

first green blades of grass, and the women often spend hours in rounding them up. In summer the deer are seldom needed for transport, but the cows must be milked and the new-born calves cannot be allowed to stray. The calves are tied near the tent during the day to accustom them to human beings and to prevent their taking all the milk, although a generous share is left to them until they are old enough to nibble vegetation.

After the middle of June the picture changes. Midges, mosquitoes and gad-flies begin to plague the reindeer and they come to camp daily of their own accord to seek the protection of smoke. The Tungus make smudge fires banked with moss, and around these the reindeer lie panting until the cool of the evening, for they suffer as much from the heat as from the insects. The summer climate of Manchuria seems to be too warm and damp for the reindeer, and the larger animals often sicken and die at this season. About twenty-five years ago all the reindeer in Manchuria were lost in an epidemic, and for many months the Tungus had to live in Cossack villages, the men working in the fields and the women doing domestic service. But as soon as they had saved up enough money they bought new reindeer from Siberia and returned to their nomad life. When I asked the Tungus which they liked best, the village or the forest, they always answered, with a glow in their faces, "The forest, of course!"

Sitting in a Tungus encampment on a sunny day in June, it is hard indeed to think of a pleasanter life. The birch-bark bands that cover the tents in summer are tastefully arranged in alternating strips of brown and white, and the draught through the opening at the top keeps the interior free from flies and mosquitoes. Children play among the branches of a fallen tree or swing on an improvised seesaw. Young men sit about and talk, whittle at something with their knives or try a little pole-vaulting. Women sit under a tree with their sewing or bake bread in a leisurely manner. If the men are all away hunting or have gone to the village to trade, the women sleep late and seem in a very carefree mood, drinking tea out of doors with the children. The bright Manchurian light filters through larch and birch trees onto the reindeer lying by slowly smoking fires, and so the hours slip by.

For me they slipped by too fast. Towards the end of June the many swampy valleys that lay between us and the outside world were thawing rapidly and would soon become impassable for months. Once more I left the Reindeer Tungus with deep regret, hoping to come again.

QUESTION: I should like to ask if the lecturer can tell us whether the Tungus are the descendants of the almost pre-historic peoples who are supposed to be the ancestors of both the Japanese and the Chinese?

LECTURER: I am afraid I cannot say. Undoubtedly there is much in common between the Tungus and the Koreans, but I know very little about that.

Sir DENISON ROSS: If there is no one else who wishes to take advantage of the opportunity to ask questions, there are one or two points that I would like to notice in the lecture to which we have had the pleasure of listening.

It is very remarkable that these people have succeeded in maintaining so much of the spiritual element in their lives. There must be something very unusual about the hidden character of this tribe, that their ancient shamanistic faith has still survived, and that they have such a devotion to their wandering life, as Miss Lindgren has so well brought out. Perhaps, too, some Buddhism may lie below their faith, but of that Miss Lindgren will know more than we can do.

I think the picture of the building of that canoe deserves to rank with the film *Man of Aran*.

It is interesting, too, to note how the Russian settlers and the Tungus have come in contact with one another, and yet there is a total absence of any influence of the one people on the other. A mediæval writer, speaking however of Turkestan as far as I could judge, tells a tale I remember of people, possibly Moslems, who used to deposit their goods on a river bank once a year; and how another tribe, of women, used to come across, take the goods, and leave their own on the bank in exchange, without either group ever meeting the other.

I will now ask you to join me in a very hearty vote of thanks to Miss Lindgren for the interesting and delightful evening she has given us.

FOREIGN TRADE AND THE SOVIETS

By G. G. SERKAU
(of Canada)

Meeting at 72, Grosvenor Street, on February 7, 1935, Brig.-General S. V. P. Weston in the Chair.

FOR the present and for some time to come the matter of Russian industrial development will hold considerable interest, not only for men engaged in international commerce, but for most nations of the world. Russia at this time, as is well known, is under construction, and will continue to be so for many years unless some major unforeseen external disturbance creates a total change in the present programme. A country such as Russia, comprising nearly one-sixth of the total habitable part of the globe, with a population numbering over one hundred and seventy millions, while in the course of industrial development and construction, naturally requires materials and commodities from every part of the world, and in very large quantities.

Those who recall the period of construction in the North American continent, in the United States following the period of the Civil War, and in Canada from the year 1890 to the year of the Great War, will recall the enormous amounts of monies and materials that were used and expended. Some impression of the magnitude may be gained from the fact that the construction of the Canadian railways alone cost in the neighbourhood of four thousand million dollars; so that the interests of industrialists and tradesmen of the world are centred on Russia, with a view to obtaining profitable business there during the period of construction. Perhaps even of greater interest to the business of the world to-day is the speculation on the part which Russia may play in the commerce of the world when development of its industries arrives at the stage of competing for a part of the world's business.

From what is commonly known of the present social and economic system in Russia, it would appear at first sight that world industries should have to consider competition from Russia with commodities produced by the State, which can, if necessary, offer merchandise on the markets of the world in the manufacture of which the value of native raw materials, labour, and perhaps interior transportation would

not have to be considered. From a study of the present situation, and from indications of the trend of development in international commerce, I am persuaded that while some branches of Russian industry will in the future command some share of the world's markets, it will not be on a basis destructive to efficient industry of other modern exporting countries.

In Russia to-day all industry and commerce is carried on by departments responsible to some one or other of the Ministers of the Government. Materials, labour, and transportation are paid for in the currency of Russia in terms of roubles; however, all transactions being quite purely interdepartmental, the matter of costs and profits becomes largely of book-keeping importance only. Foreign trade, both import and export, while based on gold roubles of pre-war standard, is really carried on in foreign currencies of the various countries with whom the trades are consummated. For the present, at all events, those who have purchased Russian commodities will know that the Export Department has no desire to sell below prevailing markets. It is, of course, natural that a country under construction always requiring a much greater volume of imports than it can possibly export during the same period, the value of exports is exceedingly important. Other factors, it would appear, will in the near future dictate for Russia a policy of trade with other countries at prices such as will assure reasonable returns to industries of other countries operating on a system different from that which obtains in Russia.

The progress to be made in Russian construction will depend to a great extent on that country being able to negotiate substantial foreign loans on moderately long terms. Inhabited by a huge population, the home market requirements are enormous and ever-increasing. There are compelling indications that the Government of Russia is anxious to improve the living conditions of the people, both in the matter of dwellings and food and wearing apparel. The present conditions of world markets, the low values of commodities, and the time required for the development of exportable commodities will of necessity keep Russian exports at a comparatively small money volume for some time to come. Taking into consideration the huge requirements of foreign commodities, and the great efforts exerted by the Russian Government to export all possible surpluses, the total trade of Russia to-day is not large. The returns for the first ten months of 1934, as shown by a report in the Moscow Press, were somewhat in excess of five hundred million gold roubles—at the present rate of exchange in the neighbour-

hood of one hundred million pounds sterling, though it should be noted that this volume presents substantial increases over former years and will, of course, vastly increase if foreign loans can be made.

Of the nations trading with Russia to-day, the United Kingdom enjoys a preferred position, both in volume and in class of business—a position formerly held by Germany. Imports from the United States have been materially reduced, due perhaps to credit conditions there; while exports from Russia to the United States have been quite uniform for several years, in the neighbourhood of three million pounds sterling per year. Of the remaining trade with foreign countries, a substantial business is carried on with Central and Eastern Asiatic nations, and on a much smaller scale with Southern European countries and South America.

The two departments engaging the most attention of the authorities at the present time are transportation and agriculture. The vastness of the country, climatic conditions, the distances to ports, and the establishment of heavy industries at points distant from each other and from interior markets, are making enormous demands upon the transportation facilities, and while much effort is being exerted in construction of both rail and inland water modes of transportation, that service is vastly over-taxed, and presents a problem.

In agriculture area under cultivation is being increased. The matter of yield, while responding to some extent to cultivation and fertilization, is, of course, subject to natural elements and varies from year to year. Another branch of agriculture, however, equal in importance to field crops is the production of farm animals, particularly the bovine herd.

The Russian agricultural records appear to indicate that even before the Revolution Russia's bovine herd was insufficient for the population—that is, if all the people were to live on a diet of meat and dairy products. The Great War and the Revolution naturally further depleted the herds. Agriculturalists know well that a bovine herd, once depleted, is extremely difficult to build up without the importation of additional foundation stock. The Russian authorities having expressed determination that meat and dairy products should form part of the diet of all their people, a large number of breeding cattle will probably have to be imported. The shortage of cattle is further very keenly felt in the leather production. Requirements for footwear alone for the Russian population are naturally enormous.

While economic experiments of a revolutionary nature are being carried on in a number of other countries of the world, up to the present

Russia still presents to the student a most interesting study. To the student of international economics, causes which brought about the Revolution in Russia were evident. Without being either a Communist or a reactionary Capitalist, one is intensely interested in following developments in the Russian experiment. Time and circumstances naturally bring about changes, and one hopes that the people in Russia will be permitted to develop and improve conditions which a reasonable faith in human nature would lead one to expect.

There appears to be a feeling in Russia that Japan's intentions cannot be definitely gauged, and for that reason much effort is being exerted in preparation of defence against possible invasion. That preparation alone to a country under construction is, of course, costly and detrimental, while an actual invasion would disrupt and interfere with development, and would be a pity at this stage.

I do not subscribe to the opinion that the successful and economic development of Russia under the present system presents a threat to the British Empire. I do not share the belief that the capitalistic system of the world has failed. It must, of course, be admitted that men have failed; in some cases government policy was erroneous and detrimental. It must further be realized and admitted that abuses under the capitalistic system have been permitted to work detriment to the interests of the people as a whole. However, for the British Empire at all events and for many other countries, constitutional changes in government policy and more ethical practices among men of business can restore most countries of the world to more prosperous conditions.

I do not believe that it is necessary as yet for governments to supervise industry and commerce within the nation. I am strongly persuaded, however, that the matter of foreign trade requires both governmental co-operation and guidance. Departments of trade and commerce of modern governments will probably have greater importance in the future. The foreign trade of a country will surely be directed into channels which will assure purchases by nations from those countries who in turn are purchasers of their products. It is therefore conceivable that a country whose foreign trade is properly directed will have little cause to fear competition based on lower prices only.

After a number of questions had been asked, the Chairman thanked Mr. Serkau for his extraordinarily interesting address.

Mr. Korostovetz has submitted the following note with regard to Trade and the Soviet.

THREE ASPECTS OF TRADE WITH THE SOVIETS: MORAL, POLITICAL,
AND COMMERCIAL

Trading with Soviet Russia is not like trading with other countries. This is due to the fact that the whole structure of the Soviet state is anti-capitalistic.

In dealing with the Soviets three sides of the question must be kept in mind. One is the moral side, for when commercial transactions take place between countries and systems which have, as I consider, diametrically opposed points of view on questions of social structure, religion, and private property, then the imponderabilia of morals becomes a dominating factor.

For instance, the inclusion of the so-called "Fall clause" in the timber transactions with the Soviets is a proof that the character of commercial transactions between countries regulated by the same system of economic life and commercial habits must be changed when one of the parties to the transaction is the Soviets. For in an open market one cannot compete with a country where virtual slave-labour is employed. Even with "safeguards" such as the "Fall clause" harm is done, as is proved by the repeated protests lodged in London by the British Dominions against trading with the Soviets.

Then again, Russia acts as one huge Monolite concern, owing to her rigid laws of state commercial monopoly. Therefore, in considering the parties to a commercial contract we must take as the contracting parties, on the one hand the whole Soviet Russian state, and on the other the Government of some other state—for example, that of the British Empire. The more so, that commercial transactions with the Soviets deal in credits guaranteed by the Governments of the countries with which the Soviets have their commercial or trade dealings. Government credits are a burden on the taxpayer, and therefore concern the country as a whole, and not merely this or that trading company. One should also consider such factors as the "dumping of goods," whose detrimental effect we already know.

Secondly, to come to the political aspect, in *The Times* of January 31, 1935, we read: "The Communist Executive Committee announced again its intention to hold a World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in the near future (the first since 1928). The announcement states that the Congress will draw up a new programme for sections of the Comintern situated in other countries, in connection with an "impending new period of revolutions and wars . . . and the establish-

ment of the Soviet system over the whole world." This is the direct answer to the question: Why the Soviets need foreign currency. Therefore the safeguard, in self-protection, should be the application of the principle "No credits, no adverse balance, but barter of goods." The figures of your Board of Trade returns will show you that since the existence of the Soviet Union the balance of trade between Great Britain and the Soviets has never been unfavourable to the Soviets.

Thirdly, to treat of the commercial aspect of trade between the Soviet Union and other states. Here two points are worth examining: firstly, the question of debt; and secondly, the predominance in all transactions of the political issues.

The Soviets bluntly refuse to recognize all previous debts. Negotiations with other countries about Russian debts have been drawn out by the Soviets into lengthy pourparlers, until it finally became apparent that the Soviet's intention is but to employ methods to lull the other side into a feeling that it is hopeless to try to recover arrears of debt, while in the meantime the Soviets hope to receive further credits. The American case is typical here, to quote *The Times* of January 31, in its news from Washington: "Mr. Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State, after a brief conversation with M. Treyanovsky, the Soviet Ambassador, to-day, announced that in view of the present attitude of the Soviet Government he could not encourage the hope that any agreement on the problem of Russian debt was now possible. He added, 'I say this regretfully, because I am in sympathy with the desire of the American manufacturers and agricultural producers to find a market for their goods in the Soviet Union, and with American citizens whose property has been confiscated. There seems scarcely any reason to doubt that the negotiations, which seemed so promising at the start, must now be regarded as having come to an end.' Mr. Hull added that it would be for the Board of Trustees of the Export and Import Bank, which was organized for the purpose of extending credits to assist expansion of American trade with Russia, to determine whether or not there was any good reason for continuing the bank's existence."

It must be noted here, that previous to the recognition of Soviet Russia by the U.S.A., the latter's exports to Soviet Russia were five times as much as her imports from Russia, but that the export balance swiftly fell when recognition had been acquired by Russia. Mr. Bulitt, the American Ambassador at Moscow, was known for his Communist sympathies, and therefore one could be sure that there was no ill-will towards Russia on the part of the American authorities. The explana-

tion of the decline was that political, and solely political, aims are the object of that commercial concern called the Union of Soviet Russias. Since Mr. Hull's declaration, the U.S.A. Government has cancelled the post of Consul-General of the U.S.A. at Moscow, and a number of their official posts there also.

Then again in the case of the Lena Goldfields, the Soviet voluntarily submitted to an arbitration, and then paid up only three million pounds instead of the thirteen million pounds fixed on by the arbitrators. This is practically equivalent to a default, like the payment by a bankrupt concern of "so many shillings to the pound" to its creditor. In this case the debt was incurred, not by the previous Government, but by the Soviet Government itself, and yet more, the machinery which they acquired was not returned to their creditor.

There have been also many foreign concessions which started work, and then were forced into liquidation by the Soviets at a considerable loss—such, for instance, as the Harriman Tchaia-touri Manganese Concession, the Krupp Manitch concession, the Reinbaben Concession, or the Meloga Timber concession. And besides all these, and others like them, pre-Hitler Germany invested hundreds of millions of gold marks in Soviet finance and commerce, of which, as both Germans and Russians frankly admit, over 700 million marks were lost. The German and British taxpayers bear this loss, since the money was raised by pre-Hitler Germany on loans in this country.

To maintain credit in spite of such transactions is a feather in the cap of Soviet propaganda, but it is a slight exaggeration to call them sound business methods.

Since Russia as a commercial concern acts now as one indivisible unit, let us, according to commercial custom, investigate her capacities as a debtor.

Soviet Russia is an agricultural country *par excellence*, and therefore in the long run it is agriculture that must be called on to supply the bulk of her assets as a debtor. A well-advertised Soviet publication called *Russia of To-day* (January, 1935), ignoring the slave-work on the collective Soviet farms, has published the statement that Soviet Russia has 240,000 tractors at work in the agricultural paradise called the Soviet Union; also that the Soviet Government controls over 200,000 collectivist Soviet farms, on which are settled 15,000,000 families.

I agree with Stalin and Lenin in thinking that statistics are but a bourgeois invention, and a means of persuading your adversary that you

are right and he is wrong. But here, to meet the Soviets on their own ground, we should consider another statement, not this time in *Russia of To-day* but in the official report of the Soviet Commissar of Agriculture, Yakolew, which he read in his speech at the Seventeenth Communist Congress, that "the fact that practically all the tractors are in need of capital repairs shows how seriously an improvement of the work is required in this field." Stalin, at the same Congress, had to confess it "to be necessary to the temporary reduction of the sown areas." And the *Isvestia*, the official Soviet paper, says "28,000 tractors should have gone through repair workshops in October, 1934. How many actually went? Scarcely 1,700." In the region of Odessa, the main wheat-producing area, "7,000 tractors required repair. How many are there? 70." According to the *Isvestia*, No. 277, "more than 120,000 tractors would have been due to be repaired, but only 7,370 passed through the repair workshops, being 5.9 per cent. of the plan."

I could cite dozens of such Soviet official statements. And then what of the cattle, horses, pigs, sheep: an essential factor in agriculture? Here the figures show the mismanagement of the Soviet concern. Horses, cattle, sheep, goats and pigs have diminished in number between 1916 and 1934 by 50 per cent. Someone, unknown to me, published in the *Everyman* for January, 1935, what he saw in the Ukraine, formerly called the "granary of Europe." Here he quotes a formerly prosperous landowner as saying, "In the best of cases, with a specially lucky harvesting year, we could obtain a profit of 1 to 2 per cent."

Soviet Russia is an agricultural state; one cannot get away from that fact. Her Five Year Plans of industrialization are not succeeding. Her credit should be only that of an agricultural country. Nevertheless, the Soviet Government succeed in discounting their bills at 3 per cent. and 5 per cent. interest per month. Either the progress of the Communistic state is such that it can afford to pay such interest, or it is a system of robbing Peter to pay Paul. I leave it to you to decide how far that is a sound proposition in the long run.

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN THE TURKISH LANGUAGE

Discussion held at 77, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, on March 18, 1935, opened by Sir Denison Ross, C.I.E.

SIR DENISON ROSS opened the discussion.

I wish that this afternoon we might discuss everything, excepting politics, that is connected with the recent changes that have been brought about in Turkey; for instance, even such changes as that the weekly day of rest has just been altered from Friday to Sunday.

I would like, firstly, to say one or two things about the grounds on which Mustafa Kemal Pasha has had to work. First, such changes as he has made could only have been carried out within the limits of the new Turkish Empire. The change in language is the most obvious of these. The Turks are reasserting their national identity, and are connecting that with their national past. But if Arabia and Syria had been still connected with Turkey, it would have been interesting to see how such changes could have been applied to Arabic, too, as have been applied to Turkish.

A second thing in favour of this linguistic reform is the study of the old Turkish language. A really adequate dictionary of the Turkish language was published for the first time in 1914 only. That shows how recent our information is on the subject of old Turki.

It is interesting to think of similar things that affected the other changes that have been brought about. But there, too, it is the national locale that made the change possible, even where, as in the case of the law, the Swiss code on which it is modelled is no new thing.

Side by side with the experiments made to invent a universal language, such as Volapuk, Esperanto, Ido, and the rest, attempts are being made to simplify the English language in the hope that it might ultimately be adopted throughout the world as a second language. Seeing that the main difficulty in English is its spelling, new models are constantly being put forward both in England and abroad, notably in Sweden, where the promoters of the Anglic system, as it is called, have a large following and publish a journal. The advocates of spelling reform in England, though a divided camp, have been sufficiently united, under the leadership of Sir George Hunter, to ask the Minister

of Education to appoint a commission on the subject, but hitherto without success.

In recent years Mr. Ogden has attacked English from another angle and has proposed a simplification of the language by means of a reduced vocabulary. With less than 1,000 selected words, he maintains—and has indeed proved by specimens—that every idea can be expressed in what he calls basic English. Foreigners might find this language easier to learn than “high English,” but it would be hard to persuade any Englishman or any foreigner knowing English to *talk* in this unnatural way.

More recently Mr. Follick has combined the two experiments and put forward in his last book, *The Influence of English*, a simplified spelling and a simplified grammar. His simplified spelling is open to the same criticism as most of the others—Anglic being possibly the best—while his simplified grammar is an attempt to reduce a kind of “pidgin” English to a regular system, whereby all irregularities in our grammar, notably in verbs and pronouns, are transformed to the lowest possible degree of simplicity and uniformity, offering a grammar as regular as that of Esperanto, and therefore unlike any known real language in the world! The idea is certainly original, but it could only be welcomed by those who already talk “pidgin” English, whether in China or Africa.

While these experiments are being put forward in regard to English, the Turkish language is undergoing the most radical change ever met with in any language—not by way of experiment, but by official decree. The Ghazi Mustafa Kemal, not satisfied with having successfully replaced the Arabic alphabet by the Latin, is now engaged in replacing all foreign words in Turkish by words of purely Turkish origin. To change the alphabet merely required the preparation of a system of transcription into Latin and a presidential decree. To change the vocabulary was a far more elaborate undertaking, and this is being carried out with the same thoroughness which characterizes all the reforms of the great Turkish Dictator. A few years ago a Society for the Study of the Turkish Language was formed, and this Society in turn set up a special committee to carry out the following programme: (1) To collect all the real Turkish words found in the written language and used in the vernaculars; (2) to record all the forms found in words of Turkish origin; and (3) to find substitutes for all the foreign words—Arabic, Persian, or European—employed in Turkish, especially in the written language.

This programme necessitated the scrupulous investigation of all the existing dictionaries of all varieties of Turkish, such as Chagatai, Tartar, Azarbaijani, etc., and of the published works, both prose and verse, in these dialects.

The Central Committee to this end selected fifty scholars living in various parts of Turkey to examine over 200 books and dictionaries, each scholar having one or more allotted to him, and to forward to the Central Committee, on cards, all the Turkish words they found, with their meanings, and, in the case of living dialects, with their exact pronunciation.

At headquarters in the University of Istanbul another committee of more than seventy scholars was appointed to control and arrange all the cards thus received: to compile a list of all the foreign words hitherto employed in modern Turkish, and finally to prepare a dictionary of these foreign words, placing after each of such foreign words Turkish words which could be fairly regarded as synonymous with it. The Turkish equivalents are arranged in alphabetical order and the same reference is given for each.

This colossal task was begun in January, 1933, and by August of that year over 125,000 words had been received.

The Committee of Control having completed their part of the work, the Society for the Study of the Turkish Language (*Türk Dili Tetlik Cemiyeti*) have now issued the first fasciculus of the result obtained, under the title of *Tarama Dergisi*, or the "Arrangement of Combing," which covers 160 pages. There is a long preface, explaining the process employed, enumerating the scholars engaged, and describing the books consulted. The first instalment of foreign words with possible synonyms only occupies 60 pages, and extends to the word "Bürhan."

The *Tarama Dergisi*, of course, only represents the first stage in the introduction of the purist vocabulary: it now remains for the best equivalents to be selected and approved. Copies have been sent all over Turkey and to many individuals outside, with the request that the following questions be answered: (1) Have you noticed any omissions or errors? (2) Do you know of any pure Turkish equivalent either in books or in the vernacular other than those given in the *Tarama*? (3) Which of the various equivalents here given do you consider the most suitable and best adapted to our language?

It will presumably take long to publish the complete list, which will, of course, run to many fasciculi; and the final decision as to the best equivalent or equivalents will offer great difficulties. It is important

to notice that the Society contemplates the retention of a certain number of foreign words which have, as it were, naturalized—as, for example, *bakhshish* and *bulbul*.

In the case of many words, the list of equivalents, sometimes running to thirty, is very large, and one wonders on what principle the final selection will be made, though in some cases it seems clear even to a foreigner that the choice will be obvious. I cannot, of course, here enter into details, but one or two examples of special interest may be given.

“God,” being Arabic, is included in the list, and no less than seventeen equivalents are recorded; among these are fine old Central Asian words like *idi*, lord; *münkü*, immortal; and *tanri*, the sky. The Persian for “bravo!” is *āferin*, and it is amusing to find among the suggested equivalents *okhay*, which can hardly be claimed as of Turkish origin, as it is almost certainly our “O.K.” which crept into an obscure Turkish dialect, and was there recorded by Radloff in one of his numerous dictionaries.

Long before this Society began its operations a widespread nationalist movement was already on foot to rid the language of its Arabic and Persian loan-words; but in finding substitutes for them French was almost as often indented on as Turkish, and thus hundreds of new words were passing into use which were not to be found in any Turkish dictionary. For the moment there can be no useful purpose served by publishing a new dictionary. The latest one I have been able to procure was a Turkish-German one, printed in 1931, and there are literally dozens of words employed in the *Tamara Dergisi* not to be found in this dictionary. For a foreigner words like *anket* (enquête), *abonman*, *kontrol*, *fish* (fiche), *not* (note), *program*, *gramer*, and so forth, offer no difficulty, but they must seem strange to uneducated Turks. Under the new reforms they will all disappear again, and in the present fasciculus Turkish equivalents have been found for *abonman* and *anket*.

No similar experiment on so extensive a scale has, as far as I am aware, ever been attempted. It would be difficult to determine how many Arabic words have been used by Turkish writers in the past, but practically any Arabic noun or adjective is potentially admissible, and the proportion of Arabic and Persian words hitherto used in everyday Turkish is certainly well over 50 per cent., for they include nearly all abstract ideas, and most of the terms connected with administration, government, religion, and the law. This preponderance of Arabic elements in Turkish is due entirely to Islam and the prestige and

influence of Arabic learning. For although Turkish is a very rich language, its vocabulary is one of nomads rather than of town-dwellers, and when the Muslim Turks came into contact with the West, they took to expressing the new ideas in the ready-made terms of the Arabs, as did also the Persians: thus the purely Turkish element remained stagnant and no advantage was taken of the immense possibilities which this rich agglutinative language offers for the formation of new words and compounds.

The nearest parallel to this nationalization of the Turkish language is to be found in Germany, where efforts have been made from time to time to enforce the use of German compounds in preference to words borrowed from other European languages. In the early days of chemistry such words as *Sauerstoff* (oxygen), *Wasserstoff* (hydrogen), and *Kohlenstoff* (carbon) were introduced, and have held their place ever since.

The Arabs had once the same problem to solve. There was almost no literature and less medicine in the "Days of Ignorance." Yet out of the Arabic of desert nomads who were concerned only with such subjects as camels, stars, and love, it became possible to supply accurate equivalents for everything that they later wished to translate from Greek. The terms of philosophy and medicine were evolved from this vocabulary, and everything in Aristotle can be accurately rendered in Arabic.

Similar things can be done in Turkish.

With regard to the change of alphabet, it may be noted that adopting the Latin alphabet has increased literacy by 80 per cent. People feel it is possible to become literate now that they have an alphabet in which the vowels are indicated.

The alphabet, which is otherwise very good, has one single serious defect: the "i" is written without a dot. If for the broad sound of "i" one had employed the character "i" with one dot, and for the narrow sound had used an "i" with two dots it would have been far better. For in using a Western fount of type, you can easily add a dot, whereas you cannot take one out. While in writing by hand, where the "i" has no dot such a word as *mini* becomes three "w"s.

A third problem is the question of syntax. Turkish syntax is the most uncomfortable thing in the world. Someone with a mastery of Turkish can string 35 phrases on end, but no Turk is in the least astonished if he does not understand an article written in Turkish until it has been explained to him. He regards a letter or a book in much

the same way that an Englishman regards a legal document, as something that no one can expect to understand without help. It has been suggested that the relative "ki" should be inserted, or else some conjunction, since it is because it has no relative pronoun that Turkish is so difficult to follow.

SEDAT ZEKI BEY: Do you dislike the use of the reversed circumflex on the "i" when it is an ordinary "i" without a dot?

Sir DENISON ROSS: I have no objection to any sign that makes the letter clear. But the "i" without a dot or other mark above it is ugly, and confusing to read.

Sir RONALD STORRS: How successful is the creation of new Turkish words, as compared with the creation of new words in Arabic? Have they as good a word for "aeroplane" as *Taiyara* in Arabic?

SEDAT ZEKI BEY: Yes, they have "Uchaq."

Sir RONALD STORRS: Is there the usual wrangle in Turkey as to whether the word "telephone" should be used, or some new word evolved?

Sir DENISON ROSS: In that particular case they are fortunate, since "tel" in Turkish signifies "wire," and therefore "telyazi" is recognizably similar to the word "telephone."

Sedat Zeki Bey, in answer to a question, said that the word "microscope" would probably continue to be used in Turkish. Ali Riza Beg preferred the use of "uchqu" to "uchaq" for aeroplane, but other speakers said that the latter was far more commonly used.

SEDAT ZEKI BEY: I have recently written a paper, in *La Revue Internationale*, suggesting the use of a relative pronoun or a connecting particle in Turkish. This paper I have sent to a number of people, including men whom I know in the Turkish services. The answers I have received have not been very encouraging. One of my friends replied that he would rather kill himself than use "ki." He said that the genius of the language forbade the use of a relative. I replied that the genius of a language was a "Valhalla" into which I had not penetrated, and that the question was really chiefly one of habit. And one might form the habit of using a relative in writing.

Then someone else, rather treasonably, said that Turkish must remain a second-class language, that it was only suitable for primary and middle standards of education, and that higher education should be taught through the medium of English, French, or German. The élite would all master a second language, and the common people required no more knowledge than could be conveyed in simple

colloquial Turkish. I answered that the important thing in any country was to produce genius. That, no doubt, was very difficult to do. But the élite of a country is formed by circumstances, the advantages of birth, money, position, and so on, which give it its opportunity. And you limit your race if the ideas of higher philosophy and so on can only be expressed by those who have command of two languages. In every country it is genius that produces its *milieu*, not the *milieu* that produces the genius.

Sir Ronald Storrs supported this view.

Qadir Bey spoke of it in rather a deprecatory way, as it seemed to me. He wrote: "It is extremely interesting to find that you have had the intuition to hit on the very points used by the Kudatku Bilig."

I answered that it was not intuition but comparison with other languages that had led me to make these suggestions. He went on to say that he had tried to write in the new way (without saying whether it was myself or the Kudatku Bilig that inspired the attempt), but that when he did so write, everything came out like blank verse.

That seems to me profoundly stupid, because if you put the verb at the end of the sentence a certain rhythm is bound to appear.

A young man of European (French) education and outlook had an article in the *Milliet*. He quoted, on the subject of my proposition, Agha Ahmad, a scholar who had received a Russian education, and was a man of outstanding ability, who wrote a book criticizing the Turkifying of the Turkish language. He said that there was no such thing as a pure language. We could not make up a purely Turkish language. He added further that the syntax was an important part of the language, and spoke of an article in which he had written that our form of thought was Turkish even if every single word were not so.

Sir DENISON ROSS: When there are so many reforms that are imposed by authority and have to be accepted, it is very easy to understand that people will rebel against a further reform that is suggested by the man in the street. Major Burton said that the new movement seemed to be a turn easternwards in Turkish thought, whereas one would have expected it to be more natural, when the language was now being written in the Western alphabet, to adopt French words.

Sir DENISON ROSS: They are not, however, adopting foreign Eastern words. Many of these words do belong to themselves. It is rather as though there were a part of the world in which Anglo-Saxon were still

being spoken, to which we might turn for pure English words. The Turks wish to be Turkish while becoming more European. There is really no reason why they should not do both.

SEDAT ZEKI BEY: Compare, for instance, the Germans, an Asiatic race stranded in Europe, whose proper civilization is nevertheless Latin.

SIR DENISON ROSS: There is a contrast here with the Shah, who said that all Persians must wear the Pehlevi hat; whereas Mustafa Kemal said that all Turks must look like anyone else. Myself I would like the fez. But I appreciate the justice of the remark made to me by the Shah, when I regretted the passing of the shepherd-boy's round cap: "We are not here to be picturesque."

Dr. MINORSKY: There remains very little to be said on the subject, yet I would like to show in what a difficult situation the Turks at present are. In France, when hydroplanes were first introduced, when they landed they could not say "atterrir"; they had to say instead "amarer" (or on a lake "alaquer.") The situation is similar when we in England are trying to find a word for one who employs "television."

In their own interests, cannot the Turks learn from the example of the English and the French? How can they find suitable expressions for such new inventions as "films"? The best way is to proceed first by imitation, and by loaned words: the way that was followed by Russia in the time of Peter the Great when they adopted many German words. It may not, however, in some cases be easy for the ordinary bourgeoisie to introduce the necessary nasal sounds of some French words, since these do not already exist in Turkish. It is quite reasonable for the Turks to see in old Turki the words that they want. Since in old Turki there were no case endings for the nominative case, such words can easily be taken over into modern Turkish. For the genius of the language depends rather on syntax than on words. Many old words have atrophied, because they were replaced by Arabic words, but if revived can easily be assimilated. Again the language remains the same, however many foreign words are introduced. But changing the Syntax may well spoil the language from an æsthetic point of view.

The use of "ki" is quite usual in some dialects. But to reduce the language by not using the great possibilities of expression that it possesses seems to be a pity. Whom does it advantage? The Germans were not prevented from developing philosophical ideas by the fact that in Schopenhauer a period may sometimes extend to two pages. I would stick to your gerunds (which I call participles) which other

languages lack. The language of the peasants is simple enough, and learned men can understand the more elaborate constructions.

Sir RONALD STORRS: Is there any regret anywhere for the Arabic script?

Dr. YAHUDA: I am sorry that they have substituted the Latin for the Arabic script, since the latter is the most decorative script in the world. Besides that, I find that my old friends, when they meet Turkish written in the new script, have to transcribe it back into the Arabic script before they can read it.

Sir RONALD STORRS: That only affects the first generation after the change has been made. I know that in Cyprus Government publications in the European script had to be forced on people in my time there, whereas now that Turkish is written in Latin characters these publications are acceptable everywhere.

Sir DENISON ROSS: You saw that King Fu'ad suggested that capitals should be introduced into Arabic?

Dr. YAHUDA: It is a waste of time and energy to substitute European words for the old Arabic terminology. There is a great Turkish literature written in this language. Why bring in also words that have not been used for 700 years?

SEDAT ZEKI BEY: The criterion of a language is the production of thought. What have these adopted Arabic words enabled us to produce that has any true value?

Major O'LEARY: When Professor Minorsky said that peasants use simple words—and clever men can understand anything—he did not think of the many foreigners who tried to learn Turkish and could not, because the old complex phrases are not suitable for the needs of modern life, and also because Arabic tri-literal roots had no form or shape in Turkish, and could not be pronounced as they should be for differentiation in Arabic. These new changes make Turkish very much easier for foreigners to learn.

SEDAT ZEKI BEY: The Arabs like synonyms, which we took over *en bloc*, without preserving the nuances of their meaning. The Arabs, for instance, have half a dozen words for "intelligence," but Turks used any of them indifferently merely to avoid tautology, and quite disregarding the shades of difference between them.

As for the relative, the common people use "ki" and "ki o" all the time. All Rumeli—the most Europeanized Turks—also put the verb before the complement constantly.

Dr. YAHUDA: Are you coining new terminology in all school books?

SEDAT ZEKI BEY : Yes.

Dr. YAHUDA : I am afraid that after twenty years you will return to the Arabic words in medicine and geography and in other sciences. The greatness of a language does not consist in being original, but in its power to assimilate foreign words. But it is unfortunate that in modern Turkish there is an imitation of European phrases.

The Arabs also, in their time, went back and collected words from Arabic dialects in the second and third centuries A.H. to enlarge the language. It is a very sound thing to do, but in coining a new terminology *they* did not mind taking over words from other languages until they had made the Arabic language one of the greatest and the richest of all languages.

Another speaker : I think that the movement in Turkey is a Westernizing movement and implies de-Easternizing. The Eastern element has been represented by Arabic and Persian elements. Hence they wish to eradicate Persian and Arabic words and to replace them by Turkish roots, and when importing they import French or other European words.

Major O'LEARY : The ancient Turks adopted Arabic words, because at that time they were in touch with Arabic civilization. But now that they are in touch with European civilization they prefer French words, which are more easily pronounced by Turkish throats, especially as the Arabic words formerly employed were not generally understood. For the rest, the movement is like our own movement in favour of dropping Latin derivatives in English, so that to-day we think it good style in writing to employ a maximum of Anglo-Saxon words.

As the time was up, Sir Denison Ross then closed the discussion.

MY VISIT TO THE LIVING BUDDHA

By MOLLIE POOLE

Notes on a paper given at a group meeting on November 28, 1934, Mr. E. M. Gull in the Chair.

IN 1928 I determined to visit China, and after a series of misadventures I reached Peking. Here, through the kindness of a lady I had kicked while we were both bathing in Repulse Bay, I stayed with the secretary of the American Methodist Mission, and while accompanying my hosts to a meeting was introduced to a Norwegian professor of Sanskrit who had lived for many years in Tibet. I learned that he was going into Inner Mongolia, and determined that if I could I would be one of the party. I made my arrangements well ahead, and it was lucky that I did so, for a sudden change of plans necessitated a start within forty-eight hours. The Professor was to stay with a Swedish missionary, who lived in the province of Sunet in Inner Mongolia, but no detailed instructions had been sent as to equipment, etc., as we were to live on the country. He did suggest bringing tinned milk and some spare motor tyres, and on our own initiative we purchased tinned foods, oil sheets and oil paper to sleep on as a protection against vermin. I also took the doctor's advice and had some Chinese lice-proof clothes made of blue shantung. This material is spun of silk-worms fed on oak leaves, which gives the silk a peculiar smell repugnant to insects.

The next step was to procure a letter of introduction to the Living Buddha—a very necessary document if we hoped to obtain an interview with him. The Pan-chen Lama, or "Living Buddha," formerly ruled Tibet in conjunction with the better-known Dalai Lama, having undisputed power over all the lamaseries or monasteries. A recent bitter struggle for supreme political power in the country, however, led to his downfall, and he had only just saved his life by fleeing into Mongolia. There he reigns undisputed, for the Mongols worship him as the one and only "Living Buddha."

The domestic and political life of the Mongols, I might add, is swayed by a debased and distorted form of Buddhism—in reality largely influenced by the old pagan Tantric religion, which, with its black magic and fantastic superstitions, is slowly destroying the people.

The Pan-chen Lama is regarded as the highest spiritual reincarnation

of Buddha, and when the holder of the title dies an elaborate ritual is observed in order to discover into which new-born child his soul has passed. The high priests, assembled in conclave, consult certain oracles, who reveal to them where the rebirth of the Lama will take place, and how the favoured child may be recognized. This child must be born not later than forty-nine days after the Lama's death. Should two babies be born at the same time and place, treasured belongings of the late Buddha are shown to them as a test. Whichever infant seems to recognize its former property is forthwith accepted as the reincarnated Buddha, and is immediately taken to Lhasa and housed in the lamasery. At the age of four this child is exhibited to the faithful in a magnificent procession. Then he is given a Lama as guardian and begins his religious training. The letter of introduction to the Pan-chen Lama, we discovered, could only be obtained from the Buddhist Archbishop, who was living just then at the Lama Temple in Peking as the political guest of the Chinese Government. As luck would have it, Archbishop Chensa Lobsang had known the Professor in Tibet, and welcomed us warmly.

Travel in China is full of excitement. A "Rugby scrum" is the best way of describing how the Chinese board a train. I soon learnt this fact, for the first part of our journey was by rail to Kalgan, a journey that may occupy from fourteen hours to three days, all according to the movements of troops and the temper of the general in command.

Wild plains and deserted, rugged country lie between Peking and Kalgan. Once the train ran parallel with the Great Wall of China, and hours later we saw it again, winding like a great snake along the bare, sun-baked mountains. We had several glimpses of the disturbed state of the country, passing trains packed with soldiers and loaded with machine-guns mounted on motor-cycles. Luckily we were not held up, though near one station the firing was intense, and in the distance we could see troops storming a fortress on a hill. No one around us seemed to bother greatly about the fighting; it was just somebody's "little war."

The heat in the train was terrific. At nearly every station the ticket-collector came round with a guard of five soldiers with fixed bayonets to protect him from the attacks of Chinese who might be trying to travel without paying their fare. The noise was frightful, for the guards continually crashed their rifle-butts down on the floor and stamped heavily about, whilst the door was constantly opening to

admit the train-boy, laden with pots of green tea. The din was added to by the guttural noises with which the Chinese accompany the eating of food. The Professor and myself, I should add, were the only Europeans on the train.

Soon after midnight we arrived at Kalgan, the frontier town and "door" of Mongolia. The first impression of the station was fascinating. The lighting system was a human one—a thousand-and-one coloured lanterns carried by coolies. Directly the train appeared, however, with one accord they dropped their lanterns and rushed towards us, and the ensuing scenes of pandemonium took place in black darkness!

In spite of the untimely hour of our arrival, a very warm welcome met us at the Swedish Mission. Next morning we were greatly disappointed to learn that we were temporarily cut off from communication with the Doctor.

The good folks at the mission were very much against our going into the interior haphazard, owing to the general unrest and the danger from bandits. To delay, however, meant that we should miss the festival altogether, so we decided to chance our luck and start the following day for Miaotang, some sixty miles away, hoping that Dr. E. would meet us there as arranged.

There were only two ways of getting to Miaotang—by Peking cart and mule or by car, and, as there was no motor available, we had to use the former. Only those who have travelled in a Peking cart can fully realize its discomfort. To look at, it is a tiny, picturesque, two-wheeled wagon without springs or seats, apparently not improved since its invention about 2000 B.C. A deep blue cotton hood and awning afford some protection from blinding rain or scorching sun—both of which we experienced—but there is no other provision for the passenger's comfort.

In spite of having cut our luggage down to the absolute minimum, we had great difficulty in getting it into the back of the cart. Our fur coats and sleeping-bags we used for sitting on.

The way lay along a dried-up, boulder-strewn torrent-bed—the summer caravan route into Mongolia—and shortly after our start at dawn we ran into soldiers: some of Sun Yat Sen's army out on manœuvres. Our appearance, however, excited no attention, for which we were devoutly thankful. We divided our time between walking and driving. Only extreme fatigue forced us to take refuge in the cart, for the appalling jolting and shaking over stones and boulders

made relaxation an impossibility. To add to our troubles, the mule developed asthmatic attacks of such violence that the Chinese driver had to force its mouth open for fear it might die in one of the spasms, in which case we should have been completely stranded, as the poverty-stricken villages clinging to the steep mountainsides were few and far between. The journey seemed interminable, and was a very lonely one. Only on one occasion did we pass a small caravan of ox-carts laden with hides, otherwise we were quite alone in that barren country. Once at the summit of the Hannon Pass—the frontier which towers two thousand feet above Kalgan—we were on the Mongolian plain, and the going became much easier. The grim mountains lay behind us; as far as the eye could see was a gently rolling, grassy plateau, broken here and there by patches of vivid blue: Chinese peasants cultivating their farms.

Our first objective was Chang Poh H'sien, the only town of any size in that part of the country. Here we started on a truly comic-opera sort of quest; we had to find the "brother of the missionaries' cook," a Chinaman who would guide us to the village of Miaotang. This was most necessary, as we were now in Mongolia proper, and the Professor, though he spoke Chinese and Tibetan fluently, was unable to speak the Mongolian language. Moreover, there was nothing to indicate which of the several villages was Miaotang, and to ensure obtaining shelter it was essential to possess a local guide able to vouch for the fact that we were not Russians. A strong anti-Russian propaganda had been inaugurated by the Chinese Government, and the rare travellers in those parts were all suspects.

We reached Chang Poh H'sien in the evening, and I was so dead beat that we decided to spend the night there. It had been market-day and the town was still crowded with wild-looking Mongols, soldiers, and bandits on horseback. After hours of hectic search we had a great stroke of luck, running the cook's brother to earth in a barber's shop. Much talk ensued, and in the end, to our vast relief, he consented to guide us to Miaotang. The village proved to be a collection of one-storied huts, and we had some difficulty in finding shelter. In the end the owner of a small farm inn (half a dozen mud-huts surrounded by high mud walls) persuaded some caravan drivers to give up their room to us. But what a room! It was about twelve feet square, its only furniture a Chinese kang, or lumpy platform, raised about three feet off the floor, on which the kindly carters had left some dried skins. A blue enamel mug containing a collection of old tooth-brushes decorated

one corner. Outside the torn paper windows hung drying skins, while the yard beyond was full of bundles of yak hides, which gave forth a most nauseating smell. The only entrance to this delectable apartment was through an outer chamber crowded with Chinese and Mongol carters who ate, smoked and gambled the whole night long.

Tactfully returning the skins to their owners, the Professor and I set about ridding the room of some of its "live-stock." The filth was indescribable. We covered the kang with our oil sheets and spread the oil paper round the walls wherever we thought we might come in contact with them, for it was possible that we should have to remain here for some days. The solitary door had no fastening, and when night came the Professor chivalrously offered to sleep on the side nearest to it. Above my half of the kang was a hole in the ceiling through which from time to time tiny insects fell; occasionally inquisitive rats poked their heads out. Our one flickering candle revealed the only ornament in the room—an old picture of Buddha covered with a dirty red silk curtain with a wooden shelf below. Having fallen at last into a troubled doze, I woke with a start to see the door slowly open and a Chinaman enter stealthily. The heavy breathing of my guardian, the Professor, told me that he would be no protection; and I felt paralyzed with fear as I watched the man's furtive approach.

Suddenly the intruder halted, clapped his hands, and bowed profusely. My blood ran cold in my veins until I noticed that his eyes were fixed intently on the Buddha. Going up to it, he lit a red candle and placed it on the shelf; then he clapped his hands once more and quietly left the room. This odd business was repeated several times during the night, making sleep—for me—quite impossible.

Toward dawn I heard the "chug-chug" of a Ford, and promptly aroused the Professor, hoping the new arrival might be Dr. E. He left the room to find out, but the carters outside immediately seized him, explaining that he must not open the outer door on any account, otherwise the fierce watch-dogs of the inn would tear him to pieces. We were, therefore, helpless prisoners till morning came. Next a wild clamour arose outside and heavy blows were rained on the doors, followed by the sound of a rifle-shot and much shouting. A deathly silence ensued; then a man crept in from the next room and whispered one blood-curdling word—"Bandits!" We remained in our room hardly daring to breathe, but nothing happened. After a time the yard gate was opened and we heard a car drive in, but the occupants must have found shelter elsewhere in the inn, for we were not disturbed.

In the morning the friendly carters advised us not to show ourselves. The "bandits," it seemed, were actually soldiers, but they were just as rapacious as the outlaws, and we should be well advised to avoid them. Accordingly we hid our few silver dollars in a hole in the kang, over which I sat, and when one of the military eventually came to look us over he found nothing worth stealing. He went away quite happy with a couple of tins of fruit—a diplomatic gift. Later on in the day a sandstorm added to our discomfort. After it had passed we climbed on to the roof of our inn in the hope of catching a glimpse of Dr. E.'s car, but all we could see was a flat, dusty plain, dotted here and there with mud-houses. It was impossible for us to go out for exercise, or our belongings might be stolen, and if we went separately the Professor feared that I might be molested.

Slowly the hours dragged themselves away, dusk fell, and still there was no sign of the Doctor, our escort. We began to wonder whether the messenger had ever reached him. Suddenly, to our delight, we heard the noise of a Ford approaching. By the time we had dashed out, however, it had passed and was hidden in a cloud of dust. Sadly we returned to our room and prepared to spend another ghastly night. Some time later we again heard the sound of an approaching car. This time neither went to investigate, but a few minutes later the Doctor burst in and grasped us by the hands. He explained that just as he was starting to fetch us the bandit chief of the province had demanded to be driven to Chang Poh H'sien. This was the reason why he had passed earlier in the day; it was his car we had seen dash by. A missionary with a wife and three children stationed in a lonely outpost has to keep on friendly terms with the bandits. On a previous occasion his home had been burnt by some offended outlaws, and the Doctor was anxious not to invite disaster again.

It did not take us long to pack into the car. There was a good moon, and Dr. E. knew the road by heart. So far as we could see, there were no landmarks to guide him, but nevertheless we arrived safely after six or seven hours' driving, during which we saw several "devils' fires." These, the Doctor explained, are the great mystery of the plateau—a kind of will-of-the-wisp. They occur in completely uninhabited areas, and by daylight no trace whatever can be found of them. When we arrived at the mission Dr. E.'s wife and sister were waiting up to greet us, surrounded by a crowd of Mongol followers and a horde of howling dogs. The first stage of our adventure had been successfully accomplished!

The next few days were spent in preparation for our desert trip, and as this task devolved upon the men-folk I was grateful for a much-needed rest. Personally, the more I saw of the Mongols the more heartily I disliked them, although I grant that they were most picturesque. The men in particular were fine-looking figures, especially on horseback, for they nearly always rode standing up in their stirrups. Indeed, a Mongol hardly ever walks a step if he can help it, and when he does so it is with a clumsy, lurching slouch. The women, though smaller, were veritable Amazons, and had just as much freedom as the men. When their lords were absent they tended and watered the herds; they also wove the wool into felt for the "yurts" (tents), besides making the clothes and boots. I gathered, indeed, that they did most of the work, the men really only looking after the herds. Mr. Larson, the famous "Duke of Mongolia," told me they were a kindly laughter-loving race, and that there was seldom a murder. I suppose we looked at them from very different angles, for Mr. Larson went there as a young missionary straight from Swedish farm life. The Mongols liked him so much that he was practically adopted by some big Khan, or chief. After many years amongst them he took up horse-dealing, and so won their esteem and affection that they made him the equivalent of a Duke, an honour never before bestowed upon a European.

The Mongols have a great dislike for water, except for the use of their cattle, and nothing will persuade them to till the ground. This is the result of a mixture of fear of the "earth-devils" and a deep-rooted love for their pasturelands. These pastures are really wonderful. At times they look like desert, parched and dusty, without a trace of trees or shrubs, but at other seasons after rain they appear so lovely that everything is forgotten. One night's rain performs a miracle, for in the early morning a pale green carpet of new vegetation covers the erstwhile sterile ground. A lake appears where no lake has been before, and, though shallow, its waters are alive with heron, wild duck, and the golden goose. In the evening the beauty of the landscape is almost unbelievable. Such shadows—mauve in the foreground, then pink, and finally blue over the distant low-lying hills!

From being one of the finest of races the Mongols are now dying out, decimated by a variety of diseases. The mission door was never shut; those who needed medical attention could always enter.

For some time the Doctor had been trying to obtain reliable information as to the exact position of Bendigeggan (the place of the Great Teacher), which was our destination, but he succeeded in learn-

ing very little. The only available map was an old one, known to be incorrect, and it was highly important to get the route right, for we were well aware that danger lay on either side. To the west was a very unfriendly prince; to the east lay some impassable quicksands. The first part of the journey was over the Urga caravan route. Somewhere along this we should cross the Trans-Siberian telegraph line, and there, having located pole No. 369, we had to take a compass-bearing and travel due east. This, if all went well, should bring us to a big lamasery (monastery), where we hoped to receive further directions. There were no roads, towns, villages, trees, rivers, or even a solitary hill to act as a landmark, so that our difficulties will be easily realized. The expedition, with its manifold dangers and discomforts, was Dr. E.'s holiday, and he could only spare nine days to get there and back for two reasons. The first was that his wife would have to be left all alone, without a white man to protect her; the second was that the Doctor had some professional appointment with the King of the Durbets, a very important local chieftain.

The Mongolian plateau lies over four thousand feet above sea-level; the air was like champagne, and just as exhilarating. The temperature, however, with its extremes of heat and cold, had to be taken into consideration. During the day the thermometer registered from 89° to 102° F., but at night it dropped to between 30° and 40°. For water we had to rely on finding wells. Our baggage consisted of tinned foods, some bread and eggs, a tiny tent, petrol for at least eight hundred miles, fur coats, and sleeping-bags. We also had a few cooking utensils, but no mincing-machine, which I afterwards learnt no wise traveller ever goes without.

Our lama guide was resplendent in brocaded lime-green Chinese robes, with an orange sash and royal-blue trousers tucked into high boots, the modern note being struck by his wide-brimmed Homburg hat and tortoise-shell-rimmed glasses. He was so holy that he was unable—or rather unwilling—to help us even to fill the radiator with water when we got to the wells. Nine days of his society helped me to understand why two-thirds of the male population of Mongolia become lamas. They are indeed lilies of the field! Soon we struck the Urga caravan route and the great road that leads on to Persia, its milestones the bleached and shining bones of animals and men that have died by the wayside. This gruesome track we followed for many miles, till we actually found the telegraph post we were looking for, where we took our compass-bearing and plunged into the unknown desert. Here, very

soon, we began to sink in soft sand. This meant that both cars had to be unloaded and pushed until they reached harder ground, and our progress was so slow that when we made our first camp we had only covered eighty miles. By this time we were so tired that we did not bother to erect the tent, but slept out in the open, where I was treated like a queen bee, lying in the centre surrounded by my protectors. I could not sleep owing to the rock-like ground, but the wonder of a clear desert night under a black dome of sky thickly encrusted with stars made one forget one's aching bones. When the others were wrapped in slumber I quietly carried my sleeping-bag out of the charmed circle; I wanted to feel the sensation of being really "alone in the desert." I was not disappointed, for when the first rays of the sun painted the earth in pastel shades of blue, amethyst, and yellow, I gazed round upon a world that seemed to be empty save for myself.

The first lamasery we were looking for seemed to spring up almost at our feet, for its flat Tibetan roofs were the same golden colour as the ground, and we were upon it before we discovered it. The scene was so unexpected and bizarre that I wondered if I were not dreaming. The long, low, white buildings were decorated at the four corners with large signs of the Zodiac in gold. In the centre over the entrance were vividly painted pictures portraying the Wheel of Life and horrible scenes in Hades, together with some large golden deer. Under the eaves were large circles painted in red, green, and gold. In front of the main temple three gigantic gods with fierce animals' heads stood on guard. No stranger was allowed to enter the building; no stranger would want to, I felt certain! Inside the temple yards were rows and rows of box-like cells divided by palisades. From these emerged a stream of scarlet-clad lamas, and we were soon surrounded by hundreds of wildly gesticulating men, vastly interested in the strangers. Our lama soon quieted them, and endeavoured to find out from the authorities where the next lamasery was. All of them, however, differed as to the distance, which they measured by horse capacity—a decidedly variable quantity in a country given over to horse-breeding! However, we gained enough information to proceed.

The next day, on flint-strewn, rocky ground, the second car broke down again, and we wasted hours repairing it under a blistering sun. Not till late that afternoon did we find a well, and while we were quenching our raging thirsts a sudden sandstorm arose, blowing pretty well everything out of the cars. While collecting our scattered belongings we found tracks that eventually led us to the lamasery we were

looking for. This when we arrived seemed to be a veritable city of the dead. All the doors were locked; not even a dog barked. Just as we were about to depart a boy lama appeared from nowhere, explaining that everyone else had gone off to take part in the festival.

Continuing our travels, we presently reached some fine pastures where herds of wild horses roamed. Occasionally we encountered small groups of antelope which, in their terror, raced the car at tremendous speed. Large buzzards flapped about, and vultures circled overhead, but search as we would we could find no signs of a caravan route. We went on till we got into a narrow gorge and beheld, in the far distance, faint blue and mauve mountains, but there were still no signs of tracks. Ten o'clock came, the radiators of the cars were boiling for lack of water, and we were all very thirsty, but still, however, we sought in vain for tracks. Worse still, we couldn't find a well. This was the first time I saw the Doctor really worried.

Finally we left the cars and quartered the ground on foot in almost pitch darkness. At long last, to our great joy, we stumbled on a water-hole and were able to have a good drink. There was little rest for any of us that night, but early the following morning some horsemen arrived at the well and told us that we were heading in the right direction. This was very encouraging, as we were already behind our time schedule.

Soon after we started out again a wonderful sight met our eyes. The great plain of Bendigeggan, surrounded by a horseshoe of low hills, lay spread out at our feet. Dominating it at one side was the white and glittering temple we had come so far to visit—almost a city in itself. Elsewhere rows and rows of tents, with thousands of camels, horses, and yaks, filled all the available space. Our approach to the encampment caused a series of stampedes amongst the startled animals. We felt we had gone back to the twelfth century; for once realization was as vivid as our dreams. We saw tall, fierce-looking men on horseback, dressed in flowing robes of vermilion, orange, brown, blue, green, and purple, with various coloured sashes wound round their waists, carrying long pipes, knives in carved silver scabbards, and chopsticks. Many of them wore pointed hats of quilted yellow satin on their pig-tailed heads with black fur edgings (which would be pulled down over their ears in cold weather) and baggy red or green trousers tucked into high boots. Their gaily painted curved saddles were exactly the same as those used hundreds of years ago. Many of the women were dressed like their men-folk, wearing trousers and

top-boots and riding astride. I was told that each province has two different head-dresses, one for married women and another for the single ones. Some wore a fan of horsehair plaited in with their own locks on either side of the head and threaded with corals, gold, and pearls. Others sported fine barbaric head-pieces of carved silver set with big pieces of jade, coral, and turquoise, while down their backs hung a wide net-work of coral and seed pearls. Heavily carved earrings dangled down to their shoulders; and we learnt that the elaborate jewelled scarves worn over their head-dresses were often worth from five hundred to a thousand horses.

Slowly we made our way to the temple, where the lama entered in order to deliver the Archbishop's introduction. While we were waiting, some horsemen galloped up with a letter from the King of Sunet inviting us to stay with him. When our lama returned he described the conditions in the temple as nothing less than pandemonium; he had been unable, he said, to deliver the letter. Our reception was a most exhausting experience, for we were the first Europeans these people had ever seen. Evil-smelling crowds pressed round us, all eager to touch me, the solitary woman of the party. They almost upset our tiny tent, making it perfectly clear that privacy of any sort would be quite impossible. I was so frightened at their fierce, ruthless curiosity that I was almost in tears, but there seemed nothing to be done but endure it. At this point the Professor tactfully suggested that we should pay our visit to the King, so, climbing into the car, we made our way to his camp. This lay in a section of the plain reserved for princes and their retinues and was well organized, quiet, and comparatively clean. Just as we entered the King's camp he fortunately happened to pass by. An official received us, and we were immediately shown into a fine yurt lined with red lacquer woodwork. A thick blue carpet covered the floor, with fine Peking rugs spread over it. Mongol tea in bowls was served almost at once on low red lacquer tables. The tea, made from compressed tea boiled in a mixture of sheep, goat, and horses' milk, has a very strong odour, as might be imagined. With it, on a lovely lacquer tray, we were offered various sweetmeats—sultanas, lumps of sugar, and small pieces of Mongol cream cheese. This is much too hard to bite, but is considered a great delicacy. Having nibbled at all these things, we were forthwith summoned to the King's yurt for an audience.

The royal tent was an imposing affair of bright blue felt, decorated with binding and good-luck signs of pink hide. A little way in front

of the entrance was a carpet fixed to poles, designed to prevent devils from entering; the Mongols believe that evil spirits cannot go round corners. The bright red door of the royal yurt was held open for us to enter, and, bowing deeply, we presented our silken "kha-tag." No visitor, however poor, enters a tent without offering the owner, as a gift, a kha-tag—a strip of soft silk whose richness naturally depends on the giver's wealth. The host gives one in return when the guest departs. Even an old beggar will make this graceful gesture, though he presents merely a dirty rag. With words of welcome the King waved us to seats on some mats that were placed for us in front of his raised dais. The King, dressed in dull blue Chinese robes, with which he wore a skull-cap, appeared to be about thirty. He had a dignified yet cunning face. To one side on a cushion lay his three ceremonial hats; below at his feet sat a small Queen, resplendent in glittering jewels and brocade. While the Doctor talked I took in my surroundings. The tent was richly draped in a lovely sea-green velvet, bordered with black and coral. Priceless Persian rugs covered the floor. All round the walls, standing one on top of another, were finely inlaid chests. There were also innumerable figures of Buddha and a tiny altar with many lamps burning.

Our audience lasted about half an hour; the Doctor, acting as a quick and efficient interpreter, answered the numerous questions asked by the King. I found, to my intense relief, that having once accepted the King's hospitality, we were bound by etiquette to remain his guests during the remainder of our stay.

Now at last I was able to have a wash! Since I had left the mission I hadn't had a single moment of privacy; and even now the degree of seclusion I had attained scarcely amounted to that, for I shared the yurt with the men, and the Mongolian custom forbids a guest to fasten his door. Often I would wake at four in the morning to find a Mongol squatting by my side, peering at me inquisitively while he talked to the Doctor.

On returning to our own tent we were served with a Chinese feast and waited on by a major-domo and two servants who had been allotted to us. The spread consisted of several hot, messy dishes, sea-slugs, bitter roots, bamboo shoots, and two kinds of sauce, followed by a steaming dish of Mien "noodles," dragon's whiskers (tough dried mutton twisted in grey, gritty dough), hundred-year-old black eggs, and hot lichen. While my hunger lasted all this was good, though a cocktail would have helped matters considerably! Later on we were

able to get a few fresh eggs. At 6 a.m. deeply bowing servants served us with hot soup in which floated pieces of mutton, and Mongol tea. My companions had become used to this food, having lived in the country for years, but its rancid smell, combined with the toughness of the meat, rendered it quite impossible for me. Our stores were getting low, and we had the return journey to think of, so I was compelled to subsist on a few spoonfuls of grape-nuts eked out with a little tinned milk and water.

In spite of the obvious comforts of sleeping in the yurt, I soon missed the caressing breeze of dawn, the smell of the freshly awakened earth, and the wonderful air of the open plateau. The only ventilation in the yurt was afforded by the door—a gaily paint-red affair, about three feet high, which could be fastened back by a piece of rope—and the large round opening at the top of the yurt, intended to let smoke out. Every night we fell asleep watching the stars through this opening, only to discover before morning that the camp-watchman had carefully closed it. The Mongols have no use for fresh air.

The ladies of the camp were as curious about me as I was about them, and we received innumerable ceremonial calls, all of which had to be returned. Their unending questions were often rather embarrassing. The formal greeting of the East, “How old are you?” *had* to be answered. After the Doctor had translated my reply one curious old dowager remarked regretfully: “Of course, no woman would ever tell a man how old she is, and as I cannot speak her language I shall never be able to learn the truth!” This question as to my age was invariably followed by: “What are the marriage customs in your country? Would you go to your husband covered with jewels?” Fortunately I had some sham pearls with me which these good ladies mistook for real ones, and these enabled me to “save face” amongst these gem-laden women. Apart from my pearls, I came to the conclusion that my real wealth lay in another direction; they were a little jealous of my short curly hair, for the locks of the Mongol ladies are dank, dull and greasy.

At six o'clock on my first morning in the camp, just as I was having (in a small basin) my first hot bath for five days, the Queen of Sunet arrived with her ladies-in-waiting, and I was reluctantly obliged to deny myself the honour of receiving her. However, she came again in the afternoon. In the meantime we walked to the temple, a mile and a half from the camp, to make another attempt at delivering our letter of introduction to the Pan-chen Lama.

This temple and lamasery were built in Chinese style, surrounded by a series of walled courtyards. On the hills behind were rows of obis, religious emblems which are to the Mongol what the Cross is to the Christian. In the centre of each obi was a large pole festooned with prayer-flags, fluttering gaily in the breeze. The courtyards were thronged with men, women and children, who reverently prostrated themselves face downwards in the sand, waiting to receive blessings from the prayers that were being offered in the temples. Many of the pilgrims had dirty bits of red rag tied round their foreheads; these had been specially blessed by the "Living Buddha" and were intended to protect the wearer from all evil.

As we searched for a temple official to whom to hand our letter a crowd collected round us. We tried to behave as if this was nothing unusual, but presently we found we could hardly breathe; we had to keep moving in order to escape being crushed. We struggled from the temple toward the open plain, hoping the people would tire of following us, but instead of leaving us alone they became annoyed. Some began to throw sand at us, and others stones, and presently a large one struck my shoulder. It was terrifying, for there were only three of us amongst thousands. After a while fighting began on the outskirts of the crowd, and those nearest to us commenced to push us about. Things were beginning to look black when encouraging yells reached our ears from some approaching men, who shouted that they were the temple police. With long sticks these stalwarts beat off the crowd, and finally formed a protective ring around us. It was evident that they thoroughly enjoyed using their wands, and they were actively engaged while they escorted us back to the camp. Directly we returned, the Doctor was sent for by the King, who warned him gravely that we must never again leave the camp without an escort of his men. Very fortunately for us, the King, attracted by the uproar, had come out on to the temple steps and, recognizing us in the midst of the jostling crowd, had sent the police to our rescue. He also said that I must not wear a veil (I wore a green one for protection from the insects and dust). The people, never having seen a veiled woman before, had mistaken me for some kind of devil. The King then had our letter delivered to the Pan-chen Lama by one of his own officials. Inside the King's camp, presumably, strict orders had been given about me, for I was able to go anywhere without being molested, though curious eyes followed my every movement.

In the afternoon the little Queen with all her ladies-in-waiting paid

her second call. Fortunately the Doctor was there to interpret, which enabled us to become great friends. She was about twenty-three and very simple and sweet, with a rather swarthy complexion, high cheek-bones, brown almond-shaped eyes, and straight nose with full nostrils. There was no laughter in her, poor dear; she was very different from the King, who had a distinct sense of humour. Married when she was about sixteen, all her five children had died except one little girl whom she was not allowed to keep with her, as she was considered an unlucky woman. For some reason, however, the Queen was permitted to have her to stay in the camp; at other times she lived in a fine Chinese palace in the province of Sunet. From Manchester to Mongolia, it seems to me, women vary but slightly, if at all. This little Queen was eager to see all my clothes and to know if I made them myself! Her ladies explained that she was a wonderful needlewoman, and made many of her own dresses. When I asked her if there was any rule about changing her gowns she said there wasn't, but that if she wore the same clothes for any length of time the ladies in the camp laughed and made unkind remarks. She went on to describe how every morning she had to dress in full ceremonial attire and call on all the dowager queens to inquire how they had slept. The Queen invited me to come and examine her dresses in her private yurt. This proved to be of the same size as the King's, and was draped with rich brocades and furnished in much the same style. From fine Korean and Chinese chests her ladies lifted lovely brocaded costumes which were kept wrapped in pieces of silk. Her two crowns, with their attendant ear-rings and necklaces, were displayed on cushions. Her dresses were of two styles—that of her own province and that of the King's. She chose the latter—Manchu style—for me to try on. Green trousers were tucked into high boots with turned-up toes; over these came a finely embroidered robe of blue-black brocade trimmed with brightly embroidered ribbons, the long sleeves with deep velvet cuffs coming several inches below the hands. To match this there was a still more richly worked sleeveless coat, slit up on either side and fastening with one button. She was very pleased when she saw me dressed, with her hat perched on top of the crown in correct ceremonial fashion. She actually asked that we might be photographed together—a very daring request, for, according to court etiquette, she should not have done this without the King's permission. Her crowns were very fine. One was of delicately carved gold, studded with large pale pink corals, forming a fan at the back of the head. It was in four sections, each

made up of gold and large pieces of jade and coral, finished with a fringe of pearls. Huge ear-pieces hung down to her shoulders. They were rather Egyptian in style, and were heavy and hot; she told me they often gave her a headache, but she had to conform to custom and wear them.

As I was bidding the little Queen farewell she asked me to come and stay with her when she returned from the festival. The Doctor was delighted; he said that in a few hours I had accomplished more in the way of establishing a good understanding than he had been able to do in fifteen years, and suggested I should take up mission work. The next morning I was awakened by the Doctor, who informed me that the Queen had sent a lady-in-waiting to ask for some of my face powder! I had very little left, as it happened, so I sent instead a nicely perfumed tin of white talc powder. I never heard what happened when the King saw it on her olive skin.

Our letter of introduction had been duly delivered to the Pan-chen Lama, but two more days passed and still there was no reply from the "Living Buddha." I grew desperate, for the time-limit of our stay was fast approaching. And it was not until the final day of our stay dawned—the very last morning—that with it, like a miracle, came a letter from the Pan-chen Lama granting us an audience at midday. We were, moreover, to have an escort. At the temple we were received by the chief priests, and then began an interminable round of entertainment.

Finally, we arrived at the Chancellor's tent and drank yet more Tibetan tea. The Chancellor, it appeared, was an old friend of the Professor, and special rugs and cushions were spread for us. To one side of the yurt sat a lama, with innumerable bags of silver dollars heaped up at his elbow. Before him filed an endless line of richly dressed Mongols, and as they passed a stream of silver glistened and clinked. In return for his money each man received a slip of paper, signed by the Pan-chen Lama, entitling him to attend the "Festival of the Holy Rice." Steadily the pile of silver grew: and small wonder. Did not even a grain of that most sacred rice protect the bearer from all evil, and why should they grumble if the price was proportionately high? Suddenly there came a terrific blare of trumpets, followed by silence—obviously the temple service was over. In a few minutes the Chancellor rose and led us out of the yurt, hurrying us through an inner courtyard and thence into a gigantic blue-and-white tent. The air here was heavy with the smell of myrrh and incense and the reek

of the thousands of tiny lamps that burned before the numerous weird-looking bronze gods. In the centre were two divan thrones, whose crumpled silken cushions showed that they had been occupied quite recently. From these thrones there trailed lovely gold and silver brocades and rich yellow satin draperies. More brocades were strewn across the low benches in front, interspersed with barbarically carved golden jugs and other holy Tibetan vessels. Never had I seen such magnificence so ill-treated. Leaving the tent, we were hurried down passages and round corners until we came to a small secluded yard with one yurt in the centre, its door held open by lamas. The great moment had come. Trembling with excitement, I entered, hardly daring to believe that at last I was actually to be allowed to set eyes on the "Living Buddha." Bending low before his throne, with two lamas on either side of me, I offered my kha-tag (presentation scarf), together with my Tibetan visiting card. I did not dare to look up, for not even princes or other notables are permitted to stand in the great man's presence or to gaze upon his sacred countenance; they approach kow-towing and lie before him face downwards. However, the Pan-chen Lama graciously accepted my kha-tag with a few words of greeting, and waved us to seats on cushions to his left.

Whilst the Professor, who had previously met him in Tibet, talked to him intimately, I studied the "Living Buddha" closely. He was a swarthy, thick-set man, about thirty years of age, with a round head, half-shaven, a moustache, and heavy eyelids drooping over dark brown eyes which were so speaking and alert that they seemed to miss nothing. But there was no suggestion of dignified repose about him, no sign of the sphinx-like qualities one had imagined he must possess.

The conversation turned to political matters. Tibet, it appeared, was anti-British and pro-Chinese, and the Church dominates the State, or rather it is the State.

While the two men talked the Buddha continuously wiped his forehead with a large yellow silk handkerchief. Meanwhile, woman-like, I wondered why he wore so much clothing in that heat, for there must have been many yards of material in his voluminous rich wine-red robe, which formed a kind of skirt and semi-cloak, under which showed an intricately embroidered sleeveless shirt of brocade. He also wore brocaded boots, slightly turned up at the toes, and had a yellow scarf flung over his shoulder. All the time he spoke one hand played restlessly with the amber beads of his rosary.

Everything in the "Living Buddha's" yurt was imperial yellow.

The walls were draped with fine yellow embroidered muslins; the handsome chests were of black and gold. From the ceiling hung his ceremonial umbrella of rich yellow brocade, the symbol of officialdom, and even his private trunk was covered with yellow bound with coral. The divan on which he sat was draped with fine rugs and cushions, while to one side were heaped quantities of golden brocade. Presently we were served with Tibetan tea and bowls of holy rice. To be permitted to eat in the presence of the "Living Buddha" was the greatest honour that could be paid us—and fortunately the rice was well cooked. It was mixed with saffron and sultanas, sprinkled with sugar, and was really quite nice. A golden spoon was found for me to eat with; the others had to use their fingers. I am ashamed to say that when no one was looking I hid the Tibetan tea behind a cushion. Nevertheless, I must have been considerably more awed than I cared to admit, because I failed to keep the spoon as a souvenir.

As we were unable to prolong our stay so as to become the Pan-chen Lama's guests, he asked what favour he could grant us. Thereupon we begged to be given the protection of some high lama, to take us through the temples during the services and also allow us to take some photographs. Then, as the first English girl who had ever been accorded a private audience, I inquired if the "Living Buddha" would honour me by having his photograph taken with me. To this he graciously consented, and as it was too dark in the tent he came outside. As, with deep bows, we bade the great man farewell, he smilingly presented us with his return gifts of kha-tags—soft blue silk scarves with his picture woven into them. Then, escorted by lamas, we left his courtyard. Our escort of priests led us from one temple to another. In each a different service was in progress, the tightly packed masses of worshippers undulating in waves of scarlet and yellow as the squatting lamas swayed to the hypnotizing rhythmic chant. The temples varied somewhat in appearance, one being decorated with grotesque black-and-white paintings, while another was full of wonderful silken banners. At a few words from our highly placed guide we were allowed to enter and look round amongst the praying priests. At the back of one temple there were numerous large shrines completely hidden by long kha-tags. The Professor informed me these were the shrines of the ancient Tantric gods and goddesses—horrible Tibetan monsters that no one was allowed to look upon. The temptation was too great. While the others were occupied elsewhere I stole up to one and cautiously lifted the kha-tags. A low growl of protest rose from the priests, and before our horrified

guide could interfere one of them rushed at me and seized me. For a moment it looked as if we should have a fight, and I sincerely regretted my foolish action. I was very thankful when we got safely outside, for I had seen enough.

We next came to a terrace on which in a chair sat a newly enthroned "god"—a reincarnation of a great lama who had recently died in Peking. He was a boy of about fifteen, obviously enjoying his newly acquired honour, and took no notice whatever of the crowds who worshipped him, or of the old lamas who crawled up to kiss the hem of his robes. The people threw themselves into all kinds of positions, rolling about face downwards in the dust. On raised boards thickly carved with prayers other devotees pulled themselves up and down for hours, thus gaining great merit. Yet others progressed by throwing themselves full length on the ground, rising, placing their feet where their hands had been, and repeating the performance endlessly. Some of these all-fours travellers were lamas doing penance; others subjected themselves to the ordeal in order to become holy men in their next reincarnation.

On our return to the outer courts we seemed to be watching some great pageant; the whole plain was a shifting patchwork quilt of gorgeous colour. There was to be some very important service that afternoon with devil dances, and preparations were already afoot for the ceremony. Demons with huge masks representing grotesque-looking animals, and other characters with fantastically embroidered dance robes, were busy practising their parts. These dances, I should explain, portray the various awful happenings that befall a straying soul in the nether world. I also saw over two hundred wrestlers in wildly painted baggy Turkish trousers, for after the dances there were to be days of wrestling and horse-racing which, alas! we could not stop to witness. Even with the lama's protection we found it practically impossible to take photographs, for we were continually being mobbed by the seething crowds. At last, completely exhausted, we returned to our camp, just in time to say good-bye to the dowager queens of Sunet.

Space does not permit a detailed account of the homeward trek. Our lama, we discovered, much to our delight, had learnt of a quicker way back than we had followed on our outward trip. Fortunately for us it was the period of full moon. Far into that crystal-clear night we drove, the desert, under that magic light, looking like some land of enchantment. Coming into a valley we decided to rest, falling asleep pillowed on the thick soft grass.

Next morning, except for one delay, we made good progress, but the journey was not altogether without interest. Nearing a caravan route at a favourite place for bandit "hold-ups," a group of wild-looking horsemen suddenly appeared. We were entirely unarmed—experience had taught the Doctor that any show of resistance was worse than useless—and there followed a nerve-trying interval. The riders, however, greeted us pleasantly, and told us of the whereabouts of the only well in the district. We decided to camp there, only to encounter fresh trouble, for herds of wild horses—five hundred of them at a time in charge of Mongol herdsmen—presently arrived to be watered. We were literally surrounded by horses, all snorting, neighing, and kicking, while others were continually arriving.

Next day we found ourselves on the cliffs of a dried-up inland ocean, stretching for many miles. The Doctor, although he had done a great deal of exploration work, had never even heard of its existence before, so we got out and clambered down the slopes, taking photographs of various formations, and finding a flint axe-head, sundry skeletons, and some interesting stones. Late that night we saw the twinkling lights of the mission station—and very welcome they were after all the discomforts we had endured. For me, however, the thrill of being the first woman to be admitted into the holy of holies of the "Living Buddha" remained long after the trials of the trip had become an undercurrent of memory.

SANDEMAN CENTENARY LUNCHEON

A LUNCHEON in honour of the Centenary of the birth of Sir Robert Sandeman was held at the Criterion Restaurant at a combined meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society and East India Association, the Right Hon. Earl Peel, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., in the Chair, on February 25, 1935.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are met here to-day to celebrate the centenary of the birth of a very eminent public servant, Sir Robert Sandeman. We have a list, formidable on paper, of seven speakers, and I have been asked to say that by the rules of the Society speeches are not to exceed five minutes. May I add that not even Field-Marshal are exempted from this rule?

I now call on Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob to address you.

Field-Marshal Sir CLAUD JACOB: I first met Sir Robert Sandeman in November, 1885, nearly fifty years ago. I had marched with my regiment up the Bolan Pass to Quetta and Pishin. That year was the occasion of the Russian war scare, when during that hot weather supplies and transport were purchased in great quantities and hurried to Rindli at the entrance of the Bolan Pass. The heat was so great that the supplies went bad and had to be destroyed.

I do not think any of those who served in Baluchistan in the eighties are likely to forget what Quetta was like and the conditions under which the troops had to live. The Quetta of those days was the unhealthiest station in India. You doubtless remember Kipling's poem about Jack Barrett who was sent to Quetta. There were very few amenities—only two metalled roads in Quetta—mud huts to live in—everyone a pessimist—the British soldiers dying like flies—cholera, enteric fever, and malaria rampant. The regiment we relieved was in a desperate state. Two hundred had died, over 200 were on sick leave, and 150 were too sick to march and had to be carried in bullock-carts.

You may say, 'What has this got to do with Sir Robert Sandeman?' I have tried to show you what the province was like and the legacy he took over when he became A.G.G. You must remember that the Afghan War had only terminated at the end of 1880. We evacuated Kandahar in 1881. It was decided to retain and occupy Quetta and Pishin. The administration had only been set going a short time. The country had not settled down. Even in Quetta, with its garrison

of two British and two Indian battalions, officers had to go about armed in cantonments. It was not safe to go beyond cantonment limits without an escort. It is outside my province to speak about Sir Robert Sandeman's task and work in Baluchistan. There are others here who are better able to do that. It is a great pleasure to see Sir Hugh Barnes and Sir Henry McMahon here—both old friends of fifty years' standing. Both these distinguished officers followed in Sandeman's footsteps and were in turn Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan. When Sir Henry McMahon was A.G.G. he one day spoke to me about a Life of Sir Robert Sandeman which had been written in Urdu by Rai Bahadur Hitu Ram. He said he could not get anyone to translate it. In a very innocent way he talked about the light task it would be. I still more innocently agreed to do it, not realizing what I was letting myself in for. When the book was sent to me I found it was a volume of 1,100 pages of Urdu. With it was a pile of typewritten manuscript about three feet high, representing the work of an Indian clerk who had tried his hand at translating it. It took me two years to do this translation.

I remember that day in March, 1892, when the news came of Sir Robert's death. The whole province mourned his passing. I was a young officer at the time, but during the twenty-five years I served in Baluchistan I realized what a debt of gratitude our country owes to Sandeman for the splendid work he did. Others present here to-day will tell you more eloquently about Sir Robert Sandeman's administration, but I go so far as to say that in my opinion we have never had his equal on the North-West Frontier of India. And had we adopted elsewhere the policy which he inaugurated, we should have been saved a great deal of the trouble we have encountered during the past twenty-five years on that uncertain land frontier of India.

Sir HENRY McMAHON, in summing-up Sandeman as an administrator, said: To judge Sandeman as an administrator is to judge his system of administration, and to do that one must compare it with the system of Frontier administration which up to his time was in force along the whole North-West Frontier of India and southwards to the sea. That system, then commonly known as the Punjab System, was one of a "Close Border"—*i.e.*, that of an arbitrary line drawn along the border foothills beyond which a British official was not allowed to step or to have dealings with the people beyond. Within that arbitrary line the country was administered under the rigid and inelastic discipline of

Indian Criminal and Civil Law, a system which, foreign to the people and unsuited to their needs, in due course atrophied and destroyed the authority and responsibility of the local headman and substituted in their place the rule of the magistrate and the policeman. Outside that arbitrary line the border people were left entirely to themselves—to stew in their own juice, but unfortunately that juice frequently boiled over on to our side of the line. Then followed the usual military punitive expedition with its brief stay and hurried retirement, after which both sides sat and licked their wounds until occasion again arose for some similar costly but fruitless action.

But why so much, you may ask, about the old Punjab system and nothing of Sandeman's? It is because the one was the absolute antithesis of the other.

In the Sandeman Policy there was no "Close Border," no arbitrary line beyond which his officials could not step. On the contrary, every encouragement was given for visiting and cultivating personal and friendly touch with border neighbours. This led to invitations to step in and assist in amicable solutions of the ever-prevalent family and tribal feuds. Such help was readily given; one successful settlement led to another until an increasingly large area of country and its people found themselves one day enjoying the advantages of Pax Britannica without resenting the residence in their midst of the British officials who had brought this about.

And why? Because Sandeman avoided all unnecessary interference with the local and tribal laws and customs; because he endeavoured to maintain the status and strengthen the authority of their local and tribal chiefs and headmen. They were made responsible for administering their own local and tribal law and custom and for the maintenance of peace and order within their limits. To assist them in this they were granted the pay of an adequate number of their own enlisted men as levies. Criminal cases and civil disputes had to be tried and judged by their own local *jirgas*—*i.e.*, by councils of local elders. The *jirga* served the part of the magistrate, the levies that of the policemen.

Sandeman's officers, thus freed from the red tape and legal trammels that filled up the time of their Cis-Frontier brethren, were free to devote their time to touring about in their allotted areas and in cultivating personal relations with the peoples within and beyond them.

This Sandeman system of peaceful penetration gave but little scope for military or punitive expeditions. The one or two that did occur

differed much from the Punjab pattern. To soldiers I am afraid these expeditions were disappointing. The invading army comprised but a minute military force compared to the vast horde of tribal chiefs and horsemen who accompanied Sandeman on these, what I may call triumphal, processions. Of fighting there was next to none. The enemy knew we had come, not for a week-end visit, but to stay for good. Why, said they, needlessly antagonize the newcomers? Perhaps the most important of these military expeditions was that of 1889-1890.

The critics and opponents of the Sandeman Policy always argued that what Sandeman could do with Baluch and Brahui tribes could not be done with the Pathan and the Afghan. To this I will only say in reply that the expedition to which I refer was one which made a wide sweep round a huge tract of country inhabited entirely by pure Pathan and Afghan tribes, and which then became the Zhob District of Baluchistan and in a short time a peaceful revenue-paying district; an area larger than Switzerland and twice the size of Wales. With such results, what more need I say of Sandeman as an administrator? Picture to yourselves the success of his policy; picture his first little step in the face of official criticism and opposition over the dear old "Close Border" in 1875; picture his creation of to-day, that vast peacefully administered Province of Baluchistan stretching from the Helmand River of Afghanistan to the sea and from the Gomal River to Persia.

We have come here to-day to commemorate Sandeman's memory. He is long since dead, but his system of administration still lives. It has extended far beyond its birthplace in Baluchistan. I myself have been privileged to introduce it in the far north of the North-West Frontier; in Gilgit and Chitral with their levy systems, and later on in the Pathan areas of Malakand, Dir, and Swat.

It has been adopted far wider still in more distant lands, as other speakers may tell you to-day.

But how many of you know that outside our own territories the success of Marshal Lyautey's administration in Morocco was due to what he had heard described of the Sandeman Policy in Baluchistan? I wish Sandeman and his policy had been born a century or so before, in our early days in India. Who knows but that some of the Indian problems of to-day might have been simplified?

Lieut.-Col. C. E. BRUCE, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E. : Having sat at the feet of Sir Robert Sandeman as a boy—and, if rumour is correct, some-

times even across his knees—and there received my first impressions of his doctrines, if I were asked to sum up in three words the secret of Sandeman's success as a man, I would say his "*intense human sympathy*" for the people committed to his charge. So intense, indeed, was that sympathy that even on his deathbed his last thoughts and almost his last words were for the people. "Where are the people?" he asked. "I cannot speak without the people." And the people, his people, were brought in and filed past his bed and touched his hand.

To illustrate how universal was this side of his character: how many men, do you think, on receiving a telegram at Bombay that one of their officers was being transferred—my father, as a matter of fact—would have given up a week of their well-earned leave and taken the next train to Calcutta, a distance of 3,000 miles, to have that order cancelled? Very few, I think.

And again, when, in 1879, my mother—the only white woman in Quetta—was stricken down with cholera, Sandeman took my three brothers and myself, all of us children under seven years of age, into his house so that my father might be free to devote himself to nursing my mother. So perhaps I owe my very presence here to-day to his unfailing sympathy!

The influence of his "magnetic personality" was, perhaps, never better shown than on the occasion of his first visit to the Zhob valley, when the old dying robber-chief of the Mando-Khel tribe, Khanan Khan, sent in a letter by his two sons, commending them and his country to Sir Robert's care; but adding that, in the circumstances, he hoped his personal attendance would be excused and his sons sent back as soon as they could be spared, as he wished to see them once more before he died. And Khanan Khan had never even seen Sandeman!

That his name was still a name to conjure with many years after his death was forcibly brought home to me when, as a junior subaltern in the 24th Baluchis, I was on a military sketching tour in an out of the way part of Baluchistan. Accompanied by a small regimental guard, I had arrived at a village with a not too savoury reputation. The headman flatly refused to supply me with anything—chickens, eggs, anything. Eventually, in desperation, I turned on him and said, "You would not have done this to Sinneman Sahib?" "What know you of Sinneman Sahib?" he asked. And when I had explained my connection a complete change came over the scene. Nothing, now, was too good for me to the half of his kingdom. And the next morning, when I came out of my tent, there he was, ready mounted, and he

never left me until he had delivered me safe and sound into Quetta several days later.

But it remained for Sandeman's passing to call forth the strangest and most magnificent tributes ever paid by a wild race to its alien ruler. For then was seen the unique spectacle of two great tribal chiefs—Kalat and Las-Beyla—ready to go to war to have the privilege of burying his body.

If Carlyle's conception of a "great" man as one who performed a mission "to establish order where chaos reigned supreme" be a correct one, then, indeed, was Sandeman great. Sandeman may be dead, but "what we admired remains, yea, will remain"—the spirit of service and self-sacrifice.

The CHAIRMAN: I have the honour to propose the toast to the memory of Sandeman. You have heard some very moving personal reminiscences of those who have known Sir Robert Sandeman, and you have heard a most interesting sketch by Sir Henry McMahon of his methods of dealing with the tribes.

I am in this difficulty, that I have, of course, no personal knowledge of Sir Robert Sandeman, but everyone who has served at the India Office must be familiar with the reputation of that great man.

No one, again, who has had anything to do with Indian Frontier problems but must have been able to form some opinion about the relative merits of the "Close Border" system and of the more generous and humane method of establishing more friendly relations with the tribes.

Sir Robert Sandeman came from the town of Perth. I mention that because I do not think there is any small town in this country that has sent out a longer list of eminent public servants to do their duty in different parts of the Empire. The fierce ordeal of the Mutiny coloured his early experience in India, and he was present at the disarming of the native regiment which his father had commanded at that time.

But besides that early experience, he had what I think may be said to be the good fortune of concentrating the whole of his service in one place. So many of our eminent consuls, pro-consuls and officials have shifted from one command to another; but his life in Baluchistan may be said to constitute one single episode.

We are often charged as a nation with being lacking in sympathy and understanding of other races or peoples. I do not know why it is, but these unfounded legends persist long after they have been dis-

proved by practical experience. Sandeman had the most remarkable instinctive appreciation of the point of view of different tribes and races. He possessed this faculty, I think, in an extraordinary degree. But not only was he able to appreciate and understand other races, he had a remarkable faculty, too, of acquiring their friendship. You remember that phrase of the Khan of Kalat, who wrote to him: "As your sincere friend, who is ever with you like two kernels in one almond."

Now the system that he adopted in Baluchistan was in the nature of a new creative policy. Many men, of course, before his time have done admirable work in that country, especially, if I may say so, one of the relatives of the Field-Marshal who has already addressed you; and, as Sir Henry McMahon has told you, his object was not so much to rule directly as to exercise control through the natural rulers of the country—chieftains, sirdars, and khans. He supported their authority. He developed it where it was necessary. The result was that he built up a strong Baluchistan, which sustained all the strains that were so soon to be put upon it in the Afghan War of 1879-80 and in that later period of general disturbance on the Frontier of 1897.

But that policy which he initiated and created had a wider influence even than on the Indian Frontier. Sir Henry has recalled how it was followed in Morocco by General Lyautey. I had an opportunity of meeting the Marshal in that country, and he informed me how much he had admired the administrative methods of Sir Robert Sandeman.

Not only that, but in different parts of East and West Africa the same policy of governing through the chiefs, through the natural authorities of the country, has been eminently successful.

Whether or not that system would succeed with more sophisticated races, I do not know; but undoubtedly that influence, that personal and dominating influence, has been especially successful with those wilder tribes and races who have not yet put on the more conventional trappings of civilization.

My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is well that we should recall the memory and achievements of eminent men who have served the Empire in the past, and I think it was a very happy thought of this Central Asian Society that they would not let the centenary of the birth of Sir Robert Sandeman go unrecognized, but that they would, from the mouths of so many speakers, recall to their countrymen—who sometimes are apt to forget the services of their best servants—the great achievements of that celebrated man.

I beg now to call on Sir John Maffey, who was in command of the North-West Frontier for so many years.

Sir JOHN MAFFEY, who replied to the toast, said: To-day revives many memories for me. Of the many fellowships to which a man may belong in the service of His Majesty there is none which binds men closer than the fellowship of days spent under the smiles and frowns of the Frontier hills.

Therefore it is a great honour to me to respond to this toast—the Memory of Sir Robert Sandeman—and to stand up before you with men who bear names honoured from generation to generation in the annals of the Frontier—Jacob, Younghusband, McMahan, Bruce.

If we could retrace our steps in India there is little doubt that next time—but there never is a next time—we should deal more delicately, more patiently with features and institutions of an Oriental society which had the force and prestige of tradition and which had in them the seeds of healthy development. We were carried away with the amazing efficiency of our bureaucratic methods. We were a new broom and we made a clean sweep.

In that impatient age of the clean sweep Robert Sandeman showed a sturdy independence of mind. He saw what others failed to see. He saw a tribal machinery which could be swept away or which could be made to work with the right man lightly touching the controls. As we know to-day, he was the right man. He showed what personality could achieve, and by his personality he created modern Baluchistan.

When early in the history of the present century I, at the other end of the Frontier, was decanted from my tonga at the old Punjab Frontier Force mess in Kohat—a tenderfoot about to receive from the “Piffers” a liberal education—it was not so long, not more than a few years, since Robert Sandeman had been laid to rest in the garden at Las Beyla, and his memory was a living and vivid memory held in high honour.

The Frontier of India is like a P. and O. liner. It has a sharp end and a blunt end. I spent my time at the blunt end, which is usually associated with a third-class passage. I have often wondered what Sandeman might have achieved if in those seventies and eighties of last century he had been given authority along the length and breadth of the Frontier, including that blunt end. We shall never know the answer to that. But I think all of us here will admit that the problems

of the old North-West Frontier were tough problems, and many of us here with our own eyes watched them getting tougher through no fault of our own.

I hold the view that the problems of the Frontier were particularly thorny where the Sikhs and Afghans had been in closest and most relentless contact. With Ranjit Singh, for instance, demanding an annual tribute of Afridi heads. We inherited those legacies of hate. Our Afghan wars had bred profound distrust in Kabul, and our Afghan tribes of the North-West Frontier were particularly susceptible to influences from Kabul which excited their fanaticism and their greed. On top of all this there came in our time that tremendous influx of modern rifles, the arms traffic from the Persian Gulf which filled the tribesmen with a new swagger and confidence.

I touch on these points since, whatever is said to-day in praise and honour of the great Sandeman, nothing should be said in dispraise of those men who spent their lives—yes, and too often gave their lives—on what had been the old Punjab Frontier, in conditions in which the dice were loaded, dealing with tribesmen who had divided loyalties—if they had loyalties at all, for the soil was not congenial to loyalties—tribesmen who responded to the call of the mulla and the rupee.

Men like George Dodd, for instance. There was an ideal figure for the Frontier! One of the best men who ever came out of the Indian Army into the political service. And do not forget that he was in the heart of the country and had forces under him in Waziristan right back as far as Wana. The stage was set for a Sandeman, but the times were out of joint. We did not know what any day might bring forth. And on a day in July, 1914, George Dodd, with his great friend Toronto Brown, fell at the hand of a tribal assassin. What George Dodd could not do no man could do.

That was 1914, and the forces were now gathering which led to a crash of the fabric with which we were trying to hold the Mahsud and Wazir country. These events brought on, as you all know, the military invasion of Waziristan and a reconsideration of our policy. It was indeed high time that the problem should be reconsidered.

I am not one of those who hold that there is only one way of solving a problem. I believe there are at least a dozen ways of solving any human problem. Once the choice is made, what is required is faith, will-power, and the right man in the right place.

It is true that I was anxious to deal with that particular problem of Waziristan by methods of longer range and by playing for time.

Yes, that is true. And I will not say that I have no regrets that I did not have the opportunity of demonstrating what might have been achieved. But, at any rate, when the problem was grappled on other lines it was grappled with energy and determination.

I pay my tribute to the thoroughness of the work which has been done in Waziristan, and in that tribute I specially include three men—Lord Peel, who, as Secretary of State for India at the time, had to handle this thorny question, which I did not make less thorny, and who knew his own mind; Sir Denys Bray, who, as Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, having taken his line, held to it logically and firmly; and Colonel Charles Bruce, who had the good fortune and the gifts to follow in his father's footsteps and was the right man in the right place.

So I passed on and found myself with new tribal interests in the tribal areas of the Sudan. Ladies and Gentlemen, the headline allotted to me is "The Sandeman System To-day." Let me reassure you, I am not going to switch you over to Africa. Let me confess that personally I cannot think of Sandeman away from his beloved Frontier and its Afghan background. Indirect rule and native administration associated with the name of Lord Lugard and others aim broadly at the preservation of all that is best and capable of development in traditional tribal authority. That may be easy or it may be difficult. I have tried my hand at it, and, whether it be easy or difficult, you do hold the problem in the hollow of your hand and can see all round it. It is a far cry from that to the Indian Frontier. The Frontier was the stage of Sandeman with its Afghan background. I shall not take him from his Frontier pedestal. It would be like Walter Scott without Scotland.

What about the problem to-day? What is the most significant change which has occurred in very recent times—a change which to an old Frontier officer reads like a chapter of fiction? I can hardly believe it when I think of my uneasy days in the Khyber Agency, when Kabul to the west lay in dark and impenetrable shadow. Afghanistan a member of the League of Nations, Afghanistan in free communication with the outside world, confident of her independence, trusting in Great Britain as a friend.

Let me pay a tribute, long overdue, to the act of statesmanship from which these great consequences have steadily flowed, the Treaty of Peace between India and Afghanistan, after the futile so-called Third Afghan War, negotiated by Sir Hamilton Grant at Rawalpindi in 1919. He introduced a note of generosity into those proceedings for which

he was hotly attacked. How strange that seems now in the light of after-events! He was ahead of his times, and that is always a difficult position. He has been triumphantly vindicated.

But the policy as a whole was the policy of Lord Chelmsford, a chief whose memory is very dear to those who served under him. His Afghan policy met with the coldest, bleakest reception here in the world of politics and of the press. He stood alone. It is interesting to reflect that many of the things for which he pressed during his life are the commonplaces of to-day. What short memories people have!

Ladies and Gentlemen, let me conclude. That policy of closer and more generous understanding with Afghanistan has freed the ice-jam of the Frontier. As the new conditions gather strength, is it too much to hope that this tangle of blood feuds, raids and sanctuaries will gradually pass into the limbo of things? We are nearing the end of a long period of economic and political maladjustment on the North-West Frontier. Let us be patient. Once there were Buddhist *stupas* in the Khyber Pass.

It would be unwise to force the pace, to rush into drastic measures now that these new and unexpected forces are swirling through and round the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier, letting in light and air. The unholy deadlock is ending. There will be ugly chapters in the future as there have been in the past, but since the "fundamentals" are changing we can afford to be patient.

And in that chapter of patience there will be new scope for the Sandeman system to-day. The work of Sandeman will go on—gradually the mountains will merge with the plain.

Lieut.-Col. Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.: As one of the founders of the Royal Central Asian Society, I should like to take this opportunity of speaking of Sir Robert Sandeman in his relation to Central Asia. It so happens that it was in that connection that I met Sir Robert Sandeman at Quetta in the year 1891. Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob referred to the time when we were hastily preparing against a Russian invasion in the year 1885. The Russians at that time were steadily advancing in the direction of India. In the year 1891 they had annexed the Pamirs. It was their last advance in the direction of India, and, incidentally, they had arrested me on the Pamirs and turned me out of what was Afghan territory.

It was in connection with this incident that I had to go to Quetta to see Lord Roberts, then Commander-in-Chief in India. He had taken

the arrest of a British officer on Afghan territory as an exceedingly serious proceeding, had mobilized a division at Quetta, and I was there to relate to him exactly what had occurred.

There it was that I saw Sir Robert Sandeman. I told him what Russian officers had said to me, both then in 1891 and also previously in 1889, that every officer in the Russian Army thought of nothing else except the invasion of India. I do not know what were the views of the Russian Government, but at any rate those Russian officers we met in Central Asia at that time did speak quite openly to me about invading India.

I was talking about this with Sir Robert Sandeman, and he said he was quite certain that we had the tribes on our side of the Frontier absolutely and firmly in hand. That was a point upon which we could rely. He said, "Of course, with the Russians advancing year by year towards us, we have to keep our eyes open, keep alert, keep our tribesmen firm and secure; but as long as we do that we have nothing to fear from the Russians."

I should like to leave with you what was left with me, the impression of Sir Robert Sandeman as a big man in every way, big in heart and big in mind. He has been a big inspiration to all Frontier officers on the Indian Frontier from that time since, and I hope he will be an inspiration for many years yet, and an inspiration also to us to-day in our dealings with the great Indian problem. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN: We have here with us Sir Hugh Barnes, who served for ten years with Sir Robert Sandeman. I think the audience will be very glad to hear him for a few minutes.

SIR HUGH BARNES: Although my name is not on the list of speakers, your Chairman has kindly asked me to say a few words, and I am very glad to have the opportunity of paying a tribute to my old Chief and friend, Sir Robert Sandeman, because I think I served longer with him than probably anybody here to-day.

In the year 1880 I happened to be Assistant to Sir Oliver St. John, the Resident in Kandahar. I came away in 1881 when the troops were withdrawn. I returned to Quetta with the troops, and found that Sir Robert Sandeman had gone on leave. In 1882 Sandeman came back, and from that day until his death in 1892 I was in Quetta practically all the time, with the exception of an occasional absence of leave.

During that period I can only say that I learnt to entertain the

highest admiration and affection for Sir Robert Sandeman. He was always kindness itself to all his subordinates. I happened to live just opposite the Residency gates, and he was very fond of reading to me his despatches to the Government of India.

It was, I believe, mainly owing to Sandeman's strong recommendation while on leave that it was finally decided in 1882 to annex as British territory the Afghan districts of Pishin, Shorarud, Sibi and Thal Chotiali. The first two were added to Quetta and I was placed in charge. Sibi and Thal Chotiali were formed into a separate district and placed under Mr. Bruce. The annexation of these districts enabled Sandeman at a later date to extend his authority over Zhob and the tribes between Thal Chotiali and the Gumal River. He often had to fight hard to get sanction to his proposals. But he was indomitable in urging his views, and it may be recorded to his honour and credit that he never forgot his responsibility for the good name of the Government he served. He never ran unnecessary risks, and he never once led his Government into disaster.

It is no use my saying much about the Sandeman Policy because you have had some admirable speeches from those who have preceded me. But there is one thing I would like to mention, and that is his opening of the Gomal Pass.

In the summer of 1889 I happened to be up in Simla acting for the Under-Secretary of the Foreign Department. The Gomal Pass had been closed by the Mahsud Waziris, so that Ghilzai traders could not come down as usual in the autumn, and there was talk of a military expedition. The Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, decided to tour down the Frontier with Sir James Lyall, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and as Sir Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary, fell ill, I was deputed to accompany the party.

I remember that we came down the Indus in boats as far as Kohat and then marched to Dera Ismail Khan. There Sandeman joined us, as he had been summoned to the Conference.

The first thing Sandeman did was to suggest to Sir James Lyall that Waziristan should be added to Baluchistan, so that he could introduce his tribal system there. Sir James Lyall said, "How would you propose to do it?" He answered in effect, "I would run a road from the Gumal to the Tochi behind the Waziris, put a small cantonment somewhere along it, and then take all the headmen into my service."

Of course, Sir James Lyall would not hear of the proposal for a moment, as he said Waziristan had always belonged to the Punjab.

Towards the end of the Conference Sandeman asked, would the Viceroy and Sir James Lyall object if he tried to open the Gomal from Zhob? They said, "No, if you think you can do it."

Sandeman went back to Quetta, and as soon as he got the orders from Calcutta he started for Zhob. As I dare say you know, he successfully marched down the Gumal, escorted by Waziris, with only one casualty, and established posts of the Mahsuds in the pass to keep it open for the future.

That was a wonderful feat of his. It compared with his opening of the Bolan Pass when it was closed years before.

When Sir Robert died I was asked to write his obituary notice for the *Pioneer*, which I did. I might, perhaps, just read you a few words at the end of it, which are better than what I can express now in my old age.

"Of Sir Robert Sandeman as an official chief and in his private relations, it is difficult in a public article, without seeming exaggeration, to say all that intimate acquaintance and affectionate admiration for his character would readily dictate. The story recently told in this paper of his journeying all the way from Bombay to Calcutta when about to embark on leave, in order to prevent one of his officers being transferred against his will from Baluchistan, is a true one, and is typical of the warm affection and support he accorded to those who had gained his confidence. No man was ever better served by his subordinates, whether European or Native. As may be supposed, he was a shrewd judge of character. He seemed to know by instinct whom he could trust, and once his confidence was given it was given unreservedly.

"Kind-hearted and generous, he was the cheeriest and most genial of hosts, and his hospitality was unbounded. In his friendships Sir Robert Sandeman was as enthusiastic and as thorough as in his official work, and the man who was fortunate enough to win his affection was always sure of the staunchest and most uncompromising ally. Even in his bitterest political conflicts he always had a friendly feeling for his opponents. He was kind and courteous to all men and feared none.

"It is the privilege of the little town of Las-Beyla in Southern Baluchistan to

" 'Keep safe his dedicated dust,
His sacred sleep,'

and we may be sure that the present Jam of Las-Beyla will be faithful to his trust.

"Sir Robert's last words on his deathbed were for the people he loved so well, and it is a satisfaction to his friends to feel that,

though he is gone, his influence and his example will survive, and that for many a generation to come his name will be remembered with affection and respect by the Pathan and Baluch tribesmen for whom he accomplished so much."

The company then stood and drank in silence to the memory of Sir Robert Sandeman.

NOTE ON A TIBETAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY*

By H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH

THIS is not a new, not even a revised work, but a reprint with smaller pages, margins and type (both Tibetan and English) of Jäschke's dictionary of 1881, a book of late difficult to obtain. This follows the reissue in 1929 of the same author's Tibetan grammar, also a reprint, but with a welcome supplement of fifty-seven pages.

To students of classical Tibetan, and of the central and western dialects, these two scholarly books, despite their age and somewhat archaic flavour, and incomplete as they are in some respects, are even now as indispensable as when they were first published. And this is true though several grammars (mostly on the modern central dialect of Lhasa) and a few dictionaries—*e.g.* Sarat Chandra Das' monumental work of 1,353 double column pages (Calcutta, 1902)—have since appeared.

But since Jäschke's day even Tibetan studies have made considerable way in the West, as well as in India. Indeed, one cannot help regretting that some competent scholar, or small group of scholars, had not been engaged to compile a supplement, embodying additional words, further meanings for words given by Jäschke, corrections and more book references. Such a supplement would have materially helped to advance Tibetan studies. For at present few Europeans can read any Tibetan work—ancient, medieval or modern—without constantly being brought to a halt by forms, and sometimes even by roots, given in no one existing dictionary. For Buddhist texts both Jäschke's and Sarat Chandra Das' lexicons are necessary. The reason for this is that, whereas Das gives far more references and Sanscrit correspondences, Jäschke is usually more reliable and suggestive. Indeed, despite all its material, Das' work is less in advance of Jäschke's than was Jäschke's on that of Csoma de Köros (Calcutta, 1834), or than was Csoma's on the Serampur dictionary (1826) and the medieval *Alphabetum Tibetanum* of Giorgi.

The Catholic missionaries' Hongkong dictionary, Tibetan into Latin and French, published in 1899, but commenced in 1852, with its 1,087 pages, can hardly be said to be in the same class as Sarat Chandra

* By H. A. Jäschke. 8½" × 6". Pp. xxii + 671. London: Kegan Paul. 1934.

Das', which was almost its contemporary. So much for existing dictionaries.

A few years ago we were promised in 1934 "a comprehensive dictionary of the Tibetan language with Sanscrit equivalents of important terms, loan-words and data on Tibetan living dialects" by M. Georges de Roerich of Nagar, Kulu, Punjab, and the Roerich Institute, New York, U.S.A., aided by a Tibetan colleague. Rich and vast new material was to be given. But, while we still eagerly awaited information as to the progress of M. Roerich's great undertaking, Jäschke's valuable book has reappeared in a somewhat more modest size than it had at its birth more than half a century ago. And this reappearance is indeed welcome, as it will materially assist students who cannot always obtain access to the few copies of the first issue in libraries, or carry about the ponderous work of Sarat Chandra Das.

In conclusion, we would venture the suggestion that the time has now come for Tibetan scholars in various countries to co-operate in the compilation of a Tibetan dictionary, preferably in three parts. The first part would be a Tibetan dictionary of Buddhistic literature, certainly with Sanscrit equivalents and references, and, if possible, also with Pāli, Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, and other equivalents and references, a task beyond the powers of any one man. The second part would contain the modern dialects, spoken between Baltistan and Western China. In this task officials, missionaries and others, fortunate to be stationed in or on the borders of Tibet, could assist by drawing up as phonetically correct as possible word lists of the Tibetan dialects of their districts. For cheapness these compilations might be lithographed, like Jäschke's little romanized Tibetan-English dictionary of 158 pages, which he himself lithographed in 1866 at Khyelang in a press still used a few years ago. For the central Lhasan dialect there is now available much material, also a fair amount for Ladakhi, and in addition G. Roerich is at work on the two Tibetan dialects of the upper valleys of Lahul, but for the many other dialects there is nothing or little, and that little usually phonetically unreliable. For this work some degree of uniformity for isolated workers would be requisite, also a general editor.

The third part would be based on the early and medieval inscriptions on stone, metal or wood images, on frescoed walls, etc., and on the Central Asian epistolary and other fragments, many of which the present Boden professor of Sanscrit at Oxford, Dr. Thomas, has recently edited. Philologically the value of this part would be great, even if the

material as yet available is somewhat limited. But even in our three parts we have omitted much—for instance, the whole field of the Bon literature and the secular medieval spoken language. And, when detailed work has been done by workers on these lines or some variant of them, then and then only will a sound comprehensive dictionary of the Tibetan language be possible. But it will require a scholar, combining in himself the qualities of Jäschke, Grierson and Skeat, to handle the collected material.

And, even when this is done, if ever it is, for such work is not much to the modern taste, it will be acknowledged that Jäschke and Csoma laid the foundations well. And, at any rate, may we hope that the appearance of this reprint will induce more students to take up this attractive, but difficult, because elusive, language?

REVIEWS

Iraq : From Mandate to Independence. By Ernest Main, M.A. With a foreword by the Right. Hon. Lord Lloyd. Pp. 267. Map and plates. George Allen and Unwin. 15s.

One of the many new things that arose out of the Great War was the Mandatory System—the word “mandate” was coined by General Smuts. This system was an attempt to reconcile the old practice of a division of the spoils by the victors with the new Wilsonian idea of self-determination. Among the mandated territories was ‘Iraq, and in this ancient land this novel experiment was commenced and concluded all within the short space of twelve years.

Mr. Main’s very interesting and well written book deals chiefly with the mandatory period, though he has chapters on the earlier history of this land of the two rivers and on the fascinating archæology of the country. A book of this kind was needed. Far less has been written about ‘Iraq than has been her due. For a variety of reasons a cloak of mystery and secrecy has obscured the many interesting events which have taken place there during the past twenty years. During the war years the censorship was more severe than anywhere else. Comparatively little appeared in the contemporary press regarding the rebellion of 1920, to quell which 60,000 troops were required. More has been written of many a small “show” on the North-West Frontier of India than of all the arduous activities of the R.A.F. in Kurdistan, while finally by no means unsuccessful attempts were made to hush up the story of the Assyrian massacres of 1933.

Mr. Main spent four years in ‘Iraq as editor of an English newspaper at Basra. He is obviously an acute observer and has delved beneath the surface in an endeavour to arrive at the true facts. He is inclined to the opinion that Great Britain relinquished her mandatory responsibilities with undue haste. There are others who hold this view, but it must be remembered that if there was one subject on which all political parties in England and the whole press were practically unanimous, it was regarding the necessity of getting out of ‘Iraq as soon as possible. Memories of the scandals of 1915 had not made the name of Mesopotamia—nor of ‘Iraq either—blessed. It was felt that Great Britain was lavishing money on a country to which she should never have gone and from which she was unlikely to obtain many benefits. Our only real interests were Imperial communications and oil. When these were secured, as they were secured by the Anglo-‘Iraq Treaty of 1930 and by the agreement between ‘Iraq and the ‘Iraq Petroleum Company, there appeared nothing to stay for. It was further thought that in face of the ever-rising tide of Arab nationalism we obtained better terms in 1930 than we would have later on. The example of Egypt was quoted, where there was little doubt that Zaghul in 1919 would have gladly accepted terms which he contemptuously rejected a few years later. Mr. Main admits the force of the argument that the standard of administration in ‘Iraq, though by no means perfect, was at least as good as that of many other independent countries. This was undeniable, though it must be admitted that the Ten Years’ Report on the Progress of ‘Iraq prepared by the British High Commissioner in 1931, painted an unduly rosy picture, while some people overlooked the fact that ‘Iraq was far from being a united country, since the Arabs, who themselves form not much

more than two-thirds of the whole population, are divided by religious and political differences of so acute a nature as to render the Middle Euphrates district the most potent threat to the stability of the country.

These and the other arguments are well brought out by the author, who writes: "By letting 'Iraq go, Britain has to some extent sacrificed British trade interests there, but she has removed any danger that might have arisen from hostile nationalism." And how strong such hostile nationalism can be was shown by the violent storm of anti-British feeling that swept the country after the Assyrian troubles of 1933.

In two highly interesting chapters entitled "Anglo-'Iraqi Relations" and "The League of Nations and 'Iraq's Independence," Mr. Main carefully traces the steps by which the 'Iraqis gained their independence. He rightly assigns much of the credit to the political genius of King Feisul, writing: "For a decade he manipulated ministries, shelved awkward questions and balanced issues between Britain and his extremists, until 'Iraq had been steered into independence in 1932. During these years he repeatedly proved his amazing cleverness as a diplomatist—everything that 'Iraq achieved appeared to be achieved by him." King Feisul's death within a year of his country becoming independent was an incalculable loss to 'Iraq and almost entirely precludes the possibility of sound prophecy for the future. He alone could have unified the country, but he died before the accomplishment of "his hope to unify the different religions and sects, so that they should all become 'Iraqis, all subjects in the same state and not Arab or Jew, Christian or Kurd." His son, King Ghazi, however well intentioned he may be, is young and inexperienced. Mr. Main mentions the dreams of a Pan-Arab confederation, by which King Feisul and many of his close adherents were attracted, but is correct in holding that with King Feisul's death such imaginary ideas are further than ever from the realm of practical politics. Indeed, with Ibn Saoud extending his power in the Arabian desert and the Hedjaz, their realization was at any time out of the question.

Mr. Main deals with the external relations of 'Iraq. These are important, as she has a very long land frontier. Relations with Turkey are quite satisfactory, though now that the hopes of oil have been realized Mustapha Kemal must regret the loss of the Mosul vilayet. Ibn Saoud remains unfriendly, but no immediate trouble is to be anticipated. The real danger is Persia, whose claims on the Shatt el Arab and to the Transferred Territories have been and still are a source of much anxiety and have recently compelled 'Iraq to appeal to the League. In connection with Persia, Mr. Main makes the pertinent remark: "The list of humiliations which the Persians have inflicted on British subjects and on British interests is a lengthening one. There have been too many insults to the British flag for them all to have been accidental."

One of the most interesting and certainly the most controversial chapters in the book is that entitled "Lawrence and the Arabs of 'Iraq." Lawrence is a legendary figure, and few people have been so much written about. But there is another side to the story, and this is less known. Were we wise to select the Emir Hussein rather than Ibn Saoud as leader of the Arabs? Had not Captain Shakespear been killed at the battle of Jarrab in January, 1915, things might have turned out differently. At it was, the Arab Bureau in Cairo had everything its own way, and probably there was no alternative open to the British Government but to accept its policy. Ibn Saoud has since shown himself to be one of the outstanding Arabs of history, but in 1915 his position was by no means secure, and the inevitable difficulties of dealing with the fanatical Akhwan must be taken into account. Nevertheless Mr. Main is correct in pointing out

that but for the subsidies in gold dealt out by Great Britain with so lavish a hand the Arab revolt would have made but little headway. He is also correct in asserting that later on much of this gold was employed to stir up the Arabs in 'Iraq against the British themselves—an action which the British Government chose to overlook when it lent to Feisul in his candidature to the throne of 'Iraq the support without which he certainly would not have succeeded.

Mr. Main deals with the internal administration of 'Iraq. He considers that 'Iraq as yet possesses few men of any really statesmanlike ideas. He fears that nepotism and corruption may impair the administration. He admits, however, that there has been a big advance since Turkish days. "One marked sign of progress is already evident: while the old officials thought it the natural thing to take a bribe, the younger generation, though perhaps accepting bribes, knows that it is wrong to do so." The reviewer knows that there are many officials of all grades who are trying to run a good show. Whether these men will continue to do so in face of small encouragement from above remains to be seen. In fact, it is most probable that if any marked deterioration in the administration occurs, it will mainly be the fault of those on top. Mr. Main considers that one of the main reasons for corruption among officials lies in the lowness of their salaries. As a matter of fact, salaries in 'Iraq are quite as high as in Egypt and far higher than in Turkey, Persia, or Syria. The trouble is that officials—non-officials too—have become accustomed to a standard of living far higher than the country can afford. Much of the blame for this must be laid at the doors of the British. Mr. Main thinks that the salaries of British officials were excessive and laid an undue burden on the finances of 'Iraq. Certainly their salaries were much higher than those of British officials in Palestine and Egypt, even allowing for the fact that these had a pension to look forward to instead of only a provident fund, generous though the latter was. On the other hand, 'Iraqis have frequently complained that even with these high salaries it has been impossible to attract really first-class British officials.

Mr. Main points out that it is in the Ministry of Interior that the biggest advance has been made. The police in particular are a smart and reasonably efficient force. But in the Ministry of Finance no adequate system of land tax has yet been evolved, while another great need of 'Iraq is Land Settlement. A start has been made on this with British settlement officers, but it will naturally be a very long time before the settlement of the whole country is completed.

Mr. Main is not optimistic regarding the commercial prospects of 'Iraq. Of course, oil will bring in a lot of money to the Treasury—according to the agreement with the Government the I.P.C. must pay annually a minimum of £400,000 *in gold*, and no doubt this amount will be considerably increased as oil production really gets going. On the other hand, 'Iraq has lost heavily by the curtailment of the *entrepôt* trade owing to the many restrictions imposed by Persia. Unfortunately, in trade "get-rich-quick methods" militate against any steady building up of a business. Much of the trade is at present in the hands of the Jews, a source of not a little jealousy. Agriculture should be the main wealth of the country, and, as Mr. Main points out, 'Iraq at present produces 80 per cent. of the world's dates. But farming methods are so bad and show so few signs of improvement that, even with the extensive irrigation schemes which are being carried out, there is small hope of 'Iraq becoming rich thereby. It is unfortunate that cotton-growing proved a failure. Cotton might have been grown despite climatic difficulties, but the Arab was far too impatient to take the trouble to grow it properly. Nor does Mr. Main hold out much hope for British commercial enterprise, despite the fact that Great Britain is 'Iraq's best customer;

and he adds: "So far as British trade interests were concerned, the British High Commissioner did little or nothing to help them."

'Iraq has certainly many problems to solve. Among the internal ones are (1) the armed tribes; (2) the indebtedness of nearly every class, whether fellah or official; (3) the Shia-Sunni friction; (4) the minorities—*i.e.*, the Kurds 600,000, the Jews 100,000, the Christians 100,000 (though of these last the Assyrians—20,000 to 25,000—must be enabled to leave 'Iraq as soon as possible). None of these problems are easy, and all require more statesmanship than may appear to exist in 'Iraq at present. But there is no one in Great Britain who does not hope that they will be solved. Great Britain for her own interests needs a strong and prosperous 'Iraq. Apart from this, any collapse in the façade of Government would greatly discredit Great Britain, for even if it was impossible in such a short time to build up foundations comparable to that of Egypt or India, it was the British Government which elected to give up the Mandate after less than twelve years.

Mr. Main's thoughtful and instructive book, which is far more than a mere guidebook, should be read by all interested in the Arab and in the Middle East. He has criticisms to make—he speaks of the "ever-optimistic" Report on the Progress of 'Iraq—and these are made from an independent angle and represent points of view which have largely been neglected. The book is well illustrated.

Lord Lloyd has written an illuminating foreword. While he does not entirely agree with some of Mr. Main's criticisms of the political activities with which Lawrence was identified, he underlines his remarks regarding the conflict between the two ideals of self-government and good government and regarding the importance of 'Iraq to British Imperial communications. In respect of the vexed question of possible British intervention in case of an internal rising, which might constitute a threat to British interests, he writes: "A great responsibility will rest on the British Ambassador and Air Force commander to ensure that British forces are not used, even passively, as an instrument of misgovernment, and that considerations of interest are not allowed to outweigh those of honour."

R. S. S.

The Tragedy of the Assyrians. By Lieut.-Col. R. S. Stafford, D.S.O., M.C. 8" x 5½". Pp. 235. Map. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1935. 8s. 6d.

It is a misfortune of the Assyrian people that they tend to excite in those who are at all intimately connected with them feelings, whether of sympathy or antipathy, so extreme as to distort reasoned judgment. Knowing this, and also that Colonel Stafford was in the closest contact with them, having been Administrative Inspector at Mosul during the Assyrian massacre of 1933 in that province, one opens his book in some anxiety lest it may prove a mere partisan tirade which would only serve to increase existing bitterness. Such fears are at once allayed by the restrained and judicial tone of the book, which inspires the fullest confidence in the author's impartiality. It is not merely that the facts given bear the impress of truth, but that their presentation has none of those tricks of over- and under-emphasis that betray the advocate rather than the judge. In plain language, free from all histrionics, Colonel Stafford summarizes the history of the Assyrians before, during and after the war, and, having thus filled in the background and given proper perspective to what follows, he describes in detail the terrible events of August, 1933, of which he has special authority to tell.

The historical matter contained in the earlier part of the book is not new, but

it is coherently and consecutively presented in very readable form with quotations from the more vital documents. The obligations incurred by the British Government towards the Assyrians, the circumstances in which they were incurred, and the extent to which they have been discharged are clearly set out, and a study of these chapters is commended to those who have subscribed to the occasional wild statements on this subject that have appeared in the Press. Colonel Stafford has not permitted himself to be drawn into controversy; he has contented himself with presenting the facts and leaving the reader to form his own conclusions. One cannot but admire his self-restraint and try to emulate it—a task difficult enough for the reviewer, whose excuse is far less than the author's.

His method has been, after a general historical introduction, to deal with his subject under different main heads. Thus one chapter is devoted to the settlement operations, another to the Assyrian Levies, a third to the contacts between the Assyrians and the League of Nations, a fourth to the Mar Shimun, and so on. This method, if it involves occasional overlapping and repetition, enables the reader to sort out the various components of the problem and to gauge the value of each. Little seems to have been omitted. The continual protests of the Turkish frontier officials might have been added to the list of obstacles to the settlement operations. No mention is made of the arrival in the spring of 1930 of a considerable number of Assyrians from Russia by way of Persia, who were admitted by the 'Iraq Government solely on compassionate grounds. The Assyrians are perhaps made to bear too much responsibility for the failure of the Baradost settlement scheme; some of them eventually did visit the district and sowed crops there, which they were prevented from harvesting by the subsequent raids from Barzan. Emphasis is rightly given to the alarm and despondency produced among the Assyrians by the announcement in 1929 of the British Government's decision unconditionally to recommend 'Iraq's candidature to the League in 1932 and by the absence of any mention of minorities from the text of the Treaty of 1930 (not 1931, as stated on p. 92), but more notice might have been given to the precisely opposite reactions of the 'Iraqi politicians to the same stimuli. These reactions caused the stock of those who desired immediate severance of the British connection to soar exultantly, while that of the Assyrians and others, who were, perhaps unduly, dependent on that connection, sagged in proportion, with the result that the claims of the Assyrians to the good offices of the 'Iraqi authorities lost much of their insistence. At the same time, the canvassing of the complaints and fears of the Assyrians by Captain Rassam and Mr. Cope for their petition to the League tended to re-arouse political and religious animosities just at the time when the temper of the 'Iraqis was becoming more uncompromising. The cumulative and combined effect of these unforeseen influences in preventing a final solution of the Assyrian problem before the date fixed for the removal of mandatory control, to which the British Government were already pledged, is perhaps insufficiently conveyed to the reader.

The latter part of the book, which deals with the terrible events of 1933, is compiled from Colonel Stafford's own experience and from evidence which he personally collected. It is the first complete account to be published, partly because no formal enquiry into the massacre has ever been held, and partly because steps were taken at the time to prevent publication of details which might have caused the passions that were seething in 'Iraq to overflow in worse excesses. In assessing responsibility for the causes of the massacre, Colonel Stafford continues to maintain a scrupulous impartiality. His conclusion that "up to last summer (presumably the summer of 1933 is meant) practically all responsible 'Iraqis wished to see the Assyrians living as contented citizens of 'Iraq" confounds those who

attributed sinister designs to the 'Iraqi authorities from the first, and may be quoted by the British Government in justification of their previous assurances to the League. At the same time, he does not convict the Mar Shimun, as he has been generally convicted in Baghdad, of direct complicity in the futile and fatal escapade of Yacu, which precipitated the trouble, nor does he consider the evidence to be conclusive that the first shot which started the fighting between the Assyrians and the 'Iraq Army came from the Assyrian side. The account of the Simmel Massacre is vivid and terrible; it is not a subject to dwell upon. It is some consolation to know that the civil authorities were not responsible and that the arrival of the Minister of the Interior prevented further massacres which had been planned by the military command—though this consolation wears thin when one reads of the tumultuous official welcome subsequently given to the troops and of the promotion and decoration awarded to their responsible commander. Still maintaining the rôle of judge, Colonel Stafford passes sentence :

“The 'Iraqi Army's callous brutality can never be forgiven. From the 'Iraqi point of view it was disastrous, and the Government in Baghdad, bowing to the strength of public opinion, found itself unable to take the one step that would have put it right in the eyes of the civilized world; namely, the punishment of the individuals responsible. Up to August 4 the 'Iraqi Government had an excellent case, but this case was completely destroyed by what happened in Simmel and elsewhere. The massacres have blackened the good name of 'Iraq for many years to come.”

There follows a melancholy picture of King Faisal's last visit to Baghdad, where he found passions raging which were beyond his power to control and even turned against himself, and whence after a month of disillusionment and sickness he departed “almost unnoticed” to die at Geneva five days later. At least he was spared the knowledge of the Simmel massacres, which was carefully kept from him by his ministers.

Mention must also be made of the last chapter of the book, “The Future of the Assyrians,” for this is in part its *raison d'être*. Memories are short, and there is a very real danger, as the author points out, that the problem of the resettlement of the Assyrians in some country other than 'Iraq, which is now generally agreed to be essential, will be shelved. Colonel Stafford will have performed a great service to the Assyrians if he helps to prevent such a perpetuation of the Assyrian tragedy. But there is other justification for the publication of this book. Passion has now had time to cool, and it is due to the British authorities, the 'Iraq Government, and to the Assyrians alike that the garbled accounts of these events that were published at the time should be corrected by the truth. Though the truth may not be wholly palatable to any of them, all of them may be thankful that it should have been presented to the world by one possessing the expert knowledge, good sense and moderation which Colonel Stafford so consistently displays.

R. S. M. STURGES.

The Princes of India. With a chapter on Nepal. By Sir William Barton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. With an Introduction by Viscount Halifax, K.G., G.C.S.I. Pp. 327. Demy 8vo. Nisbet. 15s.

As the author states in his Preface, this book is an attempt to provide the general reader with a succinct account of the history and constitutional position of the Indian States. It is, in effect, an attempt to bridge the gulf between the

somewhat arid and technical studies of Sir Lewis Tupper and Sir Willam Lee Warner on the one hand and the ephemeral and mostly valueless productions of the casual visitor to India on the other. Sir William has chosen an appropriate time for publication. Those who wish to acquire some knowledge of the Indian problem have many works by acknowledged authorities to which they can refer in matters relating to British India, but, although the States occupy a key position in the reformed constitution, recent sources of information regarding them are neither numerous nor authoritative.

The book, which is divided into fifteen chapters, forms easy and interesting reading. The first chapter deals with the early history of the States and traces their development through various stages of subordination to different Imperial Powers till the appearance of the British on the Indian scene. Sir William lays stress on the influence of Brahmanism in the development of the Rajput States and concludes that the semi-autonomous kingdom typified in the Indian States "constitutes irrefutable evidence that of all political institutions this form suits the Indian temperament." It would be pertinent to inquire how far the physical and geographical features of the country have contributed to the formation and persistence of these petty kingdoms.

In the next chapter Sir William traces the rise of British power in India and the successive elimination of European rivals—Portuguese, Dutch, and French—until the final overthrow of the Mahrattas left Britain paramount. He pays a tribute to Lord Wellesley's policy of subordinate alliances and condemns the weakness which led to the replacement of this policy by the "ring fence" system. The repudiation of responsibility beyond the sphere of the Company's territories which resulted from the adoption of the latter placed the Rajput States at the mercy of the Mahrattas, and led, after years of chaos and anarchy, to intervention and the firm establishment of paramountcy.

In the next two chapters the author contrasts the administrative arrangements in the States and the life of the people with the conditions obtaining in British India. He emphasizes the greater elasticity of the administration under personal rule and the strong sentimental appeal which its pomp and pageantry make to Indian feeling. He draws the conclusion, with which many will agree, that, given a good ruler, the Indian State system is more satisfactory than the impersonal bureaucracy of British India. While not minimizing the cases of misrule and their sinister effects, Sir William is clearly an admirer of the States. In some instances perhaps he carries his advocacy too far. For instance, it would be rash to accept without further scrutiny his statement that crime is more rife in British India than in the States. Nor can the fact that migration to British India is infrequent while "there is no hesitation on the part of British Indian subjects to move into the States" necessarily be accepted as evidence of contentment with princely rule. The facts are that the pressure of population on cultivable land is far greater in British India than in most of the States, and the opportunities of securing economic advantages by a move from the latter into the former few and far between.

Five chapters are devoted to a more detailed account of the history and leading features of the more important States. Of these the chapters on Mysore and Hyderabad are the best, and naturally so, for on these States the author writes with the authority derived from intimate personal knowledge and experience.

In Chapter XII. the author analyzes the results of the settlements made with the various States following the war of 1817-1818 and of the measures taken to adjust the relations between Rajput and Mahratta. He shows how the system of subordination led inevitably to wider and wider interpretations being placed upon

the right of the paramount power to intervene in the affairs of the States until the policy of intervention reached its climax in the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon.

In the concluding chapters Sir William deals with the problems of the present day, and has some interesting remarks to make about the relations between the Princes and the Political Department of the Government of India. He discusses later the attitude of the Princes towards federation. Few will quarrel with his conclusion that there was considerable justification for the complaints of the Princes that the right of interference had in many instances been exceeded. Equally will his conclusion be accepted that the odium which as a result attached to the Political Department was largely undeserved. Indeed, the officers of this department, so far from being hostile, were on the whole firm supporters of State privileges and friendly to their aspirations.

On the prospects of federation Sir William is not an optimist. He discusses the advantages and disadvantages of the scheme from the States point of view. Will, he asks, the federation be capable of evolving the strong Central Government essential to secure the maintenance of peace and order? At any rate, the Princes must put their own houses in order, for the weakening of feudalism, while giving rulers greater power, will also have the effect of liberating the democratic spirit of their subjects. This development may have unpleasant reactions when despotism and democracy are conjoined in a federation. But, if the Princes work together and combine with the conservative elements in British India to control and stabilize policy, all may yet be well.

Such in bare outline is Sir William's perspective of the States and their problems. He has written a book which, though perhaps some paragraphs might well have been omitted, cannot fail to be of great interest and value to all who wish to gain an insight into the Indian States and their problems. There are two statements which invite comment. In connection with the dispute between the Government of India and the late Jam Sahib of Nawanagar regarding customs duties, it is a little misleading (p. 112) to state that the former, in order to protect the British Indian taxpayer, imposed a customs line (the Viramgam line) across the neck of the peninsula. The facts are that this customs line, which had been in existence for many years, was removed about twenty-five years ago on certain conditions. It was reimposed because those conditions were being evaded to the detriment of the Imperial customs revenue.

In the footnote to page 282 it is stated that the Chamber of Princes has recently lost prestige owing to the secession *inter alios* of Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore. The fact is that the prestige of the Chamber of Princes was adversely affected from its inauguration because the Rulers of these States refrained from any active participation in its proceedings.

L. W. R.

The P.V.H. By Capt. and Brevet-Major G. S. Hurst, M.F.H., Royal Signals. Illustrated by Snaffles and Major H. M. Tulloch, The Poona Horse. Pp. xiii + 121. Aldershot: Gale and Polden. Price one guinea.

For the benefit of the uninitiated we may explain that the letters P.V.H. stand for Peshawar Vale Hunt, and the book is a history—and no unworthy history—of that famous institution. There are certain places whose very names upon the map have an almost irresistible appeal, and the sound of them stirs the blood like the sound of a trumpet. For me Peshawar has always been one of these, and I think that I am far from being alone in this respect. I defy anyone

who has ever lived in Peshawar, as so many members of our Society have, and has watched the sun rise above Mahaban and set behind Tartarra, with the endless play all the day long of light and shade and colour on the ring of bare brown hills, to deny that life there somehow had a zest and a thrill which it has often lacked elsewhere. No doubt this feeling derives from many sources and is compounded of many ingredients, some of which may be more potent than horse and hound. But the place would not be quite the same, nor would it have set the same spell upon us, had we not been able for four and a half months of every cold season to reckon on two days a week of sport almost comparable, at its best and while it lasts, with anything outside the shires in England. While it lasts, I say, and so saying I do not so much refer to the comparative shortness of the season as to the fact that in Peshawar we meet at daybreak, find within an hour or not at all, have a rousing gallop of from twenty to forty minutes over real sporting country, and mostly finish the day's sport by ten o'clock. So the magistrate and the judge and the political officer can go hunting with a clear conscience, since nine times out of ten they will be back to begin the duties of their day at the usual hour, or very near it.

"The best of all ways to lengthen our days," sang Tom Moore, "is to steal a few hours from the night,"—and surely the P.V.H. and what it stands for give better excuse for the robbery than the bacchanalian joys which the poet had in mind. And what does it stand for? I think I cannot do better than quote *in extenso* a song which used to be very popular at hunt dinners (*vide* page 28) and suchlike gatherings, when the century was young, premising only that in that remote epoch we did not buzz out to the meet in high-speed cars, but hacked out with the hounds, or drove out behind horse-flesh; and, as many readers of the Society's Journal will recall, with the meet at sunrise eight or ten miles out, this meant a mighty early start.

The song goes to the tune of the Eton Boating Song, like this:

Six o'clock in the morning,
 Stars in a frosty sky,
 Never a sign of the dawning,
 The roadside trees slip by,
 For cold and discomfort scorning
 We're starting for Daudzai.*
 Oh! why did we heed the warning
 To rise ere the sun was high?

Seven o'clock, and a shiver
 Comes with the morning breeze.
 Dawn shines pale on the river,
 Light steals under the trees,
 And we're grateful to the Giver,
 The Giver of days like these.
 Oh! a wonderful cure for the liver
 Is a saddle between your knees!

Eight, and we're drawing a covert,
 Cold forgotten and done.
 Hark! there's a note! there's another!
 Running together as one

* Pronounced in three syllables.

Down to the river and over,
 The pack flashes out in the sun.
 Now take your good mare and shove her
 Along. We are in for a run.
 For'ard on! Fast and faster
 Hounds speed ahead in their course.
 But look! there's a check, and the Master
 Reins in his brave brown horse,
 And sings out, "Hold hard on that caster,"
 Or, maybe, says something worse.
 Let a lady forgive him if past her
 There rattle the sound of a curse.
 Hark there! Rector has found it,
 Happiness close at his side,
 Druid and Carver resound it—
 Set your horse into his stride.
 For here yawns—no way round it,
 And most infernally wide—
 The Chaba drain. Now I'll be bound it
 Will show who's got grit inside!
 So—forward on towards Garhi,
 The wind whistling past our ears
 Takes with it every worry,
 Leaves neither hopes nor fears
 For aught save the chase and its hurry,
 When—Tally Ho! Whoop! Three cheers!
 Making his last wild scurry,
 Our quarry to view appears.
 Still he plods on before us,
 Only one field ahead,
 Till hounds with a crashing chorus
 Are on him. He's down! he's dead!
 And a feeling of pity creeps o'er us
 For the poor little life that is sped.
 But to moralize now would bore us,
 So let's make an end instead.
 But the question by which we're confronted,
 "How are we justified?"
 Wholly declines to be shunted;
 So let us this way decide.
 Why should our pleasure be stunted?
 We are lords of creation wide,
 If it's bad for the jack to be hunted,
 It is good for a man to ride.

My apologies are due to Major Hurst, for I have kept him waiting unduly long. His book is a competent and comprehensive account of the hunt and all its concerns, viewed in every aspect, from the beginning, nearly seventy years ago, down to the present day, and the illustrations are wholly admirable. First we have the author's introduction and then the history of the hunt, in the course of which we may follow the hounds to Kabul, whither they went in 1880, and back,

and are presented to such great men as General Sir Robert Onesiphorus Bright, who was Master in 1865, Captain Tarte, Captain Deacon, Colonel Irvine (who met his death by drowning in the Nagoman River while hunting hounds in January, 1919), and Major Wallace, Master from 1927 to 1930. In his time, the author modestly opines, "the P.V.H. probably reached its zenith." Well, the records which he quotes show that it had grand sport then, but *vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*, and by all accounts Major Hurst's own mastership furnishes good evidence that the breed is not yet extinct. There follow sections devoted to the hounds, the country, the quarry, the sport, the point-to-point races, a series of appendices, and a most delightful map. I wish I could reproduce Major Hurst's views about the people of the Peshawar Valley, the breeding of foxhounds in India, the jackal as a quarry compared with the English fox, the provision of "artificial assistance" when scent is poor (against which practice the great masters resolutely set their faces), and many other matters. But considerations of space forbid me to follow Major Hurst over all this line of country. You may take it from me, however, that throughout he writes with the authority derived from close observation and a fund of first-hand knowledge and with a genuine and infectious enthusiasm.

Come now, ladies and gentlemen. Like *Lorna Doone*, the book is "as good as Devonshire cream, almost," and all profits on the sale of it go to assist the finances of the hunt. To many of us it will recall happy, happy days in the past, and the pictures on pages 71 and 93 are alone worth a guinea of anybody's money. So out with your cheque-books and send along your orders.

EVELYN HOWELL
(Whipper-in, 1904-1908).

Gurkhas. Handbooks for the Indian Army, M.C.R.-G-2. By Captain (now Major) C. John Morris (2nd Bn., 3rd Q.A.O. Gurkha Rifles). Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933. Pp. iii and 179. With chart showing terms used in Gurkha relationships and a coloured map of Nepal showing distribution of tribes. 9½" × 5½". Pp. 169. Maps and plans. Delhi: Publications Office. Price Rs. 5.8, or 8s. 9d.

If we look round in the rather voluminous literature on Nepal and the Nepalese we find very little material on the tribal organization, the spiritual and material culture—in a word, on ethnology. This must be attributed to the fact that the comparatively few Europeans who were allowed to enter the country had no opportunity of studying the remote valleys and villages and thus the life of the tribes outside the higher cultivated towns. So, for example, one of Brian H. Hodgson's *Miscellaneous Essays*, dealing with "Law and Legal Practice of Nepal," consists only of records of what was, in those times, considered to be the official law at Kathmandu, based on information given by educated natives. Sylvain Lévi's standard work *Le Népal* (three vols., Paris, 1905), however fundamental it may be for the study of the early history and the archæology, contains very little on ethnology, and the author himself observes that during his very short stay in Nepal he was not able to get into touch with the simpler people and thus could not study their manners and customs. The only book which, until recently, provided us with a large material on the tribes and their social organization was Colonel Eden Vansittart's Handbook for the Indian Army *Notes on Gurkhas*, which appeared in 1890. A second edition followed in 1906; and the third, revised by Colonel B. U. Nicolay, appeared in 1915. A reprint was then

published in 1918. Captain (now Major) C. J. Morris's present book is an entirely rewritten edition of the handbook and contains "practically none of the original book."

The book is divided into three parts, the third of which are the Appendices. Part I. (pp. 1 to 127) contains thirteen chapters dealing with the geography, the administration, and the history of Nepal (Chapters I. to III.); the people of Nepal; their social organization, and an outline of their manners and customs (Chapter IV.); and monographs of those tribes which are ordinarily enlisted—viz., Thakurs, Chetris, Gurungs, Magars, Limbus, Rais, Sunwārs, and Tamangs (Lamas, or Murmis) (Chapters V. to XII.). Chapter XIII. is devoted to tribes not ordinarily enlisted, as Newars, Dotials, Tharus, and Sherpas; furthermore, the line boys and finally the Menial tribes are treated here. Part II. concerns Gurkha Recruiting (introductory and historical; general; regimental; pensions and estates) and the Gurkha Reserve (Chapters XIV. and XV.). Seven valuable "Appendices" are attached to the book, of which the following are important for anthropological and historical studies: Appendix 1—Table of Gurkha relationships, with explanatory notes; Appendix 2—Miscellaneous information about Nepal, Nepalese era, names of months; Census figures; Appendix 3—Text of the Treaty of 1923 between Nepal and Great Britain; and Appendix 7—Bibliography of Nepal. Finally, at the end of the book we find a very fine "skeleton map" of Nepal, showing, in various colours, the distribution of the principal tribes.

If we compare Chapters V. to XII. with the respective chapters of the previous editions we state the astonishing fact that the numbers of clans and kindreds given by Major Morris are much larger and show various declinations. In the Preface the author remarks that "it would be most interesting to know if these (that is to say, the clans and kindreds which are not to be found in the former editions) have come into being since this book was first written or whether they had merely not been noted in the earlier editions." I may suggest the latter was the case, having made the personal experience how very difficult it is to obtain complete and trustworthy information from Gurkhas as regards their tribal organization. The altogether unique completeness of Morris's lists—if completeness can be reached at all here—is admirable indeed and represents his chief merit, making his book the superior source for any further studies on the ethnology and sociology of Nepal. Still, his studies are by no means finished yet, since there are many details and even problems to be enlightened. I understand that we can expect, this coming year, another book by Morris which will be especially devoted to the social organization, and, furthermore, the author is going to return to Nepal very soon for anthropological field work. It must be observed that Major W. Brook Northey's and Major Morris's book, *The Gurkhas: their Manners, Customs and Country* (London, 1928), contains a rich material of ethnological facts, too, and that, consequently, both publications supplement each other. The manners and customs, as birth, marriage, and mourning ceremonies, etc., are described in more detail in *The Gurkhas*, while the tribal organization is more exactly treated in the present handbook. Many details are given by Morris for the first time, as, for example, his notes on "Blood-brotherhood" (p. 40), an institution which was not even mentioned in the earlier literature except for a very brief note in Sylvain Lévi's work. I was fortunate to get some information thereupon when I collected my records on the tribal law of Nepal from the Gurkha prisoners in 1918, but it was impossible for me to publish my very large material without a reliable means of control, which I could only expect to get from a scholar whose studies were based on a permanent contact with many more individuals than those whom I met myself, and who could

study the tribal organization and the customary law in the country. Only Morris's (and Northey's) books enabled me eventually to publish my records, and I wish to take this opportunity to renew my thanks to Major Morris, which I have already expressed in my own publications ("A Marriage Ceremony of the Pun Clan, Magar, at Rigah, Nepal," in *Man*, No. 23, February, 1934; and "Sitte und Recht in Nepal," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, vol. 49, 1934). I will give only one example to show how interesting the comparison of some details of our books may be. Morris writes (p. 39, footnote 2): "The popular derivation of the word *khas*, as meaning 'the degraded' from the Nepali *khasnu*, to fall, is probably an invention on the part of the Brahmans, and is without foundation." But one of my informers gave a rather detailed description of how a Thakur, by intermarriage with a girl of the Gurung tribe, would lose his caste and enter the caste "Khas," which is, allegedly, represented by, so to say, degraded Thakurs (see my *Sitte und Recht in Nepal*, p. 236). I don't want to say, of course, that my informations given by a few individuals are a trustworthy source which could in any way compete with Morris's rich material, but still they may be of some use as suggestions. If there should be any contradictions between Morris's and my own publications, the latter must in any case be considered the less reliable.

In one word: Morris's *Gurkhas* is, no doubt, the standard work on the tribal organization of Nepal, and we can only wish that the learned author will provide us, in the future, with still more material on the customs, manners and beliefs of the various tribes of the country, with special consideration of local peculiarities.

LEONHARD ADAM.

Minto and Morley. 9" x 6". Pp. xi + 447. Macmillan. 1934. 21s.

"Public opinion is growing all the while, is daily becoming more powerful, and cannot be ignored. What is the origin of the mistake sometimes made in Great Britain? It is that men are standing still and do not see the movement here in India."

These words were spoken by Lord Curzon some time before he relinquished the Viceroyalty which he held for seven years, but it is clear that, while he recognized the movement and its deep significance, he must be numbered among those who were standing still. His brilliant ability, dictatorial control of all affairs and petty interference with minutest details, apparently precluded him from taking any steps to meet the legitimate demands for further development of self-governing institutions, the last step having been taken by the Councils Act of 1892. He was succeeded in November, 1905, by Lord Minto, who was well known as a gentleman rider, a keen follower to hounds, and a soldier who had served in many parts of the world. He had only recently relinquished the post of Governor-General in Canada, where he had displayed statesmanlike qualities, quick decision, and a dauntless courage to lead. "Minto," said the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, "always knows when to lead and when to stand still." He was, in short, the highest type of the old governing class of England. A few days after his arrival in India, there was a change of governments in England. The Conservatives were defeated, the Liberals took their place with an overwhelming majority, and Mr. John Morley became Secretary of State for India. He was an advanced Liberal in views, an autocrat in practice—no flatterer of democracy, no demagogue. He believed in self-government, provided it coincided with his own views, and was dictated by himself. His most difficult task in regard to India lay in impressing his autocracy on a sentimental Parlia-

ment, and persuading it that he was a disciple of Edmund Burke, while at heart he was an admirer of the Marquis of Dalhousie. The numerous letters exchanged between him and Lord Minto over a period of five years, and now released by Lady Minto, are of the greatest interest, especially as they show that the initiation of the Reforms of 1910 lay with the Viceroy and not, as is generally supposed, with the Secretary of State, who indeed showed a reluctance somewhat remarkable in a Liberal statesman. When Lord Minto arrived in India he found the country in a state of agitation and unrest which had been brought to a head by the recent partition of Bengal, but he wisely reflected, when seated in the Viceregal howdah, that the cautious elephant of the East might be more adapted to testing rotten bridges and quicksands than the racehorse of the West, and that the obstacles presented by the Hugli and the Indus might require treatment different to that he had given to Becher's and Valentine's Brooks. He determined not to hurry, to see matters for himself, and not to come to any conclusion until he had made an extensive tour and put himself in a position to differentiate clearly between sedition which should be suppressed and legitimate aspirations which should be met. In March, 1907, the Government of India laid their proposals in regard to Reforms before the Secretary of State; and in May Lord Morley, acknowledging the receipt of the despatch, said: "Those proposals . . . were not framed in accordance with instructions conveyed to you from home. This move in advance has emanated entirely from the Government of India. This initiative you took as a great step towards satisfying the present requirements of the Indian Empire." A considerable amount of private correspondence in regard to details ensued, which shows that a degree of pressure had to be brought on the Secretary of State to implement the general approval conveyed in his despatch. In August, 1908, he apparently felt disturbed that he might not get full credit for "the great step forward," and wrote to Lord Minto: "I therefore would venture to suggest that in your final despatch you should wind up with some sentence inviting whatever expansion may be thought worthy of consideration by His Majesty's Government, and promising your earnest and faithful co-operation. To nobody in the world would this sort of language and this attitude come easier than from you: for nobody known to me is better endowed with unselfish public spirit and honest magnanimity." Almost a supplication. And yet Lord Esher, an intimate friend of Lord Morley, records, in a memorandum dated October, 1908, that the Viceroy was "a mere puppet of the Secretary of State."

The book further describes the strong measures Lord Minto adopted to check sedition and terrorism and his difficulties in gaining the acceptance of the Secretary of State; also his difficulty in inducing the latter to agree to the appointment of an Indian to his Executive Council. He, however, gained his points, and on January 25, 1910, had the satisfaction of opening the new Imperial Legislative Council and imprinting a great step forward in the history of India. He left India at the end of the same year; and time is showing what a great Viceroy he was and how by his instinct, sympathy, and knowledge of men gained in the camp, the field, the racecourse, and the prairie, he saw the future needs of India more clearly than a very remarkable Secretary of State.

But the Viceregal throne is not altogether an altar of sacrifice. Lady Minto also shows happily the diversions of a Viceroy, or some of them, on tour, in the jungle, in Calcutta, and in Simla, while the former of the last two was still the capital, and the deodars of the latter yet retained the fragrance and romance with which they had been endowed by Mr. Rudyard Kipling.

S. B. PATTERSON.

The Summa Philosophiae of al-Shahrastānī. Kitāb Nihāyatu 'l-Iqdām fi 'ilmi 'l-Kalām. Edited, with a translation from manuscripts in the Libraries of Oxford, Paris, and Berlin, by Alfred Guillaume. Oxford University Press. 1934.

Considering the fame of the treatise on religious and philosophical sects (*Kitābu 'l-Milal wa-'l-Nihal*), which was edited by Cureton in 1846 and has been translated into Persian, Turkish, and German, we may wonder at the indifference hitherto shown in the East, hardly less than in Europe, to several other works by Shahrastānī on the same subject. Of these the largest and most important is the *Nihāya*, which Dr. Guillaume has now edited for the first time. Though inferior in variety and general interest, its systematic exposition of Muslim scholasticism will be found extremely instructive as a complement to the wide historical survey given in the *Milal*. Here the author takes us right into the heart of the system. Arguments, objections, and replies are set out in detail; the "logic-machine," as it has been somewhat irreverently called, lies open before us, and if we cannot always follow its complexities, at least there is every chance of seeing how it works. Books of this kind are difficult to read. One has to learn the method and technique in order to understand the reasoning, which often is very subtle, and probably in most cases left the opponent unconvinced.

Few nowadays would care to go through the whole process whereby Shahrastānī establishes to his own satisfaction, though with some disagreements and honest doubts, the doctrine of the orthodox Ash'arite school to which he belonged; yet his book contains much that is indispensable to students of Muslim theology and deserves the attention of anyone interested in Muslim thought, whether religious, ethical, or political. *Kalām* cannot be ignored on the ground that its professors only dispute about such abstract questions as, "Is the non-existent a thing?" During the first centuries, when the future development of Islam lay in the balance, theological speculation influenced the course of history more profoundly than many battles won by the sword. Crude expressions of the Qur'ān were forged by dialectic into formidable weapons of attack and defence and used to build up elaborate articles of faith concerning the nature of God, revelation and reason, predestination and free-will, etc. Not till the struggle between orthodoxy and liberalism had been decided did *Kalām* lose touch with the masses. The Ash'arite triumph sapped its vitality: it was already moribund when Ghazali gave it the *coup de grâce*, though for a long time, like the Hydra, it went on reproducing its full array of familiar heads.

As the editor justly observes, "This particular *Summa* has a very real importance of its own." Shahrastānī, who survived Ghazali by some forty years, preferred to look further back. The *Nihāya* is the lineal descendant of the *Maqālāt* of Ash'arī, of which the *editio princeps* has been published recently in the *Bibliotheca Islamica*. "These two works," says Dr. Guillaume, "are separated by more than two centuries of bitter controversy in theological and philosophical circles, and the stream of thought has left indelible marks upon the later work. Islam, as al-Ash'arī left it, had to be adapted and reinterpreted to meet the needs of the growing intellectualism: Shahrastānī's work indicates the nature and extent of that growth during the two centuries." In this connexion it is curious that the author did not discuss the atomic theory, which many Western scholars regard as the chief original contribution made by Muslims to philosophy. An excursus on the subject (printed as an appendix in the present edition), though undoubtedly by his hand, is wanting in the oldest MS. and cannot have formed part of the scheme that he planned and completed. Dr. Guillaume describes him as a deeply religious man, an acute critic with some claims to be regarded as an original

thinker, tolerant and impartial; and points out that "his sturdy intellectual independence made him appear somewhat of a dangerous modernist" in the eyes of his fellow-schoolmen. No one is likely to find fault with this tribute to his mind and character, but personally I should hesitate to add that "Shahrastānī is the last great philosopher of Islam before Averroes." He does not seem to me to possess either the intellectual power of Averroes or the originality of Ash'arī. It is no disparagement to the *Nihāya* if we place its author below a select class which includes men like Farabi, Avicenna, and Suhrawardi al-Maqtūl, the founder of the Ishrāqī philosophy.

The editor has done his work thoroughly. Three MSS. (Oxford, Paris, Berlin) were at his disposal and have been collated; they are approximately of the same date (A.H. 580-607). The text is based on the Bodleian copy, variants being given in the footnotes, while the list of errata and corrigenda (pp. 163-169) bears witness to the pains which have been taken to remove causes of obscurity so far as possible. An abridged translation, which occupies 160 pages, greatly increases the value of the work as an introduction to the study of *Kalām* and will be found most helpful. It errs, if at all, on the side of over-literalness. No doubt there are dangers in paraphrasing, but, in the absence of a commentary, may not this expedient now and then be legitimate and perhaps even necessary for the purpose of making the argument intelligible? I confess that in some places the English version puzzles me nearly as much as the original. Very likely, however, that is my own fault. P. 43, etc., read Ghāliya; p. 131, n. 3, 'iwaḍ; p. 137, 'Ādhīmūn; p. 140, Jaiḥūn; p. 143, n. 1, *Zabūr*.

Dr. Guillaume is to be congratulated on having completed, notwithstanding adverse circumstances, an important and singularly difficult piece of work in a manner which does equal credit to his industry and learning. The Clarendon Press and the Imprimerie Catholique at Beyrout, where the Arabic portion was printed, have produced between them a stately volume.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

The Kāṭhā Upaniṣad. An introductory study in the Hindu doctrine of God and of human destiny. By J. N. Rawson, Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion in Serampore College. 9" × 5½". Pp. xviii + 241. Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, London, and Association Press, Calcutta. 1934. 12s. 6d. net.

Hindu Mysticism according to the Upaniṣads. By Mahendranath Sircar, Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta. 8½" × 5½". Pp. ix + 344. London: Kegan Paul. 1934. 15s. net.

The Kāṭhā Upaniṣad is cast, as its name implies, in the form of a story, the conclusion of which is that the secrets of existence are revealed by Death himself (Yama, *alias* Mṛityu) in a long discourse to a living youth. Professor Rawson's study of the Kāṭhā may be of interest to some even among the non-specialist readers of this Journal. Anyone interested in Hindu religion has here a chance, even if, like the reviewer, he be innocent of Sanskrit, of coming to fairly close terms with an actual Upaniṣad without excessive concentration. After a full introduction and a summary by way of first aid, the text is taken in sections of a few lines each, first in Devanagari, then in Roman character—which incidentally enables the unskilled to sample Sanskrit verse; then follows an English translation, and then a commentary on the section. The reader who so desires can limit himself to running through the translation and the introduction.

The commentary is concerned less with questions of scholarship than with the essential religious and philosophic meaning of this ancient work, viewed in the light of modern knowledge.

“I too [says Professor Rawson] started out under the guidance of Śaṅkara and Deussen, regarding the Upaniṣad as a monistic Vedānta work with certain dualistic (Sāṃkhya) accommodations, but have been forced to a different conclusion. . . . The . . . standpoint I now view as definitely theistic, sometimes emphasizing the unity of all . . . but never . . . teaching the negative idealistic pantheism or acosmism of Śaṅkara.”

The ideology of the Kaṭhā Upaniṣad is, moreover, in the author's view, on the central and direct line of Upaniṣadic development, which leads to the (on the whole) theistic Gīta and Vedānta-sūtras.

This view of the Upaniṣads goes somewhat beyond those of such recent authorities as Farquhar and Urquhart, but is supported by much which appears *prima facie* to be good evidence, the result of first-hand research. It seems to receive a measure of support also from the opinions expressed by Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan in his *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads* (1924), though the latter takes up what may be described as a middle position as between Śaṅkara and Rámānuja.

Professor Sircar's book, though more general in its subject than Professor Rawson's, will be found more difficult by the general reader by reason of its inevitable use of philosophic language in many passages. It gives an able exposition of Upaniṣadic thought as understood by an orthodox Advaita Vedāntist—that is to say, of the beliefs which, in their outlines, are those of the greatest body of *sannyāsis* (ascetics) and of large communities of laymen in widely separated parts of India. The quest of the Upaniṣads, according to Professor Sircar, is the quest for real Being. The gross can ill reflect Being; the fine can reflect it well. We must become free from the dualities of the gross life. The freedom of the self, which occupied such a prominent part in the systems of Kant and Fichte, and was installed by Schopenhauer as the transcendent reality, is not independent of relativity. But free being possesses such independence; and in transcendent being the Upaniṣads find the true Reality, which may be discovered by a supra-logical intuition. While religious emotion touches only the emotional being, transcendent intuition penetrates the depths of being. Hence theological conceptions, though found in the Upaniṣads, will not be found to be their dominant ideas. If at times the Upaniṣads affirm the doctrine of grace, it is simply as the saving power of the Ātman (at once the universal and the individual self), in which reality and salvation reside. The mysticism of the Upaniṣads, according to the author, is not a contemplation of any values, but a contemplation of the eternal Silence; not of emptiness, but of “the Pleroma of Eternal Light, as the Gnostics call it.” The ethical side of the Upaniṣads, if not ignored, seems to be taken for granted by the author. He develops very fully many branches and aspects of Upaniṣadic thought, and one has the impression that there is some repetition of thought, which might have been avoided, in the course of his book. His acceptance of the anatomical theories of the ancient writers is remarkable in one whose command of English eloquence attests his culture. But he manages to avoid, except in certain chapters, the free use of untranslated and often obscure Sanskrit terms to which we have been accustomed in the general run of books by Indians on the Hindu religion.

Such a work as his has only in comparatively recent years come to be within the power of Indian scholars to produce. Those whose predecessors devoted their main attention to law and to political ideas have developed successively a fruitful

interest in science, history, economics, and of late years also in philosophy, a study for which Indians have, within limits, an obvious aptitude. The newer Indian universities in particular have been very properly reviving the active and critical study of Indian philosophy, which, according to an Indian writer on the subject, has passed some centuries in a state of torpor. The study of Western philosophy having meanwhile been long cultivated in the older Indian universities, Indians are able to lay the foundations of future progress by ascertaining the relations between the philosophies of their country and those of the outside world. To this end the present work, making the Advaita Vedānta explicit in the language of Western thought, is a useful contribution. A. F. K.

A Search in Secret India. By Paul Brunton. With a Foreword by Sir Francis Younghusband. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. vii+312. Illustrations. Rider. 15s.

Mr. Paul Brunton's account of the people he met in India is very interesting. It is the work of an able journalist who took an unusual line of country.

If the present reviewer's knowledge of Meher Baba and Hazrat Babajan of Poona is an adequate test, his stories of the lives and methods of the many strange characters he met are reasonably accurate. Most of his tales ring true, as everyone who has discussed matters spiritual with Indians will recognize; but, in this respect, the book is spoiled by his first and last encounters. The magician out of Egypt may be not unlike many clever conjurers to be met both east and west of Suez; but very few, if any, Europeans have believed that they have acquired the capacity to fall into a spiritual trance under the guidance of a Maharishee, as Mr. Brunton apparently does.

This incident is perhaps to be explained by his claim to dual experience—to a capacity for scientific investigation and to a study of little known by-paths of psychological experiment. "You cannot argue with a prophet, you can only disbelieve him." Mr. Brunton recognizes this well enough when he is dealing with minor false prophets; and he cannot complain if the same attitude is adopted to his own belief in his "spiritual trance" at Arunachala.

A strain of mysticism is more or less generally latent in the human race. In an age when a narrow materialistic attitude has made deep inroads into the traditional religions of Europe, many people may turn to strange cults; but to the great majority the Yogis' attempt to know the Unknowable must appear unhealthy and even dangerous to mental stability. Mr. Brunton admits this danger; and, back in England, he begins to feel that some parts of his story are incredible.

J. C. C.

The Promise of all Ages. By Christophil. Pp. 254. London: Simpkin Marshall, Ltd. 5s. net.

This book is a devotional and somewhat rhapsodic account of the Babi-Baha'i movement, written by an anonymous and fervent adherent, who speaks of Baha'u'llah as "the mirror of divine perfection, the Supreme Spokesman and Vicegerent of God." Though the name which he has adopted means Christ-lover, his Christology is decidedly Islamic, unlike that of any Christian community. He emphasizes the eschatological side of Baháism, holding that the Balfour Declaration is a sign that an epoch has ended and a new world-age begun, and regarding the present condition of affairs as terribly serious. "When one looks with saddening eyes and aching heart across Christendom and beyond its borders and sees everywhere the unwilling disruption of the social and economic order, the neglect of religion, the continuous enfeeblement of what is tender and

noble and creative in human nature, and the unrelieved failure of all efforts to convert or to pacify those dark and desolating passions that threaten to sink all civilized mankind in final ruin," the question arises, What can we do to be saved? And the answer is, to accept the Bahai New Testament, estimated at about a thousand compositions, of which no more than perhaps fifty are now within the reach of the English reader. Of this New Testament some extracts are communicated, adumbrating a highly ambitious scheme for the unification of mankind, with an economic and legal system both to run throughout the entire globe. Every national government is to have its corps of police to preserve order, and the central world-government will have a paramount police force to maintain peace among the nations and to reduce to subjection any aggressor. At the apex of the system stand two signal institutions, the Guardianship and the Universal House of Justice. The Guardianship is a hereditary office, it would seem, in the family of Baha'u'llah. The House of Justice elected by all the peoples of the earth is the supreme legislative body. Any form of disobedience to the Guardian or the House in their respective spheres is forbidden under penalty of the dire wrath of God.

Similar schemes, on a very limited scale, have, since the establishment of the League of Nations, been suggested by practical statesmen, though without the hereditary Guardianship (or monarchy). If it be true that "the distinction of Baha'u'llah's Revelation from all before it is that by the Ancient Decree of God it is to be accepted by all humanity," at any rate we know our destination.

Considerable interest attaches to the descriptions of Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha quoted from European and American enthusiasts. Those of us who were less thrilled should remember Carlyle's dictum that if a hero is no hero to his *valet de chambre*, the fault lies not with the hero, but with the valet.

D. S. M.

Lands of Many Religions. By Marcu Beza. Dent. 10s. 6d.

There is much pleasure and some profit to be derived from this Rumanian pilgrimage round the holy places of the Near East. Mr. Marcu Beza has a rambling, ambling manner, the style of which rises as the book progresses; and the result is a collection of impressions and legends which will be invaluable on the spot and agreeable anywhere. He handles with easy grace the Palestinian folklore, and his method forms a useful and interesting pendant to the masterly analyses of Dr. Canaan, though the reader is sometimes not quite certain whether the traditions or explanations are local, Rumanian or evolved from Mr. Beza's own imagination. A good example of the "garrulous god-like innocence" of his technique is the visit to the Monastery of the Cross in Jerusalem; a less favourable perhaps is the devalorization of the Bathsheba story into a rendering more suitable to the Probate, Admiralty and Divorce Division. Some of the odd incalculable motives of monkish action will be familiar to those who know the Holy Land: "Ignat, a Rumanian monk having lived in the desert some twenty years, went to Sinaia in Rumania where he had been previously, but *annoyed at the altering of the calendar* he took the road back to Mar-Sabba" (this unusual spelling of Mar-Saba finds a parallel later in "Chicu," known to lovers of Cyprus as the Monastery of Kykko). He is critical of the irreligious Zionist: "Don't they expound the Bible in the school?" an Englishman asks the Jewish colony in which the festivity begins with the singing of the Internationale under a portrait of Karl Marx. "Well, you see they know the Bible, everyone reads it, why overload the curriculum?" The Englishman turned to me, "That's a curious

thing." "Yes, and an absurd one." I added, "Men who almost owe their existence to the rise of their religion now try to disparage it."

The summing-up of Khidr, the Moslem counterpart of the Prophet Elijah, is finely done: "Somewhere between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea he discovered the well of immortality, he drank thereof and now wanders through the world, at his approach the lights of his sanctuaries catch fire and shine"; and so is the description of the romantic and exquisite fountain of Daphne by Antioch. The author is inspired to his highest flight in the last paragraph of the book, describing Mount Sinai, "A little further and I found myself on the summit of Mount Sinai—a unique moment resembling nothing else in life. As far as eye could reach the whole was solid granite beneath the last flames of the sunset. Great mountain beyond mountain stood motionless in purple magnificence. The silence which had impressed me the whole way up was complete here, supernatural, overwhelming. Nothing stirred—not a living thing. Only the wind, and in it I recognized the voice of God." Mr. Beza has been particularly fortunate in his photographer, Mr. S. Schweig, whose illustrations are agreeably vivid and reminiscent, and would almost enhance the writing of a Doughty or a Lawrence.

RONALD STORRS.

The Gate-Keepers of India. By Jai Krishna Chowdhry. 7½" × 5". Pp. iv + 321. Lahore: Rama Krishna and Sons. 1932. Rs. 4.

A volume on the North-West Frontier by a native author is well deserving of attention. Mr. Chowdhry treats his subject in its political, ethnographical, and economic aspects and gives a preliminary review of Anglo-Afghan relations from the early days of the nineteenth century to the present. He has thus written a book which should be of absorbing interest.

His work is divided into three parts. Part I. is concerned with Afghanistan and its rôle in British imperial policy. It is a standard survey based on recognized authorities. However, it should be pointed out that a study of available Russian material would have shown that the Mission of General Stolietov to Shere Ali was advising the Amir to make peace with the English and to receive the British Mission at the very moment Lord Lytton was preparing for the invasion of Afghanistan. Moreover, Lord Lytton's policy was founded on what may well be considered a sound strategic idea, that of obtaining the control of the Passes of the Hindu Kush. It is obviously unfair to the Viceroy of India to regard his actions in Afghanistan in 1878 solely as an outburst of imperialist megalomania.

In Part II., which deals with the creation of the North-West Frontier Province and with the customs and habits of the native inhabitants of that territory, the author is on firmer ground. He gives us a valuable description of the independent tribes and of their relations to the Central Government of India with a survey of the resources and industries of that territory. There is a short, but excellent, review of the history and routes through the five main passes leading from Afghanistan into India. He justly praises the Sandeman System and summarizes its success in Baluchistan. The section dealing with Major Bruce's attempt to apply the Sandeman Policy in Waziristan would have been benefited if Mr. Chowdhry had referred to the authoritative article on that subject by Col. C. E. Bruce in the *CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL* of January, 1932. The author's treatment of the two schools of frontier policy, the Close Border idea of Sir John Lawrence and the Forward Policy of General Sir John Jacob, is well handled and leads up to an important chapter on Lord Curzon, who belonged to neither party. He is very appreciative of Lord Curzon, and, in the well-known phrase,

writes of him: "No Viceroy, during the last century, had come to India with a knowledge of its Frontier and its neighbours more profound than Lord Curzon." His final estimate is that the creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901 was Curzon's most notable achievement in India.

Part III. discusses the present problems on the Frontier and the recent reconstruction of the North-West Frontier as a Governor's Province. The volume closes with a review of the finances of the Province and of the problems of special interests and the protection of minorities.

Mr. Chowdhry's work naturally has a nationalistic leaning. However, anyone who desires a book dealing with the past and present problems of the North-West Frontier will find *The Gate-Keepers of India* admirably suited to meet his need.

JAMES G. ALLEN.

The Land Pirates of India. By W. J. Hatch. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Sixteen plates and a map. London: Seeley, Service and Co. 1928. 21s. net.

This book, by a missionary (now retired) of the London Missionary Society, is an essentially popular account of the Kuravans (not "Kuravers"), a criminal tribe, totalling some quarter million, and found mainly in the east centre of the Madras Presidency, but also to some extent in Bombay and further north. The author gives no anthropological or ethnographical details, and only some legends of a not very illuminating character as to their origin, pointing to their having come from the north, which he considers inconsistent with their Dravidian language, forgetful apparently that there are grounds (*e.g.*, the Dravidian nature of the Brahui language of Baluchistan) for believing the Dravidian race generally to be of northern origin.

The author has evidently been a close observer of the Kuravans and has acquired an intimate knowledge of their habits, of which he gives an interesting and illuminating account, though it is sometimes a little difficult to distinguish between their habits and customs and those common to most low caste Hindus. The tribe is emphatically a criminal one, living mainly by theft, without violence by preference, but with no prejudice against violence (including murder) when necessary. Of their criminal exploits several examples are given.

The writing is in places diffuse, and could be improved by compression and omission of repetitions; still, there are many passages which vividly recall incidents to the retired Indian official. Who of such has not met "Arumugam and his wife," who "marched straight into my office, and fell on their faces and wept. . . . His wife is no ordinary woman, and would never so much as think her lord and master capable of the smallest crime. She talks, shooting out words at the rate of sixteen hundred a minute, and never gets hot and tired. . . . I tell them to rise, and after a good deal of delay and many ejaculations they stand before me." Judging by personal recollections the author was lucky not to have the wife clasp him firmly round the ankles!

A clear account is given of the Government treatment of these criminal tribes, and the author is emphatic as to the necessity of combining this with some form of religious teaching, thus strongly supporting the policy which has entrusted some, though not the Kuravans, to the Salvation Army.

There are some excellent illustrations, but for a "popular" book the price seems much too high. Still, this seems to have been recognized, as it is now obtainable for 8s., at which price I can certainly recommend it.

C. A. S.

Highnesses of Hindustan. By E. L. Tottenham. An account of eight years spent at the Court of Baroda by the authoress. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". Pp. vii + 322. Illustrations. London: Grayson and Grayson. 1934. 15s.

Miss Tottenham was fortunate in being able to visit India in the company of such a distinguished and brilliant lady as Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda. And perhaps the latter was equally fortunate in obtaining the services of one with such a keen sense of observation, sympathy, and appreciation of all she saw. The author gives a very interesting account of the Baroda State and of other parts of India which she visited and of the various personalities, official and non-official, with whom she came in contact between 1911-1920. She also accompanied the Maharani to Europe in 1914 and recounts their adventures on the Continent in July and August of that year, which fortunately terminated in a safe return to England and India. The book is well illustrated.

S. B. P.

The Chinese, Their History and Culture. Two Vols. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". Pp. xiv + 506 and 389. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. 30s.

Professor Latourette holds the Willis James Chair of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. He has evidently read deeply, and the two volumes under review are the outcome of his scholarly summation. When, over sixty years ago, Samuel Wells Williams, an American missionary, produced his monumental work *The Middle Kingdom*, he put our parents and grandparents in possession of a comprehensive knowledge of the Chinese: it was a veritable thesaurus of information about the people, their country, and everything to do with them.

The last edition of *The Middle Kingdom* appeared in 1883, and, notwithstanding the numerous books and monographs which have expanded our Western knowledge, Prof. Latourette considers that the need exists for a work which will endeavour to picture afresh the Chinese and their history and civilization, bringing into its composition all that we know about them. He portrays the various features of Chinese life, remote and recent, in their relative importance as moulders of the nation.

Beginning with the geography and natural resources of China, we are given a digest of the author's studies punctuated by reflections here and there, some of which show a lack of practical acquaintance with the subject. Thus he thinks that of late centuries the fact that the Chinese of the Yangtze and the South average much higher in initiative and leadership can probably be attributed in part to the climatic contrasts between the great sections of the land. In another part he says that the Northern Chinese are more stolid and conservative than those of the South, "probably due in part to a difference in blood, but it may also be ascribed to the famines which have periodically devastated the North."

As a matter of fact, famines are not limited to the North.

He states that China's natural resources, while hitherto ample for almost all her needs, have ceased, or are about to cease, to be so. "Increasing famines and a further accentuation of the present grinding poverty can be avoided only by one or more of three expedients—emigration on a scale such as the world has never seen, an extensive industrialization of the country, or a drastic reduction in the birthrate. . . . It seems obvious that the limit of China's natural resources

is in sight, and that only a revolution in the Chinese family system, with widespread teaching and practice of birth control, can ward off disaster."

Theoretic suppositions such as these do not, however, overburden the otherwise good description of the land of China, though, with regard to Manchuria, the author is distinctly behind the times.

Then follow a number of very readable chapters on Chinese history from the earliest ages. Prof. Latourette shows how in such distant times as the pre-Ch'in era the social and ethical ideals which have guided succeeding generations were founded by scholars, statesmen, and aristocratic adventurers. They were agents who originally sprang from North China and the valley of the Wei, and who sought employment at the hands of powerful but semi-barbarous chieftains and tutored these rulers in civilization—the conquerors yielding to the culture of the conquered. The emphasis on ceremonial, the forms of ritual, the growing regard for ethical standards, which were the cultural contributions of the Chou Dynasty and its predecessors from 2205 B.C. onward, have persisted, many of them studiously unaltered to recent times. To-day both Chinese and foreign scholars are devoting much attention to the pre-Ch'in era which began in 221 B.C., and it is well worth the study.

We are next taken through the rich age of the Ch'in and Han dynasties, when China, next to Rome, was the most powerful state on the planet, when, from a state of divisive nationalism so characteristic of Europe, unity was accomplished and separatist tendencies decisively weakened. Political unity was achieved through enforced cultural uniformity, and originality, freedom and progress were sacrificed to the ideal of domestic peace. This system was dependent on an hereditary Imperial House. The China of the next two millenniums had been born. The Chinese Empire had made its appearance. Ever since that period the Chinese have been proud to call themselves the "Sons of Han."

We are next taken through three and a half centuries of internal weakness, almost incessant warfare, and ambitious rulers seeking to annihilate their rivals. These were years of distress until, under the great T'ang Dynasty, China became for centuries a unified and highly civilized empire. It was a splendid age during which Buddhism reached its hey-day through profound intellectual activity and religious insight, while in poetry and sculpture the T'ang has never been surpassed. A fresh impetus was given to Confucianism, which became a more dominant cult than Buddhism.

The T'ang Dynasty disappeared in A.D. 907. It was followed by internal division and civil strife under the sway of what Chinese historians call the Five Dynasties and the Sung Dynasty—from A.D. 907 to 1279.

Thinkers wrestled with political and economic theory with fresh boldness and originality: printing was perfected and widely used, while art (both ceramics and painting) registered memorable activity.

Then China came under the rule of the Mongols, and not only a dynasty, but an era had come to an end.

The brilliant but over-refined culture of the Sung gave place to the prosperous but somewhat commonplace and uninspired centuries which began with the Ming and were to continue nearly to our own day. The splendour of the reign of Khubilai, the Grand Khan, saw the Mongol conquest reach its zenith: the Mongols were later expelled and the empire once more came under a native dynasty.

In the chapter on the Ming Period we see how the territorial and cultural foundations were laid on which the Manchus built their huge empire.

The story continues through the Ch'ing (Manchu) Dynasty and gives a good

succinct description of the two great emperors K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, under whom internal order was so well maintained, with the result that prosperity was marked and the population multiplied beyond all previous totals.

The author then depicts the transformation wrought by impact of the Occident, when the empire was shaken by wars with Western European Powers and the resulting treaties, also by internal rebellion under the incompetent descendants of the two famous emperors.

We are brought into contemporary history, the decades onward from 1861, in which year, following the destruction by British and French troops of the Summer Palace at Peking, the Emperor Hsien Feng died, and the country passed under the sway of the Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi, and the most startling and revolutionary changes in China's history began. The political framework of more than 2,000 years was swept aside, the nation's independence was threatened, and experiments were made with Western types of government which bade fair to transform the economic life of the people. The author shows how, intellectually, the younger educated men have passed almost completely out of one world into another and are dominated by an enthusiasm for science—of a Western type.

From the historical survey of the first volume we pass in the second to a comprehensive survey of the Chinese people, their Government, economic life and organization, religion, social life and art. The penultimate chapter on language, literature, and education is well written and most descriptive.

The book concludes with a summary which analyzes the outstanding characteristic of the China of to-day—the clash of two cultures with the partial and progressive disintegration of the one which we think of as traditionally Chinese.

The Chinese: Their History and Culture is a work which will well repay the study of all those who contemplate residence in China, and it could be read with zest not only by anyone who has returned home, but by others who find interest in comparative studies of great nations.

A good feature is the summary and the extensive bibliography provided at the end of each chapter. In any succeeding edition the author would do well to recast his animadversions on the works of Sir E. Backhouse and Mr. J. O. P. Bland, even though the publishers have inserted a note of regret stating that the Professor did not intend his criticisms to impute to these writers any lack of good faith or of scholarship in their use of the Chinese originals.

A cheaper edition than that now published (\$ 7.50, or 30s.) would possibly find a wider public in these competitive times. This book can be commended as a worthy successor to *The Middle Kingdom*; it is packed with well-considered material and is historically accurate, as far as these standards go. Prof. Latourette has every reason to be content with the way in which he has carried out his self-imposed task.

G. D. G.

Moved On! By P. S. Nazaroff. Pp. 317. Illustrations and a map. London: George Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

All who read and enjoyed Dr. Nazaroff's earlier book *Hunted through Asia* can now welcome its successor. It will be remembered that the author, a well-known geologist, and also at that time a mine-owner and leader of the stand made by the peoples of Russian Turkestan against the advance of Bolshevism, had, when his cause was lost, to flee the country. A price was set on his head,

and it was only after the most hazardous adventures that he found his way over the Tian Shan Mountains, and was at last permitted by the Chinese authorities to find asylum at Kashgar.

In this second book Dr. Nazaroff carries on the story of his Odyssey. First, he gives an account of Chinese Turkestan, where he remained for four years, and then he tells how pressure was brought to bear on the Chinese to "move him on," and how he left their domains and journeyed over the Karakorum to India.

Dr. Nazaroff was unusually well-equipped for studying conditions in Chinese Turkestan. He draws many comparisons and contrasts between the Turkis (or Sarts, as he usually calls them, whether they be town-dwellers or not) of the Chinese province, and those of Russian Turkestan, where he had spent twenty years. He already spoke a dialect of Turki, which, though not identical with that of Kashgar, is still very readily understood throughout Sinkiang. Until the Bolshevik revolution, the two countries were in very close contact. For instance, every year at harvest-time hundreds of men from the Chinese territory used to cross the border to earn money by working for the farmers on the Russian side—profiting by the difference in exchange. This was stopped by the Chinese when they closed the frontier between 1920-26, but began again until the Tungan rebellion broke out in Sinkiang two years ago, since when the Russians have closed the frontier in their turn.

Dr. Nazaroff was in Kashgar during the period 1920-24, when intercommunication was stopped, and he has some entertaining things to say of how the Chinese contrived, without coming to any open breach, to postpone for several years the establishment of Bolshevik consulates and trade-posts in Chinese Turkestan.

Differing from the late Dr. Trinkler in holding that the Tarim basin "was a desert as far back as the middle of the Tertiary Epoch" (pp. 56-58), he makes constant reference to the geological history of the country. One of the most interesting of these is on p. 95, where, describing the journey from Kashgar to Maralbashi, he tells how "on the far horizon from a dead flat surface there stands out a mountain in the form of a lofty cone like an isolated volcano. . . . One draws nearer, until it can be distinguished as an immense mountain mass cut by gorges and ravines, inviting by its wild mysterious appearance, by the riddle of its position, and by the loneliness and gloom of its naked rocks and defiles. This is Mazar Tagh, the tomb mountain." He explains this mysterious peak as the remains of a prehistoric volcano.

He has also some most interesting things to say about the bird-life of Sinkiang.

But he is less eulogistic of the people of the land. In a brief historical survey he holds the interesting theory that there was a connection in ancient times between the Turkis and the Sumerians. He brings the story down to modern days with an account of the—fortunately short—career of Ma Ti Tei, who was military governor of Kashgar during Dr. Nazaroff's stay, and who arrogated to himself tyrannical powers until executed by a military expedition sent for that purpose from Urumtchi in the summer of 1924. A vivid account is given of the exactions of this tyrant, who was usually intoxicated, and who used to employ a hay-cutter to slice up his victims piecemeal. During the World War, at a time when China was nominally neutral, a luckless German escaped from British India, only to fall into Ti Tei's hands. One of the Swedish missionaries at Hancheng, knowing that Ti Tei was contemplating putting his prisoner to death with torture, ventured to go and intercede. On his first visit Ti Tei was so drunk that the attendants were afraid to admit anyone to his presence,

but on a second visit Ti Tei, in a mood between drunken amiability and surprise, granted the request, and the officer was set free. He made his way to Peking, and eventually back to Germany; and did not forget to be grateful for his rescue.

Those who are interested in the account, on p. 31, of the Lu family, will find their career further described in the *R.C.A.S. Journal* for October, 1933, p. 535, by Dr. Tscherbakoff. But it is not yet known whether they were or were not among those Chinese who were murdered in the Tungan rebellion.

In this and other places the value of Dr. Nazaroff's book would be enhanced if he had given dates, or in some way indicated where conditions have changed since he was in Kashgar. For instance, when he speaks, on p. 24, of its being "quite impossible in puritanical Samarkand or Bokhara" "to see a woman selling something in the bazaar," he is speaking of pre-Bolshevik days. The women of Russian Turkestan are now more advanced in such ways than those of Sinkiang.

In spite of its attractive descriptions of wild life and inanimate nature, one cannot but feel that the harmony of the first part of the book is spoilt by the absence of sympathy between the author and the people, whether Chinese or Turki, among whom he is living. It is true that he allows that under the Chinese the Turkis "enjoyed the blessings of peace and quiet and free commerce," but such an acknowledgment can scarcely outweigh the pages he devotes to a description of the cruelties practised by Ti Tei. Chinese government may be mediæval, but, as even Dr. Nazaroff admits (p. 67 and p. 41), the Turkis prosper under it as they prosper neither under attempts at self-government nor under the rule of Russia.

Ignoring the fact that Turkis are cleaner in their persons and habits than any of their neighbours, whether Tibetans, Indians, Chinese or Russian peasants, the author attributes the cleanliness of their streets (p. 121) merely to a need for manure. He accuses them, most justly, of dishonesty (p. 46), and, unjustly, of a surly temper (p. 290), although he notes (pp. 25, 26) their love of music and song. On p. 132 he charges them with a degree of fanaticism greater than the events of the last two years will support, and adds further: "Spiritual ideas are totally unfamiliar and foreign to his mind. . . . Islam . . . is downright and materialistic"—a statement that is just neither to the Turki nor to his religion. On p. 146 he speaks of child-marriage. It is true that girls are usually married between twelve and thirteen years old—not often younger, I think. But as this first marriage is usually dissolved within a month, and the girl then returns to her father's house, and does not again embark on her much-married career until she is about fifteen, child mothers are rare, and the evil is less serious than in India.

In the second part of his book Dr. Nazaroff does for the Karakorum route into India what C. P. Skrine has already done for the Gilgit road; and a very delightful description it is. The author travelled more slowly than is usually done on that route, and anyone who is proposing to follow the Leh-Yarkand road will in future be well advised to read first this most illuminating account. The geological notes and explanations of mountain structures are particularly interesting (as on pp. 147, 165, 169, 203, etc.). With regard to p. 203, it may be noted that the Shyok glacier has since blocked that descent from the Depsang plain, and travellers have to make a long detour. Dr. Nazaroff saw some interesting rock carvings and other remains on his way, and at the close of his book there is an attractive and penetrating description of the Tibetans of Ladakh, and especially those of the Nubra Valley. He closes his book with his arrival at Srinagar.

The English translation of the book seems adequate, except that on p. 33 the first statement should, of course, be reversed, to read "they take their skirts off . . . to appear in long trousers." The reference to "skeletons" on p. 180 would also be clearer if it read "skeletons of beasts," since, though it is not impossible to find human skeletons on Karakorum, they are very rarely seen.

Turki (or Persian and Arabic) words, on the other hand, have been everywhere mangled in transcription via Russian. The most noticeable cases are the incorrect version of the "Bismillah" on p. 154, "dekhan" for "dihqan" on p. 71, and "Madjid" for "Masjid" on p. 159 and elsewhere.

As Dr. Nazaroff points out, the place-names of the camping-grounds are extremely corrupt. But possibly "Chirik saldi" on p. 1 should better read "Shirik saldi" ("They set a soldier, or guard"). For the place-name on p. 185 I was given another variant: "Ishäk-at-aräsi" ("Between ass and horse").

The photographs are excellent in themselves, but those facing pp. 154, ii, 176, and 248 form rather a contrast than an illustration to the letterpress; taken, as they were, on the western, the Gilgit route, they do not convey the bleak and desolate character of the Karakorum wastes.

Even more photographs, however, could hardly make the description of the journey more vivid and informing. And gratitude is due to the author for giving us at last that account of the route, from a geologist's point of view, for which the writer, at least, has waited in hope since the day that she met him at the foot of Sasar Davan.

R. O. W.

The Lady of the Long Wall. A Ku Shih, or Drum Song of China. Translated by Genevieve Wimsatt and Chen Sun-Han. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. 84. Illustrations. Columbia University. 1934.

This is an epic of a woman's devotion; the trials of Meng Chiang Nu walking up from the plain to seek her husband, alive or dead, in the "grisly barrier, stained with blood and sweat" of the Long Wall. The Wall itself is only a setting, therefore I find the title not a very good one. But I have seldom seen a better translation of Chinese into any Western language. Miss Wimsatt and Mr. Chen have succeeded in the difficult task of translating a Chinese poem into clear English and retaining a very typical Chinese rhythm and flavour. The two introductions are a good preparation to the poem itself, and the notes at the end of the book will be helpful for those not well acquainted with Chinese lore and customs.

The only criticism I have to venture is that the writing is just a little bit too "flowery," too "recherché"; and the last line, "The lady, Meng Chiang, is an Immortal," might have been omitted, as it is so obvious, and does not add to the beauty of the poem. Otherwise *The Lady of the Long Wall* is most refreshing reading, and tells us about the too little known Ch'in Shih Huan Ti, the first Emperor of China, who built the Wall, even if we do not see very well whether the poem take position for or against him.

There are reproductions of old Chinese paintings, of which two at least are very beautiful. The book itself is neatly printed and handsomely bound in Chinese red. An edition *de luxe*.

N.-T.

Japan in Crisis. By Harry Emerson Wildes. New York: Macmillan Co.

The Second Generation Japanese Problem. By Edward K. Strong, Jr. Stanford University Press.

One of the ablest and best written papers in English in Japan is the *Japan Chronicle* of Kobe; but it has one great fault. It is super-critical. Much of its criticism of Japan and its affairs is well merited, but it all too often carries its criticisms to excess and thereby fails to obtain the attention that a more restrained and less pungent editorial pen might receive from the objects of its attacks.

Much the same might be said of *Japan in Crisis*. Its author has plainly been at pains to study his subject and has a readable style; but in his attempt to depict the follies and evils that do undoubtedly exist in Japan—as they do to a greater or lesser extent in all countries—he over-reaches himself. In consequence he produces a picture that is lacking both in balance and in fairness to the country about which he writes. If, in fact, a reader, who had no first-hand knowledge of his own to guide him, took fright at what he read in this book and swore that nothing would ever induce him to go to Japan, one could hardly blame him, as the almost wholly unrelieved accounts of murders, oppression, blackmail, intimidation, corruption, vice, and morbid suspicion which take up the greater part of these pages are enough to deter even the bravest of mortals from venturing his life in such surroundings.

Having lived very happily and reasonably safely for the best part of seventeen years in Japan, the present reviewer feels it is up to him to assure would-be visitors that, although most of the facts narrated in this book are incontrovertible, the general impression left by the author is grossly misleading. The Japanese have their faults the same as others, and he is no true friend of Japan who tries to gloss over their vices and harps only on their virtues; but to concentrate almost wholly on the viciousness of Japanese life and character, and to make but the briefest suggestion of the existence of any redeeming features, is to draw a picture that is as unlike the original as an Epstein model or a cubist painting appears to be to the uninitiated.

Although most of the facts given in this book are not to be denied, all too many of them are presented in an unnecessarily alarmist and sensational colouring, and in all too many instances the author shows undue readiness to accept one-sided evidence damning to Japan and allows unproven assumptions to masquerade as indisputable facts. The chapter headed "Raiding the Radicals" provides as good an example as any of how an otherwise useful presentation of facts has been spoilt by being overdrawn, while the opening words of the final chapter provide a good illustration of the alarmist tendency of so much that appears in this book.

For instances of unproven assumptions masquerading as facts the reader may be referred to the assertions regarding alleged naval bases on the Japanese mandate islands and to the equally unqualified accusations against General Araki, while on p. 225 the Vice-President of the American United Press is quoted as authority for the surprising statement that "Japan had mobilized 300,000 troops along the Soviet frontier." Even the Soviet themselves, who are not given to minimizing Japan's strength, have never put the total of Japanese troops in the whole of Manchuria—let alone those actually "along the Soviet frontier"—at more than 130,000, while most military observers put the number at only half, or a little more than half, that figure.

In fairness to the author, however, let it be said that his chapter on Agrarian Unrest is a well-written, sober summing-up of the main facts, and his attack on the all too prevalent tendency to indulge in blackmail, libel, "spionitis," and other regrettable features of the less estimable side of Japanese life are well merited.

Had the book been written throughout in as fair, sober, dispassionate and constructive a vein as the concluding paragraph, there would have been little to criticize in it and much to praise. As it is, however, it compares most unfavourably with the scholarly, thoughtful, impartial style of the other work under review. It is a pleasant change, therefore, to turn from it to Mr. Edward K. Strong's interesting study of *The Second Generation Japanese Problem* in America.

Thanks to a grant of \$40,000 by the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation of New York to Stanford University, Mr. Strong, with the assistance of a large body of able investigators, has produced a work that should be of great value to all who are interested in racial problems as a whole and in the facts concerning the Japanese Problem in America. Close on 10,000 individual Japanese and Americans were interrogated in the course of the investigation which forms the basis of this book, and, after the undue prominence given by Wildes to the vices of the Japanese, it is pleasant to read of the ungrudging tribute paid by this countryman of his to the better side of Japanese life and character. Not that Strong's study of the problem is a mere fulsome panegyric of Japanese virtues. Far from it. But what he does is to present the unbiased reader with a dispassionate survey of facts and figures, side by side with the personal, and frequently conflicting, views of many hundreds of Japanese and Americans interrogated. The opinions and assertions of the anti-Japanese agitator and politician in California receive equal consideration with those of the perfervid admirer of Japan and its people, while the complaints and the statements of the Japanese scholar, the Japanese merchant, and the Japanese common labourer are noted and examined with similar impartiality. From this broad and careful survey there emerges a picture which places the problem of the Japanese in America in its proper perspective and shows the American-born Japanese in a light that is by no means unfavourable.

In the limited space of a book review it is difficult to deal adequately with a far-reaching survey of this kind. It must suffice, therefore, merely to indicate the general scope of the enquiry carried out by the author and his band of investigators and to mention some of the outstanding findings. Opening with a chapter describing the main features of the problem under investigation, the author proceeds to explain the historical development of Japanese immigration into America, and then goes on to examine the facts concerning the increase in the numbers of Japanese in the United States and the steps taken to check this increase. Race prejudice, as an important factor in the growth of anti-Japanese agitation and legislation, receives a chapter to itself, as also does the question of specific complaints against the Japanese. The physical and mental ability of Japanese in America, their education, occupation, and vocational opportunities are then dealt with in turn, while one very thoughtful chapter deals with the economic outlook and a final chapter is devoted to general statistical tables, which, though somewhat formidable at first sight, are a veritable mine of valuable, and by no means uninteresting, information.

Amongst the many interesting facts that emerge from this survey may be mentioned the following: that despite a widespread belief to the contrary, Japanese living in America, especially those born there, are more readily assimilated than many of the European races; that the Japanese have proved themselves very much better citizens than many of the other peoples who go to make up the American nation; that the complaints made against Japanese immigrants are much the same as those made against English, Irish and German immigrants a hundred years ago; that much of the agitation against Japanese immigration, which culminated in the discriminatory Immigration Law of 1924, was due to

grossly distorted figures regarding the alleged rapid increase of Japanese—figures which in some instances were magnified as much as 800 per cent.; that the Japanese Government scrupulously observed the Gentlemen's Agreement restricting immigration and voluntarily took steps to check surreptitious entries of Japanese into the United States from Canada and Mexico, as the United States Immigration Commission did not have inspectors enough to man the two borders.

Many other interesting points stand out from this survey, but one more must suffice. This is the general impression conveyed by it, an impression confirming that, although racial prejudice has played its part, the basic American objection to Japanese immigration is economic, and the Japanese authorities, recognizing this, have all along shown themselves ready to co-operate in restricting this economic threat to the American standard of living. They have never, therefore, contested America's right to take reasonable steps to check Japanese immigration. What they do resent is the way in which discriminating clauses against Japan were inserted in the Law of 1924. Had Japan been placed on the *quota* basis like the European nations, she could, even so, have sent only 146 emigrants to the United States yearly. While so small a number could not possibly have been construed as an economic threat to America, it would have spared Japan from the bitter blow to her pride inflicted by the debarring of all her immigrants on racial grounds.

M. R. KENNEDY.

The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism. By L. Austine Waddell, M.B. Prefaces and 583 pages. Illustrated. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd. 2nd Ed. 1934.

Students of Buddhism, especially the peculiar Tibetan form of that religion, will welcome this new edition of Colonel Waddell's work. Readers of the present day will perhaps feel that the antiquated transliterations of Tibetan words, which were in vogue when the first edition was published in 1895, might have been brought up to date in accordance with the more modern systems to which we have now become accustomed.

The reader will be amazed at the amount of erudition and labour of research which was expended by the author on this book, which still, after so many years, retains its place as the standard work on the subject. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered that the book was written before the closer contacts with Tibet which were the result of Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission to Lhasa in 1904.

One is struck throughout the book by the similarity of the lamaist ritual to that of some Christian churches, and even the precepts—"Whatever is unpleasing to yourself do not to another," "Whatever happiness is in the world has all arisen from a wish for the welfare of others," "Whatever misery there is has arisen from indulging selfishness"—might have been spoken by the Founder of Christianity.

One is inclined to wish that the author, whose knowledge of his subject is admitted by all, had avoided the somewhat egotistical style of the preface to this second edition. To call all the previous writers on the subject "mere compilers" is to minimize the work of quite serious students.

It is strange how Europeans who interest themselves in Lamaism are fascinated by the belief that they were Tibetan Buddhists in a former incarnation!

It strikes one as curious to write in 1934 of Alexander the Great's campaign in India without mention of the name of Sir Aurel Stein.

Colonel Waddell's knowledge of events in Tibet since he was there in 1904 is far from accurate. It is incorrect to say that the Dalai Lama returned from China to Lhasa "at the invitation of the British Government"! Also the account of the despatch of the four Tibetan boys to Rugby School in England is both inaccurate and misleading.

I. B.

A Pageant of Asia: A Study of Three Civilisations. By Kenneth Saunders. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xii + 452. Illustrations. Oxford University Press. 15s.

It is impossible to deal adequately with this valuable work in a single review. The three civilizations dealt with are India, China and Japan, India perhaps in greater detail. We start with an account of the pre-Aryans of Mohenjodaro. The author does not define their homeland, but writes: "Colonists akin to the Sumerians seem to have come to India some 3,000 years B.C. . . . perhaps beginning the process of pushing south the dark-skinned Dravidians." Did they come from Mesopotamia *via* Persia, or was Persia their homeland?

We next see the Aryans, "hear their martial songs as they drive the original inhabitants before them, invoking Indra, god of battles." Among these warriors the ancient yearning for a son is expressed in the following verse:

"Than all the joy which living things
In waters feel, in earth and fire,
The happiness that in his son
A father feels is greater far."

To continue our survey, Sakyamuni, the Buddha, a contemporary of Cyrus the Great, taught mankind to do good, to cease from evil and to cleanse the mind.

Asoka and his dynasty, who were permeated with Buddhist doctrines, were also influenced by the conquests of Darius in India and by the invasion of Alexander the Great. Chandragupta dwelt in a palace of Persian design at Pataliputra, while the enlightened Asoka was perhaps the first monarch who aimed at being the father of his people.

The ages pass, and the descendants of Asoka become decadent. But in the fourth century we have the golden age of the Guptas, described to us by the Chinese traveller Fa-hsien. Finally, we reach Akbar and the Great Moghuls, whose superb buildings still remain to challenge the admiration of mankind.

Perhaps our author is at his best in describing the beginnings of Chinese civilization. Authentic history, as he says, begins with the Chou dynasty (1150-249 B.C.), and "early Sinism is a blend of Chou Chinese theism with Shang divination and ancestor-worship." A very early poem of this truly agricultural race merits quotation:

"Baskets filled in the upper fields,
Carts laden in the fields below!
May plenty bless our harvest-home,
Our fields producing plenteously."

In the sixth century B.C. we come to the epoch of Kung Fu-tse or Confucius, who also was a contemporary of the Buddha and of Cyrus the Great. It is a

most remarkable fact that the descendants of Confucius are still known in China, whereas in the case of his great contemporaries no traces remain. Confucius taught the Way of Life, benevolence, wisdom, courage being his watchwords, and no teacher has had greater influence than he on his countrymen.

The Han dynasty, which rose to power in 200 B.C., came at a time when China was in a state of chaos. To quote a contemporary writer: "Production was almost at a standstill, and money had become scarce. Even the Son of Heaven had not carriage horses of the same colours."

I have been especially interested in Wu-ti, who sent out the great explorer Chung Ch'ien, the pioneer of the Silk Route, which had such an effect on world economics. Later, I am equally interested in the founder of the Tang dynasty, in whose reign Hsuan-tsang, the immortal Master of the Law, set forth alone to cross the grim Gobi, and finally returned after an epoch-making journey to India with a rich harvest of Buddhist manuscripts and images, to be accorded an official reception.

Here this brief review must end, but not without an expression of gratitude for the beautiful and well-chosen illustrations.

P. M. SYKES.

Links with Past Ages. By General E. F. Orton. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xvii + 366. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Son. 21s.

This is a book which fills a gap in more ways than one. The author, who has studied his subject deeply and has the unusual advantage of knowing Pashtu and Persian, presents us with the story of mankind down the ages. He places their original homeland in Iran, and the latest discoveries of Stein, Hertzfeld, Woolley, and Mackay all tend to prove the correctness of this view.

It is extraordinary how modern discoveries are helping to explain biblical stories. For example, Arab slave-dealers still castrate negro boys, who are put in the pit to stop the bleeding or, in other words, into a shallow hole in the sand. Similarly Joseph's brethren "put him in the pit" and then sold him as a eunuch, to serve as a house slave in Egypt. General Orton's views on early religion run: "In the earliest stages religion was pure Fear—fear of the Unknown, fear of spirits, enemies, dangers and death. Clever primitive man exploited these fears, and encouraged these fears, to grasp power over his fellows."

Again, we learn from him that primitive man, at first, could only count to three: "the Pashtu words *yo, dwa, dre* are very ancient." Then came the five fingers, shortened in due course as a symbol to V, while ten is symbolized by two V's, which form X, whence we have the decimal system.

The author combats the usually held view that the Aryans, who invaded India, formed castes of Brahmans, soldiers, etc., to maintain their ascendancy. Actually he considers that their numbers were small and that they were absorbed into the caste system of the Dravidians, which was in existence before the arrival on the scene of the Aryans.

On p. 85 the author summarizes his views of the origin and development of mankind, giving an air of reality to archæological discoveries which is certainly lacking in some other works.

In Chapter V. our author describes Pashtu as a pre-Aryan language. In another interesting chapter the Old Testament stories are explained. For example, Nineveh had a "fish" as its "crest." Jonah travelled from Palestine to Nineveh to preach and disappeared from his home for three years. In the imagery of the times he was represented as having been swallowed up by the fish.

Altogether this is a stimulating work, and, although the reader may not necessarily agree with everything in it, yet the author has certainly gone back far, very far, and has explained how we, alike in our customs and language, inherit both from a remote past.

P. M. SYKES.

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. By Sir Harold MacMichael, K.C.M.G., D.S.O. Pp. 288. Map. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 24, Russell Square. 15s.

Sir Harold MacMichael has set an example which might well be followed by other civil servants with special knowledge and experience of British-administered territories overseas. Annual reports on the administration of such territories are no doubt available, but even those who have the time and patience to study them cannot easily obtain a general view of the development of a territory's resources and institutions over a period of years; the wood is hidden by the trees. Thanks to Sir Harold MacMichael, this is no longer true of the Sudan.

The book is introduced by an admirably concise survey of the history of the country from the time when "tattooed cannibals danced in files . . .", with more particular treatment of the Turco-Egyptian and Dervish régimes which shows clearly the origin and justification of the British connection, thereby giving proper perspective to the body of the book. A striking paragraph, for example, shows how the tragedy of Gordon proved to be the Sudan's salvation:

"The fanatics who on that January morning thrust their spears into the poor tired body, stripped it and dismembered it, little recked that they were instruments of a beneficent destiny. And yet, for no other reason than that they, in their blind ignorance and lust for blood, did a thing which stirred the imagination and anger of a people living far beyond the confines of their world, an era of peace and progress was ultimately to dawn throughout the Sudan."

It is of this era of peace and progress and of the means whereby it was achieved that the remainder of the book tells. The survey is broad and external; in fact, one would welcome a little more detail of the inner working of the various departments of the administration. Different aspects are presented in different chapters, without violence to their chronological sequence. The international status of the Sudan is clearly explained, with chapter and verse quoted from the Condominium Agreements of 1899; there is a useful summary of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations of 1925 to 1931; other chapters are devoted to irrigation works, economic progress, administrative problems, and constitutional reforms; and the book ends with some suggestive chapters on the principles and practice of native administration and on education and its results. I cannot refrain from quoting some sentences from a passage in which the effects of Western culture on the Sudanese intelligentsia are most tellingly defined:

"The teaching of English has given access to a vast new range of literature, and there has resulted a ferment of ideas which have not been assimilated. There is intelligence and a craving to absorb new knowledge, but no critical faculty has developed to tone down crudity of thought or preserve balance, and no study of historical foundations and cultural backgrounds has served to correct the tendency to facile generalization and the assumption that those who direct the destinies of the country are animated by purely selfish motives. . . . The young modernist . . . invents, in com-

penetration for a consciousness of subjection, a legend of a glorious national past, and sees himself the hero of a still more glorious renaissance; but he cannot realize that the true welfare of the country is capable of dissociation from his own immediate personal interests. In studying history he notes with glistening eye the ultimate achievements of those whom he is pleased to regard as his prototypes; but he pays scant attention to the long-laboured process of endeavour and disappointment by which characters have been moulded and wisdom learned before the final reaping of the harvest.

Of how many other communities, in Asia as well as Africa, could this not have been written with equal truth!

It must be added that the book has the defects of its qualities. Written by a distinguished ex-official of the Sudan administration, who is still in the service of His Majesty's Government, it is authoritative, documented, and illustrated by official statistics and map, but, owing to the very advantages enjoyed by the author, its perspective is uncritical, impersonal, and dispassionate. Moreover, there is no attempt to flavour facts and figures with personal reminiscence or character sketch, and the style is rather that of an official report than of a popular narrative. Not that the value of the book is thereby diminished, but it does mean that its appeal will not extend to those who look for entertainment as well as information—to the average Englishman, in fact, to whom "the Sudan was (Sir Harold MacMichael rather optimistically uses the past tense) a desert waste somewhere in—or was it beyond?—Egypt," which is perhaps a pity.

Nevertheless the book will undoubtedly be for some time to come the standard textbook on the Sudan, and the writing of it, if possibly the last, is certainly not the least of the services that Sir Harold MacMichael has rendered to that country; a fitting epilogue to the thirty years that he has served in its administration.

R. S. M. STURGES.

The Russian Journals of Martha and Catharine Wilmot. Being an Account by two Irish Ladies of their Adventures in Russia as guests of the celebrated Princess Daschkaw, containing vivid Descriptions of contemporary Court Life and Society, and lively Anecdotes of many interesting historical Characters. 1803-1808. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by the Marchioness of Londonderry and H. M. Hyde. London: Macmillan and Co., St. Martin's Street. 21s.

It was a fortunate chance that led Lady Londonderry and Mr. Hyde to stumble on the Russian diaries and letters of the two Misses Wilmot in the Royal Irish Academy. For these ladies were most talented and industrious letter writers and had a wonderful opportunity of studying and recording the modes and manners of Russian society during the Napoleonic wars, of which they took full advantage. Little more than half of what they wrote is published here, and even so the book runs to over 400 closely printed pages. The editors have done their work skilfully, and there is little evidence of the gaps left by rejected material.

A journey from Cork to Moscow was no joy-ride in those days, and it says much for the enterprise and pluck of these two young Irish ladies that they should have undertaken it at a time when Europe was in arms; they had not even each other's company, for they travelled at different times, and they were unescorted—except for Catherine's Irish maid. Martha, who went first, was four months on the journey, and her visit lasted five years; it would have lasted longer had it

not been for the outbreak of war between Russia and England in 1808, for her hostess, the Princess Daschkaw, became so infatuated with her that she would not let her go. The Princess, who seems to have occupied an almost dictatorial position in Russian Society, was herself a remarkable woman; she corresponded with Voltaire, Diderot, Garrick and Principal Robinson, and had been an intimate and supporter of the Empress Catherine II., who had appointed her Director of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in St. Petersburg. She also owned large estates and ruled benevolently over a multitude of servants, helping them with her own hands with the building of walls, the making of roads, and the feeding of cows, in the intervals of composing music and writing for the press. Such a person was well qualified to show the Misses Wilmot every facet of Russian society, with a "running commentary" embellished with reminiscences of a singularly crowded life.

Martha, the younger Miss Wilmot who preceded her sister, was thrilled by the titles and jewels of the Russian court, and, in her earlier letters at least, described her experiences with engaging enthusiasm and simplicity. Catherine, who had travelled before, was less ingenuous, and her keener and more critical intellect was quicker to penetrate the brilliant veneer to the rottenness beneath; to perceive the Russian barbarian in French clothing, the dullness and deceit of the women, and "hand-in-hand beneath the surface, the knout and knife waiting for their victims." There is nothing morbid about her epistolary style, however; on the contrary, it is vivacious in the extreme and scintillates with that artificial brilliance which was the fashion of the time, and which becomes a little tiring when taken in large doses. The two letters written by the Irish maid are a breath of fresh air by contrast, and their humour—conscious and unconscious—is almost too good to be true.

But there is more in the book than mere light reading; it introduces many historical characters (portraits of some dozen of them are reproduced as illustrations), and side-lights are thrown on many historical events. The historical value of the book is, moreover, enormously enhanced by the numerous footnotes, in which Mr. Hyde, with incredible industry and masterly conciseness, has outlined the previous history and subsequent fate of almost every individual mentioned in the text. An admirable introduction by Lady Londonderry tells us just what we want to know about the authors of the letters, and includes an acute critical appreciation of their writings.

We are promised a further volume of letters written by Martha Wilmot after her marriage to the chaplain to the British Embassy at Vienna, which describe the social life of that capital during the period immediately following the Congress of Vienna, when it was the centre of the political and social life of Europe. We shall look forward to its publication with interest; for its preparation is also in the hands of Lady Londonderry and Mr. Hyde, and they have proved themselves a strong combination.

R. S. M. STURGES.

Camel Bells of Baghdad. By Janet Miller. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Pp. x + 299. Putnam. 1935.

In this book an American doctor describes a holiday spent in 'Iraq and Persia. These countries are visited by comparatively few travellers for pleasure, and fewer still arrive in the middle of the hot weather. Dr. Miller, however, though she describes the train journey from Basra to Baghdad as one of the most ghastly

experiences of her life (and no wonder in the month of August), was daunted by no other discomforts, and her enterprise was amply rewarded.

Her first stay was in Baghdad, where she spent much of her time on donkey-back exploring the bazaars and the endless labyrinth of narrow streets down which no car can penetrate. She visited the ruins of Babylon, and, like many others, found it an almost impossible feat of imagination to reconstruct the glories of Nebuchadnezzar's city from those heaps of crumbling mud brick. She also went to Ur of the Chaldees, where she was unfortunate in finding the diggings closed down for the summer and almost completely submerged in sand.

From Baghdad she proceeded by car to Persia, and with Teheran as her headquarters made several interesting expeditions. She spent some pleasant days in Isfahan, set among its gardens and orchards, and continued southwards through Shiraz to Bushire on the Persian Gulf, taking in the ruins of Persepolis and the tomb of Cyrus the Great. Another expedition took her northwards through Kasvin, Resht, Ardebil, and Tabriz to Pahlevi in the luxuriant forest region on the shores of the Caspian, where she stayed some time, being reluctant to leave its enchantment. Before finally returning to Teheran, she visited the sacred city of Meshed.

The book is brightly and easily written, and interspersed with stories from the literature and folklore of the countries. Dr. Miller absorbed the atmosphere of the places she visited, and took a friendly and sympathetic interest in the people with whom she was brought in contact. She evidently enjoyed every moment of her travels, and many who have not been able to journey even thus far along the "Golden Road to Samarkand" will be glad to do so in her company.

E. G.

The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Edited by Sir Harry Luke, C.M.G., B.Litt., M.A., sometime Chief Secretary to the Government of Palestine; and Edward Keith-Roach, O.B.E., District Commissioner, Northern District of Palestine. Macmillan. 16s.

The third edition of this excellent handbook is a triumph of comprehensive and authoritative exposition. As in former editions, besides using their own extensive knowledge, the compilers have enlisted the help of specialists in theology, archæology, geology, the Heads of Departments and other officers of the Administration, so that each section is contributed by an expert.

The list of subjects covered ranges from Air Lines to the nebulous history of the Nabateans, and in reading one is struck afresh by the extraordinary diversity of the cultures of which traces are to be found in Palestine and Trans-Jordan. The sections dealing with archæology, history, peoples and religions make fascinating reading, while in those on government, communications, industry and commerce the story of the development of Palestine in the last four years is told.

In his Introduction His Excellency the High Commissioner writes: "I can confidently recommend this new edition alike to all residents and travellers." The general reader, also, can find much of absorbing interest in this admirable book, and the bibliography, which has been considerably enlarged, should be useful to students.

A beautiful reproduction in colour from a painting by Mrs. P. A. F. Stephenson, O.B.E., forms the frontispiece.

It is a pity that in a book of such detail and accuracy the map should not be

more detailed. For instance, the Wadis are not named, although in the map accompanying the earlier edition this was done; and Ain Sinia, from where a secondary road leads to Jifna and the hill country beyond, is not marked at all.

A. M. SOLTAU-SYMONS.

My Khyber Marriage. By Morag Murray Abdullah. Harrap. 8s. 6d.

In *My Khyber Marriage* Mrs. Morag Murray Abdullah tells us how she met and married a Khyber Pathan in Edinburgh and accompanied him to his home in tribal territory.

She gives an interesting description of her husband's home and relations and recounts some exciting adventures which befell her across the border.

Those who know the borderland would rather have heard more of the daily lives of the women in Yaqistan than some of the thrilling stories which strain their credulity.

Her experiences as the guest of an Indian Rajah provide a very highly coloured narrative, while her description of an auction sale of regimental property by British soldiers is frankly farcical.

Mrs. Abdullah has a very great admiration for her husband's people and appreciates the numerous good points in the Pathan character and customs; on the other hand, her observations concerning her experiences in official India are shrewd and often to the point.

A. H. M.

Living India. By Lady Hartog. With an Introduction by Professor A. P. Newton, Organizer of the Imperial Studies Committee of the Royal Empire Society. Published by Messrs. Blackie. 3s. 6d.

At a very important moment this valuable book has made its appearance. It imparts for the general English reader so much, in its 192 pages, of sound information, accurate facts and pleasurable description of the real life of the great Indian continent, that one finds oneself thinking how the public possibly could be made to spend its money on these pictures instead of on a seat at a cinema, drawing hundreds daily to see a somewhat meretricious film of one of the many side-shows of Indian affairs.

Lady Hartog's work reminds me of nothing so much as of the Indian ceremonial compact bouquet, with which everyone who has been in India has been presented on some special occasion or other. One remembers the formal nosegay, its white or coloured paper setting, the inset of green leafage, the graded and tightly packed circles of flowers—marigolds, roses, jasmine—and, rising from the heart of it all, a tuft of gay tinsel. The remarkable make-up of the posy, the meticulous care, the deftness of workmanship, the selectivity displayed, the inward meaning of the work of bouquet-building—all are here before us in book form, and the author is to be congratulated upon her achievement in so small a space. By such a work as this, the West can gradually come to visualize the realities of India, to understand her deep and good pulsating forces at work, and give honour where honour is due.

The illustrations of the book call for particular commendation. In those showing typical scenes of Indian life, the reader can see for himself how generally good is the physique of all types of the people, a point hardly commented on by

the author, who, I find, stresses too much the social "evils" and diseases of the country. If, in spite of all such misfortunes, people are well-grown, live a long enough life, and acquit themselves generally well, the system producing them cannot be very seriously at fault. In the West we may exaggerate too much the effects of India's child-marriage, for example. I contend that the system produces many a fine Indian fellow, and that it might be better for the Western physique if earlier marriage were insisted upon in our own country (whose army may now include recruits of only 5 feet 2 inches).

So wide is the knowledge packed into this book, of such special value the unusual maps for comparison of East and West, and, too, the information contained in the Appendix, that no library can afford to be without Lady Hartog's work, the "bouquet" of which is the sweet scent of her love and appreciation of the Indian members of our Empire family.

E. L. T.

Wisdom and Waste in the Panjab Village. By Malcolm Lyall Darling.
Oxford University Press.

The peasantry are the economic backbone of India: they provide the greater part of the revenue of the country in the shape of land-tax, canal dues, customs and excise; trade and commerce depend on rural prosperity; the great community of lawyers is nurtured by rural litigation. Led by British officers, peasant soldiers have helped to build up and maintain the Indian Empire.

What will be the fate of the countryside under the new era of pseudo-democracy about to dawn in India? So far the peasant is not politically-minded. He has not assimilated the idea that he can influence his economic life by means of the ballot-box. The hopes and aspirations of the village found no echo at the Round Table Conference.

Arm the peasant with the vote and he will be able to fight his own battles. That seems to be the policy behind the India Bill. Logical, perhaps, but there are critics who doubt whether, at the outset at least, the peasantry, mostly low-caste Sudras, will, even under the Lothian franchise, be able to hold their own against the high-caste urban intelligentsia.

The position of the peasant under the reforms is indeed one of the questions of the hour. This being so, the attempt by a recent writer to interpret the Panjab peasant to the people of Britain in a book, *Wisdom and Waste in a Panjab Village*, will have a strong appeal. The author, Mr. M. L. Darling, C.I.E., of the Indian Civil Service, has played a prominent part in the co-operative credit movement in the Panjab. Co-operative credit and its value in rural life are the main themes of the book, and a word of explanation of the system may be useful.

About forty years ago the Government of India awoke to the danger of the expropriation of the Panjab peasantry, especially the Muslim peasantry, by the Hindu moneylender, as a result of the rigidity of the judicial system, based on British law and procedure, and utterly unsuited to the primitive conditions of the Indian village. The Panjab was the principal recruiting ground of the Indian army, and the growing discontent of the province could not fail to have dangerous reactions in regiments composed mainly of Panjab peasants. The remedy adopted was to protect the peasant against himself, by legislation known as the Panjab Land Alienation Act, which prohibited the sale or mortgage of land to moneylenders; the peasant could only transfer his land to members of his own or allied clans.

But the peasant constantly needs finance in a small way, and the new legislation

restricted his borrowing powers. In order to meet the difficulty a system of co-operative credit societies was introduced, based mainly on the principle of self-help, in rural tracts. A small portion of the finance was found by Government. The movement did not at first make much headway: of late years progress has been more rapid and it has spread to most parts of India, including the Indian States. Nevertheless rural debt is heavy even in the Panjab, and the moneylender still dominates the countryside.

Mr. Darling's book describes a tour he made through a great part of the Panjab two or three years ago in his official capacity of Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies. It is written in the form of a diary. This may deter some readers, but people genuinely interested in India will find the book a really human document, worth the closest study. To those who, like the reviewer, have toured through the Panjab countryside it will bring back memories of spacious days, of long rides in the sparkling cold weather climate of northern India, and of interesting and absorbing work among those attractive people, the Panjab peasantry.

Much light is thrown on village life. It is clear, for example, that politics has little attraction for the Panjab villager. Almost everywhere the author was told that the economic distress was due to Gandhi and the Congress. Gandhi had forbidden people to buy English cloth: consequently the English would not buy the peasants' wheat, cotton, and oilseed. In the Round Table Conference the village showed no interest. Few, if any, of the villagers had the vaguest idea of the existing system of government or of the value of a vote. And the Panjab peasantry are the shrewdest and most intelligent of India. Indeed, the impression one gets from what the peasant says himself is that he does not look to the democracy of the Congress for his salvation.

The economic position was serious. Wheat had dropped to 11s. 4d. a quarter. It was almost impossible for the peasant to pay his land revenue and canal dues. The sale of silver and gold ornaments and a rigorous curtailment even of essentials helped him to tide over his difficulties. He might well ask what the politicians had done for him since 1919, when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms placed initiative and almost supreme power in their hands. Take the steel subsidy, for example, which was greater than the total amount spent by all the governments in India on agricultural development. The large sums provided for secondary and collegiate education have benefited the urban dweller rather than the peasant. Thus in the Panjab in 1933 one hundred and eighty-six lakhs of rupees (about £1,300,000) were spent on higher education, compared with barely a fifth on primary education. If the position had been reversed, nearly two million more peasants might have had a primary education, which would have helped to qualify them for a new franchise. Over and above this, an immense burden of indirect taxation has been imposed on the countryside through the tariffs, in the interest of the urban industrialist. The urban intelligentsia have tasted the sweets of power. Will they share them with the peasant to their own disadvantage? Indian psychology must be very differently compounded from that of the rest of the world if this should be the case.

Association with the army is one of the strongest influences in the life of the Panjab village. As Mr. Darling notes, the army is the university of the peasant. The soldier is taught to read and write; military training induces self-respect, a sense of duty, self-control. The soldier's horizon is not bound by his village. The best and most vigorous minds at the meetings convoked by Mr. Darling were those of retired soldiers. From Peshawar to Delhi in almost every large village the retired Indian commissioned officer is in evidence, a fine attractive type, covered with medals, always delighted to meet the Englishman, be he civil or

military officer. Two-thirds of the Indian army is recruited from the Panjab. The pay is reasonably good: many peasant soldiers are frugal, and the resources of most villages are greatly enhanced by what they receive in army pay and pensions.

Much is heard in India in these days of rural reconstruction. Is it to be the swan song of the last British Government to rule India? Power to help the peasant has slipped from British hands. The Government of India hopes vaguely to effect some improvement by fostering the co-operative movement. Mr. Darling, as a recognized expert, has been deputed to study the question as it applies to India as a whole. In the budget of the current year a sum of £70,000 has been set aside for the purpose referred to. Compare this with the £11,000,000 sterling wrung from the countryside in tariffs for the benefit of the industrialists. £70,000 will not go far with half a million villages. It is like trying to cure an earthquake with a pill. The rural debt is £1,000,000 sterling. The rate of interest is rarely less than 25 per cent. Think of the effect of this on the peasant's standard of living.

No real progress is possible until the burden of debt is appreciably lightened, and the peasant rescued from the toils of the lawyer, the moneylender, the produce-broker, and others who find him an easy prey. If you would save India, rehabilitate the countryside. That seems to be the message of this remarkable book.

W. B.



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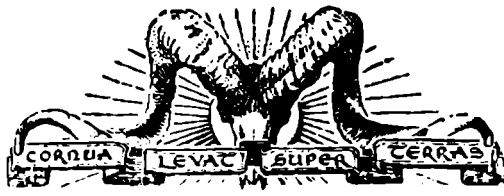
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THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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NOTICES

Members and Contributors are alone responsible for their statements and spellings in the JOURNAL.

THE BALUCHISTAN EARTHQUAKE AND THE LORD MAYOR'S APPEAL

Members, so many of whom have had close and happy associations with Baluchistan, would like, it is felt, to give practical expression to their deep sympathy with the distressed in this terrible calamity. Apart from the appalling loss of life, the material loss has been enormous. Thousands have lost everything they possessed. Many of the civil European survivors who are being evacuated to England are entirely destitute. Help is urgently needed. The Lord Mayor has opened a fund; postal orders and cheques should be sent to The Mansion House, crossed "Bank of England."

GOLD MEDAL

£500 is needed for the Gold Medal to be struck in memory of Lawrence, notices of which have been sent to all members.

NOMINATION FORM.

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.....
(Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address)

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL
ASIAN SOCIETY, we recommend $\frac{him}{her}$ for membership.

Proposed.....

Seconded.....

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THE P. V. H.

BY CAPT. AND BREVET-MAJOR G. S. HURST, M.F.H.,
Royal Signals

ILLUSTRATED BY
SNAFFLES AND MAJOR H. M. TULLOCH,
The Poona Horse

Aldershot: GALE & POLDEN. Price £1:1:0

A book that almost makes you hear the cry of hounds in full chase across the green fields of Peshawar. To some readers it will recall the best days of their lives; to others it will go far to compensate them for having missed those days. It is as potent as John Peel's horn to wake you from the dead.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE ASSYRIANS

By Lieut.-Col. R. S. STAFFORD. With Maps, 8/6

“This sober, informative book . . . tells the whole of their story, or as much of it as can be told within fact. . . . This book is written by an expert who was on the spot during the troubles of 1933; and it should be read by everyone concerned for this very intricate minorities problem.”—*Morning Post*.

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD.

COLONEL T. E. LAWRENCE

GREAT personages, men of high rank in every class, of all nations have paid tribute to the memory of the rare personality which passed away on Sunday, May 19, 1935.

T. E. Shaw—more familiar to us as T. E. Lawrence—has left a name which will live.

He was perhaps the most interesting product of the Great War; yet, withal, a character difficult to know. Not that he was unsociable; the reason for his apparent aloofness was his way of reserving judgment on those he met until he had formed on them a mental diagnosis. But when Lawrence did give his friendship he gave it freely; and, in return, no man has had more faithful friends.

He depended little on others; he had his private reasons for all he did, and those reasons satisfied him. Loyal pursuance of his own ideals, and the habit of independent thought, brought about a sound self-education; practice in analysis of character resulted in a full understanding of other men. His exceptional intellectual gifts were developed by mental discipline; and the trained mind was quick to decide and to inspire instant action in any emergency.

Hence his brilliance as a leader in war.

Lawrence was, in manner, quiet and unassuming; his figure, slight and unimposing; but a high forehead and a clear eye betokened a brain of unusual power, a mind dominant over the body.

Lawrence, by will power rather than by physical strength, could compete in endurance with the Arabs themselves. His fiery energy amazed and delighted them, and those children of the desert were drawn to him in almost fanatical devotion.

War ended, Lawrence renounced honours for which he had no desire, and took up occupations more congenial to him than was the profession of arms.

But, even as Aircraftsman Shaw, he could not escape from the fame which he had won as Lawrence.

On the occasion of his tragic death, the nation has expressed with one voice the honour in which he was held.

ALLENBY, F.-M.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE FAR EAST*

By SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, K.C.S.I.

Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have known from previous experience that it was an awe-inspiring task to follow Sir Denison Ross. He is not only a master of his subject, but he is also a master of its presentation. I have hardly ever heard a chairman's speech in more felicitous form, and I cannot hope to live up to his artistry. But I am entrusted with a subject which requires faithful treatment, and the title I have been given is "Great Britain and the Far East."

I do not know what hopes that title may have aroused, but I shall endeavour to present the picture in as objective a form as possible.

First, a word about our position and interests in the Far East. There is a tendency in certain circles in this country—and in industrial circles in particular—to wonder whether our function in that area is not coming to an end. Looking at our trade statistics and the progress made by our rivals in trade and other ways—there has been a tendency to take a defeatist attitude. I need not say what those interests are or the manner of their change. That they are undergoing change is obvious, and, if we are to maintain our position in China and the Far East, we shall have to recognize that a change both in our methods and in our goods is essential.

But, following up the idea that our function is nearing an end, we are often told that inasmuch as the total sum of those interests is not great enough to justify their maintenance by force, any attempt to protect them is in the nature of a bluff.

This brings us to the problem of force. It is perfectly obvious that in present circumstances we neither desire, nor possess the power, to go to war in the Far East. For this reason it is said that anything in the nature of an attempt to protect our interests is a bluff. Let us approach this from the other end. There certainly are places where we should protect our interest by force. We should certainly protect by force our interests in the Suez Canal, Cape of Good Hope, or India. It is only when we get beyond India that the question arises

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on March 27, 1935.

where it will be necessary for us to take a stand supposing our interests are threatened. And it is after we pass Ceylon and Burma that the question of the extreme limit for defence by force arises. It is quite clear that the hinge is Singapore, but beyond Singapore there is an element of doubt and nobody knows where we should take our stand. Now I must draw your attention to one significant historical fact. Most of the greater territorial decisions that led to the expansion of the British Empire were not taken in those territories themselves, but in Europe. The fate of Canada and India was settled on the battlefields of Europe. It follows that, in considering the problem of the British Empire in the Far East in terms of force—and therefore of war—we cannot say where we should take our stand until we know what line of action will be taken in Europe.

The Far East, for us, is conditioned by Europe. Confident prophets may be able to tell us the future outline of Europe, but the more sober will not make any confident prediction. There is an element of uncertainty where we should take our stand supposing there were a threat to our interests in the Far East. But if there were sovereign changes in the affairs of the Dutch East Indies or Singapore, that would represent so serious a threat in the Indian Ocean that we should be obliged to act. One school of thought urges that we should make that declaration at once. We did, in fact, make this declaration in the Washington Treaties of 1922, and we showed by the deliberate exclusion of Singapore that we regarded Singapore as lying outside the field of operation of the Treaties both of 1922 and 1930.

How does that apply to the Far East to-day? If we are clear in our minds and make it clear to others that there is a point at which we will resort to the *ultima ratio* of war, then our attempt now to define our position in China at the present moment is not in the nature of a bluff. It is simply a fair intimation that Great Britain is in earnest in the defence of her general interests in the East, and hopes to attain her essentially peaceful aims by commercial and diplomatic negotiations which do not require force. If driven to use force, she will use it at the appropriate place and moment; but she seeks a solution advantageous to all by peaceful means, in the circumstances of China in 1935, for the conditions in the Far East during the next year require firm diplomacy, which uses neither bluff nor threats.

It is necessary to put these ideas forward as a preface, because when you begin to discuss any single aspect of the Far East—the problems of recognition of Manchukuo, or the position in China and the pressure

put on China by Japan—you are met with the proposition that we are carrying on the discussion in a spirit of bluff. I maintain that we are doing nothing of the kind.

A candid examination of the position in Japan is necessary here for a complete understanding not only of the Far East to-day but the whole question *per se*; and as we proceed to examine the requirements of the Japanese people, we shall find that the problem, which we have usually conceived as of Chinese origin, really has its vital centre in Japan. There is therefore nothing strange, when we try to estimate the nature of our interests and the problem of our defence, that I begin by saying that the position of Japan and a knowledge of its requirements is an essential part of the design of any true policy in the Pacific Ocean.

I am not going to occupy your time by a detailed examination. Indeed the greater part of the general position of Japan as a manufacturing nation with a rapidly growing population is known to everyone in this room. But, in considering the ultimate solution of her problem, we must see modern Japan both in her evident strength and in her even more significant weakness. We shall then see that the solution does not rest on the means Japan can herself dispose of, but in the last resort on common action. I am one of those who believe, and am ever more deeply convinced, that the Japanese do not possess physical, mental, financial, or spiritual resources adequate for the whole task to which they seem to have set themselves or for a *lasting solution* of their fundamental problems. I know that General Araki, and other prophets of Japan's "mission in Asia" hold the opposite view; but I think that their conviction arises from emotion and not from reason. Let no one suppose that I say this out of hostility to Japan, or because I do not recognize her great achievements and patriotic spirit of her people. I say it because it needs to be realized that Japan has already undergone a great stress and strain, almost to the limit of nervous endurance, in her powerful effort to create a modern equipment for herself; and that the high tension in which her people live to-day is the direct result of this effort. This tension is more severe and perhaps more dangerous than most Japanese realize.

Now, consider Japan in the modern world to-day. I set on one side the commercial and statistical data because they are well-known to you, and I come at once to the picture of Japan as a fortress beleaguered on three sides by three sets of forces.

Japan up to 1930 was divided into two schools of thought, each

believing that she must seek relief from pressure at home through expansion abroad. On the one hand the Civilians—not Liberals, for anything that we understand as Liberalism is unknown in Japan—interpreted relief from pressure at home in terms of peaceful trade expansion and amicable relations with all nations whose trade was necessary for Japan. They hoped to see Japan able to occupy her surplus population at home in making goods for abroad. That programme remains the fundamental solution, but it has encountered insurmountable obstacles in the last four or five years. Some of these obstacles were due to forces operating from abroad; others were due to Japan's own internal condition.

Just at the time when the Civilian Parties were claiming that the only solution lay in expanding markets, various forces in the markets abroad compelled one nation after another to raise their tariffs against all goods and incidentally and especially against goods from Japan. The programme of peaceful expansion immediately encountered this obstacle. The fall of the yen and the rationalization of Japanese industry could leap over many barriers, but none the less the tariffs appeared as a serious obstacle. This is the first sector of the lines that surround Japan like a fortress in siege.

The second part of the wall is the prohibition by which all the areas round the Pacific occupied by white populations have decided to close their doors to immigration from non-white populations. Therefore these comparatively temperate areas which, had they been empty, would have been available to Japan are completely closed.

The third sector is psychological—namely, the moral disapproval of Japanese aggression in Manchuria.

There you have the problem in a nutshell. It looks like a complete impasse. It is obvious that no one will attempt to persuade America, Australia, Canada, or New Zealand to release Japan from the pressure put upon her by exclusion from these areas. And the other two factors, tariffs and moral censure, seem likely to operate for some time to come. It is little wonder that the military party in Japan were able to elicit an enthusiastic response to their claim that force, and force alone, could break these encircling lines. None the less, force alone offers no solution; and, in the course of the next twenty-five years, the key will be found in the opening of world markets by agreement between Japan and the other Powers. We take twenty-five years as the period of time, because the population problem, which is the magnetic centre of the whole, will remain acute at least till 1950-60. During that time

there will be repeated explosions of pressure in Japan, in the form of new expansion in Mongolia and China, unless the pressure is relieved by enlarged access to foreign markets. We control a substantial proportion of the markets of the world. We have our own protection, and Japan is not afraid of our quotas. I believe it will be found that in supplying our tropical markets Japan is actually creating a new market that has not existed before. She has supplied certain cheap goods, the demand for which did not exist before because none of the producers of the world had tried to make markets for them because of the factor of price. Japan will expand these new markets; but as time goes on, and as the economic life of the world revives, we shall have to offer Japan a larger share in general world markets than she now possesses. This is a hard saying at present; but we are brought up sharply against the fundamental fact that, unless we offer Japan relief of that kind in the next ten or twenty years we shall be clamping down internal pressure in Japan which must ultimately break out.

But the bargain need not be, nay, must not be, one-sided. If we show our appreciation of this part of the Japanese problem we are entitled to say to Japan in return that those nations which have interests in the Far East are entitled to remain and to participate in the expanding market for capital goods in China.

Japan will say that the kind of goods we have supplied in the past we can no longer supply. Our answer is that in China expansion in the next twenty-five years will be for capital goods, not only in the Chinese railways but all the other capital goods required by all those nations which are trying to become modern. One has only to think of a mediæval town and a modern town to realize the enormous opportunity which the development means. We and America and one or two others have a claim in this market, for in this field we are supreme.

How can the door into the Chinese market be kept open? It is frequently said just now that Japan can compel China to close it, that the present negotiations between Tokyo and Nanking will result in a new relationship which will be very unfavourable to foreign, and particularly British, interests. Those who think of the situation solely in terms of force are justified in being defeatists. They believe that the wheel must come full circle, and they say: "Because in the last resort our policy rests on force, then either come to terms or evacuate the Far East."

I see nothing to justify evacuation, but I see a great deal which means that commercial firms must reform their methods and retain

Chinese markets for capital goods. And some of the great firms, as I know, are eager to do this; but they need a definite assurance from the British Government that they will be supported. Behind them, therefore, there must be a change in the attitude of our Government at home. If we make up our minds that what is at stake is worth defending, then we can contrive this change in the attitude of our own Government, which must be something more than a negative acceptance of the status quo. I use the term *status quo* advisedly. Conditions are changing from day to day and apparently in our disfavour. China appealed to us in 1934 for financial assistance and we turned the appeal down. She has since gone to America and asked for a change in the American silver policy by which the Chinese silver position might be eased. Owing to the state of American domestic politics there is no chance of any immediate change in the American silver policy. Therefore China has to see whether she can find some assistance in the international field generally; and when she made her latest appeal to us just the other day we said: "If you will go forward and make a definite proposal, we are prepared to consider and support that proposal." The suggestion is that something immediate should be done, and that those nations interested in the Far East should discuss the position of Chinese currency and finance which is now one of severe straits. We said in effect to China: "If you will make the first move we will follow." China to-day is in a very awkward predicament. Exactly where does the initiative for a move of this character lie? I would claim before you to-night that, if the initiative fails to come from any other source, our interests, our ability to help, our prestige, and our historic rôle in the Far East all designate us as the fitting leader. This crisis gives us an opportunity of constructive action, which, properly guided, can relieve Chinese distress, promote a healthier relation between China and Japan, re-open Chinese markets to general trade, and prove to the world that Great Britain is neither silent nor supine where her interests are involved.

That is the position which confronts us. It is at once a summons and a challenge, a problem and an opportunity. And before we try to see what it involves in the policy of Whitehall, let us note that it must entail a much closer contact between the British Minister to China and the Chinese Government. In a word, the British representative must make Nanking his real base, and place himself in continuous, close, personal contact with all the various authorities composing the Nanking Administration.

But the key, of course, lies in London, and for this reason. The predicament in which the Chinese are demands immediate action; action in the direction of relieving financial distress and of unfreezing the block of trade at Shanghai through which money cannot circulate at all. And no action can be taken which does not enlist the support of financial London, as well as the support of the Cabinet.

I am not prepared to say what an international conference would decide, but China would be more interested than any country in the world except Great Britain, because our interests are being threatened and because business cannot move.

What, then, is the next step? We have, I think, sufficient justification, on the merits of bringing relief to China, to take the initiative in inviting the other Four Powers who are chiefly interested in the Far East to sit round a table and discuss the question. The source from which the assistance to China comes will have a profound effect on the course of politics in the Far East and particularly on the policy of the Chinese Government. If we stand aloof, China will say: "We did try but our efforts broke down." We can say: "They broke down because of incapacity and corruption." But China can equally say that she relied on the League on the one hand and on Anglo-America on the other, and that her reliance had brought her so little profit that when Japan pressed her to turn the other way she had but little choice in the matter. Well, on that question a leading Chinese said to me last summer that he could not find it in his heart to blame the League or America or Britain; but that China had to face the predicament of not finding the world balanced as she thought it would be, and that now she was face to face with one Power alone.

This is the natural attitude for the Chinese; but, in the present circumstances, when immediate action is necessary to redeem Chinese finance and the currency position, *we* are offered a last opportunity of coming back into the Chinese situation. You will see that force is not immediately involved, but the will to carry things through is involved. The Chinese Government will come forward to sit at a table if they get the chance. They may not be prepared to issue the invitation themselves. The Americans are well disposed, and even Japan is not a closed door. Mr. Hirota has suggested that Japan is prepared to consider it, so the situation is ripe for action on our part.

The problem in the Far East to-day is that of taking the initiative in arranging a discussion. I believe it is possible to find a way out. If we do not find a way out then China must accept Japanese help on

Japanese terms. This might be a very serious result both for British interests and for the whole world at large.

I do not want to set the problem in anti-Japanese terms. On the contrary, I want to set in motion a policy with her co-operation, difficult as it is to secure. The facts in the Far East place Japan in an exceptional position. We must recognize this. We are not in Washington in 1922 and on equal terms. We are not in 1927 when the Defence Force went to Shanghai in defence of British interests. But we have both resources and opportunities. We recognize that the old equilibrium cannot be restored, and that politics in the Pacific will rest on a foundation very different from that of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. A new basis was, in fact, laid in 1922; but that is now shaken. Our immediate duty lies in the narrower field of the present Chinese crisis, and we ought to accept the challenge of the new situation, first of all in that field, and use our wits and our goodwill to help China out of her present predicament by means of a plan in which the Powers interested, *all* of them, participate in the measure of their real capacity for remedial action and of their Far Eastern interests. This will give Japan a large place, but it will also reserve to Great Britain and America, France too, a share and an influence to which they are clearly entitled.

A lasting settlement is not yet in sight, and when it comes it will be found to concern Russia, as well as the Powers immediately interested in this currency question. At bottom, our real concern is threefold: (1) To keep the flag flying in the Far East as the emblem of British prestige and British interests; (2) to seek an eventual settlement which will lead to an all-round appeasement; (3) to carry with us, as far as present difficulties permit, the assent, if not the active co-operation of America.

Here is some of the material for an answer to the question, How does Great Britain stand in the Far East to-day?

Mr. SCOTT: May I ask the lecturer whether he does not think that a change in our policy in China itself is not an essential preliminary to a settlement of the wide questions which he has so clearly put before us? For the past seven or eight years—since the December Memorandum of 1926, in fact—our China policy has been very indefinite. We have not on the one hand implemented that Memorandum, which said that the Treaty position on which we rested had become out of date

and that we intended to negotiate new Treaties, nor, on the other, have we stood on our strict Treaty rights; but we have allowed our position to be steadily destroyed by a process of attrition, which has encouraged the Japanese in the belief that we are liquidating our stake in the Far East. Before we can hope to settle the big question of our respective places in the Pacific, we must dispel that belief from the Japanese mind by a firmer attitude on local issues in China, which will show the world that we have an interest there and intend to maintain it. Such a policy need imply no hostility either to China or Japan.

SIR FREDERICK WHYTE: I agree, and I do not find anything to question in what Mr. Scott has said. I have always felt that the policy of 1926 suffered by being carried out in water-tight compartments. One set was responsible for writing memoranda, another for the Shanghai defence and for Captain England's rescue of British subjects in Nanking. The policy was difficult to carry out, but the authors sometimes forgot that there must be an element of force behind it. In the position to-day and amidst the things that are troubling China a more determined attitude would be excellent, and the moral of British firmness would not be lost on Japan. We do not seek to go back to what used to be called the "gunboat" policy. Our problem calls for other treatment.

Colonel SMALLWOOD: There is one very important phase of this question and that is the financial one. It is quite obvious that nothing can be put right until China has the money to do it with. She has made various proposals. It occurs to me that when one looks at the financial state of some of China's railway loans it is very difficult not to think that some kind of control is necessary. I should like to ask if China would agree to any kind of control over borrowed money. It appears to me that there is no chance of China getting any money without some such agreement. China is in possession of what she describes as sovereign rights, and we have heard about this a great deal in the last few years, but I can conceive of no serious money being forthcoming unless the money provided is controlled. Will she agree to such control or not?

SIR FREDERICK WHYTE: If by control you mean measures to make sure that money shall not be frittered away, I think the Chinese are capable of that now, but the first case would not be a big loan for China, for productive enterprises which could be diverted. The policy would, I think, be one in which a loan would be made to solve the present currency problem. I think it would be unwise of any Govern-

ment to define in advance what step should be taken. China has moved a stage beyond that where money would be frittered away.

Let me add this. Colonel Smallwood speaks of the Chinese railway loans which are in default. When I was in Shanghai in 1927 I could buy Shanghai-Nanking Bonds at £35; now you cannot buy under £85. I could buy Hukuang Bonds for £5. You cannot buy under £35 to-day. And this is true if you go right through the whole list. The Chinese Government has not defaulted on strictly Government obligations. Coupons stand in a very much better position to-day than they did seven or eight years ago. It is true that only within the last two or three months have the coupons due in 1927 and 1928 been paid, yet the fact remains that even in its present predicament some of these bonds are being paid. Japanese sterling loans now stand at 12 per cent., 15 per cent., and 20 per cent. below Chinese loans of a similar character. There is a remarkable contrast in favour of China.

THE CHAIRMAN: I need have no hesitation in suggesting a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir Frederick. I have no intention of saying anything myself because I regard China and Japan as two entities in civilization and in literature, and what they mean beyond that I do not know. We have naturally spoken of China and Japan as two states; it is only fifty years since Japan threw off the caste system, and since then she has made tremendous strides, and it was in 1911 that China unbuttoned her jacket and cut off her pigtail and started off on an entirely new career. Until that date the ambition of the educated Chinese had been to pass examinations, in which everyone had to give a set answer to a set question, or not answer at all. Now in both countries we have a new people, waking up as they have never done before to civilization, bubbling over with ideas. As a result of the loosening of restrictions, women now are women, and man as a superior being no longer holds entire sway. Sir Frederick has treated these two countries as separate entities, and we should try to visualize the marvellous situation in China of four hundred million people who have only just begun to fight the battle of life.

SIR FREDERICK WHYTE: Sir Denison has done it again. I only wish you could have been present the other night at one of our private dining clubs in the Athenæum when he was the victim. A happier victim I never saw. I am glad that he reminded you of the new conditions in China. I would like to add one word, though I hesitate, in defence of Chinese patriotism. We *feel* patriotism in terms of ardent feeling towards the land that gave us birth, towards associations we

were taught through its history, and all the thrilling episodes of our national story. But we can hardly *think* of patriotism, except in terms of national leadership by an organized government. Our patriotism, while it may be a burning zeal, becomes an active force only when we are in an organized phalanx under a willingly-accepted political discipline. Chinese patriotism is expressed quite differently. They think that all government ought to be kept at arm's length, and the less you have to do with it the better. They do not rely on government: they act for themselves. But, as Mrs. Buck showed so clearly in *The Good Earth*, they are deeply attached to the land that gave them birth. The Chinese stand firmly on their own earth, but have a different conception of the manner in which they can serve their country. Theirs is no allegiance to a State with an organised government. Our patriotism is an active political allegiance; in China it is loyalty to their race; and they have shown that loyalty with invincible force throughout their long history. Who shall say which of the two patriotisms is the higher?

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF ASIA*

By G. E. HUBBARD

AMONG the economic problems with which the world is faced to-day by no means the least serious is the evolution of Oriental countries from being markets for manufactured goods from the West to becoming, firstly their own suppliers, and subsequently exporters themselves of factory products.

Of course, there is nothing new in this process. Since the Industrial Revolution of a century ago which started England on its career as a world-wide exporter, a similar change has taken place among many of our older customers—as, for instance, Canada—and the industrialization of Eastern European countries, such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, is a notable phenomenon of the post-war period. Generally speaking, however, the effect has been gradual enough for adjustment to take place, and no violent dislocations have resulted. The industrialization of the Asiatic countries is a very different case. The change has been relatively sudden, the populations involved are enormous, and their workers exist on a different plane from our own in regard to their standard of living. The results are, or threaten to be, catastrophic.

It is from this angle—namely, the repercussions of Eastern industrialization upon the manufacturing countries of the West—that I approach my subject to-night.

For the sake of brevity I have entitled my lecture “The Industrialization of Asia,” but I shall have to limit the scope to the three most important Asiatic countries from the industrial point of view—namely, Japan, India, and China. The nearer East—Turkey and Persia—I am afraid I shall not have time to include, but probably some members of our Society who are here to-night will recently have discussed Persian industrialization at the Dinner Meeting held a few weeks ago, which Miss Violet Connolly addressed, and I trust that my

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on April 10, 1935, Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair. In introducing the speaker, Sir Denison Ross said that the lecture would be one of the most exceptional value. Mr. Hubbard was about to give them, not mere impressions formed during a brief stay in China, but the fruits of what might fairly be called half a lifetime of research based on knowledge acquired during many years' residence in the country.

It was an unusual privilege to be asked to take the chair on such an occasion. He had much pleasure in asking Mr. Hubbard to address the meeting.

omissions will be made good later in the evening by speakers who can deal with more authority than myself with the Near Eastern countries.

To provide the background for the substantive part of my lecture, I propose to begin with a rapid survey of the development of modern industry in the three countries I named just now. I shall take Japan first as being industrially the doyen among Eastern nations. Modern industry in Japan dates from the time of the revolution of the eighteenth century, when Japan turned her back on her old feudal system and decided to emulate the West. In the rapid change-over of the political and economic structure of the country which then took place, the Government put its power and resources into the creation of a modern industrial system, and the wealth and authority of the governing samurai class were mobilized to this end. Factories for cotton-spinning, wool-weaving, and the manufacture of glass, cement, etc., were started under Government control, modern banking was introduced, and foreign trade multiplied greatly. The two successful wars with China and Russia were an immense stimulus to manufacture, especially of the classes of goods required in war—those connected with the iron and steel and the shipbuilding industries in particular. State-owned factories—notable among them the Imperial Steel Works at Yawata—arose during this period, while simultaneously the Japanese people expanded the manufacture of the small everyday articles—toys, matches, chinaware, etc.—which were the characteristics of Japanese trade to Europe in the early period. The financing of all this development was largely assisted by the loans from abroad which Japan was able to raise on her credit as a rising and enterprising State.

Textiles played the largest part in the general development. The traditional silk industry, which has always till now been the backbone of Japan's trade, steadily expanded, though it remained (and remains) mainly a rural industry carried on by the farmers. Cotton-spinning, on the contrary, tended from the first to change from a hand- to a factory-craft, and from the founding in 1860 of the first cotton mill by the head of the Satsuma Clan the movement grew, till, at the end of the nineteenth century, Japan was not only supplying her own requirements of yarn, but exporting one-third of her output. The weaving factories, as usual, developed later, and it was not till well after the Great War that power-looms caught up with hand-looms in number.

Thus Japan at the opening of this century was already important as an exporter of manufactured goods, her overseas markets being, however, practically limited to Asia and the U.S.A. In the important

Chinese market for cotton yarn she had supplanted India, who, in turn, had previously supplanted Great Britain, in the coarser grades of material.

The Great European War opened a new chapter. Not only did it provide another impetus to production, but it opened to Japan markets further afield which the Western countries were temporarily stopped from supplying, and gave Japan a virtual monopoly for the time being of the nearer Asiatic markets. Profits were enormous, and the careful husbanding of these made possible a tremendous expansion of manufacturing plant and productive capacity generally, so that at the end of the War Japan was already a serious rival to industrial countries in the West.

All this was largely the result of a combined national effort directed, controlled, and supported by the Government and consciously undertaken as a means of raising Japan to the rank of a Great Power. This national "team" spirit has been—I may say here—not the least of the causes of Japan's competitive power right up to the present time.

Although the range of manufactures increased—Japan embarking, for instance, on the large-scale production of chemicals—the textile industries still dominated the whole, especially as regards manufacture for export. The cotton industry expanded enormously during and after the War and, with the help of accumulated profits, was reorganized on very up-to-date lines with a degree of "rationalization" in many respects exceeding anything yet seen in this country.

Post-war prosperity was succeeded in Japan, as elsewhere, by a rather violent reaction. Recovery came quickly, but certain latent after-effects helped to contribute to a major financial crisis which occurred in 1927. Combined with the disastrous results of the great Yokohama earthquake, this proved a powerful check to development. However, the misfortune was turned to account. It led to a weeding out of weak and superfluous companies and to a very determined effort towards co-operation in industry, the creation of cartels and greater central control—in fact, towards much the same changes as are now being advanced as the remedy of our own industrial troubles.

When the world crisis began in 1929, it hit Japan very hardly. Her major export was silk, of which some 90 per cent. was sold to the U.S.A. The distress in the latter country naturally resulted in a very heavy restriction of this luxury trade. In spite of this, the industries of Japan have weathered the storm better than those of almost any other country—if, that is, we may judge by the volume of Japan's indus-

trial production, which has never fallen below the 1928 level and is at the present time nearly 50 per cent. higher.

The textile industries as a whole still represent nearly 40 per cent., in value, of Japan's total industrial production. To this group of industries rayon manufacture is an important recruit, Japan being now the greatest producer of rayon in the world. The wool-spinning and weaving industries are also rapidly growing. The heavy industries have made far less impressive progress, a fact explainable by Japan's unfavourable position in regard to the raw material required for this branch of industry. In the last two or three years iron and steel and engineering works have, it is true, shown a spectacular advance, but this can be set down to the enormous domestic demands of the Japanese military forces coinciding with a strong "colonial" demand for the exploitation of Manchuria's resources, mostly in the shape of railways.

Glancing at a few of the other industrial developments, we find that Japan has become the world's third greatest producer of glass, a great manufacturer of electrical apparatus (her export of lamp bulbs rose from 13 million yen in 1923 to 273 million in 1932) and likewise of rubber goods, in which her exports mainly take the form of shoes, toys, and tyres.

To epitomize the industrialization of Japan during the last twenty years, I may give you figures to show the change she has gone through from being an *importer* to an *exporter* of manufactured articles, and from being an *exporter* to an *importer* of the raw materials of industry. Of her exports in 1912 raw materials counted for 30 per cent. and finished manufactured goods for the same proportion; in 1932 raw materials had dropped to 10 per cent. and manufactures had risen to nearly 60. On the import side, raw materials grew from 43 to 60 per cent.; finished articles fell from 20 to 15.

India and China I must treat more summarily. Taking India first, we find a striking contrast with Japan in that modern industry grew in its early stages without much encouragement or active intervention on the Government's part. India's size and decentralization partly explain this, and we have to remember also that the Government had its hands full during the nineteenth century with the task of establishing an orderly administrative system and of creating much-needed public works; it had therefore limited energy to spare for arresting the decay of the old Indian industries which Western competition had so seriously damaged, or for building up a modern industrial state. Moreover, the *laissez-faire* theory at that time permeated English economic

thought and no doubt its influence extended to India. Indirectly, however, British rule in India encouraged industrialization by providing India with the *sine qua non*, a good system of transport. The first spinning mill was erected in Bombay Presidency in 1853, followed by jute mills in Calcutta, iron works in Bengal, and engineering works at the principal railway junctions.

When the pioneering work of the Government began to bear fruit in an improvement of rural conditions, especially in mitigating famines, industrialization went more quickly ahead and there was considerable expansion prior to the Great War. In 1907 the foundation of the famous Tata Iron and Steel Company marked an important step in the development of what is becoming one of India's chief industries, and by 1914 the cotton and jute mills were firmly established.

The effect of the War on India was the opposite of what it was on Japan. Her trade fell, and did not recover to its 1913 level until some eight years after the end of the War. After a slight rise in 1928-30, it has again fallen to a point far below where it stood immediately prior to the War.

One of the reasons why in India's case native industry failed to respond to the stimulus of war and to seize the opportunity of supplying the gap in imports from Europe which the War produced was that she was lacking in the necessary resources of plant and money for taking advantage of the situation, and had to allow other countries—Japan and the U.S.A. particularly—to enter and fill the breach. It was then that Japan obtained her firm footing in Indian trade and prepared the way for the keen competition between the products of Japan's, Lancashire's, and India's own cotton mills which has marked these recent years.

The cotton mills, closely followed by the jute mills, are the greatest users of industrial labour in India, employing between them three-quarters of a million workers, but the proportion of the population engaged in industry remains far below that of Japan, being only about 10 per cent. of the population of the country. It follows naturally that Indian factory products are chiefly consumed in India itself, and that she remains an exporter primarily of raw materials and foodstuffs. This fact may easily veil the importance of Indian industrialization. Even before the War India had become the fourth greatest cotton manufacturing country in the world, since when the number of spinning spindles has increased by 50 per cent. and the number of weaving looms has doubled.

In the iron and steel industry India has made very great progress since the end of the Great War. The Tata Iron and Steel Company, which produces about 70 per cent. of the total output of pig-iron and is the only maker of steel in India, more than trebled its production of pig-iron—from 270,000 tons to 840,000 tons—between 1922 and 1934, while its output of steel multiplied even further. The result has been an enormous reduction in the import of the less expensive iron and steel products, though the higher-grade products remain in great demand from abroad. In pig-iron alone India has changed from an importer to an exporter, and, measuring by weight alone, actually exports more iron and steel products than she imports from abroad. Japan used to be the chief customer for her exports, but demand from Japan has lately declined, and Great Britain is now taking increasingly large quantities of pig-iron and steel bars. It may be of interest to add that on the side of Indian imports of iron and steel goods the British share rose last year from 43 per cent. to 57 per cent. If the present tendency continues India may well become eventually one of the greatest exporters in the world of the smaller types of iron and steel products, a fact which would not, however, debar her from remaining a good market for the higher types which Great Britain is able to produce.

China started on her career of industrialization in the modern sense more than a quarter of a century later than either Japan or India. Apart from a few unimportant native essays in factory cotton-spinning (the first inaugurated by the great Li Hung Chang himself), no development worth mentioning took place until Japan defeated China in the war of 1894-5, and made it one of the terms of the peace treaty that Japanese should be allowed to engage in manufacture at the Treaty Ports, a privilege which extended automatically to the other Treaty Powers. Ten years later, however, there were still only seventeen power mills in China, four being foreign-owned. Thereafter a slow but steady growth took place up to the time of the Great War.

The Chinese peasant lives a barer existence, as regards the material things of life, than even the Indian *ryot*, and his demands on factory products hardly extend beyond cotton yarn for hand-loom weaving and mill-woven cloth when it proves cheaper than hand-woven, together with a few household necessities—paper, matches, kerosene oil, candles, soap, his one manufactured luxury cigarettes, wheat flour and a certain amount of chemical fertilizers for the soil. Naturally, therefore, industry in China developed within an even narrower range of products

than in the other Oriental countries, and up to the present time only the cotton mills have acquired an importance which calls for serious attention from an international point of view. These mills, like those in Japan, enjoyed a big boom during the Great War, trebling their number between 1915 and 1920, after which they experienced the inevitable post-war slump; recovering from this, they again expanded steadily till the onset of the world depression, when the total number of cotton mills in China was about 130, the majority still being located in the principal Treaty Ports.

A striking illustration of the effect of introducing into China a cotton industry on modern methods is provided by the decline of imports of cotton yarn—once the leading item in China's foreign trade—between 1913 and to-day. In 1913 China was importing annually 360 million pounds weight of yarn and producing, at an estimate, 225 million (less than two-thirds of the imports); by 1924 imports had dropped to 77 millions and production risen to 590 millions (now more than seven times the imports), while in 1933 imports had fallen to the almost negligible figure of 4 millions, with production perhaps one hundred times as great (it had reached 1,000 millions in 1929 but fell heavily during the slump). Thus what had been the chief article in import into China—firstly from Lancashire, later from India, and still later from Japan—has come near to being extinguished by the rise of industry in China. The same thing has been happening, though of course less rapidly, in the case of cotton fabrics, the coarser grades of which now come chiefly from local factories.

The China cotton mills have not only thus captured the market in China itself, but are now exporting to such an extent that already cotton goods represent 13 per cent. of China's total exports. Half of the exported yarn goes to Japan and Korea combined, while one-sixth goes to India. India is thus now buying back from her old customer—an interesting instance of the normal process by which the late-comers push their forerunners in industry off the more primitive on to the higher types of manufacture.

The present position regarding the cotton mills and factories generally in China is highly abnormal and inviting of speculation. The Chinese mills, weak in finance and organization, have suffered desperately from the world slump and from China's own currency troubles, and are now in such a bad way that the opinion has even been expressed by some Chinese economists that they can hardly possibly recover. The foreign-owned mills—which nowadays is almost synonymous with

Japanese-owned—though naturally also affected, are *relatively* prosperous. This number is increasing, and one can conceive of a state of affairs in which the major part of industrial activity in China, at least in cotton textiles, will be conducted in factories owned and managed by Japanese. This is, of course, a very hypothetical development of the situation and, interesting though it might be, I should hardly be justified, and in any case have not time, to enter into conjectures regarding the results which might come from such a development.

In spite of the discouraging picture which the Chinese-owned cotton mills offer at the present moment, it would, I think, be quite unduly pessimistic to infer that native industries will not resume their expansion. As a matter of fact the newer and minor industries—glass, tobacco, rubber goods, and aluminium ware, to take a few examples—have weathered the storm better than the larger cotton industry and show a developing trend. Possibilities lie also in the movement current in China to decentralize industry and, instead of large-scale production in a few of the great cities, to encourage the growth of small factories scattered throughout the interior which will be in much more direct touch with the centres of raw material production and with the main body of consumers—that is, the rural population. The movement extends to the revival of rural industries, both in the shape of “cottage” industry, where the farmer and his families employ their spare time in one of the simpler trades, and of small country workshops controlled from a larger centre. With its immense size, defective communications and cheap labour supply, China is eminently fitted to engage in the experiment of developing small-scale industry on a semi-rural basis as a substitute for the large-scale system which has been evolved in the West, and whose weaknesses are being so painfully revealed in these present distressful times.

Having finished my historical sketch of Eastern industrial development, I now come to my main subject—the effect of this development upon a country which, like Great Britain, depends on its export trade for its economic prosperity.

Let us first look at the situation which trade competition has created at the present moment, though I do not intend to give much time to this side of the subject. Such few figures as I propose to quote are merely to illustrate a state of affairs which we all know to exist and to represent a very serious problem.

Our own export trade has, as everyone is aware, declined disastrously during these last years. Taking the case of exports which are

described as "wholly or mainly manufactured," we have experienced a drop in values from £619 million in 1924 to £305 million in 1934. In our greatest staple industry, the manufacture of textiles, which employs roughly a million British workers, we find the following declines in the quantity of our exports over the same period :

Cotton piece-goods, from approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ billion yards to just under 2 billion,

Woollen tissues, from 165 million yards to 69 million.

We can say without hesitation that, in the case of textiles, a very great part of this decline in exports, and, in the case of certain other classes of goods, a not inconsiderable fraction, is due to industrial development in the East, resulting in the rising self-sufficiency of the Eastern countries themselves and in their competition in international markets. An example of this competition may be drawn from a few of our own colonies. In East African markets during the last five years the proportion of imported cotton textiles coming from the United Kingdom fell from 21 per cent. to 11 per cent., while Japan's increased from 29 per cent. to 75 per cent. In Ceylon our percentage fell from 48 to 15, while Japan's rose from 14 to 68. In the Malayan market ours fell from 51 to 17, while Japan's increased from 20 to 68. These are samples of the proportional replacement of British by Japanese imports in British colonial markets. This does not, of course, mean that Japanese goods have always ousted British; in many cases Japan has supplied low-priced classes of goods which have attracted native purchasers who have never previously bought imported goods at all and, insofar as this is the case, British trade cannot claim to have suffered injury. I must add too that the situation in our colonies is undergoing a change through the introduction last year of a widespread system of quotas limiting imports from Japan.

It would take too much of my time to trace the progress of competition in other markets. Suffice it to say that these recent "defence" measures taken to protect our trade in our colonies have resulted in diverting Japanese exports to neutral markets over which we have no control—in particular, South America—so that competition damped down in one part of the world tends to spring up in another. This competition has hitherto been mainly in the lower grades of cotton goods essential for the clothing of so many millions in the poorer parts of the world, but it has lately extended rapidly to many other articles of everyday life and encroaches on an increasing number of trades, including those embraced in the description of "light engineering."

If we look at the present proportions of Japan and Great Britain of total world exports, roughly 3 per cent. and 13 per cent. respectively, the threat from Japan may seem small; it is in the *nature* of the exports and the wide differences in price that the real rub lies. It is, in fact, a qualitative rather than quantitative form of competition.

At this point I want to make clear that this talk of competition does not mean that the industrialization of Japan and other Eastern countries and the expansion of their exports ought to be regarded merely in the light of its competitive effect on Western industries. There may well be room in the world for industrial production in both of the hemispheres, and in the long run the whole world may quite possibly benefit by a change of occupation which takes Oriental tillers of the soil and puts them into factories. The eventual results for everyone concerned is an intensely interesting subject of speculation. But in the meantime the plain facts of the case are that the industrial countries of the West have suffered a formidable loss of markets directly attributable to the industrial development of the East and that the process looks likely to continue and may get a great deal worse. Whatever the final results may be, the world is temporarily faced with a most serious problem profoundly affecting economic life in countries like our own and liable to lead to international complications on the political plane. This competition, as I have said, is the problem with which I am at the moment dealing. I submit that its importance is such that we should make every effort in this country to understand the broad underlying facts of the situation, especially as regards the nature of industrial development in the Eastern countries involved.

My work at the Royal Institute of International Affairs during the last year has been concerned with a study of this subject, which the Institute has recently taken in hand in connection with our work for the Pacific Relations Conference due to be held next year. In the course of the study one was confronted continually with the question of standards of living. "Standard of living" is an economist's phrase which is rather too apt to become a catchword, if not a slogan. Its meaning is none too clearly defined, and one needs to be careful in applying it. In its broadest sense it stands, however, for something of which we all have a fairly clear understanding—at all events when it comes to applying it to our individual lives—and it is in this broader sense that I use it. It enters into our subject in two main connections: (1) the preservation of national standards of living, and (2) the effect which *differences* in standards of living in the East and West have

upon the level of wages, and hence on manufacturing costs, in the two halves of the world.

With regard to the first of these, our present British standard of living has been attained through a century of industrialization, and, unless population shrinks, industrial production must be maintained to keep it up to its level. Japan's position is fundamentally the same, although the circumstances are different. Her national standard of living, already very low, will automatically fall through pressure of population unless she does something to raise it proportionately to the increasing numbers of Japanese mouths to be filled and bodies to be covered. That "something" can apparently only take the form of greater industrial development. Meanwhile neither of the countries can "live on its own washing," because both need to import food or raw materials. Both, therefore, are bound to manufacture for export in order to pay for imports. *We* have to keep our overseas markets, and *Japan* has to expand hers in order for each to preserve the standards of life to which each is accustomed. This elementary fact needs to be kept in mind so as to appreciate the stake which we and Japan have in selling in foreign markets. We see it in concrete form when we look at the Lancashire unemployed and the state of distress in some of the cotton mill areas, or, in the case of Japan, at the desperate state of poverty and debt of the Japanese farmer at the present time.

The second vital point regarding standards of living is, as I have said, the difference existing between Eastern and Western standards for industrial workers. Comparisons of the two raise exceedingly difficult problems, but we know, as a broad fact, that the Chinese, Indian, or Japanese worker asks for, and gets, far less of the expensive things of life than his "opposite number" in this or most other Western countries. He is, in fact, a very much "cheaper" agent, and, *unless* his efficiency is correspondingly less, this creates for Western manufacturing nations a very definite handicap. In extreme cases this handicap may prove fatal when East and West meet in competition in international markets. How much does this cheapness of labour count for and how likely is it to last? These are two of the questions most in the minds of those who are engaged in studying the problem of Oriental competition in modern industry.

Before, however, discussing the relative assets of Eastern and Western countries when meeting in trade competition, I want you to turn your attention again to the broad underlying question as to how far such competition is inevitable.

Leaving secondary factors aside, let us first try to see how the various Eastern countries stand in regard to their fundamental need to expand industrially and to become exporters of manufactured goods.

Of Japan's position in this respect I have already said something. She is "over-populated" in a limited sense. More than half of her population depends for its living on farming and, to a less extent, fishing. The farmers are already in almost desperate straits. It seems an established fact that the possibilities of increasing agricultural incomes up to a tolerable level, through raising the yield of the land or by any other means, are so limited that, with the present rate of increase of population, the only remedy is a drift of workers from rural to urban occupations. This will imply a further expansion of industry and, as we have seen, Japan is not one of those countries, like the United States, which can largely be self-contained. She lacks too many of the raw materials of industry—iron, coal, cotton, and wool, for example. It is also an open question whether, as her numbers increase, she can supply—even with the help of her overseas possessions—enough food for the nation. Japan, it would seem, therefore, must adopt, and indeed has already adopted, what we may call an "exporting economy." Since the world slump the bottom (if I may use the expression) has fallen out of silk. Silk in its raw form is Japan's traditional staple export, and the chances of recovery of the American market on which the trade depends look very far from good. Rayon, too, threatens to kill the trade. Japan is therefore thrown back on endeavouring to an ever-increasing extent to exchange manufactured exports against imports of prime commodities. One may add that she shows signs of being able to do so successfully and to gain for herself an increasing share of the world trade in factory goods over a very wide range. (It is important to note, however, that the "heavy" industries, on which Great Britain so much depends, are the least likely field for Japanese expansion, owing to the fact that proximity to sources of raw material, principally iron and coal, counts particularly high in this class of industry.) Japanese industrial expansion is therefore, barring political "accidents," likely to continue both in nature and volume.

Now we will look at the position of India. This we shall find very different. The "balanced economy," which is out of the reach of Japan, is far more possible for India, who possesses natural resources to a very much greater degree, including those prime necessities, iron-ore and coal. An industrialized India could be to a great extent self-sufficient, employing her own factories to supply the enormous market

which her 350 millions potentially provide. Actually we find her developing somewhat along this line, her big cotton industry, for instance, being used almost entirely for supplying domestic needs. The problem in her case is to industrialize quickly enough to turn her natural resources to sufficient account. At present she is, generally speaking, an exporter of raw materials—iron-ore, cotton, jute—in exchange for manufactures. These imported manufactures become increasingly “high class” as the native factories extend their production of the lower-class goods. From a competitive point of view India’s foreign trade is, thus, mainly complementary to our own, but tends—especially in the important respect of cheap cotton goods—to be competitive with that of Japan and China. Indian industrialization is, at the moment, it is true, hitting British industries in the Indian domestic market, but its natural development should tend to increased trade between the two countries on the basis of British imports from India of raw or semi-manufactured materials (among which pig-iron ranks high) and India’s purchase, in return, of the higher quality British manufactures which the increased purchasing power, which industrialization should bring in its train, will enable her to afford.

China, the last of our three Eastern countries, stands between the other two in the nature of her “economy.” With raw materials she is better equipped than Japan, having iron and coal supplies well up to her present requirements (though the amount of her mineral reserves is a matter of some doubt), and growing her own cotton. In food also she *ought* to be self-sufficing, her enormous imports of wheat and rice being mainly, if not entirely, due to her poverty of internal transport and other checks on the movement of produce from the areas of production to the areas of consumption. Up to the present time Chinese industrialization has been mainly confined to the early stages of development common to Eastern countries which are only starting on their industrial career—namely, the manufacture first of cotton yarn and then of the coarser types of cotton cloth. As in India, the cotton mills are producing mainly for home consumption. Development to the higher stages of industry is bound for many reasons to be slow, and the domestic market is potentially so immense that it is certain to absorb the greater part of the output for many years to come. In any case, as we have just seen, China is less dependent than Japan on the import of raw materials and has surpluses of her own to offer the outside world. The urge to manufacture for export will be correspondingly less, and I think that, unless her resources are vigorously

developed by outside agencies, there is little likelihood of our seeing China following in the track of Japan and becoming a major competitor with Western countries in the sale of manufactured goods. If she achieves greater prosperity she should, on the contrary, provide a flourishing market for manufactures from abroad, and primarily from Japan, whose geographical position—to mention this factor alone—gives her a great advantage.

It is far less easy, however, to form a judgment on China's future development than on India's or Japan's. One principal reason for this is the existence of an incalculable element in the shape of the foreign-owned and controlled factories. Such factories—I am speaking here principally of the Japanese, which are far the most numerous—stand, one may almost say, outside the Chinese economy and belong rather to the system of the country from which they derive. Supported by foreign capital, and having behind them the marketing organization of the foreign country concerned, they are better able to be used for production for export than the indigenous concerns, and if their numbers greatly increase, it is not impossible that they might become an important competitive factor in international markets.

I have now offered you the best indication I can give regarding the "urge" on India, China, and Japan to manufacture for themselves and so challenge the exporting industries of the West, and I have tried to show the extent to which their respective national economies tend to fit in with, or to "come up against" the system of world trade which we of the West have created. We find that Japan, as being the one which most resembles Great Britain in the nature of her economy—and one may add, of her social development—is the most likely in the future to compete with us in trade. The probability of increased competition from India and China is less, though by no means to be ignored.

I have already mentioned workers' standards of living as affecting the cost of producing manufactured goods and so the prices at which a given country can sell. Though very prominent, and rightly so, in all discussions of the problem, it is by no means the only factor which decides competitive power. These factors are many, and I shall only have time to select a few of the most essential. Some can be called concrete, some rank as "imponderables." "Goodwill," national sentiment and prejudice, community of ideas and resemblances of language and custom between seller and buyer fall into the latter class. These are impossible to assess. Among the more tangible factors we

may take the factor already referred to—namely, the price at which goods are offered for sale. Its importance varies, it is true, but we may note that it counts highest in precisely those regions where competition between Eastern and Western industries is most severe,—namely, the less-developed countries with a population of low purchasing power who can only afford the cheapest types of goods.

Selling price depends on a number of factors. There is the question of freight—wherein exporting countries with good mercantile marines, especially if their ships are manned with “cheap” labour, have a pull over others—insurance, the cost of which may vary a great deal, and the vexed question of currency exchange. But, in the case at least of the more highly manufactured goods, what chiefly determines the price is the cost of production in the home factory. Relative production costs are therefore perhaps the most useful index which it is possible to have in order to judge where the advantage lies between two countries exporting similar classes of goods for sale in a common market.

Still, however, the task of the investigator is far from simple. Within a given industry individual firms may know their costs exactly, but they are seldom willing to publish them to the world. Nor would individual figures be much guide to the state of a whole industry, still less to that of a group of industries involved in competitive trade. We have to work on a wider plane and search out the principal factors which, taken large and wide, count for most in making up total costs.

An analysis will show three main categories: labour, raw materials (in which fuel may be included) and the various “overheads”—that is, the interest paid on capital, the cost of maintaining manufacturing plant, and last, but not least, the taxes levied on the manufacturing company.

There is obviously no time this evening to consider these various heads in any degree of detail. They have, I may mention in passing, been examined severally for each country concerned in our study of Eastern Industrialization at Chatham House, which the Oxford Press will be publishing in the course of the next three months. Here I can only touch on a few of the most salient facts.

I will first take labour, concentrating my remarks on the textile trade, which has been subject to more careful investigation than any other staple industry. The low level of direct money wages in the East, when compared with the West, is a matter of common knowledge. The investigator is, however, at once confronted with the difficulty of allowing for differences in indirect wages in the form of free

board and lodging, "welfare" services, industrial insurance, etc., not to mention the bonus system which, particularly in China, adds very substantially to the worker's income. These must all be taken into account before one can arrive at the labour cost to the manufacturer. In Japan, for instance, payments "in kind," as distinct from cash wages, are reckoned to amount to about one-third of what the cotton mill-owner has to pay for his labour.

Then, too, the individual efficiency of the worker enters into the calculation—*e.g.*, how many looms a single operative works. With all these factors considered, what is the relative labour cost per bale of yarn or yard of cloth produced in, say, Osaka and Manchester? The answer, arrived at as the result of various expert studies on the spot, is that the Japanese mill-owner pays for his labour something less than half of what the Lancashire mill-owner pays. In India wages are even lower than in Japan, but workers' efficiency is markedly lower too, and it becomes a question whether wage costs per unit actually work out less than in Lancashire. In Chinese mills wages are lower still—probably about one-half of the level in Japan. Efficiency, too, is poor, and this, as with the Indian workers, is certainly partly due to wages being too low to keep the workers in adequate physical health. You have here the vicious circle of wages reducing vigour and unfitness debasing wages. In China especially there seem very good grounds to think that the efficiency of the worker might easily rise rapidly with a general improvement of working conditions and better training and supervision. Taking efficiency into account, the Chinese factory hand is, I should say, potentially the cheapest human machine anywhere in the world.

The next question is, what percentage are labour costs of the total cost of production? This naturally varies with the amount paid to the worker and the degree of mechanization in the factory where he works. Japanese manufacturers, for instance, long went on the principle of using plentiful cheap labour and saving on the cost of machines. The principle did not pay, and of recent years they have gone in the other direction, so that their mill machinery to-day is more up-to-date and labour-saving than what you will find in our mills at home. The result is that labour costs in Japanese cotton mills producing for export are about one-tenth of total production costs against about one-fifth in Lancashire. This is a striking fact since it means that the cheapness of Japanese labour, in this industry at least, is of less vital importance than people usually suppose.

Nevertheless, it is, of course, very important. It is therefore well worth while to look into the future and attempt to judge whether Eastern and Western wages will tend to approximate, or if the present wide margin will continue. I have no time to consider more than the case of Japan. Economic theory prescribes that rising industrialization, with increased international trade, will increase the prosperity of Japan, raise the standard of living and so bring up the level of wages till it matches our own. My personal view is that this will take a very long time to happen and is not a thing on which we should base our calculations or hopes.

In the first place, wage and efficiency levels must always be taken together. Japanese workers' efficiency has risen greatly in recent years and is apparently still rising. If an increase in wages occurs but only proceeds *pari passu* with an increase in efficiency, Japan's position remains relatively the same. Actually we find that during the last few years, in spite of depreciation of the national currency, Japanese wages have shown more inclination to fall than in our own country. In this connection two facts are important. In the textile industry especially the employment of women is peculiarly rife—about four-fifths of the whole compared with two-thirds in Great Britain—and women get only about one-half of a man's wage, against four-fifths in this country. Secondly, labour is drawn much less than with us from a regular urban proletariat organized on Trade Union lines, with the power to fight for wages and working conditions, and much more from the land where the agricultural class still represents a good half of Japan. Mill-workers are largely farmers' daughters who work for two or three years and are then reabsorbed into agrarian life. The link between industrial and agricultural life is thus very close, and it seems rather unlikely that a very wide margin can develop between the earnings of the two. In other words, agricultural earnings will hold down industrial wages so long as the land remains the principal reservoir for providing industrial workers. If I am right in this, the latter's hopes of a great wage improvement are small, since the economic condition of the farming population of Japan is such that anything like a fair standard of living is almost impossible to achieve for many years to come. As you probably know, farm relief is, next to military expenditure, the greatest burden on the Japanese budget to-day. Finally, all observers remark on the national spirit existing in Japanese factories and the way in which the Japanese worker identifies himself with the policy of his country. He shows a peculiar readiness to work hard and

accept a low wage in order to play his part in what he is taught to consider part of a national movement to exalt Japan's position in the world.

The time left to me is short, and I shall only have room to deal briefly with one other important factor in industrial competition. Rationalization is a prominent feature to-day in all discussion of industrial problems. Our own reaction to the competition which has robbed our premier export industry of so much of its markets has mainly taken the line of attempts to "rationalize" the cotton industry. In the meantime Japan has gone very much further than ourselves, if not in all departments, at least in many of the most important of the industry. It is not very far from the truth to say that the industry in Japan is organized on co-operative lines from the point where the raw cotton is purchased to the arrangements for marketing in foreign countries. The Lancashire Cotton Corporation, which was created in Lancashire three years ago, has its parallel in Japan in the shape of the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, which came into being some forty years ago and now controls about 97 per cent. of the spinning spindles in Japan and about one-half of the looms. But perhaps the most striking aspect of co-operation in Japan is the interdependence which exists between various industries, and between the industries themselves and the banks. This partly results from the fact that so much of Japan's economic development was planned and started by the Government and partly from the fact that in Japan industry and finance are to an extraordinary degree concentrated in the control of a few families or clans, as an example of which I need give only two familiar names, the Mitsui and the Mitsubishi. For what it is worth then, Japan enjoys a highly integrated and centrally controlled system in industry and finance which is without parallel in any of the democratic countries of the West. It is in this characteristic and in the efficiency which goes with it that many writers on Japan see the principal explanation of Japan's success in competing with other countries.

In India, where industrial centres are scattered so wide apart and government itself is decentralized, the position is not unnaturally the reverse, and rationalization is very little advanced. In China, the same is true of the Chinese-owned section of industry, but the Japanese cotton mills are linked so closely with the industry in Japan that they are practically part of the system which I have just described as existing in that country.

Here my lecture must end. I have only scratched the surface of a

large and complex problem. At the most I have given "leaders" to help in answering a few of the numerous vital questions with which we are faced. There are others, equally vital, which for lack of time I have been unable to touch on. Let me mention some of those which seem to me most urgent. Can the Lancashire cotton trade, which exports half of its output, adapt itself to the trade expansion of Japan and of other Eastern countries? Can we reduce manufacturing costs or must we rest our hopes for the future on a change-over to other kinds of production with the dislocation of labour and other serious drawbacks which this process implies? If competition continues, how much can be done to relieve it by international agreement as to division of markets on a geographical basis or, where two countries compete in a common market, by restricting the exports of each to certain categories of goods or certain standards of quality? If there is no agreement, and we try to protect ourselves by excluding Japanese goods from our colonial territories while Japan does her best to monopolize other markets, where will the conflict end? And finally, the widest question of all, does the continued industrialization of Asia spell ultimate disaster for exporting countries like ourselves on a high standard of living, or will it have the effect of increasing the world's consumption of goods of every sort and so add to prosperity?

It is doubtful, I think, how far answers are possible to questions such as these until a deeper study has been made of the actual conditions of industrial development in the East. They open, however, an inviting field of speculation, and if someone in this audience, bolder than myself, will offer opinions on some of the major issues, an interesting discussion should ensue.

Mr. JOHN SCOTT: Whenever I read the Lecture Card which our Secretary sends out, I always start from the bottom upwards. And so, when I looked at this card and saw that the subject this evening was to be "The Industrial Development of Asia" I thought that would be too dry for me! But when I looked further and saw that Mr. Hubbard was to be the speaker I changed my mind, for I knew that, with his special knowledge of the subject, he would make it interesting. And I am sure we are all glad we came to hear the masterly exposition he has just given us.

There are two points which particularly struck me in what he said. First, if I understood him right, he does not think that China is likely to become a great industrial nation, because her labour,

though cheap, is inefficient, and her natural resources are limited. Personally, I believe that China has a great future as an industrial nation, and that the efficiency of her labour is potentially very great (as can be seen in some of the model factories under foreign management). Her industrial future is limited only by two factors, both of which I admit are formidable: First, the inability of most Chinese to manage any undertaking larger than a family business; and, secondly, the lack of facilities for the investment of capital in industry, which again is due partly to the family feeling that prevents a Chinese from entrusting his money to anyone outside his own family and partly to the absence of any effective commercial law.

The second point, which particularly interested me in Mr. Hubbard's lecture, was that he did not refer to tariffs. Japan has made great use of tariffs in building up and subsidizing infant and exporting industries, and China and India are following her example. I can quote a particular industry in which the Japanese manufacturer can, and does, sell the finished product in China at a lower price than he pays for the imported raw material. I believe the tariff weapon is going to play a great part in the industrialization of Asia.

Mr. HUBBARD, replying, said: I realize that I should have made a clearer distinction between the extent to which these Oriental countries are likely to become industrialized and the extent to which they are likely to compete in world markets. I agree that China has great possibilities of expanding her industries, though I think that, for reasons such as Mr. Scott has given, the process will be comparatively gradual and that she will not emulate the rapid development which was witnessed in Japan. As a competitor in world markets, I am inclined to think that China will not present a really serious problem for some years to come, mainly because her own potential consumption of the sort of goods which she is most able to manufacture is so great that she is likely to absorb all but a small part of her factory output apart from her complementary trade with Japan.

With regard to tariffs, speaking purely as a layman, am I not right in saying that the extent to which a country is prepared to protect its industries by tariffs is the extent to which that country is prepared to subsidize one class of its population at the expense of the others? Tariffs, in any case, strengthen competitive power only in the home markets (in Japan's case not so very important) and do not help a country in its competition with others in the other markets of the world.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Notes on an informal talk at a members' meeting given by Mrs. Guy Innes on May, 14, 1935, Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes in the Chair.

WHEN the first Women's International Conference met at Washington in 1902, Turkey was represented by an American woman. On this occasion, thirty-three years later, the Conference was held at Istanbul. Thirty countries were represented, as far apart as India, Brazil, New Zealand, and Egypt.

The meetings were held in the Yildiz Palace, an imposing example of Turkish architecture, though built only about eighty years ago. It has been specially prepared for conferences.

The proceedings opened with a formal welcome from the Governor-Mayor, Bey Muhittin Ustundag; nothing could have been more warmly phrased than the speech in which he greeted us on behalf of the city. The Governor-Mayor and the President of the Conference took their places at the board-table at the top of the hall. Here also sat Madame Latifi Bekir, M.P., and twelve other members of council, two being British, one Australian, two French, one Swede, one Pole, one Egyptian, two Dutch, and two German. The other delegates occupied seats in the other part of the hall. The proceedings were relayed by loud-speakers to the rest of the building, which was crowded by the public, especially by young people, many of whom stood to listen for an entire morning. It is, however, my impression that there is scarcely one woman leader as yet in Turkey who is pure-blooded Turk. The leadership seems to be taken at present by those who have some strain in them of Armenian, Jew, or Greek.

At the suggestion of Madame Bekir, who is not only a Member of Parliament, but also the President of the Turkish Women's Union, and on the Committees of the Association of National Economy, the Temperance Union, the Board of State Education Societies to help the poor, the Mothers' Union, and the Society for Child Protection, the Conference sent a telegram of thanks to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. A reply came the next day: "I thank you for the kind words you have

sent me. I am convinced that the exercise of civil and political rights by women is a necessity for the happiness and prestige of humanity. May the work of your Conference blossom and bear fruit."

The level of speeches was high. Although the women in office were older, there were also many young delegates. Among the many interesting people present were Mme. Hoda Charaoui, Mme. Hamid Ali, who came from India, a second Indian woman who had only come out of purdah eighteen months before, and Miss Una Marsom, a negress from Jamaica, who got a remarkable reception.

We had the opportunity of meeting most of the seventeen Turkish women Members of Parliament, among whom are municipal councillors, lawyers, one doctor, lecturers, and a peasant woman who had learnt to read since her election, and is said to be the only woman M.P. who commands the attention of the men in the House of Representatives when she speaks.

All the delegates were united in their work for world peace. But the Turkish delegates were silent altogether on the two resolutions which caused the most discussion: (a) That women should retain their own nationality after marriage, and (b) That the equal moral standard for men and women should be established. An audience of between 1,800 and 2,000 crowded into the University Building for the second of the two public meetings on Peace. Mme. Rauf from Turkey and Miss Rosa Manus from Holland presided.

Hospitality extended to the delegates included two splendid receptions, a dinner given for the delegates by the Governor-Mayor, an excursion on the Bosphorus, two luncheons, a reception at the British Embassy, free tram passes everywhere, and an invitation for the President and the Board to visit Ankara, where they met Kemal Atatürk, who gave them two hours of his time. That night, however, without any reason given, it was decreed that the Turkish Women's Society was to be disbanded. This came as a bombshell, and was naturally a great disappointment to the Conference. My own feeling is that at least a contributory cause was the two resolutions of the Conference to which I referred, which were, I think, repugnant to Turkish feeling: the retaining of their nationality by married women would not be agreeable to the present strong nationalism of Turkey, and the idea of equal moral standards is at present far in advance of the state of Turkish development.

The policy of the Government of Turkey is that it is best for women and men to work for their country side by side in absolute

co-operation. It may yet take some time before committee methods are learnt, as all public work is new in Turkey.

The delegates had other opportunities given them to see what has been done in Turkey in recent years. Education is free, but as there are as yet not enough trained teachers or schools, the classes are too large, and only 45 per cent. of the children are being educated. Higher education is on terms of absolute equality as between men and women. Of first-year students in medicine 20 per cent. are girls. They hope to work later in the country districts, which are still very badly off for medical help. The work of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. is very much appreciated and encouraged. At the centre in Istanbul, girls are taught gymnastics, dress-making, cooking, languages and dancing, and by the gift of an American they have a summer camp of their own on the Asian shore, where they can get bathing, and can stay for only 3s. 6d. a day. The Turkish people are carrying out the social welfare work that used to be undertaken in a very elementary form by the waqf foundations. In legislation, men and women are equal. The Swiss code is followed in matters of divorce, which can be granted on grounds of disease, insanity, and ill-treatment, etc., and the custody of the children is assigned by the judge, while both parents are equally responsible for their maintenance. Taxation is very heavy and varies from £9 on an income of £40 to 35 per cent. on an annual income of £1,000. Of this revenue, 42 per cent. goes to the army (by a recent increase from 33 per cent.).

In answer to questions, Mrs. Innes further added that there were no delegates present from Russian Central Asia, nor, as far as she could ascertain, from Persia. There were two German delegates, Frau von Velsen, who had to resign because of the position of women under the Hitler régime; and Frau Schrieber, who lives in Switzerland, and who, with Mme. Ginsberg, a Polish Jewess, interpreted for the Conference, and did it brilliantly.

All religion was not suppressed. The Muezzins' call could be heard as usual, and although few were to be seen in the mosques in Istanbul, she understood that people in the country generally were just as much interested in religion as formerly.

There was no embargo on Christian work among adults. Both Robert College and the American College for girls were open. The former was specially well qualified to teach engineering. It also had a fine new library, opened about three years ago, and had as many

students wishing to be enrolled as it could take. Both these colleges were run by Americans, and there were both British and American women working at the Y.W.C.A.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the speaker for her most interesting report.

RUSSIA AND CHINA*

By W. J. OUDENDYK, K.C.M.G.

I AM afraid that what I am going to tell you will be as dry as dust. Yet, when I let my mind's eye travel back to the streets of Peking as I first saw them in the beginning of 1894, now almost half a century ago, practically in the same surroundings which aroused the wonder of Marco Polo, and when I think of the glamour and the charm of old China and of the vast mysterious Imperial palaces showing their bright yellow tiled roofs glistening in the sunshine, and I see again the clouds of dust that were raised by the hundreds of mule carts and by the chair-bearers of the Chinese mandarins with their numerous outriders, then I think also of what was then going on in China's ancient capital and of the events of worldwide importance to which it all was destined to lead, and I cannot but assure you that even behind much dust there may be something interesting and worthy of our attention.

When the British Government succeeded in 1861—not without great and well-known difficulties—in persuading the Manchu Court to admit their diplomatic representative to reside permanently within the imposing gates of Peking, there had been already established there for a long time a Russian commercial and ecclesiastical mission in what is at present called the “Legation street,” near the former Mongolian trading market and the houses occupied by the tribute missions from Korea.

The intercourse of the Russians with China had a different beginning and was on an entirely different footing from that of all the other Western nations. They came as neighbours in a more natural way into contact with the great and mighty empire, whose power and civilization filled them with awe as well as with curiosity, when they approached it nearer and nearer in the course of their encroachments on the Tungus and Kalmuck tribes of Siberia.

Russian expansion in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries towards the East was the work, not of military government ex-

* Paper given at a members' meeting on May 21, 1935, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., in the Chair.

peditions with imperialistic designs, but it was accomplished by little roving bands of adventurers, traders and trappers, moved by the love of a free and roaming life, and attracted by their belief in the wealth of the unknown pasture lands and forests which happened to lie east of the Urals, and in the supposed great mineral treasures in distant countries. The Moscow Government followed the private explorers and settlers.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the whole of the territories between the Urals and the Sea of Okhotsk had been added to the dominions of the Tsars, and the Russian Empire bordered on Mongolia and Manchuria.

After the establishment of the Manchu Dynasty in China the bonds between China and Mongolia had been tightened and the might of the Chinese Empire stood now on the banks of the mighty River Amur. Frontier incidents became more numerous or were given more importance, and the fact that many Mongolians crossed into Russian territories was more and more resented by the Chinese authorities.

In vain did the Tsars in Moscow try to come to a definite arrangement with the Emperors in Peking. The embassy under Baikow in 1654 failed on the question of whether he should hand the Tsar's letters to the Emperor or to the Chinese officials. A second embassy under Spathari in 1675, although the difficulty of delivering the letters had been overcome, was equally incapable of achieving any practical results. Both these ambassadors and their staffs had during their stay in Peking been kept virtually as prisoners in their compounds.

Up to the present day there is in Peking an institution which reminds us of those Russo-Chinese frontier difficulties of the seventeenth century. It is the *Peikwan* or Northern Mission. It is here that in 1659 a little band of Russian soldiers were quartered who had been made prisoners when one of the Russian fortified places on the Amur, called Albazin, was captured by a Manchu army. They were incorporated in the "Yellow Banner" of the Chinese army, and they were allowed to bring their priest with them and their ikons and church books and a church bell. They married Manchu women and their descendants have in the course of centuries become like Chinese, but they remained members of the Orthodox Church, and besides their Chinese names they have Russian Christian names. Many of them were slain during the Boxer troubles in 1900, and these were given a place among the martyr saints of the Church.

In 1688 the Chinese and the Russians decided that it would be wise

to settle their difficulties and to agree upon a fixed boundary. Their plenipotentiaries met in Nerchinsk in Eastern Siberia. The Russian plenipotentiary was Golowin, and in 1689 he concluded the well-known Treaty of Nerchinsk. It was the first treaty of China with a Christian Power. Yet it was more an Asiatic treaty, and could not serve as a model for other nations when these entered into treaty relations with the Middle Kingdom. And after its conclusion China remained just as isolated from the rest of the world as before. The treaty was drawn up in Latin, owing to the fact that the negotiations had been conducted through the intermediary of two Jesuit priests, a Spaniard and a Frenchman. It was not very favourable for the Russians; the Chinese demands for the fixing of the boundary line had to be conceded.

The Treaty of Nerchinsk speaks of eternal friendship and peace between the two contracting parties, and indeed up to the present these words have proved to be a reality. Yet Russia's cynical attitude towards China after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and its deliberate aggressions may be said to have been as disastrous to China as open warfare.

For over two hundred years the frontiers as established at Nerchinsk and subsequently revised in Kiachta in 1727 remained the same. But by the middle of the nineteenth century, as a result of the Crimean War, Russia looked for expansion towards the ocean in the Far East. Muraviev (Amursky), Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, prepared a consolidation of Russia's power on the coast and in the sparsely populated territories to the south of the Russian possessions. His impetuous lieutenant Nevelskoi founded on his own initiative Nicolaevsk near the mouth of the Amur, a fact which made Emperor Nicolas I. say as an answer to much opposition against this occupation: "Where once the Russian flag has been hoisted it must never be lowered."

Russia's failure to obtain an outlet to the Mediterranean made her determined to insist upon possession of the Amur and of a harbour on the coast giving her access to the Pacific.

The Chinese, occupied at that time by the Taiping Rebellion, paid little or no attention to what happened in those far-away regions, and in 1858 China signed the Treaty of Aigun whereby the land north of the Amur was recognized as Russian.

In 1860, by the Treaty of Peking, the territory between the Ussuri and the sea, already occupied by Muraviev, who founded Vladivostok in that year, also became definitely Russian and was called the province of Primorsk.

At the same time, in 1858, Russia and China concluded a treaty in Tientsin, which is almost an exact copy of the British treaty of commerce and navigation, and by it Russia became one of the Treaty Powers and she obtained all the rights and privileges in the Chinese Treaty Ports and the exemption for Russian subjects from Chinese jurisdiction.

During the great Mohamedan rebellion in Chinese Turkestan, Russian troops had in 1871 seized this opportunity to occupy Kuldja, in the Ili region. The famous Marques Tsêng obtained in 1881 a very favourable settlement for China of this question.

Kuldja and the very important mountain passes were handed back to China. Russia obtained as a *quid pro quo* favourable regulations which enabled her to expand her overland trade.

After this brief historical review we may now turn our attention to the events in China which took place in our time.

Shortly after my arrival in China war with Japan broke out in the summer of 1894. It was caused by a difference of opinion in connection with a rebellion in Korea.

The Chinese armies were defeated, the Chinese fleet destroyed; and Japan had occupied the Liaotung Peninsula, which it intended to keep. Peace was concluded in 1895.

It was at that time that a renewed expansion of the Russian Empire in the Far East became unfortunately the dream of the Russian diplomatists.

From what has been published since, it would appear that the original initiative for the intervention of Russia, France, and Germany in order to force Japan to surrender the spoils of her victory over China came from Russia, although Germany, afraid of being left out of any concerted action (and thereby also out of the rewards which presumably would be exacted from China), may probably have urged Russia on in this matter.

In any case, from the time of that intervention on, Russia became the outstanding figure on the political stage in the Far East. She was now no longer the Asiatic Power which groped its way through romantic adventures in the deserted or sparsely populated plains of Northern Asia, populating those unknown regions sometimes with enterprising and hardy Cossack tribes and in other places with unfortunate political exiles or undesired criminal elements; henceforth she emerged from those Siberian wilds and icebound northern waters and asserted herself as one of the European Powers struggling for rights,

privileges, and concessions in China. From now on she also became the open opponent of Japan. A drama was initiated of whose development we have already witnessed many stirring acts, the latest, though—as I am inclined to believe—by no means the last, of which was the signing of the Russo-Manchukuo Agreement of March of this year concerning the sale of the remainder of what was once called the “Chinese Eastern Railway.”

European imperialism was in those post-war days let loose on the coasts of China. Russian territorial ambitions awoke those of other countries; a scramble for so-called leased territories, to be extorted from China, or for recognized spheres of influence, followed.

It is not my intention to enter into the details of the policies adopted by the various foreign powers in China at this crucial moment in the Far Eastern history. I can only indicate here and there an outstanding feature. All the powers tried to enlarge their interests in China; but at the same time the political efforts were dominated by the European situation. The annexation by Germany of Alsace Lorraine had left bitter feelings in France, which led to the Russo-French alliance. France wished to prove in the East the value of this alliance, and Germany consequently tried to weaken it and to deflect Russian ambitions towards Far Eastern enterprises and adventures. The Entente Cordiale between England and France did not yet exist.

Foreign trade and shipping in China were predominantly British. In the treaty ports British interests outweighed those of all the other nationalities together. Life was English there.

Although Great Britain had not associated herself with the three powers' intervention for the return to China of Liaotung and Port Arthur, yet China and the Chinese authorities knew and were convinced that the British Legation, in the interest of British trade and commerce, was strenuously in favour of equal opportunities for all; in fact, for what soon afterwards was to be called in a picturesque way “the open door.”

This preponderance of interests and this opposition to any creation of closed spheres evoked a feeling of jealousy as well as of irritation among many other nationalities at this time, especially of Russia and her ally France.

In Peking Count Cassini and Monsieur Gérard, the Russian and French Ministers, now became “les deux inséparables.” Now, social life in that far-away capital, like in the treaty ports, was overwhelmingly English. This did not please these two diplomats, and conse-

quently the influence of politics made itself through countless little pin-pricks felt in the smallest details of everyday life in the little foreign community. It could not help creating an atmosphere of strange tension.

It was thought that the lending of money to China would carry with it the chance of exercising enormous political influence over the Chinese Government and eventually of getting a share in the administration of the country.

The next great Russian move was therefore the conclusion in 1895 of a £16,000,000 loan to China, made possible with the aid of French bankers. It was the Russian Foreign Minister, Prince Lobanov's idea after he had successfully prevented Japanese occupation on the continent of China, not only that he could make China financially independent of Japan by enabling her to pay off the war indemnity at once, but at the same time that he thus could bring China under Russian political and financial domination.

This loan contract was secured in spite of the efforts of Mr. Hillier, the blind manager of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, the greatest expert on China's finance and at the same time one of the best friends China ever had.

The result of this loan arrangement was that Russia had again greatly increased her prestige and influence in Peking. She had impressed the Chinese and persuaded them that China must in the future look to Russia for help against Japan. That this help would be of a disinterested nature no one could believe. It was felt that in some way or another China would have to pay for services rendered.

Looking back upon that period of Russia's aggressive policy, how futile, how unreal it all seems in the light of everything that has happened since. Here were a few men like Count Cassini, the Russian Minister in Peking, and his Secretary Pavlov, who from a midshipman was made a secretary in the diplomatic service and who seemed to have been able to influence the officials at home into believing that large stretches of the Chinese Empire, large parts of "Chinese civilization," could be detached and joined on to Russia. Even the German Kaiser seemed seriously to consider such a possibility; he too urged his imperial cousin in St. Petersburg on and wrote him on April 26, 1895: "I hope that, just as I will gladly help you settle the question of eventual annexations of portions of territory for Russia, you will kindly see that Germany may also be able to acquire a port somewhere where it does not *gêne* you."

They all licked their lips and whetted their appetites in the hope of grabbing some luscious morsel from the body of their victim, whom they meanwhile pretended to help and protect.

Very soon some new events were to startle the world when every day almost brought some fresh surprises.

Apparently guided and encouraged by the success which had been attained by the Transcaspian Railway in subjugating the Khanates of Central Asia, Russia evolved a plan for a similar attack upon the thinly populated parts of Northern Manchuria. The construction of the great Trans-Siberian Railway, begun in 1891, was progressing, but the part east of Chita proved not only to be of considerable technical difficulties and expense, but a glance at the map will show that it also meant making an enormous detour to reach Vladivostok. The passage through Northern Manchuria presented itself as a welcome alternative, not only that the route could be shortened, but at the same time the north of Manchuria could be conquered in the same way as Central Asia had been so successfully conquered only a few years earlier. Posing as a friend and protector, Count Cassini pointed out to the Tsung-li-yamên in April, 1896, that if Russia's military assistance were required it would be absolutely necessary that her armed forces had a ready and easy approach to the Chinese territories.

Great was the joy of the Russian Legation when it became known that after a personal appeal from the Tsar the Court in Peking had decided to send a special ambassador to Moscow to attend the coronation ceremonies in May, 1896, and that Li Hung-chang had been chosen for that appointment. The choice of such a prominent official was a sagacious one. The great men of China of those days hardly knew anything of the Western world and few if any had ever travelled outside the confines of their own country.

Wise as that choice may have been, yet the consequences of that embassy have been fateful. As is well known, the outcome of Li Hung-chang's visit to Russia and of his negotiations with Count Witte was the conclusion of a secret treaty, the so-called Li Hung-chang-Lobanov Agreement, a treaty of alliance between Russia and China, but which also contained the concession for a railway through the provinces of Heilungchiang and Kirin.

In my humble opinion there is no document of modern times that has exercised a greater or a more calamitous influence upon the history of our world. In fact, the world as a whole is still suffering from its effects, which, as the circles caused by a stone flung into a pond, have

widened and widened until the waves reached every shore. I even go so far as to say that the signing of this ill-fated document by an irresistible concatenation of circumstances ultimately led to the outbreak of the Great War.

The contents of this treaty, although not officially or authentically communicated, were fairly accurately surmised by the world. They were, however, for the first time officially disclosed by the Chinese only at the Washington Conference in 1922.

The High Contracting Parties engaged to support each other reciprocally by all the land and sea forces at any aggression directed by Japan against Russian territory in Eastern Asia, or China and Korea; and China consented to the construction of a railway through the provinces of Manchuria in the direction of Vladivostok, the construction and exploitation of which was to be accorded to the Russo-Chinese Bank. The treaty should come into force on the day when the contract with the said bank should be confirmed, and was to have force during fifteen years.

The Russo-Chinese Bank, although it did also ordinary banking business, was at the same time a Russian Government institution under the control of the Ministry of Finance. It formed the "Chinese Eastern Railway Company," of which it was the only Russian shareholder.

This company was supplied at all times by the Russian Government with the necessary financial assistance. The railway itself had the Russian 5-foot gauge, and was to all intents and purposes a prolongation of the Russian railway system. Its telegraph lines were worked by Russian State officials. The railway guards were part of the Russian army; they numbered some thirteen thousand men with cavalry and artillery. The company acquired the right to work mines and other enterprises; and as it had, moreover, the exclusive right of administration and of police in the lands assigned to the railway and its appurtenances, it soon became a powerful *imperium in imperio*.

So we see that it was not an ordinary concession for the building of a railway that was granted. It meant much and much more.

When the foreigners from Western Europe and America came to China in the latter half of the nineteenth century, they came in smallish numbers of merchants and shipping agents who lived in a few treaty ports to trade with the Chinese business world and with the object of returning home after some years.

What happened now in Manchuria was quite different. Soon after

the beginning of the railway construction in 1897 it looked as if a whole population was being shifted. Towns were erected which looked like those in Siberia; Harbin, the place where the railway crossed the Sungari River, became an important city bristling with railway activity, with a garrison, Russian schools, colleges, shops, theatres, cabarets, etc. Thousands and thousands of Russian immigrants drifted eastwards across the Siberian frontier: poor settlers, small shopkeepers, cab drivers, nondescripts, and adventurers, with a large admixture of the criminal class of Siberia. They felt themselves in their new surroundings as if they were in Russia, and it looked for several years as if an irresistible flow of humanity was bound to change the plains of North Manchuria into an integral part of the Russian empire.

I travelled in those parts during the railway construction, and it was an astounding picture. It was asked how it could have been possible that so shrewd a statesman as Li Hung-chang, whose patriotism and loyalty to the throne had never been doubted, could have concluded a treaty which, as it then seemed, virtually brought under Russian control the whole of the Manchurian provinces, the cradle of the Dynasty, the principal outlet for the overflow of China's teeming millions. We were indeed witnessing a strange phenomenon, and it is perhaps not to be wondered at that a large section of the public opinion thought that the only possible explanation was that the astute Li Hung-chang had fallen a victim to the Russian rouble. Even the amount of the price paid was mentioned.

I have never been able to give credit to these stories. I knew Li Hung-chang fairly well, and I have always shared the admiration in which he was held. He, together with the Viceroys of the Yangtze Valley, Liu Kun-yi and Chang-chih-tung, were the greatest political minds in China of that age. They at least understood what the coming of the foreigner to China meant; they foresaw that a clash of civilizations was bound to come, and each of them tried with the means at their disposal to shape the course of events in such a manner as to soften the blow and to keep China's political and economic integrity intact.

We must not forget that it had been Li Hung-chang's fate, as Viceroy of the province of Chihli and Superintendent of Northern Trade (Pei-yang ta-chên), to bear the brunt of the war with Westernized Japan, and to see his troops and the fleet defeated. Is it surprising that he dreaded Japan's might more than anything else? And that he

looked round for protection against Japan's growing power? His astute mind foresaw that Russia's ambitions would sooner or later come into conflict with the Land of the Rising Sun. He believed in the might of Russia's armies, and he undoubtedly thought that it was good and sound policy to enlist the support of this great power against the islanders who had taught him so severe and cruel a lesson.

I feel convinced, however, that he never bargained for what eventually turned out to have been in the Russian minds at the time of his negotiations—the total absorption of Manchuria by Russia.

The tragedy of that historical moment was that the wild schemes of the Russian expansionists were mooted just at the time when China was scared of the Japanese. Looking at it from this distance of time it seems but natural that the adventurers on the one hand and the defeated and anxious Chinese on the other should meet each other, join hands, and come to an arrangement which seemed then to meet each other's requirements exactly.

In order to obtain the railway concession (which was meant to be the thin end of a formidable wedge) Witte proposed to Li Hung-chang an alliance between Russia and China. What an opportune moment it was to do so! Only the price paid by China proved to be exorbitant when it was seen that there was here no question of an ordinary contract for the building and equipment of a railway, but that what was meant was nothing less than the introduction of the whole Russian State machine and social structure, together with the stationing of a Russian army within the territory of the Middle Kingdom, hitherto so jealously guarded against every form of foreign influence and foreign encroachments.

It is my belief that Li Hung-chang actually did put his trust in this Russian alliance and thus thought to ensure peace and tranquillity for China and give her a breathing space to work out a system of prudent reforms. That here he miscalculated and was misled, who can deny it now? But subsequent events have also shown but too clearly that the miscalculations of the Russians were ever so much greater, and, furthermore, that the strength which lies in China's uncountable millions is far more powerful an agent in the world's historical developments than most people seem to realize.

In what is said to be Li Hung-chang's diary he writes: "And if I show favour to Russia in any matter, I do so because I believe China will be the ultimate gainer." Who knows? . . . these words may possibly yet prove to contain a true prophecy.

In the meanwhile the Russians became flushed with success, and their appetites waxed with the ease with which they appeared to carry everything before them. "The provinces of China bordering on the Russian frontier must not come under the influence of any nation except Russia." Such were the plain words M. Pavlov, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, once used to the British Minister, Sir Claude MacDonald, in regular "sphere-of-influence-language" of those days.

The Russian Legation and its faithful friend M. Gérard dominated the Tsung-li-yamên (the Chinese board for foreign affairs), and their plans and schemes seriously threatened British interests as well in the north as in the south of China.

Big schemes were brought forward in France by the Chamber of Commerce of Lyons for establishing French commercial and political interests in South China right into the Yangtze Valley and for building great railway lines from Indo-China right across the Chinese Empire. In this way, so it was said, the French and Russian Empire builders intended to join hands and prepare the breaking-up of China.

British trade began, not without reason, to be frightened at the creation of foreign spheres of interests in the parts of China where British commerce and shipping predominated.

M. Gérard may have been thinking that by asking Li Hung-chang to grant the construction of the Peking-Hankow line to a Belgian-French combination, he was assisting in the foundation of a great French Protectorate or of a future French colonial empire; and the world at large may—I think, wrongly—have been suspecting Belgium of deliberately throwing in her lot with France and Russia and their expansionist dreamers; in reality both M. Gérard and his friends and the world at large were mistaken. Where, one might ask, are at the present moment the colonial empires, the protectorates, yea, even the spheres of interests into which China was then supposed to be on the point of being carved up?

In the north, Russia went about in a more direct way. She created consternation and indignation in the British community by demanding in the summer of 1897 the dismissal of Mr. Kinder, the British railway engineer who had constructed and operated China's only railway running from Tientsin to Shanhaikwan. Subsequently this demand was withdrawn, but an embittered controversy followed about the prolongation of the said line with British capital in the direction of Mukden.

The Russian suggestion that the famous Inspector-General of the

Chinese Maritime Customs, Sir Robert Hart, should be replaced by a Russian, for which position a Russian employee of that service, Grot, was mentioned, was never taken quite seriously by the public, although it seems to have been actually made. I heard at the time from my Chinese friends that the Russian Legation had assured the Tsung-li-yamên that Grot would be able to run the customs service on cheaper lines than Sir Robert Hart did; the Chinese Government's reaction to this was characteristic: they allowed Sir Robert Hart a larger margin for overhead expenses than before.

At that time the British Legation negotiated about the granting to China of a guaranteed British loan. One of the conditions was the opening as a treaty port of Talienwan at the southern end of the Liaotung peninsula. The Russian Legation objected and the Chinese Government thought they had to listen to these intimidations. This incident made it clear how far the aggressive intentions of Russia's Manchurian policy were going, and here again one cannot help meditating upon the difference it would have made in the course of the world's history if at this juncture the Chinese had chosen to listen to Great Britain's well-meant advice and proposal. The opening of Talienwan to the commerce of the world would in all probability have prevented the Russo-Japanese War. It was not to be.

England made many serious attempts to come to an arrangement with Russia in the burning Far Eastern question of those days. They came to nought. What England wanted was the upholding of treaty rights in China for all nations, the maintenance of the integrity and independence of China, and the recognition of free commerce. In the speeches of British statesmen and in their despatches as published in Blue Books, these great outlines of British policy were clearly and explicitly enunciated to the world. No success attended those British efforts to have the principle of the real open door accepted and acted upon. The history of those times evokes painful recollections of M. Pavlov warning the Tsung-li-yamên plainly "in the strongest manner" that the Chinese Government would "incur the hostility of Russia if they consented to open Talienwan as a treaty port to the commerce of all nations." The same M. Pavlov protested, again "in the strongest manner," against the conclusion of a British loan to China "on the ground that it would disturb the balance of influence in China." China was indeed a "sick man" in the last few years of the nineteenth century when foreign representatives dared to address such language to her Government, telling her what to do and what to leave undone;

saying openly that otherwise the influence of this or that country within the Chinese boundaries would not be sufficiently powerful. "The Balance of Influence" is indeed a choice expression! The last I saw of M. Pavlov was in 1907 in St. Petersburg, when he had fallen apparently into difficulties and was running from one official bureau to another and from one bank to another trying to straighten up his accounts of his purchases in Shanghai, where, during the siege of Port Arthur, he had been acting as a government buyer of war supplies, and where he evidently had fallen into the hands of unscrupulous emigrants and deserters who made fortunes by shipping boots of paper instead of leather and by similar profitable transactions before the Manchurian fruits of Russian diplomacy were picked by the Japanese.

Things moved fast. The conclusion finally of a loan contract with the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation in conjunction with the Deutsch Asiatische Bank in March, 1898, was the pretext for Russia for making renewed demands.

Three days after the conclusion of this loan the Russian Government demanded the lease of Talienwan and of Port Arthur and the right to connect these places with the Chinese Eastern Railway line.

Count Witte in his memoirs time and again asserts that he only wanted and endeavoured by the creation of the Chinese Eastern Railway to obtain cultural and peaceful advantages in China. It is difficult to understand how he could dissociate the construction of that line under the terms of the contract, which I a moment ago outlined, from an ultimate veritable conquest. He shrank from the consequences of the anchoring of the Russian fleet in Port Arthur and Talienwan in December, 1897, and he had hoped that the Russian warships would leave these Chinese ports, yet he confesses that he instructed the agent in Peking of the Ministry of Finance, M. Pokotilov, to offer 500,000 roubles to Li Hung-chang and 250,000 roubles to Chang Yin-huan in order to induce these two high officials to make the Empress Dowager consent to a new agreement with Russia. It was the agreement of March 15, 1898, signed on the Russian side by M. Pavlov, and by which Port Arthur and Talienwan were leased to Russia for twenty-five years; the two places were to be connected by railway to the Trans-Manchurian Railway under the same conditions as the latter was being constructed.

From now on the Russian advance overland eastwards turned also to the south and was to come into direct contact with the sea-borne

trade of the Western nations and of Japan. It was more than a contact, it was a collision. It was something entirely new in China.

The world at large began to reckon with a possibility of North China becoming Russian. The world was as spellbound.

For British diplomacy it was a difficult time; made all the more difficult because China was at a loss to know which way to turn for relief in her predicament. I remember Chang Yin-huan, one of the principal Ministers of the Tsung-li-yamên, saying, "China is ill; we know it. But there are too many doctors standing around her. If only they would leave her alone for some moments, she could then find some medicine by herself." But she was not left alone. One foreign power wanted this; the other claimed that. Many were thinking that the end of the Chinese Empire was approaching. As an instance I may here cite an utterance of Count Bülow, the German Chancellor, in a letter to the German Ambassador in St. Petersburg to the effect that "Russia will be able from the moment the impregnable position of Port Arthur has been placed under the protection of a *coup de main* to watch with tranquillity the coming of the events which will mark the gradual but progressive dissolution of the Chinese Empire." Thus Germany encouraged the aggressive Russian policy and believed in the falling to pieces of China under foreign domination. She had herself already mapped out a sphere of influence in Shantung and along the Yellow River.

It is easy, from this distance, to condemn the Chinese statesmen and to blame them for the plight into which China drifted. It is easy to accuse them of trying to play off one foreign power against the other. But before forming a judgment it is necessary to put oneself for a moment into their place.

China was civilized; China was great; conquest of all the lands surrounding China had brought everywhere peace and tranquillity; China had reached a social equilibrium; China was self-sufficient.

The foreigners appeared. They appeared in mighty ships. "Troubles began on our southern coasts," as it was laconically but very sadly expressed in so many an Imperial Edict. It was difficult to understand that with the arrival of the early Portuguese, Dutch, and English navigators the end had come to China's splendid isolation. That difficulty was the cause of so many grave mistakes that were made. Perhaps more on the Chinese side. But let us pass no judgment. Let it suffice to state that willingly or unwillingly the foreigner by his arrival in China disturbed the peace and threatened the future.

And now suddenly there came danger all at once from three sides. The Asiatic neighbour, Japan, the country which, as Li Hung-chang put it in his diary, was more despised than any other, had inflicted a crushing defeat upon China and had taken Formosa. From overland Russia had marched steadily on and had now entered the outer provinces of the Middle Kingdom. And from oversea, besides the British who were already since half a century in Hongkong, Germany now suddenly had sailed in and her warships had taken possession of Kiaochow in Shantung. And here was Russia in Port Arthur. Foreigners were in every part of the country, and China was found unprepared to rule them.

Aggression seemed to come from everywhere. New concessions had to be given to various powers in several treaty ports. France claimed and received the lease of the harbour of Kwang-chow-wan, and in order to re-establish some kind of a balance of power the Chinese handed over to the British the harbour of Weihaiwei for so long as the Russians should remain in Port Arthur. Even Italy put in a claim for a harbour.

In the foreign press and publications China was spoken of as an empire in decay, as a country rotten to the core, only fit to be carved up into slices like a melon. Utter despair filled the atmosphere.

K'ang Yû-wei's noble efforts to introduce modern methods in the administration and the education of the Chinese nation, to gain strength and save the country from further defeat and humiliation, had failed.

The fuse, to which the arrival of the foreigners in the Chinese Empire can be compared, was soon to cause the explosion. The Cassinis, the Pavlovs, the Gérards, and the Heykings, erroneously believing that China could be made a fruitful field for colonial enterprise, applied the match to this fuse and the explosion duly occurred.

It was the so-called Boxer Rising. It was the gesture of despair. It was to be the means of ridding the nation once and for all of all its troubles, all its calamities and humiliations by a simultaneous extermination of all the hated and feared foreign elements in its midst.

The happenings of the summer days of 1900 are well known.

Foreign armies invaded North China.

However disastrous for the time being those events may have been in many respects, yet, looking back upon them and viewing the consequences for China, I think that after all the Boxer Rising has proved for China to be a blessing in disguise. It hastened the rebirth of the

Middle Kingdom, for China had to face realities, and the entire nation realized that, great as the country was, it was only a part of the world, and not the whole world itself. What only a few had seen and understood before, now became clear to all—namely, that Western inventions were more powerful and gave more might than old Chinese learning, and that many thorough reforms were imperative to put an effective stop to aggressions and make the country keep the peace with all the foreign nations. It was realized that much could be and had to be learned from the West.

That the Court and every statesman and the whole Chinese nation understood this, that is the great historical result of the Boxer Rising.

The policies of the Western world towards China had perforce to be reshaped. There could no longer be any talk of partition and the doctrine of the open door was firmly established for good.

Only the Russians did not draw this lesson from the events. They did not perceive the new spirit which by force of circumstances had taken possession of China. They only saw a cowering nation before them and believed that the opportunity for the realization of their wild dreams of conquest was more propitious than ever before. They thought it would be folly not to seize it.

When the foreign armies had invaded the province of Chihli, the Russian military command thought that their chance had come, and they flooded the whole of Manchuria with Russian troops on the pretext that this was part of the common campaign against the Boxers. Consequently, at the time of the signing of the Peace Protocol in Peking in September, 1901, the world saw Russia in full military occupation of Manchuria. That was not all. She had also obtained that when the amount of the indemnity was fixed which China would have to pay for the losses caused by the Boxer Rising, almost half of the sum total would go to Russia, thus making the Chinese pay for the campaign in Manchuria which was to deprive them of those immense and rich provinces.

From now on the Russian activities in China took a decidedly catastrophic turn. Russia was no longer the power who could pose as the friend and protector of China. Her actions had changed everything to her disadvantage. The presence of her army in Manchuria constituted the dark cloud in the political sky; it embittered the feelings of the Chinese population and embarrassed the new Chinese Government in Peking. But there was more. The Russian military leaders had occupied the treaty port of Newchwang and hoisted the

Russian flag over it and established a Russian administration there. In fact, they did every conceivable thing not only to alienate Chinese sympathies, but also to antagonize foreign opinion and create alarm in Japan.

I remember how time and again I wondered in those days what really could be Russia's aim in that part of the world. What were the dreams, what the visions of the rulers of mighty Muscovy that impelled them to go on enlarging their frontiers and create an ever-increasing empire which already stretched from ocean to ocean? Was not Siberia enough? Was it not sufficient that the Pacific coast had been reached and Vladivostok—the Ruler of the East—had been founded? But above all what was the aim and object of this pressure towards the south, towards China's dense and industrious population of millions upon millions? Was it expected that Russian trade and industry could compete with the sea-borne trade of the West? Did those in St. Petersburg who talked glibly of bringing the whole of North China, including the capital Peking, under Russian dominion have any clear idea of what this really meant? Did they have any notion of the Chinese competitive power as agriculturists, merchants, shopkeepers, labourers? Did they really think that the Russian muzhik had any chance against them in an economic struggle? Would these costly imperialistic adventures increase the happiness of Russia's poorly fed and half-educated millions? Was it hoped that the Holy Orthodox Church would extend her glory over new territories and spread her faith among the followers of Confucius?

Many were the questions of this kind which I constantly asked myself and to which I could only find negative answers.

How I could long in those anxious days that it were possible to have an intimate, a confidential talk with some high official in St. Petersburg, with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, or, better still, penetrate into the Winter Palace on the Neva and talk with the Russian Emperor himself! He surely would know! He would be able to unfold the beautiful plans that lay behind those great but unaccountable happenings that I witnessed in the Far East.

Long years afterwards, after many terrible calamities had befallen Russia and the world, I found the answers to all my questions.

There was nothing behind it all! We know this now from the many memoirs published by various statesmen after the Great War and the Russian Revolution.

Count Witte in his memoirs says that Prince Lobanov, who was

Foreign Minister in 1896, when Li Hung-chang came to St. Petersburg and when the fateful alliance and Railway Convention were signed, knew no more about the Far East than the average schoolboy; and that Emperor Nicolas, without having a definite programme of conquest, was possessed by an unreasoned desire to seize Far Eastern lands. An ignorant minister and a blind ruler! A dangerous combination. It is clear that Russia could only have been saved if there had been a strong and influential group of statesmen with sufficient courage to cry halt.

We know now that General Kuropatkin, the Minister of War, insisted upon the seizure of Port Arthur and Talienwan for strategic purposes, because from the beginning he desired the annexation of the whole of Manchuria, and we also know that he welcomed the Boxer Rising as an excuse for seizing Manchuria, which he thought could be turned into a second Bokhara.

But Count Witte himself, although he constantly refers to his antagonism against all military adventures, was nevertheless equally a partisan of a forward policy in China. To him it was imperative not to allow Japan to penetrate into China, and consequently he objected to the Japanese occupation of Liaotung. He insisted on the necessity of thwarting the peace treaty between Japan and China. But it is evident that he never realized that his policy of creating a passive China subservient to Russia and hostile towards Japan, coupled with a peaceful Muscovite penetration of Manchuria and North China, was equally dangerous to Russia and to Russia's position in the Far East, as the schemes of those who in their ignorance dreamt of military operations and glory and of conquests of new lands by the mighty Russian sword.

Witte was rightly against the occupation and the lease of Port Arthur, but at the same time his hobby horse was Talienwan, where the commercial port of Dalny (Far Away) was being constructed on a gigantic scale under his special care. I am afraid that much of his opposition against the plans of the militarists was because they poached in his preserves. For in his heart of hearts he coveted Chinese territory as much as any of the impatient military advisers of the Tsar did. Indeed, he firmly believed in Russia's historical mission of eastward expansion and in her undisputed right to the lion's share of the prey when the Chinese colossus should fall to pieces. Even Manchuria could, according to him, not be Russia's final goal, for the absorption by Russia of the most valuable provinces of China Proper seemed to

him to be only a question of time, unless China succeeded in protecting herself. Russia's aim was to see that this absorption should take place naturally without taking premature steps, such as the seizure of territory, which might precipitate a division of China by the powers. His plans, therefore, were based upon expediency, not on any moral scruples with regard to the Chinese neighbour.

We know now why in 1902 and 1903, when an agreement had been concluded with China providing for an evacuation of Manchuria in three stages, this was openly and secretly being violated by Russia. We know what was behind those strange doings on the banks of the Yalu River in Northern Korea, which looked as if they were purposely intended to exasperate the Japanese. It is again Count Witte who gives us an answer and an explanation. "In those days," he says, "two currents became clearly distinguishable in our Far Eastern policy: one, official, represented by the ministers and moderate in character; the other, secret, inspired by Bezobrasov and led by the Emperor himself." This indeed is a sad disclosure. Bezobrasov was an ex-army captain who had succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of the Emperor for his speculative wild-cat schemes of industrial aggression in Korea and Manchuria, backed by force, and with the aid of state money.

So there was no great beautiful Russian ideal behind it all; there was no master mind patiently building up a glorious empire for the benefit of mankind. There was nothing behind it but the wild and irresponsible adventures, personal intrigues, reckless gambles, and an almost criminal squandering of hundreds of millions of roubles, levied from poor tax-payers or borrowed from foreign countries; that was the tragedy.

It was impossible in those days to discuss the situation with members of the Russian Legation in Peking. They themselves were more like onlookers at what was happening. The Minister, the valiant M. Lessar, who was a dying man, but who stuck to his post and his work in the literal sense of the word till the very last day of his life, used to express his bewilderment to me at the recklessness displayed in delicate situations during the Manchurian crisis. He was entirely opposed to everything that was going on, and he foresaw that no good for his country could come out of any annexations of Chinese territories. He lived just long enough to see the beginning of the end of Russia's greatness after her first defeats in the Russo-Japanese War.

Indeed, the influence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg was being almost entirely eliminated from the questions in the Far East. The direction of affairs had been handed over to a "Far Eastern Committee" under the presidency of the Emperor himself, instituted at the instigation of Bezobrasov, and of which he and his friend, another wild speculator, Abaza were members. At the same time Admiral Alexeev, an admiral without sea experience and without any knowledge of the Far East, was sent out to Port Arthur, with the grandiose title of "Viceroy of the Far East," to act under the said committee. Russia's most powerful men-of-war were stationed in Port Arthur.

The irresponsible ones had taken the direction of Russia's policies in Manchuria. Little as they understood the Chinese, still less did they understand the Japanese, whom they exasperated beyond measure.

In the autumn of 1902 I made an extensive journey through the three Manchurian provinces. I saw that the stipulations of the evacuation agreement of April of that year had not been carried out. I saw also how the Russian occupation only held the surface of things, that there was no natural economic expansion, that there was no co-operation with Chinese officials, and that the money so lavishly expended attracted far more Chinese settlers into the country than Russians. It all was terribly artificial.

M. Zacharov, who was called Governor of Dalny, showed me over the harbourworks and docks and the projected streets of Dalny. A European quarter was to be made for 60,000 inhabitants; it could always afterwards be enlarged, I was told. The Chinese quarter would afford room for 500,000 to a million inhabitants. When I asked where they all would come from and what they would do here, I was referred to Shanghai where far more Chinese were living, and Dalny would soon put Shanghai into the background. I could not help asking whether in view of the rumoured danger of a war with Japan it was not somewhat risky to build these unprotected magnificent docks in the immediate neighbourhood of the military stronghold of Port Arthur. M. Zacharov looked at me and said: "We Russians are not so stupid as all that. We know what we are doing, and we prepare no harbours for our enemies." That was that. Afterwards I read in the *Voënniy Sbornik*, a Russian military review, an article in which it was reckoned out how the Japanese gained at least three months' time by utilizing the harbour of Dalny to land their heavy siege artillery for the siege and capture of Port Arthur, and how this enabled

them to send Kuroki's army to Mukden just in time to bring about the decision in Japan's favour in that memorable battle.

The day of October 8, 1903, which was the date on which the final part of the evacuation of Manchuria ought to have been carried out, was chosen by Viceroy Alexeev for the largest military review ever held in Port Arthur. I can still see the serried ranks of thousands upon thousands of white-bloused soldiers in the brilliant autumn sunshine. It was a review of defiance. Defiance of China, defiance of Japan, defiance of the world's public opinion. Before many months were passed Viceroy Alexeev must have had cause to regret this magnificent military display: the greater part of those fine sturdy fellows lay by then buried under the grass of the battlefields.

The state of high tension lasted till the night of February 8, 1904. In that night the Japanese attacked the Russian fleet in the roadstead of Port Arthur.

The war was lost by Russia. Port Arthur fell into Japanese hands a second time on January 2, 1905. The Peace Treaty of Portsmouth was signed on September 18 of that year.

Besides the leased territory of Liaotung, the section of the Chinese Eastern Railway between Port Arthur and Changchün (now called Hsinking as the capital of Manchukuo) became Japanese.

The position of the Russian Legation in Peking had changed considerably. No longer did it think itself the most powerful institution in the capital, and for the time being no deep schemes were hatched there any more. But M. Pokotilov, who now became Russian Minister, was able through his old connections to mend to a very great extent the scattered Russian prestige. It never recovered, however, entirely from the blow. As for that matter, European prestige as a whole never recovered in China from the blows that the Russian defeats of Tsushima and Mukden inflicted upon it.

China agreed to recognize the results of the war and to accept the changes which the Treaty of Portsmouth implied. Japan therefore occupied Russia's place in Southern Manchuria and benefited from all the advantages and privileges which Russia had been able to secure, and Russian and Japanese diplomacy soon worked together.

With this object in view the Russian and Japanese Governments came to a definite understanding in 1907, which was made more complete in 1909 and in 1912 and which contained a delimitation of the respective spheres of interests in Manchuria and also in Mongolia. It gave Russia a free hand in Outer Mongolia.

New plans were made for a gradual absorption of this territory, and at first it seemed as if the Chinese Revolution would favour their execution.

The Russian expansion across Asia had followed the lines of least resistance, and the territories of the Mongolian Princes were avoided and were left to the freedom-loving and easy-going Mongolian nomads.

The Mongolian Princes owed allegiance to the Manchu Emperors in Peking. Every year some very large caravans arrived in Peking, and I remember the so-called Mongol market in the neighbourhood of the Legation (and after the Boxer Rising transferred to the Yellow Temple outside the city) where every winter the picturesque Mongols and their womenfolk used to come with their enormous long-haired camels and sturdy ponies. They were dressed in long purple robes with yellow jackets and they wore heavy boots and enormous fur caps. The women's headdresses were adorned with strings of beads and corals. They always walked about with a rosary in their hand. Their leaders were received in audience by the Emperor; they brought presents and were entertained at Court. Some interesting Mongolian brassware and prayer wheels could be obtained from these outlandish visitors who seemed to have emerged from the old and long-forgotten world of Genghis Khan.

The outside world had only some vague idea about the relations which existed between Mongolia and Siberia, but after the construction of the Trans-Siberian railway, which made these regions so much more accessible, it appeared that the views held were very exaggerated and that Russian penetration into Mongolia was insignificant. On the other hand, long before the Chinese Revolution broke out Outer Mongolia had become afraid of China and of the systematic penetration of Chinese settlers. Already the Chinese Imperial Government had planned to do away with Mongolian liberties and semi-independence and to annex the country as part of China and place it under Chinese officials.

The Revolution of 1911 brought great changes for Outer Mongolia. It almost immediately declared its independence, saying that its connection with China was founded exclusively on its vassalage to the Manchu dynasty.

As I said before, Russian political circles began to attach a real interest to the relations with Mongolia, principally after the Japanese war, when the idea gained ground of utilizing Outer Mongolia as a kind of buffer state against Chinese economic invasion. The Russian

economic interests, however, were unimportant. In the capital and chief market-place, Urga, the trade was principally in the hands of Chinese firms against whose well-organized unions and guilds the Russians found it difficult to compete.

M. Korostovetz, who was Russian Minister in Peking at the time of the Chinese Revolution, played a leading part in the development of the Mongolian question. He was a very able diplomat. I knew him first as Secretary of Legation in Peking in 1894. He was attached to the Administration of Port Arthur when the Russians occupied the Kwantung territory; and he was on Count Witte's staff during the negotiations with Japan which led to the Treaty of Portsmouth. I knew him again in Peking when he arrived there as Russian Minister in 1909. M. Korostovetz was of opinion that Russia could not remain indifferent to what happened in Mongolia, and that the *status quo* there should not be disturbed. His first ideas were to negotiate with China on this subject; but when the new Republican Chinese Government refused this and insisted upon considering Mongolia's declaration of independence as a purely internal Chinese question, M. Korostovetz conceived the idea of concluding a separate treaty with the Government in Urga. Consequently the Russian Government sent him there on a secret mission in 1912. He managed, not without difficulty, to persuade the Hutukhtu, the spiritual head of the Lama Church who had been made also the worldly leader of the Government, and the various Princes who were gathered in Urga, to sign a convention in October, 1912. The principal stipulations of this convention were that Russia would assist Outer Mongolia to uphold its autonomy and its right to maintain a national army and at the same time refuse to allow Chinese troops or Chinese colonization within its territory. Outer Mongolia undertook to make no arrangements with other Powers conflicting with this convention. It differed very little from a Protectorate; it intended to create a barrier against Chinese imperialism and to open the possibility for the development of a process of mutual attraction by which Outer Mongolia would gradually come under the influence of Russian civilization.

Subsequent events, however, greatly modified Russia's position in Outer Mongolia. The Chinese Government in Peking was indignant and refused to recognize the convention. Chinese troops were moved forward into Western Mongolia and limited numbers of Russian troops were quartered in Urga, Kobdo, and Uliasutai. It seems to me that the Foreign Minister in St. Petersburg, Sasonov, took a wise decision

when he proposed in 1913, in order not to create any new entanglements for Russia in the Far East, to replace the Mongolian convention by one to be concluded between Russia and China. In October of that year a declaration was signed in Peking whereby Russia acknowledged China's suzerain rights over Outer Mongolia, which was held to constitute a part of China's territory, and China recognized the autonomous rights of the Mongols in that part of Mongolia. In 1915 this declaration was completed by a tripartite convention concluded in Kiachta between the representatives of Russia, Mongolia, and China.

Mongolia recognized China's suzerain rights again, and its inability to conclude international treaties. It was a complete victory for Chinese diplomacy, due to a great extent to the tact and ability of my friend Ch'en Lu, afterwards for many years Chinese Minister in Paris. Russia's influence declined rapidly and the Great War absorbed all her attention. When the Russian Revolution broke out and when the Russians in Mongolia (including the Cossacks and soldiers of the various consular guards) rose against their officials and officers, every vestige of Russian prestige disappeared altogether.

The state of disorder which naturally followed upon the second or Bolshevik Revolution gave the Chinese the long-desired opportunity of interfering directly in Mongolian affairs. They sent a considerable number of troops under General Hsü Shu-chêng, known among the English in China as "Little Hsü," who disarmed the Mongolian troops in Urga and declared all the former conventions as non-existent, so that Outer Mongolia was entirely brought back to its former status. But this was not destined to last very long either.

Mongolia became, together with Chinese Turkestan, for a short period the battlefield between "White" and "Red" Russians, and after the occupation of Urga by the bands of Baron Ungern-Sternberg, who was captured and executed by his Bolshevik opponents, the town was occupied by Soviet troops, with whose assistance an entirely new Government was formed on Soviet lines. Thus Outer Mongolia became practically a Soviet Russian protectorate and Moscow includes it among the republics which constitute the Soviet Union. In this way the original Russian idea of absorbing Outer Mongolia has after all materialized. The same can be said of Chinese Turkestan, which by a combination of Soviet Russia's military and astute commercial policy is irresistibly being drawn towards absorption by the Russian neighbour.

The Russian Revolution did more than all this; it changed the entire relationship between Russia and China.

Prince Kudachev was the last Russian Minister in Peking. He found himself in the curious but melancholy situation of seeing his country, so to speak, disappear behind his back, so that finally he represented nothing at all any more. The Provisional Government in Petrograd had been overthrown and he himself did not recognize the authority of the new Soviet Government. In the beginning perhaps he, as well as the Chinese, thought that the Soviet Government might not last very long, and therefore the old relations between the Russian Legation and the Wai-chiao-pu, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were still kept up for some time. But it soon became evident that this could not last. The Chinese withdrew their recognition from the Legation. Prince Kudachev, highly esteemed by the Chinese authorities as well as by the foreign diplomats in Peking, departed, and the Legation buildings were entrusted to my care till the time when M. Karachan was made Soviet Ambassador.

The first overtures for re-opening diplomatic relations with China were made by the Soviet Government in the form of extensive notes addressed in 1919 and 1920 by M. Karachan, Assistant Commissary of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, to the Chinese Government, and published in the Press.

The unusual tone of this document at first made the Chinese doubt its seriousness and made them hesitate to accept the Soviet request.

The note began by accusing the former Allied Powers and Japan of having robbed China in the interest of Russian and foreign capitalists, financiers, and generals, and then it went on to say that the Soviet Government now intended to annul all the treaties by which the peoples in the East had been enslaved, and to renounce all conquests of the Tsarist Government by which China had been robbed of Manchuria and other territories. The inhabitants of those parts should now decide for themselves about their frontiers and about the form of their government. The Chinese Eastern Railway, all mining and timber concessions, etc., which the Tsarist Government, Kerensky, Horvath, and other ex-generals, capitalists, and robbers had grabbed from China would be restored to the Chinese people without indemnification. The Russian share in the Boxer Indemnity was equally renounced, and so was the privilege of consular jurisdiction. The note wound up by saying: "The Soviet Government is aware that the Allies and Japan will do everything in their power to prevent the

voice of the Russian peasants and workers from penetrating to the Chinese people so that the Chinese shall not understand that an end has to be put to the robberies in China and in Manchuria. If the Chinese people want to be free and avoid the fate which the Allies in Versailles have prepared for it—namely, to make China into a second Korea or India—then it must understand that in its struggle for liberty it has no other allies or brethren but the Russia peasants and workers with their ‘Red Army.’”

It has to be conceded that this was a rather curious diplomatic document, and probably unique of its kind. Its publication was intended as an appeal to the xenophobe feelings of certain elements of the Chinese nation.

To the student world, which was already to a great extent favourably disposed towards Marxism and which therefore looked up to Soviet Russia already with a kind of admiration, this offer of help for the extermination of foreign influence and interests in China was hailed with enthusiasm as a further and tangible proof of the excellence and practicability of the Soviet doctrines. The students clamoured at once for the recognition of the Soviet Government, for the opening of diplomatic intercourse, and the acceptance of its co-operation.

In Chinese Government circles, however, this offer was regarded with considerable scepticism and with grave suspicions. On the other hand, they understood that here was probably an opportunity to legalize the abrogation of all the former Russian rights and privileges. They had already made up their minds that Russian consular jurisdiction had disappeared for ever and that the Russian Boxer Indemnity money should not be paid to the Soviet Government.

A section of the Chinese Press began by pointing out that that Government was not in a position to dispose of any rights, and further that Manchuria belonged to China and that therefore the sentence in the Moscow document to the effect that the population of that province should decide for itself about its frontiers and government, if it meant anything at all, was full of dangers for China.

With great prudence the Peking Government sent an emissary, General Chang Hsi-lin, to Moscow to examine the situation there. To him the Commissary for Foreign Affairs proposed the conclusion of a commercial treaty based on the principles of the most favoured nation; Soviet Russia would renounce the Russian share of the Boxer Indemnity and would acquiesce in the abolition of consular jurisdiction. In return Moscow demanded the rupture by China of all rela-

tions with the still-existing diplomatic and consular officials and the conclusion of a convention relating to the Chinese Eastern Railway and the regulation of some other minor questions. This sounded already quite different from the first manifesto and more businesslike. Moscow thought that it would facilitate the exchange of views and avoid the delicate question of recognition of the Soviet Government if it established a new republic, called the "Republic of the Far East," with Chita as its capital. M. Yurin was sent to Peking as an unofficial representative of this republic. I do not think that this experiment could be called a success. The Peking Government, far from showing any alacrity in accepting the Soviet's bounties, rather availed itself of the presence of the representative of the Republic of the Far East to transmit to Moscow a series of protests and demands. The Chinese demanded that the Soviet troops should evacuate Mongolia; further, that the Chinese citizens in Soviet territory should receive proper and adequate protection of life and property, and those who had been robbed of their property should be indemnified; and also that Bolshevik propaganda in China should be stopped. At the same time Chinese war vessels appeared on the Amur, Chinese frontier customs stations were established, duty-free zones were abolished, and also the reduced import tariff along the land frontiers.

M. Yurin responded by counter-protests and counter-demands. Among other things, he protested against the exercise of Chinese jurisdiction over Russians in China. A whole year was thus spent in what became a somewhat acrimonious correspondence. M. Yurin's successor, a M. Paikis, secretary to the municipal council of Krasnojarsk, did not achieve anything either.

Thereupon Moscow sent a more important and a more capable man in the person of M. Joffe, one of the leading Bolshevik revolutionaries, who had come to Russia together with Lenin in the sealed railway car that was allowed to pass through Germany into Russia. M. Joffe had started the peace negotiations of Brest-Litovsk in 1918.

In Peking he moved more in the limelight than his two predecessors had done. He made speeches and gave lectures and appealed directly to the extreme left wing of the Chinese intellectuals. In his correspondence with the Chinese Foreign Minister, Dr. Ku Wei-chün, known to the Western world as Dr. Wellington Koo, he made, however, no headway. The military occupation of Mongolia proved to be a great stumbling-block. Towards the end of 1922 he changed his attitude and gave a new interpretation to the Moscow Declarations of

1919 and 1920, which deprived them in the eyes of the Chinese of all semblance of magnanimity, and reduced them to the basis for ordinary treaty negotiations. In a memorandum he stated that he was prepared to negotiate on the basis that Soviet Russia, although abandoning the "robber policy" of the Tsarist Government, had not renounced the rights which had been duly acquired and which had to remain intact until all differences of opinion between the two countries would have been settled; and he further observed that although the Chinese Eastern Railway had been restored to the Chinese people, yet the Soviet Government had remained a partner in the railway company. He ignored the interests in the railway of the Russo-Chinese (afterwards called Russo-Asiatic) Bank, which was the holder of the concession. This bank, although "nationalized" in Russia (as the various expropriations were euphemistically called during the Bolshevik Revolution), still went on existing in France and in China. M. Boppe, the French Minister in Peking, in vain pressed its claims to a voice in the matter. It has always seemed to me that China could have drawn no little advantage from this situation. However, she did not choose to do so.

While M. Joffe was corresponding with the Wai-chiao-pu he nevertheless embarrassed the Peking Government not a little by his continual propaganda and by entering into relations with the then existing rival Government in Canton and with the leader of the Kuomintang, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The two met in Shanghai in the foreign concession, whither Dr. Sun had repaired in a British gunboat, having been ousted at that time by his former collaborator, Ch'en Chiung-ming. They issued a statement in January, 1923, to the effect that although cooperation between China and Soviet Russia was desirable against world imperialism, the communist order or even a Soviet system could not be introduced into China because the conditions for the establishment of either did not exist. Nevertheless, it seems certain that Dr. Sun Yat-sen was considerably influenced by his talks with Joffe in his work upon his book "The Three Peoples Principles," which consequently received a distinct communistic imprint in several of its chapters. This book became the "Scriptures" of the Kuomintang and the present National Government.

M. Joffe left China soon afterwards without having induced the Chinese Government to enter into negotiations with him. He soon afterwards committed suicide.

On September 2, 1923, M. Karachan, the Assistant Commissary for

Foreign Affairs, the man who had signed the Declaration of 1919, came himself to China and obtained without any difficulties the commencement of treaty negotiations. The Chinese negotiator was Dr. Wang Ch'eng-ting, who became afterwards Minister of Foreign Affairs when the capital had been transferred to Nanking. He is reputed to have put his signature to more international treaties than any other statesman in the world.

In March, 1924, the two came to an agreement: diplomatic relations would be established and the rights of the Soviet Government to all the properties of the former Russian Government was recognized; Outer Mongolia should form an integral part of China, and the Soviet troops there be replaced by Chinese soldiers; revision of the former Russo-Chinese treaties on the basis of the Declarations of 1919 and 1920; abolition of Russian extraterritoriality and recognition of Chinese jurisdiction; joint management by China and Soviet Russia as a commercial enterprise of the Chinese Eastern Railway to the exclusion of all other Powers, pending the time when China should be in a position to re-purchase it; freedom of navigation on the Amur and other rivers on the basis of equality; and renouncement by Soviet Russia of the Russian share in the Boxer Indemnity. Finally, the Soviets would refrain from propaganda in China, and China would not tolerate the formation of White Russian organizations within her territory.

Chinese opinion was very much divided as to the value of these stipulations. Dr. Wang, having completed and initialled the draft, retired from the scene and left the actual signing to his rival, Dr. Wellington Koo. But the Government hesitated. Feelings began to run high among the admirers of Soviet Russia, and to hasten the signing of the treaty some enthusiasts could think of nothing better than the placing of an infernal machine in the Foreign Minister's house, which caused great damage and killed a house-servant. The Government decided to seek the advice of the principal war lords in the provinces.

This hesitation of the Chinese Government apparently made M. Karachan impatient. He sent an ultimatum to the Wai-chiao-pu giving it a term of three days to make up its mind, declaring that thereafter negotiations could only be reopened on an entirely different basis and only after previous recognition by China of the Soviet Government.

The interruption did not last long. It was especially Marshal Wu P'ei-fu, the powerful Tu-Chün, or War Lord, of the province of

Chihli, who was in favour of accepting the draft treaty as it stood, and who practically commanded the Peking Government to sign it. Also the fact that Great Britain and Italy had recognized the Soviets and that Japan was going to begin *pourparlers* with Moscow contributed to make China sign the treaty. It was signed on May 31, 1924.

As Manchuria was virtually independent under Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the Mukden Government did not recognize the treaty and insisted upon concluding a separate treaty with Moscow concerning the Chinese Eastern Railway. This M. Karachan did in September of the same year. This showed the Soviet Government's practical mind; they treated Manchuria as an independent country.

For better or for worse, Soviet Russia took the place in China left open by the former Russian Empire. The Russian Legation was raised to a Soviet Embassy. Consulates were established in the principal places, which soon became the chief centres for Bolshevistik and anti-foreign propaganda. The Soviet troops were not withdrawn from Outer Mongolia, and the fact that the Soviet Government was now directly interested in the management of the Chinese Eastern Railway (which had formerly been given to a nominally private enterprise with the object of avoiding the question of sovereignty) would soon prove to lead to serious complications in Manchuria.

M. Karachan was a very able man, who as a diplomat knew how to obtain what he desired. But whether he understood the Chinese mind may be seriously doubted. Soon after his treaty success he declared to the German Minister, M. Boyé, with whom in consequence of the Treaty of Rapallo he was on very intimate terms: "Now the foreign Ministers in China will soon find themselves on board their ships." How utterly mistaken was his view of China's internal political situation! As it turned out the Peking Government demanded his own recall in 1926, and he departed in September of that year.

The Soviets, directly and indirectly, carried on a frenzied propaganda. They united their Marxist ideas to a fervent appeal to Chinese anti-foreign feelings, and at the same time spent millions upon millions of dollars on subsidies to army commanders and revolutionary associations.

At first it seemed that they would have great success. The Soviet emissary Grusenbergl, better known under his adopted name Borodin, acquired the confidence of General Chiang Kai-shek; he assisted in the reorganization of the Kuomintang, which in consequence became

a more powerful political party, and together with the Soviet military officers he partly equipped and prepared the Southern army for its subsequent victorious march towards the Yangtze, which culminated in the capture of Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankow in the autumn of 1926. Also General Fêng-Yü-hsiang, the Christian general, accepted for some time the assistance of the Soviets for the improvement of his armed forces.

We are now in the middle of an entirely new and distinct chapter of China's history; a period of great confusion, when the Kuomintang had formed in Canton the National Government (a name which it has preserved up to the present day) and which then made its preparations for its advance against the Government in Peking, still recognized by the foreign Powers but soon to disappear, and when at the same time there were several army commanders in the various provinces of Central and North China who waged war against each other. For the double-sided Bolshevistik and anti-foreign propaganda this period offered the most favourable opportunity, and M. Borodin made full use of it. In his inflammatory speeches in Hankow he preached anti-foreignism and particularly the overthrow of the British in China, and at the same time he supervised the formation of numberless labour unions on the model of those which in Soviet Russia had proved so helpful in the Bolshevik revolution. However, his influence was not to last. The Kuomintang leaders were more anxious to hold their party together and make their political revolution a success than to obey the orders from Moscow, transmitted by Borodin, which aimed at the formation of a strong communistic wing within it. They therefore decided to break off relations with him. They also had their eyes opened by the disclosure of the nature of his activities when the documents were published in Peking which had been seized during the raid of the Chinese police upon the buildings in the Legation Quarter which had formerly been used as barracks of the Russian Legation Guard. These buildings served as a meeting-place of the Chinese communists, and, as it afterwards transpired, as the offices of the Soviet Military Attaché. This raid took place on April 6, 1927, and may be said to constitute the turning-point in the Bolshevistik influence in the Far East, for it opened the eyes of the Chinese of all parties to the real meaning which it had for the national life of China. The papers then seized proved to be of exceptional—one might say of world-wide—importance, as one of the leading newspapers of China expressed itself. They proved that the

communist International and the Soviet Government are in practice one, and that in its activity the Third International uses the representatives of the Soviet Government in foreign countries. An infinitely intricate system had been built up in China, at the head of which was a "China Committee" in Moscow, to which members of the Government belonged. The organization in China was partly controlled by the Military Attaché in Peking, and the correspondence between the different sections of this organization was delivered by special couriers of the Embassy who claimed, as such, diplomatic standing and privileges.

If the Peking documents proved, on the one hand, the marvellously organized Soviet Russian work in China, on the other hand they showed that the efforts to Bolshevize the Kuomintang and General Fêng Yü-hsiang's army had met with but very scanty success. The practical mind of the Chinese proved too great an obstacle. Generally speaking, the Chinese purpose of the co-operation was primarily to obtain arms and ammunitions from the Russians. The one party reasoned: Let us accept their instructors, then we shall obtain their arms; and the other party thought: Let us give them arms and encourage them to oppose the foreign Powers, then they will be more open to our communistic propaganda. Needless to say that the Chinese got the advantage in these transactions.

With all their zeal and organization and financial resources, the Soviet Russians evidently did not sufficiently understand the Chinese, and my own prediction of that time that their anti-foreign propaganda would hit themselves first like a boomerang has shown itself entirely a correct one.

A few days after this raid the Peking Government broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, and the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires left the capital.

In South China they fared still worse. The authorities in Canton took strong measures against the labour and sailors union in 1927. Thereupon in December of that year the communists, by a *coup d'état* which cost many lives, seized power in that city, but their success was of but short duration. The rising was promptly suppressed by General Li Chai-sum and his commanders, and among the numerous executions that followed were those of the Soviet Russian Vice-Consul and of several other consular officials. The life of the Soviet Consul himself was saved only by the friendly intervention of the Consuls of the foreign Powers.

Immediately thereupon General Chiang Kai-shek ordered the closing of all the Soviet consulates throughout the Nationalist territories and the complete severance of relations with the U.S.S.R.

Things in Manchuria shaped themselves somewhat differently. The Soviet consulates there remained open, but violent disputes arose about the carrying out of the railway agreements. Both sides accused each other. The Chinese, after police raids upon four Soviet consulates, accused the Soviet Government of violating the clause in these agreements relating to subversive propaganda. At the same time they took various measures in order to obtain exclusive control of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Already in 1926 they had taken over the telegraph administration and the river flotilla and had deported the general manager and three Russian directors of the railway. A three days' ultimatum from the Soviet Government had then compelled them to restore the *status quo ante*. But in 1929 the Mukden Government took again far-reaching measures; they once more took control of the telegraph and telephone systems on the ground that these were being used for communistic propaganda; various Soviet commercial offices were closed for the same reason. The Russian general manager of the railway was called upon to resign and over two hundred Soviet citizens in the employ of the railway were arrested, of whom some sixty were deported.

The dispute threatened to assume dimensions which might have become serious for the peace of the world. Mukden left an ultimatum from Moscow unheeded and Moscow refused to hear of any foreign intervention to settle the matter. The Soviet army took action and carried out a series of military expeditions within Manchurian territory which culminated in the occupation of Manchuli and Hailar, and which proved that the Chinese troops stationed in Northern Manchuria were no match for the Russians. In December, 1929, an agreement was signed at Khabarovsk between the Soviet and the Mukden representatives. And things returned to normal, but friction continued, and the situation underwent an entire alteration when Manchukuo was founded and when Manchukuo officials and Japanese officials took up their places in the administration of the railway.

New disputes arose afresh, which sometimes looked very ugly indeed.

It can surprise nobody that in view of the political world situation the Soviet Government wishes to have as few entanglements in the East as possible, and that it therefore preferred to extricate itself from

what might develop into a very embarrassing position in Manchuria. The idea of selling the Russian share in the railway was mentioned by M. Litvinov in a conversation with the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow. It materialized in March of this year in Tokyo when the sale to Manchukuo took place.

Thus ended the great Russian enterprise in Manchuria. For forty years it influenced the course of the history of the world. As a railway it might have been an aid to civilization, peace, and international intercourse; as a political undertaking, however, it has brought nothing but financial loss, war, and misery.

I chose this subject for my lecture because during my prolonged stay in China I witnessed at close quarters the events of which I have tried to give you an account, and which I believe to have been more fateful than anything that happened in the Far East. They led to the Boxer Rising and to the Russo-Japanese War; they created the altered conditions in the East, and they caused directly the abortive Russian Revolution of 1905 which was the precursor both to the Great War and to the Russian Revolutions of 1917 and 1918, the fall of the Romanov Dynasty, and the efforts to bolshevize China, from the effects of which that country is still suffering through the communist wars that ravage her provinces and cripple her financially.

But China, I feel convinced, will overcome her difficulties. The Chinese people are hard-working, level-headed, and full of common sense. Their civilization is deep rooted, and their present National Government will lead them in the way of unity, peace, and greatness.

A RECENT JOURNEY IN KURDISTAN

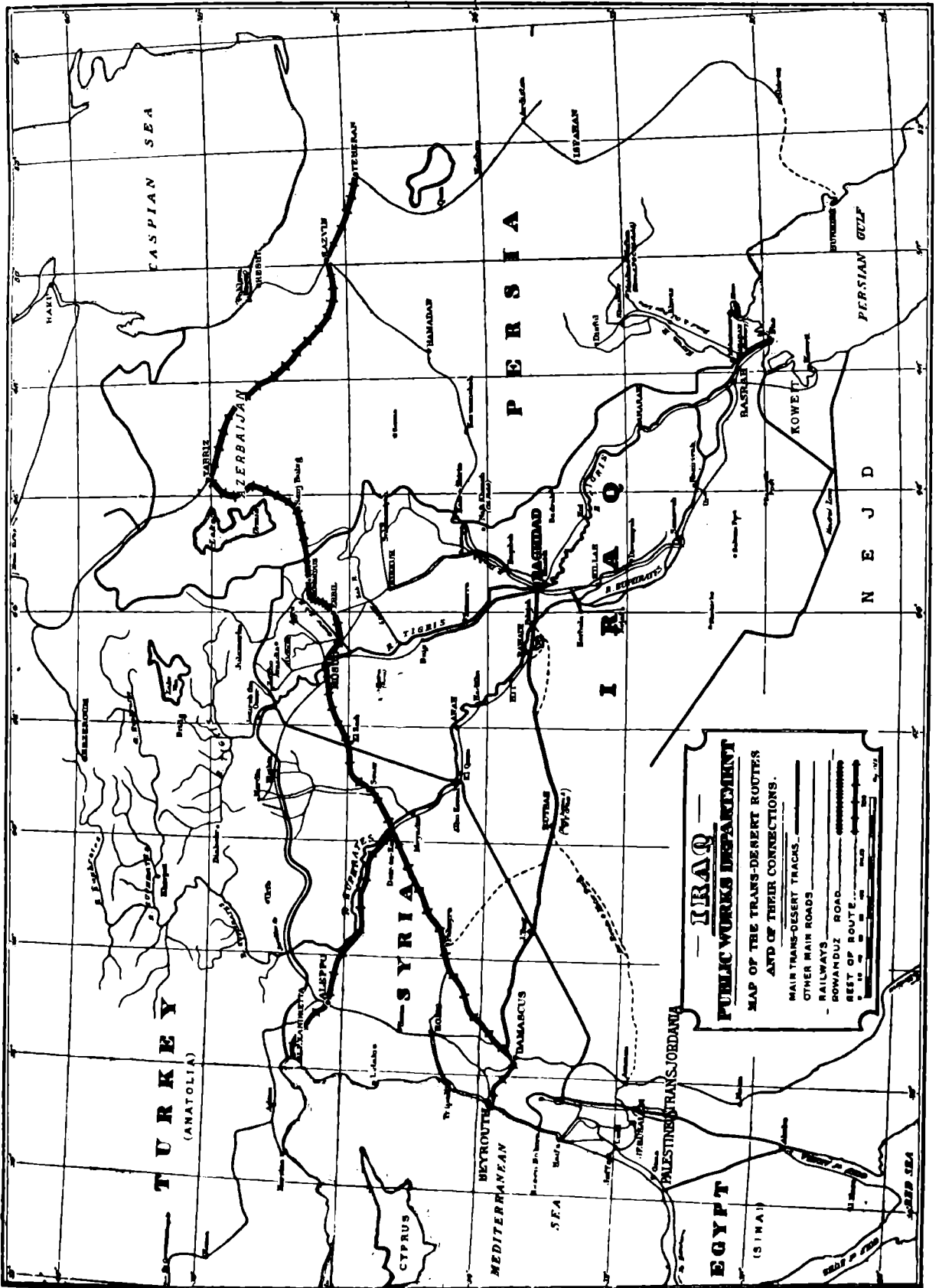
BY MRS. LINDFIELD SOANE (MRS. MALCOLM-ELLIS)

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on April 3, 1935, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes in the Chair.

KURDISTAN stretches from the north of Aleppo to the latitude to Baghdad, but always includes only the great mountains. It occupies a large space across maps of the Middle East, but has no defined boundaries. It includes a large portion of Mesopotamia, a strip of land along the western border of Persia, a solid mass of country round the towns of Van, Bitlis, Erzeroum, Kharput and Diarbekir, and also a portion of the territory under French influence to the north of Aleppo. The race of Kurds is so little known and so maligned when mentioned that I must first give you some idea of their origin and history, as well as an attempt at a vindication of their character. It is only since the Great War that they have come before the eyes of the outside world except in their traditional character of devilish fiends, fantastic figures of savagery stealing out from inaccessible mountains and carrying desolation before them, resisting any interference by princes and powers to conquer them. Less, I suppose, is known of what they may be, of their origin and history, than of any other race in the East so numerous and powerful, and it may come as a surprise to many that Kurdistan has a history, and an ancient one, noble families, and a fine, if somewhat limited, literature. So well have they guarded the secrets of their race that travellers who have lived among them describe them as "shedders of blood, raisers of strife, seekers after turmoil, robbers and brigands, a people all malignant, and evil-doers of depraved habits, ignorant of all mercy, devoid of all humanity, and slaying Christian and Musulman alike," statements which reflect more upon the ignorance of the writers than upon the Kurds, whom they would thus brand as being but little removed from wild animals. The Kurds are savage, and are continually fighting, and many of the tribes fully merit the execration that has been poured upon them for outrages and massacres—that is, they fully merit the execration of modern European times. However, there is less crime of a despicable nature among any thousand Kurds picked at random than among the

same number of Europeans taken in the same manner. A theory has been put forward that they are the descendants of the Parthians, a theory quite impossible to consider, now that the Parthians are known to be of Scythian race, of a type ethnologically and linguistically different from the modern Kurd, who is a pure Aryan. The Persian legend has it that the Kurds are the descendants of those young men who were saved from the voracity of the serpents of the monster of Zohak of the Persian mythology, which were fed upon human brains at the devil's suggestion, and which were deceived by having the brains of goats substituted for those of the two youths who were to become the progenitors of the Kurdish race. Another and less known legend is that Solomon sent for four hundred maidens from the East, who, when they arrived in the country now called Kurdistan, were deflowered by the devils therein, whereupon Solomon resigned them to those devils, and their offspring were called Kurds! These are some of the many stories invented on account of the fear and dread they inspire in the people around them.

It is a long retrospect back to 1200 to 1500 B.C., for it is there we are to see the kings of Nairi, who appear to be the forbears of those Medes who later gained renown, and again later, under the name of Kurd, remained a word of terror in the ears of the neighbours. In those days the Assyrians reigned in the lands about Mosul and between the rivers Zab. Following the course of the greater Zab, from its middle to its source, was an obscure, little-known land, and here was the heart of the Nairi land. Here too, later, were the Medes established, and here is still the heart and centre of Kurdistan. Armenia, or Urartu, as it was then called, was tucked away north of all this, behind the mountains and Lake Van, upon its plateau, and the kings of Urartu are not to be confounded with the men of Nairi. Nor were the Nairi lands confined to the upper waters of the Great Zab, for the people between the Tigris headwaters and the Euphrates north of Mount Niphates, that is in modern times Kharput and Darsim, in Bitlis and the Taurus range, were mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser and his successors (1,100 to 600 B.C.) as the Nairi; that same land that later harboured the invincible Gordyene, or Kurdian, which means Kurd, whose name appeared immediately after the disappearance of the name Mede at the middle of the Achæmenian dynasty of Persia (about 400 B.C.), and in reference to races inhabiting the lands of modern Kurdistan—which was Media. And since that time it has been Kurdistan, home of the wild races, speaking a language the purity of whose ancient forms is one of the



best proofs of the occupation by the Kurds of their greater mountains ever since the Aryan horde started from its "Land of the Dawn" to people Persia, Media, and part of Europe—of which the English are the descendants, through the Saxons, and so kin to the Kurd, who has never mixed his blood with that of the Arab or Turk, but kept it as pure as his unmixed speech.

As regards their language, so little is known of it that it has been described by travellers as a harsh jargon, a very corrupt dialect of Persian, unintelligible to any but the folk who spoke it naturally; or again by others as an artificial language composed of Persian, Armenian, and Turkish words. It is neither of these. A little research proves it to be as worthy of the name of a separate and developed language as Turkish or Persian themselves. The early Medes and Persians spoke two different languages, Medic and Avesta or old Persian (that of the inscriptions), but the two tongues have grown further apart than was originally the case; and while modern Persian has incorporated as great a proportion of Arabic words as our own Anglo-Saxon of Latin and Greek, Kurdish, eschewing importations, has kept parallel, but with an altered grammar; and while frequently adopting a phrase or turn of expression from its sister language, has retained an independence of form and style that marks it as a tongue as different from the artificial Persian as the rough Kurd is himself from the polished Persian. The seclusion and exclusiveness which have been its preservation have also been the means of allowing a certain development into dialects in the almost inaccessible mountains which are the home of the Kurdish nation.

They had adopted in all their writings the Arabic alphabet, adapted slightly to meet their own needs, as has been done by other Moslem nations; but the Arabic alphabet, particularly in its vowel signs and sounds, does not serve at all adequately to express the Kurdish values, unless one has learned to attach purely Kurdish values to the letters, when they are still deficient numerically. It is in fact very much like Turkish in this respect, for the Arabic letters fail in exactly the same way with the vowels of that language. The Arabic cannot express the vowel distinction while English can. Therefore it is easier to adopt English literation when writing Kurdish. I also found that the few Kurds who do speak English speak it very softly with hardly any accent.

I shall now try and describe to you my recent journey to Kurdistan. There will be an overwhelming use of the first personal pronoun which I hope you will forgive. I made this particular journey to Kurdistan

from Amman, as I had just returned there from Petra. The authorities in Ma'an had ordered me to leave, being full of the inevitable stories that Ibn Sa'ud's men were likely to come over the border. So when leaving Amman I made several attempts before I succeeded in crossing the desert via Mafrak. After a lot of haggling, typical of the Orient, I hired a car complete with driver for a reasonable sum. He was to have brought back several people from Baghdad who were making the pilgrimage to Mecca. Travelling in overcrowded native buses full of live stock and car-sick women does not appeal to me. One can usually get a seat in front with the driver for very little. I once went to Baghdad from Damascus in a beautiful six-seater Buick with two other passengers for £2. My driver was not all he might have been, although he was recommended to me by an S.S.O. officer. We had not gone very far when Abdul Aziz (for that was my driver's name) began to complain. He said the first rains had come, and we would probably get stuck, which we eventually did; as I believe, he gave me the "bad eye." He also kept on reminding me that several passengers recently going to Baghdad were held up by brigands and stripped of their clothing and everything they possessed—to which I remarked that they would be unlucky if they robbed him, as the miserable fellow had not even provided himself with a flap of bread! Which afterwards made me think that he had no intention of making the journey to Baghdad. I have also found that many Arabs are not as brave as they are made out to be. After some hours' travelling we were stopped by three Bedouins. Feeling rather scared, I pulled out my revolver. Abdul Aziz was terrified, and said, "I told you so." But when we pulled up, much to my astonishment they addressed us in the customary Arab fashion, and turned out to be merely starving Arabs begging for Khubz. On these occasions I usually carry plenty of food, as one is not sure how long one may be on the road. I first of all gave them some Mount Carmel brandy, to which Aziz looked on in horror and tried to prevent them from taking it, saying, "It is whisky Engleezi and it is mis khoyess." Anyway they drank it, and I daresay Allah forgave them! It was about four hours' run after this that we got stuck, and remained there for a couple of days until we met a car going to Mafrak. We were helped out of the ditch and I proceeded to Mafrak in the other car, and dismissed Abdul Aziz, who by the way had had several drops of the whisky Engleezi before we departed, the hypocrite. I eventually got a seat in a car going to Baghdad, and arrived safely after the usual engine trouble one experiences when crossing the Desert.

Baghdad has changed a great deal. Gone are most of the gay-coloured garments and the flowing robes. They have been replaced by ill-fitting European clothes—the trousers either too short or too tight, and the ridiculous little Sardari which they perch on their heads is just as unsuitable for hot countries as for cold ones. One day while in Baghdad a Kurd was escorting me back to the hotel from his father's house. We were caught in a heavy storm, and unfortunately there was nowhere where we could take shelter. I saw his suit gradually getting shorter and tighter, until the trousers without any exaggeration nearly reached his knees. I had great difficulty in stopping myself from going into fits of laughter; he, poor fellow, looked terribly distressed. I believe a lot of cloth is made in Baghdad, but they have not apparently learnt the art of shrinking it.

Very few British officials are left, and most of them were uncertain as to whether their expiring contracts would be renewed. An 'Iraqi official told me that they did not need them any more as they were now quite capable of governing themselves! All English signs had been replaced by Arabic, and it was most difficult to find one's way about. I believe one is allowed to have a sign outside a shop in English, but the tax is so heavy that they avoid it. Many British goods were taxed up to 300 per cent. I had to wait some weeks in Baghdad before going to Kurdistan. The road from Kirkuk to Sulaimani was impassable, so, getting rather tired of the eternal dust storms, I decided to make a journey to Ur, Babylon, Kerbala, Shetetah, and Ukhedir, which was most interesting.

On my return to Baghdad I was visited by Sheikh Mahmud's son Baba Ali. He said his father, who was a political prisoner at Ramadi, would like to see me. One would have taken him for an English boy but for his slight accent. He was educated at the English School in Alexandria, and told me he was going to America to study Law and Medicine. So it does not look as if he is going to follow in his father's footsteps! I had to refuse his request until after my visit to Kurdistan, as I was afraid it would spoil my plans. As it was, the authorities were not keen on granting me a permit, and when they did I was told that I must go one day and return the next, which was ridiculous. However, despite this I managed to stay several weeks.

I went from Baghdad by train to Kirkuk, leaving one evening at 6 p.m., arriving next morning at 7 a.m. I must admit that it did not hold the fascination or the hair-raising adventures which I experienced on my previous visits just after the war, when one travelled a great deal

on horseback, and the tracks on the huge mountains were barely two feet wide; one slip of your horse's hoofs and you would be dashed thousands of feet below. I used to shut my eyes and trust to my sure-footed friend. I was a mere girl at the time. The Kurds were a novelty to me, and I a greater novelty to them, as I was the first European woman to travel in many parts of the country. There were hardly any roads, and relics of the war served as landmarks. I used to cross rivers on inflated pigskins—too terrified to cross on my horse's back. I can well remember shepherds leaving their flocks and running for their lives at the approach of a "Henry Ford." I think they thought it some prehistoric monster. Now the Kurds are moving with the times, and one can travel by car over a large part of the country—that is if you keep to the main roads. Their country is one of small confused hills and deep gullies, with which none but themselves are familiar, and among which pursuit is almost impossible. Moreover, generations of fighting have made them past masters in the art of hill strategy and ambush. They have no fear of aeroplanes, as they have been bombed frequently enough to know how to escape injury and consequently to disregard them. When they hear of an attack the villages near the supposed operations are deserted, and all cattle and belongings concealed in the hills. Bodies of horsemen, which at the first sound of an aeroplane will disperse and take cover in deep gullies, will be patrolling the country. Their villages, which are mostly composed of mud-houses, matter nothing to them, and not infrequently when there is time they actually remove the beams forming the roofs and bury or take them away. When trouble is over, all that remains to be done is to return with flocks, herds, goods, chattels and roof beams, reroof the small houses and resume life where it left off.

The only way to run these people to earth is to pursue their fighting gangs with small bodies of horse, using their own tactics, which are, roughly, dodging from point to point of their country during the night, lying up during the day in gullies, raiding where possible and ambushing their enemies. Only rarely do they visit their families hidden in the hills, and as the surrounding country is in terror of them, their movements are seldom betrayed. The Kurds are a collection of tribes without any cohesion, and this is one of the reasons why Sheikh Mahmud and the Sheikh of Barzan have failed in their ambitions. Also Persia, Turkey, and 'Iraq have been saved from great invasions by the Kurds because the tribes cannot live at peace with one another—a not uncommon feature of the temperament of mountain races in all parts

of the world. They are great lovers of practical jokes, and love telling tales about Arabs and Turks. I will give you a typical example of one which is often related.

A famous ancestor of Tappu, with some dozen families, emigrated one year from Kharput, and appeared in the winter quarters of the tribe which was then occupied by a Turkish nomad tribe known as the Ilbeglar. The chief of the tribe somewhat condescendingly invited the Kurds to a feast, and they some days later responded with a similar invitation to the Ilbeglar. On the day fixed the Kurds sent a boy to warn their guests that the banquet was ready. The Turks, however, refused to turn up, saying: "How can we be expected to accept the hospitality of a lot of Kurdish shepherds?" The boy messenger immediately took offence at these remarks, and set upon the Turks with his bludgeon, laying out thirty men.

To wipe out this insult the chief of the Ilbeglar proposed to his followers that he should attack and destroy the Kurds, but they refused, saying: "How can we take on people of whom a mere boy can fight with thirty of our men? It is better for us to leave the country than to live with such neighbours."

This they did, leaving it ever since to its present occupants, the Kurds.

The Kurd from north to south is monogamous, and the family seldom exceeds three or four. The wife has a remarkable freedom and does not veil. In most Mohammedan countries (with the exception of Turkey, which has recently changed a great deal) women, as you know, are secluded, and marriages are usually arranged by a third party; but among the Kurds, where women are practically as free as in any European country—except that they do not go to the bazaars—free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages, which is all for the good of the race, so simple in habits and life. The Kurdish women are a fine race of unaffected women, deserving as much praise for their domestic qualities as for the physical beauty which is so often theirs. Many are fine, bold riders and can handle a rifle, and among the more warlike tribes the women themselves join in the fray. The famous old lady of Halabja, Adela Khanum, who came from the ancient Hakkari family—who are entitled "Khan"—had greater powers in the land than many of the men, and so have many other women all over Central and Southern Kurdistan. She was a great friend of mine, and I often used to stay with her. She was very loyal to the British Government during the Kurdish rebellion after the war. She died some years ago.

Well, to go back to the journey, when in Kirkuk I went over the oil fields, which are really wonderful. They are now producing 300,000 tons of oil a month, for which the 'Iraq Government take 4s. gold royalty per ton. The pipe line to Haifa is now completed and everything is in full swing. Kirkuk has grown into quite a large town and seemed quite prosperous. I hired a car from Kirkuk to Sulaimani. The road was very bad, and we got stuck several times. I was put up at the Serai by the Mutasarif. It is the only building erected there by the 'Iraq Government; it cost 3 lakhs of rupees. I think the money could have been used to a better advantage.

I do not hesitate to say that the depression in Sulaimani was too appalling for words. The people seemed poverty-stricken—the bazaars were empty, and houses were falling down. A recent flood had partly destroyed the town. The water had risen to a height of five feet, and resulted in the loss of several lives and made many homeless. My old home had been turned into barracks for the 'Iraqi troops and looked rather dilapidated.

The first evening of my arrival I was invited by the Mutasarif to his house to meet the notables of the town. I was quite taken aback when a tray containing the usual cocktail ingredients was passed round. The dinner was typically English, and my host apologized for not changing into a dinner jacket. I could not help feeling a little disappointed, as I was hoping to sit down to a Kurdish meal. Everything seemed to have changed so. The only sign of progress I saw was in the schools, which had been fitted with an expensive laboratory, the contents of which unfortunately had arrived broken. The children seemed to be more keen on this than on anything else. They all told me they were going to be doctors and lawyers, and I wondered where the patients and clients were coming from! The school is in the old Government Offices.

The Kurd, when given the opportunity, learns swiftly enough, and when learning is as rapacious for knowledge as when robbing he was for loot. I was told in Kirkuk that many have attained great proficiency in technical work, and that one Kurdish labourer does as much as three other labourers put together. There is a saying in Baghdad that "were it not for the Kurds the horses and donkeys would die because of the great loads they carry." Dozens and dozens of letters kept arriving during my stay in Sulaimani. The majority of them are too sad to relate; a few were abusive, saying that they could never forgive the English for putting them under Arab rule. I was not sorry when the

time came to leave. I was not allowed to go to Halabja where the famous old lady once lived. A huge crowd had gathered at Chemchemal and were waiting to see me as I passed through on my way back to Kirkuk, where I was put up by Dr. Shaw and Mr. Green of the I.P.C., who were most kind.

I was supposed to return the following day to Baghdad, but I quietly got a seat in a car going to Erbil, thence to Mosul, where I stayed a couple of weeks visiting various parts of the country. I visited Rowanduz with some Air Force friends and kept my identity a secret. It is now used as a resort, and people go there in the summer to escape the great heat of Baghdad. There is no doubt that the Rowanduz road is a wonderful piece of engineering. Unfortunately a shopkeeper in Baghdad sold me several rolls of old films, and after going to a lot of trouble to obtain some really good pictures I found when they were developed that they were no good, which was most disappointing.

People in Kirkuk were rather surprised to see me back; they thought I had left Kurdistan long ago. I stayed in Baghdad a few days before proceeding to Damascus by car. I was met in Baghdad by my old Kurdish servant Hama, who had collected nearly all the Kurds that were there to meet me. They all wanted news, but I am afraid I could only shake my head. On the way back via Damascus Sheikh Mahmud was waiting at Ramadi to see me; although he was a political prisoner he was allowed to wander about the grounds. We talked for an hour, and any ill-feeling I may have had towards him in the past seemed to vanish. There was something rather refined about his features, so unlike his portraits, and under his childlike expression one could read the disappointment of a man that had been beaten. It was hard to imagine that this was the same Sheikh Mahmud who had given the British as well as the 'Iraq Government a very anxious time. He is now in Baghdad, and not allowed to go to Kurdistan.

The Kurd is a born fighter like the Highlander of old, and he will never submit to the Arab.

I must tell you of an amusing and clever scheme Sheikh Mahmud adopted a little while ago in Baghdad. He sent to England for a large quantity of cotton goods (which mostly consisted of table and cushion covers) on which was printed his image, and underneath was written in Kurdish "King of Kurdistan." In Baghdad very few people know Kurdish, and many of the articles had found their way into many homes from the bazaars before they were eventually confiscated by the 'Iraq Government.

Mr. A. M. HAMILTON: We have all listened with great interest to the lecturer's account of the Kurds, and of their character and traditions. Mrs. Soane has been able to give us personal impressions and experiences, firstly as one of the pioneer Englishwomen to enter Kurdistan some fifteen years ago as the wife of that noted scholar and administrator, Major E. B. Soane, and secondly as one of the most recent visitors who has seen the country since it has been transferred from British to 'Iraqi control.

It is brave of Mrs. Soane to endeavour to give us her unbiased views on the thorny question of whether the race of Kurds has, or has not, benefited by the brief period of British intervention in their affairs which has culminated in the incorporation of Southern Kurdistan within the territory of an Arab Government. The lecturer has explained that there is but one race of Kurds, though their mountainous territory is now partitioned between Turkey, Persia, and 'Iraq. I am interested in the view that the common language Kermanji, of which all Kurds speak closely allied dialects, is believed to be an Aryan rather than a Semitic tongue. There are many similar words in English and Kurdish.

Mrs. Soane has told us some characteristically Kurdish tales which show the pride and virility of these hardy mountain people whom no conqueror has ever yet completely subjugated. I recall many other stories of the kind, and here are two experiences I remember well. In my presence a British police officer who was visiting the district, wishing to leave his car at lower Rowanduz while we walked to the upper town, offered a passing Kurd some money to look after it during our absence. The man was astonished and refused the appointment. "No one will touch your car," he said gruffly; "this is Kurdistan, not Baghdad."

My second story is of a young tribal Kurd who had his face badly injured on my road work. I took him at once to the Indian surgeon at Diana, two of his friends accompanying him. At the end of much stitching and dressing and swabbing of iodine upon raw flesh he said: "I hope I have not flinched under the pain lest our Kurdish village be ashamed of me." He had, in fact, never moved a muscle great though the pain had been.

Mrs. Soane has shown us that the traditional description of the Kurds as robbers, brigands, and fiends untamable, accorded to them in the period of the Turkish régime, is very far from being true and fair. There are, of course, good men and bad in every race, but the average

Kurd is most chivalrous, adheres strictly to his tribal code, and does not go back on his word if others are equally fair to him. There need have been no protracted rebellions or necessity for aerial bombing in Kurdistan after the first occupation by the British had our early promises to the Kurds been substantiated, or even if some conciliation had been offered when British policy eventually went against them. In order to preserve peace with Turkey and Persia, who also control blocks of the Kurdish territory, it was considered that Britain's policy must likewise be one of complete obliteration of the aims of the Kurds. It is to be hoped that we will never again agree to intervene against these unfortunate people in the support of an Eastern government whose internal affairs we do not control, and whose methods are not our methods, for the Kurd has in no sense been an enemy to British interests.

Reference has been made to the construction of the Rowanduz Road, and I am glad to think that I have been in some degree instrumental in facilitating our lecturer's journey through Kurdistan. In one of those fertile valleys, watered by perpetual springs, lay the Garden of Eden, according to their tradition. The Rowanduz Road is sometimes described as a strategic road breaking through the last of the mountain barriers to allow the 'Iraq Army to crush the chieftains and enter and rule in Kurdistan. I would regret my labours if this road had been built only for military reasons of this kind—for it was not. It was the aim of Major Soane and other far-seeing administrators in Kurdistan to bring peace and prosperity to the Kurdish people, and goodwill towards Britain. I hope that this fine objective may one day be realized, and partly at least by the construction of the Rowanduz Road.

Captain MUMFORD: I want to congratulate Mrs. Soane upon her address this afternoon. My two years in Kurdistan were the happiest out of fourteen years' foreign service, in fact her pictures have made me quite home-sick. I should like to endorse what she has said about the moral character of the Kurds, particularly their standard of honesty. As an example, I remember, when first coming to Sulaimani, questioning my motor-driver Abdul Kerim, who I believe is personally known to Mrs. Soane as he worked for Major Soane in former days, why he always left the garage door open with all tools and accessories, etc., lying about. He replied that no one in Sulaimani would come and steal anything. He always did leave these doors, facing the street, wide open, and as far as I know we never had any thefts during the two years I was there.

There was one point in Mrs. Soane's speech with which I do not agree, and that is upon the question of police bombing. She has stated that very little damage is done. I have seen it argued that because the Kurdish villages are only made of wood and mud any damage from bombing can be very easily restored. This ignores several important factors. The Kurdish villages are isolated, and it is difficult to replace commodities which have been destroyed. Further, when the normal life of the inhabitants is interrupted in the spring, the most usual time for operations, and they are not able to grow their crops, the suffering that follows is protracted throughout the following year, because the time when crops can be grown in that country is very limited. Whilst air-bombing as carried out by our service, with warning beforehand and every humane precaution taken to avoid unnecessary casualties, direct casualties are comparatively few, but the consequent suffering upon inhabitants of the villages is a great deal more serious than is usually admitted. Then there is the question whether the principle of bombing villages and peoples not directly connected with the rebellion, so as to force them to put pressure upon the rebel chiefs, is justifiable, and one can well be alarmed at the thought that such a principle may be extended to Europe.

Mr. G. M. LEES said that he had listened to Mrs. Soane's paper and seen her slides with great interest as they brought back to him so vividly memories of fifteen or sixteen years ago. It is a pity that Mrs. Soane's movements had been so restricted in extent and it must have been very disappointing to her not to have been able to get further afield than the Sulaimani and Rowanduz motor roads. Her comments on the general condition of the people were, perhaps naturally, rather strongly flavoured with regrets for the past, and while this is an easy line of thought it is not a very helpful one. The picturesque tribal feudal customs and costumes are slowly but surely changing both in 'Iraq and Persian Kurdistan, and if we wish for orderly development and progress in the country we should try and resist this tendency to regret the passing of ancient manners and modes. Motor roads are important factors for change, and conditions of settled government, even if not 100 per cent. ideal, are probably better for the individual peasant or tribesman than the "good old days" of feudalism.

He had one criticism to make on Mrs. Soane's introductory remarks on the philological development of Kurdish! Major Soane himself discovered that Kurdish has no affinities with any other language, and the real history of its foundation he had had direct from a Kurd

who knew. At the time when God made a distribution of languages from the tower of Babel, the Kurds were up in their summer quarters in the high mountains. The messenger with the news took a long time in reaching them and when finally the Kurdish delegate got back to Babel to receive his language he was too late, as the whole stock had already been distributed. The Archangel apologized to the Kurd but said there was nothing to be done. He suggested that he should go back to his mountains and make a purraputch for themselves to do instead of a language. And hence Kurdish!

Sergeant LONG: Had I not recently returned from wanderings in Kurdistan I should have formed the impression, after hearing Mrs. Soane's account of her journey, that there were no longer wild and woolly Kurds to be found in Kurdistan, and that the Kurds now dress in ill-fitting European clothes and dash around in motor-cars when they are not week-ending in Baghdad. It would have been a most erroneous impression. There are still large tracts of Kurdish country, far removed from roads, where the Kurds live and dress pretty much as they always have done. Even in the Rowanduz district, mentioned by Mrs. Soane, the civilizing influence of the magnificent road there has not been so great as one is led to believe.

On that very road in the Rowanduz Gorge, Ismail Beg Rowanduzi, a wealthy and influential Kurdish landowner of Rowanduz, was murdered, together with several of his retainers, during an attack by Kurds in pursuance of a blood feud. Then again there are no roads at all in most parts of Kurdistan.

For instance, north of Amadia to the Turkish frontier and on to the wild, mountainous regions of Tiari and Hakiari there is only one real road, the Turkish military road to Julamerk. These lands are mainly populated by Kurds, since the Assyrians no longer live there.

Even in the Bawar-i-Bala, the only bit of Assyria left to the Assyrians, there are approximately thirty-four Kurdish villages. East of Amadia, through the Barzan area and on to the Persian frontier, there are no roads, and conditions are very much as they were. From the Gara Dagh mountains south of Amadia to the foothills bordering the Mosul plains there is neither road nor any other sign of progress.

In all these many miles of real Kurdistan the only people who adopt European clothes, with very few exceptions, are Government officials, the local Qaimmaqam, Mudir, etc., who for the most part wear excellent suits, plus the absurd Sidara (the 'Iraqi national headdress), and

minor underlings of the Effendi class, who copy the European style of dress as far as their purse allows.

The Kurds and Kurdistan are to-day a long, long way from Westernization and are still in all matters very much the same as they have ever been.

The CHAIRMAN thanked the Lecturer for the beautiful series of slides and an account of a country which so few English women were able to visit. The late Major Soane had done wonderful work, and his name would be handed down from generation to generation.

THE NAGA HEADHUNTERS OF ASSAM

By J. P. MILLS

Notes on a lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on May 8, 1935, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold in the Chair.

HERE is a picture of a young Konyak Naga holding the head of a man he has killed. The question I want to try and answer this afternoon is why this quite normal young man should have killed someone against whom he had no grudge at all, simply because he was a man of another village. Certainly it is not because he belongs to a surly race. Nagas are among the most cheerful people in the world. They laugh in childhood, in the prime of life, and in old age, when their charms and most of their teeth have vanished. Headhunting was formerly considered merely a beastly custom. Convinced that there is a strong motive at the back of it, Dr. Hutton and I determined to attempt to find out what that motive is. Of course there is the desire for display. A young Naga buck naturally wants to show his bravery and to earn the right to wear the gorgeous warrior's ornaments. But there is a deeper motive than that. It is this. Every Naga village is a self-contained unit, and a reservoir of that soul-force which the Ao Nagas call *aren*. It is *aren* that makes the crops to flourish and children and cattle to increase. A rich man has a specially large supply of it, and so has a fine young man or an attractive girl. *Aren* is contained in the soul, and the soul is contained in the head, and is sometimes regarded as the little figure one can see reflected in another person's eyes. Obviously, therefore, the only way in which to increase the supply of *aren* in your own village is to obtain the head, and with it the soul, of someone from another village. By so doing you can pour from the head a little more *aren* into your own village reservoir.

It is the intense need for *aren* that causes Nagas to take the great risks involved in headhunting. It is sometimes regarded as a cowardly practice. This is a mistake. In headhunting areas the defence is just as highly organized as the attack. Moreover, a headhunter not only takes his life in his hands, he takes his soul in his hands, which is far more serious. If his head be taken by the defenders his body, even if recovered, is buried without ceremony, his name is not uttered, he can

never be sung about, and no children can be called after him. He has no place in the World of the Dead and is extinguished.

I have stated this argument at the beginning of my lecture in order that you may see, as I touch on some typical tribes, how their customs bear it out. The Naga Hills bound the Assam Valley on the south-east. Behind the long administered strip is a large area of unadministered territory stretching away towards Burma. I will begin with the large Angami tribe in the south. Their crowded villages surrounded by a ring-fence are typical communal units. The sites are chosen for their strength. Khonoma, for instance, has been the scene of desperate fighting. It has given us more trouble than any other village in the hills. A V.C. has been won there, and in 1879 the men of Khonoma killed the Deputy Commissioner and most of his escort at the gate and then advanced and besieged Kohima, the district headquarters. The Angami system of irrigated terraces supports a large population, and, since no weeding is required when rice is planted in water, gives ample leisure. Thus the men usually spend sitting in the sun on specially built platforms and sipping rice beer. The girls, as is usual among Nagas, have their heads shaved till marriage, and wear heavy necklaces of conch shell and cornelian beads. The tribe has been so long administered that there are few men left entitled to wear a warrior's ornaments. Chief of these is a huge wheel-shaped headdress of hornbill feathers fixed in a foundation of ropes of cotton-wool built up on the head. The chest ornament is of cowries and red and black goat's hair, supported from a string fringed with human hair. Armlets, cowrie gauntlets, scarlet ear ornaments, a kilt, an apron of cotton ropes, and cane leggings complete the costume. When a head was brought in it was laid on a certain stone, welcomed with food and drink and, when the ceremonies were over, buried face down.

Before passing on to the important Sema tribe there is time to glance at the Eastern Rengmas and the Southern Sangtams on the way. The men of the former tribe, in contrast with the well-clothed Angamis, ordinarily go entirely naked, except for a cloth round them when it is cold. Their warrior's dress is, however, quite fine. They wear a horned helmet of scarlet cane, baldricks, and an apron embroidered with cowries on which a brass disc is hung. All these ornaments come from the practically unknown country to the east. They practise shifting cultivation after the ordinary Naga manner and the path from the fields to the village may run north one year, south the next, and so on. Their custom was to fix enemies' heads on poles by the side of the path

in use that year, so that their *aren* might enter into those going down to the crops.

The Southern Sangtams wear slightly more than the Rengmas. Their soap-stone pipes are worth notice, and their typical warrior's ornament is a pair of tiger's canine teeth worn on the chest. It is curious to note that it is tabu for Nagas of almost all other tribes even to touch tiger's teeth except on certain special occasions. Enemies' heads are displayed on poles inside the village.

The Semas are a large and warlike tribe. Half the tribe is administered and half independent, one frontier running through the middle of it. The most notable (and the most arrogant) chief is Sakhalu. He is shown wearing his gauntlets and his headtaker's belt and apron. He is a great nuisance, but a superb specimen of humanity. He used to be a British subject, but foreseeing the hateful prospect of a peaceful old age he moved out far across the frontier, where he has stirred up a lot of trouble. Sema women wear a skirt and over it a giridle of yellowish beads, which was probably once their only garment. When a man brings in a head he puts it down outside the gate and eats and drinks with unwashed hands, making a small offering to the malignant ghost. The raiders then sing facing the village they have raided, in order both to defy it and to drive back the ghost. After being carried in procession round the village the head is hung from a bamboo under a certain tree and every raider hangs up a gourd, symbolizing a head, with it, for the taking of the head was a collective act and all have equal shares of the credit.

Turning west to the Lhotas we come to a lower, more thickly wooded country, dominated by Wokha Hill, under which lies the Land of the Dead. It is a land of rivers, and the Lhotas are expert swimmers and keen fishermen—with poison. The poison is a creeper, pounded into the water. It does less harm than one would imagine, heavily scaled mahseer being little affected and smooth-skinned catfish being quickly stupefied.

A Lhota warrior's ornaments are very fine. He wears hornbill feathers in a bear's hair wig, boar's tusks round his neck, gorgeous scarlet baldricks supporting a tail fringed with human hair, a hornbill's head between his shoulders, and an ornament called "enemy's teeth" on his chest. Heads were hung from bamboo poles leaning against the branches of the sacred village tree, emphasizing the close connection between heads and prosperity. The sacred stones lie at the root of the tree and the tree embodies the welfare of the village.

From the Lhotas we pass to the Aos, one of the northern tribes who, instead of burying their dead, lay them out on platforms by the side of the path leading from the village to the fields. Here again we see the importance of *aren*, for the *aren* of the dead can thus enter the villagers as they come and go between the village and the fields. A striking Ao ceremony is that in which men on one side and women and boys on the other have a tug-of-war with a creeper rope. By this magic means they stretch and lengthen the rice stalks.

From the Aos we go north to the Konyaks, a large tribe of which only a small portion is administered. A remarkable feature of their culture is their sacred chiefs. These men are fantastically decorated, and so sacred that a chief must marry as his principal wife a woman of his own clan, a union utterly abhorrent in ordinary Naga society. They have their special seats and ornaments and are far too sacred to go on raids. Instead, when a chief's son begins to grow up, commoners go out and kill an enemy "in his name." This enables him to sport a warrior's tattoo on his chest and face, even the eyelids and end of the nose not being omitted, despite the excruciating pain the operation must cause. Commoners are more plainly dressed, but the greatly constricted waists of the men are remarkable. If the men have slim figures the women certainly have not! Their skirts, too, are the shortest imaginable and do not meet round the waist.

Enemies' heads are laid on a flat stone at the base of a sacred monolith crowned with an orchid plant. Then they are tied to a pole. Later they are cleaned and stored either in the chief's house or in the bachelors' barracks, where huge collections accumulate. Konyaks wrench the heads off the corpses of their own dead when decay is advanced and either place them in stone receptacles or, in some areas, place them on wooden figures of the dead. From the head the soul passes into the figure and it becomes, not a mere figure, but the actual dead person.

I have told you of people who must seem strange and fantastic to you. Many of them are not subjects of His Majesty, but the Great White Chief has no more loyal friends. Hundreds of men from across the frontier volunteered to go with the Labour Corps to France, and if the independent villages have heard of the Jubilee, as very likely they have, you can be sure that they have kept it as enthusiastically as we have.

Professor T. C. HODSON, I.C.S. (ret.): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and

Gentlemen,—It is more than thirty-five years since I made the acquaintance of the headhunters of Assam. I went up through the Lhota country and then south to Manipur. In my time one of the most conspicuous features about the Nagas was the number of khels. The khel was the exogamous and political unit of the village. Southwards in Manipur we come into an area where vigorous repressive elements have come into play to restrain the practice of headhunting. Among the population is a horde of Kukis, who might take great toll of heads in a vendetta; yet even here headhunting took place on a scale that reached to 300 on one occasion.

To the west of the Naga Hills you find stones worshipped as before by headhunters, and there are traces of this cult among the Tangkhul and other Nagas in Manipur.

On one occasion heads had been taken across the frontier. The village of Somra was truculent and refused to return the heads, and a column of 5,000 men had to be sent up against the village. But when they entered the place the people had, of course, all trekked out. In the part that I was responsible for, a village had once taken three heads. And I went with an escort and succeeded in recovering the heads, and in getting a man to take them back. When that was done the virtue that lay in the heads did not remain in the village, and so there was no occasion for a vendetta. And when a propitiatory sacrifice had been made the incident was closed. I took back with me to Manipur the two young men who had been responsible for the headhunting on this occasion. It appeared that it had been due to a sudden quarrel and not to the preconcerted and determined action of the whole village. We thought it well that they should learn that headhunting was not quite a proper practice in the eyes of authority, and, with perhaps a little stretching of the Indian penal code to cover their case, they were sentenced to six months' detention. They worked in my garden, while serving their sentence. And later on, when I went to their village for the purposes of the Census in 1900, I found a most friendly welcome.

I should like to mention also the triennial ritual that takes place in the smaller villages that do not dare to go out headhunting. It is an agricultural ritual for their life is organized on an agricultural basis. An image made of straw or plantain is set up, and decapitated. It is true, as the lecturer emphasized, that the possession of *aren* or its counterpart is valuable. A distant kinsman of my own visited the Wa country, and he and the friend who went with him were both killed,

and their heads were carried off. As I heard, an enquiry was made by the tribesmen as to what annual sacrifice they required. And the sooth-sayer said that they answered that they required an elephant apiece. "Go to," said the villagers; "it is unreasonable to expect an elephant. You must be content with a buffalo." And I understand that a buffalo was given, and is still sacrificed each year in that part of the Upper Shan territory. And they believe that health and prosperity will continue in the tribe as long as any of the clansmen in question remain, and will pass over with them wherever they may settle.

I think that one of the difficulties in the way of suppressing head-hunting was the prestige it gave in the eyes of the ladies. When I was in the Naga country it was felt that a man who had taken no head was not possessed of that force and vigour necessary to enable him to cope with married life. It is also sometimes said that women's heads are more esteemed than men's. I have heard that this is because, in order to get a woman's head, you had to get right up to the village, where the women were carefully guarded, whereas a man might be out in the fields alone anywhere, and so a woman's head was considered more valuable. I have been told this, and so I report it for what it is worth.

These headhunters were people of great vigour and charm of character, and I hope that under Mr. Mills' guidance they will find an adequate outlet for their vigour and capacity.

Mr. ROBERT STEWART: I went out to Assam in the year 1898, so the pictures we have just been seeing recall many happy memories to me. Amongst other things, I might mention that I used to get the Naga women to carry coal down for me on their backs in baskets to the plains below, the weight being some 80 lbs. a load. As the line of women went along carrying down their loads they used to grunt, one following after another. I asked the reason for this, and they answered: "We always know then when the last one's head is taken, because there is no grunt." So therefore it gives warning, for safety's sake, in the headhunting country. Wherever they went, up and down these mountain paths every day, these Nagas never stopped grunting as they walked along, even if only three or four of them in a line.

The Nagas used to clear and clean tea plantations in the most marvellous way for a few weeks in the year only. A Naga would do ten times as much work in the time as any tea garden imported coolie; even better than the best tea coolies in India. They were always cheer-

ful and good-humoured—the finest tea garden labour I ever met in my twenty years' experience of working Indian labour.

ANOTHER SPEAKER : I would like, if I may, to ask, would the Lecturer tell us where these large supplies of cowrie shells come from that are used so much in the Wawa country?

Mr. MILLS : I think they come from the plains, and ultimately from Calcutta. The Nagas come down to trade with the villages on the edge of the plains, and so I think they pass up from hand to hand into the most remote valleys.

The CHAIRMAN : If no one has any further questions to ask, I wish to thank Mr. Mills, on behalf of everyone here, for the most delightful and interesting lecture that he has given us this afternoon, the best lecture that I have had the pleasure of listening to for a long while. The slides were excellent, and the manner in which he gave it most interesting. We would, I know, all wish to thank Mr. Mills very warmly indeed.

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE IN NEPAL

By MAJOR C. J. MORRIS

Lecture given at the Royal Society's Hall on May 29, 1935, Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair.

*"Le pour et le contre se trouvent en chaque nation; there is a balance, said he, of good and bad everywhere; and nothing but the knowing it is so, can emancipate one half of the world from the prepossession which it holds against the other: that the advantage of travel, as it regarded the *sçavoir vivre*, was by seeing a great deal both of men and manners: it taught us mutual toleration; and mutual toleration, concluded he, making me a bow, taught us mutual love."*

(The Sentimental Journey.)

I SHOULD perhaps apologize for the somewhat unorthodox manner in which I have chosen to commence this paper; but it would be an impertinence to apologize for Laurence Sterne, and no words of mine can so well suggest the way in which I have it in mind to approach my subject. So far as is possible within the brief period at my disposal I would like to say something of family life in Nepal—the home of the Gurkhas—but since that country is so little known it will be necessary first to give an outline of its geography and history.

Nepal, a completely independent country and in no way subject to the orders of the Government of India, lies along the southern slopes of the central Himalaya. It is about five hundred miles long and has an average breadth of about one hundred miles. The country is unique in many ways, but perhaps its most remarkable feature is the extreme variety of terrain to be found within its borders. Thus it may be roughly divided into four distinct zones, all of them running east and west. Firstly, the Terai, a narrow belt of grass and swampy jungle of from ten to thirty miles in breadth. The Terai skirts the British Frontier along the whole length of Nepal. It is notorious for its malaria and famed for its tigers, and is one of the very few places on the continent of India where rhinoceros are still to be seen in considerable numbers. This dense jungle is also the home of numerous herds of wild elephant. In recent years the Government of Nepal has made strenuous efforts to provide for its excess population in the hills by making large tracts of the Terai more habitable. The fact remains however that the Nepal Terai, situated as it is even somewhat below the general level of the adjacent plains of India, is still for half the year one of the most un-

healthy places in the world. This narrow tract of land has had in the past much to do in segregating Nepal culturally from the rest of India; and its extreme unhealthiness was one of the contributory causes of our failure in the disastrous Nepal War of 1814-1815. Such direct contact as Nepal had, and indeed still has, with India has been confined to certain well-marked channels through this forest belt, the most important of which is the main route from Raxaul on the British side of the Terai to the so-called Nepal Valley, where is situated the capital, Kathmandu. Along this route the Terai is now crossed by railway, the only one in the country; but once the foothills are reached it is necessary to proceed by road, and some parts of the journey must still be performed either on foot or horseback.

Beyond the Terai forest and separating it from the second zone is a sandstone range. This is known generally throughout its length as the Mahabharat Range, but various local names are in more general use for its several portions. The Mahabharat hills rise from three to six hundred feet above their immediate base and are from two to three thousand feet above sea-level. Immediately behind them there are a number of valleys known collectively as Duns. These are situated at an average height of 2,500 feet, and they comprise most of the country lying between the Mahabharat Range and the second range of hills. Dehra Dun, although now in British India, is a typical example of the Dun formation.

From the northern extremity of the Duns the main range of the Himalaya rises to the north in a series of ridges ever increasing in height until the *Himāl* proper, the great virgin peaks of the highest mountains in the world, are reached. Within this tract of very mountainous and extremely inaccessible country are to be found the homes of a series of Mongoloid tribes nowadays collectively known as Gurkhas. This is a land of deep mountain valleys, of swiftly flowing rivers, and of high and inaccessible alps. Except in the larger valleys and occasional flatter parts the people keep much to themselves: communication is confined to a network of paths and rough tracks and there is little intercourse between the inhabitants of distant villages. This geographical factor has played its part in moulding the social life of the people, for we find, as a result, many customs and practices confined to particular valleys. Dialect and dress, too, often vary from district to district. It is often possible to generalize when describing the more common customs of a people: with the Gurkha tribes this is not the case, and a complete study of their customs would need to deal separately with each district. Their present

habitat is in many ways comparable with that of the Swiss as it was in former times. One finds also in that country many remote valleys, tending even still to some extent to segregate the people of one valley from those of an adjacent one; and even in present-day Switzerland a woman's village may often be deduced from her costume.

Beyond the hills occupied by the various Gurkha tribes lies a tract of country stretching from about the ten-thousand-foot level to the main peaks of the Himalaya, which themselves constitute the northern frontier of Nepal and Tibet. This may be considered as the fourth and last of the zones into which Nepal may be roughly geographically divided. This area is for the most part uninhabited except for occasional grazing alps; but a number of tracks lead through it and thence by very high and little used passes into Tibet. Mount Everest, only the northern face of which is situated in Tibet, lies in this region.

The Nepal Valley, wherein is situated the seat of Government, is completely surrounded by hills varying in height from five to eight thousand feet above sea-level. It is roughly oval in shape, with an average length of fifteen miles and a breadth of about thirteen. It is densely populated and is said to contain not less than 350,000 inhabitants, the majority of whom are Newars. The three principal towns of the Valley, Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhatgaon, are all of extreme interest by reason of their unique style of architecture, a style completely different from anything to be seen in India. The Newars, prior to their conquest by the Gurkhas in 1768, adepts in the ornamental and ceremonial sides of their religion, had developed a distinctive style of architecture and great skill in manual arts, with which they embellished their towns and the many temples and other holy places with which the Valley is filled. Situated on the way between India and Tibet, their temples were enriched by devout pilgrims and their towns by deposits from the flow of trade. It is of interest to note that the very distinctive style of building and ornament in the Nepal Valley is often attributed to Tibet or China, but Sylvain Levi thinks it not improbable that the pagoda style was in existence in Nepal long before it made its appearance further east.

Many of these beautiful and unique buildings were completely destroyed in the terrible earthquake of January, 1934, the effects of which were severely felt throughout the Valley. They can never be rebuilt with the same art and loving skill that fashioned them; for the Newars, once the dominant power in this remote mountain valley, have been for nearly two hundred years the mere vassals of the powerful and all-conquering Gurkhas; and after the manner of all conquered peoples their

spirit, and with it the desire to exercise their creative power, has disappeared. At the present day the Newars are engaged for the most part in trade; and such small shops and other business concerns as are to be found scattered about all over the country are mostly in their hands.

The early history of Nepal is at present very obscure and not before the middle of the fourteenth century do we begin to obtain a really coherent picture. At this period the three chief towns of the Valley, Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhatgaon, were each separate principalities. These closely connected miniature States however lacked one essential feature of the countries of Europe—regular frontiers. The three princes, living as they did cheek by jowl in one small valley, acquired suzerainty, and generally a vague and shifting suzerainty at that, over States and tribes lying to the east, west, and south; but none of the three ever ruled over a definite kingdom with definite boundaries. It argues much for the lack of enterprise and co-operation among their more virile mountain neighbours that the rich towns and prosperous Valley, with its almost constantly quarrelling chiefs, did not attract a conqueror for nearly three hundred years after its division. This state of affairs remained more or less constant until the middle of the eighteenth century. There seem to have been a number of minor conquests and frequent adjustments of the rule of various parts of the country; but there were no conquests on a grand scale. During all this time the bulk of the population of the various Valley towns were Newars. Their rulers mostly belonged to Indian dynasties, but some of them owned a loose allegiance to China. Slowly these alien rulers Indianized the Newars, converting many of them, till they had introduced Brahman predominance. The Nepal Valley thus became the chief meeting-place of the Buddhist and Hindu religions, and there is still at the present day no place where the effect of this may be better studied. But outside the Nepal Valley there were also a number of other semi-independent States the rulers of which had for their subjects the members of the different Mongoloid tribes which collectively we now call Gurkhas. One of these States to the west of the Valley was named Gurkha; and although no longer independent the name still survives as the title of one of the most important districts in central Nepal. In 1742 a boy of twelve succeeded to the throne of this obscure and unimportant State. His name was Prithwi Narayan Sah; and although completely unknown and still little more than a child, once he came to the throne of Gurkha affairs started to move more rapidly. During the next few years he pushed himself forward with the aid of his warlike following, soon annexed

three other States and before long was dominating the Confederacy. He started to look round for further fields and soon his eyes fell upon the rich and fertile Valley of Nepal. There is no space here to chronicle the means by which Prithwi Narayan eventually subjugated the Valley, but his mastery of the country was a veritable conquest. The Newars were relegated to the position of a subject race, their kings disappeared and their families were merged in the ordinary gentry of the Valley: their Hindu nobles lost all power, and only the Brahmans retained their status. The Gurkhas were given a position of great superiority, and their Rajput nobles—the majority of whom had fled to the hills of Nepal at the time of the Mohammedan invasion of India—held all the positions of honour and trust and became the owners of most of the best land in the Valley. Prithwi Narayan established his capital at Kathmandu, where it has since remained, and straightway set himself to consolidate his power in the rest of the country. Before long the whole country was firmly under his grasp, and his successors thought themselves sufficiently strong to embark upon more extensive conquests. To the east they invaded Sikkim and threatened Tibet. This roused the Chinese, and the Gurkhas were repulsed and actually followed up to the very Valley of Nepal. In the treaty which the Regent was forced to make he acknowledged the suzerainty of China and engaged to send a quinquennial trade mission to Peking, an arrangement which only lapsed in comparatively recent times. No sooner was the Chinese embroglio settled than the Regent continued his conquests to the west: Kumaon, Garhwal, and the present-day Simla Hill States were all annexed, and by 1794 the Gurka Kingdom extended from Sikkim to the borders of Kashmir. A few years later it was determined to expand beyond the Terai towards the south: village after village in the Company's territory was seized until, other methods proving of no avail, the Governor-General was forced to declare war in 1814. The Company's strategy was faulty, their generals for the most part incapable, and few of the regiments were equal to meeting Gurkhas in hill fighting; and there was in addition the deadly malaria of the Terai, a disease concerning which nothing was at that time known. In the first season's fighting three out of our four columns met with serious reverses, and it was not until 1816 that the campaign was finally ended. The subsequent treaty of peace signed at Segauli in March, 1816, confined Nepal to practically its present boundaries, and ever since that day her relations with the British have been of the friendliest. There was, naturally enough, a certain amount of mutual distrust at the start, but ever since the Mutiny,

when the offer of Nepalese troops was gratefully accepted by the sorely tried East India Company, the issue has been no longer in doubt, and the years have served only to cement the intimate relations existing between the two countries. The British Government is represented in Nepal by an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and the Nepalese Minister now resides in London. I cannot do better than quote from the leading article of *The Times* of May 28, 1934, on which day the Legation was opened in England for the first time :

“ . . . Until this year Nepal had led almost as secluded a political life as the Afghanistan of the Ameer Abdurrahman. A British Envoy represented the friendly Government of India at Kathmandu : a treaty with Tibet provided for the maintenance of a Nepalese trade agent at Lhasa ; but the quinquennial missions that used to bring conventional presents to the Emperor of China had ceased before the Manchus fell, and with the rest of the world Nepal had no relations. The Maharaja, who by the constitutional practice of the ruling house has entire responsibility for the administration, has decided that the time has now come to abandon the old policy of seclusion, and to establish contact with more than the immediate neighbours of Nepal. His decision, however, does not imply any change in the ancient policy of closing the kingdom to all but accredited and invited foreign guests. If the present rulers of Nepal consider that the resources of their country require development they will develop them themselves, as the Afghans propose to do, with the aid of a limited number of technical foreign experts and advisers. But economic seclusion, which has ceased to be surprising in days when so many nations are aiming at economic self-sufficiency, does not necessarily involve political isolation.

“ Nepal indeed is more interested in the affairs of Inner Asia than many other Oriental States. The political future of Tibet, her northern neighbour, is uncertain. So lately as 1910 the British Minister at Peking had to warn the Chinese Foreign Office that the British Government would not tolerate any interference on their part with the foreign policy of Nepal, and the Republican successors of the Manchu dynasty do not appear to have formally abandoned their predecessor's claim to suzerainty over that country. The establishment of a Nepalese Legation in London may therefore indicate not only the desire of the Maharaja's Government to affirm their sovereign independence, but also their appreciation of the importance of maintaining close diplomatic contact with the friendly British Government. On this side the further strengthening of an old and tried friendship will be warmly welcomed.

“ To-day the mountain kingdom is entering on a new life. Its independence, social, economic, and political, is the expression of a national faith, and it speaks well for the wisdom of past Governments of India that they have respected the instinctive sentiment of the Gurkhas and have thus won their confidence and friendship. But the isolation of Nepal has not prevented the steady improvement of its Government and the persistent eradication of abuses. The late Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere forbade *sati*, abolished slavery, and threw open large tracts of cultivable land to the freed men; he humanized the administration of justice and made the new codes accessible to his people. His brothers who have succeeded him in turn have followed his example in administrative and judicial reform, and have expended a large proportion of the national revenue on public works and hospitals; these proved their worth when the recent earthquake wrought cruel havoc at Kathmandu and did not spare the Royal House. Sir Joodha Shumshere’s proved friendship for this country and distinguished career will ensure the warmest welcome to his son, whose mission should be the more successful because—in the words of a distinguished official who was once asked to define the policy of the Indian Government towards Nepal—‘ We have no policy—only friendship.’ ”

His Majesty the Maharajadhiraj, as the King is called, is the Sovereign of Nepal; but His Highness the Maharaja, which is the title of the hereditary Prime Minister, is the virtual ruler of the country and is supreme in all matters affecting the Government, whether political, administrative, executive, or military. A former Prime Minister, the great Jung Bahadur, was in 1856 given the title and revenues of the Maharaja of Kaski and Lamjung, two districts in the very centre of Nepal and adjacent to Gurkha, whence the original conquerors of the Valley issued forth. Jung Bahadur is believed to have accepted the Maharajaship with succession to each member of his family in turn, and thus it is that the Prime Minister holds also the title of Maharaja.

The Prime Minister is advised by councils of nobles and certain State officials; and in the outlying districts he is represented by Governors who are usually members of the Royal Family. For the collection and payment of land revenues each village in the hills has an official Headman known as *Mukhiyā*. These men collect rent from tenants of Government land and pay the amounts so received into the nearest *Jillā*, or District Headquarters. The various districts into which the country outside the Valley is divided are governed by officials appointed from Kathmandu. They are vested with full judicial powers;

but cases such as murder or sedition cannot be finally decided without reference to the Maharaja. Compared with British India the system appears perhaps somewhat primitive. It is however suited to the present needs of the people and is free from that bureaucratic interference, well expressed in the Anglo-Indian word *Babuism*, that has done more than anything to dehumanize the relations between local officials of the Government of India and the peasantry for whose welfare they are responsible.

It was from the little State of Gurkha in the remote hills of Western Nepal that Prithwi Narayan set out to conquer the Valley and the country to the east of it; and thus it is that this name, originally applied only to the place, gradually came to be used to denote all the then followers of the King of Gurkha, whose lineal descendant is now King of Nepal. In course of time however as the Kingdom increased in size, more and more of the scattered tribesmen came under the sway of the Gurkha chieftain. These also came to be known as Gurkhas; and at the present day the term is loosely used to denote any inhabitant of Nepal. The word has really no longer any exact meaning; but in actual practice the people themselves when describing anyone as a Gurkha would wish to imply a member of one or other of the Mongoloid tribes living to the east or west of the Valley. I have on occasions actually heard a Tibetan, resident of course in Nepal, describe himself as a Gurkha. The word has never been used to denote the Newars, in spite of the fact that they too are of undoubted Mongoloid origin; but an exception was made in the case of such Newars as were resident in the State of Gurkha at the time of the conquest. I would wish to emphasize the fact that the word Gurkha does not denote a race, still less a caste; but that it was, and is, the name of a place that has come also to be used for the members of various Mongoloid tribes, as well as the Royal House of Nepal, and that in course of time other tribes have also taken to using the term to denote themselves.

The following are the chief tribes of Nepal: Thakur, Chetri, Gurung, Magar, Sunwar, Rai, Limbu, Tamang, and Newar.* In addition to the above large numbers of Brahmans are also found in Nepal. The majority of these are naturally of Indian origin and they have never to any extent intermarried with the Nepalese. The Thakurs, Chetris,

* I use the word tribe as defined in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th edition: "The largest body of people speaking what they themselves regard as one language and having a common name for themselves, as well as a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding other people as strangers."

large quantities of cheap turquoise, greatly prized in Tibet, and quantities of Singapore silver dollars, which on account of their size can be disposed of in Nepal, to be mounted as women's ornaments, at a price much in excess of their actual exchange value.

Prior to the Gurkha conquest of Nepal the rule of the various Mongoloid tribes inhabiting the hills to the east and west of the Valley appears to have been in the hands of numerous independent petty chiefs. At that time many of these chiefs are believed to have been Rajputs, or at least to have been of Rajput descent—that is to say, they were of different stock from the people over whom they ruled. Whether these various peoples were at some earlier period organized on a purely tribal basis, as properly understood, and ruled over by their own tribal chiefs, it is not now possible to say. All the tribes however have a definite feeling of solidarity, and many of them still speak their own languages. These all belong to the group known as Tibeto-Burman, itself the most important group of Indo-Chinese languages spoken in and on the borders of British India. The Tibeto-Burman family comprises a long series of dialects spoken from Tibet in the north to Burma in the south, and from Balistan in the west to the Chinese provinces of Szechuan and Yunnan in the east.* With the advent of emigrants from the plains of India, and emigrants moreover who by reason of their superior education and undoubted social status were soon to rise to the position of leaders amongst the illiterate Mongoloid tribesmen, there arose the need of a common language; and thus *Nepāli*, the official language of the Court and in fact *lingua franca* in general use throughout the country, came into being. Some of the tribes speak only Nepali; but apart from these nearly all Gurkhas are bilingual. It is not at all uncommon to meet people, more particularly those living in the most northerly part of the country, who speak Nepali only very imperfectly; but there are definite signs that it is gradually tending to displace the tribal languages altogether, and it seems reasonable to suppose that in course of time they will altogether disappear. Nepali, I should add, is an Indo-Aryan language, and is thus completely different from any of the tribal dialects, with which it has little in common.

Two factors, so it seems to me, have played the most important part in Nepal's cultural contact with the outside world—religion and, to a lesser extent, service in the Gurkha regiments of the Indian Army. In Tibet proper the people are followers of that strange form of Tantric Buddhism now generally known as Lamaism; and since the Mongoloid

* See *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii., part i., General Introduction.

tribes, at all events, have had more cultural affinities with Tibet than with any other country, it naturally follows that they should have evolved a somewhat similar philosophy of life. But the Hindu infiltration from the south has also played its part, and thus it is that the hills of Nepal have been the natural meeting-place of these two great religions. It is not to be expected that any great or even recognizable cleavage now exists between the two religions: in actual practice the effect has been for each to borrow from the other. Speaking very generally, it may safely be said that outside the Nepal Valley the members of the various Mongoloid tribes are followers of Lamaism, particularly in its outward and ceremonial forms, while at the same time they are Hindus to the extent of recognizing and respecting the sanctity of Brahmans and cows. One would expect the tribes occupying the most northern stretch of the country to be more Lamaistic in their ideas; those living to the south to be more akin to Hinduism, and this is actually the case. It has already been pointed out that Brahmans, unlike the Mongoloid tribes, are not confined to any special geographical area in Nepal. Thus, in a Gurung village for instance there might be a few families of Brahmans, and in such cases it is found that the people often tend to employ them, by reason of their superior culture and breeding, rather than Lamas for carrying out their various ceremonies. This is of course an extreme example, but it will suffice to show the manner in which Lamaism is gradually but inevitably being displaced by Hinduism, although at the present time the latter is perhaps of a somewhat unorthodox kind.

It is, I hope, now clear that apart from the Valley where, owing to the example of the Royal Family, the people are now strict Hindus the Gurkha idea of religion is still in a somewhat nebulous and unformed state: a wave of Lamaism from the north has met with a wave of Hinduism from the south. There has been no real collision at the places of impact, but only a gradual coalescence. Here and there however where one or the other wave happened to flow into some isolated and inaccessible valley the flow was uninterrupted, and so the older practices and beliefs have lingered on. The effect of both these waves has naturally been strongest at the points where they first entered the country: Lamaism in the north, orthodox Hinduism in the south; and between these two extremes are at present to be found every possible variety of mixture of the two religious ideas and all that they signify, not only in the thoughts of the people but also in outward display and ceremonial custom.

The physical appearance of the Gurkhas will be familiar to most members of this Society, and I need not pause to detail them here; nor is there in this outline space in which to record the details of dress and ornament. It is of interest however just to note in passing that although the men almost invariably wear clothes made from homespun materials the women's dresses are nearly always made from brightly coloured materials imported from the plains of India.

In a country such as Nepal, with its lack of communications and containing as it does almost every variety of climate from the damp heat of the Terai to the rarefied cold of the higher parts of the Himalaya, it naturally follows that agricultural conditions vary from district to district. Speaking generally, it may be said that all the people who dwell in the southern part of the country and in the lower hills up to an elevation of some five thousand feet live principally on rice. Beyond this area millet is the staple diet, although even in the highest parts of the country a certain amount of rice can be grown owing to the fact that many of the upper valleys are rather shut in and therefore humid.

It is generally conceded that the Gurkha is of exceptional physique, but this opinion is naturally based upon the condition of the twenty Gurkha regiments of the Indian Army, almost the only Gurkhas seen by the outside observer. On several occasions I have had the fortune to be able to observe many thousands of Gurkas of all sorts, and I would unhesitatingly say that the majority, at all events until they reach maturity, are certainly under-nourished. Anæmia and rickets are very common, and I have seen a number of cases of advanced pyorrhœa in young men under twenty. These conditions are presumably due to some extent to an ill-balanced diet; but the custom of late weaning, which is usual throughout Nepal, has probably also some bearing upon them.*

Malaria, tuberculosis, and various diseases of the heart seem to be the principal causes of rejection in the army medical examination, but general poor physique also accounts for a good many. I had always supposed these diseased hearts to be caused principally by the constant carrying of excessive loads up and down hills, but when examining Sherpas, who are tremendous load carriers, with a view to their employment as porters on the last Everest expedition, it was found that they were remarkably free from this defect. Amongst older people

* For an interesting account of the diets of various peoples in India, including Gurkhas, see "Food and Efficiency: An Indian Experiment," by B. Shiva Rao, *The Spectator*, July 28, 1933.

rheumatic diseases are common, and one also meets with many advanced cases of goitre. All Gurkhas are very susceptible to pulmonary tuberculosis, a disease against which they appear to have at present acquired little resistance, for they usually succumb to it after only a few months' illness. Malaria, which they call *awal*, is also common, and is thought to be caused by sleeping out of doors and allowing the dew to fall upon the unprotected body.

The most striking element in the character of the Gurkhas is their unfailing cheerfulness even in the most adverse circumstances; and this, more perhaps than any other single factor, distinguishes them so markedly from the peoples of India proper. This essential difference is very apparent to the foreign traveller who has the good fortune to be allowed to enter Nepal. There is at once a sense of something utterly different, but a sense so subtle that it is difficult to define in words. I think it is due to this pervading cheerfulness of the people more than to anything else; they are happy and contented—on good terms with life—and the stranger who is prepared to accept them as they are cannot help but feel the same. Their sense of humour and especially of the ridiculous is highly developed, and no Gurkha can remain for long without a joke, even though it be against himself.* There is, I believe, an idea that the Gurkha is always thirsting for somebody's blood; is in fact a desperate swashbuckler. Actually he is nothing of the kind; but owing perhaps to the military conquest of Nepal by the original Gurkhas the people in general undoubtedly have a great regard for military qualities. This however is very far from describing them as warlike. Although the country is organized and run on a military basis, and the people themselves do undoubtedly appreciate the finer qualities of real leadership and are extremely amenable to military discipline, they are the very reverse of warlike, and it would be difficult to find a more peace-loving and domesticated people anywhere. This very amenability to discipline may be due in some measure to the fact that the people are by nature lazy. In their own homes, of course, the hard nature of their daily life does not allow them to indulge their laziness to any great extent; but I do think that this innate characteristic is partly responsible for the fact

* Cf. also *Island India goes to School*, by Embree, Simon, and Mumford (Chicago, 1934, p. 106), where the Mongoloid peoples of Java and Bali are described. "There is less devotion to careful planning for the future," note the authors, "but much more delight in the present. Life in such places seems to be clearly understood, even by the simplest villager or farmer, to be something to be lived as it goes along. Success to them is not a remote achievement but something to be realized every day."

that most Gurkhas are content and in fact anxious to be led rather than to be leaders.

It is in my experience quite unusual to find Oriental primitive peoples taking an interest in natural scenery. Gurkhas are certainly not insensitive to their surroundings and are undoubtedly to some extent appreciative of natural beauty. Lord Conway, who was accompanied by two Gurkhas when he traversed the Alps in 1894, makes constant mention in his book of his surprise at his companions' real delight in the scenery of the Swiss mountains. He quotes also a quite spontaneous expression of similar surprise by his guide Matthias Zurbriggen. "When I heard," he said, "that I was to travel with two Indians (*sic*), I did not know what to expect. I feared they would be savages. But these men are charming to travel with, they are so friendly and intelligent. They are quite civilized men."*

Superficial observers have sometimes complained that the average Gurkha is stupid in comparison with other troops in the Indian Army. It is however sometimes forgotten that Gurkha soldiers are expected to absorb a great deal of military and other knowledge in a language that is entirely foreign to them. Many of them when they first enlist have only a very imperfect knowledge even of Nepali, the *lingua franca* of their country. They have hitherto spoken for the most part only their own tribal dialects, which have, it need hardly be repeated, no connection with any Indian language: nor is Nepali itself very similar to Urdu, the official language of the Indian Army. It does, then, seem not unreasonable that these people should appear somewhat lacking in intelligence when judged by the standards of Indians who are being taught in their own mother tongue or a language closely akin to it. Taught in their own language by anyone who has taken the trouble really to master it, Gurkhas can certainly not be described as unintelligent, and they have quite exceptionally good natural memories.

Now that the general cultural conditions in which Gurkhas live have been described, it will be possible to give an outline of their social organization and a brief account of their family life.

Every Gurkha tribe is made up of a number of clans, and these are again composed of a very large number of kindreds.† Apart from these groupings however into one or other of which every person is

* "The Alps from End to End," Conway, *Travellers' Library*, London, 1933.

† The terms tribe, clan, and kindred are used as defined in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, *op. cit.* Lists of the various tribes, clans, and kindreds are given in my *Handbooks for the Indian Army—Gurkhas*, Delhi, 1933, *q.v.*

born, the so-called classificatory kinship system cuts as it were across these otherwise rigid divisions and unites a large number of people who would not otherwise be classified together. Thus, although all Gurkhas are unanimous in regarding any member of their own kindred, even though he be a complete stranger, as descended from some common although unknown ancestor, there is no real feeling of solidarity amongst members of the same kindred, and the feeling of family solidarity, as expressed in the use of kinship terms, is very much more in evidence. "A child born in a community," notes Rivers,* "with moities or clans becomes a member of a domestic group other than the family in the strict sense; and this is reflected in the terms of kinship that he addresses to those around him. The system of relationship found in these circumstances is called classificatory because whole groups of relatives are classed with the father, mother, brother, sister, and so forth, and receive the same terms of address. That is to say, relatives are grouped in classes. Thus, a person will give to a large number of men the term which he applies to his own father; to a large class of women he gives the same name as that he uses for his mother; and this applies even to the relationship of husband and wife. Thus, the distinctions of uncle, aunt, and cousin that play so fundamental a part in our system of relationship are largely obliterated in communities with moities and clans."

I have no intention of wearying the reader with the intricacies of the Gurkha kinship system.† I would however like to point out that anyone who wishes to understand the basis upon which any society is organized must start by making a detailed study of its social organization, the key to which is a thorough grasp of the classificatory or other kinship terms in common use.

Descent in Nepal is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal: that is to say that when a man marries he brings his bride to his own home and does not, as is sometimes the case with other peoples, go to live in hers.

In Nepal, owing perhaps to the formation of the country—steep hill-sides and deep and often narrow valleys—it is unusual to find many very large villages. Collections of houses, often at some considerable distance from each other, are usually grouped together as villages for administrative purposes; but from the purely social point of view they are really quite separate and are so regarded by the people. The

* *Social Organization*, W. H. R. Rivers, London, 1926.

† A description of the manner in which the classificatory kinship system functions in Nepal is given in my Handbook, *op. cit.*

extended-joint-family system prevails throughout the country, and it follows therefore that a household normally consists not only of a man and his wife and children, but also of the families of all his brothers. It will at once be realized that the extended family, especially if there has been no domestic schism, may often contain as many as twenty or even thirty persons; and so it follows that the Nepalese village is more often than not a purely family grouping. In a small community where the majority of the members are related, it is not possible to flaunt the social conventions with impunity unless one is at the same time prepared to forgo the privileges of living in an organized society. Nepalese society, although the people are extremely tolerant of social misdemeanours, is at heart conservative. In a small community where one's ancestry is known to the majority of the members, from whom indeed even the more intimate details of family life are not hidden, it is desirable that one's marriage partner be selected in the first instance for the ease with which she will fit into the social pattern. As a result however amongst other things of service in the army and of civil employment in India, where the social influence of the family is of necessity removed, it frequently happens that a man marries a woman from some part of the country quite other than his own immediate district. Although he does not usually transgress tribal custom with regard to endogamy or exogamy it does mean that his wife, when he eventually takes her home, is a complete stranger to the village community and as such often finds considerable difficulty in establishing her proper place within the family circle. This often leads to friction, especially between the women, who seem less willing than men to adapt themselves to minor deviations from established custom. This may be due to the fact that they are forced to spend a great part of the day in one another's company, while the men are away working in the fields: and since the wife of the senior man in any extended-family is in sole charge of the feeding arrangements for all the members of the household this also is a cause of friction, for it means that the other women have little or no say in domestic matters nor, a matter of perhaps even more importance, any access to the family treasure chest. At all events, it seems clear that the inability of the women to lead a peaceful and contented life among themselves is the usual cause of an extended-family deciding to divide. In the two hundred or so joint-families of which I have been able to collect complete details very few, and those consisting of only a few members, have remained in their completely extended form. Sometimes one brother has left,

sometimes more, and in some instances all have been living separately; but whenever I have been able to obtain satisfactory information I have always been told that it is the women who have caused the break-up of the family. Incidentally, it may be noted that the breaking up of a large extended-joint-family is one of the means by which new villages come into being, as it usually means the erection of new houses, some of which may be built in places where there were previously none.

There is no space in this paper to deal with the many other aspects of village life such as the divisions of labour, seasonal calendar of work and so on. But since stress has already been laid upon the importance of the classificatory kinship system another matter intimately connected with it may be briefly described: I refer to the custom of *dhok*, or ceremonial greeting.

Owing to the extended-family system, the Nepalese child grows up in intimate relationship with a very large number of people. It is the mother's duty to instruct the children, and from a very early age they are taught the proper forms of address for all the various members of the family with whom they are in contact. It is generally found that even quite small children can give correctly the kinship terms for all the members of their father's family: but unless their mother's family is also resident in the same village they usually have little or no knowledge concerning the various members of it. This distinction persists even in later life, although naturally to a lesser degree, and is of course due to the patrilocal grouping. An integral element of the kinship system is the form of behaviour to be adopted towards the various members of the family. This is expressed in the method of formal greeting given to the different members of the family. This greeting, known as *dhok*, takes the form of clasping the feet of the person it is wished to greet and touching them lightly with the forehead. *Dhok* is given to the following:

1. Father and mother.
2. Brothers and sisters (and their husbands and wives) of both parents, irrespective of the fact that some of these may be younger than oneself.
3. Wife's father and mother.
4. Brothers and sisters of wife's parents (and their husbands and wives), irrespective of age.
5. Own *elder* brothers and their wives.
6. Own *elder* sisters and their husbands.

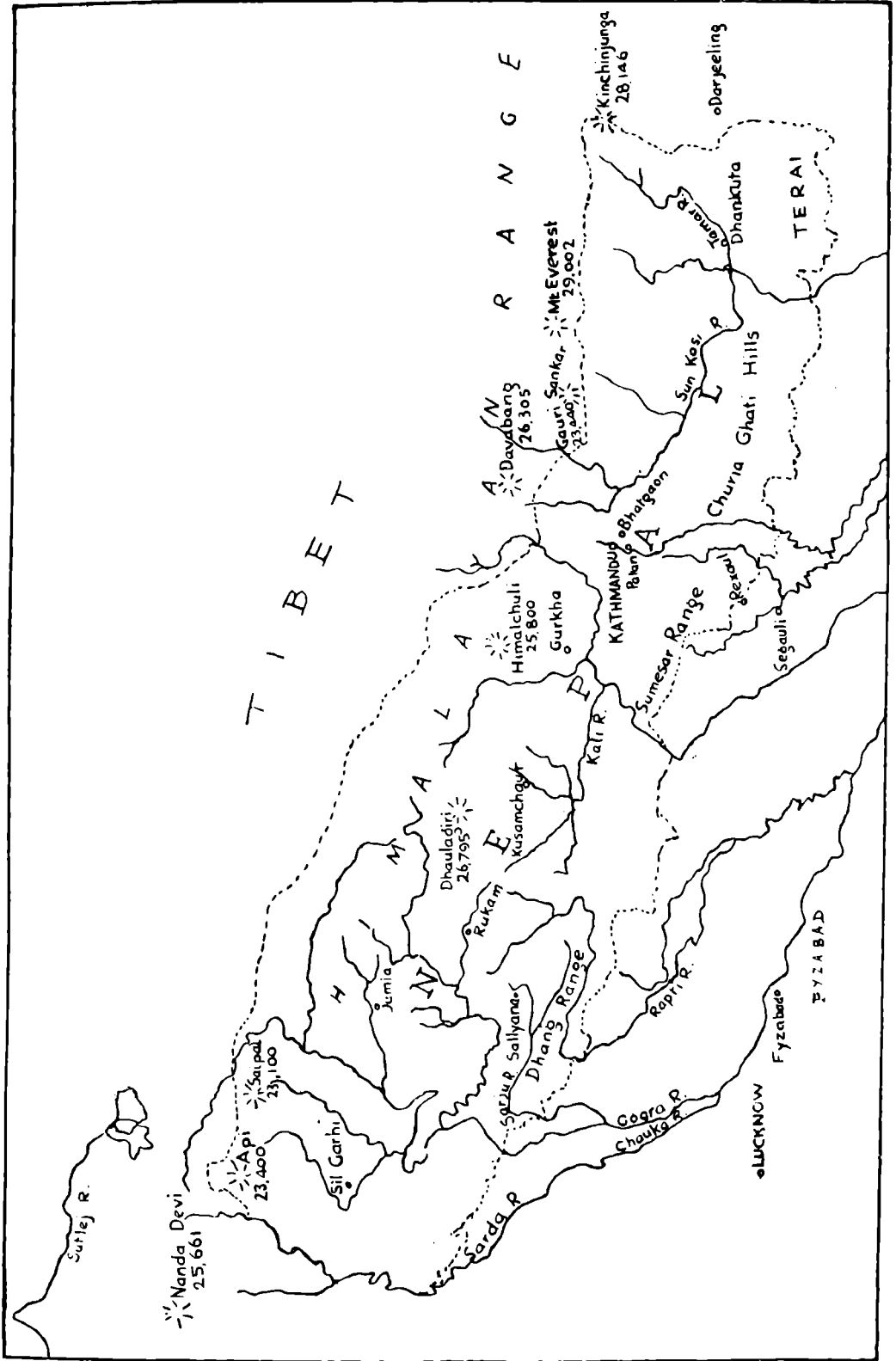
7. *Elder* brothers and sisters (and their husbands and wives) of wife.
8. Children of 2 and 4 (and their husbands and wives) if *older* than self.

A woman carries out these salutations in exactly the same way and to the same persons as a man; but in addition she is also required to give *ḍhok* to her husband as soon as she gets up in the morning. He will usually be still in bed when she does this and may even not be awake. There is no necessity for him to rise in order to accept his wife's salutation, nor need he acknowledge it in any way whatever. Theoretically the salutation is given in the same way to everybody; but in actual practice it is possible to intimate degrees of affection by prolonging the time during which the feet are clasped and also by removing the shoes, an action not normally necessary. The receiver of the salutation may also intimate affection by removing his own shoes before permitting his feet to be clasped, or by a half-hearted attempt to prevent the other person clasping his feet. On the other hand, extreme coldness may be implied by taking not the slightest notice of the person giving the *ḍhok* while the action is being carried out. The person giving the salutation may also convey a lack of friendly feeling by carrying out the action in the most perfunctory and formal manner, and may even content himself with the merest touching of the other person's feet, omitting altogether the touching of them with his forehead.

Except by the wife to her husband this salutation is not given to the other members of the family every day but only on special occasions such as when setting off on a journey or on return after a long absence. It is also given on all ceremonial occasions such as marriages and the various festivals, when it is desired to mark the occasion with a certain amount of formality. It is also usual to give *ḍhok* to any priestly Brahman, especially on all ceremonial occasions.

Amongst all the Gurkha tribes marriage usually takes place at about the age of sixteen in the case of boys and fourteen in that of girls. Except in the Magar, Gurung, and Tamang tribes a man or girl may not marry any person with whom he or she can trace direct relationship through either of their parents. This means that the cross-cousin marriages common with the three tribes noted above are not permitted.*

* Cross-cousin marriage—the marriage of a man or woman with the daughter or son, as the case may be, of his father's sister or mother's brother; the children of the father's brother and mother's sister being absolutely barred as marriage partners, as these are classified as brothers and sisters in the kinship system.



Although parents usually arrange the marriages of their children, a boy or girl is always asked if he or she is willing to marry the person selected; and if for any reason either party is not so willing then the marriage does not take place and another partner is obtained. In actual practice the majority of possible marriage partners will have been acquainted with one another since early childhood, and it naturally follows that in many cases marriage amounts to little more than the regularization of an already existing liaison. It sometimes happens however that a man may not be acquainted with a cross-cousin to whom it is proposed he should be married. Perhaps she may live in some distant village which he seldom or never visits; or possibly she may have spent the greater part of her life in India, should, for instance, her father happen to be serving in the army. Unless a man has already fallen in love with some other girl, and this does sometimes happen, he will not usually refuse to marry a girl previously unknown to him. The idea of preserving the family structure intact is strongly ingrained in all Gurkhas: by this I mean the feeling that the mother of one's children should come from a certain clan—the actual clan depending of course upon one's own. In a society where the man, at all events, is not expected to remain faithful it is not difficult to adopt this rather altruistic but nevertheless necessary point of view. It is not to be supposed by this that there is no affection between husband and wife; but it can safely be said that except in cases where marriage is merely the regularization of an already existing affair there is at first very little real intimacy between the couple. In a great number of cases however real affection between the two does seem to come with the later years of married life, and I have not infrequently noticed signs of very real grief at the death of one or other of the partners.

A man may have as many wives as he wishes; but except amongst the wealthy it seems to be unusual to have more than one at a time unless the first wife has borne her husband no children. Divorce is not very common as it does not appear to fulfil any real function in a polygynous society. Cases of married women eloping with other men however are common. In such cases there is no need for divorce in order that the woman may remarry; and the legal aspect of the case is confined entirely to the recovery by the husband of such jewellery and other property of his with which his wife may have decamped. Elopement is of course the only practical means by which a woman may put an end to her married life should it turn out unsuccessfully: with a man the position is entirely different, for should he find that he

has no affection for his wife he merely takes another. In such cases the first wife may remain on in the house—if it is a large one an extra woman is always useful—but if she is young and still attractive it usually means that she will eventually run off with some other man, leaving her children if she has any in their father's home.

I have been at some pains to discover the basis of mutual attraction between Gurkha men and women. A fair skin is considered most desirable, and to refer to a man or woman as *ḱālā*, or black, is a term of reproach, although the word used in this way does not convey any hint of offensiveness. Fair skin is not in itself considered more beautiful than dark skin; it is however definitely associated with good birth and as such is therefore a desirable quality. Most people will say that a well-bred Gurkha ought to be fair-skinned: it is indeed a racial characteristic, and one does undoubtedly find that the very dark-skinned Gurkha is generally in some way or other inferior. This may possibly be due to the fact that he is himself conscious of his failure to conform to a desired standard. I was unable to obtain any satisfactory information as to what constituted beauty in a woman. One of my best informants told me that sometimes "one finds even a very dark-skinned woman attractive." He thought this rather strange, and meant, I imagine, to convey the idea that sometimes a couple just fall in love for no apparent reason and in spite of what is considered a definitely undesirable quality.

To the European it is the more Mongoloid characteristics that form the chief physical attraction of the Nepalese. If shown a series of photographs most people will prefer those with very almond eyes, high cheekbones, and rather flat noses. This is, of course, a purely personal matter, but I do not speak entirely for myself. To the Gurkha himself however these are not attractions, and he will generally choose a type which approximates more to the Indian ideal of beauty—large round eyes and an oval face. Many Gurkhas have bright pink cheeks in youth and are very little darker than a Southern European; but strangely enough this colouring also is not thought to be attractive. It may perhaps throw some light on their ideas to know what they think of Europeans. I was once sitting by the roadside when a small party of Gurkhas came along, most of whom had never previously seen a European. They sat down close by and I was thus enabled to listen to their conversation. "How very, very red he is," they said, "and what a huge nose he has!" But beyond these brief remarks they paid no further attention and there was no undue staring or other action to

embarrass the stranger such as foreigners, particularly when their dress or colour proclaims them so, are apt to experience in the West.

I have placed at the head of this paper a quotation from Sterne, and I end with another. He writes of a people not so very different from those whose life I have tried to describe; but the *Sentimental Journey* is a book that anyone who would understand another culture would do well to consider :

“ Poor, patient, quiet, honest people! fear not; your poverty, the treasury of your simple virtues, will not be envied you by the world, nor will your vallies be invaded by it—Nature! in the midst of thy disorders, thou art still friendly to the scantiness thou hast created: with all thy great works about thee, little hast thou left to give, either to the scythe or to the sickle—but to that little thou grantest safety and protection; and sweet are the dwellings which stand so shelter’d!”

SOVIET RUSSIA AND HER SOUTHERN NEIGHBOURS

On February 20 M. V. de Korostovetz read a paper on Soviet Russia and her Southern Neighbours. The subject was divided into four parts: (a) The general trend of Russia's foreign policy, which, whether Imperial or Bolshevik, has differed in method rather than aim; (b) the States from Turkey to China, lying to the south of the Soviet block, with special attention to Chinese Turkestan; (c) the Ukrainian attitude to Communism; and (d) an outline of the new canals planned to make the Volga the chief waterway of Russia at the expense of the Don, and, with the refortification of the Straits, to turn the Black Sea into a *mare clausum*.

“IN order to understand the relations of Soviet Russia to her southern neighbours, will you allow me to throw a retrospective glance at the attitude of Russian Governments of pre-war and pre-revolution days, in order to show the continuity of policy.

The Bolshevik leaders of Moscow, having come to power, declared *orbi et urbi* their firm intention of 'regenerating' the world. Without further delay they started to enforce their programme with all their communistic religious fervour. As a jumping-off board to World Revolution they had at their disposal one-sixth of the globe, with all its riches and with a population of over 160 million souls, composed of forty-eight different nationalities. Lenin and his associates were confident that it would be easy for them to wield these millions into servile obedience and use them as tools for the World Revolution aims. In 1908, in Zürich, Lenin told me, 'The Tsar with the help of his three hundred thousand nobility rules the country absolutely; why could not I do it with my own nobility?'

. . . Prior to the Revolution the Russians clad their imperialistic tendencies in other veils, such as 'The holy duty of Holy Russia is to support throughout the whole world the sanctity of the principle of Absolute Monarchy'—viz., the campaign of Nicholas I. to Hungary in 1848-49. Or later, the mad and dangerous idea of the Slavophiles, who called on the mighty Russian Holy Empire to enforce the principle that all the Slavonic races should be under the guidance and protection of the Russian Tsar, including in this presumption the Holy Duty of the Tsar to see the Orthodox Russian Cross placed at the top of Santa Sophia in Constantinople. This was not only a

theory, but, being part of the creed of an absolutist monarchy, as Russia then was, it was the *modus procedendi* of the Tsarist diplomacy, a policy which, as we now know, was one of the main-springs in the background of the Great War. A few years before the war the Russian Foreign Minister Sazonow told me proudly 'that the fate of the Straits will be decided in Berlin and Vienna.' Meanwhile the future mobilization plans of the Russian armies were in full preparation.

. . . Russia is essentially Asiatic and cannot imagine herself fulfilling her 'historical aims and discharging her historical obligations' otherwise than by war, expansion, annexation, and subjugation. She is essentially a land Power, and conquered one neighbouring territory after another. What veil this conquest took outwardly was a different matter altogether. With Asiatic subtlety the Russians always took up the best cloak to hide their main purpose.

. . . The Soviets came to power with this impedimenta of historical tradition. Bolshevism was not only a social programme of Communistic theories but an essential Asiatic method of expansion, of conquest, of subjugation deeply rooted in the Tartar Asiatic blood of the Moscow leaders. It is of a deep significance that the Genius of the Revolution, Lenin, coming to power, immediately transferred the capital from St. Petersburg to Moscow. Even the outward European forms of Petersburg, called by its founder Peter the Great 'a window to Europe,' did not suit Lenin. Here in Moscow Lenin found all the centuries-long acquired tradition of the Tartar mentality. Lenin gave Moscow a new impetus in this direction. By this, Asia has pushed its way through to the fore once again. From now onwards the Bolsheviks and Asia were staunch Allies. Conquest, invasion, brutality, even the tradition of the Orthodox Moscow Church, denied by Lenin in principle, was used by him as a weapon.

. . . In perusing the thesis we are discussing to-day, that of Soviet Russia and her southern neighbours, all that I said here must be well kept in mind. The basic factor of this decisive struggle lies exactly in their southern expansion areas. Here the Moscow rulers meet face to face with nations that are fundamentally and essentially opposed to the Soviet ideals. On the contrary, their principles are not questions of mere tactics, but nationalism, private property, and religion are embodied in these nations and looked upon by them as the *sine qua non* of their existence. They are their beliefs. To them they are tradition,

and are in the same way tinged with religious fervour, as Communism is the religion of the Moscow Soviet rulers. What I mean to emphasize is, that here is a clash not based on minor divergencies of opinions, or divergencies of tactics, but of basic principles on which those neighbours will never agree with Moscow.

. . . This Soviet southern front stretches from Mongolia to Palestine, and their definite aim is the inclusion of everything that lies between into the sphere of an active Soviet policy; this is envisaged by the Soviets not as a remote possibility but as necessary behaviour on their part at present, and to a certain degree as an achievement of Soviet Moscow.

Soviet Russia is to a certain extent squeezed out of Europe, if even temporarily, by such factors as the national revival of Europe on the lines of *anti*-communism, such as we witness in Italy and Germany and, under the cloak of Monarchical dictatorships, in the Balkans. On her left flank Soviet Russia is being squeezed out by Japan and Manchuria.

In accordance with the historical tradition of Russian diplomacy, Soviet Russia applies the same old tactics, falling back where she is strongly opposed and finding an outlet on the front on which she seems to experience least resistance. In the Far East the line of least resistance for the time being is still Mongolia, as the way to the heart of China proper, then comes Chinese Turkestan as the way to the heart of Central Asia, and thirdly comes the Black Sea as the way to the Near East. For an active and efficient policy in this domain she has to be satisfied that her right flank is secure from aggression and intrusion. This Russia has accomplished by treaties with the Border States, from Finland down to Rumania. Here she depends, and quite rightly so, on the friendly pressure of France, and thus the Soviet-French Entente is brought about. Europe is in a state of turmoil and is divided into two competing camps.

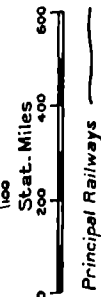
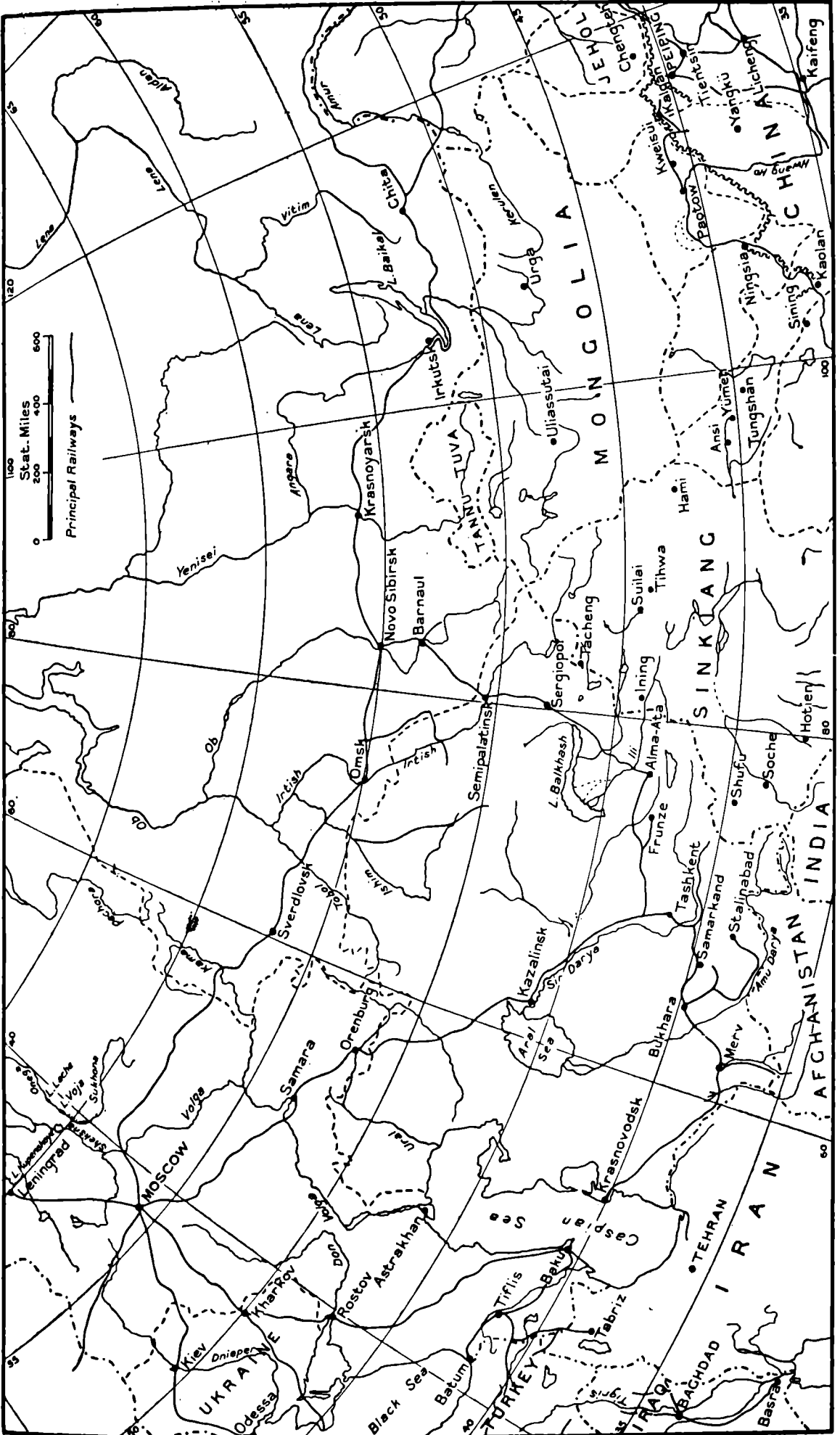
. . . At the same time the Soviet is preparing a solid block to back it on a mutual agreement basis with Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan, and other Eastern countries, who send plenipotentiary members to the League of Nations. Here the Black Sea problem comes to the fore, and with it the question of militarization of the Straits; the ultimate aim is to turn the Black Sea into a *mare clausum* for the benefit of Russia and its Black Sea neighbours. This push is well on the way. Turkey has already announced her intention of bringing the question before the next session of the League.

When they have fortified the Straits, and I do not see who shall stop them, the next *locus minoris resistentium* will be the turmoil of the Palestine controversy. And in this respect the predominance of the national revival of another Eastern nation—that of the Jewish race—is a potent factor, the importance of which is striking and need not be over-emphasized.”

The Lecturer then stressed the failure of the Soviet in the Ukraine. The Ukrainians, the Cossacks and other neighbours are fundamentally opposed to all that the Soviet stands for. They are European rather than Asiatic by inheritance and birth. The Ukraine has resisted Soviet ideals to the uttermost, and the failure of Communism in the country is shown by comparing the statistics of thirty years ago with those of to-day. The black soil belt, once the granary of Europe, is bare, and a great proportion of the more prosperous inhabitants have been sent to prisons and timber camps. The Ukrainian detestation of Soviet principles is shown by the rapid falling-off in numbers in the Youth organizations. The lecturer then gave an account of the Volga plan, which includes the building of numerous canals, turning the strength of the rivers away from the Ukraine.

The New Waterways.

“ Their plan aims at irrigating the Steppes east of the Volga and getting water for the Aralo-Caspian region. This is the more important from the point of view of the Soviets, as they say it “ connects Europe with Asia ”; in other words, the Soviets do not feel themselves secure if they have not a well organized rear in Asia. They openly state that “ the Volga becomes then the main traffic artery of the country.” And they add “ the railroad lines, which approach from the east and from the west, will play the part of feeders to this great water route.” They further state that “ The Volga River is already linked by a long chain of rivers and canals to the Baltic Sea. The Baltic-White Sea route opens an entrance from the Volga to the Arctic Ocean through the Kama and Pechora Rivers. In this way the Volga River will be connected with three seas, and when the Volga-Don Canal is completed it will give the Volga two more Seas: the Black Sea and the Sea of Asov. And in the West the Volga will be connected with five seas and with the large rivers of the European section of the Soviet Union. “ But,” say the Soviet leaders, “ we can go even



MOSCOW

UKRAINE

TURKEY

IRAN

AFGHANISTAN

INDIA

SINKANG

MONGOLIA

CHINA

Leningrad

Kiev

Odessa

Dnipro

Black Sea

Batum

Tiflis

Baku

Tabriz

TEHRAN

BAGHDAD

Moscow

Leningrad

Kiev

Odessa

Dnipro

Black Sea

Batum

Tiflis

Baku

Tabriz

TEHRAN

BAGHDAD

Volga

Samara

Orenburg

Sverdlovsk

Kazalinsk

Frunze

Alma-Ata

Tashkent

Samarkand

Stalinabad

Shufu

Soche

Novosibirsk

Bannaul

Omisk

Semipalatinsk

Kazalinsk

Frunze

Alma-Ata

Tashkent

Samarkand

Stalinabad

Shufu

Soche

Novosibirsk

Bannaul

Omisk

Semipalatinsk

Kazalinsk

Frunze

Alma-Ata

Tashkent

Samarkand

Stalinabad

Shufu

Soche

Novosibirsk

Bannaul

Omisk

Semipalatinsk

Kazalinsk

Frunze

Alma-Ata

Tashkent

Samarkand

Stalinabad

Shufu

Soche

Novosibirsk

Bannaul

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further over the Ural Mountains into Siberia, and with the help of the Tobol River connect her with Siberian rivers." "Then," they add, the White Sea will be connected with the Black Sea, the Arctic Ocean will be connected with the Caspian Sea. And the Central Port of the system will be Moscow." They go on further, explaining that "At present we are already constructing a canal, which will have twenty-two power stations along the route." This project also embodies the decision of the Soviet Government to divide Kara Burgas Bay from the sea and dry it up, because the Kara Burgas Bay is an important source of chemicals created by Nature. It is said that "the water taken away must be replaced by feeding the Volga with water from neighbouring rivers." The rivers of Onega, Sukhona, Vytchegda, Pechora, as well as the Lakes of Lache, Voja and Kupenskoye, are to be used for this purpose. Also water will be taken from the Volga's closest neighbour, the Don River, and for this purpose a canal will be built. The plan studies in detail how to "stop the flow of the Don into the Sea of Asov and turn it into the Caspian Sea." This will be done with the help of a "tremendous dam." It is said that "out of the Don reservoir, the water will be sent towards the Volga." The Dnieper River is to be called on to help to dilute the Sea of Asov. And here, speaking about these grandiose plans, the Soviets repeat again and again that their chief aim is to give all the water necessary to the Volga and not to leave it without the necessary water; "water," they say, "is the life-blood of every river."

It is interesting to note that the main object of the Moscow rulers is to supply with water the Volga to the detriment of the Don and of the Dnieper. They destroy the water supplies of those main water arteries which are essential to the life of the Ukraine and the Cossacklands. Another feature is typical: that the taking of water from the Dnieper shall not take place in the heart of the Ukraine, as it is obvious that the Ukraine is not safe for Soviet experiment, but just in the spot where the Dnieper flows into the Black Sea. For this purpose the Perekop Isthmus is to be cut through, and the Crimea separated from the Ukraine, the Crimea being the strategical point for any future Ukrainian fleet.

This project was worked out by members of the Red Academy; engineers, agriculturists, geologists, economists, physicists were represented. And not only is it a project, but work has been started on it. Since the plan was accepted—*i.e.*, in 1933—the pyramid slave work has been started and hundreds of miles of canals, including work in the

areas of eternally frozen Tundras, have been completed at the expense of the lives of hundreds of thousands of Soviet prisoners. The section which is called that of The Middle Volga is practically completed.

This plan does not stop there, but a new and additional plan has been worked out. This additional plan includes the Angora and Yenisei Rivers and deals with the problems of irrigation of the Kulundinsk Steppes by the Ob River and furthermore includes the planning of the Kuma-Manitch water route, which also will be connected with the Caspian Sea.

I am limited in time and therefore I shall not go into detail any further, but I want to point out that it is obvious that the Soviets have in mind a plan to entrench themselves in the inaccessible regions of the Volga, Caspian Sea and Urals and Siberia, as they feel instinctively that the two flanks of their front of which we spoke previously are considered by them as not reliable or looked upon only as grounds for the display of armies: I mean the Ukraine and Cossacklands with the Caucasus on one hand and Siberia in its Eastern parts on the other. Exactly there where the population is predominantly Ukrainian.

In the Far East the problem seems to them more easily solved by giving up those territories and concentrating their efforts in keeping a debouchure in Mongolia—the door to China proper being in their possession.

In the West the problem is more subtle and more pregnant with danger, therefore their aim is to base their right flank on the Black Sea, turning it into a *mare clausum*.

This plan can only be carried out at the expense of a complete annihilation of the Ukrainian nation and that of the valiant Ukrainian allies, the Cossacks and the Caucasian peoples.

Having accomplished this, the main spearhead of Moscow's activities of Asiatic conquest will be concentrated on what we generally call the Central Asian areas, preparing their invasion by fomenting their trouble in India, Afghanistan, Persia, and Palestine. If such reliable information as the yearly report of the Indian Government shows what the Soviet hand tries to write on the wall as regards their future achievements in this vast domain of Asia, another writing on the wall comes to the fore, and this is the Ukrainian and Caucasian Problem, of which they are aware but which they can never control; neither terror nor starvation nor exile will succeed.

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF PERSIA

BY VIOLET CONOLLY

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I suppose it is always a disconcerting experience for an amateur on any subject to meet his peers, the experts. For myself I can honestly say that I am abashed to be here at all, realizing as I do that there are many among you who are far more profoundly versed in Middle Eastern affairs than I can claim to be, and that in our Chairman we have present a distinguished historian of Persia. You are probably wondering why one who in the first place is not an expert on Persian affairs nor even on any particular branch of industry, should have the temerity to speak to you on the industrialization of Persia. Indeed, the appearance of a mere casual traveller here and the communication of her impressions, I am afraid, cuts right across the best traditions of the Royal Central Asian Society. I can only plead that in the case of a country like Persia the notes of even the non-expert observer may have a certain utility which they could not be invested with in more accessible and better-known countries. Persia is not yet on the beaten path of travel, in spite of Mr. Cook's recent efforts to include it in his programmes. Straight-forward journalism is actually impossible in Teheran. The experts—archæologists, philologists, connoisseurs of one art or another—who are the most frequent visitors to Iran, are too closely concerned with their special jobs to be bothered for the most part with recording anything else. The result is that it is extremely difficult to obtain accurate information on many questions of common interest and on social and economic conditions in the country. Now it is impossible to overlook the importance of industrialization to Persia at the present time, however little the outside world may hear about it. And it is equally impossible to spend any time in Persia without coming in contact with some aspect of industrial development—if only in general conversation. For it is no exaggeration to say that a newcomer to Teheran or any of the larger Persian towns will hear more in a few days about the pros and cons of the Trans-Persian railway or the vicissitudes of Persian sugar-beet schemes (including all the intrigues and excitement they periodi-

cally give rise to) than of the more famous Persian carpets or miniatures which he may have travelled thousands of miles to see. The hostleries of Teheran are filled with the agents of European and American firms who spend anxious days trying to secure contracts for their respective firms. For example, last summer, when I was in Teheran, Swiss and Italians were competing to equip the new silk mill in Deh Nou; Swedes and French outbidding each other for the proposed lighthouses in the Persian Gulf; British, German, and Swiss agents scouting for orders for textile machinery; and so on. Incidentally, the activity of Swedish business men in Persia to-day is remarkable, and they are one of the most successful and go-ahead groups of foreigners in the country. Swedes are building steel bridges, teaching the Persians to pack, tin and market their wonderful fruit and in the *Persiska-Kompaniet* have established a very efficient commercial organization for importing Swedish goods to Persia in exchange for Persian exports which they sell abroad. Nobody is more amused and flattered by the often undignified antics of these foreign rivals than the Persians, who in a few years have made a fine art of picking the brains of foreign technicians and commercial agents and making capital for themselves out of their competition. A good example of this is the Spaniard who went to Teheran a few years ago with a very elaborate scheme for a monopoly of the cotton manufacturing and import business. It was, of course, understood that he and his friends were eventually to control this monopoly. The Persian Government listened to his plans with great affability and seeming interest. No decision was taken, however, while the gentleman remained in the country, and nothing happened for some time after his departure. But a few months ago the idea was resuscitated by the Persian Government in the form of a State monopoly of the cotton import business in which the Spaniard did not figure. So, from the Persian point of view, if not from his own, the ingenious Spaniard had not visited Persia in vain. This is typical.

Apart from the admirably organized Anglo-Persian oil company—still by far the most productive and extensive business in Persia—though it need not concern us here to-night as it is a foreign concession, and the company's success can in no wise be regarded as a result of either Persian enterprise or ability, all modern industry in Persia may be said to date from the accession of the present Shah in 1925, and is in fact the direct result of his initiative. The Shah has a passion for the products of the machine age—railroad transport, factories, light and power stations, mining equipment (Shemshak)—all of

which was absolutely lacking in his country before his time. He is determined to provide his country with as many of these mixed blessings as it can be made to pay for. Persia owing to its relative inaccessibility remained in a quasi-medieval state with regard to transport and industry until a very recent date. For example, until a few years ago petrol was carried to Teheran on the backs of donkeys and camels. This must be borne in mind by every newcomer who would justly estimate the ground that has been covered through the impetus of the present arbitrary ruler in one short decade.

The Trans-Persian railway was at once the first, the most costly, and the most extensive project inaugurated by the Shah. Very shortly after his accession a special tax was levied on tea and sugar (the most common articles of consumption in Persia) in order to provide funds for this vast scheme of transport. In 1928 work was started. Hitherto with the exception of the old Russian line connecting Tabriz with Julfa on the Russo-Persian frontier Persia had absolutely no railways. It was now proposed to engage on the gigantic task of building a railway from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, a distance of 1,500 kms., and to make the country pay the bill without the aid of a foreign loan, as is customary in Oriental countries. Thus at one stroke Persia, from having no railways, became the scene of the biggest railway engineering enterprise in the world. The deciding factor in the decision to build the railway was certainly strategy, or the desire to be able to cope more swiftly with Russia in the northern provinces, if necessary. In view of the power of the air arm to-day, this strategy argument, based on a railway easily attacked from the air, is somewhat obsolete, but there is little doubt that it prevailed with the Shah and his advisers, and defeated the economic arguments in favour of an alternative railway across the country from east to west, which would connect with 'Iraq and India. The critics of the railway originally pointed out (and still maintain) that the country is being bled white to run a railway in a direction which can never pay, and Persia would be better linked up with international rail communications through the 'Iraqi railways at Khanaqin; that in any case the approved route misses several important centres of commerce like Isfahan and Shiraz on its way and leaves the important area between Hamadan and Kermanshah unserved. The economic arguments brought forward in favour of the railway by the Government are that as a result of this railway the products of the Caspian provinces—the most fertile in Persia—cotton, rice, fruit, tobacco, etc., will be brought to world markets and released from the stranglehold

formerly exercised by Russia in this area. They have also great hopes that the region traversed by the railway will be rapidly developed as a result—though it is difficult for an outsider to see how the desert plateau which forms the bulk of the country can be developed economically under any circumstances. In Persia, however, no independent discussion of the railway or its merits is possible. The first and last word on the subject is “C’est un plan de sa Majesté”—as indeed it is. After several experiments with railroad contractors, including a period when the Government was its own contractor, the whole line has now been divided into lots, for which tenders are periodically received. The work of technical supervision of plans and construction has been entrusted since 1932 to a Scandinavian firm of consulting engineers, the *Kampsax Consortium*. At the present time the contractors are mostly Italians, and about a thousand Italian workmen, specialists in tunnelling and masonry, have been imported. Scarcely any Persians are employed on the technical side of the work, but they form the majority of the labourers. The northern sector of the line is now complete for a distance of 150 kms., and trains are running daily between Bandar Shah and Chahi, and on the southern sector for a distance of 250 kms. from Bandar Shapur on the Gulf to somewhat beyond Dizful. Owing to the courtesy of the chief engineer on the northern sector I was enabled to investigate the work now in progress and to see the extraordinary difficulties that have to be faced in this difficult mountainous country. Under the direction of Kampsax, dispensaries, hospitals, and large barracks for the accommodation of the workers have been erected both in the north and in the south, as the line passes through tracts of practically uninhabited country. The malarial scourge in the north and the heat in the south have considerably added to the difficulties already facing the engineers from the physical formation of the land. The Kampsax doctors in a little more than a year have done a fine job in practically stamping out malaria among the workers on the northern section. It may be interesting to mention where the materials for this big railway job are coming from: the steel rails for the entire line are being made in Russia. This is an interesting experiment, and I think the first large contract of the kind obtained by the U.S.S.R. I was informed by the engineers in charge that so far the rails have proved quite satisfactory, if somewhat roughly finished. The Russians cleverly obtained the contract for the northern as well as the southern section by refusing to supply the north, where under present conditions of transport they are in a position to defy all competition for the delivery of

such heavy goods economically, unless given the contract for the south as well. The cement used on the railway is for the most part made in a new factory specially constructed for the purpose by the Persian Government, a few kms. outside Teheran. A well-known Danish firm equipped this factory with the most modern cement machinery. As the factory is not able to supply all the cement required, the deficit is obtained from Japan and Russia. The original rolling-stock was made in Belgium and a few locomotives in America. Great Britain has hitherto been conspicuously out of this business, probably for political reasons; now several contracts have been secured by British firms. Some idea of the extent of these railway operations may be gained from the fact that 20,000 men are employed on the northern section and 10,000 on the southern. There is little doubt but that the railway—white elephant or not—will be continued to a finish as long as the present Shah and his advisers are in the saddle. It is far less certain, however, that Persia will be able to meet her increasing financial obligations for the expenses of construction out of her own resources. The tea and sugar tax is no longer sufficient to cover the annual outlay, and the deficit has to be met from the National Defence Fund, the extent of which is a closely guarded secret in Persia. It is no secret, however, that the claims upon it, whether for munitions or the Trans-Persian railway, are steadily growing, and as a result the idea of the necessity of a foreign loan to pay for the Trans-Persian is gaining ground in commercial circles in Teheran, though officially it has not yet been mooted. Before leaving this subject of the Trans-Persian railway there is one aspect of the question which must not be lost sight of. The railway, when completed, should prove of tremendous assistance to Persia in utilizing her oil resources, especially in the distant north-western and Caspian provinces, where Soviet oil until a few years ago was in undisputed possession of the market. Now, as the result of lorry transport—though this is a costly charge on Persian oil—Soviet and Persian oil are competing furiously in this area, and prices are falling rapidly since the struggle started.

I shall now say something about the general industrial policy of the Persian Government, which had not crystallized when the Trans-Persian railway was started, and the different factories and industries now springing up throughout the country as a result of that policy. I visited many of these factories, and I am glad of this opportunity of telling any tentative visitor to Persia that the Government departments concerned took the greatest trouble to ensure that in each case I got where I

wanted to and saw what I wanted with the minimum difficulty. Moreover, whether I had a formal introduction to the factory manager or not, the factory doors were everywhere opened and information given with all possible alacrity and courtesy.

The whole basis of Persian foreign trade was revolutionized in 1931, when the Government introduced a foreign trade monopoly with the declared object of fostering home industries and balancing the Budget. A most complicated system of imports and exports was set up, which was sound enough in theory but, practically speaking, unworkable in Persia. Not only were annual lists of contingents for each importable commodity established, but within these contingents goods might only be imported against export certificates, which were negotiable at fluctuating rates in the bazaar. In a country like Persia this measure opened the door to speculation and trickery of all kinds which heavily hampered trade. As in the case of Russian foreign trade, the Persians now declared that their total imports and exports must balance, though such a balance was not insisted upon in the case of individual countries. In connection with this foreign trade monopoly the Persian Government later forced importers to buy a fixed percentage of so-called "Monopoly exchange," either dollars or pounds, as the case may be, at a rate considerably above the market prices. This was an ingenious device, as the Government had considerably overbought itself in foreign currency at an unfavourable moment and wanted to unload. To work smoothly, the machinery of this foreign trade monopoly obviously required a large body of honest and competent officials, such as could not be created overnight in Persia. Whatever its ultimate results, this monopoly has had the immediate effect of dislocating and obstructing commercial life throughout the country and tends to concentrate business more and more in Teheran, to the detriment of the traditional commercial centres such as Tabriz or Isfahan. As I am only concerned with this foreign trade monopoly in so far as it is connected with Persian industrialization, there is no need to dwell further on its flaws or peculiarities.

For years the chief imports of Persia were: cotton textiles and yarn (imported chiefly from Great Britain and Russia), tea, sugar, and oil products, though Persia is an actual or potential producer of all of these commodities. The Persian Government in its industrialization plans has rather concentrated on the manufacture of these commodities in the first place.

The Persian cotton industry, as a result of the encouragement given

by the Government, has expanded more rapidly and attracted more private capital than any other. Persia has now about 30,000 spindles distributed in well-equipped factories from Chahi in Mazanderan to Shiraz in the south. In the case of cotton yarn the home industry has developed so extensively that yarn is now on the forbidden list of imports. This is, of course, a golden opportunity for the few spinning mills already in existence and a stimulus to open others. The largest cotton mill in the country is at Chahi, in the centre of the cotton-growing district. Over 1,000 workers are employed—all male. This factory is the private property of the Shah and is quite naturally a peculiar institution both as regards the treatment of labour and the acquisition of raw material. The mill is surrounded by a pretty Persian garden, but the sentry mounting guard at the gate and the Major in uniform who acts as manager for the Shah are more typical of the spirit of the place, I imagine, than the flower garden. Large quantities of material for the army are manufactured in this mill—an excellent business for the Shah, who is, of course, Commander-in-Chief of the army. The machinery is partly British, partly German. Within the last year an up-to-date dyeing and printing section has been installed by a German firm, and Chahi will thus be the first mill in Persia to produce printed goods. It will lose some of its lustre as the largest cotton mill in the country if the Government scheme for a still larger mill in the neighbouring village of Ashraff materializes. There are two cotton mills in Isfahan and one in Shiraz—all private concerns. The establishment of mills in Bushire, Yezd, Meshed, and Kerman is also being actively discussed. The little mill in Shiraz is the jewel of the Persian cotton industry—its equipment is entirely British and the best obtainable. The buildings are airy and well constructed, the labour conditions probably unique in Persia. The founder and chief shareholder is a former Persian merchant who spent forty-five years of his life exporting piece goods from Manchester to his native land. Then when restrictions and tariffs seemed to be killing that business he packed up and returned to his native town of Shiraz.

Another branch of the textile industry which has been successfully started in Persia is the manufacture of jute, which grows well by the shores of the Caspian Sea. Gunny bags for rice and cotton and ropes are now being made in a new factory at Resht; experts from Dundee are still directing operations and everything seems very efficient. Women and children are freely employed in the cotton textile factories wherever the prevailing wage-rates for men seem to justify using their

cheaper labour. In connection with this much-discussed question of child labour, I must say that the children I saw, both in the carpet shops and cotton mills of Isfahan and Shiraz, looked well fed and in the best of spirits. Their condition compares very favourably with their indigent brothers, who from a very early age have to earn their crust under far more hazardous circumstances on the streets. My impression in Persia was (and this was confirmed by several people intimately acquainted with the lives of the people) that until the standard of living can be raised very much higher than it is at present for the lower strata of the population, abstract theories regarding the non-employment of young children in factories, however excellent in themselves, have no relation to the real welfare of children in Persia. Even if schools could be universally provided to absorb them from the age of five or six, the majority of these children could never find their way into them, unless the Government was prepared to feed them as well. The new cotton factories are well lighted and ventilated, and the worst abuses of the old carpet shops (where many children's eyesight was undoubtedly ruined for life) have been abolished, so the lot of the children employed in either is relatively good to-day.

In common with a large number of other countries Persia is now endeavouring to establish a sugar-beet industry. It cannot be said that she has so far been very successful either in producing good sugar or in producing any kind of sugar for her sugar-loving people, at a reasonably economic price. Machinery for six sugar factories was ordered a couple of years ago in Czechoslovakia. Localities were then selected for the sugar-beet industry and factory buildings erected, though in typically Persian fashion it was not always ascertained in time whether sugar beet could be produced at all in these areas. In Karadji, for example, where the first of these factories was put up, a virulent worm in the ground destroyed most of the beet crop before it reached the factory. The Persians still hesitate to spend the necessary money required to exterminate the pest, and so the matter rests. In the middle of an arid desert north of Shiraz a sugar factory is being erected on the strength of the historic evidence that this area was fertile something like 2,000 years ago. An extensive scheme of irrigation will be necessary before anything can be grown there again, and it is by no means certain when such a scheme will be or can be initiated. But the new sugar factory is already half built. Greater success has attended the local efforts to grow tea in Persia. Large tracts of hilly country near Resht are excellently adapted for tea growing and are being gradually planted. There is a

Government tea-drying factory and research institute under Chinese experts at Lalijan and another factory is being erected at Lakan. The tea produced has a pleasant flavour, and is well prepared and packed. It is estimated that the actual plantations now producing tea can supply about 10 to 15 per cent. of the Persian consumption, but they must be greatly extended before imports can be dispensed with. Among the other industries promoted by the Government may be mentioned silk, cigarettes and tobacco, and matches. At Deh Nou a factory for the production of raw silk and silk fabrics is to be opened shortly. Hitherto Persia was an exporter of silk cocoons to Italy, but did not have the means of utilizing her raw silk resources properly at home. Difficulties also frequently arose regarding the transport of these cocoons to Italy via the U.S.S.R., which is alleged to have blocked their way in transit. The Persians are now anxious to control the situation themselves. Deh Nou, formerly a remote little village on the Caspian—of no commercial interest—happens to lie in the centre of the Shah's rich agricultural property, and is now to be equipped with modern port facilities. This port and the new Chalus road, which connects it directly with Teheran, both built by the Government, show how State resources are marshalled by the Shah.

As might have been expected in a country like Persia, long accustomed to despotic rulers and more or less lacking in democratic institutions, most of these factories and schemes of development are due to the Government and not to private capital or initiative. It is difficult at this stage to make any general criticism of the results achieved, because for one thing in most cases the factories are still very largely supervised and run by foreign technicians. It can at all events be justly stated, I think, that the new industrialization has in no wise compensated Persia for the stagnation in her former staple industries—*i.e.*, carpets and opium. Partly as a result of world trade conditions, partly of Government policy, the merchant class in Persia is practically ruined and the activity of former great trading centres like Tabriz, Isfahan, Sultanabad paralyzed. There is great distress among millions of peasants, and only a relatively small number have been absorbed by the new factories. The impression one gets when travelling through the country is that if the feelings of a severely censored nation were allowed free expression, the commercial and industrial policy of the present Government would be reversed overnight, for better or for worse. The people are being saddled with an increasingly heavy load of taxation to pay for the most up-to-date machinery, which in many cases seems an extravagant

luxury in view of the surrounding social and economic conditions. This was my reflection, for example, at Phemshak coal mine, near Teheran, where the most expensive German electrical machinery has been installed. Objects of common consumption like cotton cloth, tea or sugar tend to become many times more expensive because produced at home, while the Persian peasant was never in a worse position to pay an extra kran for anything. The powers-that-be in Teheran seem to regard machinery as a passport to equality with the greater nations of the world and as the only means of ridding themselves and their country of an inferiority complex produced by a long history of inertia, corruption, and backwardness.*

There can be no question but that Persian economic affairs have too long been directed by foreigners whose first interest has, of course, not been Persia. It is all to the good that young Persians should study engineering and all the manufacturing and technical arts necessary for their country's progress, and that they should have a field of activity at home for their energies. There is no putting back the clock, and I believe that, no matter what political changes may come in Persia, machinery has come to stay. Realizing all that has been accomplished in the way of public security and modernization by the present Shah, progressive young Persians of to-day are extremely sensitive to any criticism on any aspect of Persian affairs. Comments which elsewhere would be regarded as inoffensive are quite taboo in Persia. The result is, of course, that a straightforward discussion of many important questions is impossible, and that reliable foreign correspondents could not breathe in Teheran. This being so, I am encouraged to hope that I may have been able to throw some light on the present state of industry in Iran, as I saw things during my visit to the country last year. I trust that in attempting this task I have not brought too many coals to Newcastle, and that, on the other hand, my Persian friends will believe that I have only tried to describe things as I found them.

* The new issue of Iranian stamps bears the picture of model factories and factory chimneys.

THE MONGOL DILEMMA

RECENT articles in *The Times* have put before us the dilemma in which the Mongols find themselves. They stand between China and Russia, with Japan making a strong bid for their support. Those Mongols who have been under China think any fate better than a continuance of China's imperialistic high-handedness. Those who are on the borders of Outer Mongolia know too much about Soviet methods to wish to share the same fate as the neighbouring tribes over the border. The following two dialogues illustrate the position, although nothing is said of the third possible outlet—viz., a Mongol autonomous state, backed by Japan.

The first was with a Torgut Kalmuck of Karashahr, a trader and caravan leader.

1. What's new in your part of Sinkiang?—It has been the same old story for several years now. We try to mind our own business in Karashahr and carry on our life and trade, but political events will not allow us certain peace.
2. How do you feel with respect to the late Chinese administration?—I have lost all faith in the Chinese; at least the kind that we have in our district.
3. What is the principal grievance of your people?—Uncertainty. We cannot trust those who govern us. We find it difficult even to do ordinary trade with them. Look at the duplicity with which they murdered the old *Wang*, Seng Chen Rinpoche.
4. Who is your nominal leader now?—The young *Wang* is our leader. He is nephew to the old *Wang*.
5. What is your opinion of foreign intrusion into Sinkiang? I am heartily in favour of it. The foreigner stands by his word; at least he has done so in all of my contacts. I can trust a European.
6. What is your opinion of Russian intrusion into Outer Mongolia? I do not know much about the matter, but I consider it for the best. It certainly seems best for the rank and file of people.

7. Have you any news of the way Russian plans are actually working out in Outer Mongolia?—I have not heard.
8. What do you consider Russian intrusion into Sinkiang will do for your people?—I am sure it has done a lot already. I don't know about all of the aspects of their plans, but I do know that they have opened the eyes of my people. They will no longer be satisfied by an indifferent Chinese rule over them. We Mongols have been asleep for centuries. We have been totally indifferent to political events. This has all changed for us now. We see "red"! We see the great possibilities before our Mongol people.

The second was with a Suiyüan Mongol, a rancher, a man who lived on the borders of Outer Mongolia and came in contact with Soviet Mongolia.

1. What, in your opinion, is the outstanding problem of Mongolia?—It is dissatisfaction with both Chinese and Russian rule, particularly the latter.
2. What is your attitude toward the Chinese colonization encroachments upon Suiyüan?—It drives our people back to the hills or forces them to cultivate the land in tenantry, which thing they will not do. Yet it is the lesser of two evils. Chinese rule with all of its error is preferable to Russian.
3. What makes you take such a strong position against the Russians?—They are attempting to industrialize our people, so they say, but this is only a subterfuge. They are really trying to Europeanize Mongolia (*i.e.*, they colonize the best land with Russian settlers.)
4. Have you any direct proofs of the adverse aspects of Russian intrusion?—It has dispossessed many of my friends of all their flocks and herds. It has been a method of high-handed state-larceny.
5. What is the actual condition of your people in Outer Mongolia?—They are poorer by far than when Russia came. Their living is below the level of a beast.
6. I have heard good reports of Tanna Tuva and the Kobdo country. Is this true?—Not at all. European Russia is exploiting Asia in order to feed and clothe her own people. Kobdo, in my opinion, is in a far less favourable position than it was a decade ago. This part of Outer Mongolia formerly was one of our garden spots. It is now ruined.

7. Do you not think this simply a question of a change of social and political order which must inevitably come to Mongolia?—Perhaps it is so, but I am of the opinion that Japanese or Chinese rule, if not Mongolian, would be far preferable. Mongolia wants the chance to live as she cares to live and without duress from any source, least of all from Russia.
8. And why avoid the Lob Nor country?—There are seventy troops there from Karashahr which are related to the Turfan and Karashahr governments.
9. Are they related to the Hami government?—I think not.
10. What kind of a journey did you have through the Nan Shan?—It was bitter cold. Several of the men had mountain fever. It was fair going from Khotan to this side of Cherchen. Then we crossed into the hills. For a few days it was excellent, but our Turki guides deserted us, which complicated matters somewhat. The stages were sometimes as much as 100 miles from water to water; often two days without water. It was awfully cold.
11. How did you happen to come in company of the delegate from Ma Chung-ying to the Nanking Central Government?—During nine months of fighting around Kashgar I became acquainted with many soldiers, both Turki and Tungan. I was stopped after four days from Kashgar by Russian troops in my attempt to get through to Tihwa. I tried the Khotan route. After a delay of two months there I was fortunate to come with the party of General Ma's delegate to Kansu.
12. What about this so-called self-styled state of "Islamistan"?—It is newspaper talk. I saw nothing of an independent state in southern Sinkiang. Tihwa is, of course, now in control as far as the north bank of the Yarkand river. To the west the Sinkiang troops have cut the southern trade-route in the Lob Nor country.
13. What is the opinion of the common people where you have been with respect to the future of Sinkiang?—Most of them seem to wish the Nanking government would take control, but my observations of military preparedness in north-west China thus far makes it look to be an utterly hopeless matter just now. Nanking is powerless here. I think that the people in southern Sinkiang wait in vain.
14. To what extent does religious fanaticism control the Tungan

forces?—Most of the troops are Chinese. This speaks for itself. I noticed in my stay in Khotan, however, that the Ahungs drove the women from the markets with whips. This surprised me as a piece of fanaticism not even to be met with in Persia or Afghanistan.

NOTE.—No European travellers have been able to cross Sinkiang, and particularly Southern Sinkiang, during recent years.

AQABA

THE *Temps* of April 9 had an article on the importance of Aqaba, about which many rumours have been gathering of late. The *Temps* reports that it has been accepted as a new naval and air base and that an oil pipe line may be carried down through Transjordan to the port. Lying as it does on the borders of Palestine, Egypt in Asia and the Hedjaz, and belonging to Transjordan, it is looked on as a nerve centre.

Members of the London Stock Exchange have already been invited to speculate in land surrounding the village.

CHINESE TURKESTAN

The following notes are taken from a full and very informative article in *The Moslem World*.

The Problems of Communication

Some critics are amazed that China seems apparently so little disturbed by Russia's peaceful penetration of Sinkiang. Russia first penetrated Outer Mongolia. She now penetrates Sinkiang. She may soon enter Kansu. Although in the past Sinkiang has never been profitable commercially to China, she could very well be made profitable to Russia, with modern means of exploitation. She may be made to blossom, though scarcely as the rose. . . . Those which can best tap her resources or supply her necessities will control her life. Mr. Peng Chao-hsien, until recently civil magistrate at the Tihwa Government, reports concerning Dzungaria, the area north of the Tien Shan range, that she is now entirely dependent upon Russia for oil and fuel. Mr. Peng states further that the district north of the range, that in which Tihwa (Urumchi), the capital, is located, would be absolutely cut off from revenue were she separated from the district of Kashgaria (South-Western Sinkiang).

Russia's railway contact with Sinkiang is now intimate. The completion recently of the Turk-Sib line from Semipalatinsk to the Orenburg-Tashkent line at Arys passes not far distant from the western border. Already projected lines to Chuguchak, Ili (Kuldja), and Kashgar will act as feeders. The Kashgar feeder has already been constructed as far as Narinskoye.

. . . China's communications with Sinkiang are slow and inadequate. The air connection under contract of the Eurasia Corporation with the Chinese Government, which had provided for service from Shanghai to Chagachuk on the Russian frontier, now goes only as far as Lanchow. Officials here from Hami express no hope for speedy recommencement of the service beyond Lanchow. The long-hoped-for extension of the Lung-Hai railway from Shensi to Lanchow is still a matter of several years. The much-advertised motor connection between Suiyuan and Sinkiang provinces by the Inner Mongolia desert route has so far proved a fiasco, with but one or two trips attempted. The difficulty of negotiating the desert road, plus unrest in Sinkiang, contributed to this failure. The postal service between Lanchow and Tihwa and the telegraph service between Hami and Tihwa are at present cut off. The Nanking Government, curiously enough, receives news of her far western domains by way of London or Moscow.

Before Russian dominance in Outer Mongolia it was customary for caravan traffic from China to Sinkiang to travel via the Shan Teh Temple route. Russian and Chinese merchants in North China (Kalgan) were in contact with Barkul in Sinkiang, a distance of seventy to ninety days by camel. The present alternative caravan route is the Peh Ling Temple route which passes through the extenuated arm of Western Inner Mongolia via Edzin Gol. The route was that followed by the bus service already referred to, which proved unsuccessful. Several foreign expeditions have negotiated this road, but at tremendous cost to machinery, wear and tear, and gas consumption. Sixty miles a day for average stretches is nothing to boast of. Gas consumption in the sandy parts runs as

high as a gallon a mile. Commercial enterprise must consider such heavy costs, especially in view of the type of goods which Sinkiang exports—viz., bulky cotton, wool, and stock products. The Peh Ling Temple route, at the Suiyuan end, suffers from chronic banditry, engendered in part by the discontent of the Mongol nomads with the colonization schemes of the Chinese, north of the great bend of the Yellow River. The Mongols and Chinese malcontents make a business of preying upon caravan traffic. The third alternative is the Kansu Great road or pan-handle route. This road is feasible nine or ten months of the year, and with some improved road construction to meet the needs of motor traffic, especially with more careful bridge erection, this route is available. Goods from Sinkiang would be delivered to Lanchow, thence reshipped by river or by cart to down-country China. But the long hauls for bulky products put China at a serious disadvantage. Russia's railways offer a far more acceptable method, and trade in Sinkiang recognizes this. Russia now has the lion's share of both export and import business. . . . Of Russia's total foreign trade, that with the Far East has jumped since 1913 from 6 per cent. to 14 per cent. of the total.

. . . Russian cloth has already entered the Suchow market. I have purchased good cotton khaki for less than ten cents per yard. Since the upheaval in Sinkiang it comes from the U.S.S.R. across Outer Mongolia. It is a wonder to me how cloth can be delivered so cheaply here in Kansu. The same thing may be said of Japanese goods. It is a far cry from Osaka to Suchow, but somehow it is done. Were Sinkiang quiet it would not be unthinkable to find Tashkent piece-goods or even Bokhara "china" competing at China's own back door.

The Problems of Pan-Turanianism

In round numbers the population of Sinkiang is given as two millions. Of this number but one hundred thousand, or 5 per cent., are Hans (Chinese); the large overwhelming group is that of the Turki. They number about a million and three-quarters, perhaps slightly less than this figure if anything. There is a scattered population of Tibetans, Kalmuck Mongols, Kazaks, and others. Of the latter two groups the Kazak may be considered Turki culturally by reason of language, temperament, and religion. Mr. Peng admits that over 50 per cent. of the Hans are addicts of opium—not a very good showing for the "ruling" race. It is quite evident that Sinkiang culturally belongs to the Turkish race.

. . . During the centuries of Chinese domination in Sinkiang it is surprising what little progress the Chinese language has made among the Turki. Chinese is spoken by the Turki along the trade routes. Some Chinese agricultural and governmental terms have entered into everyday Turki speech. Yet it is profoundly true that few Turki ever seek their education, if they seek one at all, from Chinese sources, especially the higher schools. There are only a handful in Peiping now. Most of the youth go to Russian Turkestan. Mr. Peng estimates that there are now ten thousand young men from Sinkiang studying in the U.S.S.R., Turkey, or Egypt: principally the former.

. . . The progress of the awakening in Russian Turkestan has been rapid. . . . Under the Tzarist régime but one newspaper sufficed for Turkestan; now there are newspapers in all of the Turki dialects of the republics which constitute Russian Turkestan—viz., Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakstan, Kirghiztan, Karakalpakstan, and Tajikstan. The last-named is a small non-Turki republic of about half a million people. To the north-east of Dzungaria the new Turki republic of Tana Tuva is also making progress. It seems that only a Turki

republic in Sinkiang is needed to make up the chain of pan-Turanianism from the Caspian to Mongolia. Such a chain of republics, if closely consolidated, would more or less simulate the vast Turkish Empire which controlled that area in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries of our era. This possibility of a pan-Turanianism has been more or less envisioned by the modern Turkey of Mustafa Kemal.

. . . Russia has definitely divided her Turki subjects into small units for better administrative control, and furthermore she thereby seeks to maintain dialectical differences as well among this people. This is significant! The U.S.S.R. has made some strategical blunders in her collectivization policy which she hopes to rectify. She certainly doesn't wish for further trouble in Andijan (Russian Turkestan). With a strongly constituted modern Turkey at Stamboul, pan-Turanianism is within the apprehension and purview of the present U.S.S.R. Government.

The Problems of Pan-Islamism

During peaceful years in Kansu and Sinkiang the presence of an Ottoman Turkish business man occasions our curious interest. During recent activities of the Tungani army operation in Eastern Sinkiang a high Turkish officer was attached to the staff. Is this mere coincidence or not? That is the question. Personally, I do not consider that the question of pan-Islamism can be solved apart from the issue of pan-Turanianism. Pan-Islamism would only be successful in a political sphere were pan-Turanianism a fact in Central Asia.

. . . We may well ask ourselves whether or not there has ever been a single instance of complete Moslem unity in China. Not one! . . . The very present case of Sinkiang illustrates this only too well. The Turki peasant and the Tungani trader, both Mohammedans, have never been amiable bed-fellows. . . . The Turki and Tungan could not work together to maintain any Sinkiang republic overnight, and neither of them could stand alone apart from strong outside financial and military backing. Without the rise of a Tamerlane who shall appeal to the baser human instincts, there will be no pan-Islamism in Central Asia. The peasant Turki heretofore has much preferred the mild rule of the Chinese. The Tungan knows that he can expect more position and power as soldier and administrator in the north-west under Chinese rule than under Turki, Russian, or any other. And with Chinese overlordship pan-Islamism politically is but a dream.

. . . The Central Government of China has repudiated all irregular attempts toward control of her far-flung province, although she is powerless to prevent them. I think that the solution to the present chaos will lie with the racial complexities of Sinkiang. A mild, yet firm and disinterested, Chinese rule will probably be the last and best appeal which the people of that province could make. If Russian gold has stirred China's nest, it will take much more Russian gold to rebuild Sinkiang in anything like her former state. One is not now prepared to say much with regard to Japanese interests in Chinese Turkestan. It is a well-known fact that some of our best maps of the area are those made by Japanese engineers. It has also lately been observed that Japanese capital has interested itself in the development of railways in Afghanistan. It is also true that the Chinese Kansu and Sinkiang Governments have turned back a number of Japanese travellers in these parts. All this may be of significance, especially in view of the "strained" relations which exist between Russian and Japanese interests, both economic and political, in Eastern Asia.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MUSTAFA KEMAL FROM A KURDISH CHIEF

(Translated by Major F. F. Rynd, D.S.O.)

THE relations between the Turks and their Kurdish subjects must be a matter of some interest to us who have held the Mandate for 'Iraq.

The Turks have never shown much aptitude in assimilating the foreign elements within their empire, and there has long been bitter enmity between them and the Kurds. They were hardly finished with repelling the Greek Invasion during the War of Independence, as they call it, when they were faced with a serious rebellion of the Kurds which it required a strong force to suppress.

Though styled a "letter," this appeal* on behalf of the Kurds is in reality a book of some hundred pages. It is written in Turkish but printed in the Arabic script. It consists of an indictment of the Kurdish policy of Mustafa Kemal and his predecessors, a plea for Kurdish autonomy and a discussion of the etymology of the Kurdish tongue.

The author complains that when a general amnesty was granted to offenders on the occasion of the celebration of the Turkish Republic's tenth anniversary it was found the Kurds had been excluded. The promise that it would include all offenders was made merely for purposes of propaganda. Mustafa Kemal had destroyed the Treaty of Sèvres in order to establish the unity of the nation. Those opposed to his projects were either banished from the country or left of their own accord. This process still continues. The author argues that a dissatisfied Kurdistan, without a national status, must be a source of danger to the Turkish Republic on account of the contiguity of Kurdistan to other Powers. The "Kurdish Question" existed before the Kemalist régime or that of the Committee of Union and Progress. It has been in existence, in fact, since the reign of Sultan Selim Yavuz. It has taken many forms at different times, but to-day it is purely a national question. The great Kurdish poet Ahmed Khan was the first to bring forward the idea of national life in his immortal work "Menuzin," written in 1105.

The Committee of Union and Progress made an attempt to "Turkify" all elements within the old Ottoman Empire and to form

* *Mektap*. By Caladet Ali Bedir Khan.

a new Turkish race by grafting on the elements of these other races. At that time the Arabs, to whom the Ottomans owed their religion and their science, were part of the Turkish Empire. The plan was to graft and to prune. A proportion of the Kurdistan population was to be sent to the western Turkish vilayets. The people were to be separated from their Beys, Aghas, and Sheikhs. Turks were to be settled in their place. It was hoped thus to "Turkify" the Kurds. The Great War broke out. The Armenians were massacred and many Kurds were killed with them. Others were forcibly sent to Turkish vilayets. The war caused the plan to be eventually abandoned. The author states that while in Istanbul during the Armistice he examined the statistics and found some 250,000 people had been sent into Anatolia. A large part of these people thus driven out died of hunger, weakness and cold; whilst proceeding to the front through the Taurus Pass the author came across a large number who had been frozen to death.

These events did not deter the Kurds from their aspirations. At the end of the war Mustafa Kemal determined to continue the methods of his predecessors. The Kurdish revolt broke out in 1920. The forces of Sheikh Said occupied Kharput and invested Diarbekr. The rebellion was suppressed and the insurgent Kurds were brought before the Tribunal. Hundreds of Kurdish villages were destroyed; women, youths, and children were put to the sword. Attempts were made to suppress the Kurdish language, but this plan could not be carried out. With the object, apparently, of minimizing the importance of the Kurdish language the Turks have quoted the opinion of a German, Doctor Ferich (?), who gives a total of 8,428 Kurdish words and derives them as follows :

370	...	...	...	...	Pehlevi (ancient)
1,240	...	...	...	...	Zend
3,080	...	...	...	...	Turkish (ancient Turcoman)
220	...	...	...	...	Armenian
2,000	...	...	...	...	Arabic (Turkified)
1,030	...	...	...	...	Persian (Turkified)
300	...	...	...	...	Root Kurdish
60	...	...	...	...	Circassian (ancient)
20	...	...	...	...	Georgian ..
108	...	...	...	...	Chaldean
<hr/>					
8,428					

Of the 300 words allowed as pure Kurdish 107 are really "Mountain Idioms" of Turkish origin. The 2,000 words of Arabic origin and the

1,030 of Persian origin which have become Turkified must be added to the Turkish total. Therefore out of 8,478 words in the Kurdish vocabulary 6,247 are Turkish, 2,018 belong to various languages and only 193 are pure Kurdish.

This represents a scientific analysis of the language according to the Turks!

Languages can be divided into three families. The first is the monosyllabic group or "langues isolantes." This is the most elementary form of language, the simple roots of which retain their distinctive values and cannot enter into a close relationship with each other. Ideas can only be expressed in a general sense. The second group is the agglutinative, in which the root words follow each other, but without showing an intimate relation. In the construction of words to express ideas there are certain elements which affect the movement of the roots. From a stage of independent roots they pass to a stage of prefix and suffix. To this group belongs the "orato-altaique," of which Turkish is a member.

The third group of languages are those capable of flexion. In this group the capacity for changing the root words according to circumstance reaches a much higher state of perfection. Such are the Indo-European languages, to which Kurdish belongs, and the Semitic. Kurdish shares with this group the power to create new words—*i.e.*, when the Kurds first saw an aeroplane in 1919 they at once coined the word "balafir." "Bala" means high, and "fir" is the verbal noun of "firin," to fly. Similarly the telephone can be expressed at once in Kurdish by the word "bihistok"—from "bihistin," to hear, and "ok," a suffix. In Turkish, which does not possess the power of improvising new words, there is no equivalent for telephone.

The resemblance of Kurdish to German construction is worth remarking—*i.e.*:

Go out. Turkish, "çckmak"; German, "heraus-gehen," "heraus-treten"; Kurdish, "der-ketin," "der-çûn."

Enter. Turkish, "girmek"; German, "herein-gehen," "herein-treten"; Kurdish, "hundir-ketin," "hundir-çûn."

Dissolve. Turkish, "tahlilitmek"; German, "auf-lösen"; Kurdish, "hil-anin."

Turkish is not a composite (terkip) language like Kurdish. There are other phonetic and grammatical differences. In Turkish vowels are monotonous and short; in Kurdish they are short or long, but not

both. In Kurdish a word can begin with two consonants such as "standin" (cause to stop), but in Turkish words such as "statistic" become "istatistic," etc. In grammar there are differences in the use of gender, in declension and in expressing a definite and indefinite sense. The author then goes into a description of the Kurdish verbal forms.

It is a mistake to assume there are only 8,428 words in the Kurdish tongue, as no properly classified vocabulary of the language exists. As regards the number of words in Kurdish held to be of Turkish origin the author states that Dr. Ferich's main source of information was the Kurd-French dictionary published under the direction of the St. Petersburg Academy in 1879. This was edited by Auguste Jaba, who was at one time Russian Consul-General in Erzeroum. Ferdinand Justi revised the dictionary, corrected the opening and added several foreign words. In his preface he wrote: "J'ai ajouté partout où j'ai pu la déterminer l'étymologie; M. Jaba n'a que fort rarement reconnu l'origine turque ou arménienne d'un mot sans jamais nommer la forme originale." Words considered of Turkish origin were marked (t) in the dictionary. These total 575. But these are not all Turkish; 82 are Arabic, 62 are Persian, and 55 belong to various other languages. We can thus reduce the words considered as Turkish to 376.

There are many words in Kurdish which are similar to European, but are quite distinct from the Turkish—*i.e.*:

Star. Turkish, "yildiz"; Persian, "sitare"; Kurdish, "stêr"; French, "astre."

Lip. Turkish, "dudak"; Kurdish, "leb-lev"; German, "lippe."

Shoulder. Turkish, "omuz"; Kurdish, "pol"; French, "épaule," etc.

The area of Erzeroum where Jaba compiled his dictionary was inhabited by Turks and Kurds who spoke each other's tongues; he was misled through the incorrect Kurdish he heard spoken. The 2,000 Arabic and the 1,030 Persian words in Dr. Ferich's list which are said to be "Turkified" are really the Kurdish equivalent of these words. The author quotes the opinion of the well-known Turkish publicist Zia Kök Alp, who was himself a Kurd, that Kurdish with the exception of Arabic is the richest of all Oriental tongues. It has no need to borrow from the Turkish.

The Kemalist régime passed a law in 1932 for the assimilation of the Kurds under which the Kurds were to be distributed to various

parts of Turkey. The author argues this plan is unworkable for climatic reasons and on account of the expense.

The Kurds were not granted a mandate, though under the Treaty of Sèvres it was laid down that an autonomous Kurdistan was to be formed. Finally the author states the only way to settle the Kurdish question is *to recognize the existence of Kurdistan and the historical and fundamental rights of the Kurdish nation.*

The Kurd is a born fighter and is as hard as steel; those that strike at steel only injure their hands.

WARREN HASTINGS, MAKER OF BRITISH INDIA*

Inspired originally by the late Sir George Forrest, who did so much to vindicate the memory of Warren Hastings, the author of this book has set himself to write a new biography in order to do a great and particularly interesting man "more complete justice than has yet been done, to place him in a better perspective, and to present a well-rounded view of his life in its entirety." A book of this kind is needed, for Sir Alfred Lyall's brilliant memoir written for the "Men of Action" series and published in 1889, although a fine piece of historical criticism, is not, like this volume, an elaborate and carefully documented Life; and since it was published fresh material has been unearthed. Sir George Forrest, Sir John Strachey, Miss Sydney Grier, Dr. H. Busteed, Sir Charles Lawson, Mr. Ramsay Muir, Miss Monckton Jones, Miss Weitzman, Professor H. Dodwell, Mr. P. E. Roberts, have all contributed to spread abroad a fuller understanding of Hastings and his period. Mr. Mervyn Davies, fascinated by the subject fifteen years ago, persuaded that one has "to remain with Warren Hastings for some time in order to appreciate properly the rare genius and spirit of the man," has spared neither pains nor thought in presenting his hero to the world not as an embodied perfection, but subject to human failings, "a solitary, insulated wanderer through life; placed by His Will who governs all things in a situation to give birth to events; which were connected with the interests of nations; which were prosperous to those of his own; but productive to himself of years of depression and persecution, and of the chances of want only relieved by occasional and, surely, providential means; though never affecting the durable state of his mental tranquillity."†

The book gives us a vivid picture of the desperate position in which Hastings, newly promoted to be Governor-General, was almost immediately placed by the combined contrivances of his hostile colleagues and Nuncomar. "How severe an ordeal it was can scarcely be realized without reading the minutes of the Council's meetings. There were few men who could have emerged from it totally unscathed." Then suddenly the tide turned. Retribution swooped down on Nuncomar, who, after a trial of eight days, was sentenced to death. He might, however, have escaped the gallows if his backers on the Council had chosen to petition the Supreme Court for a reprieve. But confounded by the turn of events, baffled and sullen, they would not stir, and the law took its course. Mr. Davies finds that, although there is no evidence that Hastings prompted or interfered with the prosecution or trial, he certainly regarded the result as "a piece of unexpected good luck." He must have realized the fundamental injustice of the sentence, as he had previously expressed the truth about it when discussing the applicability to Bengal of the English criminal law. "It was unjust to make men liable to punishments with which they had been unacquainted and which their customs and manners had not taught them to associate with their ideas of offence." But the "streak of relentlessness" in his character prevented him from endeavouring

* By A. Mervyn Davies. With a Foreword by the Right Honourable Viscount Sankey, P.C., G.B.E., etc. 9½" × 6½". Pp. xviii + 582. Illustrations. Ivor, Nicholson and Watson. 25s. net.

† Hastings' own words, p. 11.

to save "a man who was his bitterest enemy, had grossly wronged him, and was meeting a fate which he had for so long richly deserved." We may add a point which was stressed by Macaulay. Hastings' attitude toward the fate of Nuncomar was mainly influenced by "profound policy." If his chief accuser, the man whom the powerful majority on his Council had delighted to honour, were publicly hanged, there would be a general scuttle of all the other accusers. In Macaulay's words, "the voices of a thousand informers would be silenced in an instant." They were.

Mr. Davies discusses carefully the three gravest charges against Hastings—the methods which he employed in extracting money from Raja Chait Singh, from the Begams of Oudh, and from Nawab Faizulla Khan. The motive was the same in all three cases, and we may briefly examine the first. The Company's exchequer had been drained by the Maratha war and the urgent need of repelling Haidar Ali's invasion of the Karnatik. Danger, too, was impending from the French; and there was scanty hope of succour from home. He was in desperate need of hard cash and was reluctant to raise a loan, as he had previously received much credit from the directors for having liquidated previous financial embarrassments. Yet more money and additional troops were essential. He had fought Francis to a finish, and was at last able to exercise power without malignant and eventually intolerable obstruction at his own Council board. But he had become hardened and embittered by the long contest and by constant opposition to his projects for meeting external dangers and administrative reform. Where was now the bounding pulse of 1773 when he had taken office at Calcutta resolved to give Bengal the blessings of good government? In 1781 his overmastering anxiety was to save all three Presidencies from invasion. His health, his temper, his judgment, and critical faculty were all alike frayed by incessant friction and difficulties. He was weary of his masters in London and had no colleague worth consulting in Calcutta. Yet power had not come too late. The situation could be saved. He turned his perplexities over and over in his mind. When it seemed probable that Clavering would oust him from office in 1777, Raja Chait Singh of Benares, whom he had befriended in earlier days, had turned toward what seemed to be the rising sun. Now the same man, of whose growing wealth and military strength reports were reaching Calcutta, was showing increasing reluctance to respond to yearly demands for extra subsidies. Probably he was in touch with the Marathas and with discontented persons in Oudh. He must be made an example of; he must be punished by a heavy fine which would be a useful contribution to the Company's narrow resources. If he proved recalcitrant, "strong means, exerted with a strong hand," must be employed. Such severity would accord with the established practice of the Moghal empire. The Governor-General left his capital on July 7, 1781, with a small retinue and military escort which was to be commanded at Benares by the gallant and strenuous Major Popham.

Hastings' *Narrative* of September 1, 1781, was written from Chunar when his arbitrary procedure at Benares had made the holy city too hot to hold him. He was now taking arms against a sea of troubles, but must justify his past miscalculations. The question naturally suggests itself why, if he anticipated so much peril from Benares, did he go there with so small a force, and why, having gone there so scantily provided, did he on the tragic 16th of August subject the Raja, on palpably insufficient provocation, to the burning disgrace of imprisonment in his own house and city? The answer seems to be that it was always Hastings' way to meet danger by striking first, with cool resolution and complete indifference to any personal consideration. On this occasion his extreme self-confidence com-

municated itself to his military escort with disastrous results. The three British subalterns who were ordered to mount guard on the Raja obeyed without providing themselves or their men with ammunition. The massacre that followed was a sudden flare-up. It was hardly to be supposed that Chait Singh's soldiers and retainers would tolerate the spectacle of their master's public disgrace when they felt themselves far the stronger party. A spark lighted a conflagration. But, even so, such was the fear inspired by British military prestige that the perpetrators of the massacre were struck by "consternation"* immediately afterwards. Instead of going on to overwhelm the Governor-General and his retinue who were lodged close by, they "tumultuously" followed their master across the Ganges to a fortress some distance away, and it was not until the 18th that about 2,000 returned to Ramnagar, the Raja's principal fortress in the vicinity of Benares on the other side of the river. But Chait Singh did not accompany them. Then a precipitate attempt to capture Ramnagar with inadequate preparation brought further disaster on the British; and the flood-gates were opened wide to insurrection and general anarchy. Hastings, who for some days had remained in Benares, consented to flee to Chunar, and in a highly critical situation displayed his cool courage, his capacity for collecting and employing all his available strength, his dexterity in handling all conceivable resources. But his *Narrative* was not his finest effort, for it was not altogether fair to Chait Singh. For instance, in describing his pecuniary dealings with the Raja in the past he omitted from the description of an interview at Calcutta with the Raja's agent in May, 1779, any mention of a present of two lakhs of rupees which the latter had tendered to him and he had accepted for the Company, paying it into the treasury, but neither crediting it to the Raja's account nor allowing any sort of consideration in return. From other passages in the story the inference may be drawn that Chait Singh was "planet-struck"† by the massacre, that then and afterwards he could not effectively control his followers, that he wished to get terms and had no heart for the subsequent fighting. Mr. Davies thinks that we cannot say now whether Hastings' original estimate of conspiracy brewing at Benares was exaggerated or not. I think that it probably was; but, in any case, we need not hesitate to absolve Pitt from any suspicion of unworthy motives in voting against Hastings on June 13, 1786, on the ground that the fine imposed on Chait Singh seemed exorbitant.‡

In carrying out his resolution to bring his long contest with Francis to a finish, and in his endeavours to compel the Raja of Benares and the Begums of Oudh to contribute to the Company's resources, Hastings followed to the end the paths which he had decided to take. Mr. Davies quotes a revealing passage from a letter to his colleague Macpherson written in 1782: "Deliberate well; resolve with decision, and completely, not by halves; but when your resolution is once formed and in execution, never admit even a thought of withdrawing it; but persist in it even though in itself it should be wrong, if not ruinously wrong." As our author adds, "There is a rare pungency in this that smacks of his own applied philosophy. . . . His greatest triumphs and his greatest tribulations sprang alike from the inflexibility of his will." In defending himself afterwards against charges founded largely on monstrous exaggerations or distortions of facts, Hastings would yield no foot of ground; but this does not mean that he experienced no secret regrets. Seldom, even to friends, would he unpack his heart with words; but there is emotional power and suggestion in the words which he

* See Hastings' *Narrative*. † An expression used by Hastings elsewhere.

‡ See *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v., p. 308.

addressed to the House of Lords: "All my actions have undergone, and even during their actual progress they underwent, such a severity of investigation as could suit only a mind possessing in itself an absolute exemption from error. In the present occasion I am put to a harder test; for not my actions alone, but my words, and even my imputed thoughts, as at the final day of judgment, are converted against me. And from whom is all this perfection exacted? From a man who was separated from every advantage of that instruction which might have better qualified him for the higher offices and arduous situations which it became his lot to fill."*

He framed his philosophy by degrees in the hardest school imaginable. As Mr. Davies points out (pp. 35-8), "He must have pondered much over the achievements and character of Clive, who was his senior by only seven years," but was much more mature when he was called to the highest post and came to it with great military prestige. Self-confidence was not born in Hastings as it was born in Clive. "He had to acquire it gradually; it came with the growth of knowledge and experience." It was rudely shaken when, after laboriously laying the foundations of order in Bengal and untying intricate knots of all kinds, he found himself nominally promoted but really degraded, powerless before a malignant majority of three hostile colleagues who, backed by superior social prestige and influence in London, were obviously bent on driving him from office. He did not possess Clive's powerful and imposing presence, and had not yet displayed the great capacity and firm resolution with which these colleagues were afterwards to become acquainted. Nor had he then fully awakened to his own quality. He was at first reduced to contemplating resignation. Then the downfall of Nuncomar and the death of Monson in the following year relieved the atmosphere. His "astonishingly youthful spirit" revived, "full of hope and confidence and always asserting itself after his periods of despondency." The attachment of his subordinates, the never-failing consolation which he found in the society of the lady who became his wife, the conviction that any surrender to his adversaries would mean ruin for the State, confirmed his resolution to hold on at all hazards. And as time went on, his enemies "sickened, died, fled"; he alone stood fast, defying a depressing climate and acquiring the confidence which enabled him to steer the ship through the perils and tempests of his last years of office. He saw smoother waters ahead and drove on inflexibly, "risking his reputation freely as men risk their lives in a storm."†

Although, when hard put to it, Hastings could be harsh and relentless to individuals, he was generous and kindly by nature, and held the natives of India in a warm regard which was fully reciprocated. Among many evidences of their respect and affection, none is more striking than the incident described by James Forbes (*Oriental Memoirs*, ii., 70). By his own countrymen in India he was greatly esteemed and beloved. They thoroughly appreciated the grain of his character, his indomitable spirit, his kindly geniality. On social occasions he could throw off care and become "as playful as a boy, entering with great spirit into all the nonsense of the hour, himself reciting a number of ridiculous circumstances that had occurred in his time."‡ The affection which he inspired did not wither when he had left India, but was intensified by resentment of the cruel and prolonged persecution which was the reward of his great services. "The active and enduring love of Calcutta for his memory is wonderful for the singular rarity of such a manifestation."§

* Lyall, p. 202.

† Lyall.

‡ Hickey, *Memoirs*, ii., 173.

§ Busteded, *Echoes of Old Calcutta*, p. 364.

Mr. Davies speaks of his love for his wife "as intense as it was lasting." His letters to her are "among the most beautiful in the English language." He certainly owed far more to her than to anyone else, and the bust and tablet in Westminster Abbey were put up by her, "To the memory of that great and blessed spirit."

In the thoughtful chapter "Broad Horizons" it is shown that not only was Hastings almost unique among the British rulers of India in taking a real interest in literature, science and the arts, but that, on becoming Governor of Bengal, he set out to make his countrymen understand that India "was a land where men had lived and thought and grown wise for thousands of years, where many civilizations had flourished, that therefore she was worthy of study from a human, and not only an economic and political standpoint." The illustrations in the book might have included Sir Joshua Reynolds' fine painting of Hastings in early middle life. There is a strong contrast between that picture and the portrait which faces p. 418. It marks a striking psychological development.

We are indebted to Mr. Davies for a fine and stimulating biography.

H. V. L.

REVIEWS

Between the Oxus and the Indus. (The Gilgit Agency.) By Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg. $8\frac{7}{8}'' \times 8\frac{5}{8}''$. Pp. 270. Illustrations. Hopkinson. 1935. 15s.

As the last book to deal in any detail with this little-known region, the Gilgit Agency, was Colonel Algernon Durand's *Making of a Frontier* (circa 1895), the present volume comes none too soon.

Colonel Schomberg has produced a pleasantly written account which succeeds in imparting a great deal of information without tending to become heavy or to scare even the shyest reader with fears of having encountered a "Handbook."

He has clearly fallen a victim to the charm of Hunza and of its inhabitants, while he gives a full and pretty just sketch of that most striking personality, Sir Mohamad Nazim Khan, the present Mir of Hunza.

No one who has had the good fortune to visit Hunza or to enjoy the Mir of Hunza's friendship would quarrel with any part of the author's eulogy: but no one with an equal knowledge of Nagir could agree that its people, who inhabit the other side of the same narrow valley, "are feckless and indolent, lack initiative and enterprise, neither physically nor mentally resemble the men of Hunza, as carriers show the contemptible incapacity of most Indus Valley tribes, and can neither carry a load nor tie it on a pack animal."

Such a diatribe, together with the remark, "The Punyalis, though no blot on the landscape, like the people of Nagir and Ishkoman," would lead the searcher after information to gather that the people of Nagir are a low-born, incompetent and degraded race of beings. The searcher would have been gravely misled.

The author gives a good account of the Jagir, or fief, of Punyal and of the districts of Kuh-Ghizr and Yasin; he is particularly happy in his description of the Governor of Yasin, the late Raja Abdur Rahman Khan, head of the ancient Khushwaqt family, whose bloodstained annals fill so much of the history of Gilgit and Chitral.

The little-known district of Ishkoman at last attains publicity (Chapter VII.). The inhabitants are described as degenerates, and the harsh words used are not unmerited. The Governor obtains deservedly high praise, but he is himself a Punyali and has since been transferred to Yasin, where he can exercise the same talents with far greater hope of commensurate results.

The author did not visit Chilas, but rightly sums up the whole Indus Kohistan region as consisting of "a number of small republics which demonstrate only the bad qualities of that form of government," while many will agree with the wider conclusion "and prove its complete unsuitability to Eastern peoples."

The "republics" in question include Darel and Tangir, whose savage history obtains a chapter to itself.

Colonel Schomberg concludes that the inhabitants of these two valleys, sick to death of blood and anarchy, are ready and anxious to be ruled by someone recognized by Government, to be included, in fact, amongst the administered districts of the Gilgit Agency. It is true that appeals to this effect have from time to time been heard; unfortunately they usually emanate from the group or party which happens to be getting the worst of it in their interminable internecine strife, and

it remains exceedingly doubtful, to say the least of it, whether the tribesmen of either valley are as yet ready to admit outside interference.

In the chapter on the Hunza-Nagir War there is a curious criticism of the Government of India's action in appointing the present Mirs. According to the author, primogeniture is of such importance in this region that the Mirs, nominated by Government out of their strict turn in their respective families, "govern by the authority of the Sirkar and not by their own privilege. Their claims rest neither on prowess nor on birth, but solely on good luck." But the whole previous history of all the mountain states in the Chitral-Gilgit region, as may be observed from this book itself, contains few instances of an eldest son succeeding his father. Primogeniture, if indeed accepted in theory, was little considered in fact: the son or relative who succeeded was the one who had the strongest following or the best assassins amongst his advisers or was himself a more skilful murderer than his rivals. The confidence and support of the Government of India are surely better titles to the present rulers and even their "good luck" no worse a title than the large quantities of that commodity which their predecessors required for successful fratricide.

The author comments on the existence of the privileged class of "Gushpurs," which will not work, but expects to be supported in idleness. There are a few notable exceptions, but in the main he is perfectly justified in describing them as "hungry drones."

The author gives some space to the chief amusement of the people—polo. He doubts whether there is any definite time limit: actually the game ends when the winning side shoots its ninth goal. The annual tournament evokes the utmost feeling and excitement, and the present champions are Nagir!

The book has a good map and index, and some excellent photographs.

G. V. B. G.

China's Problems and Their Solution. By Wang Ching-wei, President of Executive Yuan. "China To-day" Series, No. 2. Shanghai: China United Press. \$4.50.

As President of the Executive Yuan, Mr. Wang Ching-wei is in effect the civilian Head of the Chinese Government, and his book constitutes an exposition of the Government's policy, addressed alike to the Chinese public and to the foreign nations, an *apologia urbi et orbi*. He shows the tremendous difficulties the Government is faced with, and what they are doing and have done to overcome them. His book is written with the dignity and restraint we are accustomed to expect from our own statesmen in making equivalent expositions of policy. Mr. Wang shows himself a responsible statesman and a realist, and no serious student of Chinese affairs can afford to neglect his book, however heavy-reading it may strike him as being. Indeed, Mr. Wang has no light touch; he dots his *i*'s and crosses his *t*'s relentlessly. For example: "The crisis having come to such a pass, the most important means of achieving salvation and perpetuation of the national existence lies in the development of the productive power of the people; in order to develop the productive power of the people, it is necessary first to carry out agricultural reconstruction, and in order to prosecute agricultural reconstruction, it is necessary to remove all obstacles and increase efficiency in the political, military, educational and communications field. This is the path along which we must strive to make steady and continual progress."

The average reader will probably find the most revealing chapter to be that in

which Mr. Wang expounds from the inside the complicated system which is the mechanism of the country's government.

An important book.

L. M. KING.

Security: A Study of our Military Position. By Major-General H. Rowan Robinson, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. Pp. 288. Methuen. 5s.

All who are interested in current problems should read this engaging book. It is easily and agreeably written. It is definitely provocative. There is food for deep reflection in every chapter.

The author begins by discussing our general policy, and what he terms the menace which produces our immediate problem. An earnest advocate of peace and of the League of Nations, he emphasizes that

“the organization of peace is indeed almost more important than the organization of national defence.”

But he asserts that, for the sane consideration of the problem, it is essential to recognize that

“before the League of Nations can become a vital instrument, it must convince the world both of its impartiality and of its sanity, and must cease to pretend that it is a military instrument.”

After referring to our commitments in Europe, the author proceeds to define those in the Middle East, and to show how in each country in which we are interested we occupy a different relation to the ruling power. He makes the very useful suggestion that its political and military problems should be studied as a whole.

He would thus place the whole of the forces in the Middle East under one commander responsible for aerial and military defence. But however cordially readers may agree with his general survey of the Middle Eastern question, they will find it more difficult to accept his preliminary statement that:

“In Palestine we have surpassed all expectations in the skilful fashion in which we have maintained the delicate balance between Arab and Jew.”

In the chapter entitled “Menace,” to which reference has already been made, the statement is made that, failing a change of heart, the German will be deterred only by what he fears most—the risk of failure. It behoves each nation, therefore, to put its own house in order.

The author concludes the first part of his book with an interesting chapter on Strategy. The conditions under which the Services fought in the Great War and the effects of recent advances in science and mechanics are examined. He then elaborates his constructive proposals for the solution of our present problem. Briefly his recommendations are:

The formation of a Ministry of Defence.

The immediate creation of a superior Air Force.

Redistribution of the Fleet.

Reorganization of the Army.

The creation of a Ministry of Defence, which the author advocates most strongly, is a proposal to supersede the three ministers of the respective Services by one

minister responsible for all. So far no convincing argument has been produced either in debate, in committee, or by the author in support of this proposal. It would appear that the recently inaugurated Chiefs of Staffs Committee, composed of the heads of the three Services, will be able to give to the Cabinet (who alone can decide the policy) the best professional advice; not from the angle of one Service to the exclusion of another, but from the angle of all three Services combined. It is most desirable that this system should be given a comprehensive trial. On the other hand, a combined supply service, a combined medical service, and certain combined educational establishments for the Army and Air Force would result in greater efficiency and in a great saving of public money.

With the creation of a superior Air Force everyone will agree, but not necessarily at the expense of the Army.

The two remaining questions contain controversial matter which merits more adequate discussion than can possibly be given in a brief survey of this nature.

The author's plea for the organization of the civilian population for Air Defence has been met by the appointment of a special officer in the Home Office to deal with this subject. But it is to be hoped, as he urges, that the organization of the workers for the defence of the industrial areas will receive immediate recognition.

In dealing with the Navy, the author, a convinced disciple of Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, urges that drastic steps should be taken to eliminate the big battleships, and so make money available "within the average Budget" for all the cruisers which the protection of our sea communications demand. Stressing the vulnerability of our communications through the Mediterranean, he would, in certain obvious eventualities, withdraw our battle squadron from that sea and would be prepared to evacuate Gibraltar or exchange it for Ceuta or Larache. His arguments are based on the assertion that there is no answer to the aeroplane and the submarine in narrow waters. Curiously enough, he considers that we would be able to return at will on the conclusion of hostilities. It may be advanced in reply that an answer has always been found to the overwhelming claims of every offensive weapon, and to yield to the insidious temptation to give up a recognized control, as a short cut to solving a problem, would have such far-reaching effects that, to give one instance alone, we would never regain our lost prestige. But this is just a typical instance of the provocative interest of this arresting volume. There is food for serious thought on every page.

Readers of General Rowan Robinson's book, *The Infantry Experiment*, will be prepared for his recommendations for the reduction and reorganization of the infantry arm. His claims that our contribution, in case of a European war, should be ships, aircraft, and a mechanized force. This, it is understood, is a view which is held in certain quarters; but is it held by the General Staff? He asks, in no uncertain terms, "What is the General Staff doing?" The answer is that they are even now separating the wheat from the chaff contained in the mass of material which they have at their disposal: and that their conclusions as to the best means of fulfilling our Continental and Imperial obligations will probably differ to some degree from the conclusions put forward in this book. But they might perhaps give some thought to the statement, written no doubt with the author's tongue in his cheek, that

"inspections are not always beneficial, and our troops suffer from an excess of them."

It is most interesting to note, however, that, while the author is very definite in his discussion of the exaggerated claims of the Air Force as to their achievement

in small wars, he indulges in some curious special pleading for the tank. The tanks, indeed, were offered an admirable opportunity of showing their performance in 1934. But the skilfully devised exercises of that year taught a much needed lesson to an arm which, in its turn, had not been free from making exaggerated claims.

The part of India in defence is a very clear and straightforward statement which shows considerable understanding. Reference must also be made to two powerful pleas contained in the book—one for a united political front, and the other that our youth may be guided to a sense of their duty to their country.

Lastly, hear the conclusion of the whole matter :

“ If age looks out with dim-sighted eyes upon a sea of troubles and wots not how to ride the tempest nor abate the waves, then the rule must pass to clear-visioned youth, lacking perhaps in caution, but lacking also in crusted prejudice.”

It is hoped that this earnest and able exposition of a vital problem may be as widely read as it deserves.

J. S. S.

Disraeli. Gladstone and the Eastern Question : A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics. By R. W. Seton-Watson. Pp. xiii + 590, with eight illustrations and one map. London: Macmillan (“Studies in Modern History”). 1935. 21s.

Professor Seton-Watson, who has recently published the standard English work on the modern history of Rumania, further enhances his reputation as a historian in the book under review. The fact that it is possible to devote nearly 600 pages to the Near Eastern Crisis of 1876-9, without by any means exhausting the available material, indicates the task which faces the student who attempts to treat at all comprehensively of any phase of modern history. Professor Seton-Watson is not a “brilliant” writer, and his “cumulative method,” which he admits “has obvious drawbacks,” taxes the patience of the reader. Yet the book is of absorbing interest, and the hitherto unpublished sources on which the author draws justify many new interpretations of the events of a crisis which had an immediate relation to the origins of the first World War. For the general reader Professor Seton-Watson’s epilogue is in itself an admirable survey of the results of his research, and the interrelations of British, Russian, German, and Austrian contemporary national politics are exposed with a clarity and a depth of perception which are a monument not only to the vast learning, but also to the balanced political sense of the author.

It is not possible in the scope of a review to examine the main theses of Professor Seton-Watson’s book, nor is it relevant to the pages of the Journal to attempt to challenge the theory of Balkan self-determination, of which he has always been one of the most distinguished exponents—a theory which, developing through the successive stages of Southern Slav expansion and of Little Entente inviolability, threatens the peace of Europe as dangerously now as it did in 1876 or in 1914. The Professor admits in his introduction that his “own very definite views occasionally intrude,” and he thereby disarms criticism of partisanship fortified by an encyclopædic knowledge. He is fair enough to allow that the Austrian “federalist” solution of the Balkan problem had promise of achieving peace and

good government in the Balkans without general European war, and he gives many interesting details as to the extent to which, for instance, the Obrenovich party in Serbia favoured such a solution. At the same time, it must be recorded that Professor Seton-Watson, as a historian, is scarcely fair to the Turks, nor does he, in spite of his voluminous references to Russian, Austrian, and Balkan sources, make any serious attempt to compare Turkish sources, even such accessible materials as the *Life of Midhat Pasha* by his son (important for the attitude of the Turkish reformers on the Bulgarian Question), or the *Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*. No serious person would now contend that the Turkish Government in the Balkans was "viable," but a truer picture could have been given of such Turkish figures as Osman Pasha (about whom the author merely quotes the offensive remark of an English traveller) or that attractive renegade, Mehmed Ali Pasha. Most interesting, from the point of view of the Journal, are the sections which deal with Asia Minor and the alleged Russian threat to India.

In July, 1878, after the first Turkish defeats in Europe, Lord Beaconsfield extracted a decision from the Cabinet to declare war upon Russia if she occupied the Turkish capital and did not arrange for her immediate retirement from it. At the same time, the ageing and ailing Prime Minister revealed some most alarming ideas on strategy. On July 22 he wrote to the Queen: "*Russia must be attacked from Asia*, troops should be sent to the Persian Gulf, and the Empress of India should order her armies to clear Central Asia of the Muscovites and drive them into the Caspian." On August 15 he was assuring the Cabinet "that we were masters of the sea and could send a British force to Batum, march without difficulty through Armenia and menace the Asiatic possessions of Russia." A fortnight later he assured Lord Derby that "an English army, 40,000 men, with the Black Sea and Batum at our command, *could march to Tiflis*."

"Anything more reckless," comments Professor Seton-Watson, "it is difficult to imagine: the only possible parallel is provided by Palmerston's fire-eating programme towards the end of the Crimean War. It is indeed evident that the Prime Minister had not assimilated the warnings of Lord Salisbury as to the danger of using and arguing from small-scale maps of distant and unfamiliar tracts of territory." And he goes on to quote Lord Salisbury's dictum: "It has generally been acknowledged to be madness to go to war for an idea, but if anything is more unsatisfactory, it is to go to war against a nightmare" (pp. 216-22).

Professor Seton-Watson considers that the most significant aspect of Beaconsfield's policy was his attempt—only partly and temporarily successful—to break the Alliance of the three Emperors. Austria's advent in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which might have been the prelude to the absorption of the Serbian and Rumanian kingdoms on a federal ("Wittelsbach") basis within the Habsburg Empire, led ultimately to an accentuation of Russo-Austrian rivalries. The balance maintained by Bismarck was abandoned; and Berlin, after favouring Austria in the choice between an Austrian and a Russian alliance, tended to supplant Russian influences in the Balkans and British influences (abandoned by the Gladstone Government of the early eighties) in Asia Minor.

"If the Turk falls," said Lord Salisbury after the Congress of Berlin, "remember that Austria is now at Novipazar . . . and that no advance of Russia beyond the Balkans and the Danube can now be made unless the resistance of Austria is conquered." And he went on to greet as "good tidings of great joy" the report of a defensive alliance between Austria-Hungary and Germany.

"How short a distance even the greatest of statesmen can see into the future," comments Professor Seton-Watson, and he recalls that "one of Bismarck's most prophetic sayings—none the less daring because to-day it has passed into a

commonplace—was that ‘no one can foresee the results of war between the three Empires, but the three monarchs would probably pay the bill.’ There is nothing to show that Beaconsfield realized the *imponderabilia* of the European situation which such a phrase reveals.”

Professor Seton-Watson makes full use of important new material such as the diaries of General Ignatyev, and the secret correspondence between Count Shuvalov, Prince Gorchakov, and Tsar Alexander II. (to which he was allowed access by M. Sablin, Chargé d’Affaires of the former Russian Imperial Embassy in London). And one of the most interesting aspects of his book is the degree to which he places in perspective in relation to the Eastern Question the internal politics of Russia, Rumania, and Serbia.

Equally important is the new light which he casts on British policy in the seventies—in particular upon the two secret overtures made by Disraeli to Russia in June, 1876, and March, 1877; upon Salisbury’s relations with Ignatyev during and after the Constantinople Conference; upon Disraeli’s relations with Layard behind the back of Derby, and upon Lord and Lady Derby’s relations with Shuvalov behind the back of Disraeli; upon the Austro-Russian understanding and the various British overtures to Vienna; upon Layard’s intimate personal relations with Abdul Hamid; upon Salisbury’s triple parallel relations with Russia, Austria, and Turkey; and upon the inner history of the Berlin Congress. The book is of the greatest value and importance, and the publishers are to be congratulated on their public spirit in initiating the series “Studies in Modern History,” of which it forms an early volume. The cartoons reproduced from *Punch* are an interesting reflection of contemporary middle-class opinion in England, but some readers might have preferred portraits or caricatures of the principal protagonists of the crisis (of which only two, Disraeli and Shuvalov, are reproduced). The map at the end of the volume hardly serves its purpose, and many places to which reference is made in the text are not marked thereon.

W. E. D. A.

More Moves on an Eastern Chequer Board. By Sir Harry Luke.

8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. x + 269. Lovat Dickson. 12s. 6d.

Sir Harry Luke’s latest book is wholly delightful. We learn from the fly-leaf that it is the tenth work from his pen which portrays scenes in the Levant and tells of the lives and customs of that *congeries gentium* which inhabits the borderlands of Europe and Asia. The author might therefore be termed a “hasher-up”; so also at times is a chef. Both chef and author must be experienced and deft of hand, and must have the gift of serving up their products in digestible and appetizing fashion. In these ways Sir Harry is a supreme artist, and we feel we could enjoy another dozen such dishes of his preparation without the palate becoming sated.

From Jerusalem in the early years of the British occupation we retrace our steps to Mudros during the Dardanelles Campaign, and then to Trans-Caucasia, where at the end of the War Sir Harry was detached on special duty. We then cross over to Cyprus, the Enchanted Isle, where the author spent his early years in the Colonial Service, make a tour of the ruined Crusader fastnesses in Syria and Trans-Jordan, and end up under the Italian flag in Sicily and Tripoli. The book concludes with a short and amusing chapter on Arabic derivations in our language.

To one who was a subordinate colleague of the author’s in those absorbing early days in Jerusalem, when the holiest and almost the oldest city in the world

still retained much of its unique *cachet*, when cars were rare and beauty-parlours and dance-orchestras unknown, Chapter I. brings back a host of the happiest memories.

Students of the rôles Great Britain was called upon to play in many and diverse lands when the World War came to an end will find Chapter III. on Trans-Caucasia of particular interest. The tempest of conflict had, as it were, blown back the tides of Slav and Turk that in past ages overwhelmed these regions, and had revealed the ruins of their ancient civilizations. But long submergence had left them too unstable to face alone the perils that surrounded them, the sought-for help did not come, and soon the breakers closed over them again.

The chapter on the Crusader castles gives full scope to the author's vivid imagination and powers of description; we feel we enjoy the personal acquaintance of that glorious old buccaneer, Renaud de Châtillon, and walk in company with damozels and troubadours.

The last chapter contains many philological surprises. There can be few Masters of Hounds who have heard of the probable derivation of "Tally-ho!" To redress the balance, the author might have added two other instances where the West has retaliated in supplying terms for unfamiliar objects—*sabun* and *safingi*, the Arabized forms of *savon* and *éponge*.

The book is illustrated by a number of photographs, many of them taken by the author himself.

If his writing is Sir Harry's recreation, it is also our unmixed entertainment. We may thus think ourselves fortunate that he occupies the distinguished post he does amid pastures new at Malta. We ask for more, and we hope we shall not have long to wait.

L. G. A. C.

The Black Tents of Arabia. My life amongst the Bedouins. By Carl R. Raswan. 9" x 6". Pp. 280. Illustrations. Hutchinson's. 1935. 18s.

The difficulties, the freedom, the pleasures of the desert can only be appreciated by those who have dwelt in its midst, and there is little or nothing to attract the ordinary traveller into its limitless wastes; there is much to deter him. In order to assimilate the habits and customs of the inhabitants of the Black Tents, it is essential to conform to their ways and live their life. Like all pastoral people, the Bedouin is shy of giving his friendship and confidence, and the casual passer, however keen his perception, will learn nothing. We must be thankful therefore that the lure of the Arab horse was sufficient to keep Mr. Raswan so long among "the Arab," that his endurance was such that he was able to live their life, and his tact sufficient to allow of him acquiring a considerable knowledge of their social existence.

Of many settled and more civilized areas an apt summation of the inhabitants would be, "Manners none, customs beastly!" Fortunately of the people of the camel, this is far from true, and the author, by his sympathetic sketches, has helped to show why in the past the desert was able to produce great poets. The text is very well illustrated with 97 photographs, which form a valuable record of present-day conditions in the desert.

Modern transport is bound to have a great effect on desert life in more ways than one, and it may well prove that the next few decades will produce a profound change in desert ways, and in the near future many of the photographs in this volume will be records of things of the past.

At the end of the narrative Appendix A gives a slight indication of an enthusiasm which kept the author so many years in Arabia Deserta.

The difficulty of obtaining authentic information of the types and strains of the Arab horse is only known to those who have attempted the task. The information contained in the Appendix should be a valuable addition to existing records and should be of considerable use to all those who are interested in preserving the pure Arab breed.

Two other appendices deal with the various tribes and the areas in which they wander.

The glossary at the end contains useful information on desert terms.

Although the transliteration at times kept me guessing, the author is to be congratulated on producing a work which will prove of interest to all those who desire to add to their knowledge of the desert.

L. M. Y.

The Fighting Cameliers. The Story of the Imperial Camel Corps. By Frank Reid. With a Foreword by Brigadier A. S. Mills and Lieut. F. Davidson. 7½" x 5". Pp. xiv + 226 + 27. Sydney: Angus and Robertson. 1935. 6s.

The Imperial Camel Corps Brigade was well known to all those who served in the Egyptian Expeditionary Force; but outside it few probably are aware of its exploits or existence. Its composition justified its name: at its fullest expansion it comprised eighteen companies (organized in four battalions), of which ten were Australian, six British, and two New Zealand; an Indian mountain battery (the Hong-Kong and Singapore) and a machine-gun squadron formed from men of the Scottish Horse also served with the brigade, which was thus fully representative of the Empire.

The original companies were formed in 1915 for service in the Western Desert against the Senussi and to patrol the Sinai Peninsula. Camel and man formed a self-contained unit, complete with ammunition, water, and rations for five days without replenishment. They were thus invaluable for long-distance patrols or for larger operations in these inhospitable regions.

The companies were formed into a brigade during the advance across Sinai in 1916. Their services as a brigade included the actions at Magdhaba and Rafa, the first two battles of Gaza, the capture of Beersheba, the subsequent hard fighting at Tel Khuweilfeh, the advance along the plain to Jaffa, and the Amman raid across the Jordan in the spring of 1918. The last action of the corps before its dissolution was the repulse of a German and Turkish attack in the Jordan Valley. In June, 1918, the brigade was broken up, as it was realized that in the fighting that lay ahead of the E.E.F. the horse was of greater value than the slow-moving camel. The Australian personnel was used to form an additional Light Horse Brigade. Two British companies retained their camels for a special operation in conjunction with the Arabs of Feisal and Lawrence, in the course of which they covered close on 1,000 miles in 41 days. The remainder of the riding camels of the brigade went as a gift to Feisal's Arabs. Such is a brief outline of the main exploits of the brigade, a redoubtable force with a fine fighting record.

Mr. Reid's book does not pretend to be in any sense a history of the corps as a whole; it is a series of recollections by one who served in one of the Australian companies during the whole existence of the corps. It is a lively account of the doings, the combats, the camels, and the opinions of a section of the Australian personnel of the corps, and as such has considerable interest. It is frankly and

freely written, and fully upholds the reputation of the brigade for hard living, hard fighting, and for including in its ranks a fair proportion of "hard cases."

A. P. WAVELL.

Turmoil and Tragedy in India 1914 and After By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. viii + 294. Illustrations. Jarrolds. 1935. 18s.

The historian of fifty years hence will—let us hope—describe the growth of India from its status as a dependency of the British Empire, bounded on its north-west and north-east frontiers by a tangle of mountains inhabited by independent and uncivilized tribes, into an integral and self-respecting part thereof, stretching from Cape Comorin in the south to the Durand line in the north, with Afghanistan as a sort of Oriental Switzerland between it and Russia. That this growth has not been peaceful or easy, or unhampered by the folly and weakness of the governing and the wickedness and religious animosities of the governed, this book of Sir George MacMunn's will help the historical student of the future most clearly to understand.

We are shown first the great-hearted risk taken by Lord Hardinge and Sir Beauchamp Duff when they denuded India of its best troops in the belief—justified by events—that India would be safer with the cream of its martial races at the front than sitting in India listening to the syren voices of the seditionists.

We are told of the malicious efforts of the latter—at a time when there were certainly no economic or political grievances to justify it—to raise, with the help of the Germans, all the internal trouble they could. The effect on the usually more loyal Moslems of the entry into the war of Turkey is passed in review. We are given the dramatic but little appreciated story of the rebellion in the Punjab that followed early in 1919, hard on the heels of our victory, and was meant to and very nearly did coincide with an Afghan invasion of that year. The story of this attempted invasion of Amanullah, who had seized the Afghan throne after the murder of his father, our staunch friend Amir Habibullah; the serious troubles that followed, as they always will follow, the slightest encouragement from Kabul, in Waziristan, and indeed throughout the Moslem north-west borderlands, are parts of our history of which most people have but a hazy knowledge. Indeed, one of the best written parts of the book—and that probably because the gallant author is dealing with his own profession—is that describing the operations in Waziristan when the late Sir Andrew Skeen hammered his way with raw troops through the sinister defiles of Ahnai and Bazari to Kaniguram. Only those who knew Skeen and this country can rightly appreciate this achievement.

We are told, too, of the temporary and unnatural alliance between the Hindu-Gandhi-run Congress with the Moslems who were being lashed by the Ali brothers into spurious fury on the Caliphate question: the nine years or so of almost continual riots that ensued throughout India as a direct consequence of civil disobedience; the Red Shirt uprising in Peshawar; and the Afridi irruption of 1930. All these and other tragedies from a chapter in the history of our governance in India which maybe make us marvel that we are there still.

We are given with revolting details the dreadful story of the Moplah rising in 1921—when these bastard sons of Arab pirates turned on their defenceless Hindu neighbours, murdered, mutilated, and forcibly circumcized them. This story is linked by the author with the Red Shirt *débâcle* of 1930 as two incidents which posterity will never forgive.

Amritsar, Cawnpore, Chittagong Naukana, Singapore, and Sholapur were all scenes of tragic and dreadful happenings, and the author traces in each case the sins of omission or commission, generally the former, that led to them.

Indeed, from reading this book one is led to the sad thought that Great Britain was most unfortunate in her proconsular staff in these bad days; her well-meaning generals were thwarted and the would-be loyal elements discouraged and snubbed; the seditious and disloyal, mistaking kindness, forbearance, and good intentions for weakness, grew not only bold but vicious in the extreme, and all because of that saintly fraud Gandhi, and the British dislike of ruling by force.

But no book on the "turmoil and tragedy in India" could omit the name of one great governor—Sir Michael O'Dwyer—and his foresight, strength of character, and pluck in dealing with the Punjab rebellion in 1919 meet their full meed of praise, and those who served under him know how well he deserves it.

Apart from him, however, the author has little good to say of any civilians (except the police), and the best that can be said of them is that their hands were tied by "Montagued" theorists at home.

But though, perhaps, no Lawrence arose in India during this decade or two of history, the machine of government, and therefore the cogs which the civilians comprise, did continue to work. As Sir George says in his foreword:

"This narrative emphasizes the remarkable phenomena that have occasioned the troubles and perplexities that have beset our viceroys and their cabinets since the end of the World War, as well as during the years of that struggle, and we may perhaps marvel at the skill with which the balls have been kept in the air without one falling actually to the ground, even if juggling is not always equivalent to efficient government."

The author concludes a book which none can read with complacency and few without anxious thought with a section "The Haze on the Horizon."

"The war," he says, "gave opportunity for the perverted nationalism of Deccani Brahmins and Bengali youths to inflict severe injury and enabled Congress to incubate outrage in a vicious medium, and to vitiate by sinister means the benevolent plans of Great Britain for India's development. The disturbances and ill-minded agitations since 1919 disclose the trials and difficulties in which successive viceroys have been involved when trying to complete the building of the Montagu house, *pari passu* with the introduction into India of as much of the discoveries and inventions of science as her revenues and her other abilities could assimilate and support. . . . Those familiar with the orderly government of India between 1859 and 1914 can but marvel at the terrible disorders that the slackening of administration and the breaking of the great Civil Service—"the steel frame"—that held India together have permitted to take place. . . . This has given rise, in some Indian quarters, to the scornful remark that "if you cannot govern, get out."

His final words, however, at least pay tribute to the uprightness of our intentions and the strenuousness of our endeavours.

"The other difficulties that have been surmounted during the last fifteen years have been enormous, the energy that has been expended in the reconstruction of this land of Siva tremendous, and the fruitful results are before us. The task of adding the coping-stone to British architecture has been undertaken fantastically enough, and the political consequences are yet to discover, but every achievement, we may be sure, will be brought to judgment; and whether it be good, or whether it be evil, let us trust that the evil will be placed to the account of the real authors thereof."

The book is written in Sir George's now well-known and breezy style, with

occasionally an almost schoolboyish unconventionality of phrase, but the sombre character of the events it records has perforce robbed it of the lightheartedness and good humour that have characterized his other works.

The somewhat overlarge number of misprints will doubtless be corrected in a second edition, to which for its very historical value it is sure to run.

R. J. W. H.

A Plant Hunter in Tibet. By F. Kingdon Ward. 8" x 5½". Pp. 317. Illustrations and map. Jonathan Cape. 12s. 6d.

This book is certainly a narrative of adventure and discoveries and not a dry botanist's treatise. A book which should have a very wide appeal to travellers, geologists, and, of course, all gardeners.

The author set out to explore the practically unknown district of Tibet around Shugden Gompa. Only one other European seems to have ever been there, Colonel F. M. Bailey, well known in Kashmir, but known all over the world in connection with *Mecanopsis Baileyi*, the blue poppy. Bailey used a different route and only stayed there one night. Mr. Kingdon Ward spent seven months in the district, and his record is fascinating. One meets the actual inhabitants, whether Lamas, Kampas, or Mishmi, sees their outlook and the extraordinary uncomfortableness of their lives and realizes the slow but sure efforts of the Lamas in penetrating to these fastnesses and bringing their own conception of religion, civilization, and administration to small groups of people who had been isolated for generations.

He has much to say about the geological formation of these mighty mountain ranges. His theory that these huge valleys running transversely to the main range are due to huge glaciers and subsequent rivers, is borne out by his discoveries during his many years' exploring. One reads how the flora, instead of taking the expected course—*i.e.*, north and south relationship—have an east and west relationship, in spite of having been driven southwards by the ice in the glacial period. This could only be due, as he says, to the presence of great mountain ranges trending east and west and allowing the flora to spread in either direction. The glaciers have become much smaller now, but the rivers still continue their work. It must be realized that these mountains are comparatively young, their peaks are needle-like and their cliffs sheer; not yet have they been worn down to the rounded hilltops of our older systems.

His maps are simple and easy to follow, and his pictures many and delightful.

The title being "Plant Hunting," this subject in the book seems secondary from a botanist's point of view, hence it makes for lighter reading. One realizes the skill needed to find plants and later capture their seeds long after their flowers have disappeared. Seed has occasionally to be secured by carefully searching the soil for those scattered from their capsules; others gathered from inaccessible places, often in deep snow.

Visit Chelsea Flower Show and speculate how large a percentage of those magnificent blooms are due to the original efforts of plant hunters all over the world—very few are of local origin—and realize what a debt we owe to these hunters.

After all these efforts these seeds acquired with so much difficulty have to be grown at home and persuaded to adapt themselves to our climate. How great a difficulty this adaptation must be in the case of *Delphinium Brunonianum*, "ascending to 17,000 feet, and must spend at least seven months underground and four months under snow"! Or of the Lhagu Gentian described, how each

night this delicate flower must be "frozen to the consistency of parchment" and yet continues happily. How can we give these plants anything like their natural habitat? It speaks volumes for the skill of our plant experts and the adaptability of plants. Unfortunately many are all too soon lost to cultivation even after all this effort.

In this book one gets so interested in the fate of the Rose Primula of Ningri Tangor that one feels it would be a calamity if it never succeeds in coming into cultivation in this country.

Having wandered much in the Himalayas and being a keen gardener, I could not put this book down till I had finished it, and I can thoroughly recommend it to all interested in that great area of Asia or in plants and flowers.

G. A. J. TEASDALE.

Where China Meets Burma. By Beatrix Metford. Pp. 231. Blackie and Son. 12s. 6d.

Most unusual life and travel in the Burma-China borderlands is the subject of this book written by the wife of a British official in the Shan States of Burma and then in Yunnan in China. Mrs. Metford chronicles briefly her arrival in Rangoon, a day in Mandalay, and the steamer trip up the Irrawaddy to the terminal point, Bhamo. Bhamo is the headquarters of a district covering 7,000 miles, and the entrepôt for the China trade. In her gallant company we travel astride mules or ponies along the "Ambassadors' " Road (the route taken by decennial missions bearing tribute from the Burmese kings to the Chinese emperors in Peking), and through the "Triangle," mountainous home of the wild and independent Kachins, "Lords of the Hills," to attend a Frontier meeting. Forty or more years ago Kachin raids and blood-feuds necessitated the presence of a large body of military police on the border; but the Kachins of to-day have their differences settled at this Frontier meeting under British and Chinese auspices in January of each year, at Nawngma, where the Bhamo District joins the Burmese Shan State of North Hsenwi and the Chinese Shan State of Meng Mao. While the officials dispense formal justice, Mrs. Metford wanders to fairs and markets; she describes camp life on the River Shweli, and pictures delightfully the wild peoples around, for every Frontier tribe is represented at this meeting: Kachins, Lisus, Shans, Chinese, Palaungs, and the Achangs, swordmakers of the border.

The best chapters are those that describe Tengyueh, the last stronghold of the Panthays, captured in 1873 by the Chinese Imperial forces, and the capital of the North-West Frontier Division of Yunnan. "It was the willow pattern plate come to life. There were the camel-back bridges over little streams, the men in blue garments with large round hats on their heads, the women tottering along on tiny feet; the sedan chairs, the curving roofs. . . . The main streets from the four gates crossed in the centre of the city under a massive stone archway, on top of which was built a lovely pavilion called the Tower of the Star of Literature." How I should like to have visited the jade-cutters' street, the Red Academy or the Temple of Confucius, to have bought the scroll that would permit me to cross the No Alternative Bridge into Paradise, and to have gazed from the lovely "Hill to which the Phœnix came" to the great mountains of the Shweli-Salween Divide!

The history of the Shan peoples who left indelible marks on Burmese history is adequately given in a book of such vivid description of unknown peoples in an unknown country. The illustrations are most valuable additions to the general information set forth.

E. L. T.

Forest Life in India. By the Hon. James W. Best, O.B.E. 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Pp. 313.
London: John Murray. 10s. 6d.

If the real India has many aspects, that which is seen by the men who serve in her forests is not the least important of them. Nor is it the least interesting. It is concerned with the hills and plains; camp-life and its trials and pleasures (both in the superlative); with bison, buffalo and tiger; with primitive man and his wonderful jungle lore; with the daily work and the attractions and the burdens of the life.

In the author's company we leave camp by the light of the waning moon as the jungle cock challenges the earliest streak of dawn. Deer crash through the thickets. A truculent wild boar hurries to the darkness of the underwood, where he views us with battle in his eye. We walk up with a line of beaters in a tiger shoot. There are cultivators, cartmen and little black men from the jungles, each with an axe slung over his shoulder. They amuse themselves by throwing stones at panic-stricken monkeys. There is a pause in the shouting, as the full deep-throated roar of a tiger bellowing in baffled rage seems to shake the leaves of the forest. At that sound men stop in their tracks, or make for the nearest tree.

There are many other vivid and unforgettable pictures. There is that first view of the huge wild buffalo—magnificent black creatures rising slowly from the deep water of the river. There is a day when sudden fog came down on the forest so that even the shikarris lost their sense of direction, while the bully of the jungle called out in vague bewilderment and two black bodies looming up in the mist grew larger and darker and turned into two black bears.

There is the assembly of the wild forest tribe which pulled the sahib's leg about a woman. There are a number of good tiger stories. There is the picture of the impact made by the Great War. There is the court scene that followed a duck shoot. There is Chikalda—where thoughts went back to home. All this, we say again and again as we turn the pages, is the real India; and the thought recurs, with a certain wistfulness, as we read how the attempt to set up a new and strange democracy appears to a man who has lived in close contact with the forests, the soil and the people.

J. C. C.

I'd Live it Again. (The Career of an Officer in the I.M.S.) By Lieut.-Colonel E. J. O'Meara. 8" \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 324. Jonathan Cape. 12s. 6d.

I'd Live it Again describes various experiences and impressions of the author's life while he was in the Indian Medical Service, both as a military medical officer and as a civil surgeon. He writes with zest and enthusiasm, and it is not hard to believe that he enjoyed his life; his work was obviously of absorbing interest to him, and he got the best from the sport which India can provide. He writes vivid descriptions of polo, pigsticking, big game shooting, and a trip to Kashmir and Ladakh; his stories of the people show an intimate knowledge and a close study of Indians of various races and creeds; they are told with affection and with humour. He also tells a murder story so astonishing that no writer of blood curdlers would have dared to insert it.

There are many at home whose chief interest in India is at the moment political; Colonel O'Meara has but little to say which bears directly on this subject, but if the student who is dazed by the apparent contradictions of the politicians who have been to India, and who wishes to form an idea of the country for

himself, will read the book with insight, he will gain a fair and just impression of India and of the British and Indians living there.

Colonel O'Meara puts forward a strange theory regarding the death of "Ranji," who, he says, died because he no longer had the wish to live. In view of Colonel O'Meara's opportunities and his obvious capacity for acquiring some knowledge of Indian mentality and psychology, his opinions on such a subject, unusual as they appear according to Western ideas, must be accorded a measure of respect.

The book cannot fail to interest all who have served in India, and it contains a good deal of useful information for those whose service is commencing, but there are a good many rather irritating mistakes in spelling Indian words and place-names: these could easily have been corrected, and are to be regretted in such an enjoyable book. "I'd live it again," says Colonel O'Meara, in spite of bubonic plague, severe poisoning, and the terrible experience of thinking he had got cholera alone in the jungle! Perhaps it is not so surprising when one considers his unusual facility of discovering interests and pleasures, and of getting all that he could from them, and, at the same time, taking the troubles and discomforts of life in a philosophic spirit.

We have enjoyed reading the book, and we'll read it again.

A. H. M.

The Glories of Hindustan. By Dr. Alfred Nawrath. 240 illustrations and map. Methuen. 1935. 25s.

This book consists of 240 photogravure reproductions (each $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$) of views of India, with terse explanatory notes on each, just sufficient to say what the picture is and draw attention to any salient features. The photographs and reproduction are absolutely first class, and where all are so good it is invidious to make selections; still, the views of Kanchenjanga from Sandakphu, the tomb of Sher Shah at Sasaram, and of Itimad-ud-daula at Agra, and of the Jhelam in Kashmir are perhaps pre-eminent. The term Hindustan is used rather loosely to indicate India north of latitude 20° , and the views include 22 of Darjeeling and Sikkim, 17 of the Orissa temples, 11 of Benares and Allahabad, 24 of Gwalior, Datia, Orchha, Khajurahu, and Sanchi, 44 of Agra and Delhi, 16 of the North-West Frontier, 46 of Rajputana, 14 of Ahmadabad and Gujarat, and 18 of the Ajanta, Ellora, Elephanta, and Karli caves.

As regards the selection, which with such an unlimited field must always be a difficulty, though there are some delightful bazaar scenes and a few excellent landscapes, and the architectural subjects have been chosen so as to exemplify changes of style with time, purpose and religion, the reviewer cannot help thinking that somewhat undue prominence has been given to buildings at the expense of the more natural "glories." While no picture can be stigmatized as unworthy of the book, greater variety might well have been achieved by replacing some of the temples by the exquisite natural beauties to be found among the rivers and waterfalls of Bundelkand and the Central Provinces, along the Satlaj, Baspa, Ravi, and other Himalayan streams, not to mention those glorious mountains, Nanda Devi, Trisul, and Nanga Parbat.

The author, who is also the photographer, though a foreigner (German), is obviously an admirer of Britain's work in India, with an appreciation of our present difficulties. The book has been produced entirely in Great Britain.

C. A. S.

The Mahabharata : Analysis and Index. By Edward P. Rice. 9" x 5½". Pp. xv+112. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. 1934. 7s. 6d. net.

The *Mahabharata*, commencing as an epic, has in the course of centuries become, in Mr. Rice's words, "a vast repository of Hindu traditional lore, philosophy, and legend." The present work is designed as a map of this jungle. It is a detailed table of contents of the *Mahabharata*, written in clear language, and followed by full indices. It is vouched for by Dr. L. D. Barnett in a foreword as an admirable piece of careful and scholarly work, and should be useful not only to European students, but to Indians who have occasion to find their way about in this work so full of religious doctrine.

A. F. K.

The Indus Civilization. By Ernest Mackay, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A. 7½" x 5½". Pp. 210. Map and plates. Lovat Dickson and Thomson. 6s.

Seals with incised figures of animals and pictographic signs pointing to a culture of great antiquity have for some decades been found at Harappa in the Punjab. In 1922 it was discovered that a Buddhist stupa at Mohenjo-daro in Sind, four hundred miles to the south-west, covered part of a city belonging to the same civilization. Here excavations were carried out on a large scale from 1926 to 1931, when financial trouble suspended the work. Work on a smaller scale continued at Harappa, and various other sites were discovered, most of them forming a long chain between the Indus and the Baluchistan hills. These latter sites have not been minutely examined, but at some of them, notably Amri, pottery has been found attributed to a still earlier culture. It is clear that the civilization to which the brick-built cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro belonged was of a remarkably advanced type and covered an area greatly exceeding Egypt or Sumer. A brief conspectus of the results obtained, giving the general reader an authoritative account of this ancient Indian civilization, has for some time been a desideratum; and no one could be better qualified to provide it than the author of this book, who was in charge of the work at Mohenjo-daro. He has, in fact, produced a book ideally fulfilling the purpose.

The upper levels of Mohenjo-daro and the larger Harappa correspond in date with the latter part of the Early Dynastic Period of Babylonia c. 2550 B.C.—if the correctness of the accepted Mesopotamian chronology be assumed—and Mr. Mackay shows how this date has been ascertained. Seal-amulets of undoubted Indian workmanship had been found at various sites in Mesopotamia, but it was not possible to assign a date till Dr. Frankfort at Tell Asmar found such a seal in a stratum which could be dated with confidence. Other corresponding finds from the two areas corroborate the conclusion thus arrived at.

The lowest levels worked at Mohenjo-daro are not more than five hundred years earlier. Copper and bronze are plentiful at these lowest levels. No neolithic material has been found, and Mr. Mackay considers it unlikely that the site goes back to the Stone Age. He regards it as a mistake to term this civilization chalcolithic. Certain ribbon flakes of flint, apparently used as knives, have indeed been found, but would seem to have been merely cheap and probably not inferior substitutes for the bronze article. The city goes considerably deeper than the lowest levels dug. Deeper excavation would have required costly pumping, for the bed of the Indus has risen some twenty feet in the last five thousand years, and the eastern skirt of the city is indeed under the river. It is not therefore yet possible to assign an upper limit to the antiquity of the civilization.

It cannot be said with certainty who these people were. They were definitely prior to the Aryans, who are now generally held to have arrived *c.* 1500 B.C. The pictographic signs on the amulets resemble the Proto-Elamite script, but identity of language does not follow. Examination of the rather scanty skeletal material reveals four races: the Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongolian, and Alpine. Most of the specimens belong to the two former. They "must have belonged to a big-brained, dolicocephalic people, and they agree in many ways with skulls found by Dr. Woolley at Al 'Ubaid and by the writer at Kish." Mohenjo-daro was a trading city and the population might well be cosmopolitan. Regarding the people of the Indus Valley culture, Mr. Mackay suggests the provisional assumption that they, the Proto-Elamites and perhaps the Sumerians, had a common ancestry, and advises suspension of judgment till investigation has proceeded further.

Of the script—thought to be the possible source of the Indian Brahmi writing—there have unfortunately been found only brief specimens on seals. The writing materials in common use were all presumably perishable. No traces of foundation deposits have been discovered. The script on objects from the upper levels appears the same as on those from the lowest, "which seems to indicate little intellectual advance on the part of the people after their arrival in India—a state of affairs caused, perhaps, by the influence of an enervating climate." Other evidence indicates positive degeneration.

After the first general and introductory chapter, Mr. Mackay goes on in the second to deal with Architecture and Masonry. His remarks on town-planning reveal the advanced character of this civilization. The streets run in straight lines and cross at right angles. The development of the city was evidently controlled by some definite authority, whether single official or civic body. These are the oldest cities yet found where such planning existed. The upper levels show degeneration. The building material was burnt bricks of good quality. The details given about methods of brick-making and masonry are of high interest, as are also those regarding drainage—the most complete ancient system yet discovered. Lest, however, the unwary reader be tempted to a too rosy view of the sanitary methods of this ancient people, it were well to note the author's remark, apropos of occasional proximity of drains and wells: "Perhaps this was not so serious a matter as it sounds, especially if the well was in constant use, for the people of the city were no doubt more or less immune to typhoid. . . ." The water supply was good, brick-lined wells being numerous. Practically every house had its bathroom.

Chapter III. is on Religion. This is a matter of precarious inference from objects discovered, as there is no liturgical or other documentary evidence, and no building has been found which can positively be identified as a temple. One elaborate building would seem to have been for ceremonial bathing in connection with religious observance. It is close to the Buddhist stupa, and Mr. Mackay observes: "The axiom that once a site becomes sacred it remains so, even to the followers of other religions who may occupy it later, will probably once more prove true." One head and bust in white steatite is pronounced to be definitely part of the image of a deity. Numerous pottery figurines are probably of the great Mother Goddess. Clay figures have been found with the horns of goats or bulls, both apparently regarded as sacred animals. Most of the religious information comes from the images incised on seal-amulets. Notable is one of a horned deity with three faces seated in what is evidently a religious attitude and surrounded by deer, antelopes, a rhinoceros, an elephant, a tiger and a buffalo. On the arms are numerous bangles, and on the head a fan-shaped erection like the

head-dress of many of the female figurines. Sir John Marshall has identified this deity with the Hindu Śiva in his aspect of Paśupati or Lord of Beasts. The author considers the identification probable, but points out that there is no reason to suppose that the older deity bore the name Śiva. He further suggests that the pottery figurines may represent Śiva's consort, variously known as Uma, Parvati, Durga, and Kali, in her kindlier aspect. It may be submitted that caution is desirable in positing connections between the Indus Valley deities and those of Hinduism, about whose origin none too much is known. The author points out that a horned human deity and man-bull occur in Sumerian mythology, and that in both areas they are probably derived from a common source.

Chapter IV. deals with Dress and Personal Ornaments. The latter have been found of gold, silver, electrum, copper and bronze, carnelian, agate, jasper, jadeite and, rarely, turquoise. The workmanship is of fine quality. A link with Sumer is furnished by the rouge in cockle shells as found at Ur and Kish.

Chapter V., on Copper and Bronze, describes numerous implements found, not all of these materials. Interesting is a bronze saw with rivet holes for the handle, and the toothed edge undulated to prevent binding in a cut, as against the modern method of setting each tooth separately. "Saws with teeth set in any way whatever have hitherto been unknown before the time of the Romans." A number of weights of carefully polished chert and other stones have been found. Their ratios combine a dual and a decimal system. Very few are bad or fraudulent, a fact which shows stringent trading regulations.

Chapter VI., on Arts and Crafts, after describing the pottery and statuary, goes on to the seal-amulets found in great numbers. Few sealings have been found, and the objects were probably not to any great extent used for that purpose. Their number shows that they must have been carried by practically the entire population, and the finer specimens constitute "the most successful artistic achievement of the inhabitants of the Indus Valley," some of the animals being very beautifully depicted.

Chapter VII. is on Customs and Amusements. Numerous toys and articles for playing games have been found. The favourite toy is a small pottery cart very like the farm-carts of to-day in the locality. Addiction to fleshpots is shown by the surviving bones, horns, and shells of stag, buffalo, ox, goat, pig, turtle, fish, and fowl. The Indus Valley people did themselves well in those far-off days; and sought, it would appear, correctives in digestive remedies used in India to-day, among others the black substance called silajit, which exudes from rocks in the Himalayas and is brought down by hill-men; for of this specimens have been found in Mohenjo-daro.

The matter of the eighth and last chapter on Chronology and Connections has already been referred to. Of intercourse with Sumer indications are numerous. There is no evidence of extensive use of the sea-route, though one amulet shows a boat with a mast which could have put to sea. The land routes through Baluchistan were probably much used. Certain objects found in the upper levels of Mohenjo-daro are paralleled by finds in approximately contemporary Egypt. Of these a pottery candlestick is an interesting example. Imports from various parts of India show that the people of the Indus Valley cities traded with, if they did not control, much of the country.

Photographs of a considerable number of objects are reproduced with admirable clearness in a series of plates at the end of the book, to which constant reference is made in the text. There is a useful index. This concise and inexpensive book will prove a boon to those deterred by lack of time—not to say shekels—from reading the large work on the subject.

H. C. MAITLAND.

The Spirit of Man in Asian Art. By Laurence Binyon. Pp. 217. Seventy plates in half-tone. Harvard University Press. 1935. \$4 or 17s.

Until recently Asian art was regarded as "the curio which one could admire with a certain agreeable condescension" (p. 186). Though it is still that for quite a large number, the majority of us are at last beginning to give Asia her due, and to realize that Greece and Italy were not the only places in which art and culture flourished in the past. The "humanities," as Mr. Binyon points out in his introduction, belong just as much to certain parts of Asia as to the classical world, and *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art* serves as an admirable justification of this new standpoint.

There are a large number of distinguished authorities and writers on Eastern art, but there is probably not one among them who combines the same power of presenting an authoritative and useful statement of the material with that of conveying the delight, the glory, and the spirit of the art about which he is writing as does Mr. Binyon. His books have always been welcome, and they make an appeal to a wide circle of readers; far wider a circle than that of the specialist on the particular branch of Asian art with which he happens to be concerned at the time. The work under review is a most welcome addition to these books.

It is not a survey; it is not concerned with the publication, dating, or attribution of particular objects or paintings, nor is it, strictly speaking, a work of "æsthetics." It is not centred primarily around any one branch of Asian art—China, India, Persia, Japan—all receive equal consideration, both with regard to their most refined and accomplished and to their more popular and primitive arts. These arts are passed under review in the form of selected examples, many of which are illustrated in the plates, and the treatment is most refreshingly straightforward. Mr. Binyon succeeds in giving an amazingly living and delightful idea, not only of the objects themselves and of all that they stand for in the art of the world, but also of the character of the civilization that they reflect; for he holds that Eastern art is, just as much as Western, a mirror of the age and society in which it was produced. There can be no gainsaying this; but there are, unfortunately, few who can convey their interpretation of the mirror to the reader as well as can Mr. Binyon.

The analyses accorded to the chosen examples are extremely penetrating, yet they never affront the reader by too abstruse an analytical character. They serve to do what so many writers on æsthetics have of recent years been striving to do—to explain, describe, and justify the art with which they are concerned. They do it neatly and simply, without having to resort to any of those awkward words like "painterly," to which writers have sometimes had recourse. They do it far more fully and satisfactorily than do so many of those ponderous, ill-digested tomes which have been produced by a whole school of German writers, followed also, alas! by certain disciples in this country. Mr. Binyon's book should be read by all art students, and it should serve to prove to them that the simple, direct approach can be just as penetrating, and shows in reality far more understanding, than a ponderous philosophical or psychological study, overloaded with untranslatable words which serve to convey practically nothing to the average reader and but little to the specialist.

Refreshing again is the fact that Mr. Binyon always regards the art-product as a "work," as something meant to be looked at, felt and sensed, as well as realized and thought about. "The language of art is not addressed to the mere intelligence," he writes. "Pictorial design uses a language which speaks to something in our inner nature beyond the reach of words" (p. 212). And, again, he shows that much of the talk about "fine" art, with which we have been regaled in the

past, is so much nonsense. "If there is one thing more than another that we can learn from Eastern art, it is that all art is one; there we find no sterilizing divorce between 'fine' art and 'decorative' art" (p. 216). This is to be seen best, perhaps, in Persia, where the artist aims at creating a beautiful living picture, which is primarily imaginative and decorative, but which has as well a romantic understanding which is probably unique in the world.

To summarize the story of this book would be an impossible task, since the contact between the author and his subject is so very intimate. It is a book which is always in close touch with reality, with its surroundings and with its subject, and it never loses itself in complications which have little bearing on the matter in hand. It is entirely satisfactory because it approaches art from the artistic standpoint, by way of the products of art, and because it does not attempt to read into them messages with which they are in no way concerned, or to complicate the issue by vain metaphysical theories or explanations.

D. TALBOT RICE.

Byzantine Art. By D. Talbot Rice. 8vo. Pp. xiii and 255, with 48 half-tone plates, 10 text illustrations, and 4 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

The author, who has excavated at Constantinople and Hira and travelled in Asia Minor and Persia, aims at giving a general outline of Byzantine art, written from the point of view of the art historian rather than the archæologist, and intended for the general reader and the student.

The book is divided into three main sections. The first is devoted to the historical background, the geographical basis of Byzantine culture, and the question of the origins of Byzantine art. The second consists of separate chapters on architecture, mosaics, wall paintings, panel paintings and iconography, book illumination, sculpture, metalwork and enamels, textiles and ceramics. The last part deals with the enormous influence exercised by Byzantium.

Professor Talbot Rice does not regard Byzantine art as having been born with the foundation of Constantinople in A.D. 330, for early Christian art was Roman or Hellenistic, and it was only in the sixth century that Byzantine art took definite form. He rightly admits the importance of the part played by Syria, but perhaps not quite sufficiently in the field of architecture. Syria not only gave the world the spherical triangle pendentive, but it retained its individuality in architecture, in which the classical Greek spirit survived with an extraordinary vitality unknown elsewhere. Most people acquainted with early Coptic art will endorse the following statement (p. 74): "Much that is Coptic is to be attributed to ancient Egypt; much is Hellenistic; but the arts of these two countries could never have produced the Coptic without the Syrian or Semitic element."

The book is written in a calm and dispassionate tone, even when fantastic theories, devoid of the faintest trace of scientific basis, have to be dealt with, and although small and compact is remarkably well illustrated, for about a hundred fine and well-chosen photographs are reproduced, many of more or less new and important material.

K. A. C. CRESWELL.

The Holy Qurān: English Translation and Commentary with Arabic Text. By A. Yusuf Ali. Part I. containing the First Sīpāra. India, Lahore: Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar.

This is the first fasciculus of a new translation of the Qur'an with the Arabic text in a fine script printed in parallel columns with the English, and preceded by

a devotional introduction in rhythm; subjoined to translation and text are copious notes, largely devotional in character. Although Mr. Yusuf Ali has not attempted reproduction of the original rhyme, he has endeavoured to give his translation the appearance of poetry by dividing the verses into clauses of a few words—*e.g.*, ii. 19:

“Or another similitude
Is that of a rain-laden cloud
From the sky: in it are zones
Of darkness, and thunder and lightning:
They press their fingers in their ears
To keep out the stunning thunderclap,
The while they are in terror of death.
But God is ever round
The rejecters of Faith!”

Mr. Pickthall's rendering is as follows:

“Or like a rainstorm from the sky, wherein is darkness, thunder and the flash of lightning. They thrust their fingers in their ears by reason of the thunder-claps, for fear of death. Allah encompasseth the disbelievers (in His guidance).”

Which of these renderings is to be preferred is a question of taste. Clearly Mr. Yusuf Ali does not accept Mr. Pickthall's rendering of xv. 91, according to which the Prophet warns against “breaking the Qur'an into parts.” If that is an offence, Mr. Yusuf Ali's procedure, which might be called pulverizing it, must be heinous.

Since this work is devotional and propagandist, criticism of it is outside the scope of this Journal. Perhaps one observation may be permitted. The translator complains that mischief has been done by versions of non-Muslim and anti-Muslim writers. Now most (possibly all) Sacred Books contain passages which their devotees would wish were not there; orthodox Rabbis are scandalized by the first chapter of Hosea, Christian apologists by the cursing of the fig-tree. The temptation to mistranslate is for them hard to resist, and they often succumb to it. The outsider is immune from such temptation. Hence Sale and Rodwell render ii. 63 accurately: *We lifted up the mountains over you*, which indeed is the interpretation of the passage in Surah vii. 170. Mr. Yusuf Ali, apparently disliking the Jewish tradition with which this agrees, substitutes something of his own:

*And remember We took
Your Covenant
Under the towering height
Of Mount (Sinai).*

This seems to illustrate the Greek proverb of curing one evil with another. For if it is bad that the Qur'an should confirm a Jewish fable, it is at least equally bad to render one's translation untrustworthy.

Lady Precious Stream. An old Chinese play done into English according to its traditional style by S. I. Hsiung, with a Preface by Lascelles Abercrombie. 7½" × 5¼". Pp. vii-xix + 1-169. London: Methuen and Co. 1934.
A good deal has been written about the Chinese theatre of recent years in

English and other European languages, but nothing has made the theatre so living to us as this actual Chinese play, with its astonishingly good stage directions, has done. The stage directions are full of quaint, interesting, and sometimes amusing information about the scenery or want of scenery and the various conventions of the stage in China, and yet they are always stage directions and never degenerate into footnotes. From them we learn clearly enough that the Chinese actor's shortcomings are in no degree hidden by explanatory or beautiful scenery, but that he depends entirely on his own supreme skill as an actor and on the imagination of the audience. There is beauty enough on the Chinese stage, but it is beauty of voice and music for the ear, of dress and movement for the eye.

The play is described as "an old Chinese play done into English." The old play is said to be *Ts'ai lou p'ei*, but to what extent the English is a real translation, and how much of it is Mr. Hsiung's creation, is not yet clear. In any case it is a clean, simple, amusing story, extremely well told, where the characters are vigorously alive. And as such, rather than as a Chinese curio, it is to be read, though no doubt our pleasure in reading it may be enhanced by such unaccustomed ideas as "a feast here in the garden to enjoy the snow." We like to admire our snowflakes through the window from the fireside, but the more genuine love of the Chinese will drive him to have luncheon in the garden, or even in a boat on lake or river, to enjoy the falling snow.

"Ah, but when cups abound, and song is sweet,
And snow is falling round, the joy's complete."

"Well, it is very good indeed!
Yes, very good!"

A. C. MOULE.

Facing Labour Issues in China. By Lowe Chuan-Hua. With an introduction by Chen Kung Po and Julean Arnold. 8½" x 6". Pp. xvii + 211. Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.

This book, even if it does not live up to the enthusiastic publishers' notice and introductions, is an interesting study of Chinese labour problems, written for the Western reader by a Chinese who, as Publicity Secretary of the China International Famine Relief Commission and former Industrial Secretary of the China Y.M.C.A., has had opportunities of studying them at first hand.

In a preliminary chapter the author rightly lays stress on the predominantly agricultural nature of Chinese economy. The land is still the basis of everything. Even so-called Communism is primarily a matter of the division of land and its produce. The problem of the farmer, and therefore of the great mass of Chinese labour, has changed little through the centuries; and indeed the condition of the Chinese peasant, bad as it is, is probably no worse to-day than it has often been in the past. Traditional Chinese household industries raise no serious labour issues, and it is only with the introduction of the Western industrial system and an urban proletariat that they become at all acute. The difficulties of adjustment between Capital and Labour are therefore confined as yet to comparatively few of the larger cities, and it is of great importance to set standards that will govern those relations, while the scope of industrialization is still comparatively limited. If "rugged individualism" is to prevail unchecked until China becomes a fully industrialized country, the labour struggle will be infinitely more bitter and destructive even than it has been in other industrial countries.

It is therefore interesting to read this account of the present labour position by a Chinese, who knows the background of his subject. The facts are presented fairly and with a minimum of propaganda, though the author cannot resist an occasional tilt at the foreigner. He brings out clearly the embryonic state in which Chinese Trade Union organization still is. It compares with British Trade Unionism of a century or more ago, still fighting for recognition, its energies largely dissipated in semi-political agitation. The movement is rapidly growing, however, and there seems little reason to doubt that, if wisely handled, it will develop along healthy lines, for the Chinese have a natural talent for such organization. It is curious that the influence of the secret societies in Chinese Trade Unionism receives no notice.

In his chapters on Labour Legislation, Education and Welfare, the author is less happy. He is right in his refusal slavishly to copy the West, and in his insistence that China must adapt Western models to her own conditions. But the labour problem cannot be solved by strokes of the pen, or the mere publication of elaborate legislation—and the vaunted collaboration of the Geneva International Labour Office, by encouraging this, has done more harm than good. It must be tackled from the bottom, piecemeal, by deliberate trial and error. Useful experiments have already been made, notably the Ting Hsien Model Settlement and the housing, medical and welfare work carried out by the Kailan Mining Administration and other large employers; and these should form a basis for the deliberate building up of a complete system, which cannot under Chinese conditions be imposed wholesale from above.

The main weakness of the book, however, is that it belies its title and does not face the real issue. The labour problem is treated from many angles, and solutions are put forward in considerable variety. But after pages of elaborate paper programmes and resolutions, which will take decades if not centuries to make effective, the reader is left bewildered at the complexity of the problem and feeling that it is all rather hopeless. For nowhere is the underlying issue faced: how to break the vicious circle of low wages, under-nourishment, and inefficient labour leading back to low wages. This circle cannot be broken until the basic problem is tackled. And only once, in quoting the saying that "the problem is too vast for any remedial measures short of restriction on a numerical increase (of population) to give appreciable relief even temporarily," does the author face up to it. Without some such restriction there can be no real prosperity for China.

J. S. SCOTT.

Far Eastern Front. By Edgar Snow. Illustrated. 9½" x 6". Pp. xvii + 308. London: Jarrolds. 1934. 18s.

Mr. Snow was able to observe on the spot the most important phases of the Sino-Japanese incident. Although the greater part of his book deals with the Japanese advance in Manchuria and the fight before Shanghai, he has also set himself the task of giving the historical background to these events. He sees this background, rightly enough, not only in the incidents which preceded the intervention, but in the whole history of the Far East. His book begins chronologically with the colonization of the Japanese islands in prehistoric times and ends with the enthronement of Pu Yi as emperor of Manchuria. In order to compress this vast subject into the space of some three hundred pages, some simplification of facts is inevitable. To this, and to the desire to dramatize history, are due a

certain number of inexactitudes, to which, as the book is intended rather for the general newspaper-reader than for the scholar, no great importance need be attached. Of greater interest is the spirit in which the book is written. Mr. Snow loathes Japanese politics. He abhors Chinese statesmen. He likes neither the American missionaries nor the great merchants of Shanghai. This antipathy is objectively distributed throughout the book among the parties concerned.

This hatred of the political proceedings of the Chinese and Japanese is a common enough reaction in a man of warm sympathies and Western humane ideals who is brought into contact with the Far East. The European, and more especially the American, invariably tends to attach an exaggerated importance in China to injustices and atrocities. In the portion of his book dealing with the Shanghai fighting—an excellent piece of journalism—Mr. Snow forcibly lays bare the cruelties committed by the Japanese. But he fails to point out that the Chinese were far less horrified by them than himself. A Japanese officer once told the present writer that the atrocity propaganda in which Japanese and Chinese alike indulged during the hostilities was intended solely for Western ears. "To us Asiatics, it is perfectly natural that cruelties should be committed in time of war." It is because of this entire lack of sentimentality in both Japan and China that, despite Shanghai and despite Manchuria, an agreement between the two countries is still possible.

Persistently applying Western ideas to Chinese policy, the author cannot forgive Chiang Kai-Shek for continuing his fight against the Chinese communists at a moment when China was attacked by a foreign power. The Westerner always prefers heroism to the opportunism of the Chinese, who is gifted with far too faultless a discernment ever to attempt the impossible. Mr. Snow bears yet another grudge against Chiang Kai-Shek for abandoning the communism of Borodin, of which he says: "For a time the peasants, the workers, the millions in China who labour, saw something to fight for." Even if one could not consider the Chinese communist provinces the earthly paradises they appeared to Mr. Snow, this remark is just, as witnessed by the conduct of the famous Nineteenth Army, which was still inspired with the breath of revolution, before Shanghai. On the other hand, the state philosophy of Wang Tao, as propagated by the Prime Minister of Manchuria under the auspices of Japan, holds no interest for Mr. Snow, who also ridicules Pu Yi, retelling the kidnapping story and the attempted suicides already proved fictitious by Sir Reginald Johnston.

Perhaps a little trying to the English reader is the frequent use of "headline" epithets, such as "cocky little General Ma" and "bicycle-riding Henry Pu Yi," which Mr. Snow abundantly employs in characterization.

A. R. L.

The Last Strongholds. By Colonel P. T. Etherton. 9" x 6½". Pp. xiii + 292. Jarrolds.

Colonel Etherton has written an interesting book covering the Himalayas and those countries adjacent thereto. The accounts of Nepal and life in Khatmandu made me wish to visit that country and to see the hardy little Gurkha on his native heath. The book is launched by a foreword from H.H. the Maharaja Sir Joodha Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the British Raj.

The author does not throw much fresh light on Tibet the mysterious, and the Mongol chapter seems to be rather outside the scope of the book, even though

Mongolia is undoubtedly one of the "last strongholds." But it was a stronghold assaulted from New York and not London, as the author states on page 173. Credit for this exploration should be given to an American member of the R.C.A.S., Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews, and his expedition sent out by the New York Museum of Natural History.

The illustrations are varied and interesting, and the aerial views of Everest and the Himalayas beyond praise.

H. ST. C. S.

Moscow Mirage. By J. H. Rubin. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 320. Published by Geoffrey Bles. 10s. 6d.

Moscow Mirage tells the story of the strange adventures of Mr. Jacob H. Rubin, a Russian-born business man from America, who in 1920 returned to his native country in high hopes of being able to do something on behalf of his newly emancipated Russian brothers. Mr. Rubin was born in 1867 at Borispol, near Kiev. His father was a Nihilist and he was brought up in the Nihilist tradition, and when he was thirteen (in 1880) the father came under sentence of exile for the possession of prohibited books, and emigrated with his family to America, where they settled down in Milwaukee. There the author associated himself with a mild form of Socialism and was a member of the Social-Democrat Party, while at the same time interesting himself in ordinary business pursuits. His inspiration was Karl Marx and at the age of fifty-three (in 1920) he made his way from Bucharest to Odessa to revisit the land of his childhood, which had now "become Utopia, the Promised Land."

His book covers the story of his adventures first in Odessa and then in Moscow, from which he escaped in October, 1921. Ten years later (in 1931) he revisited the country in disguise and was lucky enough to escape back to America, where at the age of sixty-seven he wrote *Moscow Mirage*.

The Odessa episode is by far the most interesting portion of the book. When he reached the town it was in the hands of the White Army, which was already rapidly disintegrating in the face of the "Red" counter-offensive. For a short time in a vague commercial capacity he was a pampered favourite of the precarious White Government in Odessa, but he soon fell under their suspicion and was in due course arrested and thrown as a political prisoner into the Turma. The charge against him was apparently based on some letters he had written to his son in Milwaukee, but when on his person were found sewn into the lining of his coat letters of introduction to Lenin, Trotsky, and Chicherin, his identity was challenged as an American citizen, and the grounds for his incarceration were that he was a Bolshevik spy.

The story of his experiences in the prison is told with thrilling vividness, and for all that his adventures were positively extraordinary, his account bears the stamp of unexaggerated truth. Inevitably he was sentenced to death, but in the meantime he had been able to get into touch with his American contacts in Roumania, and at the eleventh hour the American captain of the ship which had brought him to Odessa appeared like a god out of a machine, and as an American citizen he regained his liberty.

Then the Reds arrived, and the White Army and those in sympathy with its policy escaped as best they could. Mr. Rubin could also have got away, but his idealism had been increased by his experiences in the Turma, and he bravely refused the offer to escape and remained in Odessa to meet the conquering Reds.

At once his fortunes changed for the better. He became a Soviet official, and, in his own words, "virtually controlled the policy of the Odessa Government." But soon reports reached Moscow from Odessa that the new régime which had taken the place of the White Government was "according to capitalistic pattern," and on the arrival of a Soviet official from headquarters, Mr. Rubin's scope was considerably circumscribed, and we find him deeply involved in a campaign for intense Soviet propaganda both in Russia and outside. He planned a narrative film to explain and emphasize the horrors of the White régime, "show the world the White Terror . . . the pogroms upon the Jews, the raids upon stores and market-places, the cruelty, the injustice, the extortion, the graft, the many executions." He made the film in five weeks, and it was shown to an enthusiastic audience, and his next move was to Moscow to discuss its release broadcast.

Moscow brought utter disillusionment. Mr. Rubin met all the great personalities of the early stages of the Revolution—Stalin, John Reed the American Communist, Chicherin, and finally Lenin, the last-named completely petrifying him by his mere appearance. But although throughout his stay in Moscow he was constantly in touch with the heads of the Communist movement, and saw them daily and played chess with them, he was *with* them only and never *of* them, and the more he saw of their methods and ideals, the less he liked them, until eventually such was his disillusionment that he had one thought, and one thought only—namely, to escape from this "Utopia, the Promised Land," to return to America to end his days without terror.

It had been easy to get into Russia, but it was extremely difficult to leave it, and the passages in which he describes the evasions of the Soviet passport authorities before he was granted a visa are horribly tense. Eventually, however, his papers were given to him and he was free. He then took a rash decision to take out with him to America some of his films. This decision all but wrecked his plans, for no sooner was he safely over the Esthonian frontier than he heard that his removal of the films had become known to the Soviet authorities, and that, had not a propitious snowstorm destroyed the telegraph wires from Moscow, he would have been arrested on the frontier.

The last five chapters of the book describe his return to Russia in 1931, when he was sixty-three years old. It was to a certain extent a sentimental journey of enquiry, and as such adds little to the main interest of his book, which concerns his adventures in 1920 and 1921.

Mr. Rubin has not written a great book. It is too personal to be great, and too subjective to be altogether reliable. At the same time he has given a picture of what undoubtedly did happen, and this picture has definite value as an asset to those students of the Russian Revolution who are possibly inclined to be over-objective. It is a thousand pities, however, that the book is not illustrated. We hear no more of Mr. Rubin's films, some of which would certainly provide a valuable illustration of the atmosphere which he has so intimately described.

O. M. T.

Afghan Journey. By Ben James. 8" × 5½". Pp. 286. Illustrations. Cape. 10s. 6d.

This book presents a series of impressions in a vivid journalistic style. The author mentions that advice given him before the start of the journey saved his life on two occasions. But he modestly omits to give the details of these occurrences. Seven out of the twenty-one chapters are taken up with arriving at the Afghan frontier. In them the discomforts of travel in Persia are described.

The journey consists of a motor trip from Chaman in British Baluchistan through Kandahar to Kabul, a short stay in the last-named city, and then a single day's motor from Kabul to the Khyber. It took place six years ago, in 1929, for the author describes seeing in Kabul the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of Afghan independence. This independence is held to date from 1919, when Great Britain relinquished the duty of looking after Afghanistan's external relations with foreign powers. Also the author describes how he found it impossible to enter Afghanistan from Meshed in Persia. "Persian motor companies would not risk a car in the forbidden land." When the reviewer was in Herat in 1932 they were risking them regularly, for motors and lorries from Persia arrived fairly frequently.

The book is written in a lively and entertaining style, and the precision of research is hardly to be expected in it. For instance, the author finds "hills" in the plain between Chaman and Spinbaldik Fort on the way to Kandahar. Also he is mystified by "the gaunt square palace" in which he stopped between Kalat-i-Ghilzai and Ghazni. Even in Kabul he could not find out what it was. The reviewer has spent a night in it. It is simply an hotel built in the time of the ex-King Amanulla.

When the author reaches Kabul, six chapters are occupied with stories of the times of Amanulla and the brigand Bacha Sakao. He repeats gossip which attributes the downfall of Amanulla and the incursion of Bacha Sakao to the subtle machinations of Downing Street, without sufficiently emphasizing its utter lack of foundation. The penultimate chapter describes a two hours' interview with King Nadir Shah. Considering the length of time it took, there is not much to show for it.

The author attributes the romantic interest aroused by the name of Afghanistan to its atmosphere of isolation and seclusion. To the same reason may be assigned the appearance of his book.

J. C. FRENCH.

Sunrise Over India. By Cicely Farmer. Pp. 286. London: Gollancz. 1934. 10s. 6d.

This is quite one of the most delightful books on India that I have come across for a long time. The authoress is one of those few people who have the natural power of becoming intimate, in the best sense of the word, with the Indian, and of seeing things from their point of view, and at the same time willing to use that power in a perfectly natural way with an entire absence of gush, flattery, seeking for effect or adoption of some fantastic religion.

During a long cold weather Miss Farmer visited friends or relations holding high military or civil posts in India. She was met at Bombay by a Pathan bearer selected by her friends, who proved to be quite a character. The journey up country to Peshawar, in the course of which she knocked a would-be intruder into her compartment off the footboard, is described vividly and humorously. While at Peshawar she visited the Mohmand border, the Khyber (and the Char Bagh fort), the Malakand and the Kohat road, then saw Agra and Delhi, and paid a visit to a large Central Indian State, the ruined city of Mandu, and at least one smaller State.

The accounts of the visits to the various places on the frontier in company with, among others, the "Khan Sahib," evidently a high-placed Muhammadan official, are delightful, as also are those of conversations with the Diwan who

accompanied her party to Mandu. For not only is there shown the curious power of making contact with an alien personality, but the authoress has a great sense of humour and power of vivid description. Cannot many a retired official recall such scenes as the school prize-giving, where the reciting boy who, "until a moment before had been a merry looking youth, as he left his seat became as if all expression had been wiped off his face. He stood with his eyes fixed on the air, and, in a voice entirely without life, began :

" ' Stern Daughter of the Voice of God . . . '

" ' It's a disgrace to the world that such an exhibition is possible in the twentieth century. It's worse than Tom Sawyer. '

" ' Remember it's not his own language. '

" ' That boy speaks and understands English perfectly when he's out of school. '

" He recited the seven verses of the poem without pause for punctuation, his voice never varying from the expressionless whine. With

" ' And in the light of Truth thy bondman let me live, '

he finished. He bowed as if his body was worked by wires from behind, jerked himself back to his bench, and immediately ceased to be an automaton and became again a flesh-and-blood boy."

Were there more like the authoress among the English women in India the social difficulties, which are at the root of half our troubles in that country, would disappear. But it must not be thought that the inculcation of such views is a deliberate object of the book. The deduction emerges just as naturally as the authoress's power of insight into Indian character does—without any conscious effort on her part.

It is a book that every English woman in India should read—and English men too.

C. A. S.

Turkey. By T. L. Jarman. 7½" × 5". Arrowsmith. (Modern States Series, No. 8.) 1935. 3s. 6d. net.

This book is a straightforward, generally accurate, but uninspiring summary of Turkish history, with a larger amount of space in proportion devoted to modern than to earlier times. Mr. Jarman is as capable as the next man of cataloguing the reforms of post-Lausanne times, but the bareness of his narrative, as well as some occasional statements here and there in the book, cause the reader to question whether he has been in quite the intimate touch with the subject or the people claimed by the publishers as a qualification of each writer in the series. There are also a number of misprints requiring correction. We should like to call attention to two points which we think can be criticized in Mr. Jarman's book, but which are apt also (particularly the second of them) to be encountered in most books and articles at present appearing on the subject of Turkey.

In the first place, Mr. Jarman adopts without comment Mr. Toynbee's fantasy about nomads and watchdogs, presenting it as if it were established, historical fact. Mr. Toynbee has, of course, developed these ideas with great charm and persuasiveness, but it does not require a very highly trained critical faculty to see that they rest on the flimsiest basis: indeed, one suspects that but for the meaning of the word "ra'iyya," they would never have taken shape. One would expect the author of a serious book on Turkey to realize that the phenomena do not

require any fanciful explanation of this sort and to refrain from giving currency to it as if it was ascertained fact.

The other point is the lack of any attempt to express a critical estimate of the results of modern reforms in Turkey. Nobody denies that Kemal Atatürk freed his country from foreign domination and that the present compact Turkish state is better fitted to survive in the modern world than the unwieldy empire of the Sultans. The beneficence of his further reforms, at least to the extent to which they have been pushed, remains questionable. To take the matter in the broadest way, there are two guiding tendencies—Westernization and “Turkicization.” We need not labour the first of these: the second is represented especially by alphabetic and linguistic reform and by revised historical teaching. It seems to us to rest on weak foundations: the population of Asia Minor, mixed in blood and permeated with several ancient cultures, has hardly more than a mythical connexion with the Central Asian nomads, and the enrichment of the Turkish idiom with Arabic and Persian elements merely exemplified the full and individual civilization which grew up in imperial times. All this is now anathema. The clearest result of that attitude at present is the destruction of all cultural values and something like chaos in the outlook of the educated and controlling class. Admiration for the West is mainly concentrated on its material benefits: and in “pure” Turkish things there is nothing, after all, to satisfy the intelligence. The grandeur which the nation has created—its literature, architecture, imperial organization—or assimilated as its own—its religion and manners—are condemned. The finer sides of human nature can find no satisfaction in such an atmosphere: pessimism and careerism become rife. A barren and imperfectly appreciated nationalism, which has been not a little exploited for the benefit of a clique, cannot replace the values which have been denied or destroyed. No doubt this is a period of transition, but it is hard to say what lies beyond. It seems to us a pity that Mr. Jarman, and so many writers like him, make no attempt to estimate or even to hint at the significance of the actions and events which they enumerate.

J. P.

Beyond Damascus. A Biography of Paul the Tarsian. By F. A. Spencer. London. 1935. 12s. 6d.

This book, by an American writer, which deals with Paul of Tarsus and the background of his life and teaching, has been written in order to illustrate the origins and character of Paul's somewhat pessimistic otherworldliness. It does not deal with Pauline theology, but rather with the pagan world in which Paul lived, which did, in fact, have its influence upon his language and, to some extent, upon his doctrines.

In sketching the religious background of Paul's life, the author emphasizes the licentiousness of the pagan cults of the time, and gives a detailed account of the mystery religions, while pointing out that neither Greece nor Rome officially countenanced the worst features of the Oriental cults. At the same time, open immorality and rampant individualism were dominant factors in the life of the period. The cult of the Roman Emperor, as a “god visible,” was a thing familiar to St. Paul. Upon the appearance (*parousia*) of the Emperor in Tarsus, the taxes were remitted, debts were cancelled, prisoners set free, and new coins struck. All this feeling and this terminology were crystallized in the Imperial cult. The Romans identified the purpose of God in the world with the advance of the Roman Empire and its interests, as embodied in Augustus, the “Saviour of the

world." So Paul found both conceptions and phraseology ready for his use, when he became the bond-slave of One greater than Cæsar, to Whom he transferred all that allegiance which he had given from his youth up, to Jehovah, and which his pagan neighbours around him gave to the Emperor-god. The Romans showed themselves indifferent to Judaism, and were willing to allow the Jews a measure of civil autonomy, so long as they paid their taxes and kept the peace, and the Roman legionaries were directed to treat the Jews with tolerance and to respect their religious beliefs, while at the same time they kept a strict watch on the Zealots, whose religious views led them to foster the idea of political revolution.

On the political side, the Roman rule favoured St. Paul's purpose, while also having an effect upon his language and ideas. The *Pax Romana*, established by Augustus, cleared the realm of bandits and pirates and, over 3,000 miles of good roads, radiating from the Golden Milestone in the Forum at Rome, the soldiers of Augustus marched and his couriers travelled, changing horses at regular post-stations maintained by the Government, so that Rome was in constant communication with the provinces. Taxes were definitely fixed, and a system of provincial government established, which made it easy for Paul, later on, to earn a living at his trade and to travel abroad with safety, preaching his gospel where he chose, a task facilitated by the fact that the language, of business, of culture, and of religion, everywhere was Greek.

It was fitting that as Paul had been born a Roman citizen, had lived his life under Roman rule, and owed his freedom to preach to Roman tolerance, that he should at the last make his way to Rome itself, and there, by the sentence of Cæsar himself, lay down his life for his faith.

The book is of much value and interest for the fresh light which it throws on a familiar subject, but it is written in a style so colloquial as to jar continually upon the reader, and it is unfortunate that a book, which is a storehouse of information, embodying extensive research into the relevant pagan sources, should not have been written in the scholarly and literary style which the subject merited. The index is good, but the bibliography is totally inadequate, for only three books of reference are included under the head of "Pauline Literature" out of the great mass of good material available for serious students of the subject.

MARGARET SMITH.

Letters on Imperial Relations, Indian Reform, Constitutional and International Law, 1916-1935. By A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt. 10" x 6". Pp. xx + 370. Oxford University Press. 16s.

Professor Berriedale Keith's *Letters on Imperial Relations, Indian Reform, Constitutional and International Law, 1916-1935*, is, as its title imports, a record of his commentaries, as contributed by letter to the daily Press, on passing topics during the course of the last nineteen years. These letters can only be accepted as *ex parte* opinions in so far as they are expressed with reference to contemporaneous letters from other persons, and to other statements, the text of which he does not reproduce, nor in most instances quote. This detracts considerably from their usefulness, both from the reader's and reviewer's point of view. They extend to over 350 pages of letters, mostly lengthy. In a biography the interspersing of letters written by the subject of the biography may be of interest as denoting views expressed by him at the time, but they are not necessarily of permanent authority.

From Professor Keith's letters are culled here extracts mostly connected with

the Middle East (with which the Royal Central Asian Society is principally concerned). His letter of November 14, 1930, to *The Scotsman*, intitled "The Indian Problem," criticized a despatch from the Government of India (not reproduced). In his view, this despatch "reveals the hesitation and lack of constructive vision characteristic of official views, it is clear that it clings far too closely to the consideration of the future of British India, and therefore fails to realize the fundamental importance of the suggestions of the Simon Commission regarding the future of India as a Federation embracing the Indian States." On May 13, 1933, also to the editor of *The Scotsman* on the subject of Mr. Baldwin's Indian Policy, he remarked that the statements of Mr. Baldwin and Sir Samuel Hoare, reported that day (which statements he does not reproduce), made perfectly clear the position of the Government regarding Indian policy. He summarized under four heads his construction of the Government statement therein referred to, and opined that "by earlier declarations and his obligations to the Prime Minister the Conservative leader was pledged to the policy of the White Paper, no doubt in large measure because the policy of the Labour Party as lately reaffirmed was one of complete responsible Government for India." But it was hoped (he added) to minimize the effects of concession in two ways. The first was use of Indian autocracy to check Indian democracy by the supply, by the Indian Princes who refused to be constitutional sovereigns, to the Central Legislature of the necessary numbers to secure a really Conservative régime at the Centre, as opposed to the democratic régime promised to the Provinces. He stigmatized this attempt to temper democracy and secure a permanent Conservative majority as ingenious, but of dubious success. The second method was the scheme of safeguards in the White Paper. As regards this, he remarked that "the opinion of those with expert knowledge who are not in the service of the Government of India at the present time confirms the prior belief that the safeguards will not work under a Conservative régime here, and that under a Labour régime the British Government cannot consent to work them." But "in all probability better statesmanship would abandon the safeguards as misleading and a source of constant irritation," and "would appeal to Indians to make wise use of the powers which in fact they will have." Further, "in view of the present condition of feeling both in India and in this country, it may well be that the only course open is to surrender British control of India."

Later, on October 27, 1934, Professor Keith wrote to the editor of *The Scotsman* on "The Future of India," putting Sir John Gilmour in the pillory. Without producing the basis thereof, he proclaimed that "Sir John Gilmour is added to the number of those who urge acceptance of the governmental policy regarding India on the ground that you cannot force the great Indian public to trade with us at the point of the bayonet." He asked, "What would happen if the Indian Ministries demanded the abrogation of the safeguards proposed to be inserted in the Constitution, and approved of the use of the weapon of boycott to force the hands of the British Government?" It is quite by the way that Sir John Gilmour is not quoted in the letter as saying or suggesting that the British Government would yield to such a demand.

The volume is conveniently divided into sections dealing with Imperial relations as regards the various Dominions, including the Irish Free State, Constitutional Law in the United Kingdom, and Constitutional Law in the Dominions, and also with International Law and the Conflict of Laws, and it has a useful index. To select a few; on October 24, 1930, Professor Keith, writing to the editor of *The Scotsman* on the subject of the Palestine Mandate, said that "in any impartial view the case of the Arabs is strong, and it is possible that the

wisest course for a British Government would now be to admit that the policy of 1917 was as unjustifiable as the reparation clauses of the peace settlement, and must, like those clauses, be modified in accordance with the principles of justice and equity. The Government can hardly be blamed for making one more effort to carry out the Mandate, despite the fundamental incoherence of its double purpose."

In December, 1932, there were six letters to the editor of *The Scotsman* on the subject of Persia and the Oil Concession, mostly in favour of Persia. He contrasted the attitude of the British Government towards Persia with its attitude to the Russian Soviet Government, and opined that it was obvious that it was "impossible to claim that any country is irrevocably bound by a concession made by a previous Government." Some of these letters were replies to letters from other authorities, but these have no place in Professor Keith's volume. The same applies to Professor Keith's three letters to *The Times* newspaper in May and June, 1934, criticizing certain other letters to the same newspaper calling attention to the dangers of a proposal to turn South-West Africa (then under Mandate) into a fifth Province of the Union of South Africa (the Mandatory Power). Professor Keith, in laying down what, in his opinion, was the correct interpretation to be put on the Mandate, does not appear to have grasped fully the position of Mandatory Powers, *vis-à-vis* the people of countries under "B" and "C" Mandates. The true position in the case of the Mandate under review is that although the Union Government administers the country in question under the terms of the Mandate, as an integral portion of the Union of South Africa, this implies neither fusion nor incorporation. But it does imply the ultimate emergence from tutelage of its indigenous population as "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world," and their ultimate independence when fit for it. Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations covers all classes of Mandate, not merely "A" Mandates, as was postulated by Professor Keith. It is noteworthy that the British Government in its Report for 1924 to the Council of the League of Nations on its administration of the Cameroons under a Mandate of the same class and with the same wording as that for South-West Africa was careful to note in its Report that:

"In order to remove misapprehension it may be stated that while the mandated area is administered, in accordance with Article 9 of the Mandate, *as though it formed an integral part of Nigeria*, this administrative arrangement implies neither fusion nor incorporation. The position is, therefore, in strict accord with the letter and the spirit of the Mandate."

Space does not permit of a prolonged review of the many other topics dealt with by the author, whose work, however, in justice to him, does not purport to be more than a republication of his letters to the Press from time to time.

W. H. S.

The Great Wall Crumbles. By Grover Clark. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". Pp. xx + 406. New York: Macmillan. 15s.

In spite of its title, which is presumably intended to attract the American reader, everyone should read this book, which comes most opportunely at the present time, when the future relationship of East Asia with the rest of the world is a question of such urgent moment.

The author, a well-known American publicist who lived in the East for many

years and edited a Peking newspaper, seeks to describe and interpret the crumbling of the wall of isolation, which surrounded China from very early times, but appears now to be undergoing reconstruction in a new and startling shape. He seeks, and most successfully, to show not only how but why events have developed as they have, and to answer the questions which everyone asks who reads his newspaper and takes even the most casual interest in Far Eastern affairs. What is China and who are the Chinese? How was China organized and how did it function? Why did the old Empire collapse, to be succeeded by a Republic which in turn collapsed? What has taken its place? Why did Europeans go to China, and what effect has their presence had? What does China's disintegration and reintegration portend for the rest of the world? Last, and perhaps most important, what does Japan's rise to power and what do her aims mean for China, and how will they affect the world?

To appreciate the trend of present events it is vitally necessary to get the background, of which the present book gives one of the clearest presentations it has ever been the reviewer's pleasure to read. No one reading it can fail to appreciate better the why and the wherefore of the problem, which now confronts the Western Powers with such alarming urgency. "Co-operation or disaster," says the author. Which is it to be? But is it not already too late to talk of co-operation, when every effort in that direction is met by blank refusal from Japan and forceful assertion of her "manifest destiny" to dominate East Asia and drive the West therefrom? Where will China turn? Will she, in spite of former disappointments, look yet once more to the West, or will she as so often in the past take the line of least resistance and allow herself for a space to become a virtual dependency of the Japanese—until in due time she absorbs them or squeezes them out as she has absorbed or squeezed out every foreign conqueror before? Should the West accept the *fait accompli* and let China solve her problem in her own way, or should it—can it?—gird its loins and say, "Thus far and no further" to Japan? All whose thoughts turn to these great questions, and who would understand, should read this book.

The book is intended ostensibly for the general reader, but is so delightfully written and conveys such a fund of knowledge that the most expert need not think it beneath his notice. Chinese history is an abstruse subject, a mass of detail with few outstanding landmarks. Here is a very readable and easily digested survey, in which the landmarks are shown up in high relief and the elements that compose modern China are traced to their origins. Not politics only, but the course of Chinese language, culture and art, philosophy and (in so far as it exists) religion is brought in to make a comprehensive picture. Such a survey was badly needed.

The chapters on Western relations with China are particularly illuminating, and will shock the complacent. To the missionary-minded and to apostles of the "white man's burden" they are especially to be commended. Appreciation of the Chinese point of view comes hard to the West, and the reverse is perhaps even harder for the Chinese, but modern communications have done much to bring greater mutual understanding, and both sides are coming nearer to appreciating the truth of the Confucian maxim that "all men around the four seas are brothers."

The book is nicely illustrated with a series of hand-drawn maps in the modern manner by Miss Katharine Dewey.

J. S. SCOTT.

UMMIL QIWA

GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUÉ REGARDING THE ATTACK ON KING IBN SA'UD DURING THE PILGRIMAGE

ON Friday, the 10th Dhu'l Hijj, 1353 H., at 1 o'clock Arab time, when His Gracious Majesty the King and His Excellency the Crown Prince, with their A.D.C. and bodyguards, were busy in doing the Tawaf, when the police constables and other guards of honour were marching round and the Ka'abah was to their left and nothing intervened between His Majesty and the Ka'abah, and when after completing the fourth round His Majesty had arrived in front of the door of the Ka'abah, all of a sudden a man from the north of Al-Hajjar-i-Ismail (Al Hatim), uttering some unintelligible words, emerged and assaulted His Majesty. The constables attempted to stop the accused, but his onrush was so quick that the intervening Ahmad ibn Musa met it and fell dead. Another constable, Makhru ibn Shabbal, attempted to grapple with the accused, but received a serious wound which invalidated him at once. In the meantime another confederate of the accused appeared on the scene and made an onslaught from behind, and from Rukn al-Yamani reached Hajjar-al-Aswad. Instantly His Majesty's bodyguard shouldered their rifles, but His Majesty prohibited them from action, unless driven to sheer necessity. But when the two constables were done to death and the accused was just closing with His Eminence the Crown Prince, one Abd-Ullah Qadir from amongst the Imperial bodyguard made short shrift of him. The other accused, with his dagger, appeared on the scene, and was about to assault the Crown Prince, but a soldier from His Majesty's Imperial Force instantly shot him dead. Thanks to Almighty God, the Crown Prince came out of the mêlée unscathed, except for a few bruises on his shoulder. After this the third accused took to his heels, but was shot dead by the police. On inquiry his name was found to be Ali. The General Police Commissioner, who was at Al-Mina at the time, was 'phoned forthwith, and he hurried to Mecca and started investigation.

The event caused a stampede amongst the Hajjis of Bayt-Ullah. When it was discovered that the accused were Zaydi Yemenites there was a thrill of excitement both in the nation and the units of the army. Had not His Majesty manœuvred the situation so well by political insight, the excitement of the nation and the army would have ended in a tale of woe and misery. Accordingly His Majesty issued stringent orders that none of the Yemeni pilgrims were to be molested, and that special arrangements to tackle the situation be adopted, whereby the sanctity of the Bayt-Ullah might not be impaired in any way on one hand, and the unrest among the Hajjis be warded off on the other. Then all united by the grace of God that no untoward happening took place throughout, and the pilgrims performed their rituals with perfect ease and quietude. The General Police Commissioner's investigation established beyond doubt that the criminals were Zaydis of Yemen, and were putting up at a woman's house at Jahl Abu Qubes.

On inquiry from the woman it was found that they were absent from the day of 'Arafat. Their passports were as follows:

(1) 'Annaquib 'Ali ibn Hali Hasan al-Hazri, in the Mutawakkil Arz of Yemen; passport date 10th Shawwal, 1353, issued from the passport office at Sana'a, signed by the Governor of Sana'a,

(2) Saleh ibn Abi'l Hazri (brother of the accused), an agriculturist; passport date Shawwal, 1353 H., from the passport office at Sana'a, and bears the signature of the Sana'a Governor.

(3) Masad ibn 'Ali Sad, resident of Hajar. From 5th Siqad, 1353, has been in the Mutawakkil army of Amin Hajj ibn Muhammad Ghamsan.

Later the dead bodies of the accused were shown to the woman with whom they had taken their lodgings. The woman promptly identified Saleh, and of the other two accused she could only recognize the clothes, as their faces were mutilated beyond recognition. She also added that the sister of Shawafi Mu'allim had given them lodging, which on subsequent inquiries proves to be true.

The Police Commissioner also made inquiries from the Shaikh of Yemenis, stationed at Jedda, and it was revealed that the accused had procured a permit for Mecca in the name of Manjut. His brother was a cook at Jedda. This man was brought to Mecca after investigation, and identified all the accused and stated that Manjpt was his brother. The other accused, Saleh ibn 'Ali and 'Ali ibn Hazri, were also brothers; and the cook also said that he met the accused at Jedda, and his brother, Manjut, spent the night with him, and then came to Mecca, and with his brother and along with the two accused, Saleh ibn 'Ali and 'Ali ibn Hazri, put up at the mountain Abu Qubes for the night. Then they left for 'Arafat, and all three stayed at Mecca and did not perform Hajj, and that he did not see them, save on the day of the 'Aid, in Tawaf. After Tawaf he—the cook—went to the Maqam Ibrahim, and the three accused stayed away at Hatim.

As for Abu Masad, who was in the Mutawakkil army, he could not be traced further, nor has it been revealed so far why he left his passport with the other accused. The corpses of the accused were buried yesterday, and the cook is in custody for the present.

14th Dhu'l Hijj.

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 77, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1934.

EXPENDITURE.				RECEIPTS.			
<i>To Office Expenses:</i>							
Salaries and Insurance	...	...	...	£	s.	d.	By <i>Subscriptions received:</i>
Rent	...	...	...	£	s.	d.	Subscriptions (1461 Members)
Telephone	...	...	...	1,464	19	4	...
Stationery and Printing	...	...	...	...	...	...	„ <i>Journal:</i>
Postage	...	...	...	...	...	...	Subscriptions and Sales
Office cleaning	...	...	...	56	1	10	...
Audit fee	...	...	...	...	...	...	„ <i>Interest Received: (less Income Tax)</i>
Bank charges	...	...	...	19	11	5	...
Lighting and heating	...	...	...	...	...	...	„ <i>Annual Dinner</i>
Sundries	...	...	...	162	13	0	...
Repairs	...	...	...	...	...	...	„ <i>Dinner Club:</i>
				11	12	5	Contribution to expenses
			
				706	5	0	
„ <i>Journal:</i>							
Printing	...	...	...	524	10	5	
Postage	...	...	...	67	19	2	
Reporting	...	...	...	21	6	2	
Maps	...	...	...	5	7	6	
				619	3	3	
„ <i>Lectures:</i>							
Lecturers' fees	...	...	...	14	14	0	
Lecture halls	...	...	...	50	3	11	
Lecture expenses	...	...	...	28	5	9	
Lantern	...	...	...	17	15	0	
Lantern slides	...	...	...	12	9	8	
Reporting	...	...	...	19	9	10	
Printing	...	...	...	14	1	2	
				156	19	4	
„ <i>Annual Dinner</i>	...	...	...	197	12	6	
„ <i>Library</i>	...	...	...	1	5	6	
„ <i>Income Tax, Schedule "D"</i>	...	...	...	0	15	9	
„ <i>Corporation Duty</i>	...	...	...	1	18	0	
„ <i>Amount written off Society Premises Account</i>	...	...	...	27	11	0	
„ <i>Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure for year to date</i>	3	7	8	
				£1,714	18	0	

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NOTICES

A LUNCHEON in connection with the exhibition of Chinese Art will be held at Prince's Restaurant on Monday, December 2, at which H.E. the Chinese Ambassador will be present.

Members are asked to notify the office at once if they do not receive their cards and JOURNALS and of any change of address. The Secretary would be glad of addresses for Captain D. W. D. Nicholl, Miss Dales, and T. Garne, Esq.

The Honorary Secretaries will be at the office at 12.30 p.m. on Wednesdays when in London.

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THE Council would remind members of the R.C.A.S. that by instituting a Gold Medal in memory of Lawrence, members of the Society are given the means of showing their appreciation of contributions to the study and solution of the problems of Asia made by men who are working in the East. Those who wish to associate themselves with this aim are invited to send their subscriptions to the Secretary, if they have not already done so.

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THE SEVEN PILLARS OF WISDOM

IN answer to an enquiry Dr. Gaster writes :

The above title chosen by Lawrence for his book is based on Proverbs, chapter 9, verse 1, with but a slight modification. It reads as follows : Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars.

The dependence of the title on this verse is undisputable, but its implication as far as the contents of the book are concerned can only best be understood, I submit, by those who have read the book. For obvious reasons it has hitherto been inaccessible to me. I believe, however, that the following four verses of Proverbs may give us the clue. Of course it is only a surmise of mine, but it will perhaps be justified when the book becomes more accessible. I gather it only from what has hitherto been written about it. The verses referred to read as follows :

2. She hath prepared her feast;* she hath mingled her wine; she hath also furnished her table.

3. She hath sent forth her maidens; she crieth upon the highest places of the city,

4. Whoso *is* simple, let him turn in hither; as for him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him,

5. Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled.

In choosing this title Lawrence evidently presupposed that people would turn to the Bible and read what follows. But as I mentioned before, it is only a surmise of mine. These verses seem to prepare the reader for what he is to expect in the book.

M. GASTER.

* The translation of these words in A.V. and R.V. is not satisfactory. I have given here my own.

ANNIVERSARY LECTURE

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF MARCO POLO*

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR PERCY SYKES, K.C.I.E.,
C.B., C.M.G.

MARCO POLO, the most illustrious son of Venice, is a name to conjure with. To me it has served as an inspiration. During the thirty years I spent in Asia, travelling in Persia (now Iran), in Central Asia, in Chinese Turkestan, and on the Pamirs, I was privileged to follow in the footsteps of the Father of Geography perhaps more than any other traveller. Consequently I am in a position to add something to the identification of the routes Marco Polo followed and of the cities he visited during his epoch-making journeys.

The great English work on Marco Polo was written by Sir Henry Yule some sixty years ago and will remain for all time a classic full of fascinating lore. Quite recently Professor Benedetto, of Florence, in his *Il Milione*, has carefully examined 138 manuscripts, nearly one-half of which were previously unknown, and has produced a great work containing additional material of the highest value.

The story of the exploration of Asia by Niccolo Polo, his brother Maffeo, and by Niccolo's son Marco begins in 1260. The vast empire of the Mongols, which stretched across the entire width of Asia from the Pacific to beyond the borders of Russia, acknowledged the supremacy of Kublai Khan, who was elected Kha Kan or "Supreme Ruler" in this very year. He removed the capital from Karakoram in Mongolia to Khan-baliq, the Cambaluc of Marco Polo, situated close to Peking. He thereby ceased to lead a nomadic life and founded a Chinese dynasty.

In this year the two elder Polos, who had reached Constantinople from Venice, crossed the Black Sea to Soldaia, or Sudak, situated to the west of Kaffa, where the family had carried on the business of jewellers

* Lecture given on June 26, 1935, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., in the Chair.

for two generations. They decided as a commercial venture to visit the Court of Barka Khan, chief of the Golden Horde, at Sarai on the Volga, where the Khan received them most kindly and paid a high price for their jewels. Did not Chaucer write of Sarai?—

“ At Sarra in the londe of Tartarie,
There dwelt a kyng that werriëd Russie,
Thurgh which ther dyede many a doughty man,
This nobil kynge was cleped Cambyns Kan.”

Owing to hostilities breaking out in their rear between Barka Khan and Hulaku Khan, the captor of Baghdad, the brothers decided to continue their journey eastwards and crossed the desert to Bokhara. Here disturbances hindered any movement for some three years either westwards or eastwards, but the situation was suddenly changed by the appearance of envoys of Hulaku Khan—the Alau of Marco—bound for the Court of the Kha Kan with a powerful escort. At their warm invitation and in their company the Venetians travelled across Asia to the Court of Kublai, who welcomed them warmly and showed a deep interest in their account of Europe. Indeed, so impressed was he with the first educated Latins whom he had met, that he decided to despatch the Venetians as his ambassadors to the Pope, begging His Holiness to send him “an hundred persons of our Christian faith, intelligent men acquainted with the seven arts.” The Polos accordingly travelled homewards, helped by the authorities, but the journey took them three years; and they finally reached Venice in 1269.

In 1271 they decided to return to the Court of Kublai and to take with them Marco, the son of Niccolo, a youth of seventeen years. Gregory X., the newly elected Pope, appointed two friars to accompany them, but their hearts failed them before they left the coast. Had they been imbued with the true missionary spirit, they might well have converted Kublai and his Mongols to Christianity. No such golden opportunity as the invitation of the Kha Kan had ever been afforded, and the failure to seize it was deeply regrettable.

Marco commences the account of his explorations with a description of Lesser and Greater Armenia, referring to Mount Ararat; and he follows this up with a description of Georgia and a mention of the Caspian Sea. He rounds off his account of this part of Asia with a short description of Baudas, as he calls Baghdad, and tells the story of its capture by Hulaku Khan, which surely inspired Longfellow to write his “Kambalu.”

We now have to decide on the itinerary which the Polos followed.

Yule led them via Sivas and Erzerum to Mosul and Baghdad and so down the Tigris to Basra, to the island of Keis and to Hormuz. For reasons given elsewhere, which have been generally accepted by the latest commentators, I consider that Marco travelled via Sivas and Erzerum and makes his survey of Persia from Tabriz, at which city he commences it. The Polos never visited Baghdad, but travelled along the main caravan route to Kazvin, which is mentioned as the first of the eight kingdoms into which Persia is divided. Thence they proceeded to Saveh and Kashan, and so to Yezd, along a route which I have followed.

Tabriz is described as a mart for wares from India and Baghdad, a resort of Latin merchants, and especially of the Genoese. After Tabriz, Saveh is mentioned. Owing probably to the resemblance of its name to Saba, or Sheba, it is termed the "City of the Three Magi," and Marco mentions that "they are buried in three very large and beautiful monuments side by side." Yezd is mentioned for its silk products.

Beyond Yezd we have the first detailed description of the route: "When you leave this city to travel further, you ride for seven days over great plains. . . . There are many fine woods producing dates upon the way, such as one can easily ride through. . . . There are also wild asses, handsome creatures. At the end of those seven marches you come to a fine kingdom which is called Kerman." The present main route, along which I have travelled more than once, runs via Anar and does not answer to this description, since its altitude exceeds 5,000 feet, and so it is out of the question for date palms. There is, however, a westerly parallel route, and at Bafq, situated at 3,000 feet, I found extensive date groves, while, looking northwards, I saw a wide salt swamp, a favourite habitat of the wild ass.

At Kerman Marco states that "the ladies produce exquisite needlework in the embroidery of silk stuffs in different colours with figures of beasts and birds, trees and flowers, and a variety of other patterns." It is interesting to note that the first Kashmir shawls were woven in imitation of Kerman *shal*. When I founded the British Consulate at Kerman in 1895, a prominent building known as the "Kuba Sabz," or "Green Dome," bore a date equivalent to 1242. It was the tomb of the Kara Khitay dynasty, a member of which, an energetic princess known as Turkan Khatun, ruled the province at the time of the Venetians' return from China. Treasure-hunters undermined its foundations, and the building suddenly collapsed in about 1896.

The onward journey to the coast is described as "running for seven

days over a plain in bitter cold." After this "you come to a great mountain; and when you have got to the top of the pass you find a great descent . . . to a vast plain, and at the beginning thereof is a city called Camadi."

To trace this section of Marco's route, I undertook a journey to survey the unexplored district of Sardu to the south of Kerman, and found that Marco's description was most accurate, as it terminated in the Sarbizan Pass at 9,000 feet, whence there was an almost precipitous descent to the ruins of Komadin, which was an important centre at this period, with ruins covering a large area, which I examined.

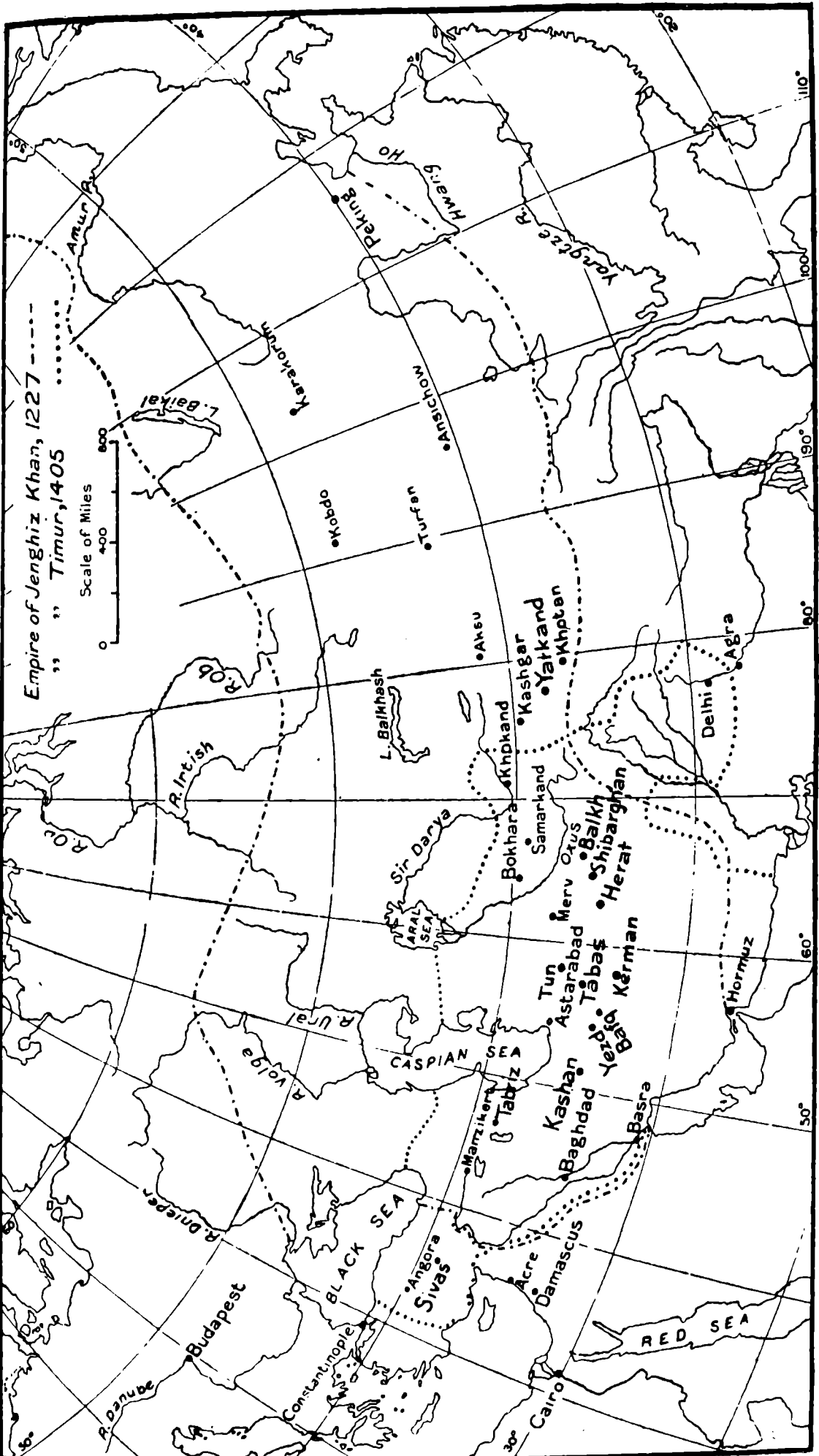
From Camadi the Polos followed down the Halil Rud to the district of Reobarles, or Rudbar, where Marco, who was a keen sportsman, mentioned the francolin, which have given me excellent shooting. The party was attacked by bandits and "Messer Marco himself was all but caught . . . but threw himself into a village called Conosalmi." It is of extraordinary interest to note that Diodorus Siculus mentions that Alexander the Great formed his standing camp at Salmous (*cono* is a form of *kahn*, or "stream"), where he received his Admiral Nearchus, who reported the safety of his fleet at Harmozia. At this village, then, Marco Polo undoubtedly crossed the route of his mighty predecessor. I would mention that I found a Greek alabaster unguent vase in this locality.

The onward journey to the coast lay down the Duzdi, or "Robber," River, which, like Marco, I found to be "full of peril." Indeed, I met a caravan that had been looted on the previous day and saw the cairn which covered the corpse of an unfortunate camel-driver.

The port of Hormuz, where Nearchus had beached his ships, is described as "a city of immense trade. . . . Merchants come thither from India, with ships loaded with spicery and precious stones, pearls, cloths of silk and gold, elephants' teeth, and many other wares." Did not Milton write?—

" High on a throne of royal state,
Which far outshone the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearls and gold,
Satan exalted sat."

Marco animadverts on the ships as "wretched affairs, and many of them get lost." Whether it was on this account or that the sailing season was past, the Polos returned to Kerman by a more westerly route, having finally decided to travel back to China by the land route.



Empire of Jenghiz Khan, 1227
" " Timur, 1405

Scale of Miles
0 400 600

The first fixed point in this section of the journey is Cobinan, or Kubanan, where "they prepare *tutia* (oxide of zinc), a thing very good for the eyes." When I was at Kerman this manufacture was still flourishing. Connected with it may I quote the Persian proverb which runs: "The dust of a flock of sheep is *tutia* to the eyes of a hungry wolf."

The Polos had now reached the southern edge of the Lut, the great desert of Persia, which occupies the centre of the country. Its name, the Arabic form of the Patriarch Lot, has been given to this great salt waste owing to its similarity to the country round the Dead Sea, which is locally termed Bahr-i-Lut, or "The Sea of Lot." Marco's description of it runs: "A desert of surpassing aridity. . . . Here are neither fruits nor trees, and what water there is is bitter and bad. . . . Crossing it, you arrive at a province which is called Tonocain."

In the Lut again I was perhaps the first European to tread in the footsteps of Marco Polo. My water gave out owing to leaky water-skins, and I only just reached sweet water in time. I can therefore fully confirm the accuracy of Marco's description. In the Lut the trail is marked by dead beasts of burden, while dried-up corpses of unfortunate wayfarers are occasionally seen. It is indeed the triumph of death—not a bird, not an animal living among its sandhills or black, serrated ranges.

Tonocain represents Tun and Kain, which are both fertile districts. Marco here indulges in a delightful account of the "Old Man of the Mountain" and of the earthly Paradise, where his devotees enjoyed the society of beautiful women and other delights, and were ready to kill whomsoever the "Old Man" wished. It is interesting to note that in this very year, 1272, Prince Edward of England (afterwards King Edward I.) was wounded by a devotee of the Syrian branch. The narrative was probably inspired by the fact that Hulaku had opened his campaign against the Assassins some ten years previously by the capture of Tun.

In this valley Marco was much attracted by the "*Arbre Sol*, which we Christians call the *Arbre Sec*." The Oriental plane, to which reference is here made, is considered to be sacred, and the peasants, probably continuing the tree-worship of their ancestors, make vows and tie rags to its branches. There is also some recollection of the "Tree of the Sun and Moon" that plays such a large part in the legendary history of Alexander the Great.

To resume the journey, there is no reference to Herat, which had been destroyed by the Mongols, but the route followed ran north-east to Shiburgan and so to Balkh, which "the Tartars and other nations have

greatly destroyed." Here Marco again crosses the route of Alexander the Great, and he mentions that "the people of the city tell that it was here that Alexander took to wife the daughter of Darius." Actually he married Roxana, a Bactrian princess, but, as Marco states, the Kings of Badashan (Badakshan) claim descent from Alexander the Great. Indeed, they do so to-day. He adds: "And all these kings call themselves *Zulcarnain*, which is as much as to say Alexander." Alexander the Great is still known by this term, which signifies "the Lord of Two Horns" throughout the East. After his visit to the temple of Zeus Ammon in the Siwah Oasis, where he was recognized as Son of the God, he assumed the horns, and this struck the Oriental imagination.

Marco as a jeweller naturally refers to "those fine and valuable gems the *Balas* rubies." He also refers to the beautiful lapis lazuli. Finally, he praises the horses of Badakshan as being especially speedy and surefooted. They still remain the outstanding horses of Central Asia, and when I was serving as Consul-General in Chinese Turkestan I rode no other horses.

To resume the journey, "on leaving Badashan you ride twelve days between east and north-east, ascending a river . . . and you come to a province of no great size, and this is called Vokhan (Wakhan). And when you leave this country and ride three days north-east, always among mountains, you reach to such a height that 'tis said to be the highest place in the world. And when you have reached this great height you find a great lake between two mountains, and out of it a fine river running through a plain." This clear account giving the bearing undoubtedly brings us across the Great Pamir to the Sir-i-Kul Lake. It was also named Lake Victoria by Wood, who gives the apt Persian name of Bamm-ud-Dunia, or "Roof of the World," to these high-lying valleys, which constitute the "high cradle" of the Oxus, to use Matthew Arnold's phrase.

Marco, the sportsman, refers to the "wild sheep of great size, whose horns are good six palms in length." Here we have the magnificent *Ovis poli*, the king of the wild sheep, which was so named in honour of the illustrious Venetian. It is celebrated by Rudyard Kipling in the following verse:

"Do you know the world's white roof-tree—do you know that windy rift
 Where the baffling mountain-eddies chop and change?
 Do you know the long day's patience, belly-down on frozen drift
 While the head of heads is feeding out of range?"

It is there that I am going, where the boulders and the snow lie,
With a trusty, nimble tracker that I know,
I have sworn an oath, to keep it on the Horns of Ovis Poli,
And the Red Gods call me out and I must go!"

To shoot one of these great rams was one ambition of my life, which I cherished for many long years before satisfying it on the Roof of the World. I would mention that the crest of our Royal Central Asian Society is the *Ovis poli*, and the head I shot is set up in its rooms. As the great Italian explorer Filippo de Filippi wrote to me: "The *Ovis poli* is as much the heraldic beast of Central Asia as the lion is of Africa and the polar bear of the Arctic." To quote our author once again: "The plain is called Pamir, and you ride across it for twelve days together, finding nothing but a desert without habitations or any green thing, so that travellers are obliged to carry with them whatever they have need of. The region is so lofty and cold that you do not even see any birds flying. And I must notice also that because of this great cold fire does not burn so brightly, nor give so much heat as usual, nor does it cook food so effectually." I would mention that on the Pamirs my sister and I were scarcely ever below 13,000 feet and that I stalked the *Ovis poli* at 16,000 feet, at which altitude I found that running was quite out of the question for me, but not for the Kirghiz.

Marco Polo probably left the Pamirs by the same pass as we did, and, skirting the splendid Muztagh Ata, a virgin peak which rises to 24,000 feet, he descended the Gez defile and so reached Kashgar.

Of this city he wrote: "They have beautiful gardens and vineyards and fine estates, and grow a great deal of cotton. . . . There are in the country many Nestorian Christians, who have churches of their own." When serving as Consul-General in Chinese Turkestan, I made careful inquiries as to these Nestorian Christians. They had, however, disappeared, but a Swedish missionary informed me that horse dealers, who failed to sell a horse at a fair, made the sign of the cross on its forehead to prevent its luck being spoiled for the next fair. This is the only surviving trace of the Nestorian Church at Kashgar, which, at the time of Marco's visit, was a Metropolitan See.

From Kashgar Marco travelled to Yarkand, where he noticed its great fertility, due to the Zerafshan, or "Gold Flowing," River. Yet its floods are devastating, whence the local proverb that the Zerafshan, like a king, knows no law. Upon continuing the journey, Marco crossed the Zerafshan and, skirting the mighty Kuen Lun, made for Khotan. When I followed in his footsteps, I was surprised that he

made no reference to it, but although I travelled twice along this route the range remained invisible, and, upon making inquiries, I learned that, owing to the dust in the atmosphere, it was only sighted after rain.

At Khotan, the "City of Jade," we visited the dry river-bed, where the boulders of jade are found at some twelve feet below the surface. Inspecting the primitive silk factory, we recollected that it was from Khotan that Persian Nestorian monks smuggled the eggs of the silkworm in the hollow of a bamboo staff. They gave the eggs to the Emperor Justinian, who founded the great silk industry of Europe at Constantinople. Surely this was one of the most wonderful romances of commerce.

Here we reached the eastward limits of my travels. As we know, Marco crossed the grim Gobi Desert to China, where he explored far and wide. After serving Kublai for seventeen years, he was finally placed in charge of a Mongol Princess, the destined wife of the Il Khan of Persia. Visiting Sumatra, Ceylon, and the western coast of India, the Polos landed with the Princess, *moulte bel dame et avenante*, at Hormuz. They then traversed Persia once again, and, handing over the bride, they finally, after an absence of twenty-five years, reached Venice and thus completed the greatest of all land journeys.

Before concluding these remarks, may I state how strongly I have been impressed by the accuracy and honesty of Marco Polo? As to the debt that geography owes to him, the celebrated Catalan Map of 1375 bases its delineation of China, of Java and Sumatra, and of the western coast of India entirely on the work of Marco Polo.

In conclusion, I will quote from Sir Henry Yule's eulogy: "He was the first traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen with his own eyes: the deserts of Persia, the flowering plateaux and wild gorges of Badakshan, the jade-bearing rivers of Khotan, the Mongolian steppes, cradle of the power that had so lately threatened to swallow up Christendom; the new and brilliant Court that had been established at Cambaluc; the first traveller to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness, its mighty rivers, its huge cities, its rich manufactures, its swarming population, the inconceivably vast fleets that quickened its seas and its inland waters; to tell us of the nations on its borders, with all their eccentricities of manners and worship; of Tibet with its sordid devotees; of Burma with its golden pagodas and their tinkling bells; the first to speak of that Museum of Beauty and Wonder, the Indian Archipelago, source of those aromatics, then so highly prized

and whose origin was so dark; of Java, the Pearl of Islands; of Sumatra; of Ceylon, the Isle of Gems with its Sacred Mountain and its Tomb of Adam; of India the Great, with its virtuous Brahmans, its diamonds and the strange tales of their acquisition; the first in mediæval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian Empire of Abyssinia; to speak, though indeed dimly, of Zanzibar with its negroes and its ivory, and of the vast and distant Madagascar, bordering on the Dark Ocean of the South, with its ruc and other monstrosities; and, in a remotely opposite region, of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean, of dog-sledges, white bears, and reindeer-riding Tunguses."

Happy is illustrious Marco Polo to have inspired such a noble eulogy!

THREE DESERTS*

By MAJOR C. S. JARVIS

THE subject of my lecture to-night is the Three Deserts of Egypt: Sinai, the Western Desert, and the Southern Desert. This is the third time I have lectured to the Society on deserts, and I apologize for the dryness of my subject; but it is not my fault, as Fate having pitchforked me into the wilderness some twenty years ago has never seen fit to pitchfork me back again. The transfers that the "powers-that-be" have seen fit to make have most of them been in the nature of Irishmen's rises, and instead of returning me to civilization have put me farther out into desolation than before. That is to say, no sooner had I settled down in the more or less temperate climate of the Western Desert and made a garden for myself than I was transferred to the hottest place in Egypt—the Southern Oases—and here, directly I had alleviated the discomforts slightly by installing an electric light plant and making an asparagus bed, I was moved on to Sinai where I found nothing.

There is a kink—or shall we say peculiarity?—about the British character that causes some men to actually get to like the desert. After one has got over the first horror of the stark desolation and the beastliness of the water, one feels almost attracted by the place; in course of time one becomes definitely fond of it and sees hidden charms in gravel plateaux and sand dunes; and the third stage is when one begins to think one's desert station is an all-important world-centre—a sort of hub of the universe, as it were—and this, of course, is where the medical authorities have to step in and arrange at once a temporary transfer to Cairo, where the entirely earthly outlook of the Gezira and Turf Clubs of the city brings the desert man back with a bump to the realities of life—or what passes for the realities of life in Cairo—and he then learns that the things that matter in Egypt are tennis, golf, and duck-shooting, and that Egypt Proper is a small island situated in the Nile off Kasr-el-nil barracks.

* Lecture given on September 18, 1935, General Sir Percy Cox in the Chair.

With regard to Sinai, I have in my previous lectures to the Society said so much about the peninsula that there is very little left to tell you beyond a few words about the Gulf of Akaba. For some reason or other Akaba—like a film star—is always in the news, and there seems to be a considerable amount of doubt as to whether this little port belongs to Egypt, Palestine, Trans Jordan, or Saudi Arabia. This is very excusable, as it is only recently that Palestine has begun to administer her small holding at the head of the Gulf, and Akaba itself, though definitely in Trans Jordan, was administered by King Hussein so long as he was King of Saudi Arabia. It was after his flight from the Hedjaz in 1925, I think, that Peake Pasha and the Arab Legion took over the port and surrounding desert, and this, incidentally, has made my lot a very much easier one, for it is most convenient in every way to have a government that does function on one's frontier, and, if I may say so, the Trans Jordan police force is a most efficient and entirely admirable one. Considering the chaos and complete lack of public security that was such a marked feature of this part of the world ten years ago, the present state of peace and some measure of prosperity is a distinct feather in the caps of the officials responsible.

The maps which I am showing, though all the frontiers are not marked, will give you some idea of the situation. The Egyptian boundary runs from Rafa to Taba. Then intervenes the narrow strip belonging to Palestine which is bounded by a straight line from the end of the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf near Akaba. Then you get the wedge of Trans Jordan territory with the Saudi Arabian frontier some five miles to the south.

Akaba has figured in history from time immemorial as a port of considerable value. We first hear of it in the days of Solomon as Ezion-Geber, though the exact site of Ezion-Geber was probably some distance to the north-west of the existing Akaba, as in those days the Gulf extended several miles to the north. Akaba itself was, I imagine, Eloth. It was from Ezion-Geber that Hiram's ships of Tarshish set out on their three-year voyages to the land of Ophir, wherever that may be. In Roman days it was undoubtedly the port for Arabia Petra, and later, during the First Crusade, Renaud de Chatillon, the Prince of Trans Jordan, fitted out a small fleet of sloops that harried Saracen shipping in the Gulf of Suez and Red Sea. His ships were built in sections at Jaffa and brought across the desert by camel to the head of the Gulf where they were assembled.

As Akaba is an open port to the south wind that sometimes blows with great violence, Renaud de Chatillon used the Island of Faroan as his naval base, and on the island itself he built a small castle, in those days known as Graye, whilst Akaba, where there was another castle, was called Ayla.

One has only to look at the position of Akaba to realize its strategical and possible commercial importance, but so far the time does not appear to have arrived when it has become necessary to exploit it. It might provide a port for Palestine for all commerce going to or coming from India, Australia, and the Far East, thus avoiding Suez Canal dues; the 'Iraq pipeline might possibly be bifurcated and led to Akaba if the need arose, and it might provide a very useful deep-water anchorage for a fleet. All these are possibilities, and, this being the case, I think it high time that Egypt definitely established her claim to the Island of Tiran that commands the southern entrance of the Gulf. Tiran is obviously Egyptian territory and in Roman days was a Roman-Egyptian customs station.

It is, as you may imagine, a first-class seaplane base—at the head of the Gulf at this spot is a landing ground, whilst at the top of the pass in Sinai is one of the finest natural aerodromes in the world—a vast clay pan $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide, with the surface of a billiard table.

There is a general impression that a canal could be constructed from the Palestine coast near Haifa via the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of Akaba, but there are several difficulties about this. One is that the Dead Sea and the greater part of the Jordan Valley lie at from 1,200 to 500 feet below the sea level, and the inundation would cover millions of acres of rich land now being exploited for bananas and citron fruit.

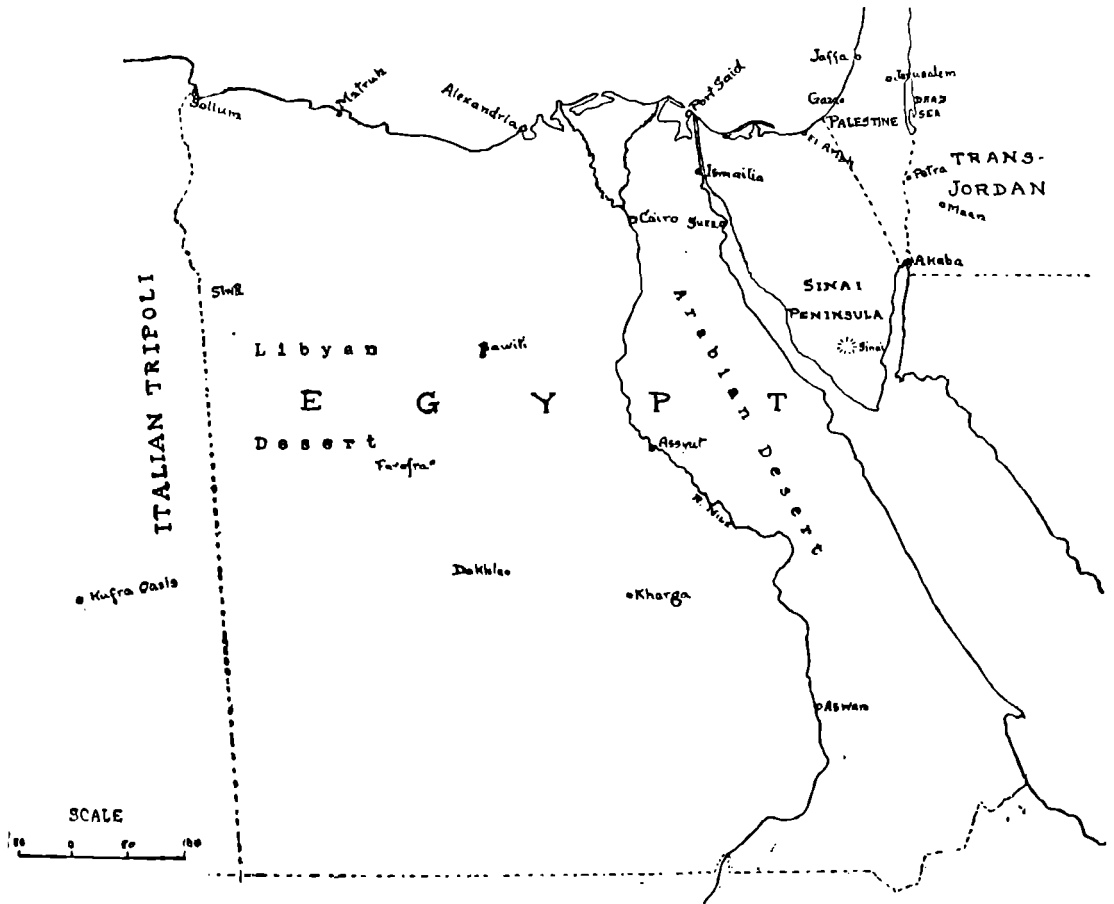
As to the difficulty of cutting a canal through Northern Palestine to the Jordan Valley I cannot speak, as I do not know the elevations; but it is quite a mistake to think that the land slopes gently from the head of the Gulf of Akaba to the low level of the Dead Sea, as actually it rises steadily to a height of from 600 to 700 feet above sea level at about this spot and then falls away to the lower end of the Dead Sea. I imagine that a cutting some 20 miles in length ranging from 100 to 700 feet in depth would be a colossal undertaking, and there could be no question of locks as there is no available water supply.

The first desert in which I served as an administrative officer was the Mariut or eastern portion of the Western Desert, which extends

from Alexandria to the frontier at Sollum. I apologize for straying from the continent of Asia, but I imagine that the Royal Central Asian Society interests itself in India and the road to India, and therefore anything that concerns the Suez Canal and Egypt and her frontiers comes within that category. Of course, one does not wish to carry this point too far or one might include Dover and Victoria Station. Also the Western or Libyan Desert of Egypt is populated by Arabs who claim Hedjazi descent and who are of the same faith. This vast waste is divided into two parts—the coastal belt, which is mostly clay, and which to a depth of from 15 to 20 miles experiences a substantial rainfall in winter; and the desert proper, which lies to the south of this, which is either sand, gravel, or clay, and is only subject to intermittent rain. All along the coastal belt excellent crops of winter barley are grown, and previous to the war the big breweries of England used to obtain their grain from this part of the world, the desert barley having peculiar qualities for malting purposes. Since then it would seem the breweries have discovered that they can obtain the barley they require elsewhere. Judging by the beer we had to drink during the war and for the seven years following it, I imagine the breweries learnt to make our national drink by merely staining the water to the required colour, and perhaps malt is no longer used.

The thing that strikes one most forcibly about Mariut is that here is a country with a temperate climate that has very definitely had a glorious past, but has unfortunately no present. To-day along the coast the Arab of the district grows his scattered patches of barley, and in suitable spots has small gardens of vines and fig trees, but it is haphazard cultivation at the best, whereas all over this region and twenty miles to the south are ruined farm-houses, fallen orchard walls, wine presses, dried-out wells, water cisterns, cement channels, etc., proving that, not so very long ago in the world of history, the whole of this littoral was a prosperous farming and fruit country. In Roman days Mariut was the granary of Rome, and corn from Mariut and the Western Desert was distributed to the poor of Rome in the same way as the unemployment benefit is distributed to-day. Mariut wine was famous all over the Roman Empire, and I believe that the Mariut urns with the Mariut trade mark have been found on the remains of the Roman Wall in Cumberland. Along the seashore are the ruins of seaside villas with stone steps leading to the sea, and at Mersa Matruh there are the stone and mosaic pavement of Cleopatra's bungalow, where it is said she entertained Mark Antony. Mersa Matruh, now

the headquarters of the province, is situated on a lagoon, which is remarkable for the wonderful colour of the sea inside the rocky barrier. There is first of all a belt of most glorious ultramarine blue which denotes the deep water by the entrance, on the western side there is a large patch of the most brilliant turquoise, then a streak of peacock, and finally a big stretch of vivid emerald. It is the most startling and beautiful variation of colour I have ever seen. Cleopatra's bungalow is situated at the western end, but about two miles farther to the west on the open coast is a large rock standing some two hundred yards



from the shore. There is a hole on the shore side of the rock which looks like a cave, but when one enters one finds oneself in a bath carved from the living stone. It was probably five feet deep at one time, ten yards long and three wide and is fed by a long winding tunnel that leads to the open sea, and in the sides of this tunnel are slots to take sluice boards. There is another channel that was obviously used for emptying the bath and this flows out the other end. The bath is open to the sky, but there are holes cut in the rock, which shows that it was once roofed, and there are stone steps leading down

to the bath inside the rock. I imagine that this solitary rock in the days of the Romans was a promontory and on it stood a seaside villa in the basement of which was this wonderful sea bath. I should say there can have been no trade unions in Roman days, for they seem to have been most prodigal in the way they cut out living rock for every purpose—for instance, if they wanted to make an underground cistern they invariably constructed it by cutting out the reservoir from a solid rock outcrop, whereas it would have been infinitely quicker and cheaper to dig a hole in the earth and line it with concrete.

There is a dry lagoon that runs parallel to the shore from Alexandria for a distance of nearly forty miles. This lagoon now is merely a clay pan in which water collects after rain, but in the days of the Romans it is obvious that shipping came up it, for at various points on its shores are massive stone quays at which ships could load.

It is very difficult to decide what was the reason for Mariut changing from a prosperous farming centre to a semi-desert land producing nothing but barley and a few figs. One theory is that a violent earthquake not only levelled every building and wall to the ground, but also altered the levels of water in the wells, turning them from fresh to brackish. The extraordinary part about it all is that there appears to be evidence to prove that the Mariut area has been raised to a higher level by some subterranean force and also evidence to prove that it has sunk. If one flies in an aeroplane off the coast on a calm day one can see lines of quays below the sea's surface, and at Hawariya inland one can see similar quays raised so far from the sea's surface that they stand on dry land.

Another explanation is the Arab invasion of the seventh century, and the replacement of the hard-working Italian cultivator by the hap-hazard Arab, who has let everything go by the board. Personally I have the very poorest opinion of the Arab as a cultivator, and unless water will rise to the surface of its own accord he is not going to take the trouble to raise it by any other means. If he found water-raising appliances at the various wells his unpractised hands caused them to get out of order at once, and if garden walls fell down and allowed goats and camels to stray inside and destroy the trees it was doubtless God's wish, so why worry? I know from bitter experience that the Arab never creates anything, and that he is past-master in the art of letting things go to rack and ruin. He has had his own way in the Western Desert and Mariut for something like thirteen hundred years, and thirteen hundred years of neglect will accomplish much.

I may say that my remarks on the comparative desolation of the coastal belt are based on what I saw in 1919. During the last five years the present Governor of the Western Desert and the Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture have been working towards reviving the past fruitfulness of this area, and hundreds of gardens containing thousands of olive and vine trees have been planted so that in course of time Mariut may regain some of its lost glories.

The desert which stretches away south of this sparsely cultivated belt is for the first few miles covered with tiny hummocks on which scrub bushes grow, and south of this one comes to the true Libyan Desert, which is a real waste in every sense of the word. It is absolutely devoid of scrub or plant life, and there is no living thing to be seen except a few jerboa rats—those queer little fellows with tufted tails—and what they live on is a mystery. As a matter of fact, it is not quite correct to say that this desert is devoid of plant life, as apparently there are from time to time very rare and very local thunderstorms and immediately afterwards the barren desert sprouts with tufts of coarse grass.

When Rholf, the German explorer, travelled through from the Oases of Dakhla to Siwa in 1879 he marked on his map an area of the desert as being covered with vegetation. I was in this spot in an exploring expedition with Prince Kamal El Din in 1923—forty-four years later. There was no sign of green vegetation then, but there were dried-up clumps of grass in the sand. If this was the vegetation that Rholf saw it suggests that not only will dry grass withstand the wear and tear of forty-four years, but also that grass seed lying out in this terrific heat will retain its germinating qualities for at least that period. On this expedition we saw one or two similar areas with patches of dry grass, but there was nothing to suggest that the rainfalls that caused them were anything but mere freaks of the weather and the very rarest occurrence.

The Libyan Desert is not all sand—in fact, the sand dune areas are definitely defined, and the most marked of these is the terrific sea of dunes that stretches from Siwa nearly to Dakhla. It is very difficult to describe a sand dune area of this description and one might use most of the adjectives in the dictionary trying to do so. I think both terrifying and awe-inspiring might be used for a start, and when you have tried to get through them in a car you will probably think of several others that you will not find in any dictionary. One might liken this dune area to the lines of heavy waves one sees in the

Bay of Biscay during a storm and imagine them suddenly frozen into immobility and turned a light buff colour. When one is in the sand dune area one has the feeling of being on the roof of the world, as on all sides there is an unbroken sky line with nothing in the way of hills or mountains to suggest that one is not standing on the highest point of the world. The entire absence of life or any signs of life has rather a depressing effect, and I remember on this trek with the Prince how my Sinai Arab orderly, who was used to the Sinai Desert, showed signs of intense fear because day after day passed without meeting a track of man, bird, or beast.

Where there are no sand dunes the surface of the desert is light coloured sandy gravel, clay, heavy flat sand, and rocky outcrops worn flat by the wind with powdered soil in between. And the desert is not flat, as here and there are sand-eroded hills and escarpments—and, if you are an explorer, never trust to a natural landmark. You may see twin peaks, for instance, one of them with a flat top and the other with a cone, and you say to yourself that “this is a very rare and queer formation, I shall know it again”; but the trouble is that it will only look like twin peaks from one particular point of view. Also the desert has a queer habit of repeating remarkable formations and in the course of the day you may pass six similar twin peaks, one with the cone and the other flat—and you can't afford to lose your way in the Libyan Desert, for the penalty is usually death, and an unpleasant one at that.

At the present time this Western Desert of Egypt is rather more in the public eye than is normally the case, for Egypt's neighbour to the west is Italy, whose Libyan province extends from Sollum southwards to the tiny oasis of Owienat. Owienat, as you will see, stands at the junction of Italian, Egyptian, and Sudanese territory, and last autumn there was some discussion as to the exact ownership of this little water-hole. It appears that Italy has satisfied herself—if no one else—that it lies inside her boundary, and with the impending war in Abyssinia and the part that aircraft will play it is fairly obvious why Italy desires a watering and fuelling station at this otherwise remote and useless oasis.

Egypt is both unfortunate and fortunate in her geographical situation. Her position on the map of the world, at the corner where Africa joins Asia, is of such strategical importance that even if the Suez Canal did not exist her territory would always be coveted for necessity's sake by any Great Power who happened to be aiming at

naval supremacy in the Mediterranean, African colonies, or mid-Eastern commitments. The fortunate side of her situation is the 130 miles of desert on her eastern frontier and the 300 miles of desert to the west, which in the light of modern means of transport provides a fairly effective barrier to invasion. I say "fairly effective" advisedly, for with the general advance in efficiency of aircraft and motor transport the difficulty of crossing a sandy, waterless desert decreases from day to day.

In 1915 and 1916 when Egypt was faced with an invasion by Senussi Arabs from the west our military authorities were hopelessly at sea, for they were apparently under the impression that an invading army could cross the Libyan Desert at almost any point and strike at the Nile Valley to the south. In any case they certainly held the view that an overwhelming force could march via the Oases of Jarabub, Siwa, Baharia, or Dakhla and Kharga to Egypt Proper. To guard against this they garrisoned Kharga, the Fayoum, and the whole length of the Nile Valley with troops urgently required elsewhere and tied up in Egypt some 30,000 to 40,000 troops watching a perfectly empty desert when it should have been obvious to the poorest brain that Siwa—which is easily accessible by car—was the key of the position. If Siwa had been captured and held by our mechanized force at the beginning of the Senussi invasion—and half a dozen armoured cars with twenty attendant Fords could have done it in three days—the Senussi invasion, which has probably added 6d. to the income tax of to-day, would have been scotched in the first three months. Water is the only thing that matters in the desert, and with the springs of Siwa denied to an enemy Egypt is safe.

What was true in 1916 applies to to-day, and the Libyan Desert, with its seas of sand dunes and vast stretches devoid of water, provides an absolute barrier to anything but a small raiding party in cars fitted with low pressure, oversize tyres—and raiding parties with attendant aircraft, though troublesome, cannot effect invasions. The only possible route into Egypt from the west is via the coastal road from Sollum to Alexandria, and this necessitates also the command of the sea, for the frontage on which an army could move is an exceedingly narrow one.

The Arab of the Libyan Desert differs considerably from those of Arabia and Sinai. They claim to belong to the big Arabian tribes, but I imagine from their build—and they are fairly big and sturdy—and their features that they are mostly of the old Libyan stock. They

are a very likeable people with a marked sense of humour—most of it Rabelaisian—and they have not the same aversion to hard work that is such a marked feature of the Eastern Arab. I was only with them for two years, so cannot say I got to know them intimately, but from what I remember of them they are definitely a superior race to my Sinai Arabs.

I came to Mariut as a very new administrative officer in a quite new desert administration, which had been hastily formed to take over the frontier provinces of Egypt recently evacuated by the enemy. The British Army found the British personnel, and the Egyptian Government the Egyptian staff. Suitable Egyptian officers were not easy to obtain and we had to accept discards from other administrations, and these discards were from weakness not from strength.

I knew nothing whatsoever about administration, but it struck me after a few days that there were a most inordinate number of prisoners. I sent for my Mamour, the Egyptian officer—or to be more exact I went to see him, he being semi-paralyzed and so fat that it took two men to get him out of his office chair—and asked him what the sentences were on all the prisoners. He replied that there were no sentences and that they were awaiting trial. I asked him then what the charges were, and he said, “As a matter of fact there are no charges, but they are all very bad men.” I then asked very meekly what the evidence was, and his reply was to the effect that “everybody says so.” With some sort of a vague idea at the back of my mind that an arrested man had to be charged with his offence immediately after arrest, I did not think this was good enough so I ordered the whole lot to be released—and they were. The next day I saw my police marching out precisely the same collection of prisoners and discovered that during the night the Mamour had re-arrested the whole outfit. I at once had them released a second time, and they went out into the open air shouting, “Long live the English!” I realize now that I acted with less tact than the situation called for, and by dissipating into the open air my Mohammed Effendi’s collection of carefully selected bad hats in this peremptory manner I seriously damaged the fragile flower of dignity that is such a necessary adjunct to the Oriental official.

After two years of the Western Desert I was transferred to the Southern Oases—*i.e.*, Kharga, Dakhla, Baharia, and Farafra, with my headquarters at Kharga. I had, like so many other people, formed my first impression of an oasis from the pictures one used to see in those

religious volumes which small boys in the dull old Victorian days were given to read on dreary Sunday afternoons. An oasis consisted always of a rush-fringed pool of clear water, a nice little patch of verdant grass, three date palms gracefully drooping in the background, a camel with its hump set too far back, and over all the deadly silence of a Victorian Sunday afternoon.

Actually the oases of the Egyptian deserts are a good bit larger than this—Kharga being some 80 miles long and 10 miles wide with five villages and a population of some 8,000, whilst Dakhla is some 45 miles by 15 with 12,000 inhabitants. The oases are huge depressions in the general level of the high desert, probably caused by sand erosion, and the fact that they are only a few feet above sea level accounts for the water that rises to the surface in true artesian fashion if wells are bored some 300 feet deep. Previously it was thought that this water came from the upper reaches of the Nile, but I believe the geologists now hold the view that it comes from the rainfall in Darfur.

Here is Kharga, which is 120 miles from the Nile Valley; Dakhla 80 miles from Kharga, Baharia 100 miles; and little Farafra 120 miles south-west of Baharia. In Kharga there are five villages, Dakhla thirteen, Baharia four, and Farafra one. The four oases are separated from each other by stretches of absolutely waterless desert, and in all of them a plentiful supply of artesian water enables corn, dates, and fruit of various kinds to be grown. In all of them there are deep wells, many of which are believed to have been bored by the Persians during their occupation of Egypt about 500 B.C., and it is said that the Persians learnt the art of deep boring from the Chinese. This gives some idea of the depth of the oasis below the level of the plateau and will also possibly convince you that an oasis is a trifle larger than the average suburban garden.

Ain Estakherib in Genah is a small village south of Kharga, and is a good specimen of these old wells. Below the surface of the water the square cut going down into the solid rock can be seen easily. This well supplies an enormous amount of water which flows in a channel six feet wide and a foot deep for some three miles to various patches of cultivation. On its way, incidentally, it provides an excellent snipe bog and a lake where duck of every variety feed during the winter months.

It was during the Persian period also that according to Herodotus an army of Cambyses 40,000 strong was lost in the desert west of Kharga during a sandstorm. They were marching from Kharga to

subdue the Ammonites who lived in the Oasis of Siwa away to the north-west, and Herodotus says they were engulfed in a sandstorm. I expect that what really happened was they struck one of those ghastly khamsin winds that blows from the south as if the doors of hell had been left open, that the troops went mad with thirst and heat, discipline went by the board, and the whole army died miserably, and no doubt their bodies are lying out in the desert now in the heart of the sand dunes.

Whilst on an exploring expedition with the late Prince Kamal El Din of Egypt, we discovered a vast dump of water jars lying in orderly rows beneath a rocky crag.

It was quite obvious that this was not an Arab dump, for the jars were laid in rows of fifteen, and anyone who has seen Arabs unloading a caravan will understand that the orderly grouping of the baggage is a thing utterly beyond their ken. Some of the jars were sent to the Cairo Museum, where it was estimated that they belonged to the fourth or fifth century B.C., so it is quite possible that we happened on one of Cambyses' water dumps.

The oases were at the height of their prosperity in Roman days and the Romans called them the Inner, Outer, and Northern Oases, and the names persist to-day, for Dakhla means Inner, Kharga Outer, and Baharia Northerly. As I have already said they were named the Blessed Isles by the Romans and the Isles of Rest by the Ancient Egyptians, but I have never been able to decide why, as the heat in these oases is terrible, and from mid-March till November whichever way the wind blows it feels as if it had come from a furnace. It was at Kharga I saw the most horrible sight I have ever seen, and that is a patch of white sunlight in the fireplace caused by the sun shining straight down the chimney. There is nothing more pleasant than a brightly blazing fire in the fireplace on a winter night, but a hot patch of sunlight on the bars in a darkened room that is pretending to be cool is nothing but an insult. You may be surprised to hear we had a fireplace in Kharga if the heat was so great, but it was quite cold enough in January for a few nights for a fire to be welcome if not altogether necessary. But as a matter of fact I don't think it was meant to be there at all, as the plan of the house was designed for Mersa Matruh on the coast to the north—a very much colder place. In this respect it resembled the barracks at Tipperary, which history relates were built from the plans for the barracks for Hong Kong with enormous French windows and wide verandahs, whilst Hong

Kong got something more suited to the Irish climate. In any case it was a truly Egyptian arrangement when I took over, as it consisted of an excellent fireplace in the room and a first-class chimney pot on the top, but it was entirely bricked up in between and I had to knock a hole through with a local boring plant.

In Roman days if they called the oases Blessed Isles there can have been no mosquitoes, but when I went there in 1920 the anophilæ mosquitoes swarmed in countless millions and a dose of malaria fever probably of the virulent variety was a certainty. My headquarters when they sent me there, however, were quite light-hearted about it—one can be extremely cheery about another man contracting malaria—and their attitude was roughly, “Go and do your best and if you die we’ll see you get a first-class funeral.” We found the mosquitoes of the oases all, and more than, they were reported to be. They were of four kinds: the anophilæ which gives you malaria, the culex which gives you elephantiasis, the stegomyia which gives you yellow fever, and a fourth kind nearly as big as a sparrow-hawk who made a noise like a saxophone (this we were unable to identify as we could never get anyone to believe it).

The malaria situation had been caused by the indiscriminate boring of wells due to jealousy of the people and lack of control. In some of the low-lying spots ten wells had been bored within a few yards of each other, when considering the amount of land available for cultivation one would have been ample if only the fretful, quarrelsome people of the oases had been able to divide the water up between themselves satisfactorily without beating each other over the head with mattocks. The result of this wanton boring was that nine-tenths of the water ran to waste and formed huge mosquito breeding swamps and hundreds of wells on higher levels dried up.

My chief job whilst I was in the oases was to control well boring and by stopping up unnecessary wells to try and raise the level of the water to those on high land again, and to do what I could to cope with the mosquito. I succeeded to a certain extent with the first part of the programme, but I cannot claim much success against the mosquito. I drained away some of the worst swamps, put mosquito-eating fish in the big pools and cleared out some of the sluggish-running water channels, but what completely defeated me was the fact that the people grew rice and rice only grows in standing water. They planted out their rice in April and harvested it in November, and the whole of that time it stood in stagnant hods or pools about three inches deep

that formed the most wonderful mosquito hatcheries that one could devise. It is no exaggeration to say that an acre of rice in Kharga or Dakhla Oases produces enough anophilæ mosquitoes to infect the whole world with malaria. This was the mess I was supposed to clear up.

The first thing to do was to find a suitable substitute for rice, and to assist me three agricultural experts were sent to advise. I don't know if any of you have ever met an agricultural expert—they are very queer people with big glasses, beards, lots of pimples, and trousers with baggy knees, and they seem to know a lot about everything except agriculture. One of them who was sent to me mistook potatoes growing in my garden for tomatoes and I lost all confidence in him after that. Another queer point about agricultural experts is that they never agree with each other, but then I believe this failing is common to all experts.

Anyway the result of it all was that two things were selected as suitable substitutes for rice—*i.e.*, millet and dry rice that comes from Nigeria, Brazil, or Papua. We rented several acres of land and told the inhabitants to come and see what we were doing. It is impossible to understand the meaning of the words mulish obstinacy until one has tried to get a backward Oriental race to discard its old-age methods of agriculture in favour of something new. The rumour went round that Hakooma (Government) had devised a scheme for starving the inhabitants to death, and people had to be brought literally by force to see the experiments which they regarded as a ruse to cover some devil's work. The dreadful part about it all was that the experiments were a ghastly failure—the dry rice came up, had one look at the oasis, and promptly died; and the millet, though it grew heads, was so afflicted by the bore worm and six or seven different pests that the experiment was interesting only as a proof of how many diseases and worms could be crowded on one plant. There is nothing quite so shattering to one's dignity as a demonstration that fails; it is bad enough when one's audience is sympathetic, but when it is definitely hostile and goes away saying, "I told you so"—and the Arabic rendering of this sounds much worse than the English—the situation is almost intolerable.

In the end, as no satisfactory substitute could be found, we had to fall back on an order forbidding the growing of rice within 800 yards of the villages and the dosing of all sufferers with quinine. This can only be regarded, however, as a compromise; and I believe that even to-day, after thirteen years, nothing has been found to replace the rice

that the people grow because it is only a wet crop that will wash the natural salt from the soil; whilst at the same time it is the saturation caused by the rice crop that causes the salt to rise to the surface. A vicious circle indeed! There is a solution, however, and this is a series of deep drains that in the course of four or five years will effectually clear the salt out of the soil, but this has proved a too expensive remedy to apply it to the oases. The drains would cost a small fortune, and it would be necessary to provide food for the inhabitants while the drainage was proceeding.

The people of the oases are supposed to be the descendants of the ancient Berber, and they differ from the inhabitants of the Nile Valley in many respects, the chief of which is that they are definitely lazy whereas the Egyptian fellah is one of the finest workers in the world. It is difficult, however, to find fault with the miserable inhabitants of the oases, as they contract malaria in their childhood and suffer from the disease all their lives, so that it is small wonder that they are a degenerate and despondent community. Some years before I arrived at the oases an American anthropologist visited Kharga and wrote a book on the inhabitants and their characteristics. The book was illustrated by photographs, and an old sheikh of the town possessed a copy of which he was extremely proud, and which he showed to everybody because his photograph appeared in it. Under the photograph was printed these words—"A particularly low type of humanity; the skull is almost simian."

The people of Dakhla are of the same race as those at Kharga, but malaria though prevalent is not so general, and they are a much brighter community in consequence. The soil of Dakhla is very much more fertile than that of Kharga, the climate not so poisonously hot, and it is a more attractive oasis in every way. Dakhla produces every kind of fruit, but owing to the fact that there is no railway there is no opportunity to send any of the products to the Nile Valley, as soft fruits such as oranges, mangoes, peaches, and apricots will not survive camel transport. The dates of Dakhla and Kharga, however, are amongst the finest of the world, as the date trees are grown in the ideal conditions for this fruit—namely, "roots in water and the head in hell." The only trouble is that the people have not yet learnt that packing, tissue paper, and attractive boxes are the most important considerations in the fruit trade, the quality of the fruit itself being quite a secondary consideration. To realize this one has only to see the popularity in our shops in England of the rather tasteless Californian

apples in their attractive boxes and tissue paper wrappings and the neglect shown for our wonderful Cox's Orange Pippins because they are sold in market gardeners' baskets. The Dakhla people sell their dates in goatskin bags or empty four-gallon petrol tins, and the general public is not educated up—or down—to this style of packing.

Some years before I came to the oases a severe epidemic of Spanish influenza had taken a heavy toll of the inhabitants, and a young and keen Egyptian doctor, who was at Dakhla with me, conceived the idea of starting an orphanage, which he said was badly required. A subscription list was started and the sheikhs and omdehs were persuaded to subscribe; I cannot say they did it very willingly, for although they were in favour of an orphanage so long as they thought that "the old milch cow" (the Government) was going to provide the funds, they could see nothing in the idea when it was pointed out that they were expected to subscribe. However, we got together £300, and the doctor and the Mamour started to build the orphanage with such fervour that the walls were up six feet in a week, and then the work flagged. Every time I visited Dakhla I noticed that practically nothing had been done, so I gave orders that it was to be finished forthwith and a month later went over to attend the opening ceremony. Egyptians are simply wonderful at arranging fantasias, and this was a first-class show; the streets of the little village of Mut were decorated with flags and palm branches, everyone was in gala dress, and the orphanage was finished and glistening with new paint, and there was a grand tea party for a hundred people. A most excellent show; the only jar was that there were no orphans, and I very tactlessly spoilt a jolly afternoon by calling attention to the fact. The doctor turned to the Mamour and asked him where the orphans were, and the Mamour asked the Bash Shawish, and the Bash Shawish demanded the presence of orphans from the sheikhs, but there were still no orphans. Then the Mamour and the doctor became angry, and said if there were no orphans they would see to it that orphans were produced—and it seemed to me a dreadful threat to come from a doctor, for who is better qualified for the work?

It was arranged, therefore, that I should return in fourteen days' time and see the orphanage at work, and a fortnight later I came back and found everything in excellent order. Scores of jolly little orphans were hard at work making baskets and carpets, and it struck me I had never seen such a collection of well-fed prosperous children. As I was leaving after a satisfactory inspection I noticed a crowd of well-

dressed men and women at the gate, many of whom I recognized as ghaffirs and minor Government employees. I asked the sergeant at the gate what they were doing there, and he replied very ingenuously, "Oh, those—they are the parents of the orphans waiting to take them away after you have gone."

The explanation of it all was that the people of the oases had not learnt to trust the Government, and the rumour had gone round that all the children who were taken to the orphanage would remain as slaves to the Government and be enlisted in the army. After this nobody would disgorge an orphan and the nearest relatives took charge of them in the villages; the orphanage had to remain empty and my unfortunate doctor, through my insistence, had to take some steps to fill it. All would have been well if I had not been so inquisitive.

In the Baharia Oasis some of the wells are of a different type, as they consist of bores into high ground to the water level and then a very long subterranean channel which carries the water to the low land and the cultivation. The subterranean channels have inspection chambers cut every hundred yards or so and the whole arrangement is a work of very considerable magnitude and was probably carried out by forced labour in Roman days. There is also at Kharga a very wonderful water supply of this description at the north-west corner of the oasis. Here there is an old Roman fort with four round towers at each corner, and it apparently guarded one of the roads into the oasis from the Nile Valley; and there are three subterranean channels at a depth of 150 feet running for a distance of over two and a half miles into the rocky scarp, where they collected water which was led to the fort and the cultivation surrounding it. It is rather staggering to us in England, who see water running to waste in every brook, to realize what colossal works were undertaken in Egypt to obtain a supply of water that we should regard as a trickle of no importance in this country.

In Baharia the people are mostly of Berber origin, but they appear to have a considerable amount of Arab blood in them and on the whole are a more virile race than either the people of Kharga or Dakhla.

There was a wonderful potter in Baharia when I was there, but he was a very old man indeed and having no relation of his own refused to teach his trade to anybody else; and this was a pity, for the old man was working on the models of ancient Greek urns and jars. The business had no doubt been handed down from father to son, or uncle to nephew, throughout the centuries, and thus the patterns had never

changed since the days of the Ptolemies. His workmanship was marvellous, but I suppose the old man, who was then nearly ninety, must be dead by now and has carried his secret to the grave.

This trade jealousy is a very marked feature in Egypt, and if one discovers a craftsman who is particularly clever at his work it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to get him to teach anyone but a relation his trade. I appointed an apprentice to the old man and he gave me his word that the boy should be well and truly taught, but it is one thing to take the horse to water and another to make him drink, and I heard afterwards that the boy, after being kept at thumping wet clay for two years and nothing else, got tired of the potter's profession and threw it up.

Another very conservative profession is that of chicken incubating, and all the men who practise the work come from a small village in Lower Egypt called Birma. It is said that the art has been handed down in certain families from the days of ancient Egypt and no man from Birma will teach the knack to anyone else. In the incubating season in the early spring all men from Birma trek off to their beats in various parts of the Nile Valley and the oases, build a low mud hut outside the village in which they are going to operate, and on the interior walls of this hut they make with clay a series of shelves to take the eggs. In the centre of the hut is a circular clay trough which they fill up with tibun, the chaff of Egypt, and which is burnt to generate the heat. The people bring their eggs to the incubator, who charges so much a hundred, and when the hut is filled with some thousands of eggs the fire is started up and incubation begins. During the whole period the man in charge lives and sleeps in the hut, testing the heat of the eggs by placing them against his eyeball. In the last week the heat generated by the eggs themselves is sufficient to carry on the incubation and the fire is allowed to die out. Anyone who has ever worked a real incubator will have realized what a very difficult business it is to maintain the correct heat even with a serviceable thermometer. I personally have either refrigerated my eggs or roasted them on the few occasions I have been trusted with an incubator; but I am told that these Egyptian egg hatchers never fail to bring off a 90 per cent. successful result. Of course, a failure would be too ghastly to contemplate; 15,000 eggs gone west and every housewife in the village looking for the incubator's blood.

The fourth and last oasis, Farafra, is quite insignificant and very inaccessible, and famous only for growing a particularly good wheat.

In 1920, when our only cars were the old "Tin Lizzie" Ford left behind by the British Army, it was necessary to visit both Baharia and Farafra by camel, and I reached Farafra after ten days' hard trekking over a boulder-strewn desert to find the small population half asleep. In those days we were still hypnotized by the importance of President Wilson's famous Fourteen Points and his fatuous cry for self-determination for small nations. I decided then and there that this was a most excellent policy to apply to Farafra, and I have never regretted my decision, as Farafra remains the one place in the world where this policy has been a complete success.

In a short lecture like this one I can only skate lightly over the various interesting sides of the oases, and as I was only in the station two years my knowledge is of necessity an incomplete one. From the historical point of view the oases are vastly interesting, but, if I may say so, the antiquities there have never received the attention they deserve, because in the eyes of the Antiquities Department they are not old enough. Egypt is so rich in antiquities that date back 3,000 to 5,000 years before Christ that anything of the Persian and Ptolemaic period is regarded as hopelessly modern—almost mid-Victorian, in fact—and all the temples found in the oases are of the Persian and Ptolemaic and early Roman periods; and in the eyes of a real Egyptologist this sort of antiquity is put in the same class as antimacassars, aspidistras, and the Albert Memorial. The Temple of Hibis, which is situated just outside Kharga in a delightful palm grove, is the work of Darius I., and was built in the fifth century B.C. I am no archæologist, but I believe it is of considerable interest because the columns and capitals are all different and represent different periods in Egyptian architecture. I suppose this was considered as being a case of lamentable Persian taste in those days, and regarded in much the same light as we regard a blending of Tudor, Queen Anne, and Georgian. There are also, I believe, some carvings and bas-reliefs inside the temple that prove the designer was not well acquainted with the religion, for he has dropped some theological bricks. It is also interesting in another way, because all the eighteenth-century explorers of the Libyan Desert such as Caillaud, Hoskins, and Drovetti have carved their names on one of the capitals—a form of vandalism that has now become almost as interesting an antiquity as the temple itself. Another act of vandalism is a notice carved on one of the stones of the temple portals by a Roman Governor to the effect that he has heard many complaints from the inhabitants of the oasis as to the misbehaviour and bribe-

taking of his minor officials and in future he wishes it to be known that he will not countenance the giving of bribes, and that when officials go out on inspection they are expressly forbidden to foist themselves on the unfortunate inhabitants and ration themselves and their animals at the people's expense. And this makes me think that the East has not changed much in 2,000 years.

Another interesting historical relic is the early Christian Necropolis at Kharga, and in some of the old mud brick buildings one can see mural paintings depicting scenes in the Old Testament and mixed up with them various symbols of the ancient Egyptian religion, such as the Key of Life, etc., proving that in the early days of Christianity the inhabitants of the oasis were somewhat unorthodox in their faith. The same blending of religions occurred again later after the Mohammedan invasion, and the people in the oases remained Christian for some centuries after Egypt Proper had accepted the Muslim faith. Even to-day the great event of the year with the people of Kharga is mid-Shaaban, which is hardly recognized by Mohammedans in Egypt Proper, and this, I am informed, is nothing but the Feast of Epiphany in another form.

The Libyan Desert in this part of the world is reputed to hide flourishing and inhabited oases in which dwell people who have not been in touch with the outer world for something like 2,000 years. This is a very fascinating legend, and until quite recently it was regarded as a possibility, but of late years so much of this hitherto unknown desert has been explored and criss-crossed by car patrols that I am afraid these wonderful forgotten oases must be regarded as a myth. The most insistent legend concerned the Oasis of Zarzura—the word means small birds or starlings—which was said to be hidden in the wild sand dune country west of Dakhla. Stragglers from caravans—frantic with thirst—occasionally came in and reported that they had seen it with its golden minarets shining in the setting sun. I don't know why it is, but these legendary places always have golden minarets, and it is a lamentable fact that the known oases as a rule are content with very prosaic ones of mud brick. These stray Arabs who had seen it, however, could never lead people back to it, but the prospect of finding a lost race who could afford golden roofs was so enthralling that many credulous people, including myself, went out to hunt for Zarzura. Personally I should have been perfectly content with even one tile off a golden roof. In my opinion Zarzura actually existed at some period not so very long ago, and was quite an ordinary Libyan

Desert oasis, but the advance of sand dunes has completely filled up the depression in which it lay, and when one sees what dunes have done in Kharga and the oases, this can be regarded as something more than a possibility.

In thanking the lecturer the CHAIRMAN said: It has been extraordinarily good of Major Jarvis to come here to-night. These are his last few days in England and he is extremely busy. When Major Jarvis speaks of the attraction of the desert, I can entirely share his sentiments. It has an extraordinary fascination, and makes you wish to go back to it from wherever you may be. Just now it seems to be these desert regions and those of the Arctic zones that attract explorers, being those regions where there is most yet to be done. And in these particular deserts, Major Jarvis has had more opportunity than any living man for exploration. Now that he is going back, we hope that his strong sense of humour, with his other gifts, will enable him to gather some new material to give us when he comes home again. (Applause.)

POLITICAL PARTIES IN SYRIA

By I. CHIZIK

SYRIA, which extends over an area of some 150,000 sq. kilometres, and which comprises the States of the Lebanese Republic, Syrian Republic, the Sanjak of Alexandretta, Latakia (formerly the State of the Alouites or Alawiyin) and the autonomous Jebel ed Druze, stretches to the north as far as Turkey, to the east as far as 'Iraq, and to the south to the mandated territories of Palestine and Transjordan. The country is largely pastoral in character, and has a well-watered coastal belt. Little more than 10 per cent. of the whole is under cultivation, the remainder being devoted to the grazing of sheep and cattle; the method of cultivation is primitive, and the structure is mostly semi-feudalistic. The major portion of the population is devoted to agriculture and commerce. Industry is, in the main, confined to handicrafts. Since the close of the world war a small number of factories have come into being, chiefly in the large cities, such as Damascus, Aleppo, and Beirut.

The inhabitants of Syria are, in general, subscribers to the three great religions—the Moslem, the Christian, and the Jewish. The entire population amounts, roughly, to 3 million* persons. The adherents of Islam is divided into two groups—the Sunnis, numbering about 1½ million, and the Shias (those of Jebel Aamel Mutawalin known as numbering about 125,000). There are thirteen Christian groups—*i.e.*, six Latin of which the Maronite section, of approximately 225,000 members, is the largest; and five non-Latin, of which the Greek-Orthodox sect is the most considerable, with a membership of 155,000. In addition, there are seven post-Islamic cults, the strongest being the Druzes, who number roughly 140,000 persons.

As has been said above, Syria is divided into five separate administrative districts. This partition was effected by the French at the close of the world war, for reasons which were best known to themselves. Of the five administrative units, the Sanjak of Alexandretta and the

* There has not been a recent census in Syria, and the numbers quoted here are only rough estimates.

States of Latakia and Jebel ed Druze enjoy constitutions which differ from those of Syria and the Lebanon. The territories of the Alawis and of the Druzes are so organized that there is very little participation by the people in the legislation of their countries. The highest authority is vested in the Governors, who are appointed by the High Commissioner of Syria, and who are assisted by representative councils, whose functions are purely advisory. Two-thirds of the members of the Alawi Council are elected; the Druze Council is entirely nominated.

In the Lebanon, two-thirds of the Chamber* are elected members; the remaining third being appointed by the Government. Members are drawn from the various religious sects which they represent. The sixty-three members of the Syrian Parliamentary Chamber† are all elected. At present the Lebanese Parliament is not much more than a debating society, with little or no influence on matters affecting the development of the country. The Syrian Parliament was recently prorogued for an indefinite period, as a result of a deadlock between it and the High Commissioner in regard to the proposed treaty with the Mandatory Power in connection with Syria's independence. Negotiations for this purpose were maintained during the past ten years, but no decisive result has as yet been attained, since there was at no time complete agreement as to all the clauses.

It must be noted that the division of the country into its present constituent parts was effected much against the will of the people, who considered that the partition would provide a most serious obstacle in the path of Syria's advance to independence. Criticism has been levelled at the form of administration which has been introduced on the ground that it is expensive and, indeed, entirely out of proportion to the financial resources of the country—a head too large for the body which bears it. There are, at present, 7,000 Government officials, of whom 2,000 are Christians. Under the Turkish régime there were no more than 700 such civil servants.

It is the claim of the inhabitants of Syria that the partition was introduced for the express purpose of "dividing and ruling." The creation of the large official class is regarded as a strategic move for securing a solid support to the Mandate. It is declared that, in the

* The constitution for the Lebanese Republic was promulgated in May, 1926.

† The first elections to the Syrian Assembly were held in April, 1928, when a provisional Government was formed under the presidency of Sheikh Tujud Din. The Assembly was entrusted with the task of drafting a constitution, which it adopted as a whole on August 7, 1928. Certain provisions of the constitution were, and still are, not acceptable to the Mandatory Power.

result, the action of the Government has merely led to local territorial conflict, one State standing against another, and that, though it has benefited the Government itself, it has been of no value to the country as a whole.

The working class does not constitute a united body. Its members are completely unorganized and unrepresented. Though there are a certain number of guilds and societies in existence, there are no trade unions or bodies carrying trade union functions. Save for one piece of legislation in Syria proper, nothing has been done to safeguard their interests. Compensation of workers suffering injury during the course of employment is not regulated by legislation, and the employer is therefore free to compensate the workers as he sees fit. In general it appears that employers pay medical expenses; they seldom, however, make any adequate grant to the injured employee. Women and girls monopolize, almost entirely, employment in such domestic industries as lace-making, millinery, etc. Apart from this, women and children are employed principally in silk-spinning and in cigarette factories. It has been estimated that 44 per cent. of the total number of workers are women and 16 per cent. children under 14 years of age. The figures on which these percentages are based do not, however, include workers in building and other such industries in which men exclusively are employed.

The children, most of whom are over 10 years of age, and none of whom are under 7, are engaged as assistants or apprentices. Their work is not in itself arduous, but their hours are long and their labour is generally performed under most unfavourable conditions. The only existent legislation in restriction of child labour is the Syrian ordinance, which forbids the employment of children under the age of 11 in industrial undertakings. Even this ordinance, however, is not strictly enforced. Hours of work range between 9 and 15 hours a day, the average working day being estimated at 12 hours, inclusive of an hour's break. The shortest working day is enforced in the newer factories and the longest in the older factories and workshops. There is almost universal recognition of the weekly day of rest, and in some undertakings the 5½ day week has been introduced. Owing to the economic depression some factories have been working only 6 to 7 hours a day. Wages are usually paid according to daily rates. In the older industries of lace-making and soap-making and in one large cotton-spinning factory some of the workers were paid at piecework

rates; and in the oil-pressing industry payment in kind was maintained. Wages were generally paid weekly, but employers were often remiss in their payments.

The present general average daily wage has been estimated, roughly, as equivalent to 11 French francs. The average daily wage of the unskilled worker is about 7 francs for men, 5 francs for women and 2 to 2½ francs for children. Skilled workmen draw from 10 to 30 francs per day, with an average of 18 francs. The highest wage of from 25 to 35 francs per day is received only by highly skilled workers, mechanics, and foremen. The most highly paid trades include carpentry, confectionery, printing, and the lowest wage is given for oil-pressing and silk-spinning.

The merchant and middle class has suffered greatly as a result of the partition, at the close of the Great War, of the Ottoman Empire into three different countries, with distinct geographical boundaries and separate tariffs. Beirut, for instance, which was at one time the commercial centre of this area, and which constituted the channel through which flowed the trade of Iraq, Transjordan, Palestine, and northern Turkey, has declined rapidly as a result of the fact that all these States have acquired their own channels for export and import. The large scale commercial plants and agencies which existed in the port before the war have had to readjust themselves to meet purely local needs. Since, moreover, agriculture in Syria has been sadly neglected, so that in 1934 no more than 114,581 Syrian pounds were expended on hydraulic works and irrigation, out of the total of 1,821,409 Syrian pounds spent by the Office of Common Interests; and since the silk industry has declined markedly as a result of the growing preference for artificial silk and cotton goods, even such local markets have become more limited. In the heavy industrial sphere the lack of capital and the disinclination for investment evinced by foreign interests have prevented any noticeable development.

The professional class is fairly extensive, most of its members being doctors, dentists, lawyers, and pharmacists, turned out by the local Universities, and now involved in strenuous competition. At the same time there is an obvious shortage of engineers, agricultural specialists, and mechanics, all of whom could play an important part in the development of the country.

All those classes which have been described are faced by difficult conditions, are united in one common objective—the ultimate independence of their country. The differences that occur among them are

based not on the kind, but on the intensity of their opposition to the Mandate.

It is essential in considering the political parties in Syria to realize that they are divided on bases which differ widely from those which maintain in the western political world. The demarcation between one group and another is caused, not so much by diversity of economic interest, as by the adherence to particular leaders, who may be persons prominent in the religious sphere, or who may enjoy hereditary power. There is a tinge of feudalism in the opposition of one group to another, and this fact is apparent not only in parochial, but in national politics.

Each party comprises members drawn from all social classes. The changes in the material forces of production and in the general economic structure of the country have not been sufficiently marked to induce any change in social relationships (in the western sense) of the Syrian people. The Arab workers and peasants of Syria have been taught to attribute the blame for their unsatisfactory condition to general bad luck, and to the unpopular foreign government.

Speaking generally, it may be stated that the objective of all parties is the securing of a Syrian-French Treaty on the 'Iraqian model. There are differences in intensity and in particular loyalties; but whatever union may exist between the various groups has its basis in this common end. Until the latter is achieved there can be little expectation that attention will be devoted to the economic progress of the country, and as a result small possibility that political divisions will arise from purely economic differences.

The Lebanon

On the occupation of Syria by the French, and prior to the granting of the Mandate, there was a political division in the population of the Lebanon, one group favouring the introduction of the French Mandate and the other opposing it. The main supporting party, consisting chiefly of Maronite Christians, and led by Advocate Yusuf Sa'uda, were the *Conservatives*, so called because they wished to maintain the natural borders of greater Lebanon as marked out by the French. The opposition party, the Islakh (Reform), had at its head George Kfoury, and adopted as its main political platform an understanding between the Lebanon and the district of Syria, and the reintroduction of the original smaller Lebanon. In addition to these large parties there were a number of smaller groups and organizations, registered and chartered by the Government. Most of them, at a later date, supported the

French Mandate. To-day the most influential party is that of the Maronite Patriarch. In spite of its comparatively small membership it is the unchallenged leader in Lebanese politics. Indeed, as a result of the conflict in regard to the granting of the Tobacco Monopoly, this group has been recognized as the most important in all Syria. But whereas the National Party in Syria (the district) regards the granting of the monopoly as a fit occasion for pursuing their political fight against the French Government, and the Lebanese small planters are opposed to the monopoly on practical grounds, the Patriarch, who has always been a supporter of French authority, is thought to direct his attack purely against the representative of that authority, M. de Martel, the High Commissioner of Syria, and not against France itself.

The gist of the Patriarch's policy lies in the demand for a triple treaty—one agreement to be concluded between France and the Lebanon, the second between France and Syria, and the third between the Lebanon and Syria. On the whole, however, the Maronite faction has shown little interest in political matters. It is only the introduction of the monopoly question which has aroused them from their indifference and has led them to union with the nationalist movement in Syria against the present policy of the Mandatory Power.

The Lebanon boasts also a small party of the "intelligentsia," composed mainly of young men headed by Al Hashem and Sheikh Aziz. It is known as *Hizb al Istiklal al Jamhury*, and received legal recognition in 1931. It includes Moslems, both Sunnites and Shiites, Druzes and Christians, its membership numbering some few thousand persons, and its organizers being drawn largely from the professional class. Its programme has been published in leaflet form, but, in face of the strict censorship enforced in the country, it is impossible to judge how far this publication is exhaustive.

Syria

Here the pre-war parties continued in existence after the close of the war. The largest, that of *Al Ahd* (The Covenant), which demanded the complete independence of Syria, and which supported the revolt of Feisal in 1919, absorbed into its fold groups and sects which shared its views, and in the plebiscite of the Ingerain Commission received 83½ per cent. of the total votes cast. In spite of its demand for complete independence, it appeared that it would nevertheless have accepted a British or an American Mandate. It was the French Mandate to which it was immovably opposed.

After the defeat of Feisal, all existing parties were disbanded and their re-formation prohibited. Gradually, however, a strong nationalistic movement developed, and when, in 1924, the High Commissioner removed the ban, there was formed the "People's Party" (*Al Sha'ab*). Its official programme, introduced by Faris Bey al Khury, comprised the following main principles:

1. The recognition of Syria's national sovereignty and of its unconditional right to enjoy democratic forms of government.
2. The unification of Syria to include all territory lying within its natural boundaries.
3. The guarantee of personal liberty, liberty of the Press, and liberty of association.
4. Education of the people for social, democratic, and civil unity.
5. Protection of national industry and development of economic resources.
6. Provision for a unified system of compulsory elementary education.

The leaders of the People's Party emphasized that their programme was particularly important, since it dealt with points which had not heretofore received attention. They also maintained that though Syria had been crushed, its desire for freedom was indestructible.

When the revolt in the Druze Mountains broke out the *Al Sha'ab* Party decided to participate in the uprising, and by so doing gave the affair a national character. The revolt having failed, the party was broken up and its leaders (one of whom was Sha'abandar) sent into exile.

Subsequently, from the remnants of the People's Party and from members of the Istiklalist and other groups was built up the national block, *Al Kutla Al Watani'a*. This party, too, aims at complete independence, and is against co-operation with the present Government. They do not advocate the immediate union of Syria and 'Iraq, but stand for an eventual Arab Federation. They ask for universal compulsory education and compulsory military service; for a democratic form of government under a president or a king; and for agrarian reforms. They declare themselves to be undenominational, making no distinctions on religious grounds and separating the church from the State.

The majority of this party are Moslems. Though they have only fifteen representatives in the Syrian Parliament out of a total of sixty-three members, they have always succeeded in influencing the Parlia-

ment in the direction they desired, and it is they who were responsible for the rejection of the treaty proposed by M. de Martel. The leaders of the party are Attassi, Fachri Bey, Barouli and Jamil Bey Mardam, who is the diplomat of the party. Faris Bey al Khury is the philosophical adviser, his brother Fa'iz the legal adviser, and Hanano the military authority. Barouli leads the popular element and al Jabry and Hafiz Bey Shuhi are administrative experts. Many of them are professors of the Syrian University, and they divide their criticisms against the Government, each man according to his particular talent.

Prior to the closing of the Syrian Parliament there existed a further party, headed by Subhi Barakat, called *Mu'Tadilun*. This group, moderate in inclination, also demanded independence for Syria, but hoped to achieve it through co-operation with the Government. During 1921-22 Subhi Barakat led the rebellion in Aleppo, and after terms had been reached was appointed Governor of the district. Thereafter, having been constituted leader of the Syrian Parliament, he became the chief figure in the Liberal Constitutional Party, *Hizb al Hir al Disturi*, which had thirty-two representatives, and which was in opposition to the Nationalist block. During the course of negotiations concerning the Treaty, however, Subhi Barakat was converted to the beliefs of this block, and is to-day one of its most outstanding spokesmen.

The Istaklalist Party, whose demands for an Arab Federation and whose protest against co-operation with the Government have already been mentioned, is neither strong nor active. Sheikh Taj al Din, Prime Minister of Syria, has a small following, composed largely of his relations, friends, and of Government officials. They are pro-French in their leanings. The Youth Organization, *Husbat al Amal al Kumi*, is working for the creation of an Arab Empire.

In addition there are two small Royalist groups, *Hizb al Um'ah* and *Hizb al Malaki*, which aim at the establishment of a kingship in Syria. They were desirous that the late King Ali should ascend the Syrian throne. At the moment they have no specific candidate, but it is probable that they will select Ali's son, the Emir Abd Ila'ah, as substitute for his father.

The proroguing of the Syrian Parliament had one extremely important result; it has aroused the leaders of all parties to common action. Moved by the realization that the time had arrived for union and co-operation, they introduced recently a national coalition, *Hizb al Tadaman al Watanni* (Party of National Unity), the leaders of which are prominent personalities drawn from all factions and all

spheres of life. The membership, comprising various political elements, includes Istaklalists, participants in the Druze and other rebellions, neutrals, and leaders of the National block. A complete programme has not, as yet, been published; but it is understood that it will include, among others, the following clauses :

(a) That the States of Syria constitute one integral unit and cannot be separated. The inhabitants of smaller Syria have the choice of retaining their old rights and privileges, or may join the united Syria.

(b) Syria is to be an independent State, on a basis of complete sovereignty, and is to have diplomatic representatives in foreign countries.

(c) A constitutional and parliamentary Government is to be introduced.

(d) Syria is to join the League of Nations.

(e) A treaty is to be drawn up between France and Syria, wherein the relations between the two Governments are to be defined. This treaty is to be ratified by the French and Syrian Parliaments. The terms of the treaty are not to affect Syria's right to be sovereign and united.

(f) A national army is to be formed to act as a safeguard and as a means of defence.

(g) In accordance with the course followed in neighbouring countries, the right of capitulation enjoyed by foreigners is to be discontinued, and is not to be binding on Syria unless ratified by its Parliament.

(h) All legal institutions are to be unified on a basis of national sovereignty, so that the rights of the inhabitants of Syria (as well as of foreigners) shall be safeguarded.

(i) From both legal and administrative points of view the customs of Syria are to be the property of the people.

(j) An amnesty is to be granted to all political prisoners and exiles.

(k) Any organization which is prepared to accept anything less than these demands is to be regarded as opposing the will of the people, but any individual who, while not a member of the National Unity Party, is yet in agreement with its demands will be permitted to co-operate with that party.

Syria to-day stands at a crucial point in her history. The Parliament having been prorogued, there is not a representative political body in existence. The High Commissioner, following his declaration that he

would not occupy himself with political matters until the country's economic condition improved, is absorbed in his schemes to achieve this end. At the same time, national consciousness, always strong in Syria, and finding its focal point in opposition to the French Mandate, has latterly been rendered even stronger by the introduction of the Tobacco Monopoly question. The various parties have united with a common objective. The stage is set for action. Time must show what that action will be.

SYRIA

A member returning from leave through Syria gives the following account which supplements the previous more serious political article.

I FIND it is difficult to disentangle my impressions of Syria sufficiently to write them down comprehensibly. The stink of the street corners is still in my nostrils: the beauty of its ruins is still in my eyes. This evening I have spent scrambling about a ruin mentioned in no guide-book I know of; and I have found contentment in noting the beauty and solidity of the stones. What marvellous builders were these 'Ayyubids, these 'Umayyids, these Seljuks, and the rest! Square, simple, solid stand these mosques, palaces and caravanserais with just that rare decoration which shows the architect, knowing the value of restraint, knew also how much restraint is imposed by that little touch of fancy. A massive, immense mass of splendid regularity, each stone weighing between a quarter and half a ton, not a flaw, not a stone awry: two simple rectangular grilled windows pierce it, but between them is a circular plaque of the most delicate arabesque. The whole effect is stupendous. After such grandeur as these Syrian monuments, Milan Cathedral becomes fantastic with its 2,300 statues perched like pigeons on its pinnacles. If the statues on Milan Cathedral had been collected from the streets of London, the transfer would at least have benefited London, but the statues were all newly cast for their giddy positions. These Syrian buildings are dignified: they must have been built by a dignified people.

Are the present inhabitants of Syria dignified? I think the country Arabs are, and the rest, including their conquerors, not. This vulgar noise in the markets, this raising of voices over farthings, this squalling and squabbling of the townspeople, be they Muhammedan, Jew, Christian or Armenian, is the behaviour of badly brought up children. How is it people get enamoured of the East? I was pondering this question this evening, after exploring the ruin where the blood of Hasan and Husayn used to lie, when two country lads came up and told me the story. So friendly were they, so simple, so attractive, that I thought I had found the answer, that I knew why once one has known the

country Arabs he can never get them out of his heart; and when later I talked with their master, who asked me to coffee in his little castle on the top of the hill, I knew I had found the answer. The Arabs are one of the most attractive races in the world. They may be poverty-stricken, they may spend their leisure hunting for lice in their shirts, but they have a code, and they stick to it pretty well. They may lie, they may pester the life out of one to give them presents, but they'll share their last crust with a guest; and they'll defend him against the world.

My guidebook has this entry: "Enfin, au bord du fosse de la Citadelle, on voit un *bain ancien* dont la coupole est ornée de peinture (XV^e s.)." And that was all. So I left the cool shades of the bazaars and plunged into the white glare of the dusty clearing, where the new Serai of Aleppo raises its pathetically insignificant immensity, and easily found the ancient bath, and found the great lounge hall, the biggest of any bath I have seen, tenanted by two donkeys and their owner. Enough of the cupola remained to show how lovely it must have been, nay, still was, and the filled-in fountain basin in the centre made one regret the vicissitudes of time, which had brought it about that the fountain no longer played, and that the marble seats were empty. After I had gazed my fill and tried to decipher the crumbling inscription, I asked the donkey-owner if there were not more of the bath remaining. He said there was, and led me to a dark opening in the east wall. Here he preceded me and disappeared from view, and immediately I had turned the corner of the passage, I found myself in blackest night. "Strike a match," I cried. "I have none," he replied. "Here, give me your hand." So saying, he seized it, and led me stumbling forward. I had on me 46 Syrian pounds, and each was worth 5s., £11 5s. in all, a good haul. The donkey man was no bigger than I was; still a sudden knife thrust in the dark would have been difficult to parry. . . . A second later, we emerged into twilight, the great bath proper. But here, instead of lords and mamelukes being washed and pommelled, six almost naked men were banging, rolling and stamping felt. The place was steamy hot, and the pallid men sweated at their task.

I hate agreeing with a guidebook, but when it says the Mosque of Firdaus is, perhaps, "l'œuvre la plus gracieuse de l'art syrien du moyen âge," I find it hard not to. Two of the columns are missing and the roof of the little colonnade has fallen in, but enough of the whole remains to produce a profound effect, a peace which is almost

Greek. As I leant against the light red wall and watched the sunshine and the shadow, a calm descended on my spirit, such as I had not known for many days. My hopes, my desires, my fears were stilled; and refreshed, I blessed the Lady Dayfah, who had caused such loveliness to be conjured out of stones. Above my head a chestnut-coloured hawk watched me with unwinking yellow eye. You, little hawk (whom the guardian called *Sa'ar*), were all that disturbed the harmony! Like cats and continental nations, hawks never take a day off. Always that ferocity straining at the leash. What bitter thoughts must ever be thine! What lust must ever fill thy heart! And we continue to stamp our official notepaper with eagles, lions and other birds of prey, as the Greeks might say. Relics of barbarism. Though perhaps not relics. Isn't Hitler's philosophy that of the hawk? Isn't Japan's? And Fascist Italy's?

I took a car up from the steam of Beyrout, that unlovely city by a lovely sea, and passed through the scanty forests of Aleppo pine, until the town and sea were both cut off from sight by their summer blanket of cotton-wool clouds. Eventually, at 4,000 feet elevation, I came to the end of the road at Beskinta, a not unattractive village living on its cereals and its vines. On its mulberry trees it could hardly be said to live, since the price of silk is now so low, owing mostly to the competition of artificial silk.

Here I hired a mule and made off over the mountains, past Bacchus' Spring, a long day's ride, to Afka. After some trouble, for the muleteer, of course, did not know the way, despite his protestations of the previous night, and after having taken the wretched man by his neck and shaken him thoroughly, after which we both, I am sure, felt better, we entered the valley of the Adonis River. There is no more stupendous sight in Syria than that massive wall of rock, rising sheer for 600 feet, and at its base jets a great spring, the water falling down a little waterfall into a great blue pool. Above the spring is that cool retreat where Venus and Adonis shared their first and last kiss. Had they eyes at that moment for the view, they would have looked out upon a grove of walnuts, for the pious had not yet erected the temple at the pool's shore. Useless was it for Constantine to order the destruction of that lovely structure, for, even till to-day, the faithful light their lamps and breathe out their secret desires amongst the ruins.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Society was held at the Royal Society's Hall on June 26, the Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., in the Chair.

Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes read the report for the past session :

We, the Honorary Secretaries, beg to report that during the past year two important anniversaries have been duly celebrated. The millenary of Firdausi, the great epic poet of Persia, was honoured by a joint lecture with the Royal Asiatic Society, and by a luncheon at the House of Lords, at which H.E. the Persian Minister, H.H. the Aga Khan, and Mr. Eden were the chief speakers. A lecture on Firdausi as the inspirer of Persian art, by M. de Lorey, fitly completed the Firdausi celebrations.

The second anniversary was the centenary of Sir Robert Sandeman, that great Warden of the Marches and the originator of the celebrated Sandeman system, which inspired Marshal Lyautey and many other noted administrators. The East India Society joined with our Society in celebrating this anniversary, at which the chief speakers were Earl Peel, Sir Claud Jacob, Sir Hugh Barnes, and Sir Henry McMahon, Sir John Maffey and Colonel Bruce.

Our lectures have covered a wide field: Major Mellor on Western Islam; Major Glubb on the Bedouin of Northern Iraq, and Major Jarvis on Sinai; Captain Kennedy and Sir Frederick Whyte dealt with the Far East, and Dr. Lea, Bishop in South Japan, gave a most informative lecture on "Understanding Japan"; Miss Lindgren lectured brilliantly on the Reindeer-riding Tungus of Manchuria, mentioned by Marco Polo; Mr. Rose dealt with China, and Mr. Hubbard with the Industrialization of Asia; Miss Conolly gave a clever paper on Industries in Persia; M. Pierre Lyautey spoke on Aerial Geography, and Squadron-Leader Carnegie gave a delightful children's lecture on the Air Route to India; Mr. Mills spoke on the Naga Headhunters of Assam, and Major Morris on the Social Customs of Nepal; Mr. Abdul Qadir completed an account of the progress of Afghanistan in 1934, and Mr. Norman Bentwich dealt with the progress of Palestine; Sir Denison Ross led an interesting discussion on National Movements in

the Turkish Language, while Mr. Serkau and Mr. Korostovetz gave opposite points of view on trade and the Soviet Republics; Mrs. Sloane (now Mrs. Malcolm-Ellis) described her recent journey to Kurdistan.

Small and informal meetings have been held at 77, Grosvenor Street, when Miss Mollie Poole spoke on her visit to the Living Buddha; Mrs. Innes on the Women's Conference at Istanbul; and Mrs. Pennell on medical (Chinese and Japanese) men and women's conferences in China and Japan; Miss Patterson gave a very informal account of the Armenian camps in Syria; and some friends of Mr. Cumberland came to meet him and gain the latest news from Kurdistan.

Papers have been written for the JOURNAL on Control of Land Routes in Central Asia—an account of the rebellion in Chinese Turkistan—Dialogues from Central Asia. Mr. C. J. Edmonds has written on a Kurdish Lamponist, Mr. Chizik on certain political parties in Transjordan, Mr. Shuttleworth on the standard Tibetan-English dictionary, and Miss Blackwood on an entirely forgotten work of Marsigli, the Italian who served both as slave with, and ambassador to, the Turks when they were advancing into Europe.

The Council are much indebted to all reviewers, as well as to writers and lecturers. The Council are justly proud of this section of the JOURNAL.

It can, I think, be claimed that no Society provides better lectures than the Royal Central Asian Society, while we constantly receive letters containing the warmest appreciation of our JOURNAL, whose high standard we owe to our contributors and to Miss Kennedy, whom, with the Staff, we thank for much strenuous work that has been accomplished during the past year.

To turn to another matter, during the past session one hundred and fifty-two members have been elected.

There have been fifty-five resignations and eight deaths. Among them was Mme. André Rieder, an extremely talented and energetic woman with a wide knowledge of the Near East. She was a personal friend of Lawrence.

Our present number: 1,585 members, and 42 JOURNAL members. Eighteen members' names have been taken off for non-payment. Is it too much to ask members to ensure that we shall end this auspicious year by passing the 1,600 limit?

The Annual Dinner, at which Lord Allenby presided, was the occasion for a brilliant summary by Lord Lloyd, our retiring Chair-

man, of the remarkable progress made by the Society during the past three years, both in achievement and in numbers.

To conclude, of great importance is the plan for raising funds for a "Lawrence Gold Medal." This scheme was suggested to our President, under whom Lawrence served so brilliantly. Lord Allenby entirely approved of it, as did our Chairman and Council. Mr. Arnold Lawrence and the Committee, organized to co-ordinate the various schemes proposed, also cordially approved. A Committee consisting of Lord Lloyd (as Chairman), Sir Ronald Storrs, and Colonel Stewart Newcombe issued an appeal for £500, which appeared in *The Times* of May 30. This appeal, which is now being circulated in the forthcoming number of the JOURNAL, is not limited to members of the Society. It is hoped that both our members and the general public will unite to honour Lawrence, who so strongly embodied the ideals of the Royal Central Asian Society.

The accounts for 1934 were taken by GENERAL SIR WILLIAM BENYON, in the absence of the Hon. Treasurer. They have been printed in the last number of the JOURNAL. Expenses did not vary very greatly from the previous year, and the year had ended with small but satisfactory balances both in the deposit and current accounts. The accounts were adopted.

The CHAIRMAN put forward the nominations of Honorary Officers and Council for the ensuing session. In accordance with Rule 16 the Chairman and Vice-Chairman retired and were eligible for re-election. In accordance with Rule 16 the two senior Vice-Presidents, Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond and Colonel Sir Francis Fremantle, M.P., retired and were not eligible for re-election. The Council proposed that Lord Winterton and Mr. E. H. Keeling should be elected as Vice-Presidents. In accordance with Rule 25 Mr. E. H. Keeling, Mr. C. F. Strickland, and Mr. Philip Graves retired from the Council; Mr. Strickland wished to resign as he had little time in England. The Society owed a very great debt to its members of Council and its Honorary Officers. They were very sorry indeed to lose Sir Francis Fremantle and Sir Herbert Richmond, Mr. Strickland and Mr. Philip Graves, but hoped for their help later on. The following names were put forward for election: Mr. E. M. Eldrid, Imperial Bank of Persia, Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., Colonel S. F. Newcombe, D.S.O., and Sir Telford Waugh, K.C.M.G. Having been proposed and seconded, these members were unanimously elected to the Council.

An alteration was then proposed in Rule 6 with regard to the payment of subscriptions, "All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due until the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following." It should read, "All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, on January 1 for those elected members between January 1 and June 30, and on July 1 for those members elected between July 1 and December 31." This amendment was passed.

ANNUAL DINNER

THE Annual Dinner was held on July 4 at Claridge's Restaurant, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, President of the Society, in the Chair. After the King's Health had been honoured, Lord Allenby proposed the health of the principal guest, the Emir Sa'ud, Crown Prince of Sa'udi Arabia. The Prince was very welcome among them this year, said Lord Allenby, both as the son of his distinguished father, a good friend of England, and because the Society was honoured to receive one who had done great service to his country both in the war with the Yemen, and also by his personal bravery in the attack made on King Ibn Sa'ud during the Pilgrimage.

The Emir, who was received with applause. answered as follows :

حضرة الرئيس . سادتي ومييد اتى

اشكركم على الكلمات الطيبة التي فهتم بهاعنى وعن جلالة
والدى وعلى التكرم بدعوتى التي هيئت لى افضل الفرص للأجتماع
بكم والتعرف بعدد غيريسير من الافاضل ذوى العلم والفضل .
لقد يسرت لى هذه الفرصة ان اعرف نوعا من الحياة الثقافية
والأجتماعيه عن هذه البلد فزادها فى نظرى تقديرا واحتراما
انى معجب كثيرا بهذا الشعب النبيل وانى مدين له بما اجد
منه من الأكرام والمطف وسأحمل الى بلادى والى شعبي العربى
افضل الذكريات عما رأيت من الود والالطف واخيرا اشكركم من
كل قلبي واتمنى لكم جميعا افضل التمنيات

The translation given by Sir Ronald Storrs for such of the audience as had no Arabic :

My Lord Chairman, my Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I thank

you sincerely for the kind words you have spoken of my august father and of myself, and for your kindness in inviting me here to-night and giving me the opportunity of meeting so many learned and distinguished persons and of witnessing another example of the cultural and social life of this country, for which I have the greatest admiration and respect.

I greatly admire the English people and feel very grateful to them for all the kindness and hospitality shown me. I shall carry away with me when I return to my own people the happiest memories of my visit to this country. My Lords and Ladies, I thank you truly.

“The Peace be upon you.”

(Applause.)

The health of the Guests was then given by Sir Horace Rumbold, who said it would not be necessary to remind the audience that Sir Edward Maclagan, whom they were delighted to have as a guest, had not only served as a distinguished Governor of the Punjab, but was also the author of most learned books on Indian history, and had twice been the President of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Philby they all knew as the greatest living Arabian traveller, and he had recently brought his wife home by car from Jidda across Arabia; Sir Horace thought he was right in saying that Mrs. Philby was the only Englishwoman to have travelled across that forbidden territory. (Applause.)

SIR EDWARD MACLAGAN replied for the Guests, and said: I have not got a power of attorney from my fellow-guests, but I think I am running no risks when, on their behalf, I return thanks to you all for the entertainment you have given us this evening, and to the last speaker for the kind words he said about us. I am specially interested, owing to the fact that I have been connected with the Royal Asiatic Society for some time, and, if you will excuse me, I would like to speak more or less in terms of that Society. I fear that there are a great many people who think that the Royal Asiatic Society is a group of unnecessary pedants, whose chief interest is in studying cuneiform inscriptions and Sanskrit roots, instead of things that matter; but I should like, if I may, to speak of the two Societies as sisters. The Royal Asiatic Society is by far the elder sister, and she is perhaps more wrinkled, but she watches with the greatest pride the vivacity and the social success of her younger sister. She looks also, I am afraid, with great envy on the large number of her younger sister's admirers. There are a certain number of people who are able to pay their addresses and subscriptions

to both. There have been others who would like to do the same but, as the poet says, "Chill penury repressed their rage."

One point the sisters have in common, a very large and accommodating heart. When I entered the R.A.S. I found, with some surprise, that Egypt was in Asia. But I am told that is nothing; the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is not only in Asia, but in Central Asia, and our friend Sir Denison Ross tries to persuade us that in learning the language of the Zulus we are undertaking an Oriental Study. Both societies have one object: to make the East better known to the West, and vice versa; but we go about that work in different ways. I am reminded of an American story about a number of tourists who were being taken through the Rocky Mountains. When they reached the other side and obtained their first view of the mighty Pacific rolling below, the sight affected them in different ways. One man threw himself on his knees and thanked God for the wonders of His creation. A second, with his hat on the back of his head, and his feet firmly planted astride, exclaimed, "Well, I'm damned!" The American narrator's comment was that "the sentiment in both cases was the same, although the ritual was different."

We differ from you in one respect. In the Royal Asiatic Society it is recognized that we should never introduce anything connected with modern politics into our proceedings. No doubt we lose something by doing this, but you will realize that there is a small group of Oriental students who appreciate a society where they can find an asylum from modern politics. Mr. Philby, on one occasion, was good enough to address the Society, and this rule was explained to him. I fear that he found it a hard saying. However, he rose to the occasion very nobly, and delivered a magnificent lecture which had only a small amount of the forbidden fruit in it.

The more we look at the list of your members, the more we are struck by the fact that practically anyone who has done anything in distinction in the East—in war, politics, travel, or administration—finds it necessary sooner or later to join this Society. The Royal Asiatic Society, too, is by no means alone in claiming an interest in literary effort; for when we were celebrating the Millenary of the Persian poet Firdausi a few months ago the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, who is probably one of the most learned men in Europe, when he wished to pay the highest compliment to Firdausi, spoke of him as the mediæval counterpart of your Honorary Secretary, Sir Percy Sykes. (Applause.)

I do not know if Sir Percy Sykes will be induced by this comparison to write a poetic history of the Royal Central Asian Society. It would, like Firdausi's work, have to be in 60,000 couplets; but, if so, your Treasurer should be warned that when the poem is complete he will demand in payment an elephant with a load of 60,000 gold coins. In his poem Sir Percy Sykes will no doubt recount the great deeds of the heroes of the Society, and among others he will mention that paladin Lord Peel. Whatever he may say in poetry, I would now wish to say in sincere prose how glad we are that the toast of the Society should be responded to this evening by one whom we admire and respect so much.

Earl PEEL, replying to the toast, said: I have to thank the proposer of this toast with a certain degree of enthusiasm for the way in which he proposed the health of the Royal Central Asian Society, although it seemed to me that it was with a touch of patronage in him that he alluded to us as a "younger sister" of the Royal Asiatic Society. He seemed a little jealous of the number of members we obtained. (Laughter.) Then I would like to think he was paying me a compliment when he compared me to an elephant. It is true that it is a compliment to be called as sagacious as an elephant, but that beast has other qualities which I would hardly claim to possess. (Laughter.)

I am glad to say that we have with us this evening the widow of the founder of this Society, and also the President of the American Institute of Art and Archæology, both of whom we welcome.

I always admire the author of the name Central Asia: it has a fine historical flavour about it. So many movements that have greatly affected human destiny have started from the high places of Asia and spread their influence far over into other lands. You have watched from the same high place so many movements of thought and action in many parts of Asia, and have gathered them together and concentrated them for the benefit of your fellow-countrymen. We islanders have for centuries had a profound interest in Asia. There is the sheer intellectual love of mastering problems so different from those we have to meet here. We are said to have all the more dull and practical qualities, but there is in us besides the pure love of adventure, though we always like to assure ourselves that we have also some scientific or some intellectual object in view. There are the allurements of trade, though, as we have traded in every country in the world, it cannot have been merely the love for silks and spices that drew us to this area of the globe. Collectively, perhaps, we are rather undiscerning in our judg-

ments of the characters of other nations. We are apt to assume that they act on motives precisely similar to those which actuate us. As a result, we sometimes make deplorable mistakes, and are led into strange passes. But individually there is no other race under the sun which has shown itself so understanding, so appreciative of the characters of other peoples, and so capable of grasping, almost intuitively, their points of view.

We, in this Society, bring together from all the ends of Asia, through the mouths of travellers and administrators, officials, and traders, information fresh from the source. You avoid the dangers of resting on past achievements and past knowledge, which grows so stale by keeping.

Some other speakers in responding to the toast would wish to give you a general sketch of the affairs of Asia. I have the same ambition, but I suppress it. I will only make reference to a few points that are of interest, at least to myself. This Society has long disposed of the ancient legend of the Unchanging East. Perhaps the revolution in Turkey a few years ago, more than any other event, brought this home to us. We saw the Sultanate disappear; with still more surprise we saw the Caliphate melt away; we saw the establishment at a single stroke of institutions which we, in our Western innocence, had supposed must take years to develop and grow. The very habits of the people were changed, and the new nationalism, both economic and political, made a rent in the seamless garment of Islam, and, to descend to a lower level, limited the chances of British trade.

As a fellow-guest at this dinner, I am very proud to be associated with the Emir Sa'ud, the eldest son of King Ibn Sa'ud. Lord Allenby told us of his achievements in war and in peace. He is skilled, too, in the arts of politics and the handling of men, for he acts as Viceroy in the province of Nejd, the heart of Arabia, in the king's own country. The growth and development of the kingdom of Sa'udi Arabia has drawn the eyes of all to that country. What perhaps most won our admiration was the statesmanship displayed by King Ibn Sa'ud when, after complete victories in the field over the forces of the Nejrán, he contented himself with the terms of a treaty which was intended to secure a lasting peace, rather than inflict harsh terms upon the vanquished. We may have observed the security that he has provided for the pilgrims on their way to Mecca, and how he has secured that there should be no illicit levies on those who come for their devotions. One can only regret that, owing to the recent depression, this enlightened

policy has not been reflected as yet in an increase in the number of travellers.

I have been asked to refer to the subject of the Lawrence Medal. I think the appeal for the fund has already gone forth, and I almost shudder to mention the smallness of the sum that is asked, in view of other demands that have recently been made on you. I feel sure that the balance of the £500 required will be fully subscribed before this evening ends.

Another important event took place in January of this year in the opening of the great tubes that bring oil from Kirkuk to the sea. I can contrast this great engineering feat of modern science with the fact that the centre of the oilfield is the "burning fiery furnace" of the ancients, where for countless ages primitive peoples worshipped the hidden source of fire. This wonderful pipe-line runs 600 miles across the desert to the Mediterranean, making altogether 1,150 miles. It traverses four countries, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Trans-Jordania. At one point the line descends from a height of 800 feet above to 900 feet below sea-level. There are twelve pumping-stations, each a town in itself, of which three are on the edge of civilization and nine are in the desert. And I understand that it is capable of transporting up to 4,000,000 tons of oil in a year. This marvellous achievement must surely be reckoned even more than the Colossus of Rhodes or the Pyramids of Egypt among the wonders of the world.

I pass by the difficulties with which the new government of 'Iraq have had to cope, and with the problem of the Assyrians; but I should like to pay tribute to the distinction with which that great public servant, Sir Francis Humphrys, has discharged his functions during the last few years in that country.

We have seen the efforts that Iran has made to provide herself with new trade-routes so that her business in the north may be removed from the encircling hands of Russia. In the south we have, perhaps, been too careless in securing a definition of our legal rights, and have relied upon those insecure pillars, use and wont. Wisely, I think, our air-routes have been moved across the Gulf, to avoid any friction on that score with the Iranian government.

We think of ourselves as living in a shifting world. We have discarded the comfortable assurances of Victorian days, but it is a strange paradox that an Eastern ruler should regard us as solidly embedded in security. A few years ago when King Amanullah was our guest, he was amazed to find in some houses in England the same families had

lived continuously since the days of Queen Elizabeth. He marvelled at Windsor Castle, the residence, as he said, for a thousand years of mighty kings. He returned to his own country, and illustrated in his own person the growing instability of the East.

Then the pulses of India throb with new ferments; she is turning her quiet husbandmen into men of the factory and the mill. She is confidently importing new goods which are already, we may perhaps consider, marked "shop-soiled" in the markets of the world. She shows a passionate attachment to institutions which we applauded when government did little but rule and protect, but which, in a more intricate society, have met a new swarm of competitors and detractors.

I was going on to say something about Burma, but the presence of experts has a rather paralyzing effect, and I notice that Sir Charles Innes is here to-night. But I am encouraged, since I spent some time in Burma and saw the country under his auspices. It is no wonder to me that the Burmese have lingered long over the decision as to whether they should link their fortunes with India, or whether they should set up house for themselves, with twelve or fourteen millions under the protection of British rule. They have so many remarkable qualities of their own; among others, they do not consider a life of hard and strenuous work to be necessary to their salvation. (Laughter.) They possess the secret of how to use leisure more than any people I have ever come across. A small people, they may well be exercised as to the problem of preserving their national life, their peculiar culture, their habits of thought, with the immense masses of India on the one side, and the numberless people of China on the other.

Let us take a glimpse for a moment at some of the problems of the Far East. Once we considered the risks of a Russian advance upon India; now the question is Russia's advance towards China. As a result of the civil wars in Sinkiang in 1932-33, the Russians, called in by the Chinese Governor to help him, have now got complete control of Northern Sinkiang. From there the Russians could easily work down through Kansu, the extreme north-western province of China, and join hands with the Chinese Reds who are active in Shensi and Szechuan, the next provinces east and south of Kansu.

You have been studying the movements in Mongolia. Well, the Russians virtually own Outer Mongolia, and their advance towards North China and Inner Mongolia is not to be underrated. Outer and Inner Mongolia have for some time been in a ferment of nationalism; while Outer, as I have said, is almost completely Bolshevized, Inner

Mongolia is still true to its hereditary princes. If these two combine, will Mongolia as a whole swing towards Russia or will the wish of the Princes take place in some other alignment? Formerly their sympathies ran with Manchuria, but of late they have been growing lukewarm—perhaps because of the domination of Japan in Manchukuo—and they seem to be swinging again towards China.

What is Japan going to do? She cannot leave Mongolia to its own devices—Mongolia with its great coal and iron deposits, and its vast grazing lands for sheep. And now—strange new furniture for Mongolia—she is demanding an aerodrome, a military headquarters, and wireless stations.

What is to come from these ambitions and contentions, from the rivalries of Russia and Japan? There is Japan, so full of fever and unrest; the poor state of the peasant population; the numbers of students who, having suffered and worked for their degrees, can find no posts; the low opinion of parliamentary life; the struggle between the new industrial magnates and the old samurai class; discontent and insubordination, partly due to radical literature from the West; vast sums spent on her army and navy budget, and a huge and growing population of sixty-five millions in a poor country no bigger than our own, with so much of the world closed against her, and tariffs rising everywhere.

How is China meeting her problems? Though the North is temporarily lost to her, concentration on the restoration of order in Central China has made good progress. Her relations with Canton have improved, and the way is paved for more common action between Central and Southern China.

Here are whole handfuls of problems for this Society to expound. Here is a great range of matters on which your explorers may report. It is not on a New Deal in the United States of America, nor even on a fresh monetary conference that we should set our eyes; but on the interactions of these great populous countries in the East, which are going to set the pace and pay the price of civilization. These new movements are taking shape in the world, just when our great inventors have multiplied the power of transport and movement, and when the wireless and the cinema have placed instruments of which Mogul or Mongol never dreamed in the hands of ambitious rulers.

To trace in what shape or direction things are moving in the grouping of countries, in the concentration of interests and in economic and social forms; to expound all these processes, are tasks which may well

absorb the energies and excite the emulation of a great Society like this for many years to come. Perchance when the Royal Asiatic Society has grown old, then you may find that her younger sister has developed and become *clarum et venerabile nomen*, while the memory of what once was great has passed away.

LAYING THE CORNERSTONE OF NEW CHINA

By W. B. PETRO

**Introduction by Madame Chiang Kai-shek
(Mayling Soong Chiang)**

DURING the early stages of the campaign against the communists in the province of Kiangsi, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was impressed by the fact that military means were sufficient in a way to drive out the Reds but were entirely inadequate to restore an ordered state of mind in the abused peasantry, or to counteract communist propaganda. To rehabilitate the devastated areas and restore the people to their farms was one task he undertook successfully, but to bring them tranquillity of mind proved more difficult. Eventually he realized that they had nothing spiritual to cling to, and there came to him the inspiration to resort to the old virtues upon which the greatness of ancient China was based. They are, briefly, "Li," which means courtesy; "I," which is duty towards others and towards oneself; "Lien," which is discrimination between mine and thine; and "Chi'ih," self-consciousness. To apply these principles he devised what is now known as the "New Life Movement," and its object was to benefit the people spiritually, to teach them how to live honestly and cleanly, and be good citizens; to show them their responsibility towards the Government, and, more, to prove to them the responsibility of the Government towards them. The Movement was launched for local application in Kiangsi to begin with, but it caught the imagination of the people and was swiftly adopted all over the country, even in the remotest provinces.

The benefit that the New Life Movement is bringing to the people is manifest in many ways. It has proved a kind of resurrecting influence, and the people are responding remarkably. Coupled with this endeavour to provide spiritual food for the distraught people in the ravaged areas was the effort to bring them a sense of their right to live comfortably and gain something from their toil. Taxes were reduced, illegitimate ones were swept away, and encouragement was given for

intensification of agriculture. The old lack of facilities to get their crops to market was corrected where possible by the construction of roadways for motor-cars and wheeled vehicles. Main roads have been built wherever possible, and what were the remotest of provinces are now being opened up by well-graded highways. For instance, the erstwhile almost inaccessible province of Kweichow is now accessible from the seaboard by car, and will very soon be connected with Szechwan province, through Chungking to Chengtu, and also with Shanghai, via Changsha, Nanchang, and Hangchow. Therefore it will be possible before many months are over to drive from Shanghai to Chengtu, down into Kwangsi, and in time right to Yunnan Province.

These efforts to benefit the people—while the communists are still being relentlessly pursued—are insufficient, according to the Generalissimo, and in order to raise the standard of living of the people, assure them security to life and property, and provide them with opportunities for radical change of life and betterment of economic conditions, he recently launched the People's Economic Reconstruction Movement, which has as its aim the complete opening up of the natural resources of the country, the improvement of agriculture, the establishment of industries for the manufacture of raw materials into the needs of the populace, the rehabilitation of railways and extension of all means of communication, the removal of oppressive taxes, the unification of currency, and the simplification of facilities for financial assistance in the building up of production of all kinds.

With the New Life Movement and its complementary movement to raise the standard of living and give security to the people, China should in due course emerge as a prosperous state competent to bear her share in the world's economic burden.

MAYLING SOONG CHIANG.

China is advancing. This advance, perhaps, is not rapid enough to maintain the population nor to meet the challenge of the world, but the evolution of ideas, of Government methods and of spirit have already brought about remarkable results. The country is emerging from chaos into a state of comparative order and unity.

The amazing change that has taken place is largely due to the driving spirit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who, as leader of his country, has shown himself to be the most able statesman that China

has known since the time of Chien Lung. He set before himself the formidable task of bringing order to his country, and, without ostentation, carries out his far-reaching programme, thoroughly consolidating his position before introducing new measures. This task is all the more difficult as China is faced with grave international complications and an unprecedented economic crisis.

One of his first problems was the liquidation of communism in Kiangsi Province. To realize the difficulty of this undertaking, one must remember that Kiangsi, with an area of seventy thousand square miles, had only four miles of highway that led from Kiukiang to the foot of the Kuling Mountain. Besides the few rivers navigable for small craft, narrow footpaths, winding through paddy fields, were the only other ways of communication. A division of troops moving over them had to spread out for many miles and, as there was often no possibility of posting flank guards, was extremely vulnerable in guerilla warfare. The communists, occupying an inaccessible region on the borders of Kiangsi, Fukien and Kwantung Provinces, generally avoided direct encounter with Government troops, but often managed to cut off the supplies of detached units.

After two years of indecisive campaigning, carried out with modern equipment but with old methods, the Generalissimo came to the conclusion that the only solution was to improve communications. With this and the reorganization of the army in view, he established his headquarters at Nanchang. In three years, three thousand miles of highway had been built and a small but efficient air force had been created. As a result, in six months of active operations communist resistance was broken and what remained of the two hundred thousand troops—about fifty thousand—fled in small detachments by way of Hunan and northern Kweichow to Szechwan.

It is of interest to note that communism had found fertile soil in South China, but never in North China. This could be attributed to the fact that in North China over seventy per cent. of the farmers cultivate their own land. In South China only twenty per cent. of the land is owned by the peasants themselves, the rest being cultivated by tenants who have to pay the owners a heavy rental, which amounts to about half the yield of the land. The psychological effect of such land tenure conditions is that, in a bad year, the northern peasant, even at the point of starvation, lays the blame on the "Lao Tien," the heavens, but the southern peasant, being a tenant, becomes embittered against his landlord.

The stamping out of communism by purely military operations is not the only aim of the Generalissimo in Kiangsi. His ultimate purpose, in which he is heartily supported by his able wife, is to better the lot of the common people to such a degree that its recurrence would be impossible.

To improve general conditions and to quell discontent the Government launched the following reforms :

- (1) Change in land tenure methods.
- (2) Compulsory rent reduction on land.
- (3) Cheapening of rural credit.
- (4) Abolition of miscellaneous taxes.
- (5) Establishment of experimental agricultural stations.
- (6) Creation of a " Special Movement Corps " to study the immediate needs of the peasants, to facilitate their relations with the Government Administrations, and to fight against graft.
- (7) Establishment of local co-operative societies.

These reforms are still in an experimental stage and the Government, in order to decide on the best policy, has divided the province of Kiangsi into several areas, where separate organizations work under their own methods. Thus the National Economic Council, assisted by the experts of the League of Nations, has an organization working parallel to that of the China International Famine Relief Committee, the Rehabilitation Department of the Provincial Government, and the Kiangsi Christian Rural Service Union, a missionary group sponsored personally by Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

Excellent results have already been achieved : nine hundred and fifty-two co-operative societies with over three hundred thousand active members have been created and the population of the rehabilitated areas has regained confidence in the Government. It has set to work with the usual Chinese diligence and tenacity to cultivate the land, and prosperity is rapidly returning to districts which only a year ago were the scenes of desolation and destruction.

In contrast to Kiangsi, communism still lingers in certain districts of Szechwan. During last November and December the communists defeated, on more than one occasion, the Provincial Government Forces. As the situation grew critical, the rate of exchange of the Chungking dollar fell sharply to about 40 per cent. of its par value. The local military leaders, seeing that they could not cope with the situation unaided, asked the Central Government's assistance. Thereupon the Generalissimo assumed command of the campaign, and not

only introduced his troops into Szechwan but also took over complete control of all provincial affairs.

A military campaign in the inaccessible mountains of Szechwan is a difficult proposition, but plans have been thoroughly made for the complete co-ordination of the movement of all Government troops—one army advancing south from Shensi and Kansu, another holding the Yangtze valley, and a third operating from Kweichow Province and pushing northwards. It is difficult to say how long this campaign will last as the air force, except for reconnaissance purposes, seems of little use among the high mountains, but there is no doubt that sound foundations for ultimate success are already laid, and certain military experts predict that the communists will be liquidated by the end of this year.

Furthermore, as in Kiangsi, the Generalissimo has instituted radical civil changes. Within two months of his intervention many burdensome taxes had been abolished, many "likin" stations suppressed, and a branch of the Central Bank of China opened in Chungking. Because of these measures the money market eased at once and the Szechwan dollar rose almost to its par value.

It has been asserted that the Generalissimo plans to establish permanent headquarters in Szechwan and, as soon as the military situation permits, to disband part of the local troops. Relieved from this burden, the provincial budget will certainly show a surplus that could be used for urgent development work. If this programme materializes, Szechwan, bled to death by the incessant warfare of feudal chieftains, will soon regain its former prosperity.

The spreading of the Central Government's control over this province, particularly imbued with a rebellious and independent spirit, is but one example of the Generalissimo's policy in his drive for the unification of China.

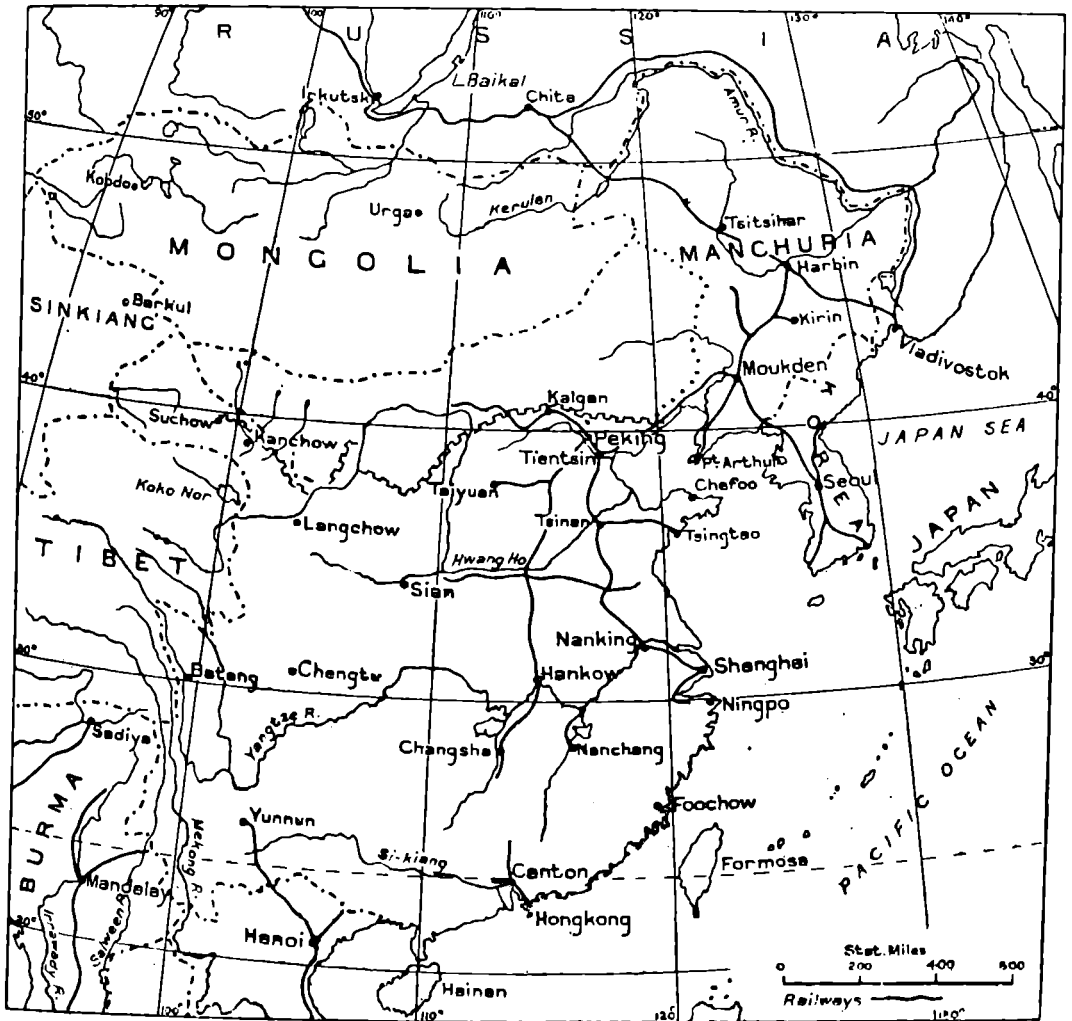
However, the recent outburst of Japanese aggression, placing North China under Japanese control, may give an entirely new turn to future events. The following outline, therefore, intends to show what China has achieved through her own efforts during the brief period of peaceful international relations.

Communications

Railways.—A few years ago the shipment of merchandise over any of the Chinese railways was a difficult and complicated matter. As a

first step, one had to enter into contact with the local commander of troops, who usually found it profitable to retain control of the rolling stock. Arrangements then had to be made for the payment of a "subsidy" for the maintenance of troops, and then only was it worth while to apply to the railway office for a bill of lading for which, of course, the regular rate had to be paid.

The freight, after all these precautions had been taken, was trans-



RAILWAY MAP OF 1931.

ported to the limit of that particular general's territory, where further taxes were levied by the troops controlling the next section of the railway. The amount of these taxes was always subject to debate and depended a great deal upon the skill of the agent employed to negotiate the transaction.

Now one can ship goods from any point of the Chinese Government Railway System to another simply by paying the regular freight

rate. Although it may seem natural to the uninitiated, the improvement is really remarkable.

The strengthening of the Central Government's control and the suppression of the interference of the local authorities with the operation of the railways has resulted in a considerable improvement in their financial status. They are now able to replace some of the old equipment and, furthermore, are making a marked effort toward paying their financial obligations to Japan and, in a lesser degree, to other powers. 1934, in spite of the serious economic and financial depression, was a record year for the Chinese Government Railways.

Comparative peace has permitted the continuance of work on certain railroad projects which have been dormant for the last few years. Thus the Lung Hai Railway has been extended westward to Sianfu; the construction of the Lien-Yuan (Haichow, Kiangsu Province) Harbour has been considerably advanced; and more than half of the Tung-Pu Railway in Shansi is now open to traffic. Over two-thirds of the tunnels on the Canton-Hankow Railway have been completed, and the line will soon reach Hangchow in Hunan; the Hangchow-Kiangsi Railway is open to traffic to a point within a hundred miles from Nanchang and work on the Wu-Zia Railway has been started.

The Chinese Government has also adopted a favourable policy toward the construction of new railways with the assistance of foreign capital. Among other projects negotiations are now in progress with a German group for the construction of a trunk line from Nanchang to Changsha, which later will be extended to Chungking, and with a Franco-British group for the construction of the Chungking-Chengtu line.

Highways.—The most noteworthy achievement of the last few years is the development of the highway system. Every province is now covered by a network of roads, which has brought about a complete revolution in travelling. In six south-western provinces alone over twenty-three thousand kilometres of local and inter-provincial highways were built in 1934. Today one can motor, without the payment of road taxes and with only a few petty vexations, from Shanghai to Nanchang and Changsha, from Changsha to Canton, and from the sea coast to Kweiyang, the capital of Kweichow, hitherto considered the most remote province of south-western China.

All these roads have been built with Provincial Governments' funds supplemented by loans from the National Economic Council. The roads south of the Yangtze are generally surfaced with gravel or broken

stone and are serviceable throughout the year. There are, however, but few bridges, so that the rivers have to be crossed by ferries, which is often difficult during the high water stage.

The roads are built on sound engineering principles. Although there is still much room for improvement, especially as regards drainage and grading, they are a credit to the Chinese engineers, who often worked under trying conditions. They had to face the hostility of the landowners, as the right of way is generally expropriated by the Government, which, nevertheless, continues to collect taxes thereon.

Perhaps this procedure seems ruthless and unjust, but if the Government had tried to pay for the right of way at current land prices it is safe to say that there would have been no roads.

With the construction of good roads innumerable omnibus companies, often sponsored or financed by the Provincial Governments, have sprung up. They afford, if not a luxurious, a generally safe and rapid means of transport and it is now possible to travel two hundred miles a day, a distance which formerly took several weeks to cover.

Commercial Aviation.—Concurrently with the development of highways and railways there has been a notable development of commercial aviation. The lines actually in operation are :

Shanghai—Hankow—Chungking—Chengtu.

Shanghai—Foochow—Canton.

Shanghai—Tsingtao—Peiping.

Shanghai—Sianfu—Lanchow—Ningshia—Paotou.

Canton—Changsha—Hankow—Peiping.

Chungking—Kweiyang—Yunnanfu.

These air routes are operated by the China National Aviation Corporation, a Chinese company backed by American interests, and the Eurasia Aviation Corporation, a Chinese company financed by German capital.

Trial flights are being made on several other routes, such as Sianfu—Hanchungfu—Chengtu, Canton—Kwangsi, and there is even a project to extend the Shanghai-Chungking line to Lhasa.

The importance of this development lies not in the fact that it has revolutionized travel in China, but that, by widening the sphere of political and military influence, it is doing much toward the unification of the country.

It is regrettable that the Chinese Government, fearing to establish a

precedent which would at once be exploited by the Japanese, has refused permission for foreign aircraft to land on Chinese territory, and has thus prevented the eventual linking of Chinese airways with the projected American Trans-Pacific and the British Singapore-Hongkong routes.

Financial and Economic Situation

The financial situation in China is very closely linked with the silver question which, as everyone knows, is undergoing a state of ruthless experimentation. One might compare President Roosevelt's Silver Policy with the doings of an *apprenti sorcier*, who wields tremendous power but does not know what the ultimate result of his experiment will be.

A few years ago some of the leading economists advocated the re-valuation of silver as the best remedy for the general economic crisis. The argument was that it would increase the buying power of more than one quarter of the population of the world, open new markets for manufactured goods, and bring prosperity to countries on a silver standard.

Such a re-valuation of silver has recently taken place, but its effects, as far as China is concerned, are often called disastrous, because it produced an unprecedented outflow of capital. From May until December, 1934, the foreign banks in Shanghai exported over 203,000,000 silver dollars and the Chinese banks, during the same period, over 57,000,000 silver dollars. There was such a shortage of cash during the Chinese New Year that even some of the strongest foreign banks were forced to pay as high as 22 per cent. interest per annum on short term loans.

The tightness of the money market led at once to a sharp decline in the price of real estate in Shanghai. This may actually lead to calamity, as real estate appears as the chief asset on the balance sheet of many of the Shanghai banks, which has already led to a number of serious bank failures.

The effects of the rise of silver on the Chinese trade and economic situation are as yet difficult to foretell. *Finance and Commerce*, the leading Shanghai financial paper, frankly admits "that the whole silver problem has now passed altogether outside the realm of rational thinking." However, in spite of the complete disorganization of government and private business, experts still maintain that the high value of silver

is beneficial provided that there are not too violent fluctuations in the exchange and that commodity prices rise in proportion. This opinion is not shared by the majority, who say that the high silver exchange completely handicaps the export trade and that the possible rise of commodity prices will hit the poorer classes of the population, necessitating a considerable period for the readjustment of salaries and wages.

In a frantic effort to stop the outflow of silver from China the Government put first an embargo and then an equalization tax on the export of silver. The utility of this measure is open to debate as it caused the smuggling of precious metals from China and the hoarding of silver dollars which, at one time, had on the world market an intrinsic value 44 per cent. higher than their value in China.

There have been consistent rumours about the imminent devaluation of the Chinese dollar, repeatedly denied by the Chinese Government. It is true that already the value of the Shanghai dollar is maintained at an artificially low level and that the Government has taken over the control of the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications, a measure which could be interpreted as a preliminary step for the introduction of managed currency. However, the Chinese people, accustomed to the actual circulation of silver, still look upon currency notes as bullion certificates, so that any reduction of the silver content of the dollar would be considered by the public as the issue of a new currency which would be at a discount in terms of the "old" dollar.

That is exactly what happened to the issue of the ten and twenty cents subsidiary coins which have a market value only according to their silver content, and that is why a newcomer is often amazed to learn that in Shanghai one silver dollar is worth six twenty-cent coins and thirty-four coppers.

The only rational solution of the acute financial situation could be achieved probably through a substantial loan permitting the stabilization of the Chinese dollar in terms of the pound sterling at the rate, say, of 15 to 1. It has been consistently rumoured that Sir Leith Ross's mission has in view a project of this kind, and even a £5,000,000 loan (or credit on London) has been mentioned. The realization of this programme would depend, however, on the attitude of Japan, who is apparently desirous of obtaining an exclusive right to make new loans to China in return for certain important concessions.

Foreign Trade

An analysis of the last year's trade balance shows a considerable decrease in both exports and imports* with a total deficit of about \$500,000,000. The Chinese, however, do not consider it a particularly bad sign. They point out that last year's deficit is smaller than that of 1933 or 1932, when it reached almost \$900,000,000. Further analysis shows that almost half of the deficit is due to the importation of agricultural produce valued at \$187,000,000 and that the remittances of "Overseas Chinese," which before the world crisis amounted to more than \$400,000,000 per annum, fell off last year to a mere fraction of that sum.

It is generally considered that there is little hope of correcting the adverse trade balance by increasing exports. All foreign powers who are anxious on the one hand to sell their manufactured articles to China, create, on the other, conditions making exports from China prohibitive. The Chinese Government is doing its best to cancel the customs duty on exports, but since the Chinese Maritime Customs revenue is almost fully pledged to the service of foreign loans, export duty can only be abolished gradually, after providing other sources of revenue to take care of the foreign obligations.

The programme adopted by the Government to correct the adverse trade balance is to diminish the imports through an increase of domestic agricultural production, to develop domestic trade and industry, to unify the currency, and to attract the capital of "Overseas Chinese."

Agriculture

China is essentially an agricultural country and in bygone days was always capable of maintaining her population. But the unsettled conditions of the past decades, incessant civil warfare, banditry, and disorganization of transport, led to such a decline in agricultural production that, in spite of constantly increasing imports of foodstuff from abroad, famines frequently occurred even in prosperous areas.

Civil wars drained from the provincial treasuries money that should have been spent in maintaining the dykes and canals of the Great

* Latest statistics show that foreign trade continues to decline. According to *Finance and Commerce* the total trade of China for the first six months of the current year has decreased 4 per cent. in comparison to the corresponding period of 1934. Shanghai trade has been hit even more severely and shows a decline of 7.2 per cent.

China Plain. Devastating floods laid waste huge tracts of lands that had formerly been under extensive cultivation and many canals, like parts of the Grand Canal, silted up and became useless. The enormous armies living on the country often confiscated from the peasants not only all available food stocks, but also commandeered the live stock and even requisitioned the seeds for the next year. And still the militarists' demand for money was so insatiable that the harassed local governments were obliged to force the peasants to cultivate opium. It is no wonder that under these conditions the overtaxed farmer was unable to produce food cheap enough to meet the competition of Canadian wheat or Indo-Chinese rice.

During the last few years of comparative peace the Government has made great effort to remedy the situation. What has been done may be only a drop in the bucket, but a start has been made in the right direction and the prospects for the future are more hopeful than before.

Part of the British Boxer Indemnity Fund, for example, has been allotted for the realization of the Hwai River Conservance Project. Once completed, this will not only give security to the life and property of millions, but it will also reclaim for cultivation a huge area of very fertile land.

Thanks to the activities of the National Economic Council, certain irrigation schemes have been successfully completed in the drought-stricken province of Shensi. No doubt the careful expenditure of a few million dollars, which the National Economic Council expects to raise without any assistance from abroad, will transform this impoverished region into a flourishing garden as it was during the Han and T'ang dynasties. The frequent famines in this district are due not so much to desiccation and other climatic changes as to the disappearance of the ancient network of irrigation canals, the remains of which impress one by their magnitude and sound engineering design.

There has been much talk, especially among those connected with the activities of the League of Nations experts, of improving agricultural methods in China. It may seem hard to believe that a commission of, say, a Bulgarian, a Swedish and a Spanish expert, could teach the farmers of forty centuries how to till their soil. Nevertheless, their intervention has been most useful inasmuch as it has opened the eyes of the Chinese Government and financial circles to the necessity of supplying cheaper rural credit and to the importance of lowering the prices of artificial fertilizers, which, at the present time, are taxed by a heavy import duty. The creation of a large number of co-operative

societies, even in such remote districts as Shensi and Kansu, has greatly facilitated the making of loans to farmers, and rural credit operations are rapidly acquiring importance for certain Chinese banks which have formed a powerful "Rural Credit Banking Trust."

The relentless war against opium, which the Generalissimo has carried on for the last two years, already shows appreciable results. Much of the land in Honan and Shensi Provinces, formerly under poppy cultivation, has been turned into cotton plantations, where American seeds have been successfully introduced.

The introduction of American cotton seeds and the discovery by Professor J. Lossing Buck, of the College of Agriculture of Nanking University, of a new species of cotton, known here as the "Million Dollar Brand," has led to remarkable results in the improvement of both the quantity and quality of China's cotton crop.

Japan has not been long in appreciating the potential value of this fact, and is now striving to turn the southern belt of Manchukuo and the northern provinces of China proper (Shantung and Hopei) into immense cotton plantations. This would make her absolutely independent of the American raw cotton supply and would give her a predominant position in the world cotton industry.*

Domestic Trade

The effective abolition of "likin" and other transit dues has already given impetus to domestic trade, and it is expected that import duties, which are still a source of great hindrance, will also be abolished within the next few months.

Another step toward development of domestic trade and light industries is the gradual unification of the currency. The Government has assumed control of the Bank of China and of the Bank of Communications, and plans to do likewise with certain other banks. These institutions, with the Central Bank of China, will eventually be the only ones vested with the privilege of note issue. This will bring order to the hitherto chaotic monetary system of the country. Already the opening of branches of the Central Bank in most of the important cities has facilitated commercial transactions to a great extent, as its notes are acceptable at face value in all such places, whereas the circulation of notes of other banks, both foreign and Chinese, is restricted to the place of issue.

* A very interesting article on this subject appeared in the *China Weekly Review* of August 3, 1935.

Propaganda among "Overseas Chinese"

The remittances of "Overseas Chinese" formerly constituted one of the most important items in the balance of international payments of China. Now, however, these remittances have fallen off for two reasons—the economic depression throughout the world, and the lack of confidence in the security of investments in China.

There exists an opinion, confirmed by Sir Meyrick Hewlett, formerly of H.B.M.'s Consular Service, that when the Government actually proves that there is full security for the lives and property of the people and that any private enterprise may exist unhampered by excessive or arbitrary taxation, there will be enough "Chinese" money to do most of the development work in China.

The Generalissimo's ambition is to bring these conditions into being. No one can predict, of course, whether such an achievement can be accomplished within our lifetime, but his every move, his every speech, and his every order is directed toward this goal. Even now, because of this policy, the "Honolulu Dam" in Shensi has been built with money donated by Chinese residents of the Hawaiian Islands, and several development companies have been capitalized by Chinese of the Straits Settlements.

Industry

Leading Chinese bankers assert that the time is not yet ripe for the creation of national heavy industries in China. Such industries, they rightly say, are bound to be inefficient and will require tremendous capital investments which, at the present time, ought to be used for more pressing needs.

The mining industry, however, requires immediate attention. The main obstacles to its development are:

- (a) Inadequate mining laws.
- (b) Insufficient transportation facilities and high freight rates.
- (c) Exclusion of foreign capital.
- (d) Interference of local authorities.

Because of these conditions most of the big mining ventures, with the exception of the Kailan Mining Administration (which is now threatened by certain outside influences), have, so far, proved a failure. For example, the modernly equipped coal mines of the Peking Syndicate, Ltd., in Honan, were compelled to cut down their operations, and

the enormous blast furnaces near Peiping, which were built according to the last word of technique, have never been fired since their erection nearly ten years ago.

Although the Government realizes the importance of introducing reforms in mining law, no notable development in the mining industry can be expected without the co-operation of foreign capital on a large scale. In this respect the outlook is not very bright. The average Chinese is extremely jealous of the natural resources of his country and any mining venture carried on with the participation of foreigners meets with almost fanatical opposition from all classes of the population. Very few Chinese realize, for instance, that America's mineral resources were developed to a great extent with British capital and that, instead of draining the country of her wealth, this contributed to the foundation of America's prosperity.

As regards the development of light industries employing maximum manual labour, considerable progress has already been made. China seems to be well suited for a decentralized handicraft production and the rapid growth of small mechanized industries has already impressed certain distinguished foreign observers, among them Sir Arthur Salter.

Co-operation with Foreign Capital

In spite of the existing military and political situation, there are some excellent opportunities for the investment of foreign capital in sound, self-supporting enterprises in China. But it is safe to predict that foreign capital will remain shy until two major difficulties are overcome. The first is the contradictory attitude of the Chinese. While the Central Government and the provinces are constantly seeking capital for the development of industries and public utilities, this same Government is promulgating new laws which restrict and hinder the participation of foreign capital. The reason advanced for this policy is that the Government, fearful of diplomatic complications, has found it extremely unsatisfactory to deal with enterprises protected by extraterritorial jurisdiction.

The other difficulty is the attitude of the prospective foreign investors. Their point of view is as inconsistent with the actual situation as the Chinese is unreasonable. They refuse to admit that enormous changes have taken place in China, and they still seek rights and privileges which are incompatible with the ever-growing national consciousness and pride of the Chinese. Today such privileges either

should be backed by a firm policy of foreign governments or magnanimously waived of their own free will.

The future of foreign investments in China lies without any doubt in close co-operation with Chinese capital. Chinese banks, operated on modern lines, offer the necessary medium to the foreign investor. Acting as trustees or partners, they are placed in a much better position than a foreign organization for the control of industrial enterprises operated under the Chinese law. One example of such co-operation is to be found in the Otto Wolf-Bank of China partnership for the financing of the purchases of German materials and equipment for the Hangchow-Kiangsi Railway. It might also be mentioned that the British-American Tobacco Company has found it expedient to incorporate all its subsidiary distributing companies under Chinese law, admitting the participation of Chinese shareholders. Even their central organization in China has been recently transformed into a Chinese company, the Yee Tsoong Tobacco Co., Ltd.

The New Life Movement

Madame Chiang Kai-shek kindly gave an outline of the principal aims of the New Life Movement as a contribution to this article.

Although the movement is often described as an attempt to revive ancient moral precepts, somewhat adapted to the changed conditions of today, its scope in reality is much wider. It aims, indeed, at the entire moral re-education of the people of China to the extent of changing their mentality, their mode of thought, and their outlook on the major problems of national and social life.

It is impossible, as yet, to give an appreciation of the results achieved by the movement, but from the fact that the ideas expressed in its credo concord with the opinion of the advanced intellectual leaders, educationalists, and critics of China, one may conjecture that it has a good chance of success.

To awaken the consciousness of the masses, to indoctrinate new conceptions of patriotism, and to arouse the spirit of self-criticism, which for some time has been evident among the higher intellectual classes, the powerful weapon of propaganda has been resorted to. Manipulation of mass psychology has been skilfully undertaken by artistic vivid posters, popular lectures, and articles in the daily press. In this respect the introduction and the spread of the Kuo Yü, or the national language, devised to bridge the gap between the lofty Wen Li

or the classical written Chinese and the Pai Hua or the spoken language, has been most instrumental.

A great deal of criticism is often heard on the part of the Chinese of the enlistment of the police in the enforcement of certain aspects of the movement dealing with personal matters such as manners, behaviour, dress, etc. It annoys people not to be allowed to smoke in the streets, and women bitterly resent being told by the police that their sleeves must be so many inches longer or their hair done in a prescribed fashion. But it is precisely this attention to details that has already enabled the movement to show certain tangible results. Public health drives have been successful, and there is a general improvement in orderliness and cleanliness, in consideration toward other people's comfort and well-being, and in the curbing of arrogance of minor officials. The most outstanding and praiseworthy undertaking of the movement is the relentless drive against "squeeze." Considering the deep roots that this system has had throughout the country for centuries, the results achieved in a short span of time are really remarkable.

Sino-Japanese Relations

It is impossible to give a general outline of the internal situation of China without some reference to Sino-Japanese relations.

The assumption of control over Manchuria has not apparently satisfied Japan's ambition to possess all elements essential for a hegemony in the Far East. For this she must be certain not only of an independent source of supply of all raw materials, but must also gain an exclusive market for her manufactured products.

The domination of North China with its potential source of supply of iron ore and raw cotton is necessary for the realization of such a programme. It is with this end in view that the Japanese Military Party recently presented a number of demands to China. They were of such drastic nature that the Chinese Government, fearing an uprising, withheld them from publication. It has been asserted, however, that among them were the following:

(1) Replacement of all German and other foreign military advisers by Japanese.

(2) Training of two divisions of Chinese troops by Japanese army officers.

(3) Concession at Shasi on the Yangtze with the right to build an airport there.

(4) Severance of all relations with the League of Nations and the withdrawal of all their advisers.

(5) Right for Japanese aircraft to land on Chinese territory and the establishment of air-lines linking Manchukuo, Korea, and Japan with the principal China ports.

(6) Monopoly for the purchase of the output of stibnite (antimony) mines in Hunan.

(7) Recognition of the rights allegedly acquired under the Taku truce to punish any Chinese official.

(8) Recognition and redemption of all Japanese loans and acceptance of an economic tutelage.

As China avoided giving a "satisfactory" reply to these demands the Kwantung Army of Occupation presented an ultimatum dealing exclusively with questions pertaining to North China. Simultaneously they took over practical control of Chahar, Hopei, and Shantung Provinces.

Since that time, a third set of demands has been presented. Although, like the first, they have not officially been made known, it is rumoured that among them are :

(1) The taking over of all Chinese cotton mills and the establishment of cotton plantations on a large scale.

(2) The withdrawal of the Generalissimo's headquarters from Chengtu to Nanking.

(3) Control of military operations for the liquidation of communism in Szechwan.

Many Chinese are indignant and many foreigners baffled by the fact that the Chinese Government has not defended its sovereign rights by the force of arms. Although they would have gained much prestige and respect, the Chinese Government apparently could not take the responsibility of plunging the country into a war which, considering the overwhelming military superiority of the Japanese, might lead to a worse disaster than the loss of three northern provinces.

The only plan of campaign for the Chinese would seem to be to abandon the coast and to carry on guerilla warfare in the interior. The invaders, if continuously harassed, would be forced to maintain such a heavy contingent of troops that the financial burden for Japan would be unbearable. However, a campaign of this kind would entail tremendous suffering on the population of China and, even if the Japanese were eventually forced to withdraw, might plunge the country into anarchy and chaos.

There is, therefore, much to be said for the apparent policy of the Generalissimo to put off the clash as long as possible, thus gaining a few years in which to continue the reorganization of the country and to inject into it a fighting spirit which would place China in a position, if not to resist invasion successfully, at least to bargain with the intruder.

The outcome of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict and, particularly, Great Britain's attitude toward it is keenly watched by the Japanese, who expect—no matter what the outcome—to derive new inspiration for further strengthening their policy in China.

If the League of Nations fails to bring about a peaceful settlement of the incident, the Japanese will find in the Italian example an excuse for new aggression in China and a justification of their former deeds. If, on the other hand, the League of Nations, backed by Great Britain, prevents Italy from gaining territorial or other advantages in Abyssinia, Japan, who considers herself the protector of all Asiatic races, will use it as an excuse for hindering the activities of other Powers in China. Placing the Italo-Abyssinian dispute on a racial basis also serves Japan's purpose, as it gives her an opportunity to strengthen her propaganda for an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine.

The situation could be well summed up by quoting Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, former U.S. Ambassador to Germany and former Minister to China, who, in a speech made in Paris two years ago, said: "Japan is conscious of her newly acquired strength and means to use it."

Unless the Great Powers assert their position in the Far East with more firmness and determination, China, no doubt, will be used by Japan as a means of upsetting the balance of power in Asia and the world in her favour.

SIR RONALD THOMSON AND BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS PERSIA IN 1879

SIR RONALD FERGUSON THOMSON spent the greater part of his life in Queen Victoria's service in Persia. He was appointed Attaché at Teheran in 1848, at the age of 18; from then until his retirement from the diplomatic service on a pension in November, 1887, he and his brother, Sir Taylor Thomson, actively promoted the interests of England in Persia. Sir Ronald attended the Shah, Nasir-ud-din, on his European journey in 1873; and his services were recognized by his appointment as British Minister to Persia and Consul-General in Teheran in June, 1879. This post he held until he was succeeded by Arthur Nicolson in November, 1885. The period of Thomson's career in Persia was marked by great uncertainty in Central Asian affairs. Russia was making enormous advances in Turkestan, especially in the Transcaspian region; Great Britain continually vacillated between Persia and Afghanistan; and the European situation became an increasingly disturbing factor in the politics of Central Asia. Although faced with great difficulties, Thomson directed British affairs in Persia with courage and energy; he opposed Russia's progress in the Akhal, facilitated the work of the Afghan Boundary Commission, and aided in the satisfactory negotiation of the Afghan frontier crisis in the spring of 1885. It is the purpose of this article to indicate how ably Thomson performed his duties by describing one episode in Anglo-Persian relations.

In 1879 British policy towards Persia was contingent upon the settlement of the difficulties arising from the second Anglo-Afghan war. And in Afghanistan itself the policy which the Government of India would be called upon to pursue was by no means clear. Lord Lytton's invasion of Afghan territory was undertaken for the purpose of maintaining the honour of the British flag; but, at the same time, there was a broad strategic principle behind the Viceroy's precipitate invasion of Shere Ali's domains. This principle, always present in Lytton's mind, was to obtain for India the control of the passes of the Hindu Kush mountains, thereby securing the North-West Frontier against Russian influence. Indeed, it can now be stated that this was the main reason

for Lytton's hostility towards Afghanistan. The diplomatic incident, occasioned by the presence of the Russian Mission in Cabul, merely afforded the opportunity of putting his strategic principle into operation. However, the results of a military campaign upon the internal government of Afghanistan were such as to present new difficulties to the Government of India. Shere Ali fled and died; and his son, Yakub Khan, proved himself incapable of governing or of controlling the country. Lytton was faced with the alternative of either uniting the territory under some strong ruler or of allowing Afghanistan to break up into its former component provinces under weak local chiefs. Both of these possibilities held some dangers, and both had their effects on British policy towards Persia.

Aside from the Afghan dilemma, the Russian Akhal campaign was an important factor in determining Anglo-Persian relations. Ostensibly undertaken for the purpose of subjecting the Akhal Tekke Turkoman to Russian rule and of checking their attacks on Russian caravans, it was, nevertheless, intended that the conquest on the Akhal Oasis would provide Russia with a base for future operations and for further diversions towards the North-West Frontier of India should England's hostility at the Straits again make such action necessary on the part of Russia. And a successful campaign in the Akhal district was contingent upon the free purchasing of supplies in Persia. Upon Sir Ronald Thomson fell the double duty of preventing or hindering the passage of supplies from Persia to the Russian forces, and of reconciling the Persian Government to the caprices of a British policy which varied according to the news from Afghanistan. This was indeed a difficult charge. Like his task, Thomson's difficulties were twofold. He stood high in the grace of the Persian Foreign Minister, the Nasr-el-Mulk; but the Russian Minister in Teheran, Ivan Alexievich Zinoviev, possessed great influence over the Shah and the majority of the members of the Persian Council of State. To a certain degree such influence was natural; Russian gold was plentiful in Persia, and Russian troops were much closer to the Persian frontier than were the English. Although this question of relative influence was important, Thomson's chief difficulty lay in securing from the British Government a continuous policy towards Persia. Any development in Afghanistan, interpreted favourably by Lytton, would immediately swing England's main interest away from Persia. However, it must be recognized that the primary purpose of England was to obtain a buffer against Russia in Central Asia; and if Afghanistan could best

fulfil this objective, then Persian affairs became secondary, but by no means could they be entirely disregarded.

In view of the situation in Afghanistan, even before the opening of hostilities with Shere Ali, the British Government had decided to cultivate the good feelings of the Shah in order to take advantage of any opportunity which might develop in Persia. This meant that a previously proposed occupation by England of some territory in or near the Persian Gulf, to force Persia to refuse supplies to the Russians in the Akhal, was rejected in favour of diplomatic efforts to obtain the co-operation of Persia. Thomson's duty was to carry out this policy.

Such a decision was much to his liking; he had repeatedly urged the Government to adopt measures designed to strengthen British prestige in Persia. He had lost no opportunity to impress upon the Shah the manifest expediency of adapting Persia's policy to conform with that of England. This required that Persia would actively oppose Russia's progress in the Akhal. Thomson presented his case well; and the Shah early assured him that Persia was not so completely under the domination of Russia that he could not entertain overtures made by England, provided he could have the support and protection to enable him to face the consequences. The time was certainly favourable for some understanding between England and Persia. The Shah had reached another stage in his periodic fear that Russia, after completing the Akhal campaign, might also desire the valuable Persian province of Khorassan. Moreover, Nasir-ud-din felt that the course which England seemed about to pursue in Afghanistan would accrue to his advantage. This is evident from his remark to the British Minister that when England had conquered Afghanistan she should revert to the old arrangement of establishing separate states at Cabul, Candahar, and Herat, and that such a situation would be equally advantageous to Persia and to England.

In making these statements to Thomson the Shah was not acting alone, nor was he chiefly interested in a British proposal merely for the purpose of playing off England against Russia; for there was also at that time a party in Persia, headed by the Foreign Minister, which was desirous of cultivating an English alliance as a safeguard against the menacing approach of Russia. And in England Salisbury himself was in favour of extending concessions to Persia. In view of the uncertain status of Afghan affairs, he had discussed with Lord Cranbrook, Secretary of State for India, the desirability of ceding the city and territory of Herat to Persia. With an eye to the future, Salisbury

wrote that "at a later period the imperious exigencies of her position towards Russia may force upon England the necessity of securing at the cost of far greater sacrifices the alliance or neutrality of Persia." Such a remark leaves no doubt of the seriousness with which the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs viewed the question of Persia; and Salisbury inclined more and more to the Persian aspect of the Central Asian situation. This first proposal, in January, 1879, was vetoed by Lytton on the ground that it would prejudice the negotiations for the settlement of Afghan affairs, then in progress with Yakub Khan.*

With the responsible head of the British Foreign Office holding these opinions, a strong bid for the cession of Herat as well as for a definite Anglo-Persian alliance was made by Persia, almost simultaneously in Teheran and in London. The Persian Foreign Minister indicated to Thomson that England's having deprived Persia of Herat, after the Anglo-Persian War of 1856, by the Treaty of Paris of March 4, 1857, was the chief cause for the lack of cordiality between the two countries, and that this might be removed by taking the present opportunity to restore this former Persian province. The Foreign Minister then made the fascinating proposal that Persia would

"engage to conclude an alliance with England, to be guided absolutely by her in political matters, taking no steps whatever without her advice and sanction, to assure the supremacy of her influence and political position, to grant certain privileges, and to prevent any Russian or other foreign travellers, with the exception of British subjects, to live at or to visit Herat."†

Likewise urging the cession of Herat and offering an alliance, the Persian Minister in London, Malkom Khan, stated to Salisbury that the present was a critical moment in the relations of Persia and England. Russia was pressing forward against the Akhal Tekke Turkoman, and, if nothing was done to prevent it, would certainly conquer the related Tekkes of Merv. Persia, he maintained, in possession of Herat and backed by British resources could avert such an eventuality. Malkom Khan said he had been given special authority to act in these matters, as the Shah was anxious to offer to England an entire preponderance in his councils and to plan the whole of his

* F.O. 65 Russia 1060, Salisbury to Cranbrook, January 14, 1879; and F.O. 65 Russia 1062, Lytton to Cranbrook, March 22, 1879.

† F.O. 65 Russia 1061, Thomson to Salisbury, No. 31, February 15, 1879.

foreign policy under the guidance of the British Government. The Persian Minister concluded that

“Persia was too weak to remain without a friend. She had no wish to become dependent on Russia, but she needed English assistance. . . . This was the point from which the policy of Persia must definitely turn either towards Russia or towards England; and the responsibility which would rest on Her Majesty’s Government, if they allowed it to pass by in mere neglect, would be very great.”*

The questions raised by these proposals were of the greatest importance. Was British policy in Afghanistan so far involved or so important as to justify England in definitely rejecting Persia’s offer of alliance? Thomson strongly urged acceptance. According to his views, the result of the Russo-Turkish war had been prejudicial to British prestige in Persia. As a great Mohammedan Power, England had been considered throughout the East as the natural protector of Turkey, and Russia as her natural enemy. Turkey’s defeat by Russia, without active military aid being advanced by England, therefore had its effect all through the Mohammedan world. The diplomatic victory which England gained over Russia at the Congress of Berlin was not sufficiently appreciated in the East and was thus without consequence. By now proposing an alliance Persia presented England with an opportunity to reassume the rôle of protector and to re-establish her influence in the countries of the East. Thomson further thought that the prompt and resolute action of England in Afghanistan and the failure of Russia to support Shere Ali in his hour of need had produced a marked impression in Persia. The result of this impression was apparent in Persia’s present friendliness towards England. Thomson, in his report to Salisbury in February, 1879, had clearly and correctly presented the situation then facing England in Central Asia. Unfortunately for his position in Persia, this alliance proposal was rejected, because Lytton thought that the settlement which he expected to conclude with Yakub Khan would give him greater control over Herat than its cession to Persia. Salisbury was inclined to believe that, with due regard to the unsettled condition of Afghanistan, a Persian occupation of Herat would be effective in delaying Russia’s progress in Central Asia; and that England had about the same control over both countries. In this latter assumption he was hardly correct, for

* F.O. 65 Russia 1061, Salisbury to Thomson, No. 20 (Secret), February 19, 1879.

there was considerable danger in the friendship of Persia, which blew hot or cold according to the varying success of the Russia expeditions in Transcaspia. Beaconsfield's oriental imagination led him to agree with Salisbury's view, but the Persian project was continuously opposed by Queen Victoria on the ground that it would be too great an extension of British resources. Acting, therefore, on the recommendation of Lytton, Salisbury informed Malkom Khan that the British Government could not accept the proposal which he had made.

This was indeed a momentous decision. For a time, at least, England had decided definitely in favour of Afghanistan. Thomson's difficulties were greatly increased; and, in view of the Government's refusal of the Persian alliance, his efforts to prevent Persia from furnishing supplies to the Russians were adversely affected. Thomson's only avenue of approach to this difficult objective was through his friendship with the Persian Foreign Minister. This official would enter into no engagement on the subject, but informed Thomson through "an unofficial and personal communication" that secret instructions had been sent to the frontier districts in Khorassan to prevent, pending further orders, supplies of any kind being furnished to the Russian troops. At the best this was an unsatisfactory assurance. Thomson continued to press this point with a zeal comparable only to that of his Russian colleague Zinoviev. With little support from the British Government, Thomson pursued his slight advantage by pointing out to Persia the dangers attendant upon the occupation of the Akhal territory by Russia. Thomson attempted to prevent such an eventuality by calling the Persian Minister's attention to the effect which the Russian conquest of the Akhal would have on Khorassan and by trying to induce Persia to lay claim to the whole Attrek district. He incorporated his warnings in an able and well-executed memorandum, which he presented to the Persian Foreign Minister in April, 1879. At the same time, in a despatch to Salisbury, Thomson dealt in a masterful manner with the expansion of Russia towards the Indian frontier. This was an important communication and fully deserved the consideration accorded by the Foreign Office. Copies were sent to the Queen, Beaconsfield, and Dufferin, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg; and it was printed for circulation among the Cabinet. Thomson discussed the probable occupation of Merv by Russia, a subject with which British statesmen were much concerned. He suggested constituting Merv a dependency of Herat over which England should exercise a permanent and paramount influence. In case

Afghanistan was united under a strong native ruler, and subject exclusively to British control, he proposed the extension of Afghan sovereignty over the Merv Tekke Turkoman. As an alternative, Thomson advanced the fascinating proposal of incorporating the Merv territory into the Persian kingdom. This was exactly what Lord Hartington attempted to do at a later date, in 1882, when he felt that the relative calm in Central Asian affairs at that time offered an opportunity to settle the Central Asian question between England and Russia, and that an extension of a long arm of neutral territory across Russia's path to the North-West Frontier of India would accomplish this greatly desired result. The several proposals in Thomson's despatch were seriously considered by Salisbury and Beaconsfield. Moreover, these views indicate that Thomson was active in promoting measures which would not only increase British prestige in Persia, but which might have had a pacific effect on the whole of Central Asian politics.

In spite of the assurances of the Persian Foreign Minister, supplies freely passed from Persia to the Russian troops. Thomson realized that his only chance of success lay in England's granting some territorial concessions to Persia in Sistan or Herat. He felt that with this to offer he could place British influence on a more satisfactory footing in Teheran and might possibly be able to induce the Shah to open the Karun River to commerce. With the concurrence of the India Office, which recognized the importance of not losing any opportunity to strengthen England's position in Persia, Salisbury approved the efforts of Thomson in these directions and offered to support any remonstrance which Persia might be induced to make to Russia's progress in the Akhal. However, this meant only diplomatic support and carried very little actual weight. Although strongly inclined to the Persian aspect of the Central Asian question, Salisbury felt that care should be exercised in making any commitments to Persia. And recognizing the distance of Persia from any effective British military support the British Government were reluctant to undertake the responsibility of backing Persia under all circumstances against Russia. This cautious attitude towards Persia was strengthened by the conclusion of the Treaty of Gandamak with Yakub Khan on May 26. With Afghanistan now entirely under British influence, and believing that some degree of security had been guaranteed by this treaty, the Foreign Office became reluctant to pursue as active a programme in Persia as before.

However, two developments soon caused a change in England's attitude towards Persian affairs. The massacre of the British Embassy in Cabul in September again plunged Afghanistan into disorder and necessitated another military invasion of that country; and the new and extensive campaign in the Akhal, which was then in preparation by Russia, led to a complete reconsideration of the entire Central Asian situation. General Lomakin, conducting a hasty and rather badly organized expedition against the Akhal Tekkes, suffered a serious defeat at Dengil Tepe in August, 1879. The vital necessity of prompt action was recognized by Russia. Zinoviev* proposed a complete conquest of the entire Akhal Oasis, not only to re-establish Russian prestige among the Turkomans, but in order to acquire a strong point for future activity in Central Asia. Salisbury's protest that such a programme was a violation of the rights of Persia in the Akhal was met by the statement that this was a question which did not directly concern Great Britain, and was one in which she had no claim to interfere. The policy pursued by the British Government since 1874, in the Near East, at the Congress of Berlin, and in Central Asia, had been dictated by a spirit of hostility towards Russia. Moreover, this policy, mainly as a result of the diplomatic isolation of Russia after the Congress of Berlin, had been successful in opposing the spread of Russian influence not only in the Near East but also in Central Asia, where England had acquired complete supremacy in Afghanistan. It was only natural, therefore, that Russia should take advantage of contiguous territory and of her forts and stations along the Caspian to make her own position paramount in Persia. England was attempting to make both Persia and Afghanistan buffer states. At the present time this was clearly impossible. Such a condition might have been achieved at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but by now the opportunity had gone for ever. Russia's treaties with Persia, Gulistan in 1813, Turkomanchi in 1828, and the founding of the Ashurada Naval Station in 1841 with numerous forts spreading eastwards from the Caspian, had given Russia too strong a footing on the frontiers of Persia for England to displace her in the councils of the Shah.

Nevertheless, in spite of its obvious difficulties and dangers, the Persian aspect of Central Asian affairs was very appealing. Both Afghanistan and Persia could control Herat; and it must be remem-

* Terentiev, M. A., *Istoriia Zavoevaniia Srednei Azii* (Three Volumes, St. Petersburg, 1906), III., p. 6; and Grodekov, N. I., *Voina v Turkmēnii, Pokhod Skobeleva v 1880-1881* (Four Volumes, St. Petersburg, 1884), I., p. 136.

bered that the safeguarding of this district was regarded as all-important, for it opened up the only easy all-year route from the Caspian to India. The British Government must decide whether to leave Herat in Afghanistan or to take advantage of the present disorder in that country to place this important strategic point in stronger hands, but hands whose sincerity was gravely doubted. The dilemma facing the Government was clearly presented by Salisbury in a letter to Sir Stafford Northcote.

“The question—shall we lean on the Persian or the Afghan leg—is still perplexing. The Persian Shah is frightened of Russia, no doubt; and is therefore inclined to betray us. But the Afghan Amir (if not a traitor) is so weak that his good dispositions, supposing them to exist, are perfectly useless. *To which then shall we confide Herat?* The Shah may sell it; the Amir will certainly lose it. We have a certain hold over both. . . . I lean, therefore, to the belief that the Shah will serve us better in Herat than the Amir.”*

Beaconsfield, in a letter to Queen Victoria, also stated what the British Government were attempting to do.

“No longer bound by the treaty (of Gandamak, May 26, 1879, which the Government considered abrogated by the massacre of the Cabul Embassy) negotiated by the brilliant Cavagnari, we may make arrangements with Persia, for example, which may tend to the restoration of her influence in Asia, and save her from the ravenous maw of Russia.”†

Salisbury was able to persuade the Cabinet to his view on Herat in the meeting of October 22. Instructions to open negotiations with Persia were at once sent to Thomson.

Thomson was highly pleased with this change in the Government's attitude, for it indicated an active policy which he had repeatedly urged. He immediately began secret conversations with the Persian Foreign Minister. The result of these interviews was a most amazing document. The chief points agreed upon between the two, and which were to form the basis for the future Secret Herat Convention, were:

* Cecil, Lady Gwendolyn, *The Life of Lord Salisbury* (Four Volumes, London, 1921-1931), II., pp. 375-376.

† Monypenny, W. F., and Buckle, G. E., *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli* (Six Volumes, London, 1906-1922), VI., p. 482.

1. The provisional transfer of Herat to Persian guardianship, her occupation to continue only so long as she had the confidence of Her Majesty's Government.
2. Great Britain to retain the right of military occupation should there be any danger of its falling into wrong hands.
3. England to decide what garrison Persia shall maintain.
4. British officers are to be employed to instruct the garrison and to superintend defensive arrangements.
5. Persia not to allow any foreign agents or travellers, excepting English, to reside at or to visit Herat.
6. Persia to take steps, with the moral support of Her Majesty's Government, to prevent the occupation of Merv by Russia.
7. Persia to do all she possibly can to check the advance of Russia in the Turkoman country, to object strenuously to the passage of Russian troops through any territory belonging to or claimed by her, and to afford no assistance to any military expedition advancing eastwards from the Caspian.
8. Persia to conclude a treaty with Her Majesty's Government which shall favour and facilitate British commerce.*

It will at once be apparent that Persia was making enormous concessions in order to regain Herat. Not only was British influence to be predominant in Herat, even under Persian sovereignty, but Persia now undertook to check, as far as possible, the Russian campaign in the Akhal and towards Merv. Persia would become practically a British protectorate. England, therefore, stood to gain much by the ratification of such a secret convention. Thomson had attempted to make it very binding upon Persia, because he feared that the complete or unconditional cession of Herat would be hazardous. On November 8 Thomson received the Shah's acceptance of the conditions proposed to the Foreign Minister. It was then necessary to formulate these preliminary understandings into a definite convention.

Thomson had negotiated a tentative agreement, but his efforts to secure its ratification were to meet many delays. In the first place, the Shah became very much troubled about the engagement; he considered the conditions demanded by Thomson as rather humiliating, but thought that he might later succeed in effecting their cancellation. However, the offer of the British Minister, entirely in accord with his cherished dreams, could not appear to him as anything but very attractive.† Moreover, there were divided counsels in England. The military situation in Afghanistan was of first importance, as the

* F.O. 60 Persia 423, Thomson to Salisbury, Telegram No. 60, October 29, 1879.

† Grodekov, II., p. 26.

Government of India regarded that country's future as more important than close relations or an alliance with Persia. Only Salisbury and Thomson were leaning strongly towards Persia; practically the rest of the British Government believed that Afghanistan offered the best bet. The successes of General Roberts at Cabul and Candahar were making the position of England in Afghanistan more secure; but, on the other hand, it was equally true that Afghanistan seemed destined as ever to break up into a series of semi-dependent states. Therefore, when it was decided to regard the Treaty of Gandamak as abrogated, Salisbury became all the more anxious to push the Herat Convention before Russia closed the opportunity; and the Cabinet, on December 3, authorized him to continue the negotiations. He, accordingly, telegraphed Thomson that the Cabinet was, in principle, favourable to the Persian deal; but that definite agreements could not be made until the general arrangement for the future of Afghanistan had been decided upon. In other words, the Government's policy was to keep Persia in play as long as possible, or until a solution had been found for the Afghan problem. Salisbury then drew up a preliminary draft of a full convention and telegraphed it to Thomson before it had been presented to the Cabinet. This draft was based on Thomson's original conversations with the Persian Foreign Minister, but included an article dealing with the proposed Candahar-Herat railway. However, Salisbury cautioned Thomson that his previous telegram did not intimate a consent that the Shah should occupy Herat at once; that nothing could be allowed until a definitive understanding had been reached and signed.

At this stage in the negotiations Persia, fearful of Russia's attitude towards this deal with England, made further efforts to draw closer to Great Britain. In November the Persian Minister in London asked Salisbury if Persia could count on the moral support of England in case Russia attacked the northern districts of Khorassan. Salisbury's answer to this feeler was not entirely reassuring and would not aid Persia in breaking away from Russian influence. To quote, "I replied, certainly we should protest earnestly against any attack on Persian integrity, but I should be misleading him if I allowed him to count on material assistance from us." However, on December 17, Malkom Khan again proposed a definite Anglo-Persian alliance which would protect Persia in the event of any aggression by Russia.* Here was a

* F.O. 60 Persia 419, Salisbury to Thomson, Telegram No. 26, November 28, 1879; and F.O. 65 Russia 1071, Salisbury to Thomson, No. 155, December 27, 1879.

further opportunity which would have successfully consummated Thomson's entire work in Persia, and which would have brought Persia within the actual orbit of British control. With Russia still suffering from the effects of the Congress of Berlin, diplomatically isolated in Europe, and regarded with distrust by Bismarck, such an alliance would seem to have been possible. Moreover, such a step, bringing both Persia and Afghanistan under British auspices, would have recreated the great design of Lord Wellesley of constituting these two countries as buffer states against Russian influence, and might have gone far towards effecting a settlement of the Central Asian question of that period.

Lord Lytton and the Government of India were again instrumental in the rejection of the Persian alliance proposal. The Viceroy maintained that a successful conclusion of the Afghan problem would achieve the objects of his policy and would secure the desired safety of the Indian frontier. Therefore, under the circumstances, Salisbury was as unable to conclude an alliance with Persia in December as he had been in the preceding February. Throughout the whole series of these negotiations Thomson's chief difficulty was not encountered in Persia; it was found in reconciling the Government of India and the majority of the British Cabinet to the expediency of adopting a strong hand in Persia. The rejection of the Persian alliance for the second time in 1879 had important results. Unable to secure the effective support, which she deemed necessary, Persia could hardly be expected to oppose Russian policy in the Akhal; and, as was predicted by Malkom Khan, Persia swung from England to Russia. It also meant that Thomson could not hope to succeed in bolstering up Persian opposition to Russia. Thomson was severely handicapped, because the Government's policy, in the main, was based on Afghan and not on Persian considerations. He could go no further than to state to the Shah that the British Government had accepted, in principle, the proposed understandings for the provisional occupation of Herat by Persia—nothing more.

Salisbury, however, was anxious to push the Persian scheme. He experienced considerable difficulty in inducing the Cabinet to come to a definite agreement, and on January 2, 1880, wrote to Beaconsfield that "the matter won't bear keeping much longer." Salisbury further instructed Thomson to draw up a final draft of the proposed convention on the basis of the previous discussion and on his own preliminary proposal; but to "exclude any interpretation that we are bound, in any

contingency, to give material aid to Persia." Thomson, accordingly, on January 6, telegraphed to the Foreign Office a complete draft of the Secret Herat Convention. This document remained in practically the same form as first suggested by him. There were only a few alterations, chiefly in respect to matters of form. It provided for the occupation and administration of Herat by Persia so long as the Shah retained the confidence of England and acted "as a loyal ally," for the reception of a resident British Envoy, for the construction of fortifications, and for the entry of English troops into the city at the discretion of Great Britain. In return for the sovereignty of Herat, the Shah was to conclude a favourable commercial treaty with England, to open the Karun River to commerce, and to construct a waggon road from Shuster to Ispahan and from Bushire to Teheran. On January 15 Salisbury transmitted a full power, granted by the Queen under the Great Seal, to Thomson to conclude treaties and conventions, and authorized him to submit the convention "to the Persian Government in the manner you think best."

With England's second refusal of their own alliance offer and with the British draft of the Herat Convention before them, the Persian Government began to cool towards the proposition. The reasons are not far to seek. Persia was subordinating much to a rather lukewarm British policy. Moreover, Russia at that time was making intense preparations for the successful completion of the Akhal campaign, which ended with the victory of General Skobelev over the Akhal Tekke Turkoman in 1881, and which definitely established the supremacy of Russia on the northern boundary of Persia. This was an eventuality which Persia had to consider. With a powerful Russia so close and with English military aid so far away and, even at best, unlikely to be granted in times of emergency, the interests of Persia demanded careful consideration. In this situation Shah Nasir-ud-din proceeded cautiously; and when Thomson demanded a categorical answer to the final British proposal he took a step which meant the end to the negotiations. He decided to tell everything to Zinoviev and to ask the advice of the Russian Minister. Zinoviev promptly told him that such a proposition would make him nothing more than the feudatory of England; and that, if Persia accepted the British proposals, Russia would act in accord with her own interests and would not stop to consider whether the measures which she would then take were in harmony with the interests of Persia or not.* With the knowledge

* Grodekov, II., p. 29.

of Russia's decided opposition before him the Shah attempted to change the Convention and to get more concessions from England. He desired to own Herat and, at the same time, to placate Russia. Salisbury was firm; and in answer to the Persian objections and overtures wrote Thomson not to "enter upon points already discussed and accepted by His Excellency."

Salisbury was unable to make any concessions to Persia, because serious opposition was developing in India to the Persian plan. It was realized that this project was dangerous, while offering no great advantages to offset the complications, both in Europe and in Central Asia, which would naturally follow its consummation. On the other hand, the alternative proposal, to rely solely on Afghanistan, offered almost the same advantages in respect to Herat with practically none of the attendant complications. Salisbury, while hopeful as to the ultimate outcome, nevertheless realized the difficulty in the situation for Persia. He felt sure that Russia would resent Persia's occupation of Herat, in agreement with England, and would take the earliest opportunity to punish Persia with results which might be disastrous to the Persian kingdom.

The dangers in the situation and the pressure from Russia overcame the Shah's desire to add Herat again to Persia. On February 13 the Persian Foreign Minister told Thomson that the Convention had been discussed by the Shah and his council; that he and three others had held out for acceptance, but that eight members had objected on the grounds of cost and of the uncertainty of tenure. These members had viewed the proposals as a very dangerous step for Persia and had advised the Shah to give up any further negotiations. A few days later Thomson received a note from the Shah stating that owing to the provisional character of the occupation he did not feel inclined to accept the Herat Convention. The Foreign Minister later discussed the failure of the Convention with Thomson, and indicated the part Zinoviev had played in securing its rejection. Zinoviev had expressed great dissatisfaction with the proposed arrangement and had influenced the Shah, through the members of the council, to reject it. Thomson quite frankly told the Minister that British policy was based primarily on the interests of the Indian Empire. To quote his remarks:

"In view of these interests the policy of England was to make Persia, if possible, a strong and independent Power, friendly to us, and, at the same time, hostile to none of her neighbours. . . . If the support of England was withdrawn Persia would find herself

at the mercy of Russia, whose designs upon the Caspian provinces and the most valuable part of Khorassan were evident."

Thomson concluded his report to Salisbury with the wise remark that the refusal of Persia to accept the essential safeguards which England demanded in the Convention "affords the strongest proof that we cannot dispense with them."*

The Midlothian campaign, with its attention focussed primarily on foreign affairs, was fought in the spring of 1880; and, as the result of its outcome, the Beaconsfield Ministry resigned in April. The return of the Liberal Party to power may have been the signal for Persia to re-open the Herat proposals in the hope of obtaining more concessions than were possible under a Conservative Government. Malkom Khan, acting on the Shah's authority, made efforts to resume negotiations. He was told by Lord Granville, Foreign Secretary in Gladstone's Cabinet, that he understood an arrangement respecting Herat had been approved by the former Government, and had been practically brought to a formal conclusion "when it had suddenly been dropped by the Persian Ministers, who seemed to have communicated its terms to the Russian Government." Granville clearly stated the policy of the Liberal Government by advising Thomson that any further steps regarding Herat "should be made in concert with Russia."†

This naturally precluded any further negotiations on the subject, and it reacted to the detriment of British prestige in Persia. It placed Thomson at a disadvantage in his efforts to oppose the spread of Russian influence in Northern Persia. The proposed transfer of Herat to Persian sovereignty raised many questions of the greatest importance. Questions closely knit with the entire problem of Afghanistan, where they were hardly compatible with Lord Lytton's policy; with the Russian Akhal campaigns; and with the vital matter of Russo-Persian relations, which Russia had repeatedly declared to be a subject in which England was not directly concerned. Moreover, any serious progress towards a definite Anglo-Persian alliance would have brought forward the entire diplomatic and possibly military strength of Russia to prevent its conclusion. Russia was by circumstances, as well as by geographical position, forced to stand aside and allow British influence to dominate Afghanistan. With Persia these conditions were different, and Russia could prevent such a development there. When it met the

* F.O. 65 Russia 1099, Thomson to Salisbury, No. 64, March 6, 1880.

† F.O. 65 Russia 1101, Granville to Thomson, No. 58, and Telegram No. 48, May 18, 1880.

full force of Russian opposition at the hands of Zinoviev, this attempt in 1879 to extend British influence in Persia was not successful. England was attempting to hold control over both Afghanistan and Persia until the progress of events would indicate the one which could best serve the objects of her policy in Central Asia. The fact that British prestige in Persia sank to a very low ebb was due to circumstances for which Thomson cannot be held responsible. The British Minister acted throughout with energy, foresight, and courage; and the faint spark of British influence in Persia was kept alive chiefly by the heroic efforts of Sir Ronald Thomson.

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THE PORTUGUESE IN THE BAHRAIN ISLANDS, 1521-1602

AT the end of the fifteenth century the Arabs, especially those of Oman and the Yemen, were the principal sea traders of the East. They held a position which was somewhat similar to that previously held by the Venetians in Europe. Their well-equipped fleets were strong enough to protect their trade from the pirates who at that time, and for many centuries before, infested the coasts of the Persian Gulf.

The city of Calicut on the west coast of India, which was ruled by the Zamorin, a Hindu King, was the focus of the Indian Ocean trade, but the great emporium and the meeting-place of Eastern merchants was the famous town of Hormuz, situated on an island on the Iranian coast. To Calicut came huge Chinese junks laden with merchandise from countries beyond India, and from Calicut the Arab fleets carried their cargoes of species and cinnamon and all the produce of the Indies up the Iranian Gulf to Basra and through the Red Sea to Tor and Jedda, where caravans met the ships and conveyed the cargoes across the deserts to the Mediterranean ports.

The Portuguese, whose seamen were then the finest in Europe, possessed the spirit of adventure and the ambition to extend their empire, and for many years they had been interested in the spice trade. Several times they had sent successful missions by the overland route to India to enquire into the source of this lucrative industry. In 1498 Vasco da Gama made his historical voyage to India by rounding the Cape of Good Hope. He led the way for the successful entry of his countrymen into the Iranian Gulf and opened up the road for Europe's maritime invasion of the East. Fleets followed fast, and in a few years the Portuguese had ousted the Arabs from their supremacy at sea and had laid the foundations of their great Eastern empire with its capital at Goa.

When the Portuguese first arrived in the Indian Ocean they anchored off Calicut, where they met with opposition from the Hindu King. They bombarded the city, which finally surrendered to Pedro Cabral, who ordered it to be sacked. A few years later the famous Admiral Alfonso d'Albuquerque took over command in the Gulf and attacked Muscat with a large fleet. Muscat was an important place, a tributary

of Hormuz. The Governor of Muscat refused to submit, so the town was pounded by the Portuguese guns until it surrendered. The Portuguese landed and captured many of the chief inhabitants, whose ears and noses they chopped off; the city was plundered and then wantonly destroyed by fire, and the victorious fleet sailed off along the Oman coast and captured several other ports, which were treated in the same way. After this Albuquerque turned his attention to Hormuz, the key of the Iranian Gulf.

To-day Hormuz is a tiny fishing village on a barren salty island which is visible from ships as they enter the port of Bander Abbas, but when Albuquerque first sailed the waters of the Gulf, Hormuz had the reputation of being a city of fabulous wealth and incomparable luxury and magnificence. The city was originally on the mainland, but when the Tartar hordes swept over Persia it was destroyed and then rebuilt on the island. So famous were the wonders of Hormuz that the sixteenth-century poets in Europe frequently referred to it in their works. To this "jewelled signet of a golden ring" came merchants from all parts of the Orient trading in precious Eastern wares. In the richly stocked markets of Hormuz they sold silks and jewels, ivory and pearls, cloths of silver and of gold, as well as Arab horses and "the finest asses in the world," which may well have been the forbears of the famous Bahrain strain of white donkeys. Even to-day these donkeys have a great reputation and are found as far off as the centre of the Tanganyika Territory in East Africa, where they were taken by Baluchis from Muscat via Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam. The King of Hormuz, who had accumulated great wealth from the Indian trade and the pearl fisheries, possessed large territories both in Iran and on the Arab coast. The islands of Bahrain were subject to Hormuz, which was the distributing centre for the pearls of the Gulf, but Hormuz itself paid tribute to the Sultan of Kerman. The rapid success of the Portuguese navy, both on the Indian coast and in Oman, established for it a reputation of invincibility, and the coming of the foreign conquerors with their strange ships and weapons spread fear and terror along the coasts and the islands of the Gulf.

When Albuquerque and his fleet of tall ships arrived at Hormuz he found that the King was aware of his intention and the Hormuzians were prepared to defend their island. The harbour was filled with ships, the battlements were lined with armed men, and foreign mercenaries had been called in to assist the defenders. Bahrain had sent a fleet with "relief of men and provisions," but the Portuguese met the

Bahrain ships near Kishm and pursued and scattered them. Albuquerque called on the King to surrender the island to Portugal, and when he refused a fierce sea fight took place in which the Portuguese gained the day, although they were tremendously outnumbered. The King of Hormuz became the vassal of the King of Portugal and was forced to allow the conquerors to build a fortress at one end of the island for their garrison; he agreed to pay an annual tribute, and granted the Portuguese certain concessions in the matter of Customs. These concessions were revised in later years until finally the complete control of Customs passed into the hands of the Portuguese. In 1507 the King of Hormuz refused to pay tribute to Shah Ismail, the ruler of Iran, having transferred his allegiance to Portugal. In the following year, mainly owing to the intrigues among his captains, Albuquerque was obliged to leave Hormuz and returned to India.

During the next few years, while Albuquerque was in India, Iran endeavoured to regain control of Hormuz, but without success. In 1514 Albuquerque sent his nephew Pero to collect the annual tribute from the King of Hormuz and to reoccupy the fortress, and while at Hormuz Pero explored the northern straits of the Gulf as far as Bahrain. This appears to be the first time that the Portuguese visited Bahrain, but no fighting took place and they did not leave a garrison. Owing to a civil war in Hormuz, the demands of the Portuguese were not carried out, and in 1515 Albuquerque returned there himself, and after negotiations with the King of Hormuz, Saif al Din, the island was handed over again to the Portuguese and their garrison was installed in the fortress. About this time the King of Egypt despatched a fleet to the assistance of the Indian princes, who had appealed to him for help against the tyranny of Portugal, and Egypt from this date joined issues against the Portuguese. Albuquerque died at Goa in 1515, leaving his nephew Pero at Hormuz. He was succeeded as Viceroy by Lopo Soarez.

The power of Portugal was approaching its zenith; Hormuz and its tributaries were under its sway and it controlled the import trade and the northern routes to Europe. The naval prestige of the Portuguese was unrivalled, and everywhere their fleets were victorious; their King's representative kept regal state in Goa, from where he ruled over Portugal's Eastern empire, and "only rare and feeble opposition told of deep resentment of their intrusion and brutality." Bahrain, as well as the other dependencies of Hormuz, was subject to Portugal.

Duarte Barbosa, when mentioning the various islands in the Iranian

Gulf which previously belonged to Hormuz, gives the following description of Bahrain :

“Barem, wherein dwell many merchants and other worthy folk, is well placed in the midst of the Persian Gulf, so many ships with much merchandise sail thither. Around it grows much seed pearl, also large pearls of good quality; merchants of the island themselves fish for pearls and have great profit . . . hither come Hormuz merchants to purchase seed pearls, which they sell in India. . . .” Other characteristics which he mentions are the variety of fruits, extraordinarily deep springs of brackish water, dates, wheat and barley, falcons, and horses. Manamah is mentioned as being the name of a town at that time.

The first detailed account of the coming of the Portuguese to Bahrain is the description of its conquest in 1521. When the Portuguese ordered their vassal, the King of Hormuz, to pay the annual tribute, he pleaded as an excuse for not paying his quarrel with Mocrin, the ruler of Hassa, over the ownership of Bahrain and Katif. Diego Lopes Sequiera, the Portuguese Governor, agreed to help the King of Hormuz by sending an expedition against Bahrain to enforce the payment of tribute. Antonio Correa, the Governor's nephew, was given command of the expedition, which consisted of 400 Portuguese soldiers, who filled seven ships, and about 3,000 Arabs, who were carried in 200 vessels. The Armada set sail from Hormuz on June 15, but owing to bad weather the ships were scattered on the way, so that when Antonio Correa reached Bahrain he had with him only 250 Portuguese besides some Hormuzian soldiers, who were commanded by Rais Zarafa.

Mocrin had prepared defences against the enemy and had built earthworks and entrenchments along the shore. He had a force of 300 Arab horsemen, 400 Iranian archers, 20 Turkish musketeers, and about 11,000 Arabs armed with various weapons. His fortifications were furnished with some cannon, and his forces were led by tried commanders, but they had never before been called upon to face an attack by European forces clad in armour and using European weapons.

The Portuguese led the attack. Antonio came first with 170 men, followed by his brother with 50 men, and Rais Zarafa stood in reserve. The Portuguese waded ashore and stormed the trenches, which were hotly defended by the Bahrain troops under the King in person. The heat was terrible, and at noon weariness and the sun compelled both sides to pause. In the evening the attackers advanced again, and Mocrin was shot through the thigh. His followers were so disheartened that they began to give way; many surrendered, and many were killed

and wounded, and finally at the end of the day the Portuguese won a complete victory, and their occupation of Bahrain dates from this time.

Rais Zarafa obtained information that the body of King Mocrin, who died a few days after he was wounded, was being taken to Hassa for burial. He intercepted the ship and seized the King's body. The head of Mocrin was cut off and carried back to Hormuz, a bilingual inscription was set up in the city commemorating the bold exploit of Antonio Correa, and the King of Portugal granted him permission to add a King's head to his coat of arms and to assume the title of "Baharem" after his name. The only description available of the taking of Bahrain is from Portuguese sources, and it is likely that the numerical strength of the forces is not accurately described, but in any case the defenders must have far outnumbered the Portuguese and their Hormuzian allies.

In 1522 the King of Hormuz organized a rebellion throughout the Gulf against the Portuguese. On a given night there were simultaneous risings in Hormuz, Bahrain, Muscat, and Sohar. At Hormuz the Portuguese garrison was besieged in the fortress, but eventually relieved by reinforcements from Muscat. In Oman the rebellion was not successful, and, seeing that it had failed, the King of Hormuz fled to Kishm, where he was afterwards murdered. He was succeeded by his son, aged 13, who made a new treaty with the Portuguese in 1523.

The rebels in Bahrain met with better success. According to an Arab history, the people of Bahrain had suffered very severely from the tyranny and oppression of the conquerors. On the appointed night, led by their chief, Shaikh Hussein bin Said, they attacked the Portuguese garrison and completely surprised them. They seized the Portuguese Governor and hung him on a date tree, and they expelled the remnants of the garrison. Shaikh Hussein then proclaimed himself the ruler of Bahrain. After some time, however, he made terms with the Portuguese and was appointed by them as a local governor with a Portuguese official, de Menzies, as his assistant and adviser. Bahrain returned again to the Portuguese rule.

There is a story told in one of the local Shia histories of Bahrain about its occupation by the Portuguese.

The islands were ruled, on behalf of Portugal, by a Mohammedan Governor, or Wali, who belonged to the Sunni sect, although the people of Bahrain were Shias. The Wali had a Wazir, who was also a Sunni, and he hated the Shias so bitterly that he never ceased plotting to injure and destroy them by every possible means.

One day the Wazir came to the Wali holding in his hand a pomegranate. On the pomegranate was inscribed "La illah ila Allah wa Mohammed rasool Allah" and the names of the Caliphs Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali. The Wali examined the pomegranate carefully and saw that the writing was actually embedded in the pomegranate itself, not merely cut upon the skin; without doubt it could not have been written by any human hand.

He said to the Wazir, "This is a miracle, an evident demonstration against the belief of these apostates. Now what is your opinion about these Shia people in Bahrain?"

The Wazir replied, "Allah has shown you the right way. Verily these are a fanatical people. You should summon them all and show them this pomegranate, and if they accept this divine proof and are converted to the right belief, then Allah will reward you. If they do not accept this proof, you should order them to provide an answer to the miracle, and, if they cannot explain it, then degrade them, make them pay tribute, seize their women, kill all their men."

The Wali accepted his Wazir's advice and summoned all the chief men of the Shias, the Ulema, the nobles, and all who were intelligent and religious, and he showed them the pomegranate and told them what he had decided. They looked at the pomegranate and they were amazed, their faces changed colour, and the muscles of their shoulders shook. Then the oldest of them all stepped forward and said, "Give us three days' time, and in three days we will seek an acceptable answer. If we find no answer in this time, do with us as you wish."

The Wali granted their request, and they left him in fear and trembling and assembled in one of their houses to consider the matter. They chose ten of their most religious men, and out of the ten they chose three, and to one of the three they said, "Go this night out into the desert alone and worship Allah and implore our Imam to help us and to give us some sign which will show us an escape from this calamity."

The mullah went out into the desert and stayed all night, worshipping Allah, weeping and praying for help, but when the dawn came he had seen nothing, and he returned sadly to his people.

On the next night the second mullah went out, but he, too, returned in the morning, having seen and heard nothing, and there was wailing and lamentation among the women in all the villages of Bahrain.

On the last night the third mullah went out. He was a very pious man and his name was Mohamed bin Isa. He went bareheaded and

barefooted into the desert, and the night was very dark, for there was no moon. He wept and he prayed and he implored Allah to save the believers from destruction. A little before the dawn he saw the figure of a man which approached him and said, "Why do I see you, Mohamed, in this condition? Why are you out in the desert at night?"

The mullah replied, "Oh, man, leave me alone. I am here for an urgent purpose, to prevent a great calamity, and I cannot speak or complain about it except to my Imam."

Then said the man, "Yah Mohamed, I am the Imam. Tell me what it is that you need."

"If you are really the Imam," said the mullah, "you could read what is in my heart and you would know what I need without my telling."

The man replied, "Indeed I do know. You came out because of what was written on a pomegranate."

When the mullah heard this he was convinced and became all ears while the Imam spoke the following words :

"In the house of the Wazir there is a courtyard, and in the centre of the courtyard there grows a pomegranate tree. When the tree bore fruit in the summer the Wazir made a mould of clay the size of a pomegranate and cut it into two halves. Inside each half he wrote the writing which you saw on the pomegranate. Then he placed the halves of the mould over a young pomegranate and bound it tightly while the fruit was still immature. In this way he affected it and caused it to become as it is now.

"To-morrow, when you return, say that you have found the answer, but refuse to deliver it except in the house of the Wazir. When you go to the house, enter the courtyard and look to the right. You will see a stairway leading to an upper room. Say to the Wali that you will give your answer in that upper room. The Wazir will refuse to allow this, but you must insist. When the Wazir goes up the stairs, follow him closely and do not on any account leave him alone in the room. As you enter the room look towards the window, and on a shelf above it you will see a white bag. Take the bag, and you will find the very mould which the Wazir used for his device. Then take the pomegranate from the bag, force it into the mould, and place it before the Wali so that he can see the trick which was practised by his Wazir. Tell the Wali that you have another miracle, and ask him to order the Wazir to break the pomegranate and see what will befall."

When the mullah heard this advice he was overjoyed and kissed the ground at the feet of the Imam and returned to his people to tell them the good news. On the next morning they all assembled before the Wali, and the mullah did all the things that the Imam had ordered, and everything happened as he had been told, but when the Wali commanded his Wazir to break the pomegranate, smoke and ashes burst forth from it and covered the face and beard of the Wazir.

Then the Wali turned to the mullah and asked him, "Who told you about this trick?"

The mullah answered, "Our Imam and the demonstration of Allah towards us."

Then the Wali rose up from his seat and took the mullah by the hand and called on Allah to bear witness to the trick which had been played on the Shias, and he summoned his servants and his executioner and cut off the head of the Wazir and asked pardon from the people of Bahrain.

In 1529 Bahrain was again in rebellion against the Portuguese. The islands were governed by a relation of the King of Hormuz. The King of Hormuz himself had been sent to Portugal, as he became too rich in Hormuz. The Portuguese demanded a higher tribute, and in order to pay this the Hormuzians tried to obtain more money from Bahrain, but the Governor refused to pay.

The Portuguese Viceroy, Nuno da Cunha, appointed Tavarez da Sousa as commander of the seas, and it was intended that he should take command of an expedition against Bahrain. Apparently he was loath to go there, and he persuaded the Viceroy to appoint in his place Simon da Cunha, the Viceroy's brother. After waiting some time for reinforcements from Portugal the fleet sailed from Hormuz. It consisted of five vessels carrying 400 men, and some native craft, but it is said that they had only one and a half casks of gunpowder.

They reached Bahrain in September, the hottest, dampest, and most unhealthy month in the year. They wasted half their small supply of powder in saluting the port. The Bahrain chief hung out two flags on the tower of his fortress, one white and the other red, to show that he was prepared either for peace or for war, but the Portuguese captains were determined to fight. For three days they pounded the walls of the fort with their cannon, and then their supply of gunpowder gave out. In the meantime the Arab leader offered to surrender, on certain conditions, but the Portuguese were determined not to lose the chance of

looting and refused to accept the surrender. A ship was sent back to Hormuz to bring more powder, but it took not less than fourteen days to go and return, and before this time elapsed the Portuguese were conquered by natural causes.

The soldiers were attacked by fever, and a severe epidemic broke out among them which affected the Hormuzian troops almost as severely as the Portuguese themselves. Their food supplies gave out and they had to depend upon what was given to them by the enemy, who seem to have acted with remarkable benevolence. When only thirty-five of the Portuguese remained fit for duty they decided to withdraw. The sick men were dragged down to the shore by ropes tied to their feet and carried into the boats by the native sailors. The wretched survivors of this ill-fated expedition, weak from illness and so few that they could scarcely man the ships, had great difficulty in reaching Hormuz; many of them perished on the way, including Simon da Cunha, who is said to have died of a broken heart.

Up to this time the Portuguese were still the masters of the Gulf and boasted proudly that its seas were "covered with a wood of ships, the product of the Government's great care"! One of their ambitions was to found a new race from the offspring of their soldiers and seamen, who had intermarried with Indian and Arab women, which would provide them with sailors and local troops. The Portuguese Governors lived richly in splendid residences, and their ships and fighting men were still very superior to those of their opponents. But there were signs that their power was beginning to decline. They depended for ammunitions and reinforcements on Portugal, which was far away; their captains no longer confined themselves to the work of conquest and consolidation, but indulged in private trading; and before the middle of the century they were faced with serious opposition from the Turks, whose strength had gradually been increasing since they first encountered the Portuguese at the beginning of the century.

In 1517 the Turkish Sultan Selim conquered Egypt, made himself Caliph, and annexed the Yemen, so the Turks were able to increase their opposition to the Portuguese by threatening them in the Red Sea. In 1534 Suliman the Magnificent, son of Selim, took Baghdad from the Persians, and from there he began to extend his influence southwards down the Persian Gulf. In the same year the King of Hassa and the ruler of Bahrain, who were, for the time being, independent, sent envoys to submit to the Turkish Viceroy, though actually they paid no allegiance to the Turks. This is the first time that Bahrain came into

contact with the Turks, and it is possible that the baseless claim that Turkey advanced at one time to the sovereignty of Bahrain dates from this incident.

Soon after the capture of Baghdad a Turkish fleet commanded by Piri Beg arrived in the Gulf and attacked Muscat. After capturing the city and taking many prisoners, Piri Beg made an unsuccessful attack on Hormuz. The Portuguese fleet pursued him, and he returned to Basra with the enemy at his heels. Among the prisoners on his ship was the Portuguese Governor of Muscat, and, acting on his advice, Piri Beg left Basra with three galleys loaded with loot and plunder. He managed to evade the Portuguese fleet and sailed out of the Gulf, but he lost one of his ships, loaded with treasure, off Bahrain, and finally reached Egypt with the remaining two. History does not relate what happened to the Portuguese officer, but Piri Beg was eventually tried, convicted, and executed, and his vast wealth, most of which was accumulated by acts of piracy, was confiscated by the Sultan.

During the following years the Turks gained many successes in the Gulf. They captured and destroyed Kishm and twice occupied Muscat, but each time they were driven out by the Portuguese. In 1550 Katif, which was a place of importance, was ruled by a vassal of the King of Hormuz, who was subject to the King of Portugal. The people of Katif, assisted by the King of Hassa, rebelled against the Hormuzian rule, expelled the Governor, and appealed to the Turks for help. The Turks welcomed the opportunity of establishing themselves on the mainland of Arabia and sent a force from Basra which occupied the port. Their proximity was a serious danger to Bahrain, and in order to prevent its occupation by the Turks the Portuguese sent a force from Hormuz under Antonio da Naronah, who drove out the Turks, levelled the fortress of Katif to the ground, and re-installed the Hormuzian Governor.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Turks were vigorously challenging the supremacy of the Portuguese in the Gulf. Sultan Suliman had ambitions which rivalled those of the Portuguese; he aimed at extending his realm throughout the Iranian Gulf, and he hoped to possess the western coast of India. The Portuguese ships were superior to those of the Turks, and their men were better armed, but the Turks enjoyed advantages over their adversaries in other ways. The religious sympathies of the people in the Gulf were with the Turks, and the Portuguese were regarded as infidels. The Turks were nearer to their

base and less affected by climate and disease, and they had not been long enough in the Gulf to acquire the reputation for rapacity and cruelty which characterized the Portuguese.

In 1553 the Sultan appointed Sidi Ali Chalabi as Admiral of the Turkish fleet, with orders to recover the Turkish ships which had been abandoned in Basra after the piratical exploits of Piri Beg. Sidi Ali was a distinguished Turk, a poet, a writer on navigation, and a brave fighter. He wrote a book about his travels and adventures, in which he described his experiences in the Iranian Gulf. He travelled from Aleppo to Basra by land, a journey which took several months, and he took over charge of the ships at Basra from Murad Beg, formerly the Governor of Katif. After repairing and equipping the Turkish galleys, Sidi Ali set sail from Basra and cruised down the Gulf, visiting various ports, including Bushire, Katif and Bahrain. At the last place he stayed a little time. The islands were governed on behalf of the Portuguese by a local ruler, Rais Murad, who received Sidi Ali with friendliness and showed him, among other things, the strange springs of fresh water coming up from the bed of the sea. When Sidi Ali made enquiries about the Portuguese he received evasive answers.

On leaving Bahrain he met a strong Portuguese fleet in the neighbourhood of Muscat; there were twelve large ships of war and twenty-two smaller ones. Their mizzen sails were set and their gilded beak-heads, towering forecastles, and masts gay with bunting obscured the horizon. Undaunted by their superior numbers, the gallant Turkish Admiral attacked the enemy. The ships bombarded each other with cannon; then they came closer, and the fighting men hurled down javelins and arrows from the high turrets while the sweating slaves tugged at the oars. Finally, they grappled and fell upon each other, fighting fiercely with swords and spears. Five Turkish galleys were destroyed, and there was great loss on both sides; many of the refugees landed on the shore, where they were hospitably treated by the natives, but eventually the remainder of the Turkish fleet made its way down the Gulf.

Shortly afterwards the Turks made a determined effort to capture Bahrain. In 1559 a powerful force of 1,200 Turks and Janissaries, in two galleys and seventy barques, was sent against the islands. Rais Murad was still the Governor, and the Portuguese sent a fleet from Hormuz to his assistance. On the way it met some Turkish ships and drove them on to the shore. The Turks had landed and besieged the fortress, and when the Portuguese arrived they had a council of war and decided to

surround the besiegers. However, the Portuguese officers became impatient and forced an engagement. Rais Murad broke through the Turkish line with 300 well-armed men and joined the Portuguese, and together they routed the Turks. The Portuguese pursued the Turks, counting the victory already won, but the Turks rallied and fell on the Portuguese in an ambush, killing many of them, including their leader, Don Alvara da Silvera, whose body was never recovered from the enemy. A great number of the Portuguese were slain, and Rais Murad retired again to his fortress.

Pero Peixoto took command of the Portuguese, and while the guns of his ships cut off their retreat to the sea he launched another attack on the Turks, who finally surrendered. They were allowed to leave Bahrain on condition that they handed over their arms, prisoners and animals and ammunition, and ten thousand ducats. After this ignominious defeat the Turks retired to Basra, and the Portuguese re-established their authority over Bahrain.

During the second half of the sixteenth century there is very little recorded about Bahrain. A local Arab author states that the Portuguese repaired the fort in 1586 and that this date is inscribed on some stones in three of the four towers, but no such inscription exists now, although someone during recent years wrote this date in black paint on various places on the walls.

After 1580 the power of the Portuguese in the East began definitely to wane, mainly owing to the domination in Europe of Spain over Portugal, which lasted for sixty years. It was a disastrous period for the Portuguese; in India and the Persian Gulf they were threatened by the Turks, the Dutch, the French, and the English, who snatched from them most of their great Eastern empire. They were no longer able to sustain their garrisons, and, as the number and quality of the reinforcements dwindled, the Arabs and the Persians became more bold in opposing the tyranny of the infidel conquerors. The prestige of the Portuguese navy decreased; the captains of the fleets, who when they first arrived were almost invincible, began to "shirk encounters"; instead of confining their attention to fighting, they paid too much attention to enriching themselves by trade.

In 1602 the Portuguese were expelled from Bahrain by Iran, and an account of the incident is given at some length by a contemporary writer. The Governor of Bahrain, a relation of the King of Hormuz, treated the people of the islands with excessive harshness and oppression. His tyranny culminated in the murder of a wealthy and much-respected

Bahrain pearl merchant, whose possessions, which included many valuable pearls, were seized by the Governor. The murder caused great indignation, but the people were too afraid to retaliate. The murdered merchant had a brother who was very devoted to him and who determined to avenge the murder. Concealing his feelings, he attached himself to the Governor and eventually managed to win his confidence so thoroughly that one day he got an opportunity and stabbed him to death with a dagger. Having done this, he proclaimed himself ruler and was joined by most of the local population. They overpowered the small Portuguese garrison and seized the fortress, and the Prince of Shiraz sent a force to assist the rebels and to take control of the islands in the name of the Shah of Iran.

Portugal and Iran at this time were outwardly on friendly terms, and a Portuguese mission was visiting Iran and endeavouring to persuade the Shah to join the Portuguese in fighting the Turks. If the mission achieved its object, the Portuguese would be free to deal with the Dutch, whose ships were "infesting the oceans." The King of Portugal remonstrated with the Shah of Iran at his unfriendly action in assisting the rebellion in Bahrain, but the latter made the flimsy excuse that he had not taken Bahrain from the Portuguese, but from a vassal of the King of Hormuz.

In spite of their difficulties, the Portuguese prepared to recover Bahrain, and the Governor of Hormuz, Don Pedro Contigno, appointed one of his officers, Captain Francisco da Soto Major, as the commander of a mixed force of Portuguese and Hormuzians, whose object was to prevent the Persians sending more troops to Bahrain and recapture the islands. Although they were joined by some troops and ships of war from India under Don George of Castel Bruno, the expedition was a weak one and the ships were undermanned.

The Governor of Hormuz "arranged all things well, with diligence and prudence, and without doubt he would have recovered Bahrain as he hoped, having acquired great reputation in all sea affairs," but unfortunately for him he had enemies at the court of the Viceroy at Goa who were intriguing against him. At this critical moment their intrigues bore fruit. He was suddenly dismissed from his command, which was not an unusual event, without even being given an opportunity to defend himself.

Diezo Barrato, his successor, was a sick man, and on assuming command he found that the forces were severely depleted by disease and the need of taking away men to fight the Dutch. His second in com-

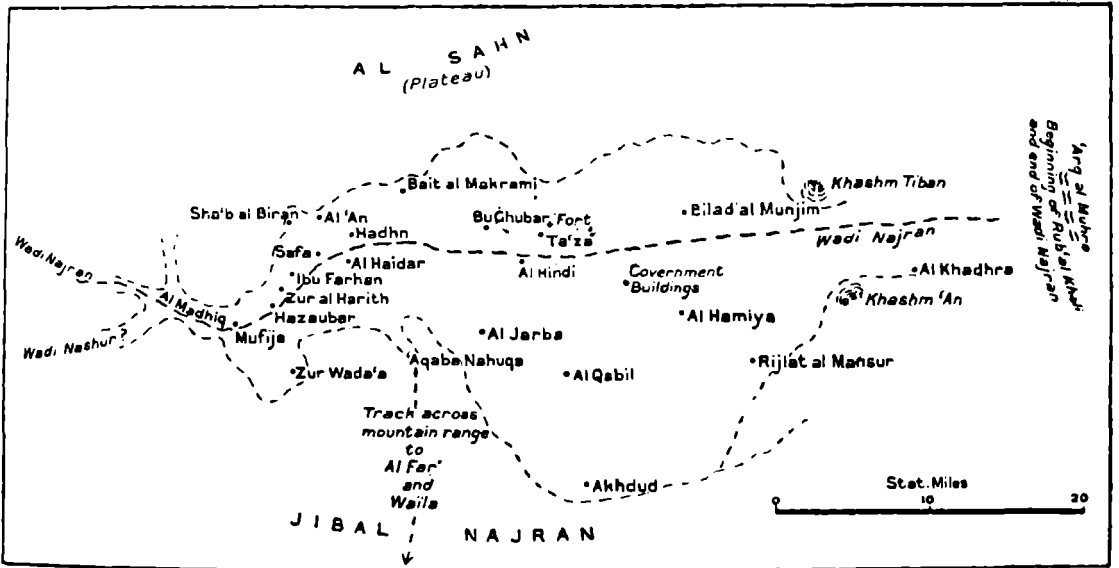
mand, Gasper da Mello, made strenuous efforts to fit out the expedition, but with small success.

The ruler of Iran, the famous Shah Abbas, on hearing that the Portuguese were preparing to recover Bahrain, despatched a formidable army of five or six thousand men, under Adam Sultan, to threaten the Portuguese garrison in Gombrun (Bander Abbas) to divert the Portuguese from Bahrain, and the Portuguese mission in Iran sent one of its members post-haste to Hormuz to persuade his countrymen not to jeopardize the success of the negotiations by provoking a breach with Iran over the occupation of Bahrain. It is stated in a Portuguese history that Shah Abbas ordered that Bahrain should be restored to the Portuguese, but if this order was given it was not carried out. The Portuguese garrison in Gombrun mutinied and surrendered the town to the Persians, and eventually, partly for political reasons and partly because they were so hard-pressed, the Portuguese abandoned their project of an attack on Bahrain "for the pretensions of an island which we could easily conquer later on." But this was a vain boast; Bahrain was never again taken by Portugal, although for many years the King of Portugal continued to protest at the occupation of Bahrain by the Iranians, and on one occasion, in 1605, he ordered his Viceroy to make war on Bahrain by sea and by land and suggested that the Captain of the fort might be bribed to surrender. It was not until 1622, when the Portuguese lost Hormuz to an allied Iranian and English force, that they finally gave up all hope of recovering Bahrain.

NAJRAN

By SIR FUAD HAMZA

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NAJRAN is situated in the area of the plateau through which runs the channel known as Wadi Najran, from its upper reaches to its lower reaches, where it disappears in the sands of the Rub' al Khali. On north and south it is bordered by two chains of mountains and ridges, of which the southern separates Najran from the district of Al Far' and Waila, being an eastward-trending branch of the lofty Sirat mountains on the west, which decreases in altitude as it goes east until it disappears in the sands of the Rub' al Khali. The most important peak of this range is Jabal Hamdan, which stands up higher than the rest of the range, which is known as Jibal Najran. For the most part this range is difficult of ascent, while the crossing of it from Najran is exceedingly troublesome, except in certain spots where there are openings known as 'Aqabat, the chief of which is 'Aqaba Nahuqa, at a distance of several hours from the village of Hadhn in a southerly direction. The northerly range is, however, less elevated than the Jibal Najran and its summit comprises a series of plateaux

suitable for the grazing of cattle, for which reason it is known to its inhabitants as Al Sahn. And whereas numerous tracks thread this range the traveller between Habuna and Najran traverses it at certain spots which we shall mention in connection with the routes leading to Najran. This range, as we have noted, separates Najran from Habuna and disappears in the sands before the two Wadis come to an end in the heavy sand area. On the west Najran adjoins certain districts of Waila—namely, the villages of Naq'a and Wa'ar and Wadi Nashur—through a pass and defile through which descend the united torrents of the district of Sahar into (the plain of) Al Sa'id, in the neighbourhood of Sa'da, these torrents forming the upper channel of Wadi Najran. Now (Wadi) Najran has other names above the point where it cuts through the narrows known as Madhiq Marwan and the pass called 'Aqaba Rifada, while the name Najran is not used of it until after it has passed the narrows and pass. Towards the north-west Najran abuts on the upper reaches of Wadi Habuna, known as Al Qarn and Al Khaniq. The first of the inhabited villages of upper Wadi Najran after its formation at Madhiq Marwan and 'Aqaba Rifada is a village known as Al Mufija or Qariyat ibn al Zain, this village being distant from Sa'da a journey of two days by loaded camels in an easterly direction. Below Mufija there are no villages on either side of the channel until the latter broadens out and the land flattens on both sides of it, while the distance between the mountains to north and south becomes greater. And after the Wadi has passed four villages the arrangement of the villages becomes somewhat different, so that one can reckon them as lying on the right (south) bank of the Wadi or on the left (north) bank thereof. And the villages lying on the right bank are fewer than those on the left bank, the former being about ten while the number of the latter is more than twenty. The length of the Wadi from its upper reach near Mufija to its tail beyond the villages of Mudhnib, known as Bilad ibn Munjim, represents more than a day's journey to a traveller moving rapidly, while thereafter it continues another day's journey through districts without water, except in one or two places where there are wells for the watering of cattle, until the channel comes to an end at a sand-ridge called Arq al Muhra, near which is the marsh or place where the surplus waters of the Wadi's torrents collect in the midst of heavy sands. As regards the altitude of Najran above sea-level I was unable to ascertain it with any certainty, but from information that Najran is a country of camels and date palms, whereas I saw for

myself that the 'Asir country is not suitable for the date palm owing to the severe winter cold, though it grows successfully in the district of Khaibar about 4,000 (?) feet above sea-level, I reckon that the altitude of upper Najran must be about the same as that of Khaibar.

The villages of Wadi Najran, great and small, are about 35 in number, as I shall detail below in their due order from its upper reaches down towards its tail. I should first, however, note that the number of houses given against each village refers to large houses known as Husun (forts), which are a sort of building at the side of a lofty walled enclosure, neither of which can be entered except by a small fortified door surmounted by a turret, so that none can enter but with permission. These numbers do not take account of the small or poor houses, while I should also mention that the people of Najran generally name their villages by the names of the families owning them and call them Watn (home) or Hilla (town).

1. Villages in the Wadi before it broadens out are as follows :

- (a) Al Mufija, consisting of two wards belonging respectively to Ibn al Zain and Ibn al Hazaubar, with 10 to 12 forts.
- (b) Zur Wada'a, 30 to 40 forts.
- (c) Upper Mikhlaf, consisting of a number of wards belonging to Al Farhan and Al Qudhai' and Al Hazaubar, 40 to 50 forts.
- (d) Zur Al al Harith, consisting of a number of wards belonging to Al 'Askar and Al Khadish and Ibn Dauman, 50 to 60 forts.

2. The villages which can be counted on the right (south) bank of the Wadi channel :

- (a) Al Safa, 8 houses.
- (b) Salwa, 15 to 20 houses.
- (c) Qariyat Al 'Aqil, consisting of three wards—namely, Sahla and Umm Darbin and Al 'Aqil—with 20 to 30 houses.
- (d) Al Hadhn, which is a large village consisting of several wards, of which the most important are Al Haidar and Al 'Abbas; it is said that most of its people are of Waila and it has 100 houses.

- (e) Al Jarba, a village of Al Hasan with 100 houses.
- (f) Al Qabil, 100 houses.
- (g) Rijla, a village of Al Mansur.

NOTE.—Between the two villages of Al Qabil and Rijlat Al Mansur, and at a distance from them both and from the Wadi, in a southerly direction, near the palm groves through which passes the road going to 'Aqaba Nahuqa, and near the latter, are numerous remains of ruins which are called by the people of Najran "the fort" or Hisn al Akhdud, in which are remains of ruins and the remains of a church, while very frequently are found among its mounds prehistoric remains with ancient inscriptions on some of the rocks. The people of Najran claim that this site is the site of the famous church which was connected with the bishopric of Najran.

Beyond this locality habitations become rarer, while there is an increase in cultivated fields and wells like those called Al Hasin and Al Rukha and Al Darib.

3. Villages of the left bank (north):

- (a) Sha'b Al Biran, 20 houses.
- (b) Al 'An, situated near a hill, being the village of Al Makrami and containing his mansion and 10 houses.
- (c) Al Marata, 30 houses.
- (d) Al Shabhan, 20 houses.
- (e) Al Mashrah, 6 houses.
- (f) Al Marfa', 10 houses.
- (g) Khashyut, being a village founded 25 years ago by Husain al Makrami, 3 houses.
- (h) Batin Bani Sulaiman, 100 houses.
- (i) Al Makhbat, a village of the Ashraf with four wards, containing 30 to 40 houses.
- (j) Al Batha, 4 houses.
- (k) Dahfa, 40 houses.
- (l) Bu Ghubar, 20 houses.
- (m) Ta'za, 4 houses.
- (n) Ghanima, 5 houses.
- (o) 'Akkam, 40 houses.
- (p) Al 'Aukala, 20 houses.
- (q) Al Hamiya, 4 houses.

- (r) Saghir (Bilad abu Saq), 100 houses.
- (s) Bir al Ithila, 5 houses.
- (t) Lower Mikhlaf, 40 houses.
- (u) Al Hazm or Al Mudhnib, the village of Ibn Munjim, 15 houses.

The village of Mudhnib is the last of the habitations towards the east in Najran, beyond it being wells and springs in ruinous state and ruined remains, including Al 'Aiya and Al Khadhra, until the Wadi channel comes to an end and disappears in the sands. The villages subordinate to Ibn Nasib are Zur Wada'a and Salwa and Al Safa and Al Hadhn and Zur Al al Harith and Shu'aib Al Biran and Shabhan; while the villages subordinate to Bani Salman are Al Khamjat (? Makhbat) and Al Jarba and Bilad Al bil Harith and Al Qabil and Rijla; while the remaining villages are subordinate to Jabir ibn Husain abu Saq.

The Makarima have several centres in Najran and in the Yam district. Their first preacher, on his arrival at Najran about the year A.H. 1095, settled at a spot called Al Jum'a, which is now in ruins. The Dailami village belongs to the Makarima and to the Isma'iliya of Najran—namely, Al 'An—and similarly the village of Badr, which is an important religious centre. And besides these they own also three villages—namely, Khashyut, which was in ruins, but the old wells were dug out by the present incumbent Husain ibn Ahmad in the year A.H. 1337—and the two villages of Hadada and Sahla likewise belong to the Makarima.

All the Arab tribes have an ancient custom of holding weekly market days in various localities in adjacent districts, and frequently the village is given the name of the day on which the market is held in it. So it is very common indeed to find numerous villages each called Suq al Jum'a or Suq al Khamis, or by the name of some other day of the week. The markets are held weekly for the exchange of goods and industrial and commercial products, while there are permanent shops for buying and selling in many of the large villages, though the greater importance attaches to the special market day, when claims and other matters are settled, quarrels resolved, while the Government officials are greeted, Government dues are collected, and public announcements are made; in general, the market is a special day for attendance to all the material and spiritual needs of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages from the buying and selling of

provisions and the purchase of animals to the settling of law-suits and applications to the Government and the making of marriage contracts, etc. By local custom the people enjoy complete security in the market, the entrance thereto being under the protection of one of the chiefs by whose name the market is named, like Suq Khamis Mushait, which takes place in a locality called Al Darb, one of the villages situated in the upper reaches of Wadi Bisha. It goes by the name of the protector of the locality and its chief Ibn Mushait, while in view of its being held on Thursday the place is called Suq Khamis Mushait. In Najran there are numerous markets, as follows :

- (a) Suq al Ahad at Dahfa under protection of Ibn Manif.
- (b) Suq al Ithnain at Bani Salman under protection of Ibn Manif.
- (c) Suq al Thalatha at Badr under protection of Abu Saq.
- (d) Suq al Arba'a, near Al 'An, under protection of Ibn Nasib.
- (e) Suq al Khamis at Al Qabil under protection of Ibn Manif.
- (f) Suq al Jum'a at Saghir under protection of Abu Saq (chief market).

The Arab historians mention that Christianity was established in Najran before Judaism, and that the attempt of one of the Himyarite kings of the Yaman to convert the Christians of Najran forcibly to the Jewish religion led to the intervention of the Byzantine Cæsars through the Abyssinians and the well-known conquest of the Yaman by the latter. Sir William Muir, in his *Life of Muhammad*, published extracts on the subject from the Arab historians, while Dr. Hughes, in his *Dictionary of Islam*, wrote as follows :

“ Dhu Nawas, the Himyarite, on the occasion of one of his journeys to Madina, had embraced the Jewish faith, and, on his return to the Yaman, attempted to establish it there also. He met with vigorous opposition from the people of Najran, who were Christians, and sent a large army against them and destroyed their church and killed many of them, and also built a moat to isolate them. (By this ditch is meant the Moat of Al Akhdud, which is mentioned in the Quran [chapter of the Constellations] : ‘ he killed the people of Al Akhdud,’ and I have discussed the locality of this moat above.) As a result of this the people of Najran appealed to Constantinople, which was the protector of the Christian religion, and the king of the Abyssinians was commissioned to go to the help of the Christians of Najran. There followed the occupation of the Yaman by the Abyssinians (A.D. 525) and the re-establishment of Christianity therein, as also the beginnings of

their attack on the Hijaz for the destruction of the Meccan Ka'ba and the setting up of another Ka'ba at San'a, which the Arabs call Al Qulais—a word derived possibly from Ecclesia."

As is well known, the Prophet was born in the year of the Abyssinian expedition against Mecca. The Abyssinian king did not remain in the Yaman, though Christianity continued in Najran until the rise of Islam, while many Jews and Arabs who had accepted Judaism have remained in the Yaman up to the present time. At the time of the propagation of Islam the people of Najran sent a deputation of their bishops and chiefs to the Prophet. And they came to an agreement on the understanding that they should remain in their Christian faith and pay the poll-tax (jaziya). But when the Calif 'Umar decreed that no other faith but Islam should be allowed to persist in the Arabian peninsula, the order went forth for the expulsion of all who persisted in the Christian faith and for compensating them in cash corresponding to the value of their property.

The people of Najran, like their cousins and brethren of the Yam tribe, profess the Isma'ili doctrine, which is one of the branches of Esoteric Shi'ism. The Isma'ili sect is one of the Esoteric sects of Islam, its followers recognizing seven Imams of the Prophet's family, of whom the last was Muhammad ibn Isma'il ibn Ja'far al Sadiq. They differ from the Twelve-Imam sect, whose followers declare for the twelve Imams ending with Ja'far al 'Askari, and do not acknowledge Muhammad ibn Isma'il, but follow Musa al Kadhim. The Isma'ilis themselves are divided into several branches, the most important of which are :

- (1) The Khawajiya, whose chief is the Agha Khan;
- (2) The Da'udiya, whose chief is Tahir Saif-al-Din of Bombay;
- (3) The Sulaimaniya, whose chief is the Makrami Da'i, who has a lieutenant in India at Badr Bagh—namely, Husain al Hindi.

As regards how the Isma'ili doctrine arrived among the people of Najran and the Yam tribe generally, this is a matter on which we cannot speak with certainty nor specify an exact date for its advent. It seems to me, however, that its Yami disciples are responsible for it in the first degree owing to their aptitude for differing from the neighbouring tribes in the matter of religious opinions and social customs, in spite of the fact that the Yam form an important branch of the tribe of Hamdan ibn Zaid. Yet they differ from their neighbours in virtue of their being notorious: firstly, for their difference of religious out-

look; and, secondly, for their addiction to raids and warfare and for their outstanding courage in time of war. Now it is only during about the last three and a half centuries that the Isma'ili sect has been powerful in Najran and that its chiefs have exercised civil authority and military dominance, since the arrival in Najran of the Isma'ili Da'i named Muhammad ibn Isma'il al Makrami, fleeing from the town of Taiyiba, a few hours' distant southward from San'a. In ancient times, as Al Makrami informed me, Taiyiba was known as Durim.

I was under the impression that the Makarima were not of Saiyid descent—*i.e.*, of the line of Fatima and 'Ali—until I had an opportunity of frequent conversations with the deputy of the Da'i's lieutenant, Husain ibn Ahmad. He informed me that the Makarima were of the Qahtan and recited to me his pedigree back to Ya'rib as follows: Husain ibn Ahmad ibn Hasan ibn Husain ibn 'Ali ibn Husain ibn 'Ali ibn Husain ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad (the first of the Makarima to live at Badr) ibn Fahd ibn Salah ibn Da'ud al Tamir ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar ibn 'Ali ibn Sabih ibn Hassan ibn Makram ibn Saba ibn Himyar al Asghar ibn Muntahab ibn 'Amr ibn 'Allaq ibn Dhi Abyan ibn Dhi Yaqdim ibn Sawar ibn Abd Shams ibn Wail ibn Ghauth ibn Haidan ibn Qatr ibn Gharib ibn Zuhair ibn Aiman ibn Haima' ibn Himyar al Akbar ibn Yathjab ibn Ya'rib ibn Qahtan. As regards Al Makrami, he told me the story of the arrival of Muhammad ibn Isma'il at Najran, and he wrote out for me a full summary of it, taking it from a book containing the whole history of the Isma'ili Imams and Da'is and their doings during the period of their preaching, but he declined to let me inspect the original history which is in his possession, for it is ancient and the Da'is pass it on from one to the other, from predecessor to successor. I understood that the reason for his refusal to let me see it was due to the fact that its contents comprise the affairs of the true Esotericism, and the rule of the Esoterics of Islam is to safeguard the secrets of their beliefs and to refuse to let strangers peruse them.

The Makarima used to live at Taiyiba, but it was only latterly that the call to preach came to them. And I have observed in what the Makrami wrote for me the names of four Indian Da'is who started the business of preaching in India and at Taiyiba between the years A.H. 974 and 1088. They were Da'ud ibn 'Ajab, after whose death occurred the separation of the Da'udiya section from that of the Sulaimaniya; and Sulaiman ibn Hasan al Hindi; and Ja'far ibn Sulaiman, who on his death-bed bequeathed his authority to a person called Ibrahim ibn

Muhammad ibn Fahd ibn Salah al Makrami (*vide* pedigree above). He carried on the work of preaching at Taiyiba for 44 years, and at his death devolved it on his grandson, Muhammad ibn Isma'il ibn Ibrahim. War broke out between him and the Zaidis. He was defeated and fled to Qunfidha, whence he was invited by the Isma'ilis of Najran to sojourn with them. So he proceeded to Najran and lived in a town which he founded and called Al Juma'a, now in ruins.

Now the Makarima were strangers to Najran, where they enjoyed no temporal authority, especially if we take into account the fact that the Yam tribe comprised three groups, each of which had a strong temporal chief. Nevertheless, they met with success in their activities and became people of importance in both the religious and the temporal spheres. Their conquests extended to the neighbouring territories and some of them reached Tarim in the Hadhramaut, while others penetrated into the centre of Najd at the time of the conflict between the Sa'ud family and Ibn Dawwas and the Mu'ammar family.

The succession of the Makarima Da'is in Najran is as follows :

- (1) Muhammad ibn Isma'il ibn Ibrahim, died A.H. 1129.
- (2) Hibba ibn Ibrahim, died 1160.
- (3) Isma'il ibn Hibba, died 1174.
- (4) Hasan ibn Hibba, died 1189.
- (5) 'Abdul 'Ali ibn Husain ibn Isma'il ibn Ibrahim, died 1195.
- (6) 'Abdullah ibn 'Ali ibn Hibba, died 1225.
- (7) Yusuf ibn 'Ali ibn Hibba, died 1234.
- (8) Husain ibn Husain ibn 'Ali ibn Hibba, died 1241.
- (9) Isma'il ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Hibba, died 1256.
- (10) Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Hibba, died 1262.
- (11) Hasan ibn Isma'il (of Shibam and not of the Makarima), died 1289.
- (12) Ahmad ibn Isma'il ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Hibba, died 1306.
- (13) 'Abdullah ibn 'Ali, died 1323.
- (14) 'Ali ibn Hibba, died 1330.
- (15) 'Ali Muhsin ibn Husain Al Shibam, succeeded in 1330 and still lives, his superior being Ghulam Husain al Hindi, while the other lieutenant is Husain ibn Ahmad al Makrami.

All the Makarima now alive and residing at Badr and in Najran and at Shahara in the Yaman comprise four branches, going back to a

common ancestor named Muhammad ibn Fahd, who is mentioned above in the pedigree. Husain ibn Ahmad al Makrami, the future Da'i, says that his branch of the family is known as Āl Dhi Jiddain, a name which denotes that he is a Makrami on both his father's and his mother's side.

(To be continued.)

THE ISMAILIS OR MAULAIS OF THE HINDU KUSH

By CAPTAIN SHAHZADA NASR-UL-MULK
OF CHITRAL

OF all the sects of Islam, the Maulais or Ismailis have the most interesting history. As early as the times of the third caliph Osman, some stout partisans of Ali thought that their hero was wronged, and that his legitimate claims to the caliphate were overlooked, so they had a grievance against the reigning caliph.

A Jewish intriguer named Abdullah bin Saba took advantage of the situation, and, giving himself out as an emissary of Ali, started a secret organization, with the intention of destroying the temporal and spiritual power of Islam.

There were several degrees of the brotherhood founded by this Abdullah. The initiates had merely to learn that Ali was the only legitimate heir of the prophet; whilst those who attained to the last and highest degree had to learn that Ali was the incarnation of God, that he had helped Noah during the flood, that he had saved Abraham from the fire, and that he had talked to Moses in the wilderness.

Nasir-i-Khusrau explained or recited to that effect in the Persian couplet :

On the mountains of Tur (= Sinai) it was Ali who talked to Moses,
In every cave there are 200 servants of our King (= Ali) like Moses.

Bar Kuh-i-Tur Musara Ali guft ī sukhnhara.

Bar har ghari du sad Musa buwad mar shahra chakar.

بر کوه طور موسی را علی گفت این سخن هارا
بر هر غاری دو صد موسی بود مر شاه را چاکر

The initiates were many, but the chosen were few. The story of Nusair, a young Bedouin, being thrice killed and restored to life by Ali, was widely current. The believers in this fabrication were called Aliallahis or Nusairis, and are still existing in some parts of Syria and

Persia. While the secret society, formed by Abdullah bin Saba, was gaining strength, the orthodox Shias were losing all hopes of temporal ascendancy, and were rather adhering to the notion of a spiritual Imam and its continuance in the house of Ali.

The Shias were divided into various factions, and many of them rejoined the fold of orthodoxy.

After the death of the sixth Imam, Jafar-al-Sadiq, his followers split up into two camps or divisions. The majority accepted Musa Kazim, the eldest surviving son of the late chief, as their Imam, but the members of the secret society, with some of their dupes, put forward the claim of the child Muhammad, the son of Ismail, the eldest son of Jafar-al-Sadiq, who had died in his father's lifetime. Upholding the cause of the late Ismail, these supporters were called Ismailis.

Time went on, and both the sections of the Shias became rather disorganized. Suddenly a learned Zoroastrian, who wanted to overthrow the Muslim supremacy by any means at his disposal, placed himself at the head of the Ismaili movement. He very cleverly blended together the Christian theory of the Trinity with the Muslim belief of the unity of God. His basic theory was in the creation of the universe.

He said that in the beginning there was God, who created (1) the all-pervading wisdom, Aql-i-Kul, and (2) the all-pervading soul, "Nafs-i-Kul." These two original creatures created the rest of the universe. These two compared to God are creatures, but are really our creators, and there was no harm in calling them our gods.

Developing the idea further, he said that incarnations of Aql-i-Kul and Nafs-i-Kul appeared in human form at every age, till at last the holy prophet Muhammad was the incarnation of Aql-i-Kul and his son-in-law Ali of Nafs-i-Kul. After these two, the Imam for the time being represented them both. When he had legalized the divinity of the Imam in this way, he started to organize the society and had some capable Jewish lieutenants to support him. This learned Zoroastrian was Abdullah ibn Maimun al Qaddah. He sent his secret missionaries to all corners of the Muslim world, and the success they had in Africa was marvellous.

Obaidallah al Mahdi, the founder of the Matimid dynasty, was one of Maimun's missionaries. There is a great difference of opinion about his descent. Some consider him a near relative of Maimun, some call him a Jewish pretender, but most probably he was a lineal descendant of Ismail, the son of Jafar-al-Sadiq, as otherwise people would never have flocked so eagerly to his standard. He established the Fatimid

dynasty at Qairawan, and later on his descendants occupied Cairo. Openly, the Fatimids were staunch followers of Islam, but in the grand lodge of Cairo, which was called Dar-al-Hikmat, the secret doctrines of Abdullah bin Saba and Abdullah bin Maimun al Qaddah were inculcated in the initiates.

In the reign of Mustansir Billah, two very clever and learned Persians appeared at the Egyptian court. The one was Hasan bin Sabah, the famous "Old Man of the Mountains" and the founder of the notorious brotherhood of the Assassins; the other was Nasir-i-Khusrau, the distinguished author and poet.

In this brief essay I cannot describe in full the early activities of these two firebrands, but it suffices to say that even before their conversion to Ismailism they were persecuted for their heterodox views.

Hasan bin Sabah was for a time the Grand Master of the "Dar-al-Hikmat," and the "Baba Saidana" or "Worshipful Master" mentioned in the books of Nasir-i-Khusrau is supposed by the Ismailis to be him. Personally, I think that Nasir went to Egypt and returned earlier than the appearance there of Hasan bin Sabah. Nasir-i-Khusrau was chosen, and sent to the East, as a propagandist on behalf of the Fatimid rulers of Egypt against the Abbasids of Baghdad. The idea was, that when the Egyptian armies marched towards the East, he had to effect a rising in their favour in Khorasan. He found the orthodox element everywhere too strong for him, and after many escapes, took refuge in the Yungan valley in the mountains of Badakhshan.

The rise to power of the Seljuks completely crushed the hopes of the Fatimids, and Nasir-i-Khusrau remained as an outlaw in the mountains of Upper Badakhshan and Chitral for forty years. Ultimately, he died at Yungan and is buried there.

Although Nasir-i-Khusrau failed in his political mission, he was, however, quite successful in converting the people in the confines of Badakhshan and Chitral to his views.

According to the rules of the Fatimids, he was openly a strict follower of Islam, and he preached the same; but in his writings he tried to prove the teachings of Maimun al Qaddah with quotations from the Quran and the traditions of the prophet.

His famous book, *Zad-al-Musafirin*, explains in detail the theory of the creation of the universe by Aql-i-Kul and Nafs-i-Kul. After the times of Nasir, Ismailism flourished exceedingly in the mountains under his lieutenants.

When the brotherhood of the Assassins was established at Alamut,

its founders also tried to establish some contact with these Eastern Ismailis. In the time of Hasan Zikr-al-Salam, the son of Muhammad Rudbari, when the principles of Islam were openly denounced at Alamut, the Ismailis of the Hindu Kush remained ignorant of those happenings and continued on good terms with the other Muslim sects, saying their prayers and observing the fast.

After the denunciation of Islam, emissaries were sent from Alamut to India to make new converts among the Hindus.

A certain Shams-al-Din converted the goldsmiths of the Punjab, who are called Shamsi after him. Pir Sadr-al-Din converted the Khoja community on the west coast of India. These new converts were not taught any of the essentials of Islam, because at Alamut, the very centre of the new Ismailism, they were denounced.

Therefore it follows that from the very beginning the Ismailis of the Hindu Kush region have been different from the Ismailis of India in their attitude towards Islam. The chief differences are: The Ismailis of the Hindu Kush are essentially a Musulman sect because (1) they say their prayers in the orthodox way facing the Kaaba; (2) they observe the fast at least outwardly; (3) they have mosques in their villages; (4) they believe in the teaching of the Quran as explained by Nasir-i-Khusrau; (5) they were originally converts to Ismailism from other Islamic sects.

On the other hand, the Indian Ismailis were converts from Hinduism and were never taught the essentials of Islam beyond paying money to the head of their community. In place of Muslim mosques they had "Juma Khanas," where they used to assemble for worship, and which were very dissimilar to the traditional Muslim place of prayer.

The Alamut ideas first reached the Hindu Kush regions through the family of Shah Yaqut Shah of Zebak. Later on, when Agha Hasan Ali Shah came to Bombay, a further intercourse was established between the Ismailis of the Hindu Kush and the seat of their Imam in Bombay.

Lately the Khoja community became very enterprising, and, taking advantage of the long absence in Europe of H.H. the Agha Khan, tried to convert the Ismailis of the Hindu Kush to their own views. These were ordered to abandon their mosques and to build Juma Khanas, to give up the Muslim form of prayer, and to eat openly during the fasting month, as do the Khojas in Bombay. The most unfortunate part of the situation was that these un-Islamic orders were given by the

Recreation Club of Bombay, in the name of H.H. the Agha Khan, who prides himself on being a great champion of the cause of Islam.

The Ismaili "Pirs" or religious leaders, who have to consider their bread and butter, accepted the orders from Bombay with a mild protest. In many places, however, the laymen were in open revolt, as they did not like to break away from Islam so easily. The Afghan subjects, on the hinterlands of Badakhshan, could not, of course, think of demolishing their mosques and building Juma Khanas in their place. In Chitral and Gilgit there was muddle and confusion, till the Agha Khan, examining personally the whole situation, allowed the Ismailis of the Hindu Kush to continue their religious practices, according to the teachings of Nasir-i-Khusrau, and not to break away from their other Muslim neighbours. As, however, no explicit orders have been given, there is some confusion still in the minds of the people. The Sunni and Shia population of these regions expect that as H.H. the Agha Khan claims to represent the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and his son-in-law Ali, the fourth caliph, he will never order his followers to give up the essentials of Islam.

On the other hand, they do hope that he will give explicit orders for the observance of Muslim rites, so that Ismaili mosques may flourish side by side with those of the Sunnis and Shias, and that the existing harmony amongst the sects shall not be disturbed by Khoja enthusiasts. In explanation, it should be stated that the Bombay Recreation Club is the name of the organization that runs the religious affairs of the Ismailis on behalf of H.H. the Agha Khan.

The Ismailis are usually called Maulais in the Hindu Kush, as they follow a Maula or leader.

ENQUIRY INTO THE ASSYRIAN SITUATION

MAY TO JUNE, 1935

By CAPTAIN G. F. GRACEY, D.S.O.

Historical

THE Assyrians are an agricultural and pastoral people who lived for centuries in the Hakiari district of Turkey. During the World War they were forced to leave that area, where still remain their ancient churches and the seat of their religious head, the Mar Shimun. In 1925, the dispute over the Turkish-'Iraqi boundary arose and numbers of them were massacred at Zako. Action was then taken by the British Government and the League of Nations and a Commission of the League ultimately defined the boundary, making Mosul—which had been the bone of contention—an integral part of the 'Iraqi state. A condition of the settlement was that the Mandate granted to Great Britain was to continue for twenty-five years and that the necessary steps should be taken for the peaceful settlement of minorities. In the alternative, the League Commission proposed to return the *villayet* of Mosul to Turkey.

It will be recalled that the Assyrians had fought in the war on the side of the Allies, and after they were compelled to leave Turkey they were brought into 'Iraq under British auspices. In the peace settlement, Britain failed to secure for them return to their old home, which lies just across the 'Iraqi frontier. The later political developments are well known—the surrender of the Mandate, the massacre and the dispossession and denationalization of the Assyrians.

The massacre of 600 Assyrians at Simmel and in Dohuk, North 'Iraq, by 'Iraqi machine guns in August, 1933, gave rise to a grave problem, not only for 'Iraq but also for the British Government, jeopardizing as it did the position of minorities in general and of the Christian population in particular. The danger and urgency of the situation was brought before the Council of the League of Nations and a petition was presented by the Mar Shimun. A Committee for the Settlement of the Assyrians of 'Iraq was set up by the Council, with Señor Lopez Olivan as President, and efforts were made to find a suit-

able place, outside 'Iraq, in which the Assyrians could be settled that they might live their normal lives without disturbance. Brazil, British Guiana, and French West Africa were successively considered and rejected. The French Government, as Mandatory Power in Syria, was then approached, and the Committee was able to report that since it had not been able to find a place in which to settle the Assyrians, and it was essential that the question should be dealt with urgently, the Mandatory Power "for reasons humanitarian, political, and economic" had decided to admit as permanent settlers in the mandated territories of the Levant, not only those Assyrians who are provisionally settled there, but also those for whom the Committee has to find a place of settlement, "always on the understanding that they will be in no degree a charge upon the states of the Levant under French Mandate."

Social Condition of the Assyrians

In the larger cities of 'Iraq—*e.g.*, Baghdad and Mosul—the greater number of the urban Assyrians have been continuously unemployed for many years. Many of them were ex-levies and were able to subsist for some time on money which they had saved from their pay, but when this became exhausted they found themselves in a very precarious position. An embarrassing feature of the situation is that the Assyrian men are under constant police surveillance and are not allowed to travel about freely. Moreover the exaggerated nationalism of the Arabs precludes their giving employment to Assyrians when they can employ their own nationals. Hence, there has been engendered among the Assyrians a mental condition which even more than the physical suffering from lack of food and clothes is tending towards their total demoralization as a nation. In the villages of North 'Iraq and around Mosul, many of them have lacked courage and confidence to begin life anew, notwithstanding the fact that their demolished villages have been rebuilt. They have become apprehensive, rightly or wrongly, that another massacre is pending. The Yezidis in the villages have, however, proved friendly and hospitable to the Assyrians, often giving them food and shelter. In some of these villages where a degree of cultivation has been resumed there is nevertheless a complete lack of cattle and the people are without many of the necessities of life. The greatest need of all is clothing.

In Syria, those Assyrians who went over in 1934 from 'Iraq into the North Khabur region are very comfortably housed in mud-brick villages composed of houses of the beehive type (*adobe*), which are cool

in summer and warm in winter. They themselves made the bricks, built the houses, made the roads, excavated the gulleys for irrigation, and tilled the fields. In the Khabur area, there is a deficiency of milk owing to the small number of cattle at present owned. This is having a bad effect on the infants, who suffer considerably from colic and diarrhoea. The life of the Assyrians is spartan; bread is their principal food. In Khabur, as in 'Iraq, the need for clothing is very great, especially among the women and children.

The last harvest in this area was meagre owing to the fact that the irrigation pumps had not been generally installed. Where the irrigation system had been completely developed the difference in the quality of the crops was very evident—strong, full-eared stalks some three feet high as against scraggy growth barely a foot high in the non-irrigated fields. There should be a much better harvest next year.

There is evidently among the Assyrians a marked sense of gratitude to the French, not only for giving them hospitality but for permitting them to continue their communal life without interference. Even in the partially-developed villages of Khabur, notwithstanding scanty means and limited time, the people have pushed on with the building of churches and schools and in June, 1935, in a church still unroofed, a priest was found ministering to the people. The children of these villages—who seem to be in a very fair state of health—are themselves keen on having their schools, but no keener than the adults are to afford them opportunities for education, even though it may be given by self-appointed teachers without salary, without books or pencils, with the aid only of a stick for writing in the sand, thus approximating to the primitive educational system of bygone ages. It is to be noted to their credit that whereas the Assyrians have made no appeal for money for food or for clothing, they have asked only for funds for the erection of their churches and schools.

There are also groups of Assyrians in Aleppo and in the Lebanon. In Aleppo they are mainly commercial workers or casual labourers and they work very well with the indigenous population. In Zahle, in the Lebanon, there is an Assyrian community which, after the war, travelled through Persia down into the Caucasus and eventually found its way into the Lebanon. These refugees have lacked the ambition and initiative which the other communities of Assyrians have shown to develop into a thriving and independent people, but it is hoped that some of the relief organizations working in the Lebanon may be able to do something for them.

Political Situation

There is not the shadow of a doubt that the majority of the Assyrians are desirous of leaving 'Iraq and are willing to go anywhere where they can have a modicum of security. The urgency of the situation demands swift action in the interests of all concerned—for the physical welfare of the Assyrians themselves and for the good name of the British and the 'Iraqi Governments. Three reasons may be stated why the Assyrian settlement should be accomplished without delay :

1. The unstable condition of the 'Iraqi Government owing to political intrigue, unrest, and the growing armed strength of the Opposition. This has caused a feeling of insecurity on the part of the Assyrians who believe that their lives are in continual jeopardy—a fear which is not without foundation.

The tenseness of the political atmosphere makes itself felt immediately on entering the country. This is due to racial and religious differences and to other causes, and the difficulties have increased since the surrender of the British Mandate.

The 'Iraqis seem to lack national spirit as it is understood in Europe. Nationalism to them may mean power and high office, but it has not depth. Their loyalty is first to the tribe, then to the family, without much thought for the individual. Civic or national service in the spirit of altruism is practically unknown and they are unwilling to devote time or money to the interests of the municipality or the welfare of the less prosperous members of the community. This characteristic may be attributed to lack of confidence in each other, because they feel that no one serves the state or the municipality but for selfish ends.

2. The Assyrians have no faith in 'Iraqi methods of government. They point out that when the contracted terms of office of British advisers and officers are completed there will be no renewal and no new contracts will be entered into. This, they say, goes to show that the British are not wanted in 'Iraq, and what hope is there for the Assyrians, who have been their henchmen? They also point to a society—the Moslem League of Youth—which is very active against Christians and determined to rid the 'Iraqi state of them within a given period. It is steadily growing in numbers and appears to have the support of the Government.

3. The Assyrians who have been serving in the levies are being

gradually discharged and young Assyrians are not being encouraged to enlist. British officers approve of the Assyrians leaving 'Iraq, but prefer that they remain so long as British forces are stationed in the country. This leads the Assyrians to assume that the British Government is not desirous of their leaving 'Iraq and will not assist them to do so.

Possibilities of Settlement

The Assyrians who desire to leave 'Iraq may be placed in the following categories :

(a) Assyrians living in villages on the slopes of the Kurdistan mountains in the district of Amadia. They are looking forward to a good harvest and are well provided with sheep. Their attitude is that of "wait and see." They prefer those to go first who are in greater danger and more acute need. Later, they themselves can sell out and go to Syria, but in the meantime they wish to gather in the harvest and safeguard their own interests.

(b) Those living in cities and towns are more politically minded, and they are in the main the anti-Mar Shimun group. Nevertheless, they too want to go to Syria, though they do not know what the conditions of life there will be. They feel that they have no guarantee that the French Government in Syria will not do as the British has in 'Iraq—*i.e.*, give up the Mandate—in which case their position would become more serious and their enemies would probably be increased by the addition of the Syrians. They are looked upon as a turbulent people—though they deny this accusation and state that if there is any truth in it it is to be attributed to the fact that alien governments have used them for their own political ends, to the detriment of the Assyrians themselves. They see no alternative but to go to Syria, however, and have decided to do so with or without guarantees.

(c) There is also a group which may be described as "Diehard." They are followers of the Mar Shimun and are the people who have suffered most severely by massacre and pillage at the hands of the 'Iraqi troops. They are determined to go to Syria, but are distressed that the French Government is not willing "at present" to sanction the admission of their leader, the Mar Shimun, to that country.

Alternative Schemes

The French Mandatory Power has proposed to the League Committee the following three schemes :

1. *The Gharb scheme.* The Gharb marshes are situated in the Orontes valley and the proposed scheme requires the establishment of villages on the slopes of the Ansarieh hills, bordering on the marshes. To provide the Assyrians with arable land, the draining of these marshes would be necessary, and this would permit the agricultural development of about 40,000 hectares—an area which would not only supply the needs of the Assyrians, but should also serve to compensate the owners, whose crops and villages would be submerged by the building of a barrage and the construction of an artificial lake for irrigation. The Assyrians would find abundant pasturage for their flocks and herds on the Ansarieh hills.

2. *The Lower Khabur scheme.* This would also entail the building of a barrage—in the Suar region—an absolute necessity before the Assyrians could make the area profitable.

3. *The Northern Khabur scheme.* Some 2,200 Assyrians have already settled in the Northern Khabur area, which includes the villages of Safeh, Tel Nasserue, Hassetche, and Tel Surane, and it is understood that a further 1,394 have arrived from Mosul since June, 1935. The land here is good, but only partially irrigated. Irrigation schemes are, however, being carried out by the French with Assyrian labour, so that annual crops may be grown. It would be possible to settle 3,000 Assyrians in this area in addition to the 3,594 already settled.

The Gharb scheme is, from the point of view of local administration, to be preferred to either of the others. The proximity of the Khabur areas to Turkey and 'Iraq, and the fact that they are in the *sandjak* of the Upper Djezireh with its large minority population and a long way from the seat of government at Damascus, are serious drawbacks to the other schemes. Settlement of Assyrians in this area has not, up to the present, engendered any ill-feeling against them, but the arrival of a larger number might easily do so and the minority problem would be increased. Moreover, if any disturbance should arise, their isolated position would make it extremely difficult for the central Government to get the necessary force to cope with the situation and to safeguard the lives and property of these settlers.

The League Committee's Choice.

The Committee of the Council of the League met at Geneva from July 10 to 13, and after studying the report of Señor Olivan on his recent visit to 'Iraq as President of the Council Committee for the Settlement of the Assyrians of 'Iraq, decided that "for technical, economic, and political reasons, (the Committee's) efforts should henceforth be directed towards the realization of the plan for the settlement of the Assyrians in the district of the Gharb."

This is the soundest and safest plan. The Assyrians will be in close proximity to the seat of government, they will have as neighbours the Alouites, and for markets the large towns of Aleppo and Homs. Moreover, from a strategic point of view, the Gharb is easily defended by land and by sea and in the remote event of France's giving up the Mandate for Syria through force of circumstances, it is unlikely that she would also surrender the Mandate for the Lebanon and the littoral which includes the Gharb.

The main difficulty with regard to the Gharb scheme is the high cost of drainage, barrage, and irrigation. To settle some 25,000 Assyrians in this area would probably cost not less than £750,000. It is of interest to note, however, that the League Committee has suggested to the French Government that a financial expert and an expert on the exchange of populations should collaborate, on behalf of the Committee, with the High Commissariat to produce before August 15, if possible, full details of the Gharb scheme with precise information from the technical and financial points of view.

Finance

In 'Iraq the mission from the League Committee was only partially successful in its negotiations with the Prime Ministers with a view to securing the financial support which would be required for the migration and settlement of the Assyrians. It is understood that the mission made a request for something like a quarter of a million pounds, and after much discussion the 'Iraqi Government intimated its willingness to go up to £125,000 conditionally upon the removal of at least 10,000 Assyrians to Syria. The mission was not anxious, however, to recommend that operations be begun on a sum less than that which they had stipulated and agreement was somewhat delayed. It must be remembered that when the question was raised before the League Council, the 'Iraqi Government stated that in any further contributions which it

might make towards Assyrian settlement, the funds already contributed must be taken into consideration. The 'Iraqi Government had already spent some £40,000 since August, 1933, and to transfer Assyrians from towns and villages in 'Iraq to the borders of Syria would demand at least another £10,000.

In a final conversation with the High Commissariat before leaving Syria, the mission decided on the removal of the Assyrian refugees from the camp in Mosul together with a number of other Assyrians in Mosul to the Khabur area. They then applied to the 'Iraqi Government for a grant of £125,000 to enable them to accomplish this, and an instalment of £60,000 was immediately forthcoming.

It is understood that the task of the League Committee's mission in negotiating with the 'Iraqi Government was made more difficult by reason of the fact that it could not claim to have the financial support of any other Government, but was forced to employ vague phrases like "other sources." This was unsatisfactory not only to the mission but to the 'Iraqi Government, which had hoped that the British Government would have pledged itself to make a considerable grant towards the settlement of the Assyrians in view of the moral responsibility of Great Britain in the matter arising from the fact that the Government did not make the necessary provision for the safety of this minority when surrendering the Mandate. It is to be regretted that when the opportunity arose for the President of the League Committee, Señor Oliván, to make personal contact with the British Government to discuss the moral and financial aspects of the question, the Government did not find it possible to take advantage of the opportunity.

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NOTE

Since the above was written the Assyrian question has been taken up by the Sixteenth Assembly of the League of Nations, and further progress towards the solution of the problem has now been made by the Sixth Commission, Mr. de Valera, Irish Free State, Chairman, with the cordial co-operation of the British and 'Iraq Governments.

The Gharb scheme has now been definitely decided upon as the place of settlement for the Assyrians. Then came the all-important question of finance to enable this work to be put into operation. The representative of the United Kingdom stated to the League that, pro-

vided that the 'Iraq Government increased its contribution and are satisfied in the first place that the scheme adopted is satisfactory from the material point of view, and that it provides adequately for the needs of the Assyrians and is financially well regulated, and that there is a reasonable hope that funds will be forthcoming—if these conditions are fulfilled, the United Kingdom will be prepared to recommend Parliament to authorize an independent contribution of the United Kingdom equivalent to five-twelfths of that part of the expense of the scheme which the Council's Committee may be called upon to cover, subject to the proviso that such contribution by the United Kingdom shall in no circumstances exceed £250,000. After this statement the question was then turned over to the Fourth Commission of Finance. On September 20th this dealt with the question, when Nouri Pacha ('Iraq) stated that his Government was prepared, under certain conditions, including parliamentary sanction, to make a contribution similar to that offered by the United Kingdom for the settlement of the Assyrians. The Fourth Commission then adopted the report of the Sixth Commission, and a formal resolution was recommended to the Assembly :

To undertake to provide the funds necessary to complete the scheme over and above the British and 'Iraq Government contribution, and specifically to approve the insertion towards meeting that liability of a sum in the budget of the League.

Decides in consequence that the above recommendations be forthwith referred to the Supervisory Commission for detailed study of the financial proposals.

This recommendation was approved and the proposals were submitted to the Supervisory Commission by 29 votes.

It would now seem that the sum required for the completion of the Assyrian settlement in Gharb, Syria, will be 8,800,000 Swiss francs. Towards this sum the British and 'Iraq Governments on certain conditions will provide 7,500,000 Swiss francs, leaving the League of Nations and charitable organizations to find the balance of 1,300,000 Swiss francs.

It is to be hoped that after the generous response of the League of Nations, that charitable organizations will not fail the Assyrians at this time, and thus a lamentable page in history may be closed with the saving grace of charity.

GEO. F. GRACEY.

September 24, 1935.

REVIEWS

Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan. By Thorkild Jacobsen and Seton Lloyd. With a Preface by Henri Frankfort. Pp. 52. 36 Plates, 12 figures in the text. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. 24. Price 22s. 6d. net.

Among the many imposing monuments which have come to light as a result of excavation over a period of one hundred years in Assyria, the great aqueduct of Sennacherib at Jerwan must rank second to none. For more than 2,500 years this massive bridge was concealed beneath a mound of turf, hard by a village in which dwelled a small community of benign devil-worshipping Yezidis, who strangely enough had retained a vague folk memory of this great feat of Assyrian engineering.

Mr. Jacobsen, in a fascinating account of the steps by which the monument came to light, tells of how in 1932 one of his intelligent workmen, Hussein 'Ali of Faddhiliyah, had made sketches of cuneiform inscriptions embedded into the houses of the village of Jerwan. On reaching the village the expedition came to "a long narrow valley descending from the mountains behind. Across this valley like a barrier stretched a low wall of stone so completely covered with grass that it was only recognizable as such in a few places where the stones projected above the turf." The excavation of this bridge followed swiftly, and with it the explanation and significance of the structure.

It was not indeed to be expected that these Assyrian remains had escaped the notice of previous explorers: the ubiquitous Layard appears to have observed on a journey to Bavian "the remains of a well-built causeway of stone, leading to Bavian from the city of Nineveh," and though he located it as east instead of north-west of the Gebel Makloub, it is assumed that it was to this bridge that he was referring. Among others who visited the site before the Great War were L. W. King in 1904, and Bachmann, who in 1914 re-investigated the rock sculptures at Maltai and Bavian for the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. Bachmann rejected Layard's theory of a causeway, and suggested that the structure was a dam, which by closing the valley behind "converted it into

a natural reservoir where water could be stored for irrigation purposes." After the war, Chiera, Speiser, and Thureau-Dangin paid visits to the site, but it remained for the Oriental Institute to make a thorough excavation and reveal the structure as the earliest example of an aqueduct surviving from the ancient world.

The architectural description of the aqueduct is made by Mr. Seton Lloyd, who has combined careful investigation with sound deduction, and has drawn a contour map and a complete series of plans and sections which enabled him to produce a perspective restoration. Mr. Lloyd is to be congratulated on his skilful investigation and his careful avoidance of dogmatic assertion on doubtful points. Fortunately enough is preserved of the structure for us to obtain a knowledge of its general appearance and function, and we may be sure that in the main the restoration given us corresponds with reality.

From inscriptions, the best preserved of which were on the buttressed archways of the aqueduct, it appears that Sennacherib built a canal, of which the Jerwan aqueduct is a part, in order to supply Nineveh with water. In the village of Jerwan there was a wadi or shallow depression, and in order to carry the canal water over this depression the stone aqueduct was built. Actually, as Mr. Lloyd points out, the term "deep ravine," which Sennacherib applies to what is no more than a mere wadi, is something of an exaggeration; but the Assyrians, in common with most Orientals, were not accustomed to underestimate their exploits, and in point of fact this aqueduct is a stupendous example of their building activity.

The bridge was built of heavy limestone blocks averaging about 50 cubic centimetres each; the width of the bridge was 22 metres, the total length was more than 280 metres, and the overall height in the centre, where four arches spanned the ravine, was probably about 9 metres. A modest computation therefore shows that more than two million blocks of limestone were used in the structure, and as it appears that these blocks were quarried at Bavian, we have to conclude that over half a million tons of stone had to be carried for a distance of not less than ten miles. The finishing and final dressing of the stones appears to have been done *in situ*. When we consider that this was but one of the many public works undertaken by Sennacherib in the course of his lifetime we obtain an inkling of a man-power and activity which the kings of Assyria could only have mustered by the employment of vast slave labour battalions working at considerable pressure.

In addition to the magnitude of the undertaking, a wealth of detail shows what a fund of engineering skill and experience the Assyrians had at their disposal. Below the central arches the foundation of the bridge consisted of rough boulders, laid a little below the level of the stream, and these were surmounted by a level pavement of big stones laid *diagonally* to the flow of the stream in order to increase their stability in time of flood. Here, for example, is a technical feat which shows that the Assyrians were fully aware of the thrusts and strains peculiar to hydraulics. The building of this canal necessitated a careful system of levelling, and Mr. Lloyd estimates that the fall of the stone pavement over which the water had to flow was about 1/80.

The core of the bridge was built up solid with ashlar masonry to a height of a little less than 7 metres, and above this mass of limestone there was a solid bed of concrete; above the concrete bed was a carefully levelled pavement over which the canalized water flowed. Further evidence of technical skill was shown by the laying of the concrete, which was intended "partly to prevent the water from percolating through into the fabric of the stonework and, in the event of frost, splitting or disintegrating it. Again, in laying the pavement great pains were taken to prevent a straight joint between parapet and pavement. The precaution was obviously due to the fact that the constant weight of the parapet and the varying weight of the water might cause a crack and a consequent leakage of water." A tilting course was also used along the base of the parapet, probably to prevent water from collecting and standing at a vital point.

As to the canal itself, there occurred at the west end of the aqueduct two layers of small and carelessly laid stones, suggesting the possibility that the whole length of the canal had had a rough stone bed. Mr. Lloyd makes the interesting suggestion that the careful laying of the pavement on the aqueduct was intended to enable it to be used as a roadway, and this of course would have considerably facilitated the transport of the blocks required for its construction. Further, we might suppose that by closing the sluice gates at Bavian the whole canal could be turned into a thoroughfare over which men and chariots might pass dry-shod; to present a partial modern analogy, the canal system of ancient Assyria could thus be made to serve a double function after the manner of the dykes in Holland. The whole course of the canal from Bavian via Jerwan to Nineveh has been tentatively dotted in on a sketch map; the devious course of the canal is attested by the southward curve of the parapet on the aqueduct itself,

indicating "the way in which the canal began to swing round and follow the contour of the hill after crossing the aqueduct."

In an interesting chapter on the aqueduct inscriptions, Mr. Jacobsen shows that some of the neighbouring villages have preserved their names with hardly a change since Assyrian days. On every buttress and in every recess in the bridge King Sennacherib had inserted stone blocks with a nine-line inscription stating very clearly the purpose of the structure: "Sennacherib, king of the world, King of Assyria (says) . . . I caused a canal to be dug to the meadows of Nineveh. Over deep-cut ravines I spanned a bridge of white stone blocks. Those waters I caused to pass over it." Not content with this, the king had also embedded into the bridge a number of blocks with a two-line inscription, and it is clear from the concealed position of the stones that this was not intended to be read till the building had fallen into ruin. In two simple lines the bridge proclaims itself as

"belonging to Sennacherib,
king of the world, King of Assyria."

The description of the bridge and a consideration of the inscriptions is followed by Mr. Jacobsen's absorbing chapter on "the water supplies of Nineveh." We know from surviving inscriptions that in addition to his military campaigns Sennacherib was indefatigable in the pursuit of his public works, and his P.W.D. must have done more for the irrigation of Assyria than any other. In fact, the only engineering feat of modern times which could compare in scope with that of the Assyrians was the completion of the bridge over the Tigris at Mosul two years ago.

It is not unlikely that Sennacherib obtained a few irrigation "tips" in the course of his campaign against Merodach Baladan in the marshes of Babylonia. Certainly his foreign campaigns served to enable him to re-stock his parks and his zoological gardens with a wide variety of flora and fauna. Mr. Jacobsen discusses a number of these works, showing the order in which they were carried out, and throws much light on the geography and topography of the region. His identification of various place-names on Assyrian inscriptions with localities known in the Mosul area to-day is of exceptional interest both to Assyriologists and to those who know North 'Iraq. Many of the names have hardly changed at all; the modern river Khosr was known to the Assyrians as Hazur. Assyrian Resh Eni is identified with Rus al 'Ain, Assyrian Gingilinish with Tepe Chenchi, a small mound ex-

cavated by the Oriental Institute three years ago. "In the name Chenchi (*čenci*) < Kenki, we have the first and essential part of the name Gingi -I-inish."

Occasionally, as inscriptions tell us, it was necessary to repair breaches in the canals, and this is confirmed by the discovery at Jerwan of extensive repairs to the bridge.

Another interesting monument of Assyrian irrigation is the stone dam at Ajila, identified in 1929 by Dr. Campbell Thompson as Sennacherib's marsh, which is said to have contained a variety of beasts and birds. It would have been interesting if the authors of this book had found time to reinvestigate the Ajila dam in the light of their work at Jerwan and Bavian. Mr. Lloyd in describing the Jerwan aqueduct explains how the "mason adjusted the face of a stone to its neighbour only along the joint and left a rough projecting mass in the middle, thereby giving the appearance of intentional rustication." He further suggests that this type of rustication has not been found before in such early building. Now my recollection of a single visit to Ajila in 1932 is that this peculiar rustication occurs on the dam: this is a point well worth investigating, for in the absence of inscriptions on the dam it is additional evidence that the workmanship is Assyrian.

In the last chapter of the book Mr. Lloyd describes how, after examining the Jerwan portion of the canal, the party went on to Bavian to make a final examination of the canal head itself. This investigation was full of interest and showed that a monumental carved block which had fallen across the river Gomel must once have stood as a figurehead at a point where the waters of the river dropped over a weir into the canal. Careful examination revealed the fact that part of the ancient canal must actually have disappeared from view and flowed beneath the solid rock that flanked the gorge. The tunnel occurring at the narrowest point in the gorge, where the rocks converge to within 50 metres of one another, would have formed an ideal position for the construction of a dam in times when it might have been necessary to feed the canal by drawing from a reservoir; similarly, it appears that the tunnel beneath the rock would have facilitated the construction of sluice gates.

The discovery of these engineering and irrigation works of the ancient Assyrians has a practical bearing which must appeal to all those who have an interest in the modern kingdom of 'Iraq. These works induce us to speculate on how the water supply of ancient

Assyria compared with that available in the Mosul Liwa of 'Iraq to-day, and it would have been interesting if the authors of this book had given us their views on the subject. There is indeed no reason to suppose that the climate of Assyria has changed very considerably since the days of Sennacherib, but it does seem likely that there was in antiquity a more abundant water supply. An interesting inscription of Sennacherib certainly suggests this; the following quotation is from Luckenbill's translation, and refers to the flooding of Nineveh: "The Tebiltu, a raging stream, which from days of old had come close up to the palace, and with its great flood at high water had destroyed its foundation platform; that small palace I tore down in its totality. The course of the Tebiltu I changed; I directed its outflow through its low-water channels. . . . I raised (the height of the palace) to 190 tipku. Lest in the passing days its platform should give way before the floods of high water, I built a facing wall around it." Now anyone familiar with Nineveh as it stands to-day must realize that no stream could any longer rage sufficiently, excepting the Tigris, to endanger any well-built structure on the site of Quyunjik. The Tebiltu was presumably more important than the Khosr, to-day a miserable stream which even in flood-time presents no formidable volume of water. The conclusion, then, would seem to be that the Assyrians had at their disposal a greater volume of water for the purposes of irrigation; this was no doubt partly owing to their intensive efforts to tap all the available sources of water supply, as indeed we gather from the inscriptions themselves, and partly because in flood season there were subservient to the Tigris richer secondary streams which in flood season could be dammed to fill up the reservoirs.

In conclusion it is well to remember that great as was the achievement of the Assyrian engineers, that sure technical experience which their works attest must have owed much to the extensive knowledge of the Babylonians themselves, who already in the days of Hammurabi (c. 1900 B.C.) had irrigated their country with a complicated network of canals. Certain it is that many a modern farmer in the Mosul area would do well if he relied less on rainfall and resorted to that form of irrigation which the Assyrians are now seen to have exploited to the full.

It remains only once more to congratulate the authors of this work both for the manner in which they have carried it out and for their complete and carefully prepared publication, which is illustrated by a number of excellent photographs. We are indebted also to Dr. Frank-

fort to whose enterprise is due the prosecution of this work, one of many other valuable labours. To the expert this is a complete and final record, and the layman who knows 'Iraq and takes an intelligent interest in the country will find himself amply rewarded by a perusal of this volume.

M. E. L. MALLOWAN.

Mauryan Public Finance. By M. H. Gopal, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economics in the University of Mysore. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price 12s. 6d.

The position of a reviewer partakes of the attributes of greatness. Some go out of their way and seek to achieve it. Others have it thrust upon them. Your most obedient servant on this occasion is decidedly to be counted amongst the latter, and disclaims all special aptitude for his task. All that he could do, therefore, was to invoke the motto of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India,* wander through Mr. Gopal's book and recount his impressions as those of a not unsympathetic and, let us hope, not altogether unintelligent traveller after a sojourn in a strange country.

The book is in the nature of a commentary on *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra*, compiled in an honest and laudable endeavour to extract from that mine of information an exact description of the principles followed and the methods employed by those who were responsible for the financial administration of the great kingdom of Asoka, his predecessors and successors of the Mauryan dynasty. It is possible that even among the members of a learned Society like the Central Asian there may be some who could not offhand answer many questions about either the *Arthaśāstra* or its reputed author *Kautilya*. So let us begin by giving some account of both. The work is a treatise on gain or the science of acquiring worldly advantage, and *Kautilya*, which merely means deceit or chicanery, is said to be a name assumed by the famous Brahman Vishnugupta, also known as Chānakya, who overthrew the last of the Nanda kings and placed the great Mauryan Chandra Gupta on the throne of Northern India and adjacent regions. The *Arthaśāstra* has been described by those in a position to speak with authority as "perhaps the most precious work in the whole range of

* "Heaven's Light our Guide."

Sanskrit literature.” Dr. Jolly calls it “an ancient Imperial Gazetteer of India or a manual of political economy and polity.” Unlike such works in modern times, however, it is a medley of prose and verse, and it contains fifteen books of unequal length, divided into one hundred and fifty chapters, in which many aspects of the art of government are discussed with the minutest thoroughness and illustrated with an exuberant wealth of detail. The opinions recorded by earlier writers are often quoted, and usually when this is done judgment is pronounced in the name of Kautilya. The first book, which contains twenty-one chapters, deals mainly with king-craft and the proper place of political science among the other sciences. The second, which is just about twice as long and contains nearly twice as many chapters as the first, achieves a semblance of unity by marshalling its contents under headings prescribing the duties of Government Superintendents in various departments, mostly of a fiscal nature. These headings are instructive and in some cases amusing. Here they are :

Chapter I. The Formation of Villages.

Chapter II. The Division of Land.

Chapter III. The Construction of Forts.

Chapter IV. Buildings within the Fort.*

Chapter V. The Duties of the Chamberlain.

Chapter VI. The Business of the Collection of Revenue by the Collector-General.

Chapter VII. The Business of the Keeping of Accounts in the Office of the Accountants.

Chapter VIII. The Detection of Embezzlement by Government Servants.†

Chapter IX. The Examination of the Conduct of Government Servants.

Chapter X. The Composition of Official Correspondence.

This is a medley of literary and grammatical precepts, political maxims, and of Secretariat instructions.

Chapter XI. The Examination of Gems which are to be taken into the Royal Treasury.

Chapter XII. Concerning Mining Operations and Manufactures.

* It is clear from this chapter that the fort is intended to give shelter to a populous town.

† Here and in other places where extracts are quoted from the *Arthaśāstra* the translation of Dr. Shama Sastri has been followed, but liberties have been taken with his version where it seemed capable of improvement.

Chapter XIII. The Duties of the Superintendent of Gold in the Goldsmith's Office.

Chapter XIV. The Duties of the State Goldsmith in the High Road.

Chapter XV. The Duties of the Superintendent of the Storehouse.

Chapter XVI. Of the Superintendent of Commerce.

Chapter XVII. Of the Superintendent of Forests.

Chapter XVIII. Of the Superintendent of Ordnance.

Chapter XIX. Of the Superintendent of Weights and Measures.

Chapter XX. Of the Superintendent of Linear Measures.

As time was apparently measured by the length of shadows this official's duties included the maintenance of the State Calendar.

Chapter XXI. Of the Superintendent of Tolls.

Chapter XXII. The Regulation of Toll-dues.

Chapter XXIII. Of the Superintendent of Weaving.

Chapter XXIV. Of the Superintendent of Agriculture.

Chapter XXV. Of the Superintendent of Liquor.

Chapter XXVI. Of the Superintendent of Slaughter-houses.

Chapter XXVII. Of the Superintendent of Prostitutes.

Chapter XXVIII. Of the Superintendent of Ships.

Chapter XXIX. Of the Superintendent of Cattle.

Chapter XXX. Of the Superintendent of Horses.

Chapter XXXI. Of the Superintendent of Elephants.

Chapter XXXII. The Training of Elephants.

Chapter XXXIII. The Duties of the Superintendent of Chariots; of the Superintendent of Infantry, and of the Commander-in-Chief.

The duties of the last-mentioned are summed up in three paragraphs:

"With regard to the position which the entire army . . . have occupied [His Excellency must know] when to order either advance or retreat.

"He shall also know what ground is advantageous to his own army and what time is favourable; what the strength of the enemy is; how to sow dissension in an enemy's forces; how to collect his own troops when scattered, and how to scatter the compact body of an enemy's army;* how to lay siege to a fortress, and when to make a general assault.

"Lastly, being ever mindful of the discipline which his army must

* In fact, like Marlborough, he must know how to—

"Inspire repulsed battalions to engage,
And teach the doubtful battle where to rage."

maintain, not only in camp and on the march, but in the press of battle, he must know how to distinguish regiments by their trumpets, bands, banners, and flags.”

Chapter XXXIV. The Duties of the Superintendent of Passports.

Chapter XXXV. The Duties of Revenue Officials and the Employment of Informers in the Guise of Cultivators, Merchants, and Ascetics.

Chapter XXXVI. The Duties of a City Magistrate and Collector.

Books III. and IV., which are also long and of obvious importance, concern themselves with law, civil and criminal, and judicial proceedings, including what in India are called “Revenue Cases.” The actual title given to the fourth book is “The Removal of Thorns.” This refers to the protection of the community against the pin-pricks of crime.

Here again the chapter headings may be quoted.

Chapter I. Protection against [fraudulent] Artisans (*viz.*, Weavers, Washermen, Goldsmiths, Scavengers, Medical Practitioners, and Musicians).

Chapter II. Protection against Merchants.

Chapter III. Against National Calamities.

“These are fire, floods, pestilential diseases, famine, rats, tigers, serpents, and demons. From these shall the king protect his kingdom.”

Chapter IV. The Suppression of the Wicked who Live by Foul Means.

Chapter V. The Detection of Youths of Criminal Tendency by Ascetic Informers.

These informers are nothing but *agents provocateurs* who must delude their victims into the belief that they have magical powers. They are thus to lure the unfortunates on whom suspicion may have fallen into the commission of crime and arrest them in the act, after which “the Collector-General shall exhibit in public these and other arrested criminals and proclaim the omniscient power of the king among the people at large.”

Chapter VI. The Seizure of Criminals on Suspicion, of Apprehension in *Flagrante Delicto*, and of Circumstantial Evidence.

Chapter VII. Procedure in Cases of Sudden Death.

Chapter VIII. Trial and Torture to Elicit Confession.

“As to persons who [are suspected of having] committed grave offences the form of torture will be nine kinds of blows with a cane; . . . two kinds of suspension, face downwards; burning one of the joints of a finger after the accused has been made to drink rice gruel;

heating his body for a day after he has been made to drink oil; causing him to lie on coarse green grass for a night in winter. These are the eighteen forms of torture. . . . Each day a fresh form of torture may be employed.”

Chapter IX. Protection against the Malpractices of Government Departments.

This important function is entrusted to Commissioners appointed by the Collector-General.

Chapter X. Fines in Lieu of Mutilation of Limbs.

Chapter XI. Death with or without Torture.

Chapter XII. Sexual Offences.

Chapter XIII. Punishments for Various Offences.

One of these discloses that when goods are stolen between two villages some official, believed by Mr. Gopal to be the Superintendent of Pastures, shall be required to make good the loss. Failing him a person called the *chorarajjuḅar*—of whom more hereafter—shall do so. But the passage is very obscure.

Of the remaining books suffice it to say that Book V. is headed “The Conduct of Courtiers,” but has a great deal to do with sedition, treason, and similar offences, their detection and punishment, while Book VI. purports to deal with Sovereignty. Book VII. relates to Diplomacy, which is described as sixfold, and in Book VIII. is discussed the relative importance of various kinds of disease in the body politic—viz., distress to the king, to the ministers, and to the people at large; distress arising from lack of fortifications; financial distress; distress arising from the inefficiency or disloyalty of the army; and distress amongst allies. Various authorities are cited and judgment delivered by *Kautilya* on their conflicting opinions. The order in which these evils are stated may be taken as the final order of their importance. There follow six books dealing with all the operations of war, amongst which are included propaganda and magical practices designed to injure or delude the enemy. The formulæ to be repeated for the preparation of essences and powders remind us of the witches in *Macbeth* with their

“Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf,
Witches’ mummy; maw and gulf
Of the ravin’d salt-sea shark;
Root of hemlock digg’d i’ the dark;
Liver of blaspheming Jew,
Gall of goat and slips of yew,”

and so forth. The last book is in the nature of an index.

As to the date and authorship of this extraordinary work the authorities differ. Dr. Shama Sastri, by whom the manuscript on which its text chiefly depends was discovered, edited, and translated into English, records his opinion that it is to be ascribed to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. Others think that it is no earlier than the third century A.D. Dr. Shama Sastri thinks that there is overwhelming evidence of its genuineness and of *Kautilya's* authorship, which indeed the book itself explicitly and repeatedly claims. Dr. Jolly, on the other hand, writes: "The *Arthashastra* itself professes to be the composition of *Kautilya*, but *Kautilya* is a mere nickname denoting falsehood or hypocrisy, which could hardly have been devised by the renowned minister of Chandra Gupta (? for) himself. Nor does the character of the work stamp it the production of a statesman, filled as it is with pedantic classifications and puerile distinctions, like all the Śāstras composed by Pandits. The real author was a theoretician, no statesman, but perhaps an official in a state of medium size, where he had obtained an insight into the working of the administration."

Mr. Gopal wisely refrains from entering the lists of this controversy, and contents himself with the general conclusion, which is sufficient for his purposes, that the book describes conditions existing in the Mauryan period. That period, he adds, may roughly be said to comprise the years between the last quarter of the fourth and the first quarter of the second century B.C. We too may be content to leave it at that.

But if they differ as to authorship and date, there is at any rate one point on which our doctors are unanimous. That is the difficulty of determining with any certainty what any particular passage really means. For, as Dr. Jolly says, "the language is archaic and abounds in rare and difficult terms." A very cursory examination of Mr. Gopal's book will suffice to illustrate this. For example (p. 46) in Book II., Chapter VI., which prescribes the Duties of the Collector-General, occur the words *Rajju* and *Chorarajju*. Dr. Shama Sastri admits that their precise meaning is not known, and translates them as "ropes" and "ropes to bind thieves" respectively. Mr. Gopal advances the ingenious theory that because the *rajju* was a rope of a particular length—it is indeed mentioned as such in Chapter XX. of the same book—it stood for a unit of linear measurement, used for the measurement of land and consequently for the assessment of land revenue. Hence a *rajjukar* was a settlement officer and a *chorarajjukar* a police

officer. Clearly any superstructure of theory which rests upon foundations such as these can only be accepted with extreme caution, and Mr. Gopal's book largely consists in such superstructure.

We must not leave the subject of terminology without a glance at one old philological friend. This is the Sanskrit word *vāstu*, which is defined in the book as meaning "houses, fields, gardens, buildings of any kind, lakes, and tanks." It is the same word as the Greek (F)ἄστυ, which means a city, and the Hindi *basti*, which, generally, means a village. In Hindi and cognate languages, therefore, a *basti-wala* means a villager or countryman, while the Greek adjective derived from ἄστυ is the direct lineal progenitor through its Latin translation of our words "civic" and "civil," with all their wealth of connotation and derivatives, opposed on the one hand to the peasant or *paganus* as yokel and boor, and on the other to the countryman as pagan or infidel. The word throws a searchlight on much history.

This, however, is rather by the way. It behoves us now to remember that Mr. Gopal's thesis is Mauryan Public Finance. And here it may be apposite to remark that for all its candour and sincerity the genesis of the book is perhaps to be ascribed to that tendency, natural enough and not altogether unpraiseworthy, but anyhow in these days very strongly marked in the Hindu mind, the tendency to exalt the ancient civilization—hark back to the preceding paragraph—of India before it had been impaired by the impact of Islam or corroded by contact with Europe. We may be ready to concede that in some of the essentials of true civilization ancient India had no need to fear comparison with our modern mechanized degeneracy. But it is childish to pretend that the state whose financial system, if such it can be called, can be discerned from the headings of the chapters of Book II., anticipated either the lucubrations of Adam Smith and his descendants or the practice of Lombard Street and the Stock Exchange, or even that its methods of assessment of land revenue were as scientific as those of Thomason and Douie.

We referred above to the spirit of sincerity and candour in which Mr. Gopal has approached his subject. Let us give an example. His theme, as we have noted, is the efficiency of Mauryan finance. But he does not shrink from the most damaging admissions. "There appears to have existed," he writes (p. 108), "a general sales tax of 10 per cent. *ad valorem* on the sale price of all articles, imposed and collected on their sale." Such a tax, however, he agrees, violates all the fundamental principles of taxation, inasmuch as it is neither

definite in amount, equal in application, nor convenient of collection. "Wherever it has been introduced the tax has had a disastrous effect on business, and has itself ultimately failed to succeed. How far the Mauryan tax was a success is not known," but he thinks that it must at any rate have yielded an adequate revenue, because "the penalty of death was enforced in all cases of evasion." Nevertheless, his considered opinion is that (p. 201) "in the Mauryan days there appears to have existed a good system of financial administration." We ask Mr. Gopal, can he really describe as good a financial administration which depended on the worst of all possible taxes backed by the harshest of all possible penalties?

In the course of his examination of the *Arthaśāstra* Mr. Gopal raises many interesting points. Was private ownership of land recognized? What share of their produce did the state take from the cultivators? Did the state recoup itself for outlay on irrigation works by the levy of a water-rate? And many others. But in all cases the obscurity of his text is so great, and the opinions of those who have sought to elucidate it are so much at variance, that it is not worth while to examine the arguments in detail nor possible to reach any conclusion.

We have praised Mr. Gopal's sincerity and candour. It is only fair to animadvert in the opposite sense on a peculiar simplicity and ignorance of administrative methods which go far to rob his speculations of value. For example, Mr. Gopal has taken the trouble (pp. 85-88) to draw up under modern heads a classification of the articles on which some kind of octroi duty was levied at the gates of Mauryan cities, or forts, as he calls them. These he has compared in an elaborate table, not with the octroi duties now in force in hundreds of Indian cities and towns, but with British Indian Customs Duties, a comparison from which no conclusions whatever can be drawn. But according to *Kautilya* (Bk. II., Ch. X.) to say, "It is not worthy of thee" is censure, so let us end on a different note. Mr. Gopal has made a persistent and praiseworthy effort to elucidate an obscure text and to throw light on an epoch of which all too little is known.

E. H.

ORIENTAL THEORY OF ÆSTHETIC

The Transformation of Nature in Art. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. 8½" × 6". Pp. 245. Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1934.

What are the reactions of the uninstructed European in the East to Hindu and Buddhist art? Are they not somewhat as follows? In Hindu art he sees an extraordinary inability to render the human form correctly. In the figures of male deities and warriors he sees heavy, square shoulders, barmaids' arms, and wasp-like waists, with an un-called-for excess in the number of the upper limbs and a proneness to contorted positions. The Buddhas, Boddhisatvas, and other divine beings of Ceylon, Burma, and the Far East he reports to be just a set of dolls, all like one another, and not one of them true to life.

Those who are more sensitive to art, and perhaps especially women, however, see a good deal more than this in the Buddhas and Boddhisatvas. In the last thirty years, moreover, many have had the advantage of learning, through the works of Mr. E. B. Havell and others, some rudiments of the aims of Indian art. We have learnt that it was quite contrary to the wish of the Indian artist to render gods or warriors as mere men. He gave them deliberately a lion-like figure, powerful in the shoulders, lean and slight in the waist and abdomen. To symbolize the power of the gods and their utterly different nature from that of man, he gave them numerous arms. Their immortal nature was also represented by their rounded and supple limbs, portraying a sublime and holy existence, yet one unwasted by asceticism. Their joints were passed over lightly, so that the worshipper might not receive the impression of a body too nearly reminiscent of our earthly and material clay; and for the same reason the details of the human figure were minimized and generalized away, just as is found in the statues of the Pharaohs. Women were given large breasts to emphasize their femininity, with an underlying reference to the religious symbolism of sex-union. The Buddhas and Boddhisatvas, in the same way, were deliberately generalized, and the artists by whom they were created worked deliberately within a narrow convention of attitude and gesture, expressing their personalities by nuances of intense feeling.

Dr. Coomaraswamy, perhaps the greatest authority on the art of India, Ceylon, Further India, and the Dutch East Indies, has attempted

in the work before us to show the deepest springs of this and of Far Eastern art. He presents in it "a statement of Oriental æsthetic theory," based mainly on Indian but partly on Chinese sources. At the same time he points to a Western parallel. He contends that before the Renaissance Europe and Asia could and did understand each other very well in matters of art and of thought. "Asia," he continues, "has remained herself; but subsequent to the extroversion of the European consciousness and its preoccupation with surfaces, it has become more and more difficult for European minds to think in terms of unity, and therefore more difficult to understand the Asiatic point of view." He places the Asiatic and the valid (*i.e.*, pre-Renaissance) European views side by side, "not as curiosities, but as representing actual and indispensable truth, not endeavouring to prove by any argumentation what should be apparent to the consciousness of the intelligent." (These last words are a quotation from the Sanskrit.) It will be natural, he tells us, to lay most stress upon India, because the systematic discussion of æsthetic problems has been far more developed there than in China, where we have to deduce the theory from what has been said and done by painters, rather than from any doctrine expounded by philosophers or rhetoricians.

Two things should be noted before we proceed further. First, the subject of the book might almost more appropriately be called a metaphysic of art than what we are accustomed to call a theory of art. For the Oriental view of art as put forward by the author is strictly based upon an idealist metaphysic, and is little concerned with the more material aspects of art. A good deal of use is made of a mediæval Sanskrit treatise on poetics and rhetoric, the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*. But the search for principles takes the author back through Sanskrit literature even to the Vedas themselves. Quotations are also made from Chinese works. Secondly, following up his parallel between the mediæval European and the Oriental, he translates *deva* and *devatā* (god, deity), not very happily, as "angel," as though an angel were an aspect of the deity. He also uses the word "icon" in its original sense of an image, whether plastic or painted.

His authorities lay down that the element of "form" (or design, shape) in art represents a purely mental activity. "*A mental concept*," says an old Sanskrit text, "*arises in the mind of the painter, that such and such a shape must be made in such and such a way.*" The maker of the icon, having by various means proper to the practice of Yoga eliminated the distracting influences of fugitive emotions and creature

images, self-willing and self-thinking, proceeds to visualize the form of the *devatā*, angel or aspect of God, described in any canonical prescription. The mind draws this form to itself, ultimately from heaven, where the types of art exist in formal operation, and immediately from "the immanent space in the heart." The imager must realize a complete self-identification with it, whatever its peculiarities, even in the case of opposite sex or when the divinity is provided with terrible supernatural characteristics. (We omit here, and throughout, the Sanskrit words and sentences by which the text is supported at nearly every point.)

The principle involved, the author continues, is that true knowledge of an object is not obtained by merely empirical observation or reflex registration, but only when the knower and the known, the seer and the seen, meet in an act transcending distinction—or, as he expresses it elsewhere, "when the theme has become for him (the artist) an immediate experience."

The task of the artist, then, is to express or convey the form drawn from heaven and achieved by him through this process of identifying himself with it. With reference to his expression, the principal Sanskrit term used is *sādṛśya*, "consimilarity," and the Chinese terms corresponding are *hsing-ssū* and *wu-hsing*, "shape-resemblance" and "make shape according to nature." These may at first sight seem to define art as an imitation of nature. So also, in Japan, Seami, the great author and critic of Nō, asserts that the arts of music and dancing consist entirely of imitation (*monomane*). But these do not imply a conception of art as something seeking its perfection in the nearest possible approaches to illusion. Asiatic art represents a world "idealized," but not in the popular—*i.e.*, sentimental—religious sense, as perfected or remoulded nearer to the heart's desire. It is "like Nature not in appearance, but in operation." The author gives a number of renderings and illustrations of *sādṛśya*, which hardly leave a clear impression on the reader's mind, but from which that term may perhaps be inferred to mean a reconciliation of idea and material by means of execution in perfect accord with the mentally conceived form. As to *wu-hsing* and *hsing-ssū*, their meaning is similar, and is illustrated by various Chinese dicta. For example, the first canon of Hsieh Ho (fifth century A.D.) asserts that the work of art must reveal "the operation of the spirit in life-movement"; and with reference to a degenerate period Chinese writers have recorded: "Those painters who neglect natural shape and secure the formative idea are

few," "What this age means by pictures is resemblance," and "The form was like, but the expression weak."

Of the remaining five out of Hsieh Ho's six canons, some merely prescribe "right" composition, shape, and colour proper to the object to be painted, and so on. But the sixth is noticeable: "Handed-down model, or method, draw accordingly." Art, according to our author, is essentially conventional; for it is only by convention that Nature can be made intelligible, and only by signs and symbols that communication is possible. (Some readers may see in this view an agreement with Croce's description of art as essentially a linguistic; but Croce's view did not include the drawing of ideas from Heaven, or the sense of Unity, which are essential features, equally with the linguistic, in the Hindu view of art.) True art, pure art, our author continues, never enters into competition with the unattainable perfection of the world, but relies exclusively upon its own logic and its own criteria; and he refers *inter alia* to an icon provided with numerous heads and arms, or combining anthropomorphic and theriomorphic elements. (Here, as on many other points, Dr. Coomaraswamy would find support among many of our moderns. "The world is there," writes the literary expressionist Kasimir Edschmid; "it would be absurd to reproduce it. The task of art is to search out its intrinsic essence and create it anew.")

Conventionality, Dr. Coomaraswamy holds, has nothing to do with degeneration from correct representation, as often assumed by the historians of art. Decadent art is simply an art which is no longer felt or energized, but merely denotes; and he sees one form of it in a senescent refinement, in the over-refinement and elaboration of apparatus in the arts, as exemplified in modern dramatic and concert production, and in the quality of trained voices, and so on. He thinks by contrast of the simplicity of the deeply moving Bengali Yatras without scenery or artistic display of costume; and he quotes Rabindranath Tagore in reference to the rendering of Indian music: "Our master singers never take the slightest trouble to make their voice and manner attractive. . . . Those of the audience whose senses have to be satisfied as well are held to be beneath the notice of any self-respecting artist." (Widely though we are separated from this ideal in our music, are there not similar ideas afloat in twentieth-century painting, poetry, and theatrical *décor*? Do not even the rat-catcher clothes of our young artists symbolize a like austerity?)

The Indian or Far-Eastern anthropomorphic icon, Dr. Coomara-

swamy holds, is of the same kind as a *yantra* (readers may remember the chalked geometrical diagrams sometimes seen outside the thresholds of Hindu houses), a visible representation of a deity. Its parts are not organically related, "for it is not contemplated that they should function biologically, but ideally, related." Similarly, Chinese landscape is typically represented as seen from more than one point of view, or in any case from a conventional, not a real point of view; for it is not plausibility but intelligibility that is essential. In Oriental painting generally, on the same principle, although there is relief, there is no *chāyātapa*, "shade and shine," or use of cast shadows. Oriental art represents, again, not a moment of time, but a continuous condition, as in the dance of Śiva or the play of Krishna. Even portraits are not completely realistic. Although there are references in the Sanskrit literature to speaking likenesses, yet in ancient India, and also in China, a portrait, whether painted or carved, was primarily a representation of a somewhat generalized type of figure. "The painter Kuo Kung-ch'en was praised for his rendering of very soul and mind in a portrait; but there cannot be adduced from the whole of Asia such a thing as a treatise on anatomy designed for use by artists." (Surely Kuo Kung-ch'en's method has long been that of portrait-painters in the "extroverted" West; one might quote alike from Leonardo and from Tennyson in support of this contention.)

The classical developments of this theological kind of art belong mainly, says Dr. Coomaraswamy, to the first millennium of the Christian era. (This includes, in India, Gupta and post-Gupta art, and in China Buddhist art, which was very well established there by A.D. 500.) Its later prolongations tended to decadence, the formal elements retaining their edifying value in design and composition, but losing their vitality, or surviving only in folk-art, as in the admirable folk styles of eighteenth-century Siam and Ceylon.

Another kind of art, sometimes called romantic or idealistic, but better described as imagist or mystical, as distinct from symbolic, is typically developed throughout Asia in the second millennium of our era. "Whereas the theological art is concerned with types of power, the mystical art is concerned with only one power." Its ultimate theme is that single and undivided principle which reveals itself in every form of life whenever the light of the mind so shines on anything that the secret of its inner life is realized, both as an end in itself unrelated to any human purpose, and as no other than the secret of one's own innermost being. "The outstanding aspects of this type

of art in Asia are the Ch'an or Zen art of China and Japan, in which the theme is either landscape or plant or animal life; the Vaishnava painting, poetry, and music in India, where the theme is sexual love; and Sufi poetry and music in Persia, devoted to the praise of intoxication." (Devoted also, surely, to the allegoric theme of love. The author restricts his references to Moslem art to a few lines here and there, on the ground of insufficient acquaintance with Arabic philosophy and æsthetic.)

"Zen" is the Japanese form of the Chinese "Ch'an," which again derives from the Sanskrit *dhyāna*, "contemplation," and is a form of Buddhism deeply influenced by Taoism. Its doctrine, Dr. Coomaraswamy informs us, is "the invalidity of doctrine; its end an illumination by immediate experience. Ch'an-Zen art, seeking realization of the divine being in man, proceeds by way of opening his eyes to a like spiritual essence in the world of Nature external to himself." "But the Ch'an-Zen artist no more paints from Nature than the poet writes from Nature; he has been trained according to treatises on style so detailed and explicit that there would seem to be no room left for the operation of personality. . . . And yet immediacy or spontaneity has been more nearly perfectly attained in Ch'an-Zen art than anywhere else. Here there is no formal iconography, but an intuition that has to be expressed in an ink painting. . . . There is no kind of art that comes nearer to 'grasping the joy as it flies,' the winged life that is no longer life when we have taken thought to remember and describe it; no kind of art more studied in method, or less laboured in effect." At the same time, he continues, there lies in it the ideal of man, no less than the pine and the Morning Glory, fulfilling each his own peculiar perfection and being content. (Is there not something of this feeling in the landscape painting of the West? With possibly a less definite sense of Unity, there has surely often been in our landscape an undertone of reference to the Creator, and, since Constable, let us say, as a rough indication, an attempt to contribute, through the channel of feeling, to the solution of the mystery of man's relation to the universe.)

"When at last Zen art found expression in scepticism, there came into being the despised popular and secular Ukiyoye art of Japan," of which the typical product is the Japanese print; but there are also, Dr. Coomaraswamy informs us, paintings of the same kind. "But here an artistic tradition had been so firmly established, the vision of the world so *approfondi*, that in a sphere corresponding with the modern picture

postcard . . . there still survived a purity and charm of conception that sufficed, however slight their essence, to win acceptance in Europe, long before the existence of a more serious and classical art had been suspected."

Dealing with the Krishna theme in Vaishnava art, the author, after referring to the symbolism of sex, and to *bhakti*, writes: "So there came into being songs and dances in which at the same time sensuality has spiritual significance, and spirituality physical substance, and painting that depicts a transfigured world, where all men are heroic, all women beautiful and passionate and shy, beasts and even trees and rivers are aware of the presence of the Beloved—a world of imagination and reality, seen with the eyes of Majnūn." There is the conviction that reality is here and now tangibly and visibly accessible.

Of these two kinds of art, the theological or symbolic and the mystical or imagist, Dr. Coomaraswamy emphasizes that they are "inseparably connected and related historically and æsthetically; for example, Kamakura Buddhist painting in the twelfth or thirteenth century is still iconographic, in Sung (tenth to thirteenth centuries A.D.) landscape and animal painting there is always an underlying symbolism, and, on the other hand, Indian sculpture at Māmallapuram in the seventh century is already romantic, humorous, mystical."

The Indian theory of beauty, he proceeds, mainly developed in connection with poetics, dancing, and music, but employing the concept of colour in much of its terminology, and in fact applied also to painting, is hardly to be dated in its full development before the twelfth, tenth, or eleventh century A.D. He quotes from the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* a definition of æsthetic experience, which is one of the most striking things in his book. His free translation of it shows little material departure from his literal translation which precedes it. It runs as follows:

Pure æsthetic experience is theirs in whom the knowledge of ideal beauty is innate; it is known intuitively, in intellectual ecstasy without accompaniment of ideation (literally, void of contact with things knowable) at the highest level of conscious being; born of one mother with the vision of God (literally, twin brother to the tasting of Brahma) its life is as it were a flash of blinding light of transmundane origin (*loḷottara*), impossible to analyze, and yet in the image of our very being (*svākāravat*).

Just as the original intuition, he continues, arose from a self-identi-

fication of the artist with the appointed theme, so æsthetic experience, reproduction, arises from a self-identification of the spectator with the presented matter; criticism repeats the process of creation. In both cases Yoga is the indispensable method.

Dr. Coomaraswamy now turns to the mediæval Christian view of art. Although, he informs us, the Schoolmen composed no treatise specifically devoted to the philosophy of art, there is nevertheless a far-reaching theory of art to be found in their writings; and he examines those of Meister Eckhart, the Saxon mystic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as illustrative of the theories of art current at that time in Europe.

In Eckhart's philosophical opinions a metaphysical idealism, derived ultimately from Plato (through Dionysius), was interwoven with a Christian theism sometimes verging upon pantheism. We must be very brief in summarizing his æsthetic philosophy as presented by Dr. Coomaraswamy. Quotations from Eckhart himself will be distinguished by italics.

Art is for Eckhart the expression of forms or ideas. All creatures "*in their pre-existing forms in God have divine life for ever.*" Ideas or forms are "living," not merely existing like standards fixed and deposited; they may be ideas not merely of static shapes but of acts. "*I can see a rose in winter when there are no roses, therefore with this power the soul produces things from the non-existent, like God who creates things out of nothing. . . . To be properly expressed a thing must proceed from within, moved by its form; it must come not in from without, but out from within.*" The inwardly known aspect, relatively immaterial, is the means by which man can recognize what the eye sees, the only means by which he can pretend to understand what the eye sees, or with which he can communicate it to others. An art made according to "*the eye's intrinsic faculty,*" and merely for the eye, can only be thought of as a superposition of illusion upon illusion. As to the method, the artist must withdraw into himself and make himself one with his theme. The spectator's experience is referred to as "*recollection, contemplation,*" "*illumination,*" "*the culminating point of vision,*" "*rapture,*" "*rest,*" and as a vision of the world as God sees it.

Dr. Coomaraswamy certainly appears to make good his parallel between the Hindu and the mediæval views of art. It is not merely that both are opposed to the conception of art as photographic or decorative, or a combination of the two; but in their exaltation of the

conceptual element in art on precise metaphysical grounds they agree surprisingly on a number of points both of principle and detail.

The remainder of the book consists of five shorter papers and essays on particular subjects connected with Hindu æsthetic—reactions to art in India in ancient times, the rules for making images, the symbolic (*parokṣa*), relievó in painting, and the principles underlying idol-worship from the (esoteric) Hindu point of view. One of the most interesting of his quotations is from the non-specialist and encyclopædic writer Śukrâcārya: “*The characteristics of images are determined by the relation between the adorer and the adored.*” The artistic imagination is ultimately controlled by the innermost feeling of the artist for his theme and for the Whole. There will perhaps be few among us who will quarrel with that thought.

The apotheosis of universals and concepts, and the ascription of unreality, in greater or less degree, to the particular and the material, which will seem to many to be implied in the æsthetic theories of the Hindus and of Eckhart, will not command universal assent. But the Western reader of the book will probably feel the gulf between Eastern and modern European art to be less than might be gathered from Dr. Coomaraswamy's expressions. The Indian or Chinese iconographer based his work, after all, on material forms, although he modified them as his ideas and feelings bade him. In modern European art, on the other hand, the conceptual element has surely played a very considerable part; and we should like to hear from our artists whether there has been nothing corresponding in any degree to Yoga in the processes leading to the formation of their conceptions. It must be conceded, however, that the East has differed greatly from us in proportions and emphasis, holding to traditional idealized forms with the happiest results, while we have, until recent years, kept close to the actual, sensing danger in dividing for long the conceptual from the material. We are moved by two separate impulses: to make art the mirror of all things and of all emotions, and to make it the expression of our deepest being; and we are not sure whether the two aims are not eventually one. The idea of the incarnation of spirit in matter has been as familiar to us, for reasons of religion, as it was to the Vaishnava and Zen artists, and has long been one among the various underlying motives of our art.

The special differences between Asiatic art and Western representational art may perhaps be considered to emerge somewhat as follows. While our art derived energy from a close touch with diverse actuality,

Eastern art was vitalized by a stronger sense of Unity. While both these forms of art have aimed at conveying ideas in large measure, in the East there has been a special preoccupation with the conveyance of *religious* ideas—a motive perhaps traceable back to a time when art still formed a part of primitive magic, but afterwards developed as a branch of Vedantic philosophic idealism. This motive favoured, by its nature, a methodology of generalization and modification of natural forms, which was carried over, together with a certain depth and intensity of vision, into the purely secular manifestations of Oriental art. Symbolism and association of ideas play in it a more prominent part than in Western art. Mental images being most readily retained in linear form, the Eastern artist, whose aim is rather to convey ideas through mental imagery than to interpret natural beauty, has a special interest in line. His interest in colour, pattern, light, mass, and so on, is, as a rule, quite subsidiary. Finally, he seized long ago the advantages of abstraction in artistic method. Abstraction is natural to primitive art. The East has followed faithfully the primitive tradition, and has always repelled the invasions of representationalism—which is not to say that representationalism has not its own strength and its own value.

Dr. Coomaraswamy is to be congratulated on a work of high achievement, in which not only immense knowledge but a most sensitive discrimination and understanding have been placed at the reader's service. He is, however, a somewhat difficult writer to read; and it is partly for this reason that it has seemed worth while to summarize his conclusions at some length, however imperfectly. They throw fresh and welcome light on the artistic genius of Asia, and the ideas of Eastern, or at least of Indian, artists no longer have to be matter only of inference from works of art.

A. F. KINDERSLEY.

The Vision of Asia : An Interpretation of Chinese Art and Culture
By L. Cranmer-Byng, Editor of "The Wisdom of the East Series." 8½" x 6".
Pp. xi + 306. Frontispiece. London: John Murray. First cheap edition with coloured frontispiece. 7s. 6d.

A most impossible book to review adequately. How synthesize the flaming thoughts which flash from its pages? The main thesis, the reason for its being, is to stress the importance of international comprehension—that comprehension which is, as yet, so limited. One pitiful aspect of the case, and this Captain Cranmer-Byng does not emphasize, is that our mutual knowledge is so uneven. Whereas even to-day the West often fails to differentiate between things Japanese

and things Chinese, whereas the West is often ill-informed in regard to the art, the literature, the life, and, above all, the thought of these far countries, both the Chinese and the Japanese are well aware of Western strength and Western weakness. Our language, our science, our art, literature, and ethics are taught in Far Eastern schools—the geographical boundaries of Nippon and Cathay are barely mentioned in ours. I know a school within sight of the snowy range which rises to Tibet (Roof of the World), and in that school, yearly, the boys read Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities*, and the fate of Sydney Carson moves them deeply. Is there an Occidental Middle School where the literary masterpieces of China or the Folk Tales of Japan are mentioned? If so I have yet to know it. Even in our higher schools and universities the "Far East" is assigned to definite courses followed by earnest young men or women who think of doctoral theses, who specialize for a diploma in archæology, philology, or what not. In the West a knowledge of the Far East is no part of general, or rounded, education.

Captain Cranmer-Byng, as I say, does not elaborate this point—he has no need to do so. He realizes, as do few, that a comprehension of the world "in round" is essential to modern society, and thereupon pours forth his fine contribution. A glance at the carefully subdivided bibliography reveals the rich orchards where ripe fruits of knowledge, here presented, have been garnered. Quotations from the books listed are numerous; too numerous, perhaps, as they often intrude on, and cut short, illuminating reflections by the author himself. Many of these original passages deserve quotation. I must content myself with calling attention to a few. On page 29 we read:

"This is the beginning of adventure—to become the world we live in, the very spirit of our time, to expand not by conquest of others, but by conquest of the crowd within ourselves, to take like water the lower level and so draw all streams and tributaries to ourselves. For this is the beginning of the Wisdom of the East—by self-expansion to make room within ourself, by humility, by seeking the lower level, to renew from other sources and let the lives of others commingle with our own."

Page 113 is illuminated by the following passage:

"No greater claim for man has ever been made than this—that through spontaneous action from within he is able to collaborate in the increasing purpose of God, acting in harmony with the spontaneity of Nature without him. For Huai-Nan Tzū has been careful to define what is meant by 'inaction.' It is not, as some scholars seem to think, 'doing nothing.' It is rather the doctrine of the right opportunity, of acting on the inevitable hour, of striking the timely note that passes into harmony with others and produces a perfect chord. *'Those who are called inactive are such as do not attempt to force things into premature action.'*"

Who would disagree with the statement on page 183?

"The art of life lies in the artless recognition of the wholeness of life. The moment you begin to talk about 'Art for Art's sake' or 'Art for Religion's sake' you are beginning to separate that which is essential to life from life itself. Consequently it may be presumed that Art has a value of its own apart from all other earthly values."

The Vision of Asia, first published in 1932, now available in this cheap edition, is inscribed to the late L. Adams Beck, and the dedication comprises a passage from her work, *The Story of Oriental Philosophy*. This reads:

“The values of East and West do not clash. They are supplementary and interchangeable; and it will be well for the world when this is fully realized, and there is free circulation of thought. The faith of a nation is her soul. Her literature is her intellect. Nations who do not meet on these grounds cannot understand one another, and understanding is the most vital need of the present day.”

Understanding *is* certainly the vital need to-day, wide understanding, understanding not only by scholars, but by laymen.

Among the names of those who strive to meet this vital need none is brighter than that of L. Cranmer-Byng, Editor of “The Wisdom of the East Series,” and author of this most stimulating book, *The Vision of Asia*.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH
(MRS. H. F. MACNAIR).

The Holy Mountain. By Bhagwan Shri Hamsa.

Translated from the Marathi, this story tells of a holy man's journey to Mount Kailas, and of extraordinary psychic experiences which befell him when he reached there. Bhagwan Shri Hamsa is a Hindu ascetic. Throughout the ages both Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims have endured terrible hardship on this journey to the mighty strongholds of their gods. Great merit attaches itself to him who accomplishes a pilgrimage to Mount Kailas. It is at Mount Kailas and Lake Manas on the far Tibetan slopes of the Himalayas that the three holy rivers—the Ganges, the Indus, and the Brahmaputra—are given birth to carry life to teeming millions in India. A veritable holy of holies is this spiritual cradle of India.

The brilliant introduction by the Irish poet Yeats rather unsettles us for the early chapters of the book—those chapters which deal with the journey in the Indian Himalayas. Many travellers have written of this road before, and there is nothing in his description of this particular experience to suggest that the author is a holy man. Save for an occasional adventure with robbers or tigers it is colourless and uninspired. It is only on reaching Mount Kailas itself that the interest really quickens. Here extraordinary things happen. Rare indeed is description of such spiritual phenomena—still more rare to have it translated into English. After starvation and suffering have cleansed the mind of the holy man, he receives impressions which to the uninitiated would appear to be supernatural. Spirit music and holy voices are made audible to him. He is welcomed into a cave, high up on an ice cliff, where a holy hermit lives. For days they sit together in silence, eating nothing. Later, half starved, he drags his emaciated body over terrible country, exposing himself to the cruel cold, in search of Dattatreya.

For days he sits actually in the ice, half dead from cold and privation. The secret of keeping the body warm when normally it would freeze to death is known only to the very learned in the east. Eventually, when he is on the point of death, the holy Dattatreya himself appears—the great Dattatreya whom only the holiest of mortals dare approach, even in thought—Dattatreya, the patron saint of thousands of ascetics—the great Yogi. The Mantra (sacred words) is given: He is “initiated into the realization of self.”

“I succeeded in subjugating the invulnerable enemies and was steadily riveted to my meditation, and as a consequence lost consciousness of the body

and of the world outside. It is so difficult to say anything further when I had passed beyond these things.

Every moment increased the intensity of my yearning to see my Master, and it was while I was in this state that I thought I heard a voice. I did not leave my meditation. Later on I found that the image which formed the subject of my meditation grew more and more dim. Yet I refused to allow my mind to leave its point of concentration; instead I fixed it there with added determination.

'O my child! O my dear!' I heard these words thrice, but did not open my eyes, for the mental image of my Master was still there between the eyebrows. I wanted to see the Lord Dattatreya in physical form, and naturally it was impossible for me to be satisfied with His voice alone. Moreover, no sight of a physical form was possible until the mental one had disappeared. As I was so keen about the physical sight, I did not leave my meditation, though I heard the call three times.

At last, all of a sudden, the mental form disappeared. Automatically my eyes were opened and I saw, standing before me, the Lord Dattatreya, my Master, in his physical form. At once I prostrated myself on the icy ground like a staff and placed my head on His lotus-feet.

Three days had passed like three moments for me! My Master lifted me up like the Divine Mother and hugged me to His breast and caressed me all over the body. Thereafter He gave me the Mantra (sacred words) and initiated me into the realization of the Self. What a great bliss it was! I cannot describe that joy, as it is beyond any description through words.

'The Master preaches through His silence,
And all the doubts of the disciple are solved.'

The spirit of pilgrimage is nearly dead in Europe. In England an occasional Pilgrim's Way is all that is left to remind us of what our ancestors did. Seldom do we pause to think about it all.

Surely a people who have given up making pilgrimage are the poorer for having done so. Unfortunately the god of speed permits no loitering on our highways. In Asia, too, great are the changes in "Pilgrim's Ways" owing to Western influence.

To-day men are carried on steamships to Mecca, and trains carry the devout to Benares. Peace is fast disappearing from the highroads in India along which the pilgrim used to journey on foot. The Himalayas, however, still defy us, and Mount Kailas has every chance of keeping her secrets holy—undisturbed by the noise of a machine age.

Those who have felt the silence and the magic of great mountains will treat the psychic experiences narrated in *The Holy Mountain* with great respect.

THYRA WEIR.

Men and Gods in Mongolia (Zayagan). By Henning Haslund. 9" x 5½". Pp. xvi + 350. Illustrations. Kegan Paul. 1935. 15s.

In this delightful book the reader is brought very close to the Mongols of Central Asia. The author was clearly less an onlooker than a participant in their life and Princess Nirgitma of Torgut writes in an eloquent Foreword: "There was nothing for me to tell him or explain to him, for he was one of us."

Vivid descriptions of scenes in tents and temples are threaded on a swiftly moving narrative of travel. Haslund was on the frontier of Inner Mongolia when, in January, 1927, "Duke" Larson summoned him to be his assistant camp and caravan manager in Sven Hedin's Central Asiatic Expedition. Placed in charge of one of the three parties that crossed the "Black Gobi," the author appears to have shown both wisdom and courage in solving problems raised by thirsty camels and difficult Chinese caravan men; but his temperament and gifts found more ample scope in studies of the Mongols, to which a wise Chief soon allowed him to devote himself.

When a group of three members of the expedition set out to film the Maidari festival at the monastery Bater Halak Sume, in Inner Mongolia, their success was due to Haslund's interview with the resident *hutuktu*, Yolros Lama. On this and many other occasions the author was aided by the loyal collaboration of the Mongols attached to the expedition, some of whom he had known for years. The venerated Yolros Lama read his fortune by casting vertebræ and said that "*Zayagan* . . . the luck of the road" would attend his progress westwards; these Mongols repeated the prophecy to each tribe they encountered and thus did much to ensure its fulfilment.

In the midst of the desert he finds the doomed Etsin-gol Torguts living "in great and fatal isolation from their kindred"; the sands draw ever closer and the Chinese colonists crowd in from the south. Later he visits the inaccessible Däde Mongols of North-Western Tibet. The accidental shooting of a sacred horse leads to a grave situation from which he only escapes by uttering a shaman's curse on the owner, yet cordial relations with the tribe ensue. Finally he reaches his main objective, the independent Torguts of Khara Shar and their enlightened ruler Seng Chen Gegen. Autumn and winter are spent in the study of music, history, and daily life at Öreget, their impressive new capital, in the library of a secluded monastery and in the tents of his nomad friends.

There emerges a clear and probably accurate picture of the Mongols' views on the Chinese, Kirghiz, and Russians, on law and religion and their own way of life. That way seems to have much to recommend it and the Mongols appear well capable of orderly and progressive self-government. On this account alone many will mourn with the author at Seng Chen Gegen's untimely end.

E. J. L.

The New Iraq: Its Problem of Bedouin Education. By M. F. Jamali. 9¼" × 6¼". Pp. xiv + 160. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University.

Under a somewhat unattractive title, Mr. Muhamad Fadhl Jamali has produced an entrancing little book. For Mr. Jamali does not consider education to be limited to mere schooling, but he employs the word to cover the whole ground of popular progress and development—economic prosperity, health, civic loyalty, religious life, the status of women, and the useful employment of leisure.

In the Arab countries, modern Western culture and customs has, in the brief period of the past twenty years, become suddenly and intimately mixed with the age-old social structure of the desert tribes. As a result, we see a ferment, a confusion of ideas and thought, violent jealousies, and bitter rancours. In a little treatise of 119 pages, Mr. Jamali discusses how, for the tribesmen of his country, a new social order may be cast from the contents of this seething crucible.

In Chapter I., Mr. Jamali summarizes the past history of Iraq and its present

problems, including the struggle between the "Westernizers" and the reactionaries, and the loss of faith of the new generation of town youth in the older religious beliefs. Education, he thinks, must be able to deal with all these problems; it must embrace the whole of life, all ages and both sexes.

But most of these considerations apply at present to the townsman alone. Little or nothing has as yet been done for education amongst the tribes, although the latter constitute a majority of the population. The townsman is getting an ever greater lead, and is every year becoming further and further divorced from the tribesman in mental outlook, religion, knowledge, skill and character. To divide the people into two such different categories cannot make for a peaceful and prosperous future; rather such a process cannot but hold the seeds of future dissension, civil strife or "class" hatred.

In Chapter II., our author presents a masterly summary of the most prominent characteristics of nomad Bedouin society, though it is curious, even significant, to see so enlightened an Iraqi basing his assertions regarding Arab customs on Doughty, Musil, Niebuhr, and other European writers. But Mr. Jamali possesses the invaluable gifts of conciseness and clarity, which enable him to present the essential points of his discourse in a brief, clear, and readable narrative.

In Chapter III., the changes undergone by a nomadic tribe gradually settling down to agriculture are lucidly traced, while in Chapter IV. Mr. Jamali outlines his own proposals for a scheme so to mould the spirit and the outlook of the Iraq tribesman as to cause him to slide smoothly into his place in the Iraqi state, while, at the same time, retaining the essential character and the useful virtues of his social traditions. Every day, alas! the news of fresh tribal dissatisfaction in Iraq serves to underline more and more the true wisdom and long-sightedness of Mr. Jamali's views. But the Westernizing city Iraqi is often too impatient. Instead of helping on his tribal brother, to form, with the city dweller, a harmonious people, he is impatient himself to overtake Europe in a day, and to compel the tribesman to conform, if not by persuasion, then by bombs and bullets.

Such fascinating studies suffice to fill whole volumes. Here we must rest content to recommend all those interested in any way in modern developments in the Arab countries—indeed, anywhere in the East—to read Mr. Jamali's delightful and thoughtful little treatise.

For those unacquainted with Iraq, it is a pity that Mr. Jamali did not add a map at the end of his little volume. There is also some little confusion in the use of the word *bedouin*, which at times is used for nomads, and at times for all tribesmen, even settled fellaheen. The title should perhaps have been "The Problem of Tribal Education."

J. B. G.

The Indian Peasant and His Environment. (THE LINLITHGOW COMMISSION AND AFTER.) By N. Gangulee, C.I.E., Ph.D. Oxford University Press. London: Milford. 10s. 6d.

This is an interesting volume, compiled of extracts from the author's journal and correspondence. It has, therefore, a very live and personal touch. In time it covers a period of some 25 years; in space it ranges all over India from the Punjab in the north to Madras in the south and from Assam in the east to Bombay in the west. It contains the thoughts and opinions of one who, since his student days,

has been deeply conscious of the main problems facing the agricultural population of India.

Dr. Gangulee takes the Linlithgow Commission as his pivot, but he has as much to say of what happened before this Commission was appointed as of what has occurred since. A more correct sub-title would, perhaps, have been—"The Linlithgow Commission, Before and After." For the main problems, to mention only a few, have been the same throughout the period of which he writes—illiteracy, malnutrition, insanitary conditions, inadequate means of communication and chronic indebtedness.

The method in which this book has been compiled naturally makes it difficult strictly to subdivide the subjects dealt with and there is some overlapping. But, taken as a whole, it is a mine of information on rural India which no one interested in its problems should fail to read.

Apart from the facts and statistics which it contains it has many charming pen portraits of village and rural scenes which would give even a stranger to India a vivid impression of the country.

The chapter on the economic life of rural India naturally covers a wide range. The outstanding and universal problem, however, which has been for years a constant and anxious concern of Government and social workers is indebtedness. Indebtedness is no new thing in India: it has existed from time immemorial. Failure of crops, the death of cattle, the expenses of caste and religious ceremonial make the cultivator the ready prey of the moneylender, nor has he the education and foresight to see where his first loan will ultimately land him. Prompt repayment does not suggest itself, nor is it encouraged, and in most cases the debt has been inherited. Thus it increases like a snowball and succeeding generations fall heir to the burden.

The co-operative movement has, for some years, offered the most hopeful line of solution, but there must be a great expansion before the problem of indebtedness can be solved. So far it has hardly touched the fringe of agricultural indebtedness and has not made any appreciable impression on the rural population. And, as Sir Stanley Reed remarks in his Foreword, "the problem is not so much the provision of credit facilities as the development of the capacity wisely to use credit." The investing public have faith in the movement; their faith must be justified by the development of more businesslike instincts amongst those for whom credit facilities are provided.

In a letter to a British statesman in 1931 Dr. Gangulee writes: "But the poverty and indebtedness of the tillers of the soil are not peculiar to India; they exist elsewhere. What has become serious in India is the vicious circle in which the bulk of her peasantry are born, live and die. So long as they remain in this depressing state it is difficult to arrest the progressive decadence of rural life. . . . You will, however, understand that the growth of indebtedness does not necessarily mean increased poverty. I should like to see the loads of ancestral debt taken off the ryot's shoulders, and I would like to put some effective restraint upon the Mahajan and his system of moneylending, since he cannot as yet be replaced by co-operative credit. What are those restrictions going to be and how efficiently can they be enforced are the questions to which the Central and Provincial Governments must now engage their close attention. And under the conditions obtaining in India the Central Government cannot absolve themselves of taking initiative in this matter." A nice little problem for the Government of India, under the new Constitution, to tackle!

The chapter on social life, education and health covers a large range of subjects. There is a pleasing account of a country fair, where, as everywhere else,

the country folk forget all their troubles and anxieties and enjoy themselves in that natural simple way in which the rustic all over the world does. It is suggested that a more serious bias might be given to these fairs by arranging a series of lectures on rural subjects illustrated by a magic lantern. Much progress has been made in this direction in recent years. It is understood that the agricultural and public health departments do make use of these fairs for propaganda of this kind. While on tour with probationers for the Indian Civil Service in Gloucestershire last June we saw a cheap cine-kodak which is being utilized for agricultural demonstration in villages. Something of this kind would do well in India.

The greater part of the chapter, however, is concerned with education and public health, but no particularly practical solutions of the problems, beyond the intensification of those at present being applied, are suggested. The forcible re-statement of the present unsatisfactory state of affairs can, however, do no harm. As Dr. Gangulee points out, "the progress in general education in rural areas has been slow and utterly inadequate. Not only do we need more generous provision for general education, but we require a wholly new attitude towards rural education. Where are the driving forces that this country needs for shaking the masses out of inertia and apathy?" And, as regards public health, "the makers of the Indian Constitution must learn that there can be no proper economic development of the country so long as the physical well-being of the population is relegated to the background."

Dr. Gangulee is no politician in the ordinary sense, but is a whole-hearted enthusiast for the cause of the silent masses. Their case is strongly urged in his correspondence with British and Indian politicians and with social workers all over the world. Though not unappreciative of what has been done in the past by Government and private agency he feels that this is not enough and he lays upon the new Government in India the duty of tackling more seriously the problems of the cultivator.

While one must confess to occasional fits of depression in reading this book it is to be remembered that economic changes are occurring rapidly in India. The arrival of motor transport, with the development of communications and the consequent quickening and cheapening of travelling facilities, is bringing the villages into closer touch with urban centres. This may tend to break down the isolation and self-sufficing economy of the village, with its old customs and methods of self-government, but contact with the towns will, undoubtedly, introduce new ideas and the desire for better conditions of living. Local public opinion will, it is hoped, be heard and carry more weight with legislatures. In the rural reconstruction of India not only Government but the people themselves must play their part. In the words of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, "Success on a large scale can be rendered permanent only if the sympathy, interest, and active support of the general public can be enlisted. So vast is the population, and so extensive are the areas concerned, that no resources which could conceivably be commanded by the State would be adequate to the task in hand."

Within the last few years a new and powerful means of propaganda has reached India. An official experiment in broadcasting has been started in the North-West Frontier Province, and a service to fifteen villages was opened in March, 1935. We are told that the local inhabitants are demanding an extension of the system to other villages. "Special attention is given to the needs of women who, even during test transmissions, were observed to crowd on to the roofs of the houses in order to listen. The hour devoted to questions affecting village life is now an eagerly awaited break in the routine of the peasant's life,

although the educational pills require to be well immersed in the jam of entertainment." Large schemes of broadcasting are under contemplation in all the major provinces of India and in many of the native states. If the programmes are carefully balanced to meet the needs of rural and urban areas alike, may it not be that, for the illiterate masses of India, education through the sense of hearing may take the place of education through the sense of sight?

Practically all the subjects discussed in this interesting volume were dealt with by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, of which Dr. Gangulee was a member, and their recommendations are set out in great detail in their Report. For those who desire a complete picture of the life and trials of the Indian cultivator and the possibility of their solution we would recommend a perusal of Dr. Gangulee's book and the abridged Report of the Commission.

J. MACKENNA.

Industrial Organization in India. By P. S. Lokanathan, London School of Economics and Political Science, Studies in Economics and Commerce. Ed. A. Plant, L. Robbins, A. J. Sargent. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. 413. Allen and Unwin. 15s.

The managing agent is a feature of industrial development which, while not absent from other countries, is more prominent in India than elsewhere in the world. The deficiency of capital and of administrative capacity in Indian business circles during the nineteenth century caused the promoters of new enterprises in cotton, jute, coal, and tea, etc., to turn towards the established British firms for finances and guidance, and a number of diverse factories, mines, and plantations were thus placed under the control of a few houses. Indian managing agents subsequently appeared in Bombay and other important towns, devoting themselves rather to the financial than to the technical direction of their clients; and the later developments of the agency system have moved critics in India to argue that Boards of Directors, elected by the shareholders of each company, should exercise the real powers of management, as in England, and that managing agents should be abolished. An abundance of hot air has been emitted from time to time in such discussions.

Dr. Lokanathan, in his thesis for a doctor's degree, now published, analyzes the working of agency in India with impartiality and care. It is clear from his description that the best, including the older British, firms of agents have rendered a valuable service in nursing young Indian industries to maturity and supplying them with trained and competent leadership. The system ought, in his opinion, to be modified and improved rather than destroyed. He proposes (1) the creation of a Board of Supervision, as in Germany, which will take the place of Directors, and will watch, in the interests of the shareholders, the operations of the managing agents, without claiming to assume direct authority; and (2) the formation of an Association of Managing Agents, which will suggest fair terms and methods of management, maintain a high standard of personnel in the agency firms, and check the tendency of the less worthy firms to exact excessive commissions and profits from the controlled companies. These proposals deserve consideration, and the Association of Agents, if brought into existence, should tend to prevent certain evils and injustices in the system. It is, however, not certain that the better agents, European or Indian, will welcome an arrangement whereby they must argue on equal terms with, and possibly be outvoted by, their less enlightened associates. A Board of Supervision, if prescribed in the Companies Act, may prove

superior to a Board of Directors if the managing agents are willing to abstain from controlling it; but they will always have the power to do so through their own votes and those of their friends, at the time when the Board is elected. If the Board of Supervision lacks men of financial and business ability, its recommendations and criticisms may be resented by the agents, who will then proceed to control it as they now control the Directors.

This book is written in readable English and deserves reading. There is, however, considerable repetition of the same arguments in different chapters. It is constructive in its ideas and reasonable in its conclusions, whether a reader agrees with them or not. The relation between German and Japanese banks and industrial companies is explained in a lucid manner which should remove the misconceptions so common in India on this subject.

C. F. S.

On the Hooghly. By M. H. Beattie. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 307. Illustrated by the author. Philip Allan. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Beattie was a well-known pilot on the Hooghly, member of a Service famous for its competence at difficult work, the Bengal Pilot Service. Many in Calcutta remember him as a man of many gifts and interests. When not on the river, he was busy with languages, inspiring Calcutta, European and Indian, to the mastery of Esperanto, painting, ruling in Freemasonry, or out in the rice-fields after snipe or on the jheels after duck. After thirty-five years (1878-1913) service he left, robust in body and mind, the envy of hundreds of wrecks; and this delightful book, twenty-two years after his retirement, shows that the youth and freshness and humour are still there.

It is a book full of fun, and Mr. Beattie's own drawings are a large part of the fun. Good stories there are in abundance, comments on colleagues, captains who went in and out of the port, ships, many other persons and things, all contributing to the one purpose of showing what a pilot's life was like on one of the most dangerous rivers in the world, and what Calcutta meant to the world of trade. One special historic interest attaches to the book. It shows the change over from sail to steam, a change that must have meant a great change in the pilot's life and outlook. Of accidents and disasters there is much in these pages; once a vessel touches the bed of the Hooghly its chance is small unless luck is strongly with it. Here can be read of the terrible story of the *Anglia*, lost at Mud Point in 1892; it capsized as soon as it touched, five men were trapped in the fore-castle; they could not be cut out through the iron plates, and they were drowned as the tide rose. Also the story of the Pilot Service's own greatest disaster, when their brig *Coleroon* was lost in the big cyclone of 1891 with all on board, a full crew, and Puttock, Keddie, Broadhead, Adly, and Mullens (doctor) of the Pilot Service. What happened no one knows; there was no news, nothing but a bit of wreckage found two days later. Beattie was the last pilot transferred from the *Coleroon*, as the storm was blowing up, to another brig to make up its complement of pilots.

This is an attractive book, not to be overlooked by those who know Calcutta and those who sail the Indian seas. Calcutta's greatness as a port has not been easily built up. The Hooghly is not to be trifled with, and the Service that has faced it for so long with skill, courage and good humour (the Hooghly Pilot Service, now the Bengal Pilot Service, is the oldest of Indian Services) deserves

a tribute. This is a good tribute from one who was one of its best-known members and is proud to have worn its uniform.

W. C. W.

The Social Economy of the Himalayans. Based on a Survey in the Kumaon Himalayas. By S. D. Pant, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 264. George Allen and Unwin. 1935. 15s.

A very industrious study of the life and environment of the hillman of the Kumaon Himalayas.

Originating from a thesis presented by the author for a university degree, this expanded work bears evidence not only of intimate personal knowledge of the country, but of a deep sympathy and admiration for the inhabitants.

Touching on the physical features of these Southern Himalayan slopes, and the influence of environment on pursuits and character, the author describes in great detail the system of agriculture, from the clearing of virgin forest or stony hillside, through the stages of ploughing, manuring, sowing and harvesting to marketing, the various other industries, nomadic habits, customs, and pastimes of the people.

Some of the photographs have not been too clearly reproduced, but the sketch maps are excellent.

Acquainted with the virtues of hillmen of other Himalayan regions, one must feel that the author has been a little over-enthusiastic about his too admirable Bhotiyas, but the book is nevertheless a careful and most informative chronicle of the day-to-day life of the villagers, and is a valuable addition to the bibliography of a very interesting region.

History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest. By A. T. Olmstead. Pp. xxxiii + 664. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1931.

This massive book contains more than the simple title would cause one to believe. It covers a very wide range. In the first place, Palestine is described from a geographic point of view. The author must have been travelling in the country and studying it in its minutest details. The descriptions are vivid and graphic, and form a constructive background to the various developments that have taken place in the Holy Land. The author starts, one might say, from the creation. He describes the various periods through which the land had passed from the geological point of view. This is followed by careful examination of the palæontology with all the remains of the fossil fauna and flora found in the country. He then proceeds to the Stone Age and the primitive men dwelling therein. From this he goes on to the archæological finds which are destined to throw a new light on the ancient civilization of the nations inhabiting Palestine before the assumed Hebrew period. It is here especially where the author shows his wide reading and his great power of combination. It is his merit to have been the first to discover the Semitic origin of the alphabet in the Sinai peninsula, and then to follow up its spread to Phœnicia and the other nations which are using this Semitic alphabet and thence the spread round the world. The author has collected from every source all the inscriptions connected with the history and the ancient civilization in Palestine. There is scarcely a scholar or a museum whence he has not tried to obtain photographs.

Soon the Arab nomads come within the purview. And, above all, great

prominence is given to the Egyptian expansion in the north and the profound influence which Egyptian civilization and cult have exercised upon all the nations dwelling within the four corners of Palestine. These are succeeding one another rapidly, among them the Hittites, then the Habiri, who are somewhat erroneously identified more narrowly with the Hebrews. A more wide interpretation has now been given to the term. And then we enter into the period when Joshua occupies the land. The history of Palestine begins to be more closely that of Judah and Israel, but the author does not limit his story only to Judah and Israel; again and again Egypt is brought in within the compass of the investigation, and when the time has arrived Assyria and Babylon play their part. But also the history of Phœnicia and of the neighbouring countries like Moab, Ammon, Eden, and to a large extent the Philistines, are discussed as fully as the inscriptions and documents could be brought to bear on this subject. In the history of Judah and Israel the author displays the keenest imagination in the combination of facts, and the manner in which he is using the Bible in order to elucidate the various historical events is very ingenious. The author not only accepts the theories of the higher criticism, but he applies them in a way of his own in a manner which is not free from arbitrariness. Thus he quotes passages from the Bible as if they were describing contemporary events—although they are found in the Bible referring to remote periods and in a different connection. The author evidently ignores the theory of the higher critics of two or three coherent documents which were afterwards welded together for the composition of the Hexateuch; he takes the passages indiscriminately from the text and applies them as if they were mere fragments scattered throughout the pages of the Bible. These he endeavours to piece together wherever an historical event seems to justify his action.

The author avers in his introduction that the book has been written for the simple reader and not for the scholar. He evidently takes a high estimate of the mental capacity of the average reader. It requires thorough preparation to follow him through the 664 pages packed full with texts, references, ingenious combinations and with most vivid and beautiful descriptions of the geography of Palestine and of every locality, every ruin, and every palace that has been found there. The 187 illustrations which the author carefully comments deserve the highest commendation. Eighteen maps and plans, all admirably executed, have been added which illustrate various periods of the historical evolution through which Palestine has passed. The story is carried on to the coming of Alexander or, as the author calls it, the "Coming Judaism."

Whether, as the author expects, the Holy Book will now become still more holy through his treatment is more than doubtful.

M. GASTER.

Ottoman Statecraft. By W. L. Wright, Jr. Medium 8vo. Pp. xv + 172 + (Turkish text and index) 135 + 5. Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1935. 16s.

There is no drearier or less inviting tract of human history than that presented by the Ottoman Empire between the death of Solyman the Magnificent and the accession of Selim III. Almost the only high light in the period is the work of the Kiuprili Vazirs: the rest, darkness, stagnation, and decay. For this state of affairs the prime cause is the failure of Muhammadan law to lay down any workable rule of succession to principalities: the Ottoman Sultans were led thereby to kill off the ablest members of their family and to keep such as they did not kill in a

state of degrading captivity which made them unfit to rule when their turn came. Where everything depends upon the personality of the monarch this was fatal. A series of imbeciles was taken out of an asylum and endowed with power which even a modern dictator might envy.

It says much for Professor Wright's scholarship and research that he has succeeded in extracting interest even from this forbidding field. As he rightly points out, the real problem is the amazing vitality of the Ottoman Empire: in spite of all its obvious weaknesses, the longest lived, perhaps, of all Oriental dynasties. Why did it not crumble away altogether? How was it able to show the power of recovery which it put forth in the nineteenth century? It is the fashion in some quarters to represent the Turk as merely an uncouth fighting man, devoid of all the finer qualities of government. This view will not stand examination. Through the darkest period of Turkish history there must always have been a great body of administrative officials and judges who took pride in doing their work well; and, though they could hardly have lived through such times without taking bribes, or, to speak more accurately, gratifications of which modern sentiment would not approve, remembered (like Rudyard Kipling's Tudor shipwrights in similar conditions) that "there's reason in all things made." One such forgotten hero, Sari Mehmed Pasha, is rescued from oblivion in this book, an edition with translation, introduction, and notes of his work *Counsels for Vazirs and Governors*.

Of the linguistic scholarship of the book the present reviewer does not feel competent to speak. But one passage which he had the occasion to check with the assistance of Turkish scholars was beautifully accurate where the slightest inaccuracy of language would have conveyed an erroneous impression; and the whole work appears to have been carried out with great care. The turn-out also reflects much credit on the Princeton University Press.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the endowment to which we owe this book is confined to the study of the "decay, degeneracy, extinction and destruction" of nations. There is so much of Islamic legal and constitutional literature which cannot be brought within those four depressing words, and which still awaits the care of Western scholars and translators of Professor Wright's calibre.

S. V. FITZGERALD.

A History of the Levant Company. By Alfred C. Wood, B.Litt., M.A., D.Ph. Pp. xviii + 252. Indexed. Oxford University Press. 1935. 12s.

A good and learned book, to which is prefixed a bibliography of no less than ten pages, the contents of which are specifically referred to in the footnotes to the text as evidentiary of the facts put forward by the author.

We are introduced, in the first few pages, to the individual essays at commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean which preceded the formation of the Levant Company.

The first expedition which is recorded is that fitted out by Robert Sturmy from Bristol, in the *Cog Anne* in the year 1446, carrying pilgrims, wool, tin, etc., to Joppa; so far as is known the *Cog* reached Joppa, but unfortunately was wrecked on the coast of Greece upon the homeward voyage.

Eleven years afterwards, however, Sturmy fitted out the good ship *Katherine Sturmy*, and, having laden her with lead, tin, wool, and cloth, himself put to sea and steered for the Levant, hoping to bring back pepper and spices.

This venture was equally disastrous; it provoked the jealous Genoese to waylay him on his return; and the brave Robert Sturmy was never heard of more.

Events moved rapidly after Sturmy's time: 1453 marked the fall of Constantinople to the Turks; in 1497 Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape; and in 1571 the Spanish and Venetians, and their allies, overcame the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto.

Indirectly, owing to the trend of world affairs, and particularly owing to William Harborne's exertions and Queen Elizabeth's personal interest, in 1581 a patent was granted to certain Englishmen, merchants concerned in the Eastern trade, and they became the Levant Company.

This after many struggles with the Dutch, French, and Venetians, in consequence of the influence exerted by Harborne, who had been appointed Ambassador at Constantinople in 1582, was confirmed or renewed in 1592 in the Ambassadorship of Edward Barton.

A further Charter in 1600 and a new one in 1605 "for ever" endured in substance until the Company was dissolved, after 244 years of existence, in 1825.

Troubles were not wanting to the Company: it had to contend with the French, Dutch, and Spanish; the Mediterranean was full of pirates, described by our author as "the richest collection of rascality ever assembled in so small a compass." The Company's ships, which were chiefly hired, were small—some 250 to 600 tons, manned by 25 to 100 men—and easily fell a prey to these scourges of the sea, who rifled their cargoes and imprisoned their crews with impunity, until a convoy system was adopted. Presents to the Turkish officials were insisted upon, and bribes and backsheesh were the almost inseparable accompaniments of trading operations.

It was also difficult in the extreme for the Company to keep their own agents and factors contented and at peace, and to secure among them loyalty, discipline, and honest dealing. When it is remembered that a voyage from the Downs to Scanderoon occupied forty-two days and an answer to a letter was not received for four or five months, the difficulty which the heads of the Company in London experienced in controlling their subordinates in the Levant may be readily appreciated. Add to the foregoing the inevitable confusion which was frequently produced by the ravages of the plague amongst the staff stationed in the Company's factories. Notwithstanding all these and other obstacles, however, and the poorness of pay of the Company's servants, we find that many of them did return to England with well-lined purses, as, for example, Paul Pindar, Ambassador at Constantinople and afterwards knighted, 1611 to 1620, who in 1632 presented £19,000 towards the repair of St. Paul's. The Ambassadors at Constantinople seem to have been men of average ability, but one of them, Edward Wortley Montagu, may be noticed as the husband of the lady who brought back to England the practice of inoculation against the smallpox, and whose letters are well known.

During the seventeenth century the Company struggled on in the face of various difficulties and discouragements, including the war with France in 1689 and the interference with commerce which it involved; competition with the East India Company; the Battle of Beachy Head, which had the effect of depriving the Company's fleets of convoys.

There followed various internal disputes in the Company itself; and trade was much upset and embarrassed by the breaking out of the French Revolution; on the other hand, the Battle of the Nile, which placed Nelson in command of the Mediterranean, materially mitigated the nuisance occasioned by the pirates and the privateers. Before closing this review two matters much to the credit of the Company should be mentioned: First is to be attributed to the Company the foundation of the Lancashire industry in cotton cloths made from cotton-wool imported from the Levant; and, secondly, the introduction of coffee in the reign

of James I., a drink which speedily became popular in the seventeenth century. Credit was also due to the Company for the liberation of thousands of Englishmen who had been captured and held as slaves by the Barbary pirates and the Turks.

It was, however, apparent at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the organization of the Company was too exclusive and too much savouring of monopoly to find much sympathy with more modern ideas, as was also felt by the members of the Company themselves, and in consequence a Deed of Surrender of their privileges was finally signed in 1825.

Our author, after a very interesting chapter on life in the Levant factories, takes leave of the subject of his study in the well-deserved panegyric: "Unimportant in their individual lives, collectively they bequeathed a legacy of intrepidity, courage, and endurance which entitles them to an honoured rank among the pioneers of English trade and Empire."

S. V. P. W.
W. C. S.

Persia Antica e Moderna. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente. Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente. 12 lire.

The Istituto per l'Oriente is an active body, and no doubt its activities reflect Italy's eastward quest, which tends uneasily now towards Anatolia, now towards the Yemen, now, most unfortunately of all, towards Ethiopia. The volume under review contains four lectures delivered in Rome during January and February, 1935, on the occasion of the millenary of Firdausi. Three, at any rate, of them amount to a good deal more than another Italian bow towards the East, and they are worthy of the countrymen of Pizzi (here obviously to be named first) and Catani. Nor would one deny a measure of special appropriateness in a gesture by the descendants of the Romans towards the heirs of the phœnix empires of the King of Kings, for the two peoples have achieved imperial experiences not incomparable, and in one phase of history Byzantium, sprung from Rome, found an Oriental destiny and was linked to Sassanian Persia not only by the tie of implacable hostility, but also (it begins to appear) by many a tie of culture.

The first lecture by Signor A. Pagliaro is entitled "Iranian Civilization before Islam." Signor Pagliaro deals both with the Achæmenid and with the Arsacid and Sassanian Empires, the first-named at the greatest length. His treatment is admirable: adhering strictly to discussion of the *civilization* of ancient Persia, he does not summarize political history, but expounds the characteristics of a people and a culture. Perhaps too attentive to the theme of an "Aryan" people standing between the Greek and Vedic cultures, perhaps inclined to hazardous assertions (e.g., on the information he gives, one cannot really feel there was any kinship between Zoroastrian and Platonic thought), he gives a deeply interesting impression of a civilization powerful in intellect as well as in action, and in which one feels that speculation and activity were interfused much as they are in the Western outlook.

Signor M. A. Guidi next discusses "The Iranian Contribution to Musulman Civilization." It is inevitable that he should be inconclusive: in the period of the Caliphs, who shall say what is un-Arab, and of what may be un-Arab, who can say what is Persian? Probably it is a *question mal posée*. It hardly seems that Islamic civilization of that period can be analyzed into the elements which it had fused, whatever traces of old beliefs or divisions of new sects appear. Signor F. Gabrieli gives a "Glance at Persian Literature," describing with knowledge and

perceptiveness the characteristics of the principal writers. This lecture is very well done. English readers may note the restrained estimate of Sa'di and the treatment of the problem of Omar Khayyám, while the space given to tracing the development of the Epic-Romantic current corrects, appropriately to the occasion, the impression which Europeans often have of the predominantly esoteric and mystical character of Persian poetry. Signor Gabrieli also points out, as did Browne, the importance, as part of Persian literature, of Arabic writings by Persian authors, and this, as against Signor Guidi's attempt to trace Persian influences in the still unified Islamic civilization, is a point of view which becomes significant once the Persian and Arabic spheres of that civilization fall apart after the Mongol invasions.

This last reflection suggests what one may feel to be chiefly lacking in this volume, regarded as a tribute to Persian achievement. Persia from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries was the source of civilization to the whole region from Thrace to Bengal and from the Oxus to the Euphrates, and one could have wished for fuller treatment of her influence on the Ottoman Turks and the Muhammadan dynasties of India. The omission is quite possibly deliberate. Nowadays those who were once politically or culturally supreme in vast social organisms wholly different from but no less valuable than those typical of the modern West, prefer to shrink themselves into a disguise of European political and cultural forms which may indeed offer them some material protection, but no spiritual sustenance. This being our estimate of the value of current tendencies in Turkey and Persia, we offer no comment on the fourth of these lectures in which Signor Ettore Rossi describes "The New Persia of Riza Shah Pehlevi": readers of this journal will have no difficulty in guessing its tone and contents.

Persia: Romance and Reality. By Mrs. O. A. Merritt-Hawkes. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 6".

Pp. xv + 324. Eight photographs. Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 18s.

I took this book with me to Pen-y-Gwryd in the middle of a July heat-wave. It is a very long book for a traveller's narrative, and it adds a lot to the weight of a suitcase, but it can be recommended without reserve for a similar occasion in similar surroundings. The Snowdon country is reminiscent of the Iranian plateau, though the comparison makes one thank God for England—which includes Wales.

Mrs. Merritt-Hawkes gives us a very vivid and personal account of her visit to Iran from March to October, 1933. We have an irresistible impression of a robust and sprightly matron, armed with a fly-flap and a cake of carbolic soap, touring Britannically and inexhaustibly through a land of magic skies, pastoral patriarchs, amorous poets, and cotton-mills newly imported from Oldham. She has a merciless flair, almost a censorious relish, for dirt and smells, but when she lays bare the evils of early marriage, excessive child-bearing, and infant mortality, one hopes that those concerned who read her book may thank her for her frank and sober exposure of the facts. Those facts, as she fully explains, are recognized and deplored by the more enlightened Iranians, who understand that the education of public opinion in such matters may be a more urgent need than industrial development, and a more profitable line of progress than ambitious railway construction.

She has much to say against the veiling of women, while faithfully reporting the arguments in favour of it. Progress in this respect has been rapid since her visit, and will continue as rapidly as provincial conservatism permits.

On religious and philosophical ideas she records engrossing debates and discussions with men of all ages, classes, and professions, and regrets, as the men did, that such subjects are beyond the undeveloped intellects of the women. She finds many signs that the Islamic dogma is losing its hold on the people, and concludes a most interesting chapter with a reflection which applies to some other countries also. "Perhaps it is true that at the moment the living religion of Persians is education, but that is not going to take them far if they think the latest type of desk is a liberal education, that to buy a book and learn it by heart is equivalent to understanding, that an hotel band is European music; if, in fact, they, with their bright, apprehending minds, seize the externals, and, unheeding, pass the essentials." Elsewhere she writes: "I always enjoyed my visits because the Persians had such a keen sense of humour, and smile responded to smile in a way so intensely human that it went deep below the surface to a place where we all belonged together in our needs and our desires. I do not know that with any other nation I have more acutely felt that primitive oneness. And yet on the surface the unlikenesses were so many and sometimes so annoying, to them, I am sure, as well as to me."

On pages 174 to 194 is an intimate and intensely interesting picture of village life in the Kerman district—valuable in that only a woman traveller of her experience, broad-mindedness, and responsive sympathy could have produced it. Another fascinating picture, though less unusual, is given in the account of her visit to the camp of a well-known Bakhtiari chieftain. On the important question of the future of the migratory tribes she writes: "The nomads belong to the older life of Persia and must go, to some extent, as the new nationalism, with its ideals for industrialism, education, and health, makes its way from the cities to the mountains. There are four million nomads, a third of the nation, so that the contemplated changes can only come gradually if they are to be a success. The tribespeople certainly do not produce as much as they might, for a great deal of time and energy is spent in merely moving about, and their more important animals, sheep and goats, are often only second grade. . . ." It may be doubted, however, whether, under the extremes of winter in the mountains and summer on the plains, an equally numerous or more productive population could be maintained by settled villagers.

Mrs. Merritt-Hawkes has amply justified her time spent in Iran and the generous hospitality extended to her there, which is more than can be said for the great majority of travellers in that hospitable country. Her book is full of good things, and is undoubtedly the best account of life and manners in Iran that has been written for very many years. Readers acquainted with the country need not have their confidence in her judgment or her powers of observation disturbed by certain misstatements of fact that occur in her narrative, nor need those who are familiar with the Iranian tongue cavil at the extraordinary errors in the writing down of Iranian place-names and expressions, which are scattered with reckless havoc throughout.

The envoi on page 323 is an effective conclusion.

F. H.

Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology.
Nos. 1 to 8.

The year 1935 marks a definite stage in the study of Persian Art and Archæology, for in September of that year a third International Congress and Exhibition, successor to the London one of 1931, was organized in Russia. The

holding of the congress was due to a great extent to the activities of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology, and it hence seems a fit moment to review briefly the eight numbers of the bulletin of that Institute that have so far appeared.

These numbers, each made up of between thirty and fifty pages of text and illustrations, mostly contain various short articles dealing concisely with new discoveries in the field. The articles are not final publications of material in any sense of the word; they are brief reports, intended to keep the student and amateur informed of all that is being done. As such they are of the greatest use, and other institutes in all fields would do well to follow the example. Final publication is always a lengthy business; a preliminary report, however brief, should be considered as an essential in all archæological work. In this particular field the bulletin provides an excellent place for such reports, and illustrates them with photographs of the first quality. It is perhaps in this respect of illustration that the bulletin's most important side lies. We shall thus have to wait for many years before a fully illustrated corpus of Persian architecture can be produced, but the bulletin in the meantime keeps us well informed of the discoveries which follow at the moment so close upon one another's heels.

The contents of the various parts—the early ones are somewhat eccentrically numbered—can be but briefly summarized here. No. 1 is little more than a prospectus; No. 2 does not seem to exist; with No. 3, which is devoted entirely to an account of excavations at Tureng Tepe, an imported Bronze Age site near Asterabad, the series really begins. No. 4 is rather larger in size, and the whole of it is devoted to the reproduction of an admirable series of copies of sixteenth-century frescoes, one of Persia's delightful, but little known, contributions to art.

The main features of No. 5 are brief reports on the Persepolis and Damghan excavations. The former are well known to us, thanks to the *Illustrated London News*; the latter comprise finds dating from the third millennium before Christ down to the Sasanian period. The photographing and study of a mosque of the ninth century or even earlier was an important bye-product of the latter expedition. A considerable part of No. 6 is given over to a summary of the future programme of the Institute's work; the remainder is devoted to shorter articles, of which the most interesting is that of Mr. Ettinghausen on *Early Shadow Figures*.

Nos. 7 and 8 contain a superb series of architectural photographs, which make one impatient for fuller publication. Both these numbers are larger than earlier ones, and contain very varied material. Most important of the articles are: From No. 7, *Note on the Qal'a-i-Dukhtar at Firuzabad*, by R. Byron, who was persevering and lucky enough to reach this key site; *A Biography of Ghiyath the Weaver*, by Phyllis Ackerman; and *The Coronation Carpet of the King of Denmark*, by Vilhelm Slomann; from No. 8, *A Sasanian Tapestry*, by Phyllis Ackerman; *The Eastward Extension of Sasanian Motives*, by J. Hackin; *The Mosque at Qal'a-i-Bist*, by Arthur Upham Pope; *The Shrine of Khwaja abu Nasr at Balkh*, by R. Byron; and *A Fourteenth-Century Metal Bowl*, by R. Ettinghausen. Large portions of both these numbers are also devoted to a survey of the Institute's photographic activities. In No. 7 Mr. Pope suggests (p. 22) that the stuccoes in the Gumbad i Alaviyyan at Hamadan should be dated to the twelfth rather than to the early fourteenth century—a suggestion which will not meet with general acceptance. The tomb tower at Bostam (Fig. 7), here assigned to the twelfth century, is actually dated by an inscription, Professor Herzfeld informs me, to the time of Uljaitu. In No. 8 important photographs of Burujird, Qumm, and Abarquh are discussed. In No. 7 the Firdausi celebrations are recorded.

The contents are thus varied to suit all tastes and demands, and if they sometimes leave the scholar's appetite unappeased, they can hardly fail to stimulate a more general interest in Persian Art and Archæology. We hope that the bulletin will continue. It is of use and interest to all.

D. T. R.

Hashish. By H. de Monfreid. Translated by H. B. Bell. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. x+284 and viii. Fifteen illustrations and map. Methuen. 10s. 6d.

Miss Buchanan Bell's English translation of Henry de Monfreid's *La Croisière du Hashish* follows the French text almost verbatim and makes excellent reading. On page 239, however, she mistranslates when she talks of "the swift gallop of two racing camels" and "the sounds of the (camels') drumming hoofs died away": camels do not gallop on night patrol, neither do their feet drum.

De Monfreid in all his books is naturally careful not to give too accurate details of the dates and places of his various contraband activities; it is thus difficult to follow the sequence of his various adventures. He has now written several books describing his life in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. Most of the incidents in *La Croisière du Hashish* have also been related in his *Secrets de la Mer Rouge* and in Miss Ida Treat's book, *Pearls, Arms and Hashish*, written in 1929 and giving the history of the first half of de Monfreid's life as dictated to her by himself.

In the book under review he "takes off" from 1915 after his arrest and imprisonment by the French in Djibouti for illegal traffic in arms.

After depositing his wife and daughter at Massawa, he sets off with a fleet of five fishing-boats to try his hand at "toccas," or sea snail, fishing off Suakim and Jeddah: he describes a lonely old Chinaman that he finds similarly employed with a fleet of twenty boats and men diving for "trepangs," a species of sea worm which is sundried and exported to China as an aphrodisiac. This venture ends in failure, he being swindled out of his hard-earned profits by his partners.

He then hears about the big money to be made by smuggling hashish into Egypt, and gives a delightful account of going to Greece, visiting the hashish-growing districts, and eventually, with the help of the village priest, buying and shipping 600 kilos of the drug from Piræus to Marseilles, at neither of which ports (according to him) were there any regulations against the trade.

His plan was to ship the stuff to Marseilles, reship it to Djibouti, and then run it up from Djibouti to Suez in his own "boutre," or sailing dhow.

In those days practically all hashish smuggled into Egypt was of Greek origin, and was landed on the Egyptian coast west of Alexandria or in Tripoli to be run into the Nile Valley by the western desert.

He calculated that by bringing the stuff up from the south precautions would be slacker and that he would be able to avoid suspicion.

After loading his goods at Djibouti on to his boat, the *Fat el Rahman*, he starts to navigate his way up the Indian Ocean, putting in at various lonely islands, where he meets Dankalis fishing for turtles.

His descriptions of hardships bravely faced are fascinating and show him and his faithful crew at their best.

Without stopping at Massawa, he lands one day to collect firewood and runs foul of a patrol of Italian "Askaris" and fights his way free: of this he is to hear more anon.

Running out of drinking water, he lands on the island of Badhour, and

describes the miraculous cisterns of rain water jealously guarded by a family of Arab "trocas" fisherfolk. Working his way up the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea, he puts in at Qosseir, and describes with much amusing detail how he diddled the port authorities and got away with his cargo undiscovered. Forced to come ashore again for water near the mining fields of Gemsah, he meets with a cold reception and blank refusal from some English engineers, and starts to cross to the Arabian side, but has to run for shelter under the lighthouse of Chadwan Island.

Fighting his way up the coast, he sights Suez after thirty-six days at sea, and here his difficulties begin.

Being an amateur in the hashish trade, he has had to make advance arrangements for the sale of his stuff with the Greek wholesalers of Egypt, but, as he nears Suez, he suspects that he is being double-crossed and decides to *câche* his merchandise on the shore somewhere short of Suez and enter the port with his hold empty, to see how the ground lies and to make his bargain.

After various adventures, he lands in Suez and meets his Greek, who asks for twelve kilos of hashish as a sample: he manages to bring the samples in, but nearly gets caught doing so. His next big problem is how to bring the rest of the 600 kilos into Suez: he thinks out an ingenious plan. Not far from Suez he had located a bed of big shell-fish called "bilbils," and in some of them had found a few inferior seed pearls. He stages a day's pearl fishing for the port officials of Suez and their ladies; provides a sumptuous champagne luncheon on board his boat; sails the whole party over the gulf till he is off the shore where his hashish lies buried; he then puts his guests into the dingey and rows them round the corner of a promontory where he starts them fishing for "bilbils." By clever sleight of hand he plants, in one of the first shell-fish found, a true pearl of some value which, with others, he has brought with him for the purpose; tense with excitement, the party go on fishing for an hour and a half, everyone eventually finding a planted pearl; during this time the crew have landed from the sailing-boat out of sight round the promontory, dug up the hashish and stowed it safely on board. The return journey to Suez is most amusingly described: the guests are delighted with their pearls, de Monfreid is delighted with his hashish, and the party enters the port with all the respect and privilege due to them.

De Monfreid then goes to Cairo with Gorgis to arrange the final deal and run in.

His description of being taken out towards Helwan and led up a wadi into the eastern desert is artistically told: he arrives at a "vast sandy circus" where there are Arabs living in dome-shaped huts, thorn trees, grazing, etc., and magnificent camels worth £E.500 apiece: here he meets Omar, the sheikh of all the Arabs, between Cairo and Suez, who is to send his men across to Suez to bring in the hashish.

In the French edition he even gives a photograph of this wonderful oasis, and I should only be a spoil-sport if I said that no such place exists where described and that no Arab of Egypt uses a dome-shaped hut.

In Chapter XXXIII. he describes how he eventually sails out of Suez with the stuff and lands it with the greatest difficulty and risks at the prearranged spot where the camels from Helwan meet him and get away safely with their precious load.

Chapter XL. describes how he first came to hear about "charas," one of the Indian forms of hashish: in a subsequent book he gives a most entertaining story of his visit to India to buy a large quantity of "charas"; the terrific complications

he got into with the French, Italian, Abyssinian, and British authorities, and finishes the story on a note of interrogation, which implies that he had managed to deceive the lot.

Hashish is good reading for those who like adventure and are not too critical about accuracy of facts.

For charm of writing, vividness of description, and fascinating analysis of his characters, it cannot compare with his recent book *Derniers jours de l'Arabie heureuse*.

Should Henry de Monfreid ever revisit Egypt in a similar professional capacity, I can guarantee him that he will find the anti-contraband services much more efficient than they seem to have been in those early days that he describes.

T. W. RUSSELL.

Beckoning Horizon. By the Right Hon. Wedgwood Benn and Margaret Benn. Pp. xiii + 394. Twenty-five illustrations. Three maps. Cassell. 1935.

In this account of an unplanned but not entirely haphazard journey through the United States, Japan, China, Manchuria, and Russia, the Benns have done more than give a mere record of two unhampered travellers, apparently in full agreement with Kim's observation, "A sahib is tied to his luggage." They have the happy faculty of successfully communicating to their grateful readers the zest with which they faced every Beckoning Horizon. "Sights" of the New World, with which we are not here concerned, and of the Far East, they saw and enjoyed to the full. They would not, however, have been true to their reputation as the Benns, one of them a Labour "ex-British Cabinet man," as one Honolulu newspaper described him, if they had not been even more interested in their fellow-human beings, in their conditions of labour, in their religion, in the status of their women, and in the social and political ferments in their countries.

Blessed with a flair for making friends in every class, they seem to have made the most of their opportunities. They had interviews, some of them illuminating, with General Araki, the Chiang Kai-Sheks, Marshal Chang, the Panchen Lama, Emperor P'u Yi of Manchukuo, and other highly-placed personages. The more lasting impressions come, however, from the smaller folk: Oshima the farmer, the servants of the inn at Nikko, the fat young Chinese officer, the fellow-passengers on the Hankow-Peking train and on the Mukden-Hsinking express, the White Nurse at Harbin, and similar chance acquaintances.

In Japan much is found to admire in its scenery, "richly varied, characteristic and unique," deeply affecting the Japanese people. Full consideration and sympathy are given to Japan's economic problems: poor natural resources, a rapidly increasing population and a contracting world-market. It is, however, the regimentation of people and opinion ("The best brains in Japan are in jail," they have no difficulty in believing), the industrialization along the crudest of Western models, the all-pervading militarism, and Japan's bold claim to be the guardian of Eastern Asia, which draw their criticism. Nowhere does their admitted "League-mindedness" come out stronger than in their views on its foreign policy, the Manchurian affair, in particular, being regarded as an abandonment of any real co-operation with the rest of the world.

If the door to an understanding of Japan is through Japanese religions, Shinto provides the key to the door, since it is from Shinto, "the soul of the country, externalized, idealized, and worshipped," that proceed both the virtues and defects of Japan. Indeed, so much is religion an instrument of national policy, so profoundly has it affected the national outlook, that the Benns are ready to believe,

and rightly, that Japan's claim to be the Britain of the East is deprived of all meaning, despite the familiar and often reiterated parallels.

It is "the real China, full of difficulties, lacking unity, terribly poor but yet something that is living, growing and hopeful," rather than Japan which claims the hearts of the Bennis. In their chapters on China, they attempt to present the forces which are making for unity and for social progress: General Chiang-Kai-Shek, whom, they imply, alone knows the answer to the riddle of the present Sino-Japanese conflict, Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek, the New Life Movement of which some excellent sketches are given, national education, the position of women, and the enthusiasm of youth. Above all, as the greatest unifying force, stands Japan, fear of which is felt in North China, Nanking, Mongolia, and in Russia itself. "Chinese Unity will come and Japan will create it."

Concerning their journey through Manchuria and Mongolia, they give short and not unobservant views, but add nothing to general knowledge. Russia, revisited this time through the Asiatic door, is given greater space, to which attention cannot be given here.

If the reader, on finally laying down this thoroughly enjoyable book, does so with a feeling that the attempts to analyze and to present the problems along the Bennis' world itinerary have been immensely interesting, but somewhat unsatisfying by reason of their ambitiousness, the answer lies, perhaps, in a variation of the authors' suggestion that the views of the old China residents possessed undoubted length and depth, but perhaps lacked breadth. The length and breadth of the Bennis' own views are unmistakable. If we miss the depth now and then, we forgive them cheerfully, for, true to their title, they have had no time to tarry. Their eyes were on the Beckoning Horizon.

P. W. IRELAND.

Wild Career: My Crowded Years of Adventure in Russia and the Near East. By William J. Gibson. George G. Harrap.

This book is a chronicle of the hairbreadth escapes and reckless adventures which seem to have been Mr. Gibson's normal routine for the ten years following the outbreak of the Great War. As a despatch-rider in the Russian Army he was concerned in several dare-devil escapades behind the enemy's lines; he narrowly escaped sailing with Lord Kitchener in the *Hampshire*; did some spying for the Russians in Transcaucasia; became an assistant Commissar under the Kerensky régime; took an apparently prominent part (of which details are omitted) in the Bolshevik revolution under Lenin's direct orders; bombed a Bolshevik conference; and was finally arrested by the Cheka and led out with bandaged eyes before a firing party. These are but a few of the author's adventures, of which there is one to almost every page of the book.

There are interesting, if superficial, sketches of the Bolshevik leaders with whom Mr. Gibson came into contact, but for the most part the author confines himself to a recital of his own experiences and does not attempt to deal with the wider historical or ethical issues which those experiences might have suggested. In fact, the author reveals himself as essentially a man of action rather than a theorist, and one fancies that the sedentary task of chronicling his experiences did not come easily to him—an impression which is borne out by the somewhat pedestrian quality of his literary style.

Those who enjoy vicariously the thrills of danger, suspense, secret service,

disguises, physical violence, capture, escape, and all the rest (and which of us does not in some measure?) will endorse the Book Guild's choice of *Wild Career* as the book of the month.

R. S. M. STURGES.

Toward Understanding Japan. By Sidney L. Gulick. Published in New York by The Macmillan Company.

The name of this book is well chosen, for the author sets out to discuss "in popular form" the problems confronting Japan and the reasons for the seemingly aggressive attitude adopted by her during the past few years. He adds little new to the known facts, but, by his presentation of those facts and his interpretation of the actions and motives of Japan and the other Powers interested in the Far East, he does undoubtedly help to explain much which, to the general public, would otherwise be liable to lead to misconstruction and misunderstanding.

Pleasantly free from that sensationalism which, in all too many other recent books on the Far Eastern situation, tends so greatly to becloud the true issues, the author keeps his sense of balance and proportion carefully adjusted throughout, and, while not attempting to minimize the dangerous potentialities, he shows a robust optimism in refusing to believe those who contend that a Japanese-American or Japanese-Soviet war is inevitable sooner or later. Not content with merely refuting this contention, he puts forth a good case in support of his own firm convictions to show why a head-on collision in the Pacific is unlikely and how an armed clash can best be avoided.

In this, of course, he differs from Nathaniel Peffer, who, in his recently published work, *Japan and the Pacific*, tends rather to take the opposite view and talks glibly of "when" war between Japan and the United States or Soviet Russia will come, instead of using the more indefinite "if."

In so far as relations between America and Japan are concerned, Mr. Gulick does well to emphasize that, grievous as is the unnecessary wound to Japanese pride inflicted by the discriminatory Immigration Law of 1924, the immigration question is an irritant rather than a fundamental issue between the two countries, and he quotes with approval the words of Mr. Hirota, in his maiden address to the Japanese Diet after his assumption of the foreign portfolio: "Between Japan and America there exists no question that is intrinsically difficult of solution."

The main cause of friction between the two countries is, of course, the question of the Open Door in China. It is the strongly conflicting views on this that makes a new naval treaty, satisfactory to both, so difficult of attainment. In brief, Japan demands sufficient naval strength to prevent any attempt on the part of America to interfere actively on the Japanese side of the Pacific. The United States, on the other hand, demand a margin of superiority over Japan sufficient to enable the American Navy to take forcible steps, if necessary, to ensure the maintenance of the Open Door principle. Mr. Gulick does well, therefore, to emphasize the folly of America ever going to war with Japan merely in order to enforce the continuance of this principle, as the principle is the outcome, not of altruism, but of trade interests, and the monetary value of those interests to America is barely a third of the monetary value of her trade with Japan—trade which would be irrecoverably lost to her in the event of an American-Japanese war. The value of Sino-American trade is, as he rightly stresses, far too small to warrant a war with Japan over the question of the Open Door, especially when one considers the greater value of American-Japanese trade and the immense cost in lives and money

that such a war would involve—a cost infinitely greater than the value of Chinese and Japanese trade combined.

Logically, then, such a war would obviously be preposterous, though it is well to remember that logic is, unfortunately, all too often conspicuous by its absence when once national sentiment has been aroused. There is, in fact, much truth in the words of Elihu Root—quoted in another connection in this book. “There are,” he says, “no international controversies so serious that they cannot be settled peaceably, if both parties really desire a peaceable settlement; while there are few causes of dispute so trifling that they cannot be made the occasion of war, if either party really desires war. The matters in dispute between nations are nothing; the spirit which deals with them is everything.”

In view of the projected reopening of the naval conversations, there is much in this book that would repay a study of its pages, even though some of the conclusions will not meet with universal approval. It is, for example, by no means as certain as the author appears to think, that, in the event of an American-Japanese clash, Soviet Russia would join hands with the United States. Moscow might find it more to her interest to “sit on the fence” for a bit and fish in the troubled waters than to take an active part in such a struggle between two “capitalist” Powers. His assertion that “Japanese communists advocate war between Japan and Russia, confident that Japan, defeated, would be annexed to the Soviet Empire,” is also open to doubt.

Apart, however, from a few minor mistakes, actual misstatements of fact are hard to find; but, in the event of a new edition being published, it would be well to note (p. 40) that Mr. Yoshizawa, not Count Uchida, succeeded Baron Shidehara as Foreign Minister; Swanson’s statement of naval policy (pp. 50-1 and 224) was made in June, 1933, not 1934; and Mr. Inukai was assassinated in May, 1932, not 1933 (p. 60).

M. D. KENNEDY.

Made in Japan. By Gunther Stein. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ " × 5". Pp. x+206 and 8. Illustrations. Methuen. 7s. 6d.

Here is a volume, modest in size but packed with information. I have seldom read anything on an economic subject so informing and so readable. On every few pages are to be found answers to questions that any student of the Japanese and Far Eastern situations wants. As a lecturer on Far Eastern affairs, I tender my personal thanks to Mr. Stein. His publishers tell us that he is an economist of international repute, a statement which it is easy to believe, but they omit any list of his other works, which I, for one, would like to have.

The book is written in a fair and reasonable way, and is well illustrated with photographs, chiefly of industrial interest. It points out how Japan has gone from success in the export of cotton textiles, to artificial silk (of which she produces considerably more than the United Kingdom) to woollens. In the years 1930-1932 she exported 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ million yen’s worth of woollen cloth; in 1934 this represented her *monthly average* of exports. Her non-textile exports have grown from 37 per cent. of her total exports in 1932 to 46 per cent. in 1934. Her non-textile exports embrace such widely differing markets as tinned foodstuffs, wheat flour, refined sugar, drugs and chemicals, dyes, paints, boots and shoes, buttons and jewellery, pencils, paper, potteries, glassware, iron rails, enamelled ware, clocks, lamps and toys, and motor-cars.

I think perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is the one entitled “Why Japan Succeeds.” The author points to the fact that out of a population of

65 million, 40 million have post office savings accounts, and the money is saved with a view to making a profitable investment by putting it into some small business. Twenty million have insurance policies with the post office and many people put their money into *miyin*. These organizations are sometimes large concerns under State supervision and sometimes small family or friendly affairs. As an example, perhaps twenty individuals will pay 10 yen a month into a co-operative account for two years. There will be an honorary cashier who looks after the account in a bank. The members of the *miyin* meet once a month, a lottery is organized six times a year, a single prize being awarded each time, the prize being a loan of 200 yen free of interest. Six times a year a loan is auctioned off to be redeemed at 200 yen. This, of course, is bid for, and the lowest bid is successful. Though the Japanese spend less per head on food than Europeans in similar circumstances, wheat flour costs nearly twice as much in Japan as in England, and the consumption is increasing rapidly.

While the world stands aghast at Japan's low cost of production of manufactured articles, it must be remembered that over 50 per cent. of the people are engaged in agriculture—people who find it hard to do more than make both ends meet. There is a growing opinion that there should be some relief of taxation for the agricultural classes, and there is no doubt that industry will have to bear a larger share.

Interesting quotations could be made indefinitely from this illuminating volume, and I cannot recommend it too strongly to students of Far Eastern affairs.

H. STC. S.

Die Welt Des Islams.

This Berlin periodical is edited by Professors Dr. G. Kampffmeyer and Dr. G. Jäschke. A notice on the cover mentions the development of Islam taking place to-day as important in world history, and proclaims the purpose of promoting a study of it based on original documents.

The issue of June, 1935, contains two articles by Kampffmeyer on Christian missions in Algeria and on the Arab East.

In the first he criticizes the French advertisement of conversion to the Roman Catholic religion of starving Moslem orphans in Algeria, and suggests that Christian missions should refrain from attacks on the Moslem creed.

In the second he lays stress on the present religious and social revival of Islam and urges sympathetic treatment of this movement, the heart of which is in Cairo. He finds the English attitude towards it very different from the French attitude in N.W. Africa, and he says that in Syria the French are far from realizing their hopes. He notices the missionary quarterly, *The Moslem World*, as entirely failing to grasp the strength of the youth movement in the Arabic-speaking East to-day for the regeneration of Islam, which he himself has described in the chapter he contributed to Professor Gibb's *Whither Islam*.

Under the heading "The Road to Russo-Turkish Friendship" Professor Jäschke gives an account, supported by documentary evidence, of the relations between the Bolsheviks and the Turkish Nationalists led by Mustafa Kemal, during the years immediately after the Great War, when both were outlaws from the civilized world. Both sides hoped for more than they obtained. The Bolsheviks had on September 13, 1919, addressed an appeal to the workers and peasants of Turkey to rise against foreign and native capitalists, and counted on the spread of the "World Revolution" in Turkey. They even contemplated the return of emigrants and a free plebiscite in Turkish Armenia, Kurdistan, Lazistan, Batum, and Eastern

Thrace. Mustafa Kemal handled the situation with consummate skill and secured a much-needed supply of arms and munitions without committing himself, while making it quite clear that Turkey offered no field for Bolshevik theories. The Bolshevik hope of revolutionizing Turkey was soon abandoned.

On the other hand, the pre-war Turkish dream of Pan-Turanian influence in Azerbaijan and Russian territory showed itself to Mustafa Kemal's realistic mind as impracticable. "To bring all the Turks in the world into one State regardless of frontiers is an impossible aim," he said in the course of his famous six-day speech to the Grand National Assembly.* In the negotiation with Germany in August, 1914, Enver had obtained the assurance that Germany would rectify Turkey's eastern frontier so as to bring her into immediate touch with the Moslem elements in Russia.

A clash of interests occurred in 1921 over Batum, but the Moscow treaty signed with Angora on March 16, 1921, put an end to all dispute.

The writer remarks that nevertheless there remain questions which must influence future relations between Russia and Turkey; he mentions the control of the Straits, the Communist propaganda of the Third International, the increasing national feeling of the Turkish population in Russia, and the encouragement of Red Armenia to recover Turkish Armenia.

As an original document, the editors publish the French text of the Bulgar-Turkish frontier agreement of 1915, obtained from the Bulgarian Legation in Berlin. This agreement, signed by Dr. Radoslavoff and Fethi Bey, now Turkish Ambassador in London, on September 6, 1915, brought Bulgaria into the war and was a masterpiece of German diplomacy, opening the road to Constantinople and checkmating our attempt to force the Dardanelles.

Several new books are noticed, of which the most interesting are *Gaspıralı İsmail Bey*, by Seydahmet, a life of the celebrated Pan-Turanian leader, who died in 1914; and *Seventeen Buried Cities and Sadri Maḫsudi Bey*, by Ahmet Zeki Validi; both written in Turkish and published in Stambul.

A. TELFORD WAUGH.

Tempest in Paradise. By Janet Mitchell. (A Novel on the first year of the State Manchukuo.) 7½" × 5". Pp. 317. G. Bles. 7s. 6d.

Miss Mitchell gave an informal address to a small group on July 25 and took as her subject Harbin and surrounding country at the time of the Japanese occupation. Her novel is placed in the same setting and will be appreciated by the historian, for it gives an accurate and vivid description of those stormy days and of the psychology of the different groups and nationalities gathered in that cosmopolitan town. She is specially happy in her pictures of the feckless and charming White Russians, but the methodical, silent, hard-working Chinese peasants and British and other Europeans are clearly drawn. The book is one which few people could have written, for it is an eye-witness's account and makes convincing and excellent reading.

* *Turkey Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow*, p. 220.

RAPPORT SUR LE PÈLERINAGE AU HEDJAZ DE L'ANNÉE DE L'HÉGIRE 1352 (A.D. 1934)

CONSEIL SANITAIRE MARITIME ET QUARANTENAIRE D'ÉGYPTE

THIS is the seventh report of the series prepared in accordance with Article 151 of the International Sanitary Convention of 1926. The pilgrimage with which it deals was medically uneventful, a mild outbreak of influenza being the nearest approach to an epidemic that could be recorded. The figures for the pilgrimage showed an increase of 10,000 over those of the previous year, the total number being estimated at 60,000, while the number that arrived by sea was 22,717, as against 20,000 for 1933. This figure is, however, still less than half that recorded for 1932, and does not suggest a return as yet to the palmy days of 1929 and 1930, when the numbers arriving by sea were 84,000 and 85,000 respectively.

The number of nationalities represented by the pilgrims is astonishing. On forms appended to the report wherein pilgrims are classified nationally, provision is made for no less than thirty-four nationalities, and even then there is an additional column headed "Divers." It is difficult to imagine what an undertaking it must be to shepherd through the quarantine stations these masses of people from China and Nigeria, from Algiers and Malay, with all their variegated baggage. The report does not help us here; its style is severely official, and it is left to the reader to clothe its statistics with life and colour.

The Quarantine Administration with its quarantine stations at Tor and Kamaran is concerned at present only with sea-borne pilgrim traffic, but there are indications that it may soon be necessary for it to cater for other routes and modes of travel. An application was received by the Administration in February, 1934, from the Egyptian Air Society for permission for pilgrims to travel by air to the Hijaz, returning direct to Cairo. This application the Administration was compelled to refuse, as, according to the terms of the Convention, Egyptian pilgrims must undergo three days' quarantine at Tor or at some other approved quarantine station. The report adds that Tor has an excellent landing ground, but one doubts whether this will reconcile aerial pilgrims to the three days' stay there. Another route which will certainly be developed is the cross-desert route from Baghdad to Medina. Although it was not officially opened to pilgrim traffic during the year under review, two buses containing forty Indians (the report calls them "hindous") accomplished the journey. They (it is not clear whether the buses are included) had left Delhi on February 16 and had travelled via Afghanistan, Persia, Basrah, Kuwait, and Riyadh. "Malheureusement," the report adds, for once almost betraying emotion, "ils arrivèrent le lendemain du *Jour de l'Arafat*, manquant ainsi le pèlerinage." (A reference to Najaf in the same paragraph as being on the 'Iraq frontier is not strictly accurate.)

The report gives details of the arrangements made by the Egyptian and other Governments concerned with the shipping companies for the transport of pilgrims, the amount of the fares, the messing charges, etc., but there is no information about the pilgrims' expenses between Jiddah and Mecca and Medina—nor, of course, is such information germane to the subject of the report. One hears, however, that the substitution of motor for camel transport has materially increased the cost of this section of the pilgrimage, though against this may be set the

increased comfort of the pilgrims and the comparative security from robbery and molestation which has been established by the present régime.

The general impression produced by the report is one of extreme thoroughness and efficiency. One is left with a feeling of confidence that not even the most pertinacious microbe could penetrate the barrage of fumigations, de-rattings, inoculations, disinfectings, bacteriological inspections, etc., described in its eighty odd pages. And, be it remembered, this was a clean pilgrimage. If these things are done in the green tree, what must be done in the dry!

CORRESPONDENCE

November 24, 1935.

The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,
77, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, England.

SIR,

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the change of the manners in the 'Iraq by the statistics just published by the Department of Customs and Excise showing the consumption of alcoholic liquors for the three years, 1931 to 1932, 1932 to 1933, 1933 to 1934.

It appears that the average annual consumption of all kinds of alcoholic liquors a head of the population is a little under half a litre, while the consumption of spirits (and liqueurs) is a little over a fifth of a litre. In England and Wales the annual consumption of spirits a head of the population is a little over one litre and a half (year 1927). It will be observed that the consumption of spirits a head of the population in England and Wales is nearly eight times as much as in the 'Iraq, but the consumption in the latter country is, nevertheless, surprisingly high considering that 92 per cent. of the population is Muslim, and considering the poverty of the country.

Whereas beer and wines were largely drunk in the year 1931 to 1932, in the year 1933 to 1934 their place had largely been taken by spirits: there was a decrease in the consumption of the two former in the two years of 384,000 litres, but an increase in the consumption of spirits of 384,000 litres.

I am,
Sir,
Yours, etc.,

NOTES

In Persia the Shah has requested the discontinuance by officials and deputies of the wearing of the "Pehlevi cap" introduced by him five years ago, and the adoption, instead, of the European hat. Large numbers of hats have, in consequence, been purchased at Teheran; but at Meshed there has been a riot, only suppressed by firing, over the question of the hat.

On June 6 a Bill was introduced into the Turkish *Kamutai* for the establishment of the "*Eti Bankası*," or "Hittite Bank," for the advancement of mining, oil, and electrical enterprises, under the supervision of the Minister for National Economy. There is already in existence in Turkey a "Sumerian Bank," financed by the Turkish Government. The names of these two Banks illustrate, according to the *Oriente Moderno*, an idea held by the Turks that the Sumerians and the Hittites, the founders—as they consider them—of human civilization, were their own particular ancestors.

OBITUARY

THE Council deeply regret the deaths of Sir John Thompson on August 8, and of Sir Ernest Rennie on September 27. Sir John was a valued Vice-President of the Society and had served on the Council for some years previously.

The Times, in a long obituary notice on August 9, after recounting his early life in India and his appointment to the Chief Secretaryship of the Punjab in 1916, goes on to say :

“ He gave his chief, Sir Michael O’Dwyer, enthusiastic help in the efforts he made with such striking success to recruit Punjabis for the Indian Army in the Great War.

“ Thompson was on deputation for four months from November, 1918, as a member of the Reforms Committee which worked out details in connection with the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution. He returned to his Chief Secretaryship on the eve of the great wave of sanguinary unrest which swept over the Punjab in the spring of 1919.

“ By his loyalty to his chief, however, Thompson had incurred the displeasure of Mr. Montagu, then Secretary of State, who described him in his ‘Diary’ as a Tory of the old school—‘a very loquacious, square-headed, determined-looking fellow.’ The ‘brilliant intellect’ to which Sir Michael O’Dwyer pays tribute in his autobiography, the passion for accuracy, and the remarkable gifts for presentation alike in the spoken and the written word Thompson possessed would almost certainly have brought him to the headship of one of the larger Indian provinces had he not missed well-deserved promotion during the Montagu régime. There were, indeed, intrigues to induce him to desert the public service.

“ In the summer of 1921 Thompson was placed on special duty in the Foreign and Political Department, and in the following spring Lord Reading made him Political Secretary. The appointment did not please some of the Princes, for prejudices last long; and here again Thompson fell on difficult times, for the minds of many Indian Rulers were much exercised on the application of paramountcy, especially as defined at the close of Lord Reading’s Viceroyalty. Thompson’s acute mind and remarkable memory led him to detect any weakness in ‘cases’ brought up to him.

“ By his selection of Thompson in 1928 to be Chief Commissioner of Delhi Province, Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax) both advanced the status of that office, and gave its third holder an opportunity for happy service of which he made excellent use. His earliest service associations were in and about Delhi, and he never lost the fascination then gained for its wonderful history and traditions. His many duties as Chief Commissioner gave little leisure for the historical researches he wished to make, but he was a warm patron of the arts in the winter capital of the Government of India. His headship of the enclave saw the virtual completion of the building of New Delhi and the occupation of the Viceroy's House as a permanent residence. City extensions, better communications, improved water supply, and the clearance of slums caused by sudden overcrowding were his constant care. In Lady Thompson, elder daughter of the late Dr. R. Y. Tyrrell, formerly Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, he had an invaluable help-mate. No good work for the welfare of the people of the Province, especially for the women and children, lacked her practical friendship; and her social qualities were a great asset. Sir John, who had been made K.C.I.E. in 1926, was created K.C.S.I. at the beginning of 1932. He retired in the following October.

“ On settling in London, Thompson soon became known as a gifted man able to present facts and opinions with cogency and eloquence. He accepted vice-presidentship of the Royal Central Asian Society and membership of the councils of the East India Association and the India Society. In May, 1933, Thompson became chairman of the Union of Britain and India, then formed to support the policy of the National Government in framing a new Constitution for India on the triple basis of Provincial Autonomy, Federation, and a measure of responsibility at the Federal Centre. In pursuit of the work of the Union, of which Lord Goschen was president, he made great sacrifices of time and energy, which may well have contributed to the undermining of his health. He could do nothing by halves, and his carefully prepared platform utterances and wireless talks were made the more attractive by a beautiful voice and faultless diction. No one present at the private Parliamentary dinner to Sir Samuel Hoare, under the chairmanship of Sir Austen Chamberlain, on July 29, to celebrate the passing of the Government of India Bill, will forget Thompson's moving speech, the last he delivered. He was evidently ill, but his words summed up the faith which had inspired his activities in the campaign for the Bill. He said that the members of the Union had tried to interpret their

Indian experience in the light of principles which they regarded as essential to progress. 'If, as we believe, we have faithfully interpreted that experience and rightly conceived those principles, we have repaid something of what we owe to Britain and to India by helping to strengthen their union, and to give it a lasting foundation.' "

The Society has suffered a great loss by the death of Captain G. Meynell, killed in the Mohmand country on September 29.