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THE POSITION IN THE FAR EAST, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO JAPAN*

By THE RT. HON. SIR FRANCIS LINDLEY,
G.C.M.G., C.B., C.B.E.

THE Chairman has very kindly introduced me to you; and when he mentioned the word "observer" it reminded me of the last time I went to the Foreign Office before I set out for Japan. I asked the official in charge of the Far Eastern Section what particular things he wished me to do. He said: "We should like you to be more of an observer." About two months after I got there, the Manchurian incident broke out and I must confess I had plenty to observe. It is really necessary, in order to understand the position of the Far East, to glance very shortly at the history of Japan. You probably know as much about it as I do, and how necessary it is to bear in mind the extraordinarily quick and successful rise of Japan from the position of a State with a polity and way of living which were about the same as our own in the fourteenth century to a completely modern nation. That change was forced upon her by the pressure of outside countries. She realized in the 'sixties that unless she took on the trappings and equipment of the West she would have great difficulty in maintaining her own independence and even her own existence. That change in the way of life in Japan was followed by the war against China. Some of you will remember the Chinese War of '95. I remember it because I thought the Chinese were certain to win. I knew

* Lecture to the Royal Central Asian Society at Burlington House on October 9, 1935, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart, P.C., G.C.M.G., M.V.O., presiding.

The Chairman introduced the lecturer as one of our most distinguished Ambassadors. He had had a long career in the diplomatic service, and, besides going to the conventional posts he was from 1918 to 1919 High Commissioner at Archangel when there existed a Provisional Government of Northern Russia. That was an experience such as fell to the lot of few diplomats. After that he held other posts and became Ambassador at Portugal, finishing up as Ambassador to Japan. Sir Francis had always been what he would call a friendly observer. If a diplomat went to a post with a prejudice against the country to which he was accredited or too much in sympathy with it, he was not much use to his own Government. A friendly observer saw the difficulties of the country and was able to report to his own Government without losing his sense of proportion. What Sir Francis had to tell them would therefore be all the more valuable.

nothing about it except that the Chinese were larger than the Japanese and there were more of them; and I took it for granted that the Japanese would be beaten. As a matter of fact the Chinese never had the slightest chance. That resulted in Korea passing from the suzerainty of the Chinese to a state of independence in which Japan had a great deal of influence. The Chinese war was followed by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance based on a community of interest in the Far East; and this in its turn was followed by the Russian War.

I should like to call your attention to the Russian War, because I think people forget now the risk the Japanese ran in that war and the degree of energy and determination required to launch the Japanese against the Russians. At that time Russia was considered one of the most powerful countries in the world. No Asiatic country had emerged successfully in war with a European or white race for a good many centuries, and Japan was staking her whole existence to enter into war with Russia. Nevertheless, she felt that, unless she took up the challenge thrown down by Russia, she would have to relapse, if not into subservience, at any rate into a second-rate position. A great many people in Japan at the time had heart-searchings and doubted if the country was strong enough. As you know, the Russians were beaten in the war, partly, if not mainly, owing to internal troubles; and the Japanese had the good sense to make a peace which was eminently moderate. They dropped all ideas of indemnities and were satisfied with half the island of Sakhalin and the Russian Treaty rights and railways in South Manchuria.

I sometimes think our own statesmen after the Great War might have taken a leaf from the Japanese book. The peace was eminently unpopular in Japan; and Count Komura, when he came back from Portsmouth (U.S.A.), had the pleasure of being dug in the ribs by a patriot, and several other attempts were made on his life. He had, however, the courage to conclude a peace in the interest of his own country which was not in accordance with the expectations aroused by the victory. That peace was followed by a period of quiet. The Japanese consolidated their position, put the South Manchurian Railway on a business-like basis, developed the Port of Dalny, changing its name to Dairen, and gave no anxiety to any of the Western powers or anyone else.

That period of quiet development continued until the Great War; and I would remind those who have lost their sympathy with Japan, or perhaps never had any, on account of the Manchurian business, that the

Japanese immediately honoured their signature in the Great War and were of the greatest assistance both in the Pacific and the Mediterranean. They refused—very wisely, I think—to send troops to the Russian Front as they were pressed to do, because they realized that a Japanese army in the heart of Russia, far from its own country and amidst a people whose ways they did not understand and who did not understand them, would be very likely to be a source rather of embarrassment than of strength. In the naval field the Japanese were of the greatest assistance to the Allies.

The war, which produced in our own country especially, and in some others, a tremendous revulsion against war in general and the Great War in particular, could not logically have the same effect on Japan. Some people at the time of the Manchurian question were surprised that Japan was not imbued with what is called here the post-war spirit, and I always feel that it was insufficiently realized that there was no particular reason why Japan should be so imbued. The post-war spirit was the product of boundless sacrifice and terrific suffering for four and a half years, followed by a peace which necessarily could bring no advantage to the victors except the enormous negative one of not having been beaten. For Japan the war had none of these disadvantages. There was no loss of life to speak of, and in the commercial field there was a vast accession of strength and prosperity. The war cut off all the Eastern markets from Europe for four and a half years. Japan had a monopoly, of which she was not able at the time to take full advantage, of practically all the markets east of the Suez Canal, and it was during the war that modern industrial Japan was founded. Without the war she would not have had a chance to establish her industry anything like so quickly or solidly as she did. Therefore, there was not the slightest reason why Japan should be imbued with any post-war spirit, and, as a matter of fact, I have not been able to find any sign that she was.

The war was followed by the next real turning point in the story of Japan—the dropping of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Washington Treaty, which fixed the strength of the navies for a period, with which you are acquainted. The dropping of the Treaty may have been advisable and even necessary, and was certainly in accordance with the post-war spirit, according to which treaties are out-of-date. It was natural at a time when we all hoped—or at least some of us did—that the security of the world was sufficiently safeguarded by world public opinion and by the general desire of the countries to avoid another war.

In any case it was of great importance in the Far East. The Japanese, though they did not show any signs of resentment at the time, did undoubtedly feel that the alliance had been allowed to last as long as Japan was useful to this country and to lapse as soon as the usefulness was exhausted. To some extent it threw the Japanese back on themselves and, though it did not start, it certainly encouraged the idea that Asia and Europe were very far apart. That was the last thing which was desired by the statesmen who gathered at Washington and believed they were inaugurating an epoch of more stable peace not only in this continent but also in the Pacific.

The Naval Treaty also was considered at the time a triumph of diplomacy; but here again, although the Japanese said little about it, it has since come to be considered in Japan to mark the lowest point to which their country has ever fallen. They resented from the start being placed in a lower category, on paper at any rate, than the great maritime powers; and it did not require much foresight to see that, when the opportunity came, they would remove themselves from that category. There was no desire, of course, to score a diplomatic victory over Japan at Washington, and the people of that time cannot be blamed for not seeing that what they had done would be considered as a diplomatic victory. My feeling about a diplomatic victory is that it is the very worst thing you can possibly achieve except a military defeat, and it may be almost worse than that. I do not suppose there is anybody here who hopes to become a diplomat and I hope there is nobody here who is a diplomat, but if so I would warn you with all my strength against trying to achieve a diplomatic victory.

There was no immediate repercussion of the Washington Treaty; but it was soon after that a very serious step was taken by the Government of the United States. I refer to the exclusion of Japanese immigrants into California by name: a law passed against Japanese immigrants as such. The harm done by that law, which still exists, has been incalculable; and it is the more regrettable because the same results could have been achieved without hurting the feelings of the Japanese at all. If they had been put on the same basis as other people, it could have been arranged that the actual numbers of Japanese would have been no greater than they are at present. The fact was that would not suit the Californians; it would have suited the Federal Government, but the Californians were very much frightened of the Japanese—if there are any Californians here they will correct me if I am mistaken—and were also influenced by what I call colour prejudice and other

people may call colour something else, anyhow by the feeling against any "coloured" races. That colour prejudice is a thing you should not lose sight of, because, in my opinion, it has influenced Japanese-American relations much more than people give it credit for and much more than a great many people believe. In any case, the immigration law spoilt any chance of really satisfactory Japanese-American relations. It was no longer a question of divergent view of governments, or even quarrels between governments, but a question which stirred peoples on both sides of the Pacific. A thought that has sometimes alarmed me and sometimes consoled me is that the quarrel between America and Japan is much less between the two Governments than between the two peoples. Whether it is really a matter of congratulation I do not know. It depends on your point of view regarding the power and influence of peoples as compared with governments.

As to China: I have been there only as a tourist. Of course, I know something about the country, but I am not by any means an expert. China was very much imbued with the post-war spirit, as opposed to Japan, and saw in it a chance to rid herself of foreign influence and what she was pleased to call the unequal treaties, which the intellectual section of the Chinese had resented for a long time. In China the Chinese, relying on the strength of the post-war spirit and the protection of Geneva, began a policy of gradually attacking and whittling down foreign rights or, as you may like to call them, the undeserved privileges which previous treaties had given to all foreigners in China. I do not at all condemn the Chinese morally for this procedure, but I do think a little more political sense would have been advantageous. I think if they could get rid of the foreigners and wanted to do so they had every right to try; but at the same time I think that political folly should bring its own reward, even if it only acts as a deterrent to others to avoid that sort of folly in the future. The mistake the Chinese made was to think they could treat the Japanese with impunity as they treated ourselves. They forgot first of all that the post-war spirit did not exist in Japan, and secondly that the Japanese position in China was infinitely more important to Japan than the British position in China is to us. It did not go too badly for a time, although the Japanese refused to be kicked out of their concession in Hankow, until the Chinese began attempting to edge the Japanese out of Manchuria. That was a foolish mistake because the Japanese looked upon Manchuria as—I do not quite know how to compare it; I do not think there is anything we regard in quite the same way as they do Man-

churia. To them it was a kind of holy ground. They had staked their existence against Russia there and lost 100,000 men—a good many in those days—and given the country back to the Chinese. As a result of their sacrifice they had certain undoubted treaty rights. I admit they have been considerably extended by themselves. To anyone who knew the Japanese it was perfectly certain they would not allow themselves to be edged and cajoled out of Manchuria. That was the beginning of the Manchurian incident. The Japanese felt that if things went any further they would be elbowed out of Manchuria and lose the special position which was the result of the sacrifices of the Russian War. I am not defending the Japanese action in Manchuria. In its later phases it was a breach of several treaties, but that is the explanation.

There is also in the Far East Russia, and we cannot leave her out. At the beginning of the Manchurian incident the Japanese had no intention to trench on the Russian sphere in Northern Manchuria; but the Bolsheviks showed themselves so extraordinarily accommodating during the first phase of the incident and gave evidence of such extreme weakness that the Japanese—not so much the Government as the military party—were encouraged greatly to extend operations from South Manchuria, where they had originally intended to confine them, to the North, with the result that the Russians have been completely eliminated from the whole of Manchuria. Now, in a much stronger position than before, they are confined to Vladivostock and north of the Amur River. Russo-Japanese relations have not been much in the Press lately, so I suppose there is that uneasy sort of equilibrium which is all that is likely to exist for many years.

In dealing with Soviet Russia, it is necessary to remember that the Government lays itself peculiarly open to attack by any country which feels strong enough to tackle it. While the Soviet Government is a member of the League of Nations and Mr. Litvinoff expresses the most laudable sentiments in Geneva, Russia spends quite a considerable part of her annual revenue in financing seditious movements in other countries. The Communist movement in China is financed by Russia, and in Japan, if the Soviet Government is more prudent, it is known to the Japanese authorities to be active. If the Japanese want to break with Russia they have only to expose this propaganda to have an excuse which, if it would not satisfy some people here, would satisfy public opinion in Japan. If there is a Russo-Japanese breach it will probably be based on propaganda and the financing of sedition.

The present position in the Far East is really as well known to you as to me. We read in the papers that Japan is very active in China, that she is on the way to absorb North China and so on, and I think myself that it is an undoubted fact that Japan intends in future to be the predominant power in Far Eastern Asia. I have no more idea than you what her actual aims are, but I have no doubt whatever about this desire to be the dominant factor in the Far East, and it is generally taken for granted in wide circles in this country that this is a position which we are called upon to dispute and, if possible, prevent. Those who take that attitude should, I think, consider the means at our disposal for attaining the end which they think so desirable. Geographically Japan is a deal nearer China than we are; and when we think of the armed forces of Japan it is perfectly clear that we are not in a position to contend with Japan in the Far East. A good many people realize this and advocate a policy of close co-operation with the United States which they are careful to say should not be ostensibly, or even really, anti-Japanese, but which will in effect keep the Japanese in check. Personally I am very sceptical of the success of such a policy, and I think the greatest prudence should be shown in entering into anything like a coalition against Japan in the Far East.

In the first place the Americans—of whom many people talk as though they were quite ready to do what we want, I don't know on what grounds—have shown no sign that they would enter into an armed conflict with Japan or would support us if we entered into one. Nor do I see why they should. In the second place I think the immense stake we have in the Far East—not so much in China proper as in our own Far Eastern possessions—should make us very careful before we antagonize a Power which everyone must recognize now as much the strongest in those regions. I think our best line of policy is, if possible, to get on good terms with the Japanese, and, above all, not to encourage the Chinese unless we are really in a position and intend to give them material assistance. Nothing has done more harm, I consider, looking back, than the encouragement this country has given to other countries with whom we have sympathized, which has not been followed by any material help. To go back as far as the 'sixties, I do not think it can be disputed that without our encouragement Denmark would probably not have lost two provinces to Prussia; and I very much doubt if the Armenians would have been massacred if they had not received such boundless sympathy in this country while they were alive. Personally I think that humanitarianism, which naturally

and perhaps laudably finds expression in encouragement and sympathy to people whom we are quite certain to leave in the lurch, is not preferable to the more brutal sentiments expressed by such people as myself, who think it a great deal better to leave the whole thing alone.

Many people will feel, as I do myself, that what I have said does not really help very much, and when one is in the sort of position we are in now it is extremely difficult to give any advice or opinions which will be helpful. I always deprecate those people who say, when a position is rather bad: "We must do something." That is nearly always the prelude to doing something which makes the position a great deal worse. When you are in a position in which you say: "We must do something," it is a great deal better to do nothing at all. In *The Times* to-day there is a letter from a well-known, and indeed in his own line very eminent, bishop, advocating that we should send to the Far East a sort of superman, apparently modelled on the personality of Mr. Eden, a superman who should be equally friendly with China and Japan, a man of far greater calibre than the Ambassadors at Nanking and Tokio, who would bring a new atmosphere into the Far East. The bishop also states that, as Mr. Eden is so popular in Italy, this gentleman will be popular in China and Japan. Having been brought up in an old-fashioned way, I have a considerable amount of respect for bishops, but when they enter into foreign politics I cannot help regretting that they have not restricted themselves, if not to the vestry, at any rate to their cathedrals. A more ridiculous suggestion I cannot imagine, but perhaps I am worse than the bishop, because I have no really useful suggestion to make at all. I think in the present position in the Far East the only sensible policy is one of extreme prudence. We have no power at our back. The Japanese are not members of the League of Nations. The Chinese situation is extremely complicated and the outlook anything but certain. There is only one thing about China which seems to me fairly certain, and that is that none of us in this room will see China either united or prosperous as a nation. No doubt our great-grandchildren will, but we and our children will not.

I started life in the Diplomatic Service as a junior in the China Department of the Foreign Office, and ever since then I have heard of the vast potentialities of the China market for British goods. But those potentialities have remained potentialities; and they have become more distant into time. We still talk about them, although the market has actually less value to us than when I entered the Service. That is a

thing one should bear in mind, the extreme slowness with which things will move—not the slowness of former years perhaps, but great slowness—and what is required is a policy of prudence which will not bring us into opposition with the Japanese if it can be possibly avoided. It is not the slightest use to encourage people to resist others unless we are in a position to help them and intend to help them. That is not our position with China. We are not in a position to help except with fine words, and we do them a disservice in encouraging them to oppose a country with whom it is in their best interest to be on good terms.

Replying to questions, Sir Francis Lindley said he thought the law excluding Japanese immigrants was passed in 1924. As to the potentialities of the Mongolian situation, he said there had recently been some good investigators in Mongolia, especially the American, Mr. Lattimore, who had written a very good book about it. He thought Japanese aspirations extended to Mongolia for several reasons. One was that there were a good many Mongolians in Manchukuo. A stronger reason was that Mongolia had always been a pastoral country and one of the products Japan most lacked was wool. He looked upon Mongolia in the fairly distant future as a possible source of supply in place of Australia for the Far East.

Sir Francis declared himself rather sceptical about the independence of the Philippine Islands exercising a decisive influence. He could not speak for the far distant future, but he did not think Japanese aspirations now extended so far. They had Formosa, of which the possibilities had not been fully developed, and the Japanese would no more work in the tropics than we would. They would not settle in the Philippines except as shopkeepers and traders.

Asked about Japanese policy in the Mandated Islands, the lecturer said he thought they were pretty certain to keep within the limits of the mandate. They had developed harbours, but he did not think they were likely to do more. Of course, harbours could be used in time of stress for other ships than those of the merchant service, but he did not believe in fortifications.

Replying to a questioner who asked if the large sums of money Japan was putting into Manchukuo were likely to affect her finances at all seriously, Sir Francis said it was difficult to say. Japanese finances were not in a very rosy state, but a great deal rosier than those of some other countries. It was so much the fashion to run the

finances of a country on a large deficit that the Japanese were beginning to be considered conservative financiers. He did not think the money in Manchuria would affect her financial position really seriously because there would be a return from it. Apart from military expenditure, most of the expenditure was reproductive. They were putting a good deal of money in roads and railways and that kind of thing, and would get it back. What was upsetting Japanese finance was not the Manchurian adventure so much as the general rearmament of the whole army and navy. The Japanese Army at the time the Manchurian incident took place was extremely out-of-date as regards equipment; and advantage was taken of the national feeling over Manchuria, and especially the foreign objections to it, by the Military Party, to get out of the Treasury—who were quite as recalcitrant as our own—the money they had wanted for years to spend on the army and navy.

Asked what actions by the Chinese in Manchuria had been felt by Japan to be hostile, the lecturer said that there were a number of ways of acting which were quite legitimate if one had the force to resist the resentment they were bound to cause. Some of the methods were to build lines in opposition to the Japanese railway lines, cutting the rates, harassing the Japanese outside the areas to which they should, in Chinese opinion, be confined, and a general policy of pin-pricks less easy to define than to feel. It was a general remark among foreigners just before the Manchurian incident that the Japanese would not stand it much longer.

The lecturer was asked to what extent, apart from the diplomatic and military points of view, the Japanese were sending personnel overseas to places like Manchuria. He replied that he did not think Manchuria would ever be an outlet for the population of Japan. There had been a certain number of settlements, but he did not know that they had been successful. Apart from that, the Japanese who had gone to Manchuria were employed either by the railways and the Government or in petty commerce and big industry. They went as shopkeepers and hotel keepers, and as industrialists and employees in the Government and big industrial stores. He did not think there would be anything like a mass emigration to Manchuria. The Japanese had not gone freely to Formosa or to the North Island, where it was too cold for them. It was difficult to say where they would go freely in large numbers.

Sir Francis Lindley said he did not personally think the Japanese had aspirations in the direction of Australia. To Northern Australia

he was quite sure they would not go if they were paid. He thought their aspirations lay in Asia.

Asked whether "around Shanghai" would not be more in their line, the lecturer replied that they had not gone so far as that. They had the Chinese to compete with there. He agreed that it was quite possible that they might try to control the municipality there. They were the most numerous element, and the time might come when they would want to control the municipality. As to the Japanese aiming at ousting foreigners from oil and mineral concessions, no oil had been found in Manchuria and there was no evidence of great mineral wealth. If there should be any, he had no doubt the Japanese would wish to keep it for themselves.

Asked where he thought the Japanese wanted to put their surplus population, he said he did not think they would need to bother about that if they could sell their products. If they were shut out of foreign markets they would be in a very difficult position, and he imagined that they would think of some parts of China.

The lecturer did not think Japan was likely to return to the League of Nations. She did not at all want to leave the League, but he did not think she felt the disadvantage of being outside sufficiently great to induce her to come in.

Questioned as to the Japanese view of the possibilities of the League plan for technical collaboration in China, Sir Francis said the Japanese would look suspiciously on any help to China. They wanted to keep the field as far as possible to themselves. It must not be supposed the Japanese looked upon the League helping China as essentially different from anybody else helping her. He thought they would prefer British help to League help, but their own help to either. There was no special virtue in Japanese eyes attaching to the League; far from it.

The CHAIRMAN, expressing the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer, said he had spoken with brutal candour and as a realist. In that respect he rather resembled the Japanese themselves. They were a strange mixture of realism and a little sentiment. He (Sir Horace) had spent three years of his life in Tokio, and it fell to his lot in 1910 to sign the Note renewing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. They must admit that the Japanese had most faithfully observed the Alliance and, when the war came, they implemented it. It was desirable therefore that we should remain on good terms with them for all the reasons advanced by Sir Francis Lindley.

THE ARAB POSITION IN PALESTINE*

BY FAKHRI BEY NASHASHIBI

Summary

- (1) *History of the Zionist Movement up to the Peace Conference.*
- (2) *History of the Palestinian Arab Problem up to the Peace Conference.*
- (3) *British interests in Palestine.*

On account of the expansion of British colonization and British interests in the Orient and the Middle East, Palestine is to be considered of great importance to the British Empire. Being geographically situated between Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Transjordan and Hejaz and possessing the Haifa harbour on the west shore of the Mediterranean, forming the link between that harbour and the Gulf of Aqaba, Palestine merits careful consideration by the British Imperial authorities. The negotiations that took place in 1930 between the Egyptian Delegation presided over by Nahas Pasha and the British Government—negotiations that failed because of certain points about which a deadlock arose—led to the acceptance by Great Britain of the principle that at some future date she would withdraw her troops to the other side of the Canal; this idea justifies the future importance of Palestine and Transjordan as bases for military operations.

In order to secure freedom for such operations the relations between the Arabs and Great Britain should be on a basis of friendship, because then the Arabs, appreciating the very useful friendship of Great Britain, will themselves safeguard and protect the British interests and see that Great Britain's political operations can be conducted without hindrance. On the other hand, any policy of compulsion adopted by Great Britain, which might in the opinion of the Arabs of Palestine result sooner or later in their annihilation, and the establishment in the country by the force of British bayonets of a collection of various

* The summary of a paper given by Fakhri Bey Nashashibi on September 23, 1935, Sir Ronald Storrs, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., in the Chair.

The Chairman introduced the lecturer as President of the Arab Labour Organization and a member of a well-known family in Palestine, a cousin of the late Mayor of Jerusalem, a family who had lived in Palestine for several hundred years, but whose ancestors had been cup-bearers to the great Sulciman, as their heraldic crest showed.

nationals by race Jews, would certainly force the Arabs to put all sorts of obstacles in the way of Great Britain if she were carrying out operations either in Palestine or in the neighbouring Arabian countries. The Arabs are quite ready to be the protectors of the pipe-lines if their aspirations, based as they are on justice, are respected by Great Britain. The history of the Palestine problem has illustrated on various occasions the sympathy of the Arabs, both Moslem and Christian, for Great Britain. Such sympathy has been manifested in various forms.

(4) *The Balfour Declaration.* The promise to establish a National Home in Palestine for the Jews was nothing but an experiment. Lord Balfour himself recognized this when he said, "I cannot help thinking that this experiment is a great experiment, because nothing like it has ever been tried in the world, and because it is entirely novel" (November 1, 1927). An experiment can either fail or succeed. Seventeen years' experience in Palestine, with seven disturbances, gives a justification to our belief that this experiment has been a failure. A National Home means a land where an immigrant can settle on a nationalistic basis. Palestine was and is still an Arab country, where there is an Arab nation with Arab culture, habits, customs, traditions and character. If the Jewish National Home means the buying up of the lands of the Arabs, and the settlement of Jews in their place, then the Arabs must dispose of their lands and disappear. There can be no other possible result.

(5) *Immigration.* There are three categories of Jewish immigration into Palestine: (a) Capitalist, (b) Dependents, (c) Labourers. On category (a) depend the two categories (b) and (c). Anyone who knows the history of Jewish immigration into Palestine notices that it always depends on anti-Semitic movements in Central Europe. In 1931 a very strong anti-Semitic movement started in Germany and Austria. Palestine opened its doors to immigrants while most other countries in the world restricted very strongly the Jewish immigration into their countries. The Jewish capitalist immigrant into Palestine enters with a small capital and either starts to build a house or to plant an orange grove. Other economic investments are rare. The building movement referred to in the last Report of the Government of Palestine to the Permanent Mandate Commission of the League of Nations, on which was based the immigration of a big number of labourers, will in the very near future prove detrimental. When the capital imported, on which the estimate for the entry of labourers is based, is used up, the labour employed thereon can at the present time find some other work,

but when building activity ceases this labour will become a burden on the shoulders of the country. In 1925, the last year of Sir Herbert Samuel's High Commissionership in Palestine, in the face of the anti-Semitic atmosphere in Europe, about 38,000 Jews were allowed to enter Palestine. Consequently in 1926 and 1927, during the period of office of Lord Plumer, unemployment became very serious and the Government was forced to inaugurate unnecessary schemes of relief, and to spend a good deal of public money on such schemes simply to provide for the upkeep of the unemployed labourers. The same thing will be repeated in the near future, for the Government may see itself forced to spend the £5,000,000 Reserve Fund on the relief of the unemployment which is inevitable when the crisis starts. Any change in the political situation in Central Europe will affect Palestine economically and cause a crisis. A reversal of policy as regards the Jews in Central Europe would induce many Jews to leave the country and return to their old homes, and the vast capital, which is now lying idle in various banks in Palestine awaiting speculation, would be withdrawn. As an example of what may happen in the near future, I would instance the year 1927 when 2,713 Jews immigrated into Palestine but 5,071 emigrated for ever. This meant that 2,358 Jews left the country in excess of those who entered in that particular year.

(6) *Lands.* The various experts appointed either by the Government of Palestine or the Mandatory Governments have studied the land situation in Palestine very carefully, and in particular the area required for a decent standard of livelihood by a rural family. They all have agreed that the minimum required by every family is 130 dunums—about 30 acres. Another assessment of the minimum area required by a rural family was made in the course of the negotiations between the Palestine Government and Mr. Ben-zvi of the Jewish Labour Federation, when the Government was approached to make available the lands of Tel-Arad for settlement by Jewish ex-soldiers. Mr. Ben-zvi assured the Government that 200 dunums (50 acres) was the minimum that could be considered enough for the livelihood of a rural family, and the Government finally accepted this figure. In his report on Immigration and Settlement, which was presented by the Colonial Secretary to Parliament by command of His Majesty the King in October, 1930, Sir John Hope-Simpson estimated the cultivable land in Palestine at the figure of 6,544,000 dunums, excluding the Beersheba area. The Jews in 1930 already possessed 900,000 dunums, as stated by Dr. Ruppin, the agricultural expert of the Zionist Execu-

tive, before the Parliamentary Commission on the disturbances of 1929. Sir John further stated in his report that while 130 dunums was required to maintain a fellah family in a decent standard of living, an average of only 90 dunums was then available if the whole cultivable land was divided equally among the 86,980 rural Arab families in the country. This means that there was a deficiency of 40 dunums per family or that the area required for the proper maintenance of the Arab rural population was even then insufficient to the extent of 3,479,200 dunums. The intention of the Government to meet this large deficiency was to create development schemes introducing better methods of cultivation under an intensive system of agriculture. Sir John Hope-Simpson's report was accepted as the basis of the White Paper of 1930, and the negotiations that took place between the Arab delegations and His Majesty's Government in London were also founded on his calculations. Although no proper development schemes have been executed by the Government of Palestine, yet the sale of land is continuing on a large scale; consequently, owing to the further reduction of the amount of cultivable land available arising from the extensive purchases by the Jews from 1930 till the present time, the situation of the Arab rural families has become still worse. If the Arabs are insisting on restrictions on the transfer of land, it is to preserve their existence in their country, and to ensure that the establishment of the Jewish National Home should not affect their rights and position as is provided in the Mandate. It was proved to the Shaw Commission that from 1920 till 1925, 915 Arab families were forced to vacate their lands when the landlords, who were absentees in Syria, sold their lands over their heads to the Jews. Some of these families left Palestine for ever: the remainder competed with the labour in various towns. Those land sales also affected the economic situation of towns such as Nazareth and Jenin, which used to depend on their rural populations, because the Jewish newcomers trade amongst themselves. Though it was, and it still is, stated to be the policy of the Government to protect the rights of cultivators and tenants and to guarantee them an area of land sufficient for their livelihood, yet the legislation passed by the Government on various occasions, as it is not prohibitive of land transfers, cannot insure this. The Director of Lands of the Government of Palestine in his evidence before the Shaw Commission admitted that when his Department referred applications for sales of land to District Officers for report on the condition of the present cultivators, the cultivators were often not

to be found when the District Officer visited the land in question: for the Jews used to compensate them with money to ensure their vacating their holdings beforehand. The restrictive ordinances recently made by the High Commissioner, and referred to in a note he sent to one of the political parties in Palestine in February this year, are based on the same principles that have hitherto proved a failure. Unless a complete prohibition of the transfer of agricultural lands is enforced so as to secure the position of the *fellâhîn*, who form the great majority of the Arabs in Palestine, the belief of the Arabs that the policy of the Mandatory Government will lead sooner or later to their annihilation will be justified.

(7) *Constitutional Changes.* Self-government based on the principle of self-determination is one of the rights of the Palestinians referred to in the Mandate. A democratic government has been asked for by all Arab parties and by different delegations on various occasions. The first step of the Mandatory Government towards the establishment of such a form of government was advanced in 1922. Though the Arabs then rejected the Government offer because they hoped to be granted a wider degree of self-government, the Mandatory has not taken any serious steps since for the realization of this particular provision in the Mandate. The Arabs believe that the Jews are the obstacle in the way. The Jewish Press illustrates the Jewish attitude towards any policy of Constitutional change. As the Jews are still in the minority, they are opposed to any change until, with immigration continuing on the scale that it is at present, they have attained a working majority. If this is the situation, the Arabs are quite justified in believing the statements of the Jewish leaders and the resolutions of Jewish congresses that the Jewish aspiration is to make Palestine as Jewish as England is English. All other statements that may have been heard from the mouths of some Jewish leaders to the effect that it is their wish to live in Palestine on terms of mutual respect and amity with the Arabs seem nothing but camouflage. Seeing the Jewish system of colonization, and their policy and attitude, the Arabs are forced to believe that the true intention of the Zionists is the realization of the Jewish State, the idea started in the second half of the nineteenth century and unanimously agreed upon at the first Zionist Congress of 1897 at Basle. And the refusal of the British Government hitherto to introduce any Constitutional change encourages the Arabs to believe that the policy of the Mandatory Government is in conformity with the real Jewish aspirations. On the other

hand, the Arabs will never participate in any Council introductory to self-government, if they are not satisfied that their legitimate rights will be well protected.

At present, with great regret, the Arabs have lost confidence in the British Government. They feel it is unable to resist Jewish pressure: and thus they are becoming more and more ready in their desperation to lend an ear to foreign propaganda at critical moments, such as confronts the British Empire at the present time.

THE CHAIRMAN said he thought there was no necessity for Fakhri Bey to apologize for his lack of knowledge of the English language, for he did not think many of the audience would have delivered a similar lecture in Arabic. He had made his sentiments very clearly understood.

MR. MARMADUKE PICKTHALL said he did not know Palestine, but before the war he knew a part of Southern Syria which was known as the Holy Land and he loved it very much. He had not had the heart to go there since the war. Why we of all the nations of the world should have been chosen to redraw this portion of the Roman map he did not know, for by the same showing Signor Mussolini's claims to Southern Britain would seem to be fully justified. He had seen a great deal of the Muslims in our Indian Empire, and he found them regarding the Palestinian happenings with the greatest horror. What chiefly horrified them, and he must say himself also, was the destruction of an ancient peasantry, a thing no conqueror ever did. Even the Israelites of old never did it, for the *fellâhîn* represent the ancient inhabitants of the country with a pretty strong tincture of the lost ten tribes. In the East, as most people knew, what we called real estate did not exist. The tenure of the landlord was precarious and easily alienable, but the tenure of the labourers, regarded as part-owners in every country of the East that he knew of, was inalienable; they could not part with it. In Palestine to-day the actual cultivators were being driven off or bought off the land. What was to become of them? Was it true, as he had been informed, that in many Jewish contracts, if not in all, it was stipulated that no Arab should be employed on any Jewish holding or in any Jewish firm?

FAKHRI BEY replied that this was the case and it was mentioned in one of the reports of the Government of Palestine. The pretext of the Zionist Executive was that it was only a principle. If they took the White Paper of 1930 and the interpretation of it in the letter of Mr.

Ramsay MacDonald to Dr. Weizmann they would find it was agreed that only Jewish hands should be employed on Jewish undertakings.

MR. MARMADUKE PICKTHALL asked if they might take it that there was no hope for the *fellâhîn* of Palestine to participate in the prosperity which they were given to understand the Jews were bringing to the country.

FAKHRI BEY replied that it was quite impossible, because the Jews wanted to bring in Jews when they had the land. If they brought in Arabs it would be no use for the national home. This was admitted by the Jews themselves.

MR. ST. JOHN PHILBY said the lecturer had told them that the Balfour Declaration was first known to the Arabs in February or March, 1918, or later. His own impression was that information was given to the Sherif in December, 1917, by Dr. Hogarth in the speaker's presence, with certain assurances that it did not mean the destruction of Arab hopes in Palestine.

FAKHRI BEY said the Arabs did not know until after the entry of the British Army into Jerusalem. A deputation went to King Feisal in the autumn of 1918 and discussed with him the question of the Jewish National Home. King Feisal entirely disagreed with Dr. Weizmann. In 1918 King Feisal went to Paris and met Mr. Sokolov, who tried to get him to sign certain documents with which King Feisal disagreed. After the visit to Paris he came to London and met in the Carlton Hotel Sir Herbert Samuel, Sir Alfred Mond and other Jews, who presented to him an agreement which was under discussion with the Arabs and the Jews. He said in his own handwriting in Arabic that on condition that the Arabs would be granted independence elsewhere, he would consider it. The *Jewish Chronicle*, after this, stated that Feisal had accepted the establishment of a National Home in Palestine. They referred certainly to the visit to the Carlton Hotel, but when they were asked to publish the agreement they could not. As a matter of fact, King Husein himself was not aware of the declaration in 1917.

MR. ST. JOHN PHILBY said he must warn the audience that he could not accept this as a statement of fact, and he thought he could produce evidence from his own voluminous notes that he had taken at the time with no knowledge of what would happen in the future. Certain assurances were authorised to be given by Dr. Hogarth and were given in his (Mr. Philby's) presence. The Balfour Declaration was made in November, 1917, and he thought King Husein knew of it between then and the end of December.

FAKHRI BEY said there was no document that he had read—and he had read many—in which King Husein said he knew about it at that time.

MR. ST. JOHN PHILBY repeated that he wished he could accept this as true, but he feared he could not. It was not an important point and did not affect the case of the lecturer. In connection with the Government's failure to prevent the Arabs selling their lands, he would have liked Fakhri Bey to have referred to the regrettable tendency of Arabs in Transjordan to sell their lands. The economic reasons were obvious, of course, but the tendency existed and the Arabs there were protected by the terms of the Mandate from any such disaster as having to sell their lands to the Jews, who were forbidden by the terms of the Mandate to go there. That seemed to him to be one of the most disastrous tendencies in connection with the Zionist movement.

FAKHRI BEY said Transjordan was entirely excluded from the Jewish National Home. The Transjordan Government's legislation did not deal with the transfer of land to Jews in particular, but to any people who were not from Transjordan. The Arab from Syria could not go there to buy land. The Jews had succeeded in getting some Members of Parliament to go to Transjordan and believe that the people of Transjordan would like the Jews to come there. That was what Emir Abdullah meant when he said he would prefer to live on the milk of his camels than to have the Jews there. Sheikh Mithgal el-Faiz, the Sheikh of Beni Sakhr, whom Mr. Philby and he met in 1921, wanted to sell some of his land to the Jews. The Jews, who unfortunately controlled a good part of the Press of the world, made a hero of him; they wanted to possess the whole of Transjordan. Sheikh Mithgal el-Faiz, even before the legislation, could not sell his land.

A Member said when he was in Palestine he was told by representatives of the Government that one of the great difficulties was that the Arabs sold their land to the Jews because the price tempted them. They were talking about the possibility—that was two years ago—of applying the Egyptian five feddans law.

FAKHRI BEY said those who sold their lands in Palestine were not Palestinians. It was proved to the Shaw Commission that on account of the tempting prices offered 915 Arab families were forced to evacuate their land and disappear. Some of them left the country for ever and others became labourers. The only restriction was that, when in the opinion of the High Commissioner there was not suffi-

cient land for the peasants, the transfer could not take place. That was under the Protection of Cultivators and Tenants Ordinances of 1921. It had been a failure because the Director of Lands in Palestine told the Shaw Commission that when they received an application it was referred to the District Officer in order to enquire into the situation of the tenants. No tenants used to be found, because when the Jews acquired the land they gave money to the tenants to disappear.

The previous speaker asked if there was no organization to check this and to warn the Arab tenants.

FAKHRI BEY said it was impossible to know of every agreement made.

A Member said he had been given rather different figures about the possibilities of land settlement. He remembered them only roughly, but he was told there were possibilities of irrigation and intensive cultivation in Palestine which would raise its possibilities for population up to one and a half millions or sixteen or seventeen hundred thousand.

FAKHRI BEY said his figures were the official figures: they had been quoted by Sir John Hope-Simpson and were agreed to by the Government of Palestine.

A Member asked if the lecturer thought what he had said was an exaggeration.

FAKHRI BEY replied that the country was made up of two plains and the hills. There was not much to be hoped for from the hills. The area was about 2,450,000 dunums. There was no possibility of intensive cultivation or development there.

MR. P. W. IRELAND said that he was glad that Mr. Philby had called attention to the desire of the Zionists to extend their purchases of land to Transjordan. He did not blame them for wanting to go into Transjordan, considering the quality of land there, but speaking as one who was not a Jew nor an Arab nor a British subject, he thought that the form of propaganda adopted to induce H.M. Government and the authorities of Transjordan to open the land to Zionists was rather unfortunate. Lord Melchett, writing to *The Times* recently, took the attitude that, by extending Transjordan to the Zionists, it would enable Great Britain to establish an even larger group of loyal subjects of the British Empire and to guard more effectively the vital communications of the Empire. As one who had come into contact with the younger Zionists, he (Mr. Ireland) did not believe that it was possible to take groups of German, Ukranian, Polish and other Jews

and, by the simple fact of putting them into Palestine and Transjordan, to make them loyal subjects of the Empire. The sentiments expressed to him by many of the Zionists already in Palestine were anything but the sentiments of loyal British subjects. He was sure that a great many people would join with him in hoping that the present policy of restricting the land across the Jordan to the Arabs would be continued.

MR. ARCHER CUST said that the worst of any address on Palestine, whether by Arabs or by Jews, was that it never got any further towards a solution of the problem. All of them who had lived there many years were forced to realize the *impasse* from day to day and from hour to hour. The principal difficulty was that both sides had had valid promises made to them. The Balfour Declaration was a promise and so were the McMahon Letters. Nobody who read the Letters could fail to recognise them as a promise. Here were two peoples, in what Mr. Bernard Shaw had called the Twice Promised Land, trying as it were to live in the same box. Would it not be possible to divide the box into two portions? This was the idea of a solution by dividing the country into cantons. It was originally ventilated by the Jews when Dr. Weizmann himself gave it consideration. It also appeared in the columns of the Palestine weekly four or five years ago. He knew for a fact that there was an Arab school of thought which saw here a conceivable line of approach, and there were British officials and ex-officials who held this view, too. Palestine was in reality cantonized already because, although the Arabs could live all over Palestine, the Jews could live only in some portions where they were now. Thus not a Jew was to be found in the hill country between Jenin and Jerusalem except two small colonies a few miles north of Jerusalem. It might be said that if they cantonized the country, they would be giving the best land to the Jews and cooping the Arabs up in the hills. This would be true: but why not abolish the absurd and unnecessary Jordan frontier and bring Transjordan in? They would then have sufficient space for the Arabs to live and develop on a possible economic basis. They might bring the Emir Abdullah over from distant Amman to the historic centre of Nablus. They could then have two autonomous areas, the Jewish on the left and on the right the Arab, and over the whole a Federal Government controlled by the Mandatory.

FAKHRI BEY said the two peoples would dispute all the time. He took it that Mr. Cust would propose to leave out Jerusalem. (Mr.

Cust: "Yes.") He thought there would always be hostility between the Jews and the Arabs, and if the Jews were gathered on the Mediterranean, the Arabs, being the stronger, would drive them into the sea.

MR. CUST said it would be for the Central Government to see that this did not happen.

MISS FARQUHARSON asked if there was very much Arab unemployment in Palestine.

FAKHRI BEY said he did not deal with this matter himself. He could not say that there was a big figure of unemployment. Owing to the depreciation of sterling, building was going on. Building and orange cultivation were providing the work. Next season there would be 14,000,000 orange cases. England could not absorb them, nor could Germany.

MISS FARQUHARSON asked whether the Arabs were given a share in the economic concessions of the country. Would it be a solution if they could be given a share?

FAKHRI BEY said there were 120 labourers in the Dead Sea and sixty or seventy were Druses who had revolted against the Syrian Government in 1925 and gone to Transjordan. They were in a bad state and came to Palestine to seek for work. Then there was the concession of the Palestine electrical undertaking. That would not put an end to their troubles, because it only affected a handful of labourers. The Jews had now been granted the concession of the Huleh marshes. If they asked for the admission of a number of labourers to be employed on the drainage, the work would last for about six years. The workers would then remain unemployed and become a burden on the country.

MR. J. BROADHURST asked about the Bedouin population.

FAKHRI BEY said the Bedouins lived in two areas. In Beersheba the climatic conditions were very bad and their situation was very difficult. They occupied about 1,700,000 dunums.

THE CHAIRMAN said the debate had suffered from one very grave defect. It was the Chairman's business to hold the balance and there had been no balance to hold. It was regrettable that the Zionist side had not been represented. Keen Zionists should not allow their case to go by default. He was sure the lecturer regretted this as much as any of them. It did not diminish the value of his observations. His case had been well and truly put and they were extremely grateful to him.

THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN 'IRAQ LEADING UP TO THE RISING IN THE SPRING OF 1935*

By CAPTAIN A. D. MACDONALD, M.C.

BEFORE dealing with the events which were more closely and directly the cause of the disturbances in 'Iraq in May, 1935, it is necessary to explain the political temper which prevailed in the country at the beginning of the year.

In December, 1934, an election had been held, and the result of this election had given rise to some resentment. The manner of an election in 'Iraq is frankly authoritarian, and its only resemblance to an instrument of democratic representation lies in its procedure. This procedure could be, and doubtless some day will be, capable of furnishing the country with a parliament selected by the vote of the people, but for various reasons the time is not considered ripe for such an adventure, and for the present the chamber of deputies is filled by nominees pure and simple. The selection of these nominees still depends to a great degree on personal attachment and interest.

In nominating an assembly of this type it is a point of importance that a government should bring within the circle of its choice all those who, if excluded, are sufficiently powerful to embarrass it seriously, and in the December election a mistake was made on this point by the omission of a certain Abdul Wahid al Hajji Sikkar from the list of nominees. This tribal sheikh occupied a position of importance in the Diwanayah Liwa, being perhaps the most influential tribesman on that stretch of the Euphrates which lies between Hindiyah and Sammawa, and his position as head of a group of the Fetlah tribe, viewed dispassionately, demanded that he should be included in those chosen to represent the district.

Furthermore, of the fifteen seats in the chamber which are allotted to the Diwanayah and Muntafiq provinces, both of which provinces are almost exclusively tribal, a more than justifiably large proportion were given to townsmen from Baghdad and elsewhere, whose presence in the chamber was considered desirable by the government, but who

* Members' Meeting, October 2, 1935, Mr. E. H. Keeling, M.C., M.P., in the Chair.

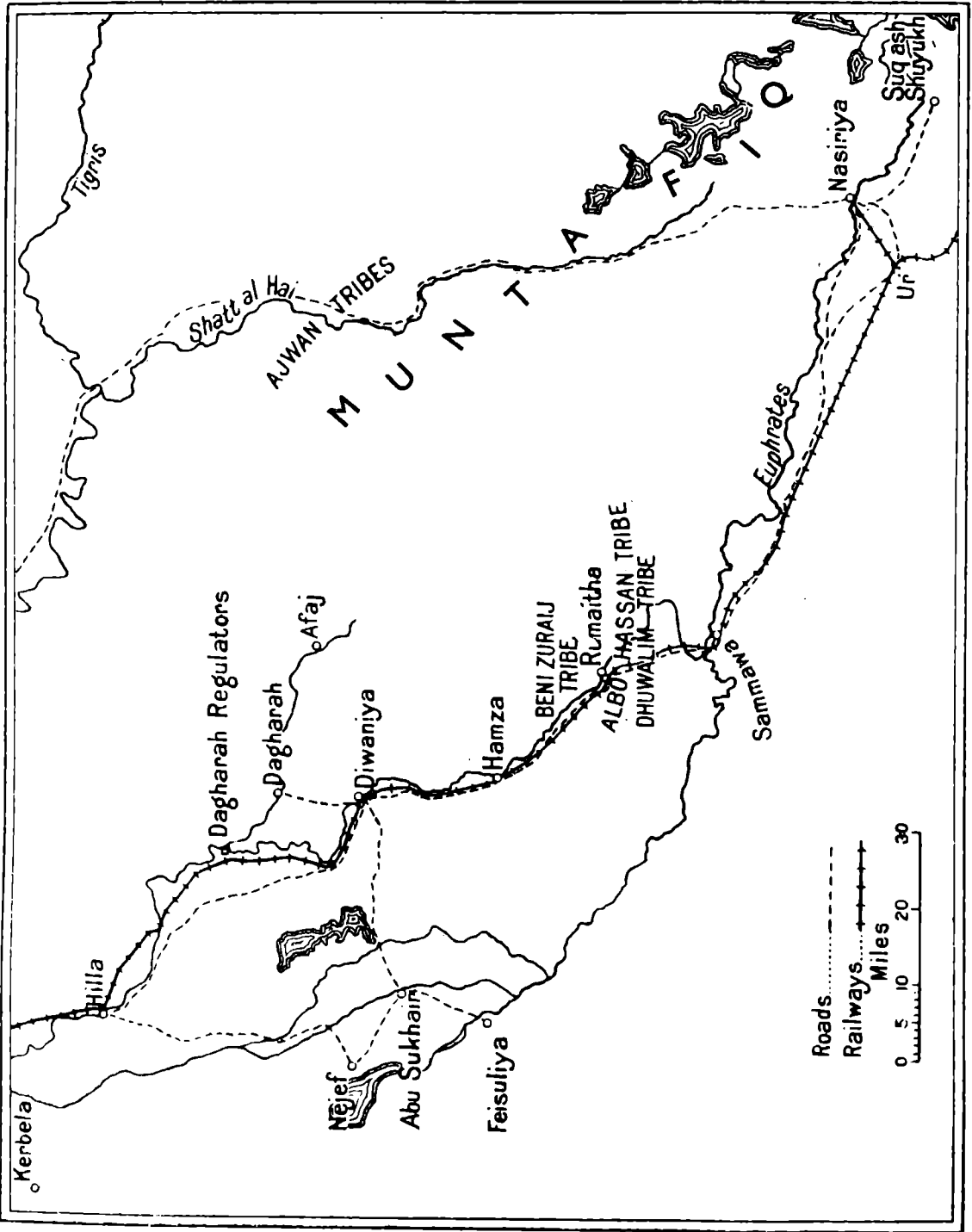
could not claim in any way to represent the tribal interests behind them, or to be to any appreciable extent in touch with conditions in the district. The fact that those urban deputies were Sunnis, though it had probably little enough material bearing on the case, was sufficient to make the matter one which affected sectarian prejudices.

These matters would have been of little importance had the situation in the country as a whole, and particularly in the south, been satisfactory. Unfortunately it was not. A growing dissatisfaction and exasperation at the ineffectiveness of the long succession of post-mandate cabinets was seen in the Ikha opposition in the chamber, which was limited to twelve members. It voiced itself in general terms in the Press, and showed itself in the outlook and conversation of the townspeople. Nor was all well in the tribal areas to the south. Administration had been for some time deteriorating. There had been a growing tendency in Baghdad to interfere in matters which were, by their nature, the responsibility of the subordinate administrative officials on the spot. The hampering and over-riding of those officials undermined their morale and encroached upon their prestige, producing in them a growing opportunism, lack of confidence, and enervation. Their integrity was challenged with increasing frequency and lack of restraint, and the fact that much of the criticism levelled against them was unjustifiable reflected rather than obscured the existence of a serious disharmony between authority and the people.

All the material for political exploitation was therefore to hand. The force which could give cohesion and motive power, which could direct this loose and unorganized spirit of complaint and dissatisfaction towards some specified end, was forthcoming from the political organization of the Ikha party in Baghdad.

This party, in January, 1935, set in motion propaganda among the Middle Euphrates tribes which was calculated to aggravate existing discontents and to bring about active demonstrations of an anti-government nature in the Diwanayah province. As a mouthpiece for their views, and a disseminator of their exhortations, they turned to Abdul Wahid al Hajji Sikkar.

Abdul Wahid, on whom the opposition's hopes for the inflaming of the tribal areas were pinned, was, as has been said, an influential tribal figure. In the insurrection of 1920 he had played a leading part, and his personal influence had been primarily responsible for the bitter opposition which was encountered by the British forces in the Middle Euphrates. A man of considerable wealth, judged by local standards,



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he had for long been steeped in political and administrative intrigue, was involved with his neighbours in numerous land disputes, and at this time chafed at his political impotence and waning local prestige. He had been for long a loyal supporter of the Ikha party and it was much to his interests that an Ikha government should come into power. Should it do so he had every reason to expect that it would enhance his position, settle matters of dispute in his favour, and generally interfere with the machinery of impartial administration to his advantage.

It was clear that Abdul Wahid could hope for little local response if his appeal should be merely for a change of government. He therefore cloaked his real designs, and displayed himself as the champion of Shia rights, a rôle which would ensure him widespread support. It was not everyone, however, who accepted him at his own valuation. While the entire Fetlah confederation enthusiastically acclaimed him, only some forty per cent. of the remaining tribes in the district turned to his support, and that chiefly by virtue of the fact that the interests of their leaders were similar to those of Abdul Wahid, and these leaders could in turn count on less dazzling but nevertheless appreciable rewards from an Ikha government.

The remaining sixty per cent. of the tribes demurred. As between one evil and another they regarded the existing government as less undesirable than an Ikha one, and, since Abdul Wahid's interests ran directly counter to their own, the idea of a locally powerful Abdul Wahid was repugnant. Abdul Wahid's rhetoric, however, though it left the leaders of these tribes quite unimpressed, threatened to have some effect on the tribesmen, and this fact forced the leaders to act if they wished to preserve the loyalties of their own men. Their attitude was that in so far as the matter of Abdul Wahid's agitation was for a change of cabinet they were hostile to him; and that in so far as it was for the introduction of better conditions for the Shia-tribal community they were enthusiastically in favour of the cause, but not in favour of the fact that Abdul Wahid should be the self-constituted leader of it. Such matters, they declared, were more appropriately the province of the 'Ulima. They therefore repaired to Sheikh Mohammed Hussein Kashif al Ghata, the Arab mujtahid of Nejef, for consultation and guidance.

Thus the tribal community was broken up into an animated group under Abdul Wahid, dominated by the powerful Fetlah confederation, which inclined to disorderly manifestations, and aimed at bringing in

an Ikha government; and a second, larger, and more unwieldy group, which attached itself to Sheikh Mohammed in the determination that Abdul Wahid should not exploit the blessing of Shia Islam for the purpose of improving his worldly position at their expense.

Throughout February propaganda flowed southward, and its effects became apparent. South of Hillah the carriage of arms, a practice which is usually indulged in surreptitiously, became flagrant and habitual, and the price of rifles and ammunition soared to five times the normal, while incidents of tribal war dancing were reported with increasing frequency. In Baghdad eleven out of the twenty senators refused to attend the meetings of the upper house. Faced with a fast deteriorating situation the cabinet, on February 23, resigned.

Several days elapsed before a new cabinet could be formed. The Ikha party, when offered office, were unwilling to accept the burden of a hostile chamber of deputies, and held out for a dissolution of parliament and a general election. To this the King was not prepared to agree. Eventually Jamil Beg Mudfai was prevailed on to form a cabinet.

Meanwhile things in the south were slipping from bad to worse, and no sooner had Jamil Beg Mudfai's new government come into power than the Ikha-driven Abdul Wahid faction exploded in a series of orderly but nevertheless definitely lawless demonstrations. Tribesmen of the Fetlah cut the Feisuliyah branch road by putting the bridges out of service, and closed the main Diwaniyah-Nejef road to traffic. Armed men entered Feisuliyah and Dagharah in numbers, and though no act of pillage or disorder was committed, the fact that the police in Feisuliyah were forced to remain in their serai if a serious outburst of violence was to be avoided was alone sufficient to demand immediate government action. It was therefore decided that the army should be sent south, and three battalions were moved to the affected area, one going to Nejef, a second to Abu Sukhair, headquarters of the qadha which included Feisuliyah, and a third to Diwaniyah. A fourth battalion was moved to Sammawa as a result of minor disturbances in that area, but was subsequently withdrawn.

It is interesting to speculate on what military objectives the authorities hoped to achieve by means of these unconventional dispositions. We must conclude that the idea of a display of force was uppermost in their minds, and that they sought to prevent the spread of disorder by making parts of the army visible over as wide an area as possible, and impressing thereby the greatest number of potential rebels. If

this was in fact their object, they failed to achieve it. The presence of the army, if anything, aggravated matters. A wave of fanatical talk on the subject of Sunni tyranny issued from Nejef, and Sha'alan al Attiyah, of the Agrah confederation near Diwaniyah, who was one of Abdul Wahid's confederates, took over the blockhouse at the bifurcation of the Dagharah branch of the river, and assumed control of the important irrigation regulators at that point.

During these developments Sheikh Mohammed had not been allowed to remain idle. Subjected on the one side to pressure from the non-Ikha tribes, who demanded from him an explicit denouncement of Abdul Wahid's presumptuousness in holding himself out as the champion of Shiaism, and on the other from Abdul Wahid himself, who, seeking to make his position unassailable, demanded that the Sheikh should stand in with him in his alleged efforts to obtain justice for the Shias, the Sheikh's position was indeed a difficult one. As between one government and another he was uninterested, but it was vital to his prestige and reputation that if the tribes should agitate for religious leadership, such leadership should be forthcoming from him. He was, of course, under no delusion as to Abdul Wahid's real motive, but much of Abdul Wahid's support from the simple tribesmen was given in belief that Shiaism was the point at issue, and the Sheikh was loth to appear unsympathetic towards this element, and so risk their criticism. Nothing could be more undesirable from his point of view than that he should be forced, by the intrusion of the secular interests of the leaders, to antagonize a considerable group of the tribesmen. He therefore attempted, with some success, to keep well in with all parties and remain uncommitted, confining his pronouncements to the field of platitudes, and his activities to arranging a formal list of Shia demands.

These demands, when they were decided upon, were circulated privately and were widely known, but were never officially presented until the Ikha government came into power. When presented they lacked the signature of Abdul Wahid, and some, though not all, of the tribal leaders associated with him.

Now it is necessary at this juncture to emphasize certain important points if a true understanding of the position as regards Shiaism is to be reached. The real or imagined grievances of the Shias had exercised the politically conscious elements of the Middle Euphrates and the holy cities for some years, and were becoming a well-worn tool in the hands of the Baghdad politicians. At various times during the

preceding years Shia petitions had been discussed, drawn up, and on occasion submitted, with requests which ranged from the utterly impossible to the reasonable and just. The demands which were now set forth by Sheikh Mohammed were perhaps the most moderate that had ever been submitted. They sought that the number of Shia members of parliament should be proportionate to the Shia population in the country. They demanded the appointment of Shia judges, the freedom of election in the Shia districts, the freedom of the Press throughout the country, and, but for some excessive demands for reduction of taxation, contained few items which a government genuinely sympathetic and generously inclined towards Shiaism could not have granted either immediately or in course of time.

But the educated and Westernized classes, who are almost invariably Sunni, and from whom the administration and the government is drawn, have always viewed with a measure of suspicion and hostility the periodic upward surge of Shiaism, for they see such movements not as sectarian but as social, and tend instinctively to regard any concession towards Shiaism as a surrender to the forces of ignorant tribalism and the feudal idea. And to a very considerable extent they are right. For it is a fair generalization to say that Shia 'Iraq is absolutely tribal in outlook, and hand-in-hand with the spirit which takes a Shia sectarian view goes the feudal attitude of the tribesman, his antagonism to the conception of central government, and his spontaneous support for anything which promises, or points in the direction of, decentralized tribal rule. The two themes of Shiaism and Tribalism are, in fact, so interwoven in the minds of the tribes that they are to some extent indistinguishable. I have elaborated on this point in order to challenge a commonly held belief that the 'Iraq government and the educated Sunni classes of the country have been guilty of allowing their religious prejudices to lead them into oppressing the Shia sect. I consider that belief to be a mistaken one. The whole march of government, both now and in the mandatory period, has been to gather the reins of control into its own hands, and gradually to oust the tribal leader from his position of local authority. The governing forces in the country have consistently and rightly regarded the forces of Shiaism as forces calculated to obstruct the advancement of such a policy, and have opposed them.

While the situation at Dagharah grew worse after the arrival of the army, the tribal disorder around Feisuliyah certainly got no better. The branch road to Feisuliyah remained cut, and the garrison in

Feisuliyah town isolated, and disinclined to leave the serai lest an attempt to do so would provoke disorders resulting in their finding themselves actually besieged. Moreover, the presence of the army in the neighbourhood tended to increase the clamour issuing from the holy cities, which were agog with interest and speculation, and more markedly so since the entry of Sheikh Mohammed with his demands into the arena. From the Muntafiq came reports that the tribes were showing a lively interest in events and were in sympathetic communication with Sheikh Mohammed, while a few cases of soldiers deserting to the tribes were exaggerated, and interpreted as signifying a serious state of affairs in the army's morale. The eleven senators continued to absent themselves in spite of appeals from various quarters.

Faced by this situation, Jamil Beg Mudfai's cabinet resigned on March 16. Their wisdom in doing this is debatable, and it may be contended that even at this late stage they could, given resolution and courage, have succeeded in restoring order. Nevertheless it is on their behaviour during the period immediately following their coming into power, rather than the period immediately preceding their resignation, that the real weight of criticism should fall. When they accepted office it was imperative that the tribes should know definitely what they proposed to do, and it was imperative that they should not deflect from their announced proposals. The government could have decided either to crush Abdul Wahid and his confederates one by one, and to placate the Sheikh in Nejef with a straightforward and liberal attitude towards the Shia grievances; or it could have decided, if it did not consider itself strong enough to press such a policy to a satisfactory conclusion, to negotiate with Abdul Wahid and endeavour to win him over. Either of these policies might, and the latter probably would, have miscarried, but it was essential that one or the other should be chosen and adhered to until it had either failed or succeeded. But in fact a spirit of indefiniteness invested all their actions from the very start, and if any cast-iron decisions regarding ultimate aims and the manner of achieving them was reached, no knowledge of the fact ever got beyond the ministerial doors in an authoritative form. The despatch of the army seemed to point to the fact that the government meant business, but its dispositions were such as to make the prosecution of business almost impossible. The largest concentration of troops was two battalions in the Abu Sukhair-Nejef area, which were presumed locally to be a threat against the Fetlah tribe in the Feisuliyah area, operations against which would have entailed fighting

over close and flooded country and given grounds for serious consideration to the commander of a force three times the size. At Diwanayah, where, had operations against the exuberances of Sha'alan at Attiyah been contemplated, the terrain would have presented few obstacles, there was only one battalion. Between these two forces was a thirty-mile road running over some half-dozen major bridges, the destruction of any one of which would have been sufficient to put it out of action for a period of weeks. Nor did any success attend the far from whole-hearted efforts of the government to negotiate with Sheikh Mohammed, though it must be remembered that the Sheikh was in no way dominated by hostility to the particular government of the moment, but was interested exclusively in the Shia problem, a problem as susceptible to solution by Jamil Beg Mudfai's cabinet as by any Ikha cabinet which might succeed it.

Following upon Jamil Beg Mudfai's resignation an Ikha government came into power, under the premiership of Yassin Pasha al Hashimi, and with Rashid Ali Beg al Ghailani as Minister of Interior. As a leavening in the cabinet there were appointed, from parties other than the Ikha, Ja'afar Pasha al Askeri and Nuri Pasha Said as Ministers of Defence and Foreign Affairs respectively. The cabinet was a strong one, and though many persons throughout the country deplored that an unscrupulous exploitation of the tribes had brought it to office, it was generally considered that, since the disorderly element had now got what it wanted, the turmoil which had prevailed over the last few months would quickly subside. The appointment of the Ikha government coincided with the date when parliament went into recess. The chamber of deputies never reassembled until after the general election of July, by which time the insurrection had been quelled. Parliament therefore played no further part in events.

Following on the Ikha government's assuming office everything marched in accordance with expectations. Abdul Wahid withdrew from the Feisuliyah and the Diwanayah-Nejef roads. The tribesmen moved out of Feisuliyah town and allowed the apprehensive garrison once more to breathe freely, while Sha'alan al Attiyah's men, after some hesitation, evacuated the blockhouse and handed over the regulators at Dagharah head. A meeting of tribal leaders was in due course called in Baghdad, and from all districts they arrived, Abdul Wahid and his confederates driving into the capital on April 1 in a convoy of some sixty cars, whose armed occupants were at pains to make manifest by their insolent bearing that they considered them-

selves the men of the moment. Throughout the month, Baghdad remained alive with tribal Sheikhs from all over the country engaged in interminable debate among themselves, and in brisk endeavours at the various ministries to consolidate or improve their personal affairs and generally exploit to their advantage the new position. It is unnecessary, even though it were possible, to follow the intricacies of the discussions, protestations, quarrels, accusations and intrigues which enlivened the capital during April. It will be enough to confine our inspection to the main features of the dispute.

It was now the aim of government to restore an atmosphere of peace and to placate those elements which might be expected to harbour resentments against, or fear for their welfare at the hands of, the new government. Abdul Wahid had done his work, and now awaited the turn of events, passive and obedient, with his mind fixed on a rosy future. The promptitude with which he had called off his campaign of civil disorder upon the Ikha government's taking office had revealed him as a man moved by party considerations exclusively. The fact that he was denounced as a hypocrite even by certain of the leaders in his own group of tribes did not disturb him. It was enough that the Ikha government was in power and that his own tribe still stood solid behind him. The roots of any future disorder, the government rightly considered, were now those tribes whose interests lay across Abdul Wahid's, and whose leaders viewed Abdul Wahid's elevation to prominence with disgust and apprehension. This group was loose, unorganized and leaderless. As has already been stated, its animosities against Abdul Wahid in the early stages of the disturbances had driven it to put up something more than merely a negative defence, and Shiaism under Sheikh Mohammed had been the result. As a method of keeping Abdul Wahid submerged Shiaism had, they now appreciated, failed. It might well be, government considered, that matters would not end there. The government therefore decided that this group must be placated through Sheikh Mohammed, he being the only person whose authority might be expected to evoke any general and collective response from them.

Now it must be remembered that originally the Sheikh was to some extent an unwilling participant in the dispute. He had no desire to be involved in sectarian affairs unless he had tribal unanimity behind him. He was, moreover, quite astute enough to see that while the leaders of those tribes for whom he had consented to be mouth-piece might touch the emotions of their simple followers by fulminat-

ing on the subject of rights and justice for the Shias, it was not rights and justice, but Abdul Wahid, the Ikha government, and the prospect of reopened land cases which were near their hearts. If Sheikh Mohammed's position in March as leader of what were then the pro-government tribes was uncomfortable, it was doubly so now, as leader of an anti-government group which had no cohesion or solidarity, and which clamoured that he should place himself in a position of uncompromising hostility towards the formidable Abdul Wahid faction and what he had every reason to fear would turn out to be a strong cabinet. As usual, he hedged. He spoke fair words to government, calculated to allay their suspicion that he intended to stir up religious animosities, while to the tribes he generalized piously, encouraging them to keep the question of Shia demands foremost in their minds, but taking care not to commit himself by openly authorizing lawlessness. Much instigation to revolt issued from Nejef in late April and early May, and though the Sheikh, pressed beyond even a Moslem theologian's capacity for ambiguity, must have been responsible for some of it, it is probable that the blame for most of it must be laid at the door of the less distinguished though much more animated members of the 'Ulima. There was every evidence, too, to suspect that encouragements to revolt were once again being sent on their way south from Baghdad, but this time by politicians of the non-Ikha parties, and though this subversive influence was altogether less forceful and purposeful than the political instigation which had evicted the two preceding cabinets, it undoubtedly had some effect, and served to aggravate the atmosphere of tension and uncertainty which prevailed.

And that brings us to the circumstances which must be regarded as the real cause of the subsequent disturbances. The fact is that by late April disorder was in the air. The unruliness of the tribes, which had been so assiduously and so delicately kept under control during the long mandatory régime, had, early in the year, been subjected to a sudden stimulus. The standards which had dominated the administrative machine during these fourteen years of comparative order, and which gave some promise of percolating into tribal mentality—standards which sought to encourage an acceptance of dispassionate and restrained control, and which insisted on law and order as the basis of all adaptive change—had been abandoned. Once more it had been impressed on the tribesmen that it was not words or justice, but rifles which were effective. If the acceptance of orderly standards in the tribal mind had been desperately slow, their rejection was rapid.

It is a measure of the distance which separates the tribes from a contented acceptance of ordered and authoritative central government when we appreciate how readily the people at this time welcomed indications of reaction. Everywhere, in the coffee shops, in the mosques, in the tribal areas, men went about saying that things would be worse before they were better, and rubbed their hands in pleasurable anticipation of coming events. In this welling up of old social instincts, the specific items of controversy, such as the Shia demands and Abdul Wahid, slowly faded until they formed but a background.

Towards the end of April reports of tribal war dancing again began to come up from the Middle Euphrates, and minor cases of lawlessness occurred in the Muntafiq. Serious trouble, when it did come, arose, however, from an insignificant cause and in an unexpected quarter. A certain Khawwam al Hajji Abbas, the amiable, excitable, and far from astute head of the Beni Zuraij tribe, had good reason to fear that the new Ikha government would reopen a land dispute between himself and his upstream neighbours, in which judgment for the moment lay in Khawwam's favour. The question concerned the alignment of a boundary between the two parties over land which was barren, but which Khawwam intended to cultivate by means of water pumps which he had installed. In late April Khawwam's men started war dancing on this boundary with a view to impressing on his opponents what they might expect if they pressed for their case to be reconsidered. He then started war dancing in front of Rumaitha serai. When told by the police to clear his men away, he did so, but only for a few days, and in early May he was again demonstrating in Rumaitha town. These demonstrations were actually no more portentous or significant than others which were reported at various points in the Middle Euphrates, but Rumaitha was the centre of a district containing tribes which had shown themselves in the insurrection of 1920 to be unruly and turbulent. Furthermore, an outburst at Rumaitha was particularly to be avoided by reason of the fact that the tribes there straddled the railway, and would be immediately capable of causing serious embarrassment by severing communication between Baghdad and Basra.

A certain Imam, living in Rumaitha on the bounty of Sheikh Mohammed's religious funds, was considered by government to have been active in encouraging Khawwam, and in flavouring Sheikh Mohammed's political injunctions in a manner calculated to inflame tribal feeling. Government therefore judged his presence to be

dangerous, and arrested him on May 6. This arrest provided the spark which started the conflagration. Khawwam was pressed to do something by his own men, by the neighbouring tribal leaders, and by certain political emissaries from Baghdad. He could count, they assured him, on immediate support from the Afaj tribes, and from the majority of the Beni Huchaim, whose territory adjoined his own. To these exhortations Khawwam succumbed, and on the night of May 7-8 he and his tribesmen tore up the railway line and, together with sections of the Dhuwalim and Albu Hassan tribes, looted Rumaitha railway station and besieged the serai.

The standard of revolt had been raised. Immediate action was now necessary if a general outburst was to be prevented, and the government is to be congratulated on the manner in which it faced its task. It stated immediately that it was going to suppress Khawwam by force; it dropped leaflets on the insurgents demanding their surrender; it issued orders for a military concentration in Diwaniyah, and, most important of all, it ensured that the people should know what was afoot, and the uncompromising manner in which government proposed to deal with the disorder. It despatched Bekr Sidki Pasha to Diwaniyah to take command of the force to be assembled there, and it proclaimed martial law in the Diwaniyah Liwa. These various acts had a profound, one might almost say decisive, effect. The Middle Euphrates tribes noted them, and decided to move delicately. They learnt that there were to be no negotiations, no resignations of government, no efforts to work round the point at issue. There could therefore, they considered, be no profit in immediate action on their part. It would be sufficient and safer for them to await the result of the first encounter.

The Muntafiq tribes to the south, removed some distance from actual events, and influenced by the fact that the insurgents stood between them and Baghdad, continued however to show an increasing restiveness, and before the army had started to move southwards from Diwaniyah an outbreak occurred at Suq ash Shuyukh, where the serai was besieged by the Hassan and Hachama tribes, and certain of the isolated police posted in the qadha were similarly threatened.

Meanwhile an unfortunate incident occurred. On May 9 a British aeroplane, which happened to be flying over Rumaitha, was fired at from the town and hit. It crashed about a mile north-west of the town, both the officer pilot and the airman passenger being killed.

Khawwam had established himself on the left bank of the river

some four miles north of Rumaitha town. His situation was from the start precarious, and by the time the army moved against him it was pitiable. The reputation for inexorable fixity of purpose which Bekr Sidki Pasha had gained in Northern 'Iraq against the Assyrians, and the tone of relentless determination in which, to tribal ears, were couched the terms of reference, and the powers of the military tribunal, had struck a chill to the hearts of Khawwam's sympathizers, and had been enough to dissuade any waverers from coming to his assistance. There had been no general outbreak as had been promised him. Afaj remained expectant, but inactive. Those sections of the Dhuwalim and the Albu Hassan who had taken part in the looting of the railway station were his only effective supporters. Even these were to prove faithless, for before the fighting with the army started they had withdrawn to their villages, either through fear of consequences or through successful efforts on the part of the administration to negotiate them out of the impending battle.

It must be emphasized at this point that authoritative information regarding the details of the fighting is lacking, and that even major events have been so screened by reticence that any unofficial account of the operations must be open to question at many points.

The army started its southward move from Diwaniyah on the 13th, when it entrained for Hamza, a village lying midway between Diwaniyah and Rumaitha. At Hamza it detrained, and began its advance on Rumaitha on the 14th, the main body moving down the left bank, while a smaller force worked down the right bank and ensured protection to the flank. The cavalry screen, which was operating with the advanced guard, came into contact with the insurgents on the 14th, and, by all accounts, acted with very creditable initiative and dash, charging and putting to rout Khawwam's mounted men, which were reported to have numbered about sixty. Meanwhile bombing from the air was being carried out against Khawwam's village by the Royal 'Iraqi Air Force. Demoralized by the detonations in their rear and the shock of defeat to their mounted men in front, the resistance of the tribal riflemen quickly broke up, and the probability is that at this point a general dispersal of insurgents to their various villages took place, the personal followers of Khawwam, numbering possibly thirty or forty men, alone remaining in the field, and seeking refuge in a fighting tower about four miles upstream of Rumaitha. They seemed, however, if one is to judge by army casualties, to have put up scarcely any resistance before evacuating this point and scattering. Khawwam,

in an effort to escape the net now all but closed about him, fled across the river into the territory of the Beni 'Aridh, a pro-government tribe, who captured him and handed him over to the army, which on the 15th continued its advance southward. Some skirmishing is said to have occurred round Khawwam's village, but this has probably been exaggerated, for by this time resistance must have been entirely broken. On the 16th the army entered Rumaitha, relieved the garrison, and accepted the surrender (*dakhalah*) of the Dhuwalim and Albu Hassan Sheikhs, who, as has been stated, had participated in the original disorder, but had not taken part in the fighting against the army.

The first and by far the most serious obstacle in the way of restoring order had now been overcome in a manner up to the expectations of the most sanguine. An undisputed victory over Khawwam had been gained by the army. Those tribes of the Middle Euphrates who had been watching the combatants with eager interest, and preparing to participate the moment they could confidently foretell an army defeat, immediately adopted a propitiatory attitude. In a few days it was clear that government had settled matters in the Middle Euphrates and the army could give its single-minded attention to affairs in the Muntafiq, which, up to the 20th, had been growing steadily worse.

In this area the Ghazzi had looted the railway station at Ur, and torn up the main line between Ur and Tel al Lahm and the branch line between Ur and Nasiriyah. Further east, in the Suq ash Shuyukh qadha, the situation was about as bad as it could be. The garrisons of the serai in Suq ash Shuyukh town, and of the many isolated police posts in the qadha, had surrendered, been disarmed by the tribesmen, and taken into captivity. Among the Ajwan group, however, which occupies the land on either side of the Shatt al Hai, government's diplomatic handling of the Sheikhs had been successful in preventing the outbreak of any serious disorders, and in procuring the unimpeded passage of two battalions to Nasiriyah through Ajwan country.

The advance from Rumaitha was slow, the railway between Sammawa and Rumaitha having been destroyed at many points and over considerable stretches. Security demanded that the army should repair the track as they advanced, and Sammawa was not entered until about the 20th.

Meanwhile vigorous efforts were being made by the government to get in touch with the insurgents in the Suq ash Shuyukh qadha. The news of the army's victory at Rumaitha rapidly passed south, acting as

a sedative on those tribes which had already broken into open revolt, and as a conclusive deterrent to waverers. The Ajwan group, which has already been referred to, and which was the most powerful of the three groups forming the Muntafiq confederation, had been among those whose loyalties originally gave ground for misgiving. They could now be relied on to remain inactive. Their Sheikhs, whose local influence was weighty, were pressed into service as intermediaries between government and the anarchy which prevailed in the Suq ash Shuyukh qadha. These efforts met with a considerable measure of success. By the time the army was ready to push southward from Sammawa, which was about the 22nd, the position in the Muntafiq, though still deplorable, gave many indications of improvement. The tribal leaders of the Ghazzi, the Azairij, and the Husseinat had reported to the serai and promised to organize tribal labour for the repair of the branch line connecting Nasiriyah with Ur, while the heads of the two tribes occupying the river bank between Nasiriyah and Suq ash Shuyukh town had declared their loyalty to the government. A communication, professing loyalty, had furthermore been received from Bedr ar Rumaiyidh, head of the Albu Salih tribe, which lies immediately to the north of the Suq ash Shuyukh qadha, a man of great local influence and prestige.

By the 24th, the date by which the first troops from the Rumaitha area had reached the Muntafiq, a general release of the police who had been captured in the various posts had taken place. The surrender of these prisoners by the tribes marked the conclusion of anything in the way of collective and organized resistance to government. From that moment cohesive insurrection could be regarded as at an end. It remained only for government to re-establish itself. The general march and progress of its efforts in this direction are unknown to me, but it would perhaps be profitable and of interest to remind ourselves of the main features of these occurrences, and to review them in the light of their effect on the political future of the country.

When the new year opened we had a situation which, though far from satisfactory, was retrievable within the range of constitutional adjustment. Whatever the legal verdict may be concerning the manner in which the Ikha government placed itself in power, the spirit of its behaviour was outside that range, and the country was treated to a demonstration of the fact that unconstitutional action in pushing a demand was one effective way of ensuring that it should be gratified. It is to be hoped that the people of the country have not

interpreted their experience in this matter to read that it is the only effective way; but it is feared that certain of those conceptions inculcated by the mandatory power, which had their root in the spirit of democracy to which we have been bred, will have suffered a rude shock. Neither the tribesman nor the unscrupulous politician will forget what they have seen during the last few months. Shiaism, and those feudal impulses which are the tribesman's sole political instinct and of which Shiaism is but a part, are forces which have been revitalized, and they will demand delicate handling if they are once more to be brought under effective control. Old standards and old loyalties will be looking to reassert themselves in the mentalities of the people.

It is fashionable in these days to regard such departures from democratic principles with an increasing complacency, and when they relate to Eastern affairs there are those who look on them even with satisfaction, contending that a curtain of Western constitutionalism, which conceals but does not smother the feudal outlook of an undeveloped people, can only be harmful. It is not my intention nor my place to probe into this complex and controversial subject, and I need do no more than emphasize that those of 'Iraq's well-wishers, who have looked for a steady forward progress of the country within the framework of those democratic principles which the mandatory power endeavoured to promote, must view the successful exploitation of the tribes by the Ikha politicians with profound disappointment.

While, on the one hand, the spectacle of a disgruntled opposition riding roughshod over the constitution must to many minds provide ample material for gloomy prophecies, one can, on the other hand, take heart from the fact that the offending opposition, once in power, has fulfilled the first essential of government, and shown itself strong and undeflecting. Perhaps at no time since the creation of the kingdom, and certainly at no time since the relinquishment of the Mandate, has government's prestige stood so high. Faced with a most serious national crisis the government has performed its task with forcefulness, resolution, and vigour, and its endeavours have met with well-merited success. It has, too, shown itself capable of tempering these qualities with liberality, its treatment of Khawwam and his fellow-prisoners having been in no way vindictive. These prisoners have been sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment, but I understand that there have been no death sentences, except in the cases of two army deserters who joined the insurgents. Perhaps the point whereat government

has most noticeably and conspicuously bettered and consolidated its position is with regard to the army. In these operations, which are the first which have been independently undertaken by the army against the tribes of southern 'Iraq, the army has comported itself creditably, and done much to dispel a generally felt lack of confidence in its ability to hold together and act effectively in face of serious tribal opposition. All types of the population, and more particularly the tribes, must have revised their opinions regarding the effectiveness of the army in the light of its behaviour during these operations, and an increased respect for the compulsive abilities of government must have been the result.

Balancing up these considerations there are ample grounds for concluding that the 'Iraqi State is more firmly established to-day than it gave promise of being twelve months ago. The Ikha government has shown itself capable of resolution and liberality. No two qualities could better equip it for restoring political tranquillity or more effectively aid it in its efforts to build up something better than that which it has destroyed. Let a sympathetic and resolute attitude towards the undeveloped Shia tribes invest its future policy, and it may well be that it will eventually be able to show that what one can only look on as a reprehensible means, has been justified by the ends attained.

Chinese, Tibetans, Mohammedans, Mongols, and the Aborigines. The climate is very cold in winter and temperate in summer. We grow such English flowers as geraniums and chrysanthemums in our garden; but the rainfall is negligible, and in the eastern district cultivation is carried on by means of irrigation. Water-wheels, of as much as 100 feet diameter, lift the water from the river into troughs, from which it runs over the land in irrigation canals.

The smaller streams are usually spanned by cantilever bridges, some of which are still in use after 100 years of work. When travelling to the Tibetan border it is necessary to cross the Hwang Ho, which is at that point more than $\frac{1}{4}$ mile broad, by a large ferry, strongly constructed to carry as many as a hundred passengers, and thirty mules and horses besides on one journey. It is managed with two oars, one on the side and one at the back for the steersmen; and although it frequently rides very low in the water when heavily laden, there is rarely any mishap.

From Sining one travels via Tsa-ma-leng to Tangar, which is the last city before one reaches the borders of Tibet. The pass by which one crosses into Tibet is known as the Rih-ioh-San, and is about 14,000 feet high, being practically at the summit of a peak, and above the general level of the watershed at that part of the range. As one goes over one gets a magnificent view of the border wall, which, though much dilapidated, can still be traced almost throughout its length between China Proper and Tibet. The summit of the pass is, as usual, crowned with a shrine, and obo; no Tibetan pilgrim would pass the place without praying at the shrine, ringing the bell, and adding his prayer flag to the flags already hanging there, and his handful of sticks to the pile of sacred brushwood, known as an obo.

This range of hills marks the limit of cultivation. On the Chinese side, wheat, barley, and oats grow freely; on the Tibetan are rolling plateaux, with here and there good pasture. The scenery on the Tibetan side is, however, very attractive, especially in spring, when I once recollect counting as many as eighty different sorts of wild flowers in one small plot where we had halted for luncheon.

In the part of Tibet neighbouring Sining there are numerous lamaseries. That of Tsi-Tsa-Si contains forty or fifty lamas. The lamasery of Choh tsang Si has between eighty and ninety lamas. While twenty-five miles from Sining, the lamasery of Kum Bum, the largest in this district, numbers 3,600 lamas. It boasts a golden-roofed Temple, and a prayer-hall, where as many as 1,000 lamas can pray at one time, and

there are supposed to be 10,000 images there. The lamas are both Mongol and Tibetan. Among these images is one 30 feet high of Tsong Ka Ba, which is only unveiled twice a year. The tree of Tsong Ka Ba in this lamasery, which is supposed to have sprung up on the spot where Tsong Ka Ba's mother threw away his hair, where he first received the tonsure on expressing his desire to become a lama at seven years old, is also greatly revered. Among the pilgrims whom I saw there, praying in front of the curtain before the sacred image, was one old man whose friends told me that he would not leave the monastery until he had completed 10,000 prostrations. Many pilgrims make the pilgrimage by prostrating themselves all the way. The pilgrim lies at full length on the ground, stretches out his hand to mark the spot in front of him, rises to his feet, and toeing the mark so made, prostrates himself afresh. Some take as much as a year in this way on the road.

Among other sights of the monastery are eight chortens, of eight incarnate Buddhas, who were here massacred, and afterwards cremated, and these chortens erected to their honour.

The lamas are summoned to prayer by long brazen trumpets, and make their devotions in the presence of the incarnate Buddha in the Hall of Prayer for about three hours every day. There are also several hundred prayer cylinders in the monastery, and no pilgrim will go away until he has set every one of them revolving. At Koh-mang-si lamasery there is an interesting prayer-wheel, which is turned by water, being built over a stream. And as the stream never runs dry, so the wheel never ceases to turn, and is supposed to be praying both for the lamasery and for the man who set it up.

Tibetans are very religious folk. Among the things which every man carries about with him are not only his wine-bottle, tinder, pipe, chopsticks and knife, but equally invariably his Buddha-box, prayer bell, wheel, drum, and beads. The leaves of the tree of Tsong Ka Ba, at the monastery of Kum Bum, are supposed by the faithful each to bear inscribed the character which stands for his name. But when we say that we can see no writing on the leaves shown to us, they tranquilly reply, "Ah, that is because you are unbelievers; it is only visible to the faithful."

On the fifteenth of the first Chinese moon, a date that roughly corresponds to our February 15, thirty images of butter are set up round the monastery, of which the largest, standing some 25 to 30 feet high, is curtained in a pavilion of silk. It is said to take ten lamas three months to make such an image. One that I photographed,

which was about 25 feet high, had a wonderful background, also all constructed in butter, and all most vividly coloured. Above the head of the image was a small window, and every now and again, as the worshippers stood in front worshipping, a small lama boy, in hiding behind, made a little butter image of the Buddha bow to them out of this window. And as the people saw it nod its head it seemed to them that the god accepted their worship, and they were rapt with joy.

A noted devil-dance is held at this lamasery four times a year. You will then see assembled some thousands of people, and as the dancers go past, every now and then someone breaks away from the crowd and kneels to kiss the hem of the garment of one of the dancers, who to him at that moment is representing the devil whom he worships.

On a day corresponding to June 6, which is the annual festival of the silken Buddha, a great silken scroll, from among the scrolls that they have stored in the monastery, is taken out and spread on the hill-side. Strangely enough, as often as this festival is held, the day on which it is celebrated has always been fine. The scroll covers a large piece of ground, and all along beside it are ranged the sick, the halt and the blind, who crawl under the scroll, and hope thereby to be cured of their complaints, although I have met with no reported cases of miracles so performed.

The Tibetan nomads live around Lake Kokonor. You have to look out for their dogs when you approach an encampment, as they are trained to be extremely fierce. They are, however, most faithful to their owner: one we had from a pup, died of grief when we went home on leave.

Some among these nomads have more than one wife. Both polygamy and polyandry are practised among them. The women dress their hair most elaborately. It is common to plait it into 108 plaits in honour of their 108 chief sacred books. And these plaits are fastened to silver ornaments, which hang down to the ground behind them, and tinkle as they walk, in a pleasant manner. Both the men and women affect bright colours, especially orange, emerald green, royal blue, and scarlet; so that their fairs are a human kaleidoscope of colours.

We have both Tibetans, Mongols, and Aborigines among our guests in the "Gospel Inn" that we opened for the Tibetans, who fared so ill when they came to Sining to trade and put up at Chinese inns. Among our guests there once was an old Tibetan who had allowed his hair to grow, and we asked him to let it down for us to

see. He was a tall old man, 6 feet high, and his hair, when let down, not only touched the ground, but stretched about 3 feet along the floor behind him. It is through our guests there, and our visits to fairs, that portions of the Bible have penetrated into parts of Tibet far beyond any place we have ever been allowed to visit.

In answer to questions, the lecturer added that he had not found traces of the Nestorian tribes of that region which Sir Percy Sykes mentioned as having been known to Rubruquis and others. A Nestorian tablet still existed *in situ* in Sian city, but as far as his enquiries over twenty-five years extended he had never met anything that might be attributable to Nestorian survivals among either the beliefs or the customs of the people.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer, proposed by the Chairman, Sir Horace Rumbold, and special mention was made of the slides which illustrated the lecture.

PLANT HUNTING IN THE CAUCASUS*

By P. L. GIUSEPPI

IN the late spring of this year I led a plant collecting expedition of five to the Caucasus. We arrived at the Russian frontier from Warsaw early one morning and passing under the famous arch were soon at the frontier station. I was keenly interested to see the U.S.S.R. of which I had read so much. My first experience was the examination of the baggage, which was punctiliously carried out in a great hall magnificently decorated with frescoes illustrating the life of Russia. The Customs officer seemed more interested in the discovery of propaganda than in anything else, every newspaper and book was carefully scrutinized and even an occasional gramophone record (imported by some other travellers) was played. One traveller was importing some "magic" painting books for children. These were a great puzzle to the Customs officer, who insisted on having one of the pictures rubbed over with a pencil to assure himself that here there was no Press propaganda. After a lengthy examination the train steamed out. At dinner we were handed a list of some 300 dishes written in French and Russian from which to choose our meal, and we each chose a different dish. After waiting some half-hour the attendant brought us each a plate of veal, and on enquiry from a fellow-traveller we found that out of the 300 dishes the only one obtainable was veal. On our arrival at Moscow the Intourist met us with a Packard car, and for two days we visited everything possible in the city. Our interpreter, Dobin by name, of whom much will be written, met us there. He soon proved his worth, and throughout the trip was always ready to tell us of conditions in Russia both past and present. It was interesting to see the streets crowded with working men and women, all quietly dressed. So rarely did we meet a smartly-dressed woman that I found myself turning to stare at such a rare sight. It would be impossible in this paper on plant collecting to deal with the social problem of the U.S.S.R.; however, this much will I

* Lecture given on November 7, 1935, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the Chair. In opening the lecture, the Chairman reminded the audience of a lecture given in 1933, when Dr. Giuseppi told of his plant finds in Iran; those members who had heard him then would welcome another delightful account of his adventures in the Caucasus.

say, that whereas Major Douglas visualises a social paradise based on a new monetary doctrine, the U.S.S.R. envisages a workers' State with work for everyone and no overproduction. Will they attain it? Whether they do or not, the fact remains that they have initiated the greatest experiment in history.

From Moscow we travelled south-eastwards in the comfortable compartments of the "soft class." The journey, though wearying by its length and by the monotony of the flat steppes of Russia, offered us much of interest. The trains were comfortable because of the width of the gauge, they were spotlessly clean because the engines burned oil, and a walk down the train was of continual interest in the studies it provided of the traveller in the "hard class." These people were provided with wooden benches on which to sleep. It was possible to hire bedding; however, in spite of this, the hard class seemed to me a most uncomfortable method of travel. Little did I think that at a later stage of our journey we would be forced to travel consistently in the "hard class." The trains stop at most of the stations, and here the crowds were most interesting. All sorts of foods were on sale, from queer fishes to excellent ices. Our interpreter, Dobin, was our Chancellor of the Exchequer who paid for everything. We felt like little boys with empty pockets travelling with a master. At long last we arrived at Prokladhaya at the awful hour of 4.30 a.m. We left in a tiny wooden train by the branch line for Nalchik. The train was crowded to suffocation by a happy crowd who laughed and joked, enjoying the sight of us, who must have seemed as strange to them as they to us. We left, after an early lunch at the delightful hotel, in a large motor-bus for Adyl Su. We travelled up a valley inhabited by the Kabardars and the Balkars and bounded by wonderful vertical cliffs which in some places seemed to overhang the road. The houses here were of one story with flat roofs surmounted by enormous circular chimneys made of basket-work covered with white clay. Very soon we enjoyed the first views of the main chain of the Caucasus, covered with snow and ice, peeping from among the clouds in a deep blue sky. At last we arrived at a pleasant hotel built in a pine wood, and we were soon afoot studying the nearby plants. In the wood we found *Primula auriculata* and the delightful *Aquilegia olympica*, with large blue flowers and creamy white centres. Just above the hotel the first important find was *Daphne glomerata*, a plant which we were soon to find on almost every one of our mountains.

From 5,000 feet to 10,000 feet, this plant afforded us the greatest

delight. It varied enormously in size and bore its flowers either at the end of the stems or between the leaves. The flowers were creamy yellow in colour with pink stalks. It spreads by underground stems which root as they travel and is one of the most floriferous of the daphnes. Here indeed is one the great plants. Next day we left early for Dongus Orun, one of the high peaks in the neighbourhood of Elbruz. The path travelled through a delightful wood of *Pinus hamata*, and soon we met the first of our campanulas, *Camp. saxifraga*, a plant which, with *Camp. tridentata*, seemed to grow everywhere both on the cliffs and in the grass. We stopped for a drink at some iron springs, and here on the rocks we found a *sempervivum*. As we ascended higher, the meadows became more and more covered with flowers; sheets of a beautiful pink form of *Primula auriculata*, *Trollius patulus*, *Arnebia echioides*, *Lilium zovitzianum* and *Anemone narcissiflora* enlivened the scene. The anemone consisted not only of the ordinary white flowered type, but of yellow, and of a few with perfectly delightful pink flowers, a type which were entirely new to me.

At 7,500 feet we pitched our camp in a wonderful situation beneath the snow-clad peak of Dongus Orun and high above the noisy head waters of the Baksan river. Taking the youngest of the party with me, I hastened up the valley to the high pass of Dongus Orun. The ground about was covered with a pink form of *Anemone albana* and *Primula auriculata*, and at 8,600 feet appeared a lovely brown fritillary with dark spots. Still higher, on the outcrops of rock, appeared *Lloydia serotina* in large numbers with countless blossoms decking the dark brown rocks; also large plants of *Saxifraga verticillata* with leaves arranged in vortices and small yellow flowers. But best of all the plants was *Draba begardes var. imbricata*, which grew in clumps on the gaunt rocks. The leaves were tiny and so closely pressed together as to form practically a cushion of green. The flowers were large and golden in colour, and so floriferous were some of the plants that the cushions appeared to be golden. Unfortunately it soon began to rain and hail and a strong wind arose, and to add to our misery a mist descended. By the time we got back to our camp we were frozen and wet through, but dry clothes, hot tea and brandy soon made new men of us, and dinner of a wonderful stew completed the cure. Next morning, taking two of the horses, Mr. Ballard, Mr. Lazenby and I left for Elbruz. We passed on our way over carpets of *Primula auriculata* and *Gentians verna* and *pyrenaica*. Large bushes of

Rhododendron caucasicum grew on the mountainside, and I was soon convinced that this despised rhododendron was an excellent plant in its native land. On the shady side of the rocks a fine red form of *Primula amœna* grew in large quantities and the queer *Salix Apoda* with its extraordinarily long catkins formed big shrubs. *Saxifraga cartilaginea* and *Sedum tenellum* grew on the rocks, but the best of all was, in my opinion, a high form of *Sempervivum pumilum* which grew at 9,000 feet. In this form the leaves were narrow and pointed and close pressed against each other, and the rosettes measured about a quarter of an inch. The delicacy of this plant was such that it seemed to be enamelled in pale green on the brown rocks. The ascent of Elbruz from 8,000 feet to the hut at 9,000 feet was exceedingly steep, and the exertion produced much shortness of breath. The views around were superb. The two great summits of Elbruz tower to their height of 18,600 feet, and across a narrow valley stretched the main chain of the Caucasus, covered in a white mantle of snow. Peaks of wondrous shape were piled around us; Azau, and the great summit of Dongus Orun were perhaps the most outstanding in this marvellous panorama. Sitting and enjoying this sight I could but agree with Freshfield in his love of these mountains. The hut was very comfortable, our one trouble being that the tea was never hot, as the water would not boil at that height. We spent the night in the dormitory and next morning left early for a climb to 11,000 feet. Round the hut the rocks were covered with *Campanula saxifraga*, *Saxifraga verticillata* and enormous mats of *Draba begardes* var. *imbricata*. On the surrounding screes grew a delightful low-growing veronica with pale blue flowers; also hundreds of *Primula farinosa* var. *algida*, with its tiny but beautiful pink flowers, *Centaures ochroleuea* and *Daphne glomerata*. At 11,000 feet plant life came to an end and we passed to a zone of perpetual snow. We descended, thoroughly enjoying the beautiful scenery. The large pinewoods of *Pinus hemata* were really delightful, and I was indeed sorry to go down again to the valleys below. On our track we passed some iron springs and on the rocks around grew in profusion a sempervivum species with red tips. It was, however, very pleasant to arrive at our hotel at Adyl Su once more. Next morning we left at six a.m. for Nalchik. Here we enjoyed a good lunch in the new hotel and left for Ordjonikidze in the car. It soon began to rain, and about twenty miles out a leaf in the back spring broke. We carried on to a blacksmith's yard in a little village. There I thoroughly enjoyed watching the excellent work done by our

two chauffeurs and the smith, who in a record time dismantled the spring, made and inserted a new leaf and remounted the spring. In the intervals of watching I visited a kindergarten. Here the mothers, before leaving for their work in the fields, leave their children to be cared for by two mistresses during the day. The children are taught a few lessons; they played such games as ring-o'-roses and sang quite nicely, and they certainly were a healthy lot. It was interesting as we drove along the roads to see the large poultry farms. The hen houses were built of brick, and at first sight the runs resembled nothing so much as a row of semi-detached workmen's cottages. However, there was a complete absence of doors and windows and in their place tiny openings allowed the birds to enter. Thousands of birds were wandering around. Near the chicken farms we saw large co-operative piggeries complete with slaughter-houses and factories for the preparation of bacon. The road rapidly deteriorated and the rain fell more and more heavily, and our car floundered in deep black mud on a road far worse than any that we had yet experienced. At times we drove on fields rather than on roads for yards; at times the car slid sideways on the road. We had many a narrow escape from striking concealed trunks of trees and low bushes. Our chauffeur certainly was an experienced driver, and, always when disaster seemed imminent, with a clever turn of the wheel he slid past. Again and again the car stuck in some particularly deep mud-hole and we watched the chauffeur drive the car backwards and forwards until the wheels had dug their way through the mud to the drier soil below. At last we stuck in an extra bad hole at 8.30 p.m., and it was evident that we could never get to Ordjonikidze by car. What a problem will be the making up of macadam roads on the steppes of Russia! We returned sadly to the little station of Murstasovo which we had just passed and hurried to the buffet for our dinner. The dinner consisted of boiled potatoes and gravy, five eggs each and endless cups of tea. I slept that night sitting up on a chair with my arms on the table, for the floor was filthy beyond words. At 2 a.m. we hurriedly ran into the station where people were asleep on the floor in all positions. The train at last arrived forty minutes late. Whilst we were waiting for the train we heard the news on the wireless that Mr. Baldwin had become Prime Minister. We travelled by hard class on wooden shelves arranged as bunks. At last we arrived at a lonely junction to find that the train to Ordjonikidze was due to arrive at 9.45 a.m. In the interval we had breakfast and watched the Russians sitting by the

hour meditating while waiting for their trains, and we wondered whether they meditated or whether their minds were a blank! Eventually we arrived at the delightful little town of Ordjonikidze and were taken once again to a clean hotel in a pretty garden. Here we enjoyed an excellent lunch and had a much needed rest. We were soon hurrying on through the Georgian Highway to Kasbek. The high cliffs on each side of the well-engineered road were covered with *Campanula bellidifolia* and the lowland form of *Sempervivum pumilum*. Above these cliffs appeared from time to time great snow-clad peaks. At the village of Kasbek we slept in the mountain hut, and here we found a large party of boy and girl students who as a reward for good work had been sent for a holiday to this lovely spot. Next morning we left early for a day on the slopes of Kasbek. Our first plant of interest was *Primula amœna*, of which we found a quantity growing in a shady woodland; *Anemone narcissiflora*, in its white and pink forms; *Salix Apoda*; *Gentiana pyrenaica* and *verna*; *Campanula saxifraga* and *Primula farinosa var. algida* all helped to make the floral meadows of Kasbek one of the most glorious sights we had seen. However, the plant which appealed the most to me was a delightful yellow fritillary with brown spots, one of the most delightful colour schemes I had seen in a fritillary. On a shoulder of Kasbek was perched a ruined Georgian Church which loomed black against a background of snow-covered mountains. At 11,000 feet we had the pleasure of a marvellous view of the summit pyramid of Kasbek suddenly appearing for a few minutes through the mist. That night at the shelter we were invited to a dance. Sitting outside in the moonlight with snow-clad peaks rising on both sides of the valley we enjoyed the national songs and dances for a long time. The dances took place on a four foot square platform to the tune of an accordion. I was invited to dance, and so with one of the maids who danced very well we did a foxtrot amidst great applause! Next morning we hurried on our way to Tiflis. The road rises rapidly to the mineral spring of Narzan. Here, though the day was cold, we thoroughly enjoyed the aerated iron water. We continued our ascent to the top of the pass in great loops; here, surrounded by the snow, it was very cold. Huge peaks towered above us, but the surrounding country, which had only recently thawed, provided us with a poor flora. Down in the valleys we enjoyed our lunch at a little wayside inn and continued after lunch past the old church of Mzhet to Tiflis where, once again, we found a clean hotel. Next day we went on our way by the

night train to Yevlak. Here we arrived about 4 a.m., and after an early breakfast left in a crowded bus for Nukha in the Eastern Caucasus. As we drove past a continuous series of mud-hills we were cheered up by distant views of the snow-clad Caucasus. We had lunch at a small wayside inn, and on arrival at the uninteresting little village of Nukha hired three dilapidated phaetons to drive to Bash-laiski. The road soon ended in a track and the track in a river bed. Shaken from side to side on an unbelievably rough surface the phaetons somehow progressed until they arrived at the village built among delightful orchards at the foot of the Caucasus. The local Soviet sent us to a kindergarten and there we were given a room and balcony for our stay. In this village entirely peopled by Turki we found one man who spoke both English and French. No horses were to be hired here to take us to the mountains and so we sent a messenger to the neighbouring village of Shin, which is peopled by Lesghians, for horses for the morrow. These were promised for 4 a.m. During the night it thundered and rained. At 9 o'clock next morning the horses arrived with a man or woman in charge of each. As soon as they arrived they refused to go. They had brought no reins and no rope for the pack animal. Hours of argument followed—an argument which was carried on in English, Russian, Turki, Lesghian—and at length at 12.15 p.m. they agreed to go for two days instead of the promised three. The village of Shin, through which we went, is delightfully placed in a fertile valley, and large crowds collected to see us pass. Curiously enough Mr. G. P. Baker visited the Eastern Caucasus from this same village. Rocks along a torrent up which we went were covered with *Campanula radeana*. Eventually we arrived at the banks of the torrent Shenai to find the torrent swollen by the recent rains. The stream was so turbulent that huge boulders were being washed down and it was quite impossible to cross. We returned and set up our tents in a pleasant position below a waterfall. That evening we had a good view of a huge bear which crossed and recrossed the river with ease. Next morning we again ascended to the crossing, and Mr. Ballard, Mr. Lazenby and myself at last managed to get across. Forging the river caused anxious moments, for I wondered all the time whether the horses would be washed off their legs by the force of the current. After leaving the horses we ascended a steep shoulder of the mountain through a beechwood in which grew *Lilium zovitzianum*. The ascent was extremely tiring and the wood very hot. At last we arrived at the crest of Seid Ort, high above the

torrent—even here we could hear its roar below us. We enjoyed glorious views of forest below, of rivers and of our tiny tent 3,000 feet below. Here again the plants were meadow plants. Sweet smelling thyme, *Daphne glomerata*, *Saxifraga cartalaginea*, a cerastium species, and numerous other plants carpeted the ground. At 7,000 feet a shepherd's shelter appeared; this was sunk in the ground and covered with turf. Large flocks of goats and sheep wandered on the hillside. At 8,000 feet *Arnebia echiodes*, *Gentians angulosa* and *pyrenaica* and *Daphne glomerata* grew in profusion. On some of the cliffs we found nice plants of *Campanula aucheri*. We descended through the wood at great speed, sliding down from tree to tree, to find that the horses and men were not where we expected them. After waiting a little while a Lesghian arrived riding a horse and he kindly gave me a lift across the turbulent stream. When my colleagues eventually arrived they were astonished to find me on the opposite bank. On returning through the village I was fortunate enough to be allowed to photograph many of the women and children. We stayed for one day at Bashlaiski and I was struck by the seriousness of the Turki boys and girls, who seldom smiled, whereas the Lesghians were full of vitality, brightly clad, and the women were anxious to show their charms. In our kindergarten a large crowd of children were taught lessons, games and singing; they were very shy and it was very difficult to make friends with them. The phaetons took us back to Nukha, where we found to our horror that the Intourist had for the first time let us down. Our interpreter had insufficient money to pay for the phaetons and lunch, and we were obliged to let the extra seats in the bus, for which we had already paid, in order to obtain the necessary funds. We left Nukha at 4 p.m. and lunched at 4.30 p.m. at the same inn at which we had had lunch on our way out. On the way to Yevlak we had many opportunities of seeing the huge tractors at work reaping in the large fields. When we arrived at the station we found that not only had we no money, but that no tickets had been booked for us, and only forty minutes before the departure of the train did the interpreter manage to borrow enough money to engage six sleepers in the hard class. When the train arrived we found that the sleepers allotted to us were already occupied. Much hurrying took place, and at last, just as the train was leaving, six seats were found for us and, throwing the luggage aboard, we scrambled in. The compartments were so crowded that it was quite impossible to sleep, and we were glad enough to arrive at Tiflis early next morning. We returned from Tiflis to

Ordjonikidze in a large car through the beautiful Georgian Highway. From this town we left in the same car and for miles travelled westwards over the flat steppes with the main chain of the Caucasus to our left until we got to the valley of the Ardon. Here it was very noticeable that the most northern of the parallel chains which form the Caucasus are of limestone, and on the rocks we found a *Saxifrage sp.* and a sempervivum which has not yet been named, and *Androsace villosa* and enormous clumps of *Gypsophilla aretioides* (one clump bore three white flowers; it must indeed be rare for this plant to flower). As we ascended the valley we found quantities of the same sempervivum, and we at length left the River Ardon and ascended by a very steep road to the sanatorium at Zei. The sanatorium was just about to be opened for the season and we were allotted beds in one of the empty buildings. There were large pine trees around and two great valleys joined together at the sanatorium. Under the pine trees grew beautiful ferns, *Lilium zovitzianum*, *pyrola rotundifolia* and *pyrola uniflora*, huge carpets of *Linnæa borealis* and *Daphne mezereum*. I hurried up the valley to the Zei glacier the evening of our arrival and reaped a rich reward, not only of the beautiful scenery, but of the marvellous plants. The sempervivum species grew ever smaller as I got higher—*Sax. juniperina*, *Campanula kryosophyla*, with beautiful blue flowers, *Asplenium septentrionale*, two aster species with pink flowers, *Primula auriculata*, *Anemone narcissiflora*, *Gentian pyrenaica*, *Rhododendron caucasicum* and *Geranium renardii* grew in profusion. The geranium had pale pink flowers and most attractive leaves closely resembling those of *Salix reticulata*. At the head of the valley the scenery was magnificent; from great snow-clad peaks descended an enormous glacier and a steep little valley ascended into the heart of the main chain. The scenery was indeed as fine as any I had as yet seen in the Caucasus. Early next morning Mr. Ingwersen and myself ascended the second valley, that named Salfidar. We got up to 11,000 feet on a very steep incline up a moving moraine. Here we found a corydalis species, in some cases with yellow flowers and in others of deep blue, closely resembling *Corydalis Kashmeriana*; other flowers were of pure white with frills of blue around their mouths. Here was a delightful plant; the difficulty of collecting it was enormous, for the corms grew in the moving moraine and on the least attempt at moving the stones, more stones fell in from the top. At a higher level we found a yellow primula resembling a cowslip, but with large flowers, and on the very edge of the great brown cliffs grew large

numbers of *Primula nivalis* var. *Bayerniana*. This plant must surely be one of the most beautiful of that section. It bore huge white flowers in great clusters on long stalks and its enormous leaves with white mid ribs and white frilled edges added to the beauty of the plant. Among other plants we found *Primula auriculata*, *Salix apoda*, large numbers of *Primula amœna* of every shade from white to darkest purple, *Lloydia serotina*, *Dryas octopella* and last a muscari species, probably the most delightful muscari I have collected. The flowers were of the exact colour of Copenhagen china and the lower florets were of dark purple. This bulb usually grew on the smallest ledges of the high cliffs, but a few were to be found seeded down in the moraine below. Next day we ascended again to the head of the delightful valley of Zei; here a mist sprang up, but in spite of it I was able to ascend a small, steep gulley down which roared a torrent and which ascended to the pass leading to the village of Gloor. This valley was fascinating, not only in its beauty and its solitude and the ever and ever more beautiful views it provided of the Caucasus, but in the beauty of its plants. On the stern brown cliffs grew *Saxifrage juniperiana*, *Draba begardes* var. *imbricata*; in the turf grew a pink centaurea, *Gentian verna angulosa*, *Gentian pyrenaica*, *Arnebia achioides*, the little blue muscari mentioned earlier and the delightful *Viola pumila*, which is endemic to the Caucasus. The plant spread by underground stolons and was covered with numerous yellow flowers. The summit of the pass was composed of jagged crags closely resembling a saw. It was here that as I drank at a tiny rill which rose among many ferns from the foot of the cliffs I heard a voice calling. In spite of the closest search I could see no one, and as my two colleagues were seated some two thousand feet below I knew it must be a figment of my imagination. On my way down I saw *Draba mollissima* on the cliff. It grew in the densest shade and was always protected by overhanging rock, so that no water could reach the leaves. It grew also in such tiny cracks that it was impossible to remove a plant. It resembled the great mats of *Androsacæ helvetica* in the Alps and is indeed one of the most striking plants seen during this holiday. It was covered with countless golden flowers, but whether in flower or not it is a plant in a million. On our way through the woods we found a plant of *Veronica telepifolia* growing on the edge of a running stream in extremely damp soil. It is possible therefore that the difficulty experienced in growing it is due to insufficiency of water that it has been given.

We returned to the hotel at Ordjonikidze in time for dinner, and after a good meal I again had the pleasure of dancing with a charming Russian girl. Next day some of us visited a State farm for cattle and pig breeding. The manager invited us to lunch, an invitation gladly accepted as it gave us an excellent opportunity of seeing how the workers were fed. Lunch consisted of a good soup, macaroni and hot milk, sour milk and a pancake. The workers are fed three times daily from the communal kitchen and the meals are varied each day. Every person can have as many helpings as he wants and pays monthly for the food. Each family is allotted one room for every two members; tables, beds, chairs, plates, glasses and spoons are supplied. The wages vary from 150 to 200 roubles per week. Meals cost one rouble per meal for each family. That afternoon I visited the park and found a boating lake, a gymnasium and a good musical centre. After dinner that evening I once again danced with some girls. The large garden of the hotel was dotted with arbours lighted with electricity and many people sat about in them enjoying the music and dancing. We spent the next day resting from the toils of this tiring holiday and that evening experienced the worst piece of mismanagement on the part of the Intourist for the whole of our trip. Through some mistake sleepers had not been booked for the party, and so about 10 p.m. we left in an old broken down car for a distant station over one of the worst roads yet met with. At 2 a.m. we arrived at the station and after walking up and down the platform in the rain we were at last allotted four seats in the hard class for the six of us. The train was packed and we were tired, and I must confess that I was far angrier than I had been for years. On our arrival at a station called Mineral Springs we were given six sleepers in the hard class, but though incomparably better than the accommodation we had left it fell far short of what we expected and what we had paid for. The wooden benches were too short and so narrow that on the least movement one had to be careful not to fall off. I must say that this experience coming at the end of a most delightful but tiring trip, a trip that on the whole had been very well managed by the Intourist, left an unpleasant feeling with the whole party and we arrived back at Moscow exhausted by three days of such travelling. One delightful interlude of the return journey was a blind troubadour with his concertina, who for an unforgettable hour played and sang folk songs and told tales of the heroes of long ago. With our arrival in Moscow our holiday had come to an end, and a wonderfully successful trip it

had been. We had seen many nationalities, wonderful peaks clad in their mantles of snow and glaciers and wonderful plants in their native habitat. We had travelled far afield, even as far as Russian Armenia. We had indeed been to those mountains which to the ancient Greeks had been the end of the world and which even to-day to most people are indeed the end of the world.

FROM PEKING TO KASHGAR, WITH SPECIAL REGARD TO THE ROAD FROM TANGAR TO CHERCHEN

Notes of an illustrated lecture to the Royal Central Asian Society at Burlington House on December 3, 1935, by Mr. Peter Fleming, Sir E. Denison Ross presiding.

The Chairman expressed his pleasure at presiding. The lecture would deal with the one romantic part of the world still left in which man could find himself and find adventure. To say anything about Mr. Fleming to such an audience and at a meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society would be an impertinence. He would ask him at once to give his lecture.

The lecturer said much as he disliked any form of public speaking, and sorry as he was for those who were foolish enough to come to listen to him, he was pleased as well as honoured by being asked to address the Society. If anybody knew the "form" this Society did, and he was uncomfortably aware that there were people in the room who would know when he was lying and merely boasting. There were also—which was more pleasant to think about—people who would know that if he said that at such and such a season it was rather cold, he was speaking neither more nor less than the truth and not doing what everybody who declined to "pile on the agony" was suspected of doing. A man who said he had had an easy time was assumed to have had an appalling time and to be pretending, in order to get a little extra credit, that he liked it.

A great many things could be said for and against this journey of his, but on one point there was no doubt—it was a long journey, and, in talking about it, the length was definitely a drawback. If "one crowded hour of glorious life" was "worth an age without a name," his secretary told him the seven crowded months were worth 4,500 ages. He covered 3,500 miles; a full description of that would be more than he or his audience could stand. He had decided, therefore, that the best thing would be to concentrate on the least known part of the journey.

A GOOD many people had travelled in their time across-country from China through to India, but the lecture now to be given would deal with a route that, as far as the lecturer knew, was unfamiliar to most people. He assumed his audience knew roughly what had happened.

He had left Peking in the middle of February—a party of four, with Mlle. Maillart, a Swiss, acting as special correspondent of a French newspaper, and a Russian couple called Smigunov. They left the train at Sian and went on by lorry. At Lanchow the party fell foul of an anti-Bolshevik scare. After waiting on tenterhooks for six days, Mlle. Maillart and Mr. Fleming were allowed to go on, but all Russians were stopped, and, although the Smigunovs were very respectable people, they were arrested and sent back.

This left them without any guides, but they got mules and went on

to Sining. After being held up in Sining and spending a night in the Kumbum Monastery, they reached Tangar on March 21. Here two missionaries of the China Inland Mission were extremely kind to them, taking them into their houses and assisting them in every way. They spent about a week there, and had, so to speak, booked seats on a caravan belonging to the Prince of Dzun, one of the four Mongol *hoshuns* of the Tsaidam area, who was going back to his home.

On March 28 four camels came into the mission, and they left with their belongings in the general direction of India, which, at that time, seemed a long way away. They had a Chinese called Li with them. He came from a rich Moslem merchant, spoke Mongol, and had been ten years on the road. He was not exactly a servant, but lived with them on equal terms, and they got on very well with him. At the end of the first day they spent the night in a house entirely decorated with pictures of the Russo-Japanese war. There were supposed to be bandits about, but there never were.

The next day was very cold. They began by branching off from the main road to the west, to avoid a Chinese customs post, and proceeded up a valley to a lamasery, where they spent the night; the head lama was a kindly, pleasant man, and "swopped" his horse for Mr. Fleming's. Mr. Fleming's horse was a red one, and red is considered a lucky colour. The lama's horse was a small black one, with an anti-foreign disposition. It started bucking as soon as the lecturer mounted it. In the lamasery they slept in a very warm, clean room on heated *kangs*—a sort of wooden dais, heated from underneath by charcoal or dung. They ate *kua mien*, a variety of noodles. Snow fell during the night, and it was very cold. They rode over a dark and rather forbidding hill, and came at night to a sandy tract of country. Here, for the first time, they erected their tent, which, as shown on the screen, looked a pretty good joke, but served its purpose very well.

The next day, March 31, they came to the place where the Prince of Dzun was in camp. He received them very kindly. On leaving, they gave him a new telescope and, of course, the ceremonial scarf. He was very pious, and a man walked round sprinkling water while the Prince, inside the tent, said his prayers. With his caravan they were to travel through the Tsaidam.

The Tsaidam was a curious place. On paper it was part of China. Geographically it might presumably be described as a part of the North Tibetan plateau. The altitude was over 8,000 feet. It was

inhabited almost entirely by Mongols, who wore Tibetan dress, as did the Chinese in this district.

On April 1—a very suitable date—the whole caravan moved off. It was a fine sight—250 camels, 60 or 70 men and horses, usually led by an old woman on a pony looking like a witch. It was a mile long and looked rather like a couple of chapters from the Old Testament, or—with the snow—like the retreat from Moscow.

Nothing much happened on the first day's march, except that Mr. Fleming's pony bucked him off and jumped on him. Next morning they came to the Koko Nor lake, 10,000 feet up and covering 1,630 square miles. There was a legend that it was flooded by a demon. Happily the demon was thwarted by a benevolent and presumably very large bird, which dropped a rock and stopped him. The top of the rock was sealed by a stone and formed a little islet, on which there was a lamasery.

For three days they marched along the southern shore. It was a very pleasant, reassuring life. They had one or two snowstorms, but the real trouble was the wind. There was a bad head wind which made it impossible to smoke, talk or even think. But everybody was cheerful. The routine of life was very simple. Just before dawn they were brought what Li called eye-wash water. They had a wash, but for some reason the basin had been forgotten, so they used the frying-pan. They had a hurried breakfast of tea and *tsamba* and a sort of dog-biscuit, which was a substitute for bread. *Tsamba* was the staple food of Tibetans and Mongols, who put it in tea and ate it with butter which was usually rancid. They never got tired of it.

During this part of the journey everybody kept his eye on the Prince, and, as soon as he dismounted, everybody put his horse to the gallop and they "pinched" sites and started collecting dung. Then the camels arrived, and they tugged them down to their knees and put up the tents and got into them away from the wind, which was really what everyone had been looking forward to since the tents were taken down at breakfast time. They made tea, ate *tsamba*, smoked, and at dusk had the big meal of the day. It consisted of rice, or noodle, a kind of spaghetti, and whatever they happened to have. Mr. Fleming and his companion ate this gigantic and delicious meal with Li, while the ponies munched their barley outside. Then they got into their sheepskin sleeping-bags and slept like pigs.

On the third day out the lecturer got an antelope with a fluke shot at a range of 403 paces—which he did not expect anybody to believe.

They gave away a certain amount of the meat, and their stock went up with the Mongols and Chinese, who were very nice to them, though they found them rather perplexing, for which the lecturer did not blame them. They had never seen foreigners before. There were so many visitors that it was lucky the tent would not hold more than two at a time. The "rush hour" for visitors took place when he was out shooting. Everybody who was ill, or thought he had once been ill, came round to see Mlle. Maillart, who dealt with them as best she could.

On April 4 they left the lake and turned south-west into the mountains. They were travelling through a region alleged to be infested by the Tanguts, a Tibetan tribe with a bad reputation, which they probably did not deserve in the least. Everybody carried a musket of some sort, which probably would not have gone off, and most of them had broadswords as well. A watchman wandered round at night, and occasionally uttered a rather terrifying cry.

In the mountains the country became even more barren. They had one or two waterless marches, for which they carried ice packed in sand. The highest pass they had to cross was only about 12,000 feet high, but it was very steep and, owing to the altitude, the animals had to be taken up very slowly. They travelled across a succession of very naked tablelands and passed a small frozen lake.

On April 8 they camped in the gorge of a little river, the Tsarsa, and next day crossed another pass, where they saw their first (and last) trees for three months. There were supposed to be Tanguts about, and everyone took the bandit scare seriously. In this country they began, for the first time, to see wild asses, which were very pretty animals to watch. They ranged in herds of anything up to fifteen or twenty. The Chinese, who never know much about natural history, called them wild horses. An old Chinese managed to shoot one. Their meat was over-rated, not as good as it was said to be. Lower down they saw encampments and even mud houses built in the Chinese style.

On April 10 they crossed a low pass and were surprised by what appeared to be telegraph poles, but which turned out to be festoons of jaw-bones and shoulder-bones of sheep and other animals, hung on high poles for superstitious purposes. Here they met small Tibetan yak and camel caravans coming up from the south along roads which led eventually to Lhasa. Beyond this pass they got well into a country of sand dunes and rank grass, typical of the fringe of the Tsaidam basin, in the centre of which was an enormous salt marsh. This was

very monotonous country, but warmer. The Prince of Dzun began to show signs of hurry, and after a halt in the middle of the day, they did a night march, stopped, without pitching tents, for sleep, and next day got into Dzun territory on very empty stomachs.

The caravan had begun to break up, but the main body went on, and at noon on April 12 they sighted Dzunchia. They had no idea what sort of place it was going to be. All they could see was a building like a fort, which turned out to be a dilapidated lamasery, round which was a squalid collection of mud huts, almost all unoccupied, used as a Chinese trading post. They spent three days sleeping under a roof in a smoky room, maddened by dust-storms, writing a few more farewell letters (which, after a succession of false starts, they were getting pretty good at doing), and affording a good deal of amusement to the head lama, a toothless old fool with an intolerably loud voice. The Mongols came to say good-bye to them, and the Prince gave them a present of milk.

At Dzunchia, whence they had to get to Tejjinar, there was a Mongol who was prepared to hire them camels. The only other members of the original caravan, who were going further west were a rather inexperienced gang of Chinese Moslems, who were going south of the Tsaidam to wash gold. Mr. Fleming and his companion did not want to travel with them because they would need three times as many animals, and they knew animals were going to be hard to get, but they could not very well refuse. As a matter of fact, they could not get enough camels at Dzunchia, and had to make do with yaks.

On April 16 they started off again, behind the gold seekers, who had promised to wait for them, and waited for them with a vengeance. They started feeling in very good form, but Li rather spoilt the day by stating that the new camels would take them only as far as Nomo Khantara, which was only two stages further west. When they got there they found the gold seekers already in camp and Li's brother and a couple of Tibetan lamas living in a very decorative tent. They were stuck there for six days, though at the time it seemed as if they were there for ever. A week or two after, looking at his pocket-diary, he saw that they had spent Easter there. He would say it was not a very good place to spend Easter; there was an endless grove of tamarisks, through which dust-devils, hundreds of feet high, waltzed in a curious and stately way, but it was otherwise not remarkable. There were no landmarks. The first day one of the gold seekers' boys went

off and did not turn up again. They sent out search parties by day and lit flares by night. Apart from hare shooting and patience, at both of which they became pretty good, the chief features of interest were two large mud forts of unknown age and origin. The larger was 300 yards square, about thirty feet high by ten feet thick and crenellated in the Chinese style. They were in a good state of preservation. It looked as though somebody at one time or another—probably an ancient Chinese dynasty—had maintained a garrison there. This was borne out by the fact that the ground round them had been cultivated for a long time. The only other evidence to support the theory was that the Mongols were the only community there who cultivated barley. Probably they learned it from somebody else; whether the Chinese or not the Chairman could perhaps tell him.

On April 23 they said good-bye to the lamas and marched west again. The next fortnight he proposed to skip; progress was slow and nothing much happened. There was very little game, and the chief interest was in seeing whether they could keep themselves in meat, which they always just managed to do. They were held up for three days at Gorumu on the Naichi river, six marches west of Nomo Khantara, where they changed animals. Luckily there was a good deal of gold in the Naichi, and the gold-seekers thought they had come far enough. So they made off, and Mr. Fleming and his companions got fresh camels fairly quickly. By now the days were getting hot. Going was liable to be bad, and they frequently had to make *détours* to avoid the marsh. If it had not been for the mountains to the south the landscape would have been unbearably monotonous, and, as it was, they got very tired of it. The only two things that seemed to be interesting just then were food and the future. They had plenty of food, but the future was rather uncertain. They had taken this round-about route to get into Sinkiang, which was dominated by Soviet influence; since the civil war Sinkiang authorities had been successful not only in keeping anybody out, but in keeping the few people who were there in.

It was obvious that under their own steam and on a sort of hand-to-mouth basis they would not get very much further without help, and they wanted to get some information about their prospects. This they hoped to get in Teijinar. They knew from their Russian guides that there had been a Cossack living there, and they hoped to find him because he would give them the information they needed about the prospect of getting into Sinkiang, which did not look good at the

time. They questioned everybody on the road. Some said there was a foreigner there and others said there was not, and it remained uncertain. It was not until they got to Teijinar on May 8 that they knew the Cossack, whose name was Borodishin, was there. He was there with a Russian-speaking Chinese, who was his partner in trade. He had not seen a white man for two years, and was glad to see them. He spoke good Russian; Maillart spoke Russian well; and the lecturer, being able to speak pidgin Russian, was no longer dependent on his imperfect Chinese. They were just as incapable of judging their prospects of getting to India as they had been in Peking. The obvious way to get from Teijinar to India was by a place called Ghas, which was at the extremity of the Tsaidam. Borodishin advised them not to use this way, because they had no passports and did not want to get into trouble and be turned back on the frontier. There was another more difficult road through the mountains to the south. "Road" in this lecture did not really mean a road, or even a path, but merely a practicable route. Borodishin offered to take them half the way to Issik Pakte. It was not safe for him, as a White Russian, to go further. They could not hire camels and had to buy them. The young son of the Prince invited them to call on him. He wanted a day's notice, and they fondly imagined they would have a terrific blow-out on mutton. After a hot ride of two hours they arrived ravenously hungry and had nothing but a little tea, and were treated with scant courtesy. His only previous experience of a visitor had been a wealthy visitor after the civil war, who had handsomely rewarded him with a large sum of money. The present party turned up looking very disrespectable, and when they gave him a packet of playing cards, cigarettes, and a knife it did not go too well. He not only refused to sell them camels, but gave orders to his followers not to sell them any. His Prime Minister, a charming man, supplied them behind his back with camels. By a fluke they shot an antelope, and they paid off Li, who had served them very well indeed, at the rate of 15s. a month. Eventually, on May 15, three months after leaving Peking, they started off across the desert separating them from the mountains of the south. It was pleasant not to have to make *détours* to dodge the marsh, but less pleasant when they got into the wide tract of sandhills at the foot of the mountains to be caught by half a gale of bitterly cold wind which brought a sandstorm with it. All their warm clothes were in the loads on the camels, and they dismounted and walked in the lee of the camels, trying to keep warm. It was a pretty fierce

sandstorm; they could see only about fifty yards ahead, and their faces felt as if they had been beaten by a hairbrush. Soon after nightfall they reached the place they were making for—a patch of scrub in the gorge of the river called Boron-Kol. They looked forward to seeing what sort of place it was when it got light next day, but when they woke up it was snowing so hard that they could not see anything. Borodishin and Mr. Fleming loaded the camels, which was a complicated business and quite hard work. Borodishin had a weak heart, and it was very good of him to have come at all.

They climbed out of the gorge and were hit by a blizzard which, luckily, did not last very long; when it cleared up it was nice to find themselves among mountains again. It was a desolate place, and for four days they saw no living creature except two lizards, and no vegetation except little tufts of scrub about the size of sea-pinks.

On May 18 the lecturer's horse showed signs of giving out. It was actually in good condition, but for eight days at Teijinar both the ponies had eaten the first green grass of the year, which was just beginning to come up on the edge of the swamp. According to the Mongols, the first green grass always weakened horses. Mr. Fleming and Mlle. Maillart and Borodishin decided to lay up for a day and let the horses eat some of the winter grass that grew there. Borodishin opened negotiations with the local Mongols because they wanted one to go with them to help in loading, collecting fuel, etc. They were still nominally in China, but the only sign of Chinese influence was a stone which was used to ring the silver dollars to see if they were good. Luckily theirs were, which was not always the case.

On May 20 they started off again, still doing long stages. The valley widened out and more snow peaks began to appear. The river was frozen, and occasionally the ice cracked with a noise which would fully have justified a more romantic traveller in believing, or anyhow in saying, that he was being sniped by bandits. The country got more and more barren; the lecturer's horse was out of action altogether, and they even began to have doubts of the camels.

On May 23 they left Boron-Kol and struck north-west over rolling desert country about 14,000 or 15,000 feet above sea level. There was no semblance of a track. They hit the mountains at the wrong place, thinking it was the right one, and went on up a narrow valley, where they expected to find a spring. It was a long march, and Mr. Fleming's horse was almost on its last legs. Mlle. Maillart and he

pushed it along somehow, but, at last, when they got to the top it began to hail, and Borodishin admitted that he was lost. Mr. Fleming gave his horse some barley to keep it going, and they dropped down again to the foothill and did a lot of futile marching and counter-marching, looking for a spring. They had to camp without water, after marching twelve hours. This sounded serious, but it was so high up that it was cold and they did not feel the need for water in one day. The next day they reconnoitred early and found the spring, and camped for a day because men and animals were all tired. Two more long marches brought them to their next point, Issik Pakte.

They were now, according to the map, inside Sinkiang, which was their ambition, but the place was recognized locally as belonging to the Teijinar Mongols. It was amusing to be among a new people, and they really thought, when they saw their faces, that they were back in Europe. The Turkis, Moslem by religion and Turanian by origin, were the original inhabitants of Sinkiang. They received the visitors with a certain amount of incredulity, but Borodishin, quickly if not very truthfully, told them that Mr. Fleming was a relative of H.M. the King, and after that all went well. How much longer it would be all right it was impossible to find out. Ever since the civil war, two years ago, no merchants had come up from Sinkiang, and the people at Issik Pakte had long run out of flour and tea, and for over a year had been subsisting on wild ass and antelope meat with boiled water and pepper. It was maddening to be here after three and a half months and not know what was happening in the south of Sinkiang and whether they stood a chance of getting to India.

However, they pitched the tent, did a certain amount of doctoring, and persuaded the Turkis to provide them with two guides as far as Bash Malghun, which was ten or twelve days further on through uninhabited country. These men did not turn out very well; they really came to buy flour with the dollars they had been given. At Issik Pakte the lecturer had got two more young antelopes, which was lucky because they needed meat, not only for themselves, but also for the return of Borodishin and the Mongol who were going back from here. They stayed two days, and on May 29 said good-bye to Borodishin. For the last nine years he had had no news of his wife and children in Russia. They gave him what they could spare from their stores and he went east with the Mongol while they went west with the Turkis.

The second day out of Issik Pakte they reached the shore of the Ayak Kum Kul, a large salt lake, and did two further marches along it. The lake, which was a very vulgar kind of Mediterranean blue to look at, was undrinkable, being salt, and they could get water only by scratching in two or three places in the shingle on the lakeside. It was not good water.

On June 1 they left the lake and struck up towards a low pass in the mountains, and everything began to go wrong. Two of the camels began roaring and screaming and snapping their head ropes, which were tied to pegs in their noses. They shifted the loads, but it was no good; they went slower and slower, and at last one camel knelt and refused to get up. A sudden snowstorm made it worse, and, with numb fingers, they untied his load and distributed it among the others, leaving him, as the Chinese say, "cast upon the Gobi." They did not shoot him.

The rest of the day was gloomy, but they went on climbing slowly. Another camel looked as if he was done for, and they had almost to carry him along. Next morning it was snowing hard. They tried menthol in the sick animal's nostrils. It seemed a good idea, but the camel appeared not to share this view. They had now run out of barley, and gave the horses a ration of *tsamba* and meat, then they started off. The lecturer dragged the sick camel for about three hours, but it was not going to stay the course, and he gave it up. They had now lost two camels out of four, which sounded serious, but the load was lighter and the Turkis had two camels. The Turkis, on the other hand, were not a very satisfactory feature. It was entirely their fault that the camels had got ill, but it did not appear to upset them. The only thing at which they were good was eating. Perhaps if one had not seen flour for two years one could be excused for demanding a second helping, but food was none too plentiful. Anyhow, neither of them knew enough Turki to take a very strong line. After the second camel had been abandoned they put two suitcases on the little "water rat" horse and went on. Mlle. Maillart's pony was very weak and the mare was lame. The Turkis with their camels were now making alarmingly good going, and were rapidly out of sight. They tracked them across a wide, irregular plateau and down a dried-up stream bed into a valley. They had a glimpse of them at the end of the valley and found when they got there that they had not halted, as there was no water. For the last four or five hours Mlle. Maillart's horse had only been kept on the move by one pushing and one pulling. It was hard work. They more or less knew the pony

would be no more good to them, but they could not leave him there with no grass and no water.

In the distance they could see a white streak, which might be snow, or salt, or the ice of a river. It turned out to be ice. They had been going hard for eleven hours and approached it without very much enthusiasm, but there was a little grass there for the horses.

The river, the Toruksai, was visited sometimes by Turkis from Sinkiang, who came there to wash gold. Mlle. Maillart had discovered a festering sore on one of the two surviving camels, and doctored it very effectively, without much help from the Turkis. Next day they started off again, after giving a terrific meal of *tsamba*, some filthy dried apples, and antelope meat to the pony. After this he forded the river with them, but then he stopped, and they knew that he was done, so they took the saddle off and left him. He had served them faithfully ever since they left Tangar. This left them with one horse, two weak camels, and two fresh camels, carrying the Turkis' loads. After crossing the Toruksai, they went on up a pass and spent the next two days working their way round the northern slopes of the Achik Kul Tagh range. There were a lot of marmots about, and Mr. Fleming shot one, unique in that it was the only thing they killed and did not eat. The country was less barren here; there were streams and a few blades of grass. Mlle. Maillart found a sand grouse's eggs and made them into an omelette.

On June 6 they had a bad march. They started at dawn, but at first they could not catch the mare. For seven hours she followed behind the camels, but she dodged all their efforts. At last they got her up against a bank, and with a circling movement they tangled her up in the camels' head ropes. They went down from the mountains to the Guldja valley and up over a low pass at the end of it. After nine hours they found a spring, but no grazing for the animals. The Turkis kept on telling them they would find plenty of water down the valley, but they never did, and finally they camped after nightfall without water. They had had an uninterrupted march of more than fourteen hours, of which Mlle. Maillart did more than half and the lecturer the whole on foot.

There were only two more long marches before they reached Bash Malghun, where there was grass, and they met charming people who gave them sour milk and their first fresh bread for months. The news, so far as they could understand it, was good. The fighting was over, the Tungan rebels were in control at Cherchen, but nobody seemed to think they wouldn't be delighted by the arrival of two

foreigners. After two days they went on in charge of a charming man with a beard like Father Christmas. They were now in the valley of the Cherchen Darya, and the country became barren again after Bash Malghun. On the second day they picked up a woman with a very harsh voice and a howling infant lashed on to a donkey.

On the third day out of Bash Malghun they left the river and attacked the last range of mountains between them and Takla Makhan. There was a series of steep passes, but they got the camels over them somehow, and on June 13 came to the bottom of a very deep ravine which led them out into the desert. They halted for a few hours, but there was hardly any water, and what there was, was salt. After the high passes, it seemed very hot. At dusk they went on for seven hours, till the camels gave out and they slept for a couple of hours in their tracks. On June 14 they came to the Cherchen river, where they watered the animals in a current so sandy that it looked like beige paint. They had hoped to make Cherchen that day, but by noon it was so hot and everyone was so tired that they halted again and washed in the river and drank gallons of tea. About four o'clock they started again, but soon ran into a bad belt of dunes, which were terribly hard going for the animals. One donkey collapsed and they were all struggling rather desperately when, through his field-glasses, Mr. Fleming saw knobs on the horizon, which could only be tree-tops. They could hardly believe it, but they really were in sight of Cherchen. Cheerful, and impervious to mosquitoes, they camped among the tamarisks in the river bed. The next morning, four months out of Peking, they marched into Cherchen. Except the contrast between sea and land, there was probably no greater contrast on the earth than that between desert and oasis. It seemed extraordinary to see everything green and hear again all the sounds whose existence they had forgotten—the wind in the leaves, cuckoos, and cocks crowing. There were low, flat-roofed mud houses, with wooden beams in the fields; gentle-looking people were moving about in white robes, and there was running water all over the place. Somebody came up and gave them unripe apricots, which were the first fruit they had tasted for three months. They looked at the chickens and thought how nice it would be to have eggs again. It was a curious experience, impossible to convey. "All I can say is that it was worth going a long way to have."

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND said they would realize something of the interest with which he had listened to the lecture when he told

them that forty-five years ago he started off, like Mr. Fleming, from Peking to go to India. At that time he was not actually the first to do it, having been preceded by Colonel Bell, who was then head of the Intelligence Department in India. He asked if he might be allowed to go with him, and he said it was a waste of time for two officers to go along the same route. He would go one way and the speaker another, and they agreed to meet at Hami, about 1,300 miles from Peking, on July 10. He (Sir Francis) arrived ten days late, and Colonel Bell had already passed through. On his return to India, Colonel Bell said he was astonished not to have met him at Hami, because he had arrived on the date and waited all the morning. As Sir Francis did not arrive, he had gone in the afternoon. Colonel Bell was a very particular man and was annoyed with the speaker for being so unpunctual.

Mr. Fleming had spoken of the considerable heights he was working at—12,000 and 15,000 feet. Their heights were not so high—about seven or eight thousand. At one place his aneroid barometer showed them below the level of the sea, and he thought it had gone wrong, but it turned out to be perfectly right, and the place, as a matter of fact, was 400 feet below the level of the sea. It was an astonishing thing to find in the centre of Asia.

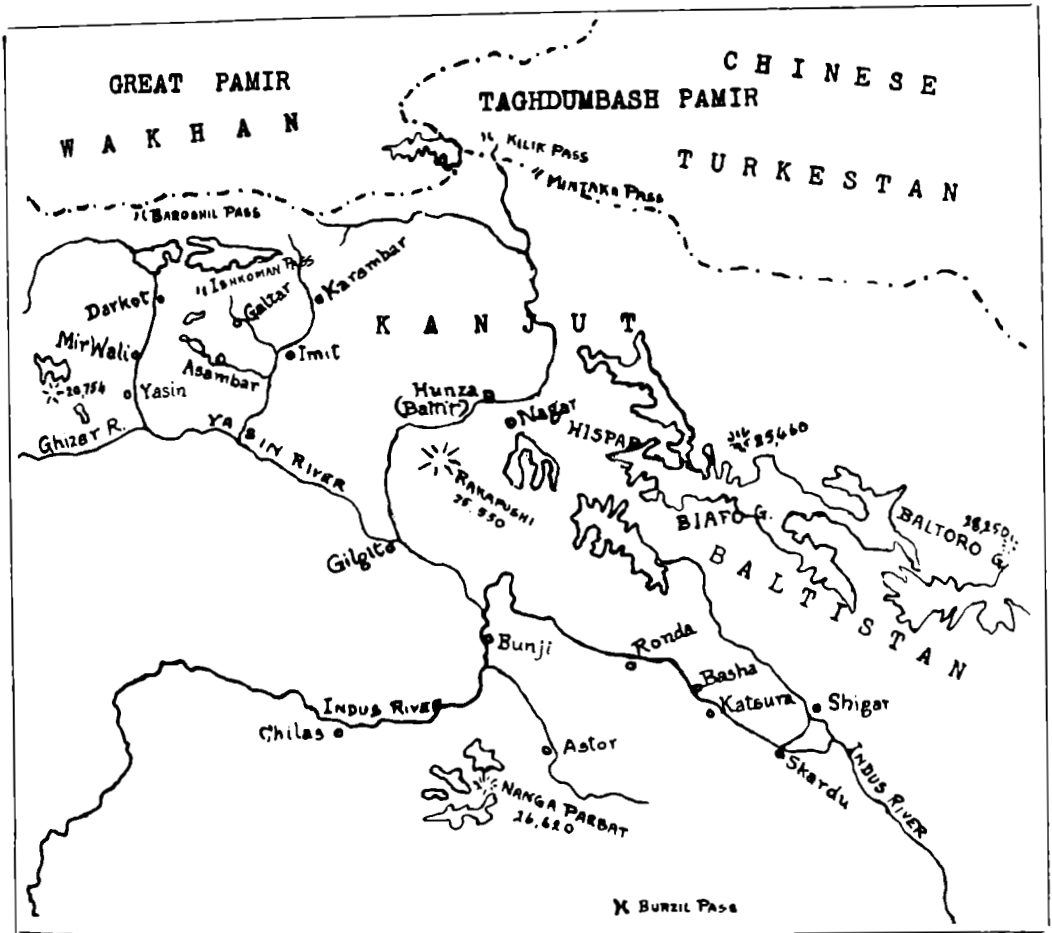
There was a touch at the very end of the lecture which appealed to him. Mr. Fleming had said how lovely it was to hear ordinary sounds again. At the end of the desert, when he came to the mountains and arrived at an oasis about two o'clock in the morning, he (Sir Francis) was awakened by what seemed a fearful din. It was the birds singing, the grasshoppers chirping.

Colonel Bell and he had passports from Peking and they carried them through. To-day the writ did not run, and he could appreciate what the difficulties must have been. They must realize, too, that while Colonel Bell and he had to go along roads perfectly well known, although they had not been used by Europeans, the lecturer was travelling in very out of the way places where the roads were not well known. He was to be congratulated on the success of his journey.

The CHAIRMAN said they had heard about what he hoped was the worst part of the journey. It was a wonderful achievement, and particularly for Mlle. Maillart. It was remarkable that a woman should have been able to stand the hardships of the journey. He warmly congratulated the lecturer on his very great achievement. (Applause.)

WITH THE CALIPERS ON THE ROOF OF THE WORLD

By A. PASKEVICIUS



1. Baltistan

IN the farthest north, where the borders of the Indian Empire are marked by eternal snow, lie valleys inhabited by the people of many different races and cultures.

Baltistan or Little Tibet is across the Himalayas, on the slope of the mightiest range in the world, the Karakoram; the valley is inhabited by Tibeto-Mongolian tribes, from which the region takes its name. The Baltis are of very short stature, comparatively fair, with dark chestnut hair and broad smiling faces. They are always gay, active and ready to serve. The boldness and industry of the Baltis is proverbial. They can be trusted above any other people in India for their faithfulness and doggedness in facing dangers and hardships. Their faith is that of Islam, but with a considerable admixture of Buddhism and

paganism. The few Baltistan valleys of the Indus, Shigar and Shaiyok, formed by the rivers of the same names, are rich in crops of Indian corn, millet and wheat. The soil, consisting of fertilizing ingredients from the mountains, produces sweet-scented, luscious apricots, but wood is rare and distributed at most inaccessible levels; fir and pine grow just at the border of the melting snow, and the cypress and junipers are found on overhanging rocks. Tall, slender poplars stand in rows like sentinels along the water channels in the valleys.

The mosques must be built of cedar, cypress or chestnut wood in order to continue the ancient traditions of the woodlands. The carved ornaments on the walls of these masjids are mostly geometric, but the dominant motive is the tulip-rosette with perplexing designs of lotus, swastika, moon, sun and stars.

The residential houses also are partially constructed of wooden beams, but, as wood is very scarce, only the frames are made of wood, while the space is filled by gravel or sun-baked bricks. Near every masjid is seen a level open space, at the end of which stands a clay tabula with rounded top resembling the tabulas of the Decalogue. Particular care is taken to keep the place always freshly plastered and gaily ornamented with flowers. The front portion of this tabula is divided into squares, numbering from four to nine, and each square contains a central design in red, white and black colours. The borders parting them bear hundreds of pin holes in which every half day are inserted fresh blossoms of the mountain flowers. These squares are ornamented with some symbols representing man, animals, fish and many queer designs similar to those found on the seals of Mohenjo-daro. All my efforts to discover the real purpose of these tabulas were in vain. One man said that they were merely playthings for the children, another that the place was for practising archery and that the figures on the tabulas served as targets. Most people simply evaded the question. There is, however, no doubt that these tabulas are of great religious importance to the Baltis, and the study and deciphering of them may lead to the solving of the mystery of the Mohenjo-daro seals.

Apart from these tabulas, the carvings, the architecture, their interknitting and weaving, the tomb marks and finally the geographical names suggest, if not real contact with the earliest Aryans, then at least great cultural influence in the pre-Vedic times. There is no doubt that Baltistan is a link between the distant sand-buried Khotan and the faraway shores of the Arabian Sea, following the descent of Indus.

2. Rondu

Following the course of the treacherous and thundering Indus, one reaches the rarely visited, forgotten paradise of Shiva. With Katsura, the purely Balti population ends, and in Rondu begins a mixture of Shina-Yasin-Balti tribes. A few days of extremely difficult trek on the left bank of the Indus brings one to Rondu, the capital of the Rondu valley. Here the Indus bursts its thundering way between the overhanging rocks of Ladakh and Kailas ranges. Imagination cannot present the grandeur of the majestic surroundings—the thundering of boulders rolled into the stream and the roaring of the water can be heard miles away. Here the rocks stand starkly at the water's edge towering towards the sky, while here and there perilous rope bridges are swung across the angry stream. The people of Rondu are hostile and greedy; the smiling Balti faces are replaced by sulky and surly ones surrounded with tangled beards. They are as lazy as the Baltis are active. They speak a strange mixture of Balti and Burashushki with many unpleasant gutturals, and these Ronduwallas seem to sit wrapped in chogas perpetually. The Rondu valley itself is a page of ancient Indian history waiting to be read and interpreted. Once this valley was the most important place for Shiva devotees, but now is almost forgotten. Just across the Indus, on the loftiest peaks of the Kailas range, lies the huge throne of Shiva, towering to the sky, resembling some medieval Crusader castle with towers at the four corners and a fortified gateway. A little further to the east, on the loftiest rocks, is another throne of the same pattern, but diminutive in size, the throne of the goddess Parvati. Islam penetrated into Rondu during the first half of the second millennium, but, in spite of this fact, the names and the respect for these Hindu sanctuaries remain until the present day.

In the vicinity of these holy peaks lies a huge tank or lake, evidently artificial, which teems with fish and reeds. The rocks are inscribed with semi-pictographic pictures, plans and incidents engraved by devotees. Unfortunately I copied only the different types of inscriptions, thinking that they were pictures, but Dr. Pranath, of the Hindu University of Benares, who had deciphered the Minoan script, was able to read the inscriptions I copied off the Basha rocks. It appears, according to his reading, that the pioneers of the Indus valley civilization came down from the heart of Asia through the Gobi and Tibet and along the course of the Indus. Gobi in ancient times was a veritable

paradise, but owing to geological changes it was slowly buried under the sand and disappeared, as parts of Turkestan have done comparatively recently. These prehistoric inscriptions are very common along the river banks of Hindukush, but present only ibex and man somewhat monotonously, while the Basha rocks are carved with maps and varied symbols.*

3. Nagar

Across the mighty Karakoram extends the greatest glacier of the world, filling valleys and precipices and brushing continuously on the rocks. The moraines slip down into the rivers, hardly leaving a square foot of level ground. The Chogo Lungma, Hispar, Biafo, Baltoro, are fully one hundred miles long and are branches of this glacier. To my immense surprise I discovered people of purely Nordic appearance on the borders of these glaciers. Tall, blue-eyed, blonde-haired and long-headed, they live in the villages of Hopar and Hispar (Nagar State). Their language is Burashushki, their religion Muslim, their tribe Yeshkun, but absolutely different from the Yeshkuns of Dardistan or Hindukush. I heard that the ruling chief of Nagar is the descendant of the Sikandar Shah—*i.e.*, Alexander the Macedonian. The physical characteristics of the Mir's family are really very strange. Extremely long, straight classical noses, wide open eyes and prominent chins. They claim that they came from Kandahar, in Afghanistan, to Gilgit, and when the kingdom was divided between three brothers, the Nagar Mirs preserved the purest blood of Alexander the Great. Nagaris being strict Shias do not mix or intermarry with infidels and consequently there are only Yeshkuns and Shinas with an insignificant number of Iranis and Afridis. The people are very backward, treacherous and cowardly, but fairly hospitable, and notorious beggars.

4. Hunza

Just across the Nagar Nala lies Hunza, whose people have been for the last three centuries the deadly enemies of the Nagaris. The Hunza rulers claim descent from the same stock as the "descendants of Alexander," but they prefer to call themselves descendants of Genghis Khan, in mockery of the Nagaris. The Hunza people have a considerable admixture of Turkish and Guhjal blood. They consist of

* See also "The Highway of Europe and Asia," by Professor J. G. Anderson, *R.C.A.J.*, Vol. XVI. (1929), p. 191.

about twenty different tribes and intermarry freely.* They are more liberal in their beliefs and profess to be followers of the Aga Khan. They indulge in music, wine and other pleasures prohibited to the true followers of the Prophet. Forty years ago they were a band of robbers, who hunted the passes from Turkestan to the Gilgit valley. The Mir's family are of the same type as the Mirs of Nagar, with prominent classical noses, long triangular faces, but with also a certain amount of Sart blood which reveals itself in their yellow hair, light eyes and flat, reddish faces. The recent ruler, Mir Mahomed Nazim Khan, is a very enterprising, straightforward, and hospitable man.

The capital of Hunza State is Baltit village, which lies on a hill amongst the deep beds of the turbulent streams. From all four sides shines the eternal snow and just behind stands an ancient castle with the mountains forming perpendicular walls over which drop moraines of glaciers. The thundering cracks of the glaciers echo for a full minute, resounding and echoing from each rock. The gardens of Baltit bear green and deep purple grapes and most delicious peaches which melt in the mouth and an abundance of apricots which they store for the winter months which make delicious soup. The land is well cultivated; the tiers of fields, the roads, the channels bearing water from distant streams reveal the resourceful spirit of the Hunza.

It calls out one's admiration to note how these primitive people, who have never seen a cart or carriage, still less any machinery, and who have never been to school, manage to make roads through the overhanging rocks, their only tools fire and water. How they detect the level of the ground in the mountains is a mystery.

When a man wants to level and cultivate rocks lying some four to five thousand feet above the river he has to get the water there by means of channels. He runs his water pipes from a stream higher up, bringing it over the rocks and down deep ravines. If he misses by a yard or two then all his miles of channels will be useless. Not only is water required, but barren rocks also need soil. He carries river deposits on his shoulders, up over thousands of feet to make a square yard of cultivable ground. To blast these almost inaccessible rocks the Hunza men first make a huge fire at the spot, and then suddenly remove the fire and pour in water. The rocks crack, and they are thus able to remove them. Nowhere have I seen such quick apprehension and practical knowledge as in Hunza.

* For a fuller description of the racial stock of Hunza, see *Between Oxus and Indus* (Schomberg), p. 126, where the question is discussed at length.

The Hunza-Nagar valleys are also rich in ancient monuments. There are stupas of the earliest Buddhist period, the extremely instructive specimens of wooden architecture and ornaments are found amongst innumerable masjids and imambharas. The style of ornament and its manner of execution and structure link it with distant Khotan and even as far as Lithuania in Europe.

5. Hindukush

Much milder and more refreshing are the Hindukush valleys on their south-eastern slopes. At one time the people here, like all other Himalayan tribes, were robbers, and hostile not only to strangers but also to themselves, but they are now a peaceful people and their warlike and nomadic habits are replaced by those of the settled cultivator. To-day they are occupied in digging channels, building roads, bridges and clearing boulders from the levelled grounds to make arable land. The fruits of these efforts are abundant. Grapes hang in purple bunches, maize fills the levelled fields with a golden carpet and apricots and peach gardens surround their dwellings like fresh garlands. The inhabitants are Shinas and Yeshkuns. The Shinas are of a higher order and exercise some superiority, while the Yeshkuns live in more remote places on the snow borders and cultivate the more difficult fields. There is also a third class, the Doms. They do mostly the work of servants and have no lands of their own.

Just a little south, across the range of Tangir, live the wildest Indian tribes of Yaghistan. They are very warlike and nomads by nature. They care only for cattle raising and totally neglect the cultivation of the ground, as they consider it ignoble to stay and dig in one place. The Yaghistanis, with their cattle, often invade the peaceful valleys of Yasin or Ghizar and provoke a clash with the inhabitants. If they outnumber them, they begin to plunder; if not, they pay some sort of tribute in kind in order to be allowed to graze their cattle in these valleys.

Along the banks of the Ghizar Nala one notices thousands of carved boulders with pictures of ibex and sometimes man and cattle. These carvings are not only mere pictures, but they possess a graphic meaning which has not yet been deciphered. It is true that many of these incisions have been made recently, but they are copies of the older ones, constantly repeated without knowing their meaning. Many of these pictographs give a group of ibex in varied positions. Very picturesque is the Ghizar Nala path. Here and there on these per-

pendicular rocks, where no goats are able to climb and which the hatchet of man is not able to reach, grow junipers and tui trees. In the shade of great rocks, emerald green waves of water play and turn into sparkling diamonds as the sun shines on them. Numberless waterfalls from the melting snow make the whole scene very enchanting. The rock layers present wonderful records of volcanic activities.

In the Ishkoman valley the people are of the Yeshkun sect but of a peculiar type. They are thin and of a delicate stature, with long, triangular faces, grey-bluish eyes and light brown to chestnut hair. Their melancholic and slow movements differ from the other Himalayan tribes. They are, however, very hospitable and friendly, and nowhere amongst Indian people was I invited to see their houses as in Ishkoman.

Imit, a small hamlet, where the Raja of Ishkoman lives, is situated on a most beautiful spot. From here the three deep gorges of Karambar, Galtar and Ishkoman Nalas can be viewed in all their grandeur, and are surrounded by the eternal kingdom of ice with its most wonderful play of colour in different shades. When the sun rises across Karambar the Hindukush sparkles like an azure, golden, laced curtain, and when the sun shines in the south the Asambar glaciers reflect the sun's rays in the deep and rocky ravines of the Ishkoman's bed. At sunset the play of shades equals the aurora borealis in its colours and its sudden changes. The most charming place, however, is a hill in the centre of these three rivers which is full of tombs. It is surprising that although the whole population consists of thirty to fifty people the number of the graves exceeds some thousands. This charming spot at one time contained relics of exiled rajas of Wakhan, but they have now been removed to their snow-crowned Pamirs.

Not only the charm of natural beauty attracted so many people to take their long rest in Imit, but also other causes must be taken into account. The place is considered sacred amongst the local Muslims, and there is a huge millstone carved with eccentric swastika rows. This stone is considered sacred, and the marks on it are supposed to be the finger-prints of the Patriarch Moses. Over this stone is built a small shrine and the stone itself is adorned with thousands of coloured flags, crystals and coloured stones. Near this stone is a hot spring of a strong mineral solution. The whole place suggests that it dates back to an ancient cyclopal age when people lived on a much higher cultural level. Amongst the tombstones are found huge pieces of ancient columns, and the huge millstone which is to-day

worshipped speaks of the existence of solid stone palaces and colossal mills whose stones used to be turned by several pairs of oxen, but to-day the Ishkomanis use small boulders and mortar to grind their corn. The shrine is attended by a fakir, who is the local mullah, and he blows his horn when the time for prayer approaches. The appearance of this fakir is extremely Buddhistic. In his right hand he holds an alms bowl and in his left a long stick surmounted by coconut shells, and on his chest is hung a huge triangular brass tablet with inscriptions chiselled on it. His overcoat is made of several pieces of cloth of different colours. He wears no headdress, and on his back is hung a long brass-rimmed horn which is made use of during prayer time. Such is the picture of the spiritual guide of Ishkoman, pir, saint and guardian of the sacred stone. He professes himself to be a follower of H.H. the Aga Khan.

The way from Ishkoman to Wakhan is of great interest to the geologist, botanist and meteorologist. At every half-mile the consistency of the strata and rocks is different. In one place is found marble like white sugar, while just across the valley are deep purple walls of mountains. A little lower are green jade-like stones, filling all the precipices with riotous colour. Near the Pass one finds great variety of mountain flowers. There are edelweiss, fresh and sweet-scented violets, primroses and hundreds of different northern flowers. The freshness and scent suggest eternal spring. The birch, alder and aspen forests accompany the Galtar stream to the edge of the Garmush glacier. The Pass is abrupt and very difficult, rising over 15,000 feet and then suddenly falling on the Yasin side into ravines of barren boulders grouped on the gravel-covered glacier. Neither trees nor any life meet the eye of the traveller, nothing but an ice-cold stream where the countless mineral springs add their coloured waters to the muddy current. Some of these springs are of most enchanting beauty. The mineral salts drop out of the water as it comes into contact with the air, and form transparent hill-like cones several hundred feet high. The sides are very slippery, owing to the crater constantly spouting fresh water in many different designs and colours. The stream in many places completely disappears under the ice and springs again from deep gorges to pass under melted beds of hanging bridges of ice, bridges which span sometimes several hundreds of feet. Only at very low levels grass and trees meet the stream.

The Darkot valley greets one from a distance with gardens and large corn fields, behind which towers, like a lizard's tail, the

Daspar peak, some 21,500 feet. However, on approach the Darkot valley is not attractive at all, and the effects of the severe sway of winter are rigorously felt here. On the riverside grow only willows and bushy birch and aspen. The deposits are full of reeds and other marshy grass. The fields, in spite of their having been cultivated for centuries past, are not yet cleared from boulders. The apricot and poplar are miserable specimens, and are often devastated by the goats, and are not cared for at all. The dwellings are heaps of stones, often without any definite shape or form. The roofs are heavily thatched with clay and gravel. The Darkotis meet a stranger with less sympathy and great suspicion. They never look straight. Their eyes remind one of treacherous cats who leap suddenly at their prey without any warning. About sixty years ago an English explorer who had crossed Darkot on his way to the Pamirs was attacked and brutally murdered. The Darkot people strongly remind one of mixed Turko-Iranians; some of them are very stout with prominent bones and chocolate dark skin. Others are of the common Yasin valley type, light-skinned with light eyes and hair. The former type is not at all sympathetic and their arrogance is predominant. They demand exorbitant prices, bakshish, etc. My servant, a young Hunza man, was robbed of his overcoat on the ground that he had failed to pay for the space on which he slept, although it was open ground.

As the Darkot stream gradually descends to the south, the vegetation and people become more sympathetic. At Mir Wali one meets cherished gardens and orderly well-built huts and houses. Long canals bring water to the extensive Yasin valley. The dark grey chogas (a capacious coat) are replaced by snow-white woolly ones, and the people are more gay and colourful.

Yasin, the capital of the Yasin State, once exercised great power over half of Hindukush, and it lies in a charming setting of green gardens surrounded by angular buildings of old timber and boulder built forts. On its eastern wall rises the Glacier of Asambar, over 20,000 feet high, while at the abrupt slope there is displayed the charming purple-cherry colour of its débris. On its west a huge camel hump of 19,000 feet gradually rises up, while the south-eastern peaks of Boushtar cast their mighty shadow for more than half a day on the valley. Of old Yasin, only ruins of mud and stone walls encircling the six square miles remain to-day. The surroundings are entirely deserted and arid, due to lack of water; but it was not so in ancient days, as the marks of huge and extensive channels can be traced on

the perpendicular hanging rocks through which the water supply was brought from the Nusbar Nala, about ten miles distant. In the ruins of the ancient fort of Yasin are found implements of Stone Age civilization—stone axes, bone needles and harpoons. Even to-day civilization has made very slow progress in this region. The bow and flint are still in use by these simple people, whilst the Raja's army possesses old matchlocks from Turkestan and primitive steel axes from Yaghistan.

The peculiar type of houses of the Hindukush reach their climax in the Raja's residence, built of three separate wings, the centre of which forms the hall, which presents real charm of architectural development. The people are more civilized than the Darkotis, and the great majority are Yeshkuns, although in appearance they resemble Shinas.

On the way back to Gilgit one becomes more and more aware of Western influence. The constant contact with British officials and shikaris from India has made the people more arrogant in their demands, but more polite in their dealings. Their prosperity depends entirely on the needs of the garrisons stationed there, which buy their products and pay them in kind by Western comforts.

In many villages one meets the treacherous eyes of spying tribesmen from Yaghistan, but one feels secure owing to the many advantages introduced into the Hindukush by the Imperial Government. Invasion, robbery, plunder are the laws of Yagistan, while here peaceful cultivation is encouraged and helped by every means. The garrisons stand to protect them from the nomads, who wait only for an opportunity to destroy everything. In conclusion, as far as the people of the Himalayas are concerned, it is a real miracle of British policy that has turned wild nomadic tribes into peaceful cultivators in such a short time.

Culturally, fragments of the most ancient signs of civilization are found in Dardistan. On the one hand, one sees clearly the influence of the Greeks, while on the other the conserved elements of Zoroastrian teachings or the cult of Shiva rise from the past débris of a thousand myths to live again.

The archaic form of the apparently crude Dard language possesses wonderful elasticity, power and poetical simplicity. It is the nearest of all living languages to the Lithuanian tongue of North Europe.

[The author is a young Lithuanian student who has spent several years in the East, living on small scholarships from the University of Kovno (Kaunas). He is now making his way home through Afghanistan and Asia Minor.]

CHINESE PAINTING

Short Notes on a lecture by Mr. Basil Gray, given on December 11, 1935, Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair.

As this lecture was beautifully illustrated by lantern slides, it is impossible to give it in anything like its entirety. The following notes are given as they may help members to understand something more of the Chinese paintings in the Exhibition and in the British Museum.

WHAT I have to say to you this evening is largely a protest against regarding Chinese civilization, and particularly Chinese painting, as all one piece—all of one kind—monotonous. You have probably heard a good deal lately about the constancy of Chinese civilization, and how over the long centuries she has clung to one great tradition. That is true, but it is not the whole truth. There is another side. Not only has Chinese civilization developed in a way comparable to European civilization—at least, down to the sixteenth century—but the Chinese genius has shown itself to be of equal scope and range. I will not enlarge upon that in general, but will confine myself to the particular field of Chinese painting. I think we have some excuse for feeling a sense of monotony when we first see a room full of Chinese paintings. This is due in large measure to the unfamiliar medium and mounting, and I think a Chinese man would have much the same feeling when he first entered a room full of pictures in gilt frames, all of them varnished. I think that is a prejudice that can be quite easily overcome; probably most of you have overcome it. When you look into a Chinese painting you overlook the mounting and soon become used to the medium. Now, though political events have of course had their effect on painting in China, I do not propose to treat the subject from the standpoint of history, nor even chronologically; probably you have already read some historical account of Chinese painting. I want instead to arrange my material in another way, and to speak of Chinese painting as illustrating the different tendencies of the national character. The main divisions of the Chinese character are shown in the two great religious traditions in China, the Confucian and Taoist. The Confucian tradition deals with the strictly practical concerns of everyday life, taking it at its best, making an art of living well. This is the point of view emphasized in the Confucian books on which every educated man is brought up. Orderly life in

society with its definite obligations is its ideal. Such a concern with the particular and practical, and such an illiberal outlook is not likely to be very sympathetic to painters. But I do not think it is pure loss, because the painter learns from this teaching to acquire a wonderful mastery of the instrument of his trade or profession, the brush. All educated Chinese are trained to use the brush with masterly skill, primarily for writing, but also secondarily for painting. This is a great gain, but it has resulted in a tendency to formalism. Taking the other main tendency, the Taoist and Buddhist tradition, I think we can say that they represent an even larger element in Chinese life. It precedes the Confucianist, and it derives ultimately from the pre-historic nature worship of the primitive Chinese. This passed imperceptibly into a more philosophic attitude to nature, and led to the desire of all Chinese to feel a unity between themselves and nature, and to live in harmony with the rhythm of life. With the introduction of Buddhism, and particularly with the spread of what is known as Ch'an or Zen Buddhism, this feeling was strengthened and to some extent altered, and became for the first time definitely hostile to Confucianism. The Zen sect dislikes all outward observances and order, and despises positions of dignity. Both these traditions are to be found throughout the history of Chinese painting.

I will deal first with the Taoist and Buddhist tradition because it is the inspiration of the highest theme of Chinese painting, which finds its fullest expression in the greatest age of Chinese landscape painting—that of the Northern Sung period in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This in China is not a middle age, but above all an age of fruition. In the Exhibition there is a landscape of the Northern Sung period by Fan K'uan. The painter has made a direct attempt to state nature as she really is. He has chosen the mountain as the grandest symbol of the unity of nature. I want to read to you a passage from the critic Kuo Hsi which rather explains, I think, the attitude of the painter who was his contemporary when he painted this picture :

“Let one who wishes to portray these masterpieces of the natural world first be captivated by their charm; then let him study them with great diligence; let him wander among them; let him satiate his eyes with them; let him arrange these impressions clearly in his mind. Then with eyes unconscious of silk, and hands unconscious of brush and ink, he will paint this marvellous scene with utter freedom and courage and make it his own.”*

* *An Essay on Landscape Painting*, translated by Shio Sakanishi, p. 40.

Thus he will produce a mountain picture which will make the spectator want to dwell in such scenery. That, I think, expresses very clearly and shortly the view of the Northern Sung artists. You must first of all get to know your theme intimately, study your mountain, not in one light but in all lights, not as the geologist would, not as a map maker would, but wandering over it until you have mastered its identity. The knowledge and self-effacement required is greater than that of any European artist.

There are not as many paintings as one could wish of this character in the Exhibition, but in addition to the one I have shown I should like you to look also at the picture by Tung Yüan. This monumental style is not only confined to landscape. Flowers also are treated in a cosmic way by the Chinese. There is in Japan a wonderful picture attributed to Hsü Hsi. The nearest thing to which I can refer you in London is a picture in the British Museum, the Lotus and White Heron. Here, too, the artist has attempted to make his subject represent something true of all nature, not to paint one particular aspect or a particular flower.

After the fall of the Northern Sung Dynasty in 1127 this type of painting became much more difficult. At the beautiful southern capital of Hang Chow life was one of attempted forgetfulness of the Tartar conquerors, who had already seized Northern China and were menacing the South, which fell to them in 1258. Its art was one of escape and was tinged with Romanticism. There is in it what the Chinese call "impurity of purpose." One of the most beautiful pictures at the Exhibition is a Southern School painting by Hsia Kuei, "Ten Thousand *Li* Down the River." It is perhaps easier for us to understand than the greater art of the earlier masters because it is more like what we have in Europe. We are accustomed to painting as an avenue of escape rather than a statement of fact. The effect of this great composition is emotional, the artist is always aware of his public, as he follows and expresses the life of the river, from boiling rapids to broad, calm stretches; he has one eye on the water, we feel, and one on his spectator. Only occasionally in later periods Chinese painters have recovered the high plane of the Northern Sung period.

Having as it were set the scale of Chinese painting, I want to consider certain variations. First I will take that of the Ch'an sect of Buddhism. For its followers the subject was unimportant; it was no more than a symbol. It was treated not for itself but as an apt means of illustrating the transitoriness of life. I will show you now a painting

attributed to Mu Ch'i, one of the famous painters of this sect, which is in the British Museum. The tiger is a traditional subject in China, but here all its traditional importance is ignored. Though the artist has consciously avoided all intellectual effort, he has never for a moment lapsed into Romanticism.

I come now to consider a much more important and permanent influence on Chinese painting—namely, that of calligraphy. I might have opened with a remark on calligraphy, so important is it in Chinese painting. Being no sinologue, I would not venture to talk about it except that I must explain the profound influence which it has had on painting. Chinese painters and writers use the same instrument, a brush; it is held firmly in the whole hand, not only with the fingers, and the paper is laid flat on a table, before which the writer stands. The brush is held vertically. That is the first point. Secondly, it has a far greater variety of movement or stroke than is the case in Europe. The tip is normally used, but if necessary you can press on the brush, almost scrub the paper. Then you can use it either full or dry in a way you cannot the European brush, for, though the tip is finer, it holds very much more ink.

In calligraphy, for example, in the writing by Chou Meng-fu, a painter of the fourteenth century, you can follow how he has used his brush, how it trails and sweeps and lingers on the page. There is a picture by another famous artist of the same period of bamboo shoots in the Exhibition. Here you see the painter is evidently conscious both of his brush and of his silk, a consciousness definitely condemned by the Northern Sung critic Kuo Hsi. At the same time, it is not really calligraphic painting, which is evolved at a later date. I should like to say here that you will find in the Chinese sources that Mu Ch'i is characterized as an artist who painted in the style of the classical bamboo painters. But this does not mean that his work cannot be distinguished from theirs. It seems to me, after reading the lives of Chinese painters and looking at their work, that Chinese art criticism is far more conservative than Chinese painting. This is borne out by the fact that in most cases it is comparatively easy to date a Chinese painting, at any rate to a period. I do not of course mean that you can always tell whether the thing is a copy or not, but you can tell at what period it was executed. Pursuing the calligraphic tendency, I will now show you the work of an artist who lived in the sixteenth century, Hsü Wei. On this painting the inscription is as important as the design. We have arrived at a painting which can be called truly calligraphic. Hsü Wei

is an artist who was famous for other things besides painting. He was a strategist, a minister, and a famous wit.

I have now come to what is the most difficult sort of Chinese painting—that is, the painting of the Literary Man's School. The last painting was already rather self-conscious. The literary men went further; they were so self-conscious that they made a point of hiding their self-consciousness; they were so anxious not to appear clever that they deliberately made their strokes clumsy. They are calligraphic, but not obviously so. I think the explanation is this—that painting to them was an ordinary activity, like writing poetry, or dancing. It was an occupation that was good in itself. I do not wish to depreciate their painting, but to put you in the right mood to understand it. I think that possibly if you seek for a philosophic reason for the quality of their work, you will still find it in the belief that they held in the unity of all life, that therefore such life as was in their work was due to the fact that they too formed part of the universe, and that in their life and in their painting there was something of the universal rhythm. This you see, for example, in the work of the fifteenth-century artist Shen Chou. At this period the literary painters were still inventing their own compositions, and in his landscapes this element is very important. If you look at the painting you will see that it is painted in great variety of brush strokes. Though you may not appreciate at once that that is so, it is, I think, the cleverest painting in the whole Exhibition.

Most of these early artists of the Literary Men's School were people who had left the Court, for one reason or another; some were disgusted with Court life, others went to live as recluses in the mountains. Later, such paintings were also made by people who lived at Court, and there has been in China of recent centuries a tradition of great officials who were also painters. This custom, indeed, goes back to antiquity in China; it was no new thing for a painter to be made Prime Minister. We are accustomed in England to Civil Servants who in their spare time are distinguished poets and writers, and possibly even painters, though I cannot recall any at the moment, but in this case we must feel that official work is undertaken as the means by which they gain their livelihood. This is not so in China, where artistic activity is normal in any complete personality, not freakish as with us.

There is another example of this period which is by an even more famous artist, Chu Ta, who was better known as Pa-ta Chan-jên, and which is in the British Museum. He is not represented in the Exhibition.

Now, leaving this, which is perhaps the most difficult of Chinese

painting for Europeans to understand, I come to what is much easier—viz., figure subjects and genre paintings. I am making a distinction of subjects, which is not entirely a distinction of artists. Some artists painted more than one sort of subject, as, for instance, the Emperor Hui Tsung. Figure painting is, however, the older tradition; we need only go to the British Museum to see that this was so; and I particularly wish to emphasize that it was not introduced by Buddhism. It is almost certain that figure sculpture was introduced by Buddhism in the fourth century, but in the Ku Kai Chih scroll in the British Museum, whether painted in the fourth or sixth century, is evidence of a fully developed secular tradition. Already at this period figure painting was an art capable of expressing psychological relationship with a subtlety and sophistication which we in Europe were not able to achieve until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Many things in the painting remind one of Watteau, and no doubt he lived in a rather similar society to that in which the artist who painted this picture lived.

The favourite form for figure composition in China is the scroll painting. I do not mean it does not occur in the hanging picture as well, but the usual form is the scroll, which is meant to be looked at in small sections at a time, unrolled from right to left on a table. It seems to me that this form of painting shows particularly the Chinese love of rhythm. In this case the rhythm is not in the line but in the composition. I will illustrate it with a scroll called "Ladies of the Court," an almost contemporary copy after the tenth-century painter Chou Wen Chü. The fact that it is copied in ink outline only, without any colour, emphasizes its decorative nature. The faces and the folds of the dresses seem to make a pattern which dances to and fro over the silk. This slide shows part of the scroll which belongs to the Museum in Philadelphia, a second part belongs to Sir Percival David, and the final part, which we were unfortunately unable to procure, to Mr. Berenson. A more advanced sort of composition in colour, and consequently with more weight and body, is represented in the Exhibition by a picture belonging to Mrs. Moore of New York of "Ladies Sewing." I cannot show you this, but instead I will show you another picture of the same type which is in Boston Museum, and which is a copy by Hui Tsung after the T'ang artist Chang Hsüan. This is only about a third of the whole roll, but it illustrates the singular felicity of the composition. The figures are disposed so that they form a pattern of exquisite balance, fragile yet stable. At the same time the identity of each is preserved and full meaning is given to each action

as these Court ladies pursue their simple occupation of preparing newly woven silk. This is one of the rare Chinese paintings in which we feel that the artist has combined his skill in his art with his interest in his subject in almost equal proportions.

One of the most beautiful paintings in the Exhibition is "A Drunken Orgy," which is said to be a copy by Li Lung-mien, a famous artist of about A.D. 1100, who copied a great many older pictures in fine lines and light colour, after a painting of the sixth century. However that may be, it represents a Buddhist priest and laymen indulging in an orgy. Here, I think, the composition approaches very closely to European painting, and if it were not for the small scale on which it is painted, it would readily be recognized as one of the greatest paintings of the world. It has a power and virility which suggest an effortless Signorelli or a slightly worldly Michelangelo.

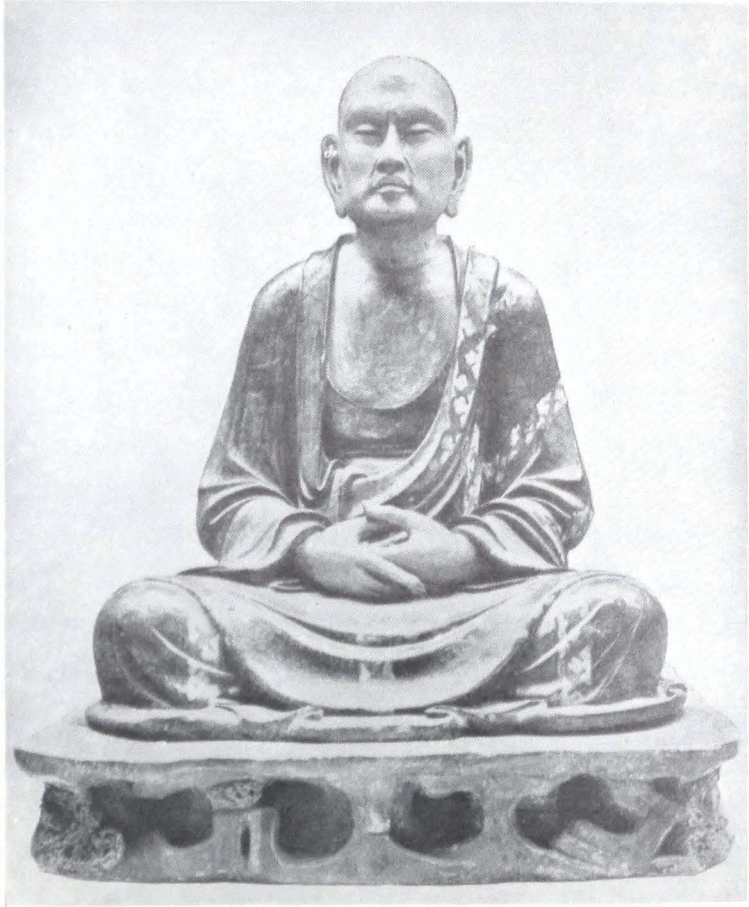
We must now leave this school and pass rapidly on to the style of painting which I am going to call realistic: and here, I think, one must make a distinction between realistic and illusionist painting. The Chinese had never tried to paint objects so that you are deceived into thinking that their silk and ink have changed into something else until they came under the influence of the Jesuits about the beginning of the eighteenth century. But there were a great many earlier artists who enjoyed painting from observation, and whose aim was to catch the reality of the birds or flowers which they represented on their silk. This type of painting is particularly associated with the Academy formed by the Emperor Hui Tsung (d. 1135) who first raised painting to a level with literature. We have in the Exhibition a painting which I think probably represents his own style—as distinct from his many copies of earlier masters. This is the latter half of the scroll which is called "Autumn Evening by a Lake." The character of this realistic school is shown even more clearly by another painting in the Exhibition, again by one of the Academy painters, which is probably one of the most attractive paintings in the Exhibition: it is also one of the best; it is a picture of "The Hundred Geese" by Ma Fēn. Such subjects as the 100 geese or the 100 deer were a common feature of Chinese painting, but they seldom show such a delightful study of the beauty of the creature in itself. Each goose is portrayed with a brush which is exploiting all its skill and finish to state the reality and the loveliness of the bird as it rises, spreads its wings, or alights. This tradition has continued in Chinese painting, and still survives to-day—existing side by side with its complement, the Literary School. These

are the two chief modern schools; and with the Chinese the literary one has generally had the first place of honour. As in literary painting, there is in this school a growing emphasis on brush work, but one that is much easier for us to appreciate, not only because no attempt is made to conceal skill by apparent carelessness, but also because it approximates far more nearly to brush work as we are accustomed to it in Europe. I will show you part of the beautiful scroll of the fourteenth century which represents dragon-flies and other insects among grasses and is by Ch'ien Hsüan. If you look closely you will see that the brush suits itself to each object, the bracken and rushes, the flies and other insects, emphasising their differences rather than absorbing them into a new whole. Probably this is more obvious in the next picture which I will show you, "Wild Geese by a Mountain Stream" by Lin Liang, which is in the British Museum. Here the composition and the brushwork are equally important, and the two together go to make it a very fine example of Ming painting. Finally, brushwork is subordinated to the composition—for example, this was done in painting by Wang Mu in 1692. The painting is coloured, and has a great decorative quality.

I hope that I have been able to give you some idea how from the earliest times right down to the last painting we have been considering the influence both of the Confucianist and the Taoist strain alternate and recur in Chinese painting. What seems to me most remarkable is the way that the Chinese have refused the road to purely decorative painting, which would have been so easy to them, and have instead followed the literary tradition, which is far harder and therefore far less likely to lead to a soaring reputation.

After thanking Mr. Gray for his illuminating lecture, which he was sure would add yet another facet of interest to the Exhibition and the understanding of Chinese painting, Sir Denison Ross spoke of the importance and difficulty of using the brush aright. He himself had had experience of this. Until he could make his strokes with free wrist and free elbow, his teacher had not allowed him to commence serious work, and he now realized the sureness of touch and technique which must be acquired and how difficult it was to do.

The Exhibition was a most beautiful one; he was proud to feel that so much had been gathered under one roof, and he advised his audience to take every possible opportunity of seeing and understanding it.



STATUE OF A LOHAN (POTTERY), (T'ANG DYNASTY)

From Menu Card of Royal Central Asian Society's Luncheon, December 2, 1935

LUNCHEON IN HONOUR OF THE CHINESE ART EXHIBITION

ALUNCHEON was given at Prince's Restaurant on December 2 in honour of the opening of the Chinese Art Exhibition in London. H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sweden, H.E. the Chinese Ambassador, the Swedish Minister, Lord Lytton, Sir William Llewellyn (President of the Royal Academy), Sir Percival David (who had done so much towards making such an exhibition possible), Sir George Hill, Mr. Laurence Binyon, Sir John Pratt, Mr. Hobson, and Mr. C. C. Wang were guests of the Society. Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby was in the Chair.

After the toasts of H.M. the King, the President of the Chinese Republic, and the Crown Prince of Sweden had been honoured, Mr. LAURENCE BINYON, C.H., proposed the toast of the Exhibition of Chinese Art, coupled with the name of the Chinese Ambassador, in the following speech :

Your Royal Highness, Your Excellencies, my Lord Chairman, my Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—A philosophic enquirer from another planet, on being told that a Central Asian Society flourished in London, might perhaps express his surprise that in this little island off the north-west coast of Europe there was so lively an interest in a region so remote.

I am myself a little hazy as to what exactly the term Central Asia connotes in the minds of members of this Society. (Laughter.) Its associations are for me incurably romantic. I think of Jinghis Khan and of Marco Polo; of caravans of camels passing out of the Jade Gate on their long journey to Antioch; of Rustum and Sohrab; of Chinese pilgrims crossing the Central Asian deserts to the holy places of India; of Babur and his delectable little kingdom of Ferghana in the very middle of Asia, his kingdom where the melons were so luscious and the horses so fiery and beautiful. In my youth, when travel was beyond my means, I remember spending happy evenings looking up the trains to Samarkand, and imagining the crossing of the Caucasus and the first sight of the Oxus River.

I fancy that the interest of the Royal Central Asian Society is not so purely romantic. And yet, what romance is there! What journeys

more romantic have ever been made than those achieved by some of its members, by such travellers as my old friend Sir Aurel Stein? And what more momentous discoveries have been made than those in Khotan and the oases of the Central Asian Desert? I remember being present at the first meeting between Sir Aurel Stein and the great Russian orientalist Kozlov, when, having no other language in common, they were obliged to converse in Turki.

Greece and China, India and Persia—all these civilizations met in Turkestan; and how wonderful that meeting was! How wonderful, too, the discoveries in this century, especially the discoveries at Tun-huang, which have so illuminated the study of Chinese art and of Buddhism.

And that brings me to the occasion of this luncheon, at which the Royal Central Asian Society have been so kind as to entertain us—that is, the Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House. It is an event which may have far-reaching consequences.

First, I would like to pay a tribute to the Director of the Exhibition, Sir Percival David. Without his initiative, enthusiasm, and energy the Exhibition would never have come into being. We are deeply in his debt. As no doubt you know, he, with Mr. Oscar Raphael, Mr. Hobson, and Mr. Eumorfopolous, travelled on behalf of the Exhibition to China and round the world. This little committee, with Professor Pelliot, used all their powers of persuasion to procure the loan of masterpieces from the countries they visited. And we are especially grateful to Your Royal Highness for constant help, advice, and sympathy. (Applause.) The result of these long labours is the Exhibition, which is attracting, and will, I am sure, continue to attract, many visitors from all over the earth.

With the co-operation of the Royal Academy the Exhibition has been arranged with lucidity and harmony; the exhibits have been so displayed as to show the beauty, the variety, and the distinction of Chinese art. It has come as a revelation to many of those who visit the Exhibition, because hitherto this art has been so imperfectly known or understood, and because no such array of choice works of Chinese art has ever been brought together before. But yet do not forget that this country is by no means without treasures of the kind. Many of the finest things exhibited across the street—bronzes, jade, sculpture, paintings, gold-work, and ceramics—are from private collections, and especially from that of Mr. Eumorfopolous. Now that this superb collection has been added to the already rich Chinese collections in the

two national museums, we may pride ourselves on the fact that even when the precious loans from other countries have gone back to their owners next spring, there will still be here a single collection of Chinese works of art surpassing any in Europe. I fear I must also remind you that although Mr. Eumorfopolous parted with his magnificent collection to the national museums—which he had already enriched with noble gifts—at a price far below its value, yet not much more than half of that purchase money has been paid. There still remains what would be accounted a trifle if it were for expenditure on munitions and engines of war, but, since it is only for the delight and instruction of future generations, is regarded as a rather formidable sum. May I express the hope that the Exhibition will be the occasion of this country's marking its public appreciation of these legacies from the civilization of China by completing this purchase? On my way to this luncheon I was given a piece of information by the Director of the British Museum. He told me, and authorized me to announce, that the Goldsmiths' Company have contributed the generous gift of £1,000 towards the completion of the purchase money. (Applause.) As I dare say many of you know, Mr. Eumorfopolous had the great misfortune to fall ill a few weeks before the opening of the Exhibition, and so was robbed of the pleasure of helping to arrange the treasures to which he had contributed. I am glad to say that he is somewhat better now, though still confined to bed. May we not send on a message of hope for his full and very speedy recovery? (Applause.)

When the project which some of us have so much at heart—the project of a great Museum of Asiatic Art in London, formed out of the now scattered collections already in our museums—is realized (*when* that is realized, I say, and not *if*, because I believe that, sooner or later, it will come to pass), it will be seen how central and pre-eminent in Asia is the art of China. In pictorial art, at any rate, its tradition is the longest and its influence the widest.

Chinese art may be said to be complementary to that of Europe. That is part of its charm and its value to us. It is not just another art; it is the expression of another philosophy of life. It opens windows for our minds, through which we are brought to see things from a fresh angle and discover that there are things that we ourselves have not discovered. We do not need to depreciate the West in order to appreciate the East. Chinese art refreshes and enlarges our conception of what Art essentially is, and of its relation to life. What is it we can learn from Chinese artists and their attitude to life? When one thinks

of European painting, one calls up the long array of its masterpieces. How great a part seems to be played by portraiture—portraits of men and women, or landscape viewed as the portraiture of their environment! How dominant is the *Pride of Life*—the assertion of personality, the glory of human activity and enterprise.

In China portraiture in our sense is scarcely practised. But there comes into my mind a certain portrait, the portrait of Wang Wei, a famous poet and artist of the eighth century A.D. He chose to be painted with his back to the spectator, sitting in a chair, and contemplating the landscape. How characteristic that is, how symbolic of the Chinese attitude, and how far different from the self-advertisement of some of the portraits exhibited nowadays, or the spirit expressed in our ephemeral papers. Which of the patrons of a daily paper would choose to be so portrayed? (Laughter.)

There is the secret of Chinese art. It is at one with the beauty and vastness of Nature. We cultivate the body, and we cultivate the brain; very often the body at the expense of the brain, or the brain at the expense of the body; but how largely we fail to cultivate the human spirit as a whole and bring life into a single harmony. How often we fail to see Nature as a whole! Chinese art, with all its defects, seems to me to have a saner and serener outlook; it seems to express a completer vision of life, a vision in which there is no room for our small greed and self-aggrandizement. Through the window opened on life by the art of China one seems to realize more truly the place of man in an infinitely complex universe.

I ask you to drink to the success of the Chinese Art Exhibition, coupled with the name of the Chinese Ambassador.

The toast was drunk with enthusiasm.

H.E. the Chinese Ambassador replied :

I feel greatly privileged to be invited once again to a gathering of this distinguished Society, and on this occasion I am particularly conscious of the goodwill you express in associating with the toast to the President of the Chinese Republic the toast to the Chinese Art Exhibition. I need hardly make reference to the happy relation between the Chinese and British peoples, for the Exhibition itself speaks eloquently of its vitality. Behind every treasure the Chinese Government has sent to the Exhibition you have all the goodwill of the Chinese nation. And that goodwill, I am glad to know, is abundantly reciprocated in the enthusiasm of the British public's response to the manifestation of China's artistic eminence.

The Exhibition is designed to illustrate within the compass of the Royal Academy the continuity of China's cultural development during more than thirty centuries. As our minds travel from one group of exhibits to another we can see that Chinese artistic traditions are persistent and continuous, and far from static. Above all, we come out of the galleries with an impression that these objects of art, though many of them are separated from us by remote centuries, are, in style, in feeling, and in sense of form, remarkably modern even to Western eyes. These cumulative effects are apparent because Chinese art is a mature and vigorous influence, and symbolic, I assure myself, of the creative force which animates the manifold activities of China's present national reconstruction amid unprecedented difficulties.

From the effect of this art we realize that the Chinese are fundamentally a pacific people. It is not in the themes of war and battle that the emotion of the Chinese artist finds expression, but on the contrary he derives his inspiration from the love of humanity, the contemplation of Nature, and an understanding of man's place in the universe. The ideal of peace and virtue is one which China upholds persistently, even in the darkest hours of her national history.

From the international point of view the Exhibition has another significance. In its superb organization, as in its rich contents, the Exhibition forms an object-lesson of the values we gain from international planning. The great spectacle we have to-day is the result of the willing collaboration of many countries whose Governments and private collectors have joined forces in their tributes to the ideals of art for the sake of art. I feel that such an event will not only serve to promote the cordial relations between the two nations under whose Governments' auspices the Exhibition is held, but will bear lasting testimony to the goodwill of all the participating countries, and constitute a stimulation to the future enterprises of cultural co-operation.

In the history of intercourse between the East and West we do not understress the important part traditionally played by Central Asia. It was across Central Asia, to utter a platitude, that the silk trade was first carried on between China and the Mediterranean countries before Marco Polo began his caravan trail. And it was through the Central Asian region, at one time the meeting-ground of religious cults, that Buddhist imagery and symbolism found its way through Chinese Turkestan to the heart of China, and in their turn centuries later the Mongol warriors brought the influence of Chinese ideas to the art of Iran. To-day Central Asia, in common with the rest of our vast continent, is

witnessing a great revival of culture. The Chinese Exhibition, coming as it does after the Persian Exhibition, will help to complete the epic scene of Asian life which is increasingly capturing the interest of the Western world.

I realize how much can be done by the Royal Central Asian Society in furthering the goodwill and interest of the English people toward China, now still further aroused by the success of the present Exhibition. I wish to express my thanks, as the official representative of my country, for the services your Society has rendered toward developing a true estimate of all Asia, and as a Chinese and an Asian to ask for your further practical and idealistic understanding, not only of our significant past, but of our pulsing present.

NORTH CHINA, SOUTH OF THE GREAT WALL

ON December 19 Colonel Stewart, who had just returned from North China, spoke to a group on conditions in the would-be autonomous provinces, the plight of the farmers, and the position of the Mongols. A summary of the lecture is given.

The Mongols, he said, were very uneasy; the Chinese had always behaved in a high-handed manner in Inner Mongolia, and now that immigration into Manchuria was checked, they were pressing into Inner Mongolia and had brought the Mongol grazing grounds under cultivation at the rate of a hundred miles a year. The Mongols were nomads; they could never be turned into agriculturists. This encroachment and the dispossession of their lands had made them very uneasy, and they were looking elsewhere than to China for help.

Leaving the Mongols, he turned to the plight of the peasants, farmers, and small traders in the Peking, Tientsin, Shantung, and Hopei districts. Shantung, he said, was badly off, but it was not so hard hit as the other provinces. In these a multitude of misfortunes had befallen the unhappy inhabitants; the plight of the small traders and the farmers, formerly well-to-do men, was bad beyond belief. In the first place, the trade from Outer Mongolia and Central Asia, which had formerly come eastwards through to the ports, had stopped altogether; instead of coming east, it now was taken west through Russia. Russia was building a network of railways as she consolidated her position in Outer Mongolia and got more and more of the Central Asian trade. In any case, conditions were so bad in Western China that it was not possible to send caravans through the bandit-infested districts. Therefore all transit trade had stopped. Then the terrible floods, of which the papers had spoken, had devastated the country and the rivers were still uncontrolled. The Flood Relief work could not touch a tithe of the problem, and not only were the crops destroyed, but a deposit of sand was left over the country which made it impossible to use the land for cultivation afterwards. There was also the question of taxation. Not only were salt and other similar commodities taxed up to the hilt, but land taxes had to be paid over and over again in one year. This was due to the fact that when a Governor of a Province was changed, all magistrates appointed under him left with him, each

taking his office files with him. The incoming magistrates appointed by the next governor had to provide money to carry on and came down again on the farmer for taxes, which had already been paid but of which no record had been left behind. Nor was the amount settled. The taxes in some districts had been paid for sixty years in advance, and the farmer felt that Nanking was not doing very much to help him.

On the other hand, in previous years it had generally been possible to emigrate into Manchuria if conditions were very bad in China, but the present Manchurian authorities refused to take the Chinese without very careful scrutiny, and so that loophole of escape had been stopped. All these factors made life too hard; there was misery and starvation such as had never been known before, and gave the impetus for the desire for any strong and settled government which would give peace and justice. This Japan offered.

The movement for autonomy might go south of the Yellow River down to the Hwai River, but there it would stop. The Hwai River was the natural boundary and anything south of that belonged to South China.

Something could undoubtedly be done at once if foreign engineers (and British for preference, as British were better at this work than any other nation and had had vast experience) were sent out immediately on conservancy work to stop the uncontrolled flooding of the rivers which came down from the Shansi tableland.

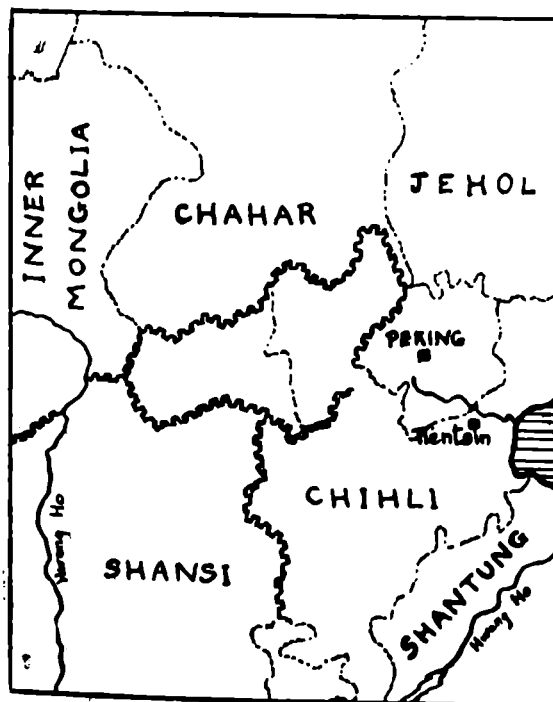
Turning again northwards, a most interesting and difficult situation had arisen. The tribes were moving. The Solons, one of the most advanced tribes, would probably move over to the Dzungaria border. The Mongols, seeing no hope for themselves in China, were looking to Manchuria for their salvation. They think that where the Japanese are, they will get a square deal. In Manchuria the Princes of Outer Mongolia have found a home. When Russia took over Outer Mongolia they did little to alter the conditions of tribal life, but dispossessed the ruling chiefs and trained the younger ones Soviet fashion and put them at the head of the banners. The once reigning princes therefore took refuge in Manchuria. Manchuria is nervous of Outer Mongolia. Mongols, under instruction, make magnificent fighters; their families are brought up on a regimental system and they are not only the finest cavalry in the world but are turning into good airmen. A great network of railways is to be built connecting Urga with the Turk-Sib. and other lines now running. The key to the whole situation lies with the Mongols.

In answer to a question as to whether it would not be unwise, if there were a clash between Japan and Russia (and the constant friction at the frontier might blaze up at any minute), for Manchuria to use Mongol troops against Outer Mongolia, Colonel Stewart said he thought that this was the natural way for Mongols to fight. In examining their history he found that the tribes always fought together until one party was beaten, then they all turned and followed the conqueror.

Mr. Strickland, who had just returned from organizing co-operative societies in China, said that the Nanking Government did what it could, and magnificent motor roads had been built, though perhaps these were not of much use to the farmer, for farm carts could not go along them. Also engineers, sent out by the League of Nations, had surveyed the rivers and had drawn up plans, but if Nanking had to spend all its revenue on fighting the Communists and on protecting itself against the Japanese (and the feeling was very strong against them right through China), he did not see that there could be much left for lowering taxation, developing the country, establishing a land revenue system which would protect the peasant and farmer, or paying foreign experts. He had listened with the greatest interest to Colonel Stewart, who had put his views of a difficult and involved situation very clearly.

OUTER MONGOLIA

MANCHURIA



OUTER MONGOLIA AND MANCHURIA

THE news in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of the conclusion of an agreement between General Blücher, commander-in-chief of the Soviet army in the Far East, and General Tehmuch, the military commander of Outer Mongolia, is highly significant of the progress of Soviet influence in that much discussed area.

It is said that the agreement stipulates that Outer Mongolia receives a loan of 10 million gold ruble, and at the same time permission for the operation of an aircraft service four times a week between Chita and Urga.

The Government of Outer Mongolia in turn pledges itself to put no hindrance in the way of Soviet Communistic propaganda in East Asia and to grant all facilities for the free passage of Soviet troops through its territory if required. At the same time, construction is to be commenced of the railway between Chita and Urga.

In late years a strong anti-Soviet feeling, fostered by Japan, has arisen in Outer Mongolia, the results of which, if allowed to proceed unchecked, were likely to produce far-reaching effects as far west as Sinkiang.

The agreement between Blücher and Tehmuch indicates that Moscow, fully alive to the danger of the extension of Japanese influence towards Soviet territory and adjacent country over which Moscow considers that its influence should predominate, has reserved to itself the right to occupy Mongolia as a threat to Japan on the vulnerable Manchukuo flank.

With 300,000 Soviet troops encircling the borders of the new state, and with the Soviet hold in Sinkiang an accomplished fact, the position of Japan is indeed a difficult one.

The movement of the Chinese Communist armies in a north-westerly direction, and the appointment of the dispossessed ruler of Manchuria, Chang Hsueh-Liang, to the command of the Anti-Bandit Expeditionary Forces for the north-western area, with his headquarters at Sianfu, is a threat to the security of the whole western boundary of Manchukuo which Japan cannot afford to ignore.

The question may well be asked, How will she react to the position which has been created?

The answer is to be seen in her attempt to set up a Japan-Manchukuo-North China bloc to oppose the easterly and south-easterly penetration of Moscow on the Manchukuo border, and as a buffer between the Communist armies in China and the territory in which Japanese interests are at stake.

Japan, by demanding the withdrawal of the Chinese forces from the danger points in North China, and at the same time blocking the route between Urga and Kalgan, over which the Soviet forces could establish contact with the Chinese Reds, has clearly shown that she intends to meet threats to the security of this region by drastic military measures, the extent of which it is impossible to foresee.

Border incidents are already of sufficiently frequent occurrence between patrols of Soviet or Mongolian and Manchukuo forces to cause a serious feeling of uncertainty as to how long they can be confined to mere local events, without giving rise to a general conflagration to determine how far a so-called peaceful and autonomous régime can be maintained by force of arms over a district which has been rife with propaganda and intrigue since the collapse of the sanguinary rule of the notorious Ungern-Sternberg.

Mongolia has become the key of the Japanese house in the Far East, and the moves and counter-moves of Moscow and Tokyo to possess it, and to obtain predominance over the vast area which it controls, have become a crucial factor in the future of East Asia.

IN DEFENCE OF TRAVEL

By MISS FREYA STARK

Miss Freya Stark spoke in defence of travel at the Book Exhibition which was held in the autumn, and the notes of her delightful paper are given here with her kind permission and that of Messrs. John Murray.

WHEN I was honoured by an invitation to speak to you no mention was made of the subject on which I was to lecture. I took it for granted that it would deal with travel, because that is the only subject on which I am able to speak at all. But I thought that, instead of telling you about any particular journey, I would try to answer a question which is put now and again to people who, like myself, enjoy wandering here and there in the world with no particular object except that of getting to know as much about it as they can. "What is the *use* of your travels?" I was asked this once in Persia by an Englishwoman who evidently disliked me. I think she must have disliked me to ask so unkind a question. She herself, she said, was fully occupied in looking after her husband: she could spare no time to wander in the hills. Just then, she said—it was the end of August—she had begun to rear a little flock of turkeys for his Christmas dinner and this would keep her busy for the rest of the year. I was amused, and of course agreed that it would not do for her to abandon the turkeys and search for mediæval castles as I did; but, on the other hand, I pointed out in my own defence that it would be useless for *me* to devote myself to such things as turkeys when there was no husband to eat them when they grew up. To marry one merely to provide domestic occupation seemed unsuitable; and to devote oneself to the Christmas dinners of other people's husbands might lead to a lot of trouble. She looked more pained after my explanation than before, and I have never seen her since. But on thinking the matter over I have come to the conclusion that I might have found many better reasons than the non-existence of a husband to justify my harmless pleasures.

Useful things need not always be immediately and obviously useful. One might just as well ask, "What is the use of manœuvres?" They are expensive and not in themselves immediately profitable. And yet when a time of danger comes everyone realizes how indispensable they

have been. Just so we may look on travel as a training of the individual spirit; its usefulness is none the less real for being indirect.

For one thing, it teaches us to judge very quickly of character. One must choose a guide or servant at the outset. If he is to go all the way, he has to be carefully chosen; but it can usually be done at leisure, and one can give oneself time to study him before actually setting out. I have always been very lucky in finding honest and conscientious men, but I did once change my guide at the very last moment, though he had been well recommended; he came twice before we started for lonely places on the West Persian border and begged me to carry a *great deal* of money with me. It is a very sound plan *not* to have very much money with one in this sort of country: I thought his dwelling on the subject rather ominous and disengaged him at once. One's money is always a problem, because only silver or lesser coins are of any use, and they make heavy and bulky packets. I have always handed mine over to the guide and made him responsible for them; the guide himself, being only paid at the journey's end, also has every inducement to try to make you reach it in safety. All this is fairly easy to manage with a man who is to do the whole journey with you, and who would have to answer questions from friends who recommended him if he returned to your base without you. But when one travels in nomad country one has to take a subsidiary guide from every tribe to the next, and it is here that one must judge, accept, or refuse very quickly and with no previous knowledge of the people; and comfort and safety will often depend on the choice. Many travellers have met disaster by choosing the wrong man. It is extraordinary how soon, when so much hangs upon it, one becomes observant of small details and relies on them for a decision on which one's safety may depend. This is a very useful quality to carry back into ordinary life and quite worth a journey in itself to acquire.

It is not only in choosing that the observance of character is necessary: it is just as essential in managing people when once they have been got together. On the whole, I find it is not oneself, it is one's servant that makes the trouble. The traveller himself is a stranger; if he goes into new country he sets his own standards, and the people are ready to take them for granted provided they do not clash with any violent prejudice of theirs. But if he brings a servant who is sufficiently near to them to be comprehensible and is yet a stranger to the tribe or village, there is nearly always friction, especially if it is a townsman among nomads, who mutually despise each other. That is why I find

it much less difficult to travel without a servant of my own, to deal directly with the country people or Beduin and train them in such service as I require. It flatters them, it makes them feel responsible, and you are treated as a guest who comes to live their life instead of as an intruder who merely passes through their country living a strange life of his own. Even so the divisions of these primitive but ancient societies are so many, and their idea of a foreigner is so apt to begin at the next village, that one can hardly avoid having friction at some time or other in a caravan. Someone is always trying to impress on you the sins of someone else; here again it is only judgment, observation, intuition, or tact—all very much the same thing—which will carry you safely through. It is fatal to let oneself come under the influence of only one trusted man and take his word for the virtues or vices of the others; he is bound to have lots of local prejudices which distort his vision, and it is just as bad for him to feel too powerful as it is for others to feel that they have not a free and unbiassed access to your favour. On the other hand, you must be ready to take the advice of your followers when they are talking about what they know. When they quarrel, you must be as ready and almost as ingenious as Solomon to find out which is in the wrong, for your whole prestige depends upon it. All these are things depending entirely on quick judgment of character.

A summing-up of your people's characters and their probable reactions will also determine your own behaviour in many instances. I had a very tiresome guide when I first went into Luristan. He thought—as a good many Persians do—that it was undignified to obey a woman, and he used to show his independence by never doing anything I told him until I had asked two or three times. Then he would wait a minute, get up very slowly, and do it with an air of having just thought of it on his own account. You can imagine how very exasperating this was. I felt that if I complained about it I would get no sympathy from my audience, for they all thought that a Persian man is worth twenty women anyway, and that it was kind of him to come at all; so I had to bear it in silence till the day came for our parting. I then gave him his wages and only half the present I had intended to give him. This half, I told him, was for his honesty and faithfulness; if he had been polite and obedient as well he would have had the other half also. I have not needed him again, but I feel sure that another time he would be perfectly satisfactory; and we parted the best of friends. This was a difficult case to deal with because the prejudices of the country

were against me. It would have been unwise to make a fuss about it, being as I was completely in the hands of the people and dependent on their goodwill. Usually, however, if one has a reasonable grievance, one will find plenty of honest and chivalrous people to put it right for one, so long as it is presented in a way they understand. A knowledge of their habit of mind and point of view is essential.

I will give a case in point, which most travellers are always being confronted with. I think it is pleasant to take my journeys very slowly, and, especially when in new country, I like a long rest in the middle of the day to write up notes, observations and so on. In the evening one usually comes to a village, and is surrounded by crowds of people; they make it difficult to write, and anyway one enjoys sitting with them round their teapot or coffee pot and listening to the gossip of the district. Guides also enjoy this, and hate wasting their time in the middle of the day in some lonely place with not a house in sight. If one tells them that the reason for doing so is merely to write notes, they think it just foolishness, and become cross and intractable. If one says that their time is paid for and makes it a matter of principle, they become quite impossible. I have never done this myself, but many travel books are full of the complaints over such quarrels. The fact is that your Beduin guide considers his obligation to consist merely in getting you safely to your destination; the distribution and speed of your journey he considers his own affair; and if you protest in a tiresome way he is apt to look on you with the indignant feelings a post-office official might have if something sent by parcel post were suddenly to argue with him. To bribe him with the offer of more money is the worst plan of all, as it brings a rapacious instinct into your relations, simply fatal to harmony in the long run. Mr. and Mrs. Bent, who travelled about forty years ago in that part of Southern Arabia which I visited last winter, nearly lost their lives; and in reading their account carefully, I believe it was almost entirely due to their reckless distribution of money. The only way to induce your caravan to go at your own pace is to find some reason which your Beduin will accept as adequate. What a man does about it I don't quite know. I usually rely on the fact that they believe women to be feeble creatures incapable of bearing long hours without a rest; or I explain that people from a northern land cannot ride for many hours in the heat of an Arabian sun. The weakness of women, the necessity of kindness to strangers, are pleas which the roughest nomad will understand; and I usually get my extra hour or two without any difficulty because the matter has been put to them

in a way which they can accept. Just in the same way in collecting plant specimens—they will think you mad if you merely say you are doing it so as to know their names; but if you say that you are looking for the medicinal qualities in them they will all help as much as they can.

I have found the same sort of principle apply to more difficult subjects like history and archæology. I was travelling last winter in the Hadhramaut, the country which lies on the Indian Ocean east of Aden. It is full of the traces of ancient cities belonging to the Sabæans and their kindred empires; the word Saba is the same as Sheba, and the country of the Queen of Sheba was probably somewhere in this corner of Arabia, although the Abyssinians also lay claim to her. Abyssinia was a colony from Southern Arabia, and the ancient buildings shown on its monuments must have been almost exactly like the Hadhramaut houses to-day. The great trade route passed through these lands; it carried Indian merchandise to the courts of Egypt, Palestine, Assyria, and later Rome; and also carried the incense from Somaliland and the Arabian forests, a trade which at that time was infinitely more important than we can realize now. All these ancient remains belong to an age long before Muhammad, when the Arabs were still pagans; whatever traces they have left the modern Bedouin considers as beneath the notice of a true believer, and they look upon one's curiosity about them as rather frivolous. There is a legend, however, that, before Muhammad, two prophets were sent to the pagans of South Arabia, the people of 'Ad and Thamud, to convert them to better ways. Both these prophets, after coming to bad ends themselves and causing a lot of trouble to the people who would not listen to them, in the way that prophets have, were buried in the Hadhramaut and are venerated there to this day; and I found that, by enquiring about the prophets, rather than about the heathen with whom I was really much more concerned, my Bedouin could be got to take a real interest and to give information on what they considered a religious subject, which they would never think of giving merely to satisfy pagan curiosity.

This brings me to the second point in my research into the usefulness of travel.

Travel gives one, I think, a notion of what *are* and what are *not* universal values.

I mean that there are some things which make an appeal and are recognized everywhere, wherever there is a human being; and others

which have only a limited currency. You would think that it is easy to distinguish them; but, as a matter of fact, we are constantly making mistakes—taking local conventions to be universal truths or thinking, on the other hand, that those things to which humanity really responds all over the world are monopolies of our own race or land. Things like the interest in clothes or children, the respect for old age, the love of learning, are practically universal; wherever you go, among high or low, civilized or uncivilized, if you appeal to such things you will find someone to respond. But other things, just as important, are only *sometimes* understood. "Courage" often says very little to townbred people who do not have to deal with it in a recognizable form—and I think it is because they know so little about this virtue that the nomads who roam round their desert towns despise their settled lives. Honour and truth are by no means the same all over the world; though every nation no doubt has them, it is often in a rather specialized form. The Arab thinks it wrong to kill a sleeping enemy; but he is forced by a sense of duty to execute his wife or sister if they are even gossiped about. When I was in Baghdad, the son-in-law of an ex-Minister was shot by a cousin of the bride's; the cousin should have had, according to the general Arab custom, the first right to marry her if he chose, and the general verdict in the bazaars at the time was that he had a perfect right to shoot the man; but he was bitterly criticized for doing so in a government office. "At least," they said, "he might have waited till the man was getting into a taxi at the door."

Again, our civilized ideas of war are not at all universal; a number of savages consider the use of poison gas unsporting. Nor does civilization itself mean the same thing everywhere. A friend of mine was told by a Syrian in Damascus: "We are quite civilized here now. We eat pork." On the other hand, there is a sense of fair play which will be found to exist practically everywhere whenever it is appealed to. Justice, too, in theory if not in practice.

The more one travels and discovers these universal values, the more one will also understand about one's own, the more one will discriminate the fundamental from the accidental.

I think that when one realizes how many fundamental things really are the same all over the world, whatever the form they take, one will find it more difficult, for instance, to go to war without a serious reason against people who have human qualities and failings like our own; and when it really enters our minds how the uncivilized man loves his own stony fields or silent hills just as we love the Cotswolds

or the fields of Kent—and more so, perhaps, since they have fewer other things to distract them—why then I think that civilized nations will not talk lightly as some of them do now of snatching lands from peoples as human as themselves.

To see into the character of human beings; to recognize the fundamental values that are the same over the world: these, it seems to me, are the two most useful results of travel, and all journeys can try to achieve them as far as possible. The explorer *must* cultivate these qualities as far as he can, because it is through them that he will be saved from infinite discomforts and dangers. But the ordinary traveller also will find that by thinking of them he will add greatly to his pleasure. He will not be content with guide-book sights and hotels, but will come into contact with people of as many different kinds as he can.

It seems to me that this is more important than ever now that we live so much more in towns and less in the country. In towns one may meet and have dealings with a larger number of people, but they are mostly of one's own "set" or interested in one's own form of life. In the country one knows everyone there is to know, and so gets really a greater variety. I remember looking through a volume of old German comic papers and coming to the caricature of two very dandified young men. "How many inhabitants are there in Leipzig?" one of them was asking the other. "Fifty thousand," was the answer. "The rest of them are workers." This would be an impossible joke now. But it is still true that, though we admit the existence of all the millions of people who live in a different way from ours, we very rarely come into any close relationship with them. If we can do so on our travels then I think that the time of our wandering, wherever it may be, may be called *useful* in the true sense of the word.

REVIEWS

Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, or *The Seven Books of Wisdom of the Great Path*, according to the late Lama Kazi Sawa-Samdup's English rendering. Arranged and edited with Introductions and Annotations to serve as a Commentary by W. Y. Evans-Wentz. With Foreword by Dr. R. R. Marett. London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford). 1935. Pp. xxiv + 389. 16s.

In this extraordinary work Dr. Evans-Wentz completes his trilogy of the Tibetan esoteric teaching, the two previous works being *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* and *Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa*.

The basis of the Tibetan teaching is the practice of Yoga, which may be termed the science of the mind, but mind must be used in a broader sense than it is in western psychology, for by "mind" is also meant the macrocosmic mind, which is the only true reality, and of which the mind of the individual is but a reflection. By means of Yoga—the word comes from the same root as the English word "yoke"—the microcosmic mind, the mind of man, is united with the primordial mind, the macrocosmos, and is absorbed by it after passing through different phases of consciousness and super-consciousness, the last phase being a complete identification with what in this book is called "the Clear Light," the Divine Light of the Godhead of the Christian mystics. In this last phase any form of consciousness no longer exists and an attempt at description is beyond human ability.

The great interest of Dr. Evans-Wentz's book lies in the fact that the art of Yoga, this highly subtle art of controlling the individual mind and leading it on to what Buddhists call the Path of Enlightenment, is, he claims, for the first time explained in some detail. There are copious notes to assist the reader in interpreting certain difficult passages in the text, and a great deal of information new to most western students is given about the practice of Yoga, such as the "technique" of visualizing the deities, the science of what is called psychic heat, the transference of consciousness, and that remarkable system of symbolic psychology called Tantricism, to which a further reference will be made. Unfortunately, Dr. Evans-Wentz does not mention most of the psychic phenomena that occur to the student while engaged in the practice that leads him towards Enlightenment.

Only the teacher of Guru can deal with these phenomena, which consist of sensations and visions and peculiar physical states, and he does this at first by constantly explaining their meaning to his chela, and thereby giving him the necessary confidence to go on, and later by being in telepathic communication with him so that even after a period of years he can preserve him from any dangers that may be encountered. Then Dr. Evans-Wentz has only referred to and not explained the most important system of the Tantra, the Kalacakra, which is a form of Yoga based on a knowledge of the forces of the cosmos. Perhaps he will be allowed to give the West an insight into the most profound system of psychic attainment known to man.

In the introduction to his book Dr. Evans-Wentz gives a short account of what Tibetan Buddhism really is—namely, that it is Yoga applied to life. If the tenet that the ultimate source of the world is mind is accepted, then it will not be difficult to understand that Yoga, the science that enables the human mind to transcend its own consciousness and enter into the Divine Mind, must be the one and only purpose in life for those who are on the Path. The different forms of Yoga are enumerated: *Hatha* Yoga, which gives mastery of breath and leads to the Yogic control of health; *Laya* Yoga, with its subdivisions, giving mastery over the will and the powers of mind; *Dhyana* Yoga, which has to do with meditation and thought process; and *Raja* Yoga, a science of method, which gives the devotee powers of discrimination in the highest sense.

In terms of our western psychology, what exactly is Yoga? It is the ability to create and destroy mental images by means of intense concentration, assisted by certain breathing exercises, in which the thinker identifies himself with the images he has created and so becomes conscious of the illusory nature of these thought-forms. To some extent Yoga is as mechanistic as our own psychology, but it is superior in that it introduces the psychic experience of identification. If the person practising Yoga experiences the illusory nature of his own mental images, he will soon realize that the whole world is an illusion. In the course of psychic training this logically follows. The only real experience possible, therefore, is the identification with the Clear Light, the primordial mind which is the only reality and which is the ultimate cause and source of all manifestation.

There is another form of Yoga, where the creation of mental images and the cessation of the thought process is assisted by bringing into consciousness the psychic polarity of the individual. This means

that the masculine and feminine elements of the nerve centres are dissociated from each other and then brought together in union. This can be done by means of visualization—that is, visualizing as male and female deities or by stimulating the nerve centres through contact with other sources of energy. It may be asked whether or not this whole system of psychology is sound. If the means justify the end, we may accept it as of the greatest value, and in the East it has certainly justified itself. That Yoga was at one time practised in Europe there is no doubt, although to-day the memory of this science seems to have completely faded from the western consciousness. There is a Latin manuscript in a continental library that once belonged to King Wenceslaus of Bohemia which gives the Kalacakra system in full; many of our alchemical texts are based on all four forms of Yoga; and that the Manicheans practised *Dhyana* Yoga in the early Middle Ages has now been generally accepted. Even the much despised Rosicrucians had an exact knowledge of *Laya* Yoga.

The seven books translated into English by the late Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup are the following :

The title of the first book is “The Supreme Path of Discipleship; the Precepts of the Gurus.” This is a collection of precepts to put the neophyte in the proper frame of mind. One verse may be mentioned : “If the unsulliable nature of the intellect be realized, no longer is it necessary to seek absolution of one’s sins.”

“The Nirvanic Path : the Yoga of the Great Symbol ” is the title of Book II. The “Great Symbol ” is a written guide to the method of attaining by means of Yoga such mental concentration . . . as brings about mystical insight into the real nature of existence. All forms of Yoga are mentioned in this book, with emphasis on the highest aspect of *Raja* Yoga.

Book III. is called “The Path of Knowledge : the Yoga of the Six Doctrines.” Here we have the science of psychic heat, the doctrines of the dream state and the Clear Light and the state after death, and finally the interesting doctrine of consciousness—transference, whereby one can transfer one’s consciousness into other living forms.

Book IV. contains this last doctrine and describes the method of visualization of the deities employed by the Yogins. This is done by means of Tantric practices which presuppose a knowledge of the psychic forces of the individual.

Book V. is called “The Path of Mystic Sacrifice : the Yoga of Subduing the Lower Self.” In this book is described in terms of symbolical

language how the evil forces in one's personal destiny may be cut off.

The title of Book VI. is "The Path of the Five Wisdoms: the Yoga of the Long *Hum*." By using sounds and letters as cosmic symbols, the Yogin can attain liberation from the "wheel of his destiny."

In the last book, "The Path of Transcendental Wisdom: the Yoga of the Voidness," we have an exposition of the doctrine of Voidness, the basis of a vast body of the literature of Mahayana Buddhism.

A detailed index of twenty-five pages follows, which makes reference to this compendium of psychic knowledge a simple task.

All students of religion and psychology owe Dr. Evans-Wentz a debt of profound gratitude for having produced this work. Europe is at present undergoing a reevaluation of some of its most fundamental beliefs. It is only by acquiring knowledge of the psychic forces within ourselves that we can hope to weather the coming storm, and from this point of view the book is truly a light in the darkness.

G. H.

India's New Constitution. A Survey of the Government of India Act, 1935.

By J. P. Eddy, ex-Judge of the High Court, Madras, and F. H. Lawton, B.A. (Cantab.). Macmillan. 6s.

The Government of India Act, 1935, with its 478 sections and 16 schedules concerning 432 pages, is said to be the longest Act ever placed on our Statute Book. It is probably the most complex.

The authors of this admirable survey, which in volume is much less than half of the Act but contains two most important documents—the draft Instruments of Accession and of Instructions to the Governor-General and Governors—not included in the Act, tell us that their aim is to "set out succinctly its provisions in their proper historical setting." They have certainly succeeded. Mr. Punch has summed up their work with his usual aptness when he writes:

"I cannot say that this volume offers particularly light reading, for naturally instruction has been aimed at rather than amusement. *But it is not nearly so severe as the Act itself.*"

The justice of this comment will be readily admitted by those who have had to wade through the complex provisions of the Act itself, with their many obscurities, their continual cross-references, their ever-recurring subtleties—*e.g.*, as regards the occasions on which the Governor-General or Governor has to act "in his discretion" or "in the exercise of his individual judgment."

Many of these difficulties are doubtless inseparable from the heroic—some would say quixotic—attempt to bring into a single enactment a Constitution for 353 millions of people spread over twelve British Provinces differing from one another far more widely than the States of Europe, and over 500 Indian States hitherto autocratically governed subject to varying degrees of supervision by the Paramount Power: in fact, a congeries of diverse races, creeds, and cultures "marching with uneven steps through the centuries from the seventh to the twentieth."

How much simpler the problem would have been had the framers of the Bill

accepted the advice that they should deal separately with the extension of autonomy in the British Provinces, leaving the infinitely more difficult problem of establishing an All-India Federation between those Provinces and the Indian States for a later stage! *Sed Dis aliter virum*. One result of this unfortunate decision is that the Constitution embodied in the Act is, and for many years must remain, a purely hypothetical one. The portion dealing with the British Provinces will come into force in 1937 if Parliament is satisfied by the enquiry now being conducted by Sir Otto Niemeyer that they can pay their way and meet the heavy extra expenditure entailed. As all but two of the Provinces—Madras and the Punjab—have been for years unable to balance their budgets without liberal subventions from the Central Government—which is itself seriously embarrassed by the enormous falling off in Customs and railway receipts—it is probable that many Provinces will have to start on a basis of insolvency, unless they are prepared to impose heavy new taxation. Admittedly that is the last thing which the provincial Ministers, who will have full responsibility for Finance, will desire to do. Sir Robert Horne in the Indian debates last year, speaking with personal knowledge of India and the authority of a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that if the peoples of India were shown the Bill—now an Act—in one hand and the cost in another, 90 per cent. of them would refuse to look at the Bill. Our statesmen ignored the 90 per cent. because they are not vocal.

It is now clear that as provincial autonomy draws nearer there is growing apprehension in India that it will entail not only increased taxation, but a steady deterioration in the administration, from which the invaluable British element is almost completely eliminated, grave dangers to the minority communities and serious risk of widespread communal disorders as the already bitter religious antagonisms are aggravated by the struggle for the power and place that the British are resigning. An instance is furnished by the Punjab to-day. The age-long feud between Muslims and Sikhs, latent under British control, has burst out with appalling intensity as a result of the Sikhs demolishing the remains of an old mosque to the site of which the courts had found them legally entitled. Brutal murders have already taken place, and only the presence of British troops, who have more than once had to open fire, has, as between Muslims and Hindus in Karachi last spring, prevented wholesale massacre. If to-day the Punjab had full provincial autonomy, with a Minister representing the Muslim majority in charge of the forces of law and order, is it unlikely that we should have civil war? The Sikh extremists now in control have repeatedly said they would fight rather than submit to a Muslim majority. Many Muslims in the Punjab believe that this is the fact. If civil war starts in the Punjab, where will it end? In Sind, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Hindu-Muslim tension is as acute as the Muslim-Sikh situation in the Punjab. Mr. Gandhi may contemplate with equanimity the prospect under Swaraj of a struggle between Hindus and Muslims till one side is wiped out. We who are responsible for the peace of India cannot share his complacency.

Thus looking solely at the Provinces. The Reforms seem to be replacing the Pax Britannica by a sword.

The risks attending provincial autonomy may to some extent be justified by the fact that it is but an extension of the policy laid down in the Act of 1919 for the *gradual* development of self-governing institutions by *stages*. No such defence can be put forward for the proposal to create *uno ictu* an All-India Federation which conflicts with the principles of every Federation yet established either within or without the British Empire. Only two major defects out of many may be noticed.

Every Federation has come into being by the voluntary association of units already self-governing, which agree to cede certain elements of their sovereignty to the new federal body for such common purposes as defence tariffs, railways, posts and telegraphs, currency, etc.

In the All-India Federation the units will be (1) the eleven British Provinces, which are not yet self-governing and are compelled to come in whether they wish or not; (2) the many hundred Indian States which are at present under autocratic rule, but which are individually given the option of entering the Federation on terms which are vaguely outlined in the Act, but which are to be more fully defined in the Instruments of Accession to be negotiated between each acceding State and the Paramount Power. It is provided that if States with half the total State population and half the State seats in the new Upper Chamber accede, the Federation will come into being on an address being presented to His Majesty by both Houses of Parliament. Thus we may be faced with the anomaly of half the States being outside the Federation.

Under the Act neither the Provinces nor the acceding States can secede from the Federation. One wonders how long that position can be maintained. It is easy to foresee that not only individual States but also Provinces may find the Federal bond so irksome that they may desire to sever it, on communal, financial, or economic grounds. The last-named have recently driven Western Australia to try to break away from the Australian Commonwealth. In India the test will come when the already incipient revolt of the agricultural Provinces, such as the Punjab, and United Provinces, against the protective tariffs imposed for the benefit of Bombay and Bengal manufacturers—already very high and likely to be further enhanced when the Central Legislation is dominated by the Congress party—comes to a head. Will the new Federal Government be able, for instance, to coerce a recalcitrant Punjab, from whose peasantry two-thirds of the Indian Army is raised, and could British troops be used for such a purpose?

The second point in which the proposed Federation runs counter to all other Federations is that, while a Customs Union (Zollverein) is everywhere an essential prerequisite of Federation, in India the hundreds of States which have their separate inland and sea Customs are to be allowed to retain them! There are even indications that the States which in the past, by treaty or agreement with the Paramount Power, abandoned their Customs barriers now desire to reimpose them! Federal India will be cut up by several hundred tariff walls. The Joint Committee, on whose report the Act was based, mildly protest against this "anti-federal" attitude, and register the pious hope that it will disappear in time. Does the rapid spread of "economic nationalism" among the nations of the East and West encourage that hope?

In any case, it is clear that the accession of even half the States will take years to negotiate. It is a case of "It may be for years and it may be for ever." Meantime the Central Government is expected to carry on much as at present with its powers over the Provinces immensely reduced. This "transition period" for which the Act provides is bound to be one of serious difficulty and constant friction. The position cannot be clarified till the Princes as a body come to a decision as to entering the Federation. There is reason to believe that the great majority, excepting the few powerful States which are either ambitious to play a great rôle in the future Federation or rely on being able to hold their own against the encroachments of British-Indian politicians, heartily dislike the whole scheme. They would prefer to retain their full internal sovereignty under the protection of their treaties and engagements with the Crown and do not relish the prospect of having to take the place of a British Government withdrawing,

as they think, from its responsibilities. The Act places them in a cruel dilemma. If they refuse to come in, they displease the Government, whose whole policy assumes their joining the Federation; they also run the risk of antagonizing the Brahman politicians who in 1931 so cleverly palmed the Federation card on the British Government and certain influential Princes in the hope of thereby securing their own supremacy.

One aspect of the Federation is brought out very clearly by the authors of the survey—viz., that it will, as in Canada, Australia, and South Africa, give rise to endless friction and protracted litigation between the units *inter se* and the units and the Federation. Some of the most valuable passages in the book are the references to the many Privy Council rulings on Federal disputes. It appears that the Federal Court for India is to be established at once. Whoever loses by the new Constitution, it will bring much grist to the mill of the Indian lawyer politicians who for a time at least will dominate the provincial and Federal Governments. Many of that class are hostile to the British connection, but the framers of the Constitution have repeatedly assured us that the new Constitution can only work on a basis of good-will. It is doubtful whether in ignoring the interests of the illiterate masses on the ground that the grant of a vote will provide the protection hitherto assured to them by the now disappearing British official, and in thinking primarily of the aspirations of an unfriendly section of the Intelligentsia, we are securing that general good-will which is regarded as indispensable. Lord Lloyd, in the final debate in the Lords, dealt with the matter as only a statesman and administrator could. His words were: "But good-will can be secured and retained if we do our duty to the peoples of India, in assuring to those who are helpless the great gift of orderly and impartial government, in prizing their security and advantage even beyond their applause, and in leading them by gradual and prudent stages towards the achievement of those political powers of which as yet they neither feel the need nor know the value."

History will judge the Act and its authors by the tests so truly and eloquently defined by Lord Lloyd. Let us hope that judgment will not be given against them.

M. F. O'DWYER.

Popular Hinduism, the Religion of the Masses. By L. S. S. O'Malley, C.I.E., I.C.S. (retired). Pp. viii + 246. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

The keynote of this book is to explain how the masses in India regard the mysteries of life in this world and in the hereafter. To the learned Hindu to-day it is as impossible to separate religion and philosophy as it was in the days of Socrates, to whom an Indian is reported to have said: "*μη δύνασθαι τινα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καρτεῖν ἀγνοῦντά γε τὰ θεῖα.*" But the man in the field is not capable of appreciating philosophy and needs more comfort, clearer guidance, and concrete explanations of his difficulties, so that popular religion in India takes very different forms from the creeds explained in orthodox scriptures. It has its roots in the speculations and practices of a number of separate races which now dwell within the wide boundaries of India and have come in varying degrees under the influence of orthodox Hinduism.

Many aspects of the popular creeds have been described by Crooke for Northern India, by Enthoven for Western and by Thurston for Southern India, and much information is to be found scattered in census reports and gazetteers. Mr. O'Malley in this book sets out to explain some of the most striking features of the subject, and it may be said at once that he has succeeded in making intelligible

a very complicated business. Many people who find the standard accounts too full of detail will appreciate a planned selection by a writer who has made a study of them and has been able to set out his conclusions so well.

He begins with a description of popular beliefs and shows how they differ from those of orthodox Hinduism. Pantheism is replaced by personal adoration. The place of the "godlings" of the village is explained, and there is an interesting discussion of the extent to which idol-worship is genuine or symbolic. An additional example of the regard for temple idols may be quoted from the case of Colonel Heron in 1755,* who captured a temple in Southern India and allowed his soldiers to plunder the idols, which were to be sold as old brass. This desecration drove the Kallars (an aboriginal tribe) to frenzy, and "as long as Heron remained in the provinces they put to death everyone belonging to his army who fell into their hands, native or European, man, woman or child." Mr. O'Malley's references to common worship by Hindus and Muslims on certain occasions are full of interest and are in contrast to the enmity which breaks out at other times.

Dealing with ideals, it is explained how the ordinarily simple and kindly life of the village is liable to be convulsed by feuds which lead to utter disregard of truth in the interests of so-called *izzat* or honour. Litigation, however, to some extent takes the place of sport and games in Western countries, and is not always based on real enmity. Anatole France relates how an inspector from Paris was surprised to find educated people in a provincial town talking about nothing but a forthcoming execution. A resident explained to him that people in the country had so few distractions of interest. But with all these dark episodes there is an illuminating faith in divine governance and in the value of austerities. I remember an orderly who had toiled on foot to Badrinath and fell ill with dysentery on the way back. He could hardly stand up when he returned, but said with fervour that nobody could call himself a man till he had visited such a holy place.

The chapter on moral influences is particularly interesting, as Mr. O'Malley here discusses the question whether Hinduism is unmoral. Those who have maintained this view have chiefly been students of the orthodox system. But, as the author has already pointed out in an earlier book, the caste system operates to maintain morality. It may not always tally with other views, but it has a standard and is effective in maintaining it, though critics may complain of such a doctrine as that which regards it as more laudable to feed Brahmans than to help the poor. And it is certainly a weakness in Hinduism that it has had no effectual means for the diffusion of its many sublime conceptions. Some of the newer sects of Hinduism, however, are regarding such missionary work as important. Possibly a result of that may be to change the point of view from which Hindu temples are regarded—namely, that of a sanctuary of a god and goddess, not a place of public worship like a church or mosque. The chapter on worship and ceremonies is of great value as showing examples of popular favourites. Mr. O'Malley expresses doubts as to the origin of the *Holi* festival, but it is certainly comparable to the Roman and Greek spring festivals and must have a parallel meaning.

The worship of godlings and evil spirits points most clearly of all to the primitive elements which have become incorporated in popular Hinduism, and the chapter dealing with this is very full of interest without being overloaded. It seems strange that little more than a century ago the Supreme Criminal Court at Calcutta had to forbid the practice of hamstringing condemned prisoners before execution, a method of preventing their ghosts from haunting the executioner.

* Yusuf Khan, *The Rebel Commandant*, p. 37.

Readers of Meadows Taylor's *Confession of a Thug* will remember such a practice in the Deccan. Mr. O'Malley shows that the process of deification still continues, and there are shrines in various parts of India where cheroots and liquor are still offered to the memory of British officers who made an impression in their lifetime; and others to Indian men and women who have died in recent years.

Brahmans, priests and holy men play a great part in religious life, and their influence extends over mundane affairs. Lucky days and auspicious hours are still awaited, and though the railway time-table sometimes interferes, the astrologer's advice can be followed by sending some article such as a sword at the time fixed while the Raja takes a suitable train.

The book ends with a chapter on sectarianism and toleration with a good account of recent happenings during clashes between Hindus and Muslims. The general lesson to be learnt is that among the masses cults are more noticeable than sects, but as education extends sectarianism will probably increase. Dr. MacNicol's recent book on *The Living Religions of the Indian People* may usefully be referred to in that connection, as it supplements Mr. O'Malley's sketch, while the book under review is a valuable addition to Dr. MacNicol's account.

RICHARD BURN.

Financial Problems of Indian States under Federation. By Sahibzada A.

Wajid Khan. With a Preface by Hugh Dalton. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi + 256. Jarrolds. 8s. 6d.

In all the heat and turmoil of the Debates on the India Bill in 1935, there was one point at any rate which was beyond dispute—namely, the complexity of the gigantic experiment on which India was about to embark. Even in a country where conditions are uniform and the people homogeneous, a change in the form of government is no light matter; in India, where Hindu and Moslem, caste and outcaste, monarchy and democracy are all found cheek by jowl, all unable to move without crossing one another's paths in every direction, the problem to be faced is just about as complicated and difficult as anyone could conceive. The one indispensable ingredient of its successful solution is a broad-minded and tolerant spirit on the part of the different local leaders. Without a generous spirit of "give and take," the progress of the scheme is certain, at the best, to be slow and laborious, and, at the worst, a miserable fiasco.

As everyone knows, the completion of the scheme in its final form depends upon the Princes of India. The Federation of All-India seemed, in the days of the Simon Commission, a distant, though very desirable, consummation, almost a dream. At the first Round-Table Conference the representatives of the Princes brought it with one gesture from the land of dreams to the world of realities. There, in spite of some misgivings in divers times and places, it has since remained. But, of course, it is realized that to weld into one Federation over a vast continent areas which have never known anything but personal rule and areas where democratic principles have come to prevail, is likely to be a task of formidable proportions, and no part of it more formidable than that which touches the financial relations of the parties. Any contribution which helps to elucidate this problem must be welcome—and if it helps to solve it more than welcome. That is the test by which to judge the book now under review.

Unhappily, the quality of "broad-mindedness" is not at all apparent; the Sahibzada writes (except in the final chapter, where one seems to hear a different voice) rather as a critic of the past than as a present helper. One hoped that he

would adorn his subject with comparisons and ideas drawn from the financial structure of other Federations which exist or have existed, such as the United States of America or Germany. But there is nothing of the sort. After a few trite remarks on Federal finance, drawn from previous writers, he passes to his real object, an attack on past policy in India. In Chapter IV. he opens a heavy barrage on the Government of India, and, later, on the Indian States Enquiry Committee; and it is necessary to preface the remarks that follow with a few general observations to obviate possible misunderstanding. Nothing could be further from the wishes of the ordinary Englishman than any unfair or inconsiderate treatment of the Indian Princes in this critical time. The States, taking them as a whole, have won British hearts by their splendid loyalty to the King, their kindly feeling, their generosity, their readiness to co-operate in matters of Imperial interest. A sane and impartial view of the rights and just privileges due to the States, so far as this is consistent with due regard to the interests of the Provinces and of the Federation, is the one essential in the new scheme, and especially in the framing of the Instruments of Accession. But the settlement, while taking individual and exceptional claims into consideration, must be on broad and general lines and must be based largely on things as they are, not on things as they might have been in some other world or in some other century.

The Sahibzada bases himself largely and very unsteadily on things as they might have been, and makes his attack on a wide front. It is not necessary to follow him into every portion of the field; a few instances will suffice. He says that the Government of India, in pursuit of its policy of promoting the economic advantage of British India, have shown utter indifference to the rights of the States; that the States have suffered from the industrialization of British India; that their postal, telegraph and telephone systems have been consistently hampered; that in some cases they have not been allowed to utilize their water-power to the full; and finally that the Government of India has collected from the Indian States' subjects taxes to which it has no justification in fact or law. These are grave and sweeping charges. Let us consider them further. As regards industrialization, is it possible to arrest the wheels of progress, in order to consult the convenience of some who are not in the van? As to water and mineral rights, have the Government of India opposed development, where a State has shown itself financially equal to the task? The writer mentions the large irrigation scheme in the State of Bahawalpur. A similar scheme which has added greatly to the revenues of the Bikanir Durbar is ignored; so are the goldfields of Kolar. As regards railway and postal and telegraph arrangements, no system can run satisfactorily throughout a continent if the management has to change hands at every boundary; and this applies with special force in a country where such boundaries lie in profusion across every trunk line. That the States have helped to facilitate through communications is greatly to their credit; they have, in fact, already contributed in this way to a kind of embryo federal organization in this department, while getting in return communication with every part of India far more cheaply and efficiently than they would have if each had worked independently the railway, post and telegraph system within its own territories. If they can show that there are profits available, to a share in which they are entitled, that is a different matter, which can duly be brought forward when the time comes for negotiating their Instruments of Accession.

The charge that tax has been unjustifiably collected from the subjects of Native States by the Government of India seems to be based on a quite imaginary grievance. The inland States, says the Sahibzada, have never been given any share in Sea-customs. That States owning no seaports should share in Sea-customs

is a modern theory, originating probably with the recent change in tariff policy, and therefore unlikely to stand the test of time or provide a solid basis for claims-in-perpetuity. Kathiawar States have their ports and collect their own port dues, and there are other maritime States similarly situated. There are, in addition, certain commercial concessions due to special causes in the case of two States, Haiderabad and Kashmir; and certain courtesy concessions are granted in regard to goods imported for the personal use of a select number of Princes and their families. It can reasonably be argued that this head of revenue (Sea-customs) should be allotted to the Federal chest, when Federation comes. But to bring a charge of neglect against the Government of India in respect of past practice is really absurd. The States have in the past imposed land Customs and transit duties at their borders; and many do so still. But, so long as they remain separate entities, a claim to Sea-customs by a land-bound State seems, to put it mildly, a contradiction in terms.

If this be admitted, the Sahibzada's figures become sadly deflated. Out of 23.02 crores, which is his estimate of the total direct and indirect contributions of States to the expenditure of the Federal Government (p. 173), the sum of 10.29 crores vanishes at one stroke. Another item—viz., military services—is put at 9.60 crores. This is a grossly exaggerated figure, for it is based on a calculation which ignores the fact that the forces maintained by the States comprise no British troops. The figure is arrived at by taking the whole cost of the British Indian Army, and applying to it the fraction obtained by comparing the numerical strength of that Army with that of the forces maintained by the States, no regard being paid to the inclusion of British troops in the former or to the larger costs of organization. It is difficult, after considering these figures, to feel any confidence in such crude and unscientific accountancy. One more point deserves attention, perhaps, before we leave this subject. The contribution of the States under currency and coinage is taken at 88 lakhs. This sum is arrived at by applying to the Government of India revenue under this head (3.54 crores) the ratio of Indian States population to British India population, and adding some 8 lakhs thereto, "allowing for the slow velocity of money in the States." The writer seems ready to make allowances which are favourable to his thesis, while ignoring the most obvious arguments in the contrary direction. And, since he disapproves of the Government of India's policy (agreeing with the dissentient member of the Currency Commission), he goes so far as to say that, "unless the system is placed on a footing more favourable to the States" (whatever that may mean), their only alternative will be to revert to their former monetary independence! One is compelled to ask where and in what respect this advice can help the financial problems of Federation? And also is there not another kind of currency, less easy to control or hold in check, the currency of public opinion?

This note might end here, but for the Sahibzada's second voice, already alluded to. In the concluding chapter, he assures us that his criticisms of the Federal plan are not intended to be purely destructive, and we are glad to learn it. He does not wish, he says, to influence the States against the idea of Federation, but merely to point out the weaknesses from the States' point of view that are apparent in the scheme. This more genial attitude encourages one to offer a few remarks on the wider and more general aspects of the matter. British India enjoys certain advantages over the Indian States, not only because it has been the seat of the Paramount Power, but because it is a larger entity, entirely hitherto under one control. It has no doubt profited in a few directions from being the "big brother." There has been no deliberate policy of belittling or encroaching on the rights of the States: far from this, the Government of India have made it

a general rule always to uphold and respect the position and dignities of the Princes. It is quite possible that encroachments may have occurred, but they have just happened; not of malice prepense, but because they were necessary in the general interests, not of British India only, but of the country as a whole, including the Indian States. Trade, good general administration, the smoothness and universality of communications or similar reasons, it will be found in every case, demanded them. There are very likely cases in which the movement towards uniformity has affected States to a degree causing them real harm. If so, there is now the opportunity of adjustment. But let their claims be put forward with logic and with moderation, with a scrupulous regard for truth, and with some recognition of what the "big brother" has done in the past for their advantage as well as for their disadvantage. Above all, let the virulence of the partisan and the parrot-cries of the demagogue be eschewed. Let the representatives of the States approach the whole problem in no niggling or bargaining spirit, but on broad and statesman-like lines, remembering that the States have not been losers all the time under British rule; that some of them may even have gained and continuously enjoyed things that matter very much, such as peace and quiet and great freedom. Most of all, the Princes themselves are not likely to forget that in the great future which is dawning for India, the end in view is worthy of some sacrifice. It is scarcely to be doubted that they realize this already; they know that to bear their full and rightful share in the responsibility of governing the great Continent of India is a more dazzling and a more worthy object than to sit isolated within the four corners of their own territories, self-contained, but wielding no external power. The sacrifice will probably be something more than merely nominal, but if the Princes appreciate at its true value the advantage to be derived from a Federation of All-India, the conclusion of terms of accession agreeable to them should not prove a matter of extreme difficulty. For it may be taken for certain, so great is the regard in which they are held, that each will have a full and fair opportunity of retaining the full residue of sovereignty that is consistent with the interests and requirements of the Federation as a whole. This, after all, if we eliminate the querulousness and partisan bias of his earlier voice, really seems to be, unless we are mistaken, very much what the Sahibzada desires. His suggestion for the establishment of some arbitral machinery between the States and the Government of India is scarcely a practical proposition, antecedent to Federation, though every consideration would doubtless be given to any proposal by a Prince for some special method of settling any outstanding difficulty. For the settlement of questions touching the constitution after Federation, the scheme provides a Supreme Court with the necessary powers.

It is to be regretted that the book, if we may judge by the number of printer's errors, has been written in haste and issued under pressure. A fly-leaf acknowledges some 14 errata, but this list is very far from complete. "Fertlie" for "fertile" (p. 35), "statuary" and "statutory" for "statutory" (both on p. 110), "tranquility" with one "l" and "conciliation" with two; these are a few of the unacknowledged blemishes that strike the eye. A careful reading of the proof should have eliminated them.

The Sahibzada appears to have been in the service of the Patiala Durbar, and the book, very properly, is dedicated to H.H. the Maharaja of that State. His Highness, being a man of sense and culture, must, however, have deplored certain passages in it; for instance (p. 79): "The average Indian is forced to conclude that the miserable plight India finds itself in, is the unfortunate outcome of its liason (*sic*) with England."

ELLIOT COLVIN.

The Brahui Problem. By Sir Denys Bray, K.C.S.I. Etymological Vocabulary. (Part II. of the Brahui Language.) Delhi: Manager of Publications. 13s. 6d.

Sir Denys Bray, well known in India as a Foreign Office expert, has just completed a work on the Brahuīs and their language. Most people have never heard of this curious people, and the book will appeal mainly to the ethnologist. At the same time ordinary readers—and especially those interested in the Indian borderland—will find the vivid chapter on Brahui history of the greatest interest.

Between Sindh and the Persian border lies a vast tract of arid hill country known as the Khanate of Kalat, attached to the Baluchistan Agency. Seen from the air, one gets the impression, in Sir Denys Bray's picturesque phrase, of a bewildered herd of titanic camels. The population, concentrated in the rare oases, is very sparse, only about 300,000 in 73,000 square miles. The head of the Brahui Confederacy is the Khan of Kalat. His is one of the most important States on the Afghan frontier, and it is interesting to note that he has been invited to send two members to the new federal assembly.

The Kalat Confederacy is a curious medley of border tribes—Persians, Afghans, Baloch, Jats—grouped round a small Brahui nucleus. Now the structure of the Brahui language is Dravidian, its vocabulary being reinforced by borrowing from the dialects of the confederate tribes. The Brahui riddle, which has baffled, and still baffles, the historian of the borderland, is to explain the presence of a group speaking a Dravidian language in that part of the world, holding its own among the dominant Afghan and Baloch tribes, more than a thousand miles away from the nearest Dravidian-speaking people in India. Sir Denys Bray does not pretend to solve the problem, though he discredits some of the prevalent theories—*e.g.*, that the Brahuīs are a Dravidian pocket left behind in a prehistoric invasion of India by Dravidian tribes. He points out that the results of anthropometry are against this theory, while there is practically no other physical resemblance between the more or less thoroughbred Brahui and the Dravidian folk of South India. Yet the Brahui is obviously of different stock from the border tribes, having in his make-up something unanalyzable, something that characterizes the Brahui, something uncanny that distinguishes him from his neighbours. "If you have never seen an ogre or a hobgoblin, come and have a look at a hill Brahui" is the Afghan way of expressing Brahui idiosyncrasies. Does this odd streak explain the success of this strange people in establishing a hegemony over, and ultimately absorbing, the adjacent border clans? Here is an interesting problem for the student of the political institutions of the Indian borderland.

The Brahuīs themselves have invented the tradition of descent from the Prophet's uncle. If this is true, why should they speak Dravidian? Here another guess may be hazarded. In the seventh and eighth centuries Arab seafaring folk from the Yemen established themselves on the west coast of India in Malabar country, intermarrying with the local Dravidian peoples. These half-caste Arabs are known as Moplahs. They speak a Dravidian language. It is not altogether unlikely that some of these Arab half-castes may have settled on the Kalat coast. Their Arab descent would give them prestige among the neighbouring tribes, and may explain their paramountcy.

The recent discovery of the relics of an ancient civilization in the Indus Valley known as the Indus civilization, at Mohenjo Daro, has suggested a new solution of the riddle. Is it not possible, the argument runs, that this ancient civilization was Dravidian? If so, may we not presume that the wild hill tribes in the mountainous hinterland to the west may have been under the suzerainty of the Indus Valley rulers and adopted their language without being entirely absorbed? Who

knows but that Quetta may have been the summer resort of Mohenjo Daro? Sir Aurel Stein thinks the theory probable, and Sir Denys Bray refers to it with approval. One thing lacks proof. Was the language of the Indus Valley kingdom Dravidian? So far the examples of the script that have been discovered have not been deciphered. When this is done it is possible that the secret of Brahui origins may at last stand revealed. "How dramatic," exclaims Sir Denys Bray, "if both were solved together!"

W. P. BARTON.

Tungkhungia Buranji. A History of Assam, 1681-1826. Edited by S. K. Bhuyan, Honorary Assistant Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " \times 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Pp. xxxii+262. Oxford University Press. 15s.

This dull-looking little volume conceals a document of value. The conventional view, that, apart from Muhammadan records for the later period and archæological remains for the earlier, India lacks historical material, is not altogether true, and it is untrue of Further India in that Burma has her *yazawins* (palmleaf chronicles) which contemporary inscriptions show to be remarkably accurate from the eleventh century onwards, Siam her *pongawadans*, and Assam her *buranjis*.

The Shan migration had saturated Assam, Burma and Siam by the thirteenth century. To this day the Shans have the Federated Shan States of Burma to themselves, and the very names Assam, Siam, are only variants of the word Shan. In Siam they constitute the general population. In Assam they were never more than a ruling minority which ended by becoming Hinduized and merging into the people at large, but the Ahom dynasty they founded in 1228 lasted till 1826, when the British entered the country by request to free it from the Burmese invaders.

Buranji is the Assamese form of a Shan word for chronicle. *Buranjis*, written at first in the Ahom language and later in Assamese as well, date from the arrival of the Ahom kings in 1228; none of that age survive in original—they are written on slices of aloe bark—but copies were periodically made; not only the royal house, but most of the great families maintained *buranjis*, and though many perished in revolutions and even more by climate, the number that survive is appreciable. Less than a dozen have so far been printed, even in Assamese, and this is only the third to appear in English. Judged by European standards they are usually meagre, they need critical examination, and to the general reader they are quite indigestible; but to anyone who has had to work through historical material in adjacent countries they constitute a valuable addition to the record.

In the present volume Professor Bhuyan compiles and translates a *buranji* for the Tungkhungia kings, last of the Ahoms, who ruled Assam from 1681 to 1826. Doubtless considerations of expense prevented him from giving the native text as well as the translation in parallel columns, as was done when the Ahom *Buranji* appeared in 1930; and it is necessary to point out that his method is unusual—the portion from 1681 to 1751 is compiled, apparently *verbatim*, from contemporary records; 1751-1806 is by the Assamese Chief Justice at the end of that period; 1806-26 is by Professor Bhuyan himself, and though written in the same style it is derived from modern as well as contemporary material.

G. E. H.

Wissenschaftliche ergebnisse der Niederländeschen Expeditionen in der KaraKoram und die angrenzender Gebiets in der jahren 1922, 1925, und 1929-1930. Band I. By Dr. Ph. C. Visser und Jenny Visser-Hooft. (Leipzig, In kommission bei F. A. Brockhaus.)

The Vissers are already well known to the Society and require no introduction: likewise the Karakoram mountains have been the subject of lectures to the Society. The scientific resources of these gargantuan mountains are such that we are only on the threshold of their scientific exploration. Doctor Visser and his wife were first attracted to these mountains in 1922, and were then unaccompanied by any specialists, but in their expeditions of 1925 and 1929-1930 specialists in the various branches of science accompanied them. The Vissers covered a wide area, visiting the Hunza and Nagar regions, the Shyok and Nubra districts, the Aghil and K'un-lun ranges and certain parts of Chinese-Turkestan. This is the first volume, and a second will follow in due course dealing with botany, glaciology, geology, meteorology and physiology. This book is divided into three parts: geographical, ethnographical, and zoological, the first two parts only occupying a small space.

The geographical section gives us a historical review of the work of earlier travellers, and an exhaustive bibliography of this region. One cannot help remarking that the explorers of the last century who blazed the trails were mainly British, whereas those of the present century are foreigners. The ethnographical section is in two short parts: the one dealing with the Hunza and Nagar region, and the other with Ladakh and Chinese-Turkestan: the authors have covered the usual ground, the text being illustrated by a few photographs.

The zoological section is by far in a way the most comprehensive and important. It is highly technical and has been written in no less than five different languages. It covers the fields of entomology, crustaceology, malacology, arachnology, ornithology and herpetology, and touches on the *mammalia*. The Vissers collected both well-known and hitherto unknown specimens of insects, spiders, crustaceans, and fishes. It was only to be expected that some of the specimens would arrive damaged, though congratulations are due to the excellent general state in which the majority arrived. The specimens were sent for classification to the leading authorities on the various branches of science in no less than seventeen different countries. Space, however, forbids reference in detail to this part of the book.

The great number of *lepidoptera* collected by Mrs. Visser-Hooft, working at altitudes of from 10,000 to 15,000 feet, can be appreciated when one considers the collection of over 400 specimens of *rhopolocera*. Mr. J. A. Sillem obtained a large number of fishes comprising 418 specimens. These fishes arrived in an unusually good state of preservation and were collected from seven different localities. It is somewhat surprising that no new species were collected, though new light is thrown upon the geographical distribution of the fishes. This first volume is a great achievement and will undoubtedly rank as the standard book of reference for all who study the *fauna* of the Himalayan regions.

B. K. FEATHERSTONE.

Secrets of Tibet. By H. E. Giuseppe Tucci and Captain E. Ghersi. Translated from the Italian by M. A. Johnston. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xiv + 210. Map; illustrations. Blackie. 15s.

This is a straightforward and pleasantly written account of a journey in Western Tibet and the neighbouring British districts. The authors are Professor Tucci,

the distinguished Italian savant (whose work on Tibetan religion and customs is well known and appreciated), and his companion, Captain Ghersi.

The travellers started from Kulu, in the Kangra district, crossed into Spiti, and thence, through Bashahr, to Shipki just over the Tibetan frontier. From that point they went to Gartok by a southern route, returning by a northern one.

The travellers succeeded in procuring, by a system of persuasion and purchase, a great many valuable Tibetan books, pictures, images, and the like. It must be admitted that sometimes the methods of acquisition read a trifle disagreeably, though, as a matter of fact, however, the travellers were entirely justified in taking what they could. On page 162 we read in this respect that "it is the duty of the scientist; the Tibetans take no care of their sacred monuments and the treasures enclosed in them."

Anyone who knows conditions will realize the truth of this, and however much we may regret that these treasures are not destined for our museums, we must be grateful to Professor Tucci for rescuing them from certain destruction: and it is sheer nonsense to be sentimental over their removal.

The authors rightly enlarge on the cupidity of their owners. The silver key opens as many doors in Tibet as in any other country.

The book has some good descriptions of the various customs and habits of the country, and it should be useful to future travellers there. The account of the sunset at Gartok (p. 143) is charming, the description of the Gompa (p. 56 *et seq.*) is full and informing, whilst that of the Toling monastery on page 162 is really valuable, and passages, *e.g.* on page 165, rise to eloquence.

The two Italians seemed to be successful in their relations with the people of the country, and were evidently accessible and accommodating. They did not, however, take enough care of themselves, and did not realize that it is never wise to go ahead of your transport.

In a country like Tibet, a land of bitter winds and cruel conditions, it may cost a life to lose one's caravan. Tucci and Ghersi escaped this disaster when on one occasion they went ahead to some village, and their luggage did not reach them till the following day. They paid for their haste by the filthy conditions which they had to endure in using loathsome vermin-infested bedding and houses.

The authors have been poorly served by the translator. The book is in diary form, and as a rule in the present tense, and the English translation is painfully literal.

Expressions such as "The caravan restores itself to order" (p. 119), "The compliment is interested" (p. 90), and many other linguistic solecisms mar the book and make reading tedious. The inverted sentence occurs with exasperating frequency.

Place-names also are open to criticism. Kunavar, Bias, Drangkhar, Palanpur, and a host of others are spelt contrary to English usage. This might have been avoided by consulting any standard atlas. Proper names such as Zoravar, and an expression "with his Dogra" (p. 50), Zonpon for Jong Pen, and others, might well have been guarded against.

The book is printed in good clear type, well bound, and illustrated lavishly with good photographs. The publishers, however, have otherwise served the authors but scurvily. The two maps at the end are poor and inadequate. There is no scale, and many of the names—one might almost say the majority—are not marked. English publishers are great offenders in this respect. They fail to understand that in a travel book the map is often the most important part, and that without a proper map the reader cannot follow the account given in the text, and consequently the author is showing the scenery to a blind person. In this case

a small key map would have been useful. Kulu, Kunowar, and other large districts are not shown, though frequently mentioned, and the average reader cannot be expected to know where these are. The index is very skimpy. There is no table of contents or list of illustrations. The narrative has a sort of "non-stop run" from beginning to end, and the only indication of the year when the journey took place is found on the title-page. The punctuation is singular, and there is a melancholy absence of commas.

The two travellers can be congratulated on a journey carried out with care and thoroughness. They had eyes for detail, were observant and appreciative, and made every use of their opportunities. We look forward to a more elaborate account of this journey, embodying the conclusions which Professor Tucci is so well able to give on many controversial Tibetan questions. But for his own sake, we all hope that on future journeys he will take better care of himself, and not risk depriving the world of one of the very few Tibetan scientists now living. The book is dedicated to that remarkable, and rather touching, person Csoma de Körös.

Hui-Hui. By Wilhelm Filchner, Dr.phil.h.c. Pp. 423, with map. Published by Peter Oestergaard, Berlin-Schoneberg. 1928.

Om Mani Padme Hum. By Wilhelm Filchner. Pp. ix+352, with map and numerous photographs by Jack Mathewson. Published by F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig. 1929.

The author is more widely known to the German than to the English public. He will be remembered in connection with the German expeditions to the South Pole which collaborated with Captain Scott. Most of Dr. Filchner's scientific work, however, lies in Central Asia, and his several books on the subject, alas! in German, make interesting reading. The first of these two volumes is almost entirely historical. The author draws upon a large number of standard works for his source-material. He has remained steadfast to the subtitle "Asiens Islamkämpfe," but fails to probe deeply into the welter of economic issues which have played their part alongside of religious and political questions. One wonders whether the expansion of Islam eastward is not paralleled to a considerable extent by the growth of the European nations westward! Until the last few chapters on the Salar rebellion of 1895-6 in Kansu, the author says nothing new. He has given rather a too extended view to the period of Yakub Beg in Chinese Turkestan, and here he follows the historian Vambery's philosophy of events.

A long residence in the Sining area of Ch'ing Hai makes the chapters on the Salar rebellion particularly thorough, probably more so than warranted. It is unfortunate that a book published as late as 1928 should not have included a chapter at least on events from 1896 until the present day. The author's post-war bibliography is also inadequate. The publisher's work comes up to the high German standards and is to be commended. There are several pen-and-ink sketches by the author.

The second book* is a monograph or diary of an expedition for magnetical survey from Sinkiang via the Ili entrance across to Kansu and thence westward through Tibet. The original plan was to go from Sining in the Ch'ing Hai down to Darjeeling by way of Lhasa. This was frustrated by the authorities at Nga-

* The German edition was reviewed in Vol. XVI. (1929), p. 545.

tschu-ka, and after much parleying with Lhasa a westward course to Leh was not only permitted, but expedited by the Dalai Lama. This part of the journey was made through the winter months and at great sacrifice. One is amazed at the grit and endurance which characterize scientific efforts of this type. It certainly gives one a larger and more appreciative understanding of the pain and toil which accompany the accumulation of human knowledge. Dr. Filchner speaks most generously of the help of the various governments.

During his Tibetan episode the doctor was able to make his lunar observations through a hole in the top of his tent, thus avoiding undue suspicion. During his long vigils by the instruments at night, the author found eating sugar to be the most necessary. Scientific data of immense value in the completion of the Central Asian magnetic net were taken at one hundred and fifty-seven stations.

The photographs by his Australian companion, Mr. Jack Mathewson, and the work of the publishing house are first-class. For the English reader one could have wished that the second book followed the first in the use of the English form of letters rather than the German style.

H. D. HAYWARD.

Soviet Trade from the Pacific to the Levant. With an Economic Study of the Soviet Far Eastern Region. By Violet Conolly. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1935.

To all who take more than a casual interest in the affairs of Soviet Russia this second book of Miss Conolly's, written as a sequel to her *Soviet Economic Policy in the East*, will be a welcome addition to the literature that throws light on the great Soviet enterprise.

By her travels in Asia, her command of languages, and her painstaking research work, Miss Conolly is particularly well qualified for her self-imposed task. This second volume is therefore a worthy successor to the first. In it she deals with the Soviet economic relations with Japan, China, India, Egypt, 'Iraq, and the Red Sea Basin. These chapters are preceded by a chapter giving a most lucid description of the economic conditions in the Soviet Far Eastern region: the island of Sakhalin and the part of Soviet Russia bordering upon the Pacific Ocean; and further in the book there is a chapter on the questions relating to the Chinese Eastern Railway, which during many years formed the principal bone of contention between Soviet Russia, China and Japan.

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Interesting as the information is which the book supplies about Soviet trade with the Levant, 'Iraq and the Red Sea Basin, the relations with these countries are, comparatively speaking, of no great general importance. In many instances the Soviet Government, which holds all the commercial threads in its own hands, favours these relations principally because it connects them with the schemes of political propaganda. In Arabia (the Yemen), for instance, the object is to undermine the prestige and influence of Great Britain in particular (p. 111). The same may be said in Sa'udi-Arabia. In this respect, the writer of this review may here observe, the Russian mind is still the same as it was in the old Tsarist days when commercial stations were founded in the Persian Gulf, with no other object in view than to annoy British trade and influence in those regions even at the cost of considerable financial losses.

Miss Conolly foresees no steady or permanent expansion of Soviet trade in the

countries either of the Levant or Arabia at a time when international trade is more and more restricted to an exchange of goods; and as long as the present system of foreign trade, involving restrictions on many imports such as coffee, spices, milk, etc., exists in the U.S.S.R., it is unlikely that Soviet trade can make any solid progress in this area (p. 117).

In Egypt Soviet trade has had a very chequered course, owing chiefly to the political relations between the two countries. Here again from its very inauguration the Soviet trade representative was suspected by the Egyptian police of illegitimate political activities. In November, 1931, the Egyptian Government even went so far as to impose a surtax of 100 per cent. of the normal Customs duties on most of the articles of Soviet origin. However, in spite of this measure, Soviet Russia succeeded in creating a favourable balance of trade by increasing her exports of timber, coal and certain oil products to Egypt, and by simultaneously curtailing the imports of the high-grade expensive Egyptian cotton to the U.S.S.R. In 1933 she entirely ceased buying. This was her counter-thrust (p. 103).

It will be remembered that already for many years under the Tsarist government the cultivation of cotton, though chiefly of the American variety, was the principal form of agriculture in Russian Turkestan. Near Old-Merv there was, moreover, the large imperial estate intended principally as a model farm for cotton growing and irrigation. The Soviets now propose to raise the proportion of the home-grown Egyptian variety. Apart from any political retaliation against Egypt, the Five-Year Plan from the beginning attached primary importance to making the U.S.S.R. independent of imported cotton—as much Egyptian as American (p. 103).

With India Russian trade has always been an unimportant matter for either country, and as there is no official Soviet trade representative there the development of this trade is in many ways handicapped.

Tea is far the most valuable export from India to the U.S.S.R., and India is second after China on the list of countries supplying tea to the U.S.S.R. A very interesting fact is mentioned by Miss Conolly with regard to the efforts made to make Soviet Russia independent from the tea-growing countries, and, as shown by her statistics, considerable progress has already been achieved in this direction. In fact, Russian production has already greatly affected imports both from China and India. It is little known in the outside world that there are now already 35,000 ha. under tea in the Soviet Union, principally in Georgia; and Miss Conolly sees no reason why in the course of time the U.S.S.R. should not be self-sufficient in tea.

As to Soviet exports to India, the most valuable and promising item is petroleum—*i.e.*, crude oil, kerosine, and petrol. Through the establishment in 1932 of the Western India Oil Distributing Co. with a capital of Rs. 50,000,000, whose activities have led to a general fall in oil prices in India, the Soviets have succeeded in winning a place in the Indian market well above that held by the Anglo-Dutch and American competing companies (pp. 92-93).

If on the one hand the U.S.S.R. tries to make itself independent of the Indian tea production, India on the other hand has made itself independent of Russian sugar, and the time may not be far distant when Soviet trade with India will be reduced to exports of oil products from the U.S.S.R. and imports of jute from India (p. 94).

Miss Conolly's remarks on the Soviet trade with Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan deserve interest. Although the economic interests of Soviet Russia and India meet and to a certain extent clash in these countries, the amount of business done is, after all, not very enormous. The world knows, however, that it is not

economic interests alone that have made these far-away parts of Asia so important, especially in British eyes, and that far larger issues are being involved.

With regard to both these countries, railway communications favour the trade of the U.S.S.R. Moreover, good motor roads now traverse Afghanistan from north to south and greatly facilitate the expansion of Soviet trade (p. 95).

Some notes are added on pages 95-97 on the Soviet trade with the Pacific Tropics. Little or no mention is made of this trade in Soviet statistics. The writer of this review presumes that this is so because, in the absence of trade representatives, whatever trade exists with these countries is not done on the spot; but he happens to know that very considerable quantities of tropical produce are bought by Soviet Russia from the Dutch East Indies and shipped to Vladivostok, especially sugar and tea. This is evidently more advantageous than carrying such goods by rail through Siberia.

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By far the greater and at the same time the most important and the most interesting part of Miss Conolly's book is taken up by the description of the Soviet's relations with China (including Manchuria) and Japan. Here commerce and politics are so closely interwoven that it would in many instances be difficult to draw a definite line between them. One may say, however, that all and every relation between these countries now forms part of "the Problem of the Pacific." Any contribution to the elucidation of that problem must be gratefully welcomed by all who have a direct interest in the happenings of the Far East. That problem presented already tremendous difficulties: the different forces and influences that had come to a clash in the Far East were of so variegated a nature that it seemed well-nigh impossible for all the nations concerned to frame such policies as would safeguard everybody's interests and at the same time ensure peace. The Washington Conference of 1921-22 constituted the most serious effort ever made in this direction.

The thousands of years old civilization of the East, which on its moral and ethical basis had survived and had outlived all the other old civilizations of the world, has had to withstand the onslaughts of the West which brought simultaneously its message of peace and brotherhood and its trade, its machinery, and its perfected implements of destruction and war. In the midst of this clash, which has shaken the East to its very foundations, there have lately come Marxism and Bolshevism, bringing with them intensified national hatreds in the service of class warfare, remorseless, cynical and cruel.

Both China and Japan react against these various forces, each in her own way; but Japan, having been the first to conceive a definite plan of resisting unwelcome Western influences and policies and of guarding the sacred heritage of her civilization, now works out her own scheme according to which the affairs and the fate of the Far East should be settled and definitely arranged.

This is too big a subject to be treated here in any detail. Suffice it to say that the efforts to bolshevize China were doomed to ignominious failure in 1927, and that the fear of pernicious Bolshevik influences, combined with the deep-rooted belief in Japan in her mission in the world, and in the East in particular, made this country do what it did in Manchuria. The Chinese Republic was made to suffer from this—perhaps not for always.

Every study therefore that deals with the relations between Soviet Russia and China and Japan is at the present moment of the highest interest.

Miss Conolly in her book does not exclusively deal with the trade between these countries; she also describes in detail one of the principal causes of conflict

between the East and the West: the Chinese Eastern Railway, to which she devotes a most interesting and edifying chapter. Although she says that the early history of this enterprise does not enter into the picture, yet she had the happy thought of supplying in Appendix VIII. the text of the contract for the construction and operation of the railway signed in Berlin on September 8, 1896, by Hsü Ching-ch'eng (who afterwards was to suffer such a cruel fate for giving sincere and patriotic advice to the Empress Dowager during the "Boxer Troubles" in 1900), and also the text of the Statutes of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which the Russian Government approved on December 16, 1896. The perusal of these two important documents is of the greatest value to the reader of Miss Conolly's narrative of what happened subsequently. Also the clear map of the railways in Manchuria, now called Manchukuo, is of great assistance.

One may perhaps be permitted to differ with the authoress as to the "complete success" with which Russia ran this great artery of communication across the wild and sparsely populated lands of North Manchuria between the borders of Transbaikalia and Vladivostok. There can scarcely be any doubt that the Russian administration was tremendously overstaffed, cumbersome, clumsy and wasteful; moreover, the Russians entirely misjudged the economic strength of the Chinese settlers, business men, farmers and labourers, and consequently the hundreds and hundreds of millions of roubles which they poured into Manchuria first and foremost benefited the Chinese. On top of this the nature of their gigantic enterprise steered them inevitably into a conflict with Japan, and thus caused one of the most disastrous wars ever fought.

It was a clever move of M. Karachan's, when the Bolsheviks had come into power in Russia, to offer this railway as a gift to China; and, had his well-known declaration of 1919 containing this offer, of which the full text is given in Appendix VIIIc, been couched in more serious diplomatic business language, it might perhaps have appealed to the Chinese statesmen of the time instead of only to the youthful Marxist enthusiasts. As it was, no notice was taken of the Karachan Declarations, as Miss Conolly tells us on page 68. Instead of that the Chinese manœuvred for position and obtained for themselves a share in the management of the Railway Company.

"The Chinese Eastern Railway figured largely in the negotiations which opened in 1922 between China and the U.S.S.R. with a view to the recognition of the Soviet Government by China and agreement on many questions outstanding between the two countries. It was soon clear that the Soviet Government had no longer any intention of renouncing its rights in the C.E.R., but would accept the new basis of joint administration introduced by China in 1920" (p. 70). What happened, in fact, was not exactly this. The offer to China was indeed retracted. A member of the Chinese Foreign Office said at the time to the writer of this review: "We knew all along that it was never seriously meant, and that the new Russia *au fond* differs in nothing from the other Europeans." M. Karachan during these negotiations showed an entirely new front, and not only obtained that the Russian rights remained recognized, but also that the fiction of the ownership of the shares of the Railway Company by the Russo-Asiatic Bank was done away with, and that consequently the Government of the U.S.S.R. was henceforth acknowledged to be the direct proprietor of the line and its appurtenances. Here, forsooth, was imperialism in all its hideous nakedness!

Very rightly Miss Conolly says on page 71 that "just for the reason that this line was Soviet owned within Chinese territory, there could never be 'a purely commercial institution' until this system was changed. Any conflict or disagreement regarding the management . . . led immediately to diplomatic action and

introduced a constant political element which was the antithesis of a straightforward business atmosphere."

It is a thrilling story which Miss Conolly relates of the various vicissitudes through which the Chinese Eastern Railway passed during the period of 1917 till 1935, when it was finally purchased by Manchukuo under Japan's guarantee. It was a period of unusual entanglements and confusion: the Government of Manchuria under Chang Tso-lin and his son Chang Hsüeh-liang was virtually independent, and also in China proper there were at most times more than one Government. They all broke off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, yet Soviet consuls remained in Manchuria (whose offices were raided and searched from time to time by the local authorities), and a Chinese representative stayed on in Moscow. When it is said on page 73 that the Soviet Government in 1929 handed the Chinese chargé d'affaires his passports and broke off diplomatic relations with China, this sounds more formidable than it really was, for it must not be forgotten that the Peking Government had already in 1926 insisted on the departure from China of M. Karachan, and had in April, 1927, broken off diplomatic relations entirely by forcing the Soviet chargé d'affaires to leave the capital, and that in December of the same year General Chiang Kai-shek had ordered the closing of all the Soviet consulates throughout the Nationalist territory and the complete severance of relations with the U.S.S.R. So there was not so very much left to break off, when the trouble over the Chinese Eastern Railway began once more in 1929!

It is true that in December of that year Soviet Russia regained her position with regard to the management of the railway, but the victory was of small value, as the Japanese occupation of Manchuria took place in the end of 1931, and the subsequent foundation of Manchukuo so entirely altered the whole situation and created so many difficulties, whilst at the same time steadily undermining the financial position of the line, that in May, 1933, the Soviet Government, "not being prepared to fight for its rights, bowed to the inevitable and offered to sell the C.E.R. to Japan" (p. 75).

"In an interview given by Maxim Litvinov the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs attempted to show this action of his Government in the most favourable light. . . . In such meretricious words Litvinov announced the ignominious exit of the once all-powerful Russia from Manchuria" (p. 76).

The railway is now called the "North Manchurian Railway." It was sold in Tokyo on March 23, 1935, to Manchukuo. The text of this Agreement is given among the documents of Appendix VIII.

"In the long run Russia could not have maintained the C.E.R. either economically or formally against the Japanese opposition. Now incorporated in the State railway system of Manchukuo under the general administration of the (Japanese) South Manchurian Railway, for the first time in its history it will be possible to regard the C.E.R. as a 'purely commercial enterprise.' As such it will no doubt make handsome profits for its new sponsors and give the best service to Manchukuo" (p. 80).



Although the settlement of this thorny railway question has removed the main and immediate cause of friction between Japan and Soviet Russia, there are other problems in the economic field which will require constant care and a great deal of goodwill on both sides. Miss Conolly's chapter on the Soviet economic relations with Japan shows a deep and careful investigation of these various problems.

Japan is in need of and is looking out for raw materials, and her dealings with

Soviet Russia are governed by this necessity. Her relations with the U.S.S.R. are therefore dominated by a few broad issues: (a) The fisheries; (b) oil (including the Japanese oil concessions in East Sakhalin and the imports of Russian oil to Japan); (c) coal; (d) timber (p. 36).

In the 1925 Soviet-Japanese Treaty of Friendship and Recognition the U.S.S.R. Government admits Japan's "need for natural resources," and therefore it "is prepared to offer Japanese citizens, companies, and associations, concessions for the exploitation of minerals, timber and other natural resources throughout the entire territory of the U.S.S.R."

Here we see embodied—probably for the first time—in a treaty the vague claim of having a right to natural resources within another country's territories. A claim of this nature has recently been voiced by some other powers, and we have seen Italy using it as a rightful cause in her eyes for a war of conquest.

It will, however, be seen from Miss Conolly's studies that it is all far from plain sailing with these concessions to the Japanese.

With regard to the fisheries, this is indeed a very complicated and intricate problem, originating in the Peace Treaty of Portsmouth of 1905, and the subject of many differences of opinion and of many difficult and protracted subsequent negotiations. A clear and lucid account of the whole question is given in this chapter, and the texts of the various conventions and protocols, reprinted in the Appendixes III. and VI., form a very valuable collection for the student of the Far Eastern situation.

Miss Conolly concludes her remarks with the words: "In two years the Fishery Convention of 1928 may be either renewed, revised, or denounced. It is most unlikely that the U.S.S.R. will be disposed to renew it in its present form. If negotiations are opened, they will undoubtedly be long and tedious, for the Russians will fight hard to get their own back in virtue of the new Convention which should regulate their future relations with the Japanese fishing industry in the Far Eastern waters" (p. 41). That the Japanese will put up an equally stubborn fight to retain what they possess may also be taken for granted.

The Japanese coal and oil concessions in Northern Sakhalin are described on pages 41-44.

Concessions for other minerals do not seem to have been granted thus far to the Japanese in the U.S.S.R. territories.

Existing timber concessions were soon relinquished owing to the difficult conditions enforced by the Soviet authorities regarding the erection of saw-mills and paper factories, labour regulations, etc. Timber imported into Japan comes from the Soviet State forests of the Far Eastern Region (p. 45).

The conclusions to which Miss Conolly arrives at the end of her chapter on Japan show that the situation in that part of the Far East is far from settled, although the termination of the long protracted negotiations for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway has undoubtedly gone far towards improving the atmosphere between Tokyo and Moscow at the moment. Political distrust of Japan is at the root of three-fourths of the economic activity latterly initiated by the Soviet Government east of Chita. No two countries could economically be more in each other's pockets than Japan and the U.S.S.R. in the Far East, and it is clear that under such conditions of close contact there must be innumerable occasions for friction, for thwarting or checkmating the other party, unless the political atmosphere is clear and induces confidence. In the record of Soviet-Japanese relations neither goodwill nor confidence can be said to predominate (p. 51).

The sky therefore remains clouded in the "Far Eastern Region," and it would require a good deal of optimism to prophesy peace in our time as long as

Vladivostok (=Rule the East) retains its Russian name, and only the southern half of Sakhalin is called Karafuto.

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The chapter on Soviet economic relations with China includes Manchuria, but excludes Chinese Turkestan and Outer Mongolia, the last two regions having already been discussed in Miss Conolly's previous work, *Soviet Economic Policy in the East*.

To a certain extent this chapter and its statistics have therefore lost their significance, because the foundation of Manchukuo and the subsequent Japanese activities there have fundamentally changed all the existing conditions of trade and communications. Amongst many other things, the fact that Soviet influence has been entirely eliminated from the railway zone is bound to have disastrous effects on the Soviet trade which had grown up in that part of China, mainly thanks to the many privileges which Tsarist Russia had been able to acquire with regard to tariffs, river traffic, and freight rebates in Manchuria, and which have now all come to an end.

However interesting therefore the facts may be which Miss Conolly has with great diligence been able to present to her readers, they have at the present moment on the whole more of a historical character from which it would be difficult to draw any conclusions for the future.

A notable exception must be made, however, with respect to oil in China proper. A vivid picture is given of the price-war which the Soviet Russian Petroleum Trust thought fit to start in 1932-33 throughout China proper. They managed in 1933 to increase their exports of oil products to China by 2 million gallons and to supply 30 per cent. of the Chinese consumption. They will nevertheless find it difficult to keep their place unless they can improve their organization of supplies and distribution, a branch of the business in which the English and American competing companies are admittedly experts (p. 57).

China is the largest exporter of tea to Soviet Russia, and the latter is the largest buyer of China tea (p. 59).

Apart, however, from tea, Russian trade with China proper has always been insignificant compared with the sea-borne trade of other countries. The political troubles between China and the U.S.S.R. reduced business to still smaller quantities, but even when diplomatic relations between the two countries were finally restored in 1932 no appreciable increase in trade has followed, excepting the artificially stimulated imports of oil.

As to Manchukuo, Miss Conolly foresees a revival of the relations between these fertile lands and the Soviet Far Eastern Region. This expectation would seem to be quite justified, as the low agricultural productivity of that Region and of Transbaikalia has long rendered large imports of foodstuffs and grain necessary (p. 63). Trade in that part of the world will, however, in future bear an entirely different character. The advantages will be increasingly on the Japanese and Chinese side. The transit trade to Europe and America, which was a source of Vladivostok's former prosperity, has already gone to Dairen (p. 63), and, moreover, the Russians' chance of competing will be more and more curtailed. "No doubt as long as the Japanese are masters of Manchuria the various Soviet trading agencies will be closely watched and their commercial activities more or less artificially restricted" (p. 63).

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Miss Conolly's book is meant as a purely economic study. But, as Soviet Russia more often than not uses commercial activities as a useful means of

contact with Oriental peoples and of carrying out her political designs, the political student as well as those who wish to investigate the practical results of the Bolsheviks' daring efforts to create a new social and economic world will find in Miss Conolly's work a very valuable additional source of information for which they cannot but be very grateful.

The writer of this review has from the beginning of the Soviets' gigantic experiment felt sceptical about its ultimate success, and when Miss Conolly at the end of her final chapter, when speaking of the future of the Soviet Far Eastern Region, states that that future depends in the last resort on colonization by hardy pioneers, and "that it may be that Soviet machinery with all its indirect reference to authority is altogether too cumbersome for progressive colonization in far-flung virgin territory such as lies north of the Amur and Manchuria," he feels certain that this is but too true. He also feels convinced that in the Far East the Russians are no match against Japanese thoroughness and systematic order, nor against Chinese business methods, frugality and labour.

W. J. OUDENDYK.

Ziya Gökalp. *Étude biographique publiée à l'occasion de l'anniversaire de la mort de Ziya Gökalp.* Paris: Editions Berger-Levrault.

This monograph has a special interest for students of Near Eastern politics, because it shows how the questions underlying the revolutionary movements during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. were political, and in no way religious. Indeed, an examination of the whole situation shows that the Armenians were no worse off than any other subjects of the Sultan, and that their more immediate sufferings, and the Armenian massacres, only began when England all unconsciously played into the hands of Russia by working up an agitation of a religious character, while Russia was fomenting revolutionary tendencies, deliberately, amongst the Armenians, with the object of provoking a conflict which might justify her intervention on behalf of the "suffering Christians," and enable her to realize the dream of a Russian occupation of Constantinople.

Ziya Gökalp was born at Diarbekir in 1875, a few months before the accession of Abdul Hamid II. His native place became, in course of time, a centre to which the Sultan was wont to exile Turks of modernist views, incompatible with his own despotic system, and this explains the philosophical tendencies which very early showed themselves in Gökalp's mental make-up. On the outbreak of the Turkish revolution of 1908, although only twenty-three, he was already prominent among the little band of Turks at Salonica who had set themselves to bring to an end the intolerable tyranny of the Sultan. He died in 1924, when his friend Mustapha Kemal, with whom he had been closely associated throughout the movement, had already achieved the task, which still seems almost superhuman, the far-reaching consequences of which cannot, even now, be foreseen.

In 1908, when the so-called "Young Turks" launched from Salonica their ultimatum to the Sultan, comparatively few people discerned the cloud no bigger than a man's hand which was to be followed by the cataclysm of the Great War. In this way an opportunity was lost, which can never recur, of consolidating British influence in Turkey upon a firm basis. Immediately after this initial bloodless revolution the Young Turks confidently expected that they would receive the warm sympathy, if not the active support, of Great Britain. When the approaching arrival of the British Ambassador was announced they

proceeded in a body to the railway station to receive him, and, having removed the horses from his carriage, they drew him, in triumph, to the British Embassy.

This demonstration called forth no response. The Young Turks were given the cold shoulder, and treated with contempt until Abdul Hamid felt encouraged to try and regain his old influence. Finally, a Young Turk army marched from Salonica upon Constantinople, and the doom of both Sultanate and Caliphate was, in reality, sealed, although it nominally survived until the Great War of 1914.

Meanwhile Gökalp, at Salonica, had become the main inspiration of the movement towards reform which he had never ceased to inspire since his early youth at Diarbekir, while his life-long friend Mustapha Kemal, then quite unknown to fame, was a young officer on the staff of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, who commanded the avenging forces of Young Turkey.

The story of the fall of Abdul Hamid II. is told in graphic language, and in great and picturesque detail, in *The Fall of Abd-ul-Hamid*, by Francis McCullach.* It is open to question whether the abominations associated with his name must not be laid at the door of Western politicians—not excluding Great Britain—whose mingled ignorance, indifference, anti-Turkish fanaticism, and political profligacy are merely reflected in the struggles of the Sultan to maintain himself, in an atmosphere of intrigue and counter-intrigue, which ultimately broke his nerve and left him friendless and alone, in a palace from which even light and water had been cut off, to hear the decree of his deposition, which the Moslem hierarchy had pronounced against him.

It is impossible to blame any individual politician, or party, in this country for the melancholy failure of British policy in Turkey—if, indeed, the floundering of politicians can be dignified by the name of policy.

Turkey was on her knees at Mudros, and asked for and was granted an Armistice. She had never had anything to gain, and had everything to lose, by participation in the Great War, with which Turkey had no concern and was never more than a most unwilling combatant.

It must be for experts to say what are, in law, the rights of belligerents laying down their arms, who ask for, and are granted, an Armistice. The Allied view of the case would seem to have been that the Turks, having laid down their arms, and being consequently no longer dangerous, a good opportunity presented itself for finally expelling them from Europe. Accordingly the Allies occupied Constantinople in force.

Their subsequent proceedings, culminating in the triumph of the present Dictator of Turkey, might tempt the cynic to suggest that a "Thieves' Kitchen" was constituted in the former capital of Turkey, from which emerged in triumph the one honest man, as a consequence (according to the proverb) of the thieves falling out.

Amongst the other Allied achievements was the deportation to Malta of a considerable number of Turks, many of whom had been life-long friends and admirers of England. Gökalp and his biographer tell the story of the formation in this way at Malta of a centre of Turkish nationalism, permeated with resentment against England, in whose territory the exiles found themselves interned. In Malta Gökalp conducted systematic lectures to the exiles, and his biographers record the impressive language in which he explained to them how England, and the English had, indeed, conveyed their animal bodies to Malta, but that their souls and spirits remained in their native land, and their beloved Stamboul.

It might seem to the casual observer that this review of the life of an obscure

Turkish philosopher has strayed from its original purpose into the realm of politics. It must be borne in mind, however, that Gökalp was the life-long friend and close adviser of Mustapha Kemal, who (so far as Great Britain and British Eastern policy are concerned) is the most important of all the Dictators thrown up by the Great War. While Gökalp was busily engaged in Turkish propaganda at Malta, Mustapha Kemal (also in exile at the hands of the Allies) was, in Eastern Asia Minor, consolidating Moslem opinion there, and creating an army with which he was, in due course, to swoop down to the pillage and subsequent destruction of Smyrna. The luckless Greeks (who under the ægis of Mr. Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain, had occupied Smyrna) were swept headlong into the sea. The activities of the Allies, in occupation of Constantinople, did not end with the luring of the Greeks to their doom. They were careful still further to adorn the triumph of the Turkish conqueror of Asia Minor with laurels of a surprising and original character. The Sultan of Turkey (who can hardly, in the circumstances, be regarded as a free agent) was induced solemnly to promulgate an Imperial Proclamation, bringing the authors of "these disorderly Risings" (as the victories over the Greeks were termed) under the operation of the Criminal Code.

As though this were not enough, the Sheikh-ul-Islam (the supreme religious authority) delivered a "Fetva," the Moslem equivalent of a Papal Bull, making it the duty of all faithful Moslems to exterminate the "rebels of the National formations," which was the name given to Mustapha Kemal's victorious army. Is it surprising that Sultanate, Caliphate, and all the paraphernalia with which intrigue and counter-intrigue had lumbered up Stamboul should speedily have been swept into the sea along with the Greek invaders of Smyrna; and that, in due course, the outraged defender of his country should have forced the Allies to scuttle out of Constantinople, after his diplomatic victories at Moudania and Lausanne?

The surrender of Turkey at Mudros was a repetition of the opportunity given to British statesmanship (if any could have been found) of the opportunity originally lost, in 1908, when the Young Turks virtually placed themselves under the protection of the British Ambassador, who turned from them with contempt.

This review began by recalling the fact that Gökalp's career almost coincided with the reign of Abdul Hamid II., who came to the throne shortly after the birth of Gökalp. Before his accession to the throne in 1876, Prince Hamid (who was afterwards to become Sultan Abdul Hamid II.) placed himself under the protection, or asked the advice, of the British Ambassador of that day, the late Sir Henry Elliot, much in the same way as, in 1908, the Young Turks appealed to Sir Gerard Lowther. Sir Henry's experiences are told in the book published in 1922 by his daughter, Miss Gertrude Elliot.* British policy in regard to Turkey is admirably illustrated by the proceedings of Lord Salisbury at Constantinople in 1876, when he was appointed (with Sir Henry Elliot to assist him) British Plenipotentiary at the Conference held at Constantinople in 1876, with the more immediate object of averting war with Russia. War was then imminent and soon afterwards broke out. Lord Salisbury ignored both the Sultan and the British Ambassador, and spent most of his time closeted with General Ignatiew, the Russian Ambassador, whose sinister activities, and Machiavellian policy, were notorious.

In an Appendix at the end of Miss Elliot's book mention is made of the *Life of Lord Salisbury*, which appeared when Sir Henry Elliot's *Recollections* was already in the press. Miss Elliot says: "Writing of Ignatiew and Midhat (p. 117),

* *Some Revolutions and other Experiences.* John Murray, Albemarle Street.

Lord Salisbury says: '*They are the biggest pair of liars to be found in Europe, but I am inclined (though with much diffidence) to think that Midhat is the falser of the two.*'" This passage and the whole proceedings of the Conference of 1876 suggest a comparison with the Allied occupation of Constantinople in 1920.

The sands are running out, but there is still time to repair some of the damage caused by the melancholy muddle which this review records. There are still fragments that remain of the old British influence and commercial prestige, although the old British colonies of the Levant have been obliged to decamp, leaving their *bags and baggage* behind. The Dictator of Turkey must now be approached, hat in hand, by the self-same people who (as it were yesterday) presumed to decree his outlawry, and the expulsion of his fellow-countrymen from Europe and from the civilized world. He asks for no more, however, than that Turkey shall enjoy the right, which she has undoubtedly earned, of treating with the other sovereign States of Europe upon a footing of absolute equality. He desires to turn the Turkish nation into a nation of traders—able, if necessary, to protect and even to extend their rights by the sword, but preferring, if possible, to survive and expand by peaceful methods.

It can hardly be doubted that if British traders can be found with the necessary prestige, prescience, and initiative, to take advantage of the present opportunity, and closely to examine the situation on the spot, their enterprise will meet with sympathy at the hands of the Turkish Government, and it can hardly fail to prove of very real advantage to the trade and general interests both of Great Britain and Turkey. Only in this way can the disastrous consequences of sixty years of blundering be, to some extent, repaired.

It happens but seldom that justice, expediency, and material interests coincide. The present situation in Turkey, and the attitude and wishes of its Ruler, would seem to be one of those very rare occasions.

PHILIP C. SARELL.

Georgica. A Journal of Georgian and Caucasian Studies, Vol. I., No. 1, published by Stephen Austin and Sons, Ltd., for the Georgian Historical Society, 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

The formation of a Society for the serious study of the history and archæology of Georgia and the Caucasus will be generally welcomed, particularly when the enterprise is sponsored by such well-known scholars as Sir Denison Ross, Sir Oliver Wardrop, Professor Ellis H. Minns, Mr. J. F. Baddeley, and Professor Dawkins.

It is pointed out in an introductory article that—

"It is with the object of making available to students in this country the work of Caucasian and Russian scholars in all fields of historical research in Caucasia, and particularly in Georgia, that the Georgian Historical Society has been formed. It is hoped to continue the publication in *Georgica* of original papers by specialists in different fields of research, and at the same time to survey the principal publications devoted to Caucasian studies, both in the Caucasus and in Russia."

The first number contains some valuable and original contributions to the revision of Georgian history, which should be of great interest to specialists. Professor E. Taqaishvili has a paper on "Georgian Chronology and the Beginnings of Bagratid—in Georgia" in which he examines the difficult question of Georgian chronology and seeks to correct, in the light of recent research, the notions

adumbrated by Marie-Félicité Brosset in his *Histoire de la Géorgie*. Professor M. Tsereteli, whose work on Sumerian and Georgian is familiar to English scholars, writes at length on the "Asiatic" elements in Georgian paganism, and finds many interesting parallels between the ancient Georgian gods and Hittite and Babylonian deities. Mr. Avalishvili discusses a Georgian mediæval embroidery in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and Mr. J. F. Baddeley has a paper on the history of the Holy Lance of Echmiadzin. Archimandrite Peradze describes Georgian manuscripts in English collections, and an article on Svanian archæology by G. Chitaia is reproduced from the Bulletin of the Georgian Museum. The author suggests certain cultural influences of Elam on Caucasia, which he sees indicated by survivals of ancient customs and decorative designs among the mountain people of Svaneti. Mr. Gugushvili contributes a biographical article on the late Professor Marr, and surveys the latter's "Japhetic" theory of linguistics. A useful tabularization of the Georgian alphabet, and a classification of Georgian sounds by the same writer, should prove of considerable use to students of the language.

In view of the increasing attention which is being given by archæologists, folklorists, and students in other branches of anthropology, to Caucasia, the Review should fulfil a useful function, and the Society is deserving of support from all who are seriously interested in Oriental studies.

Modern Persia and Her Educational System. By Issa Khan Sadiq, Ph.D. Pp. 125. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University. 1931.

The short historical introduction to this book is valuable as a background to Iran's present attitude "towards the attainment of her noble ideals," and her desire that "she will occupy once more a place of honour among the nations of the world."

Persia's educational tradition began with Zoroaster. For thirteen centuries Zoroastrianism was the nucleus of education. With the coming of Islam education became the monopoly of the mullahs, the effect of which was that Arabic became a required subject; music was taboo, discipline was rigid, and many small one-teacher schools, or maktabs, as well as religious colleges, sprang up. Girls' education, except privately, was unknown.

The author, one of Iran's outstanding educationists, points out that these schools are decreasing and that Government schools are being opened in increasing numbers. Since this book was written there has been great advance in education and many of the writer's ideals have become facts.

He tells us of the Administration of the Educational System, of the grants to schools, and of the maintenance of Persian schools for her nationals in other countries. The qualifications of teachers and the proposed issue of textbooks and of medical oversight of schools is enlarged upon.

Reference is made to the fifty foreign schools, half of which are American. If these schools desire the privileges accorded to Persian schools of the same level, they must use the official course of study as a whole and prepare their students for the State examinations. In these schools the Bible may not be taught, but "the selected words of great prophets and philosophers may" be taught as ethics.

Much interesting information is given about the desire for secondary education, and what is offered by the existing colleges, and the exemptions allowed in regard to military service.

"The ideals of the Persians" as set out are broad and high, and some show a new attitude to life. The defects of the present educational system are discussed and remedies offered. The defects are said to be belief in fate and superstition, the docility of the pupils, the lack of co-operation, and contempt for industrial pursuits. The last may be due to education, the others are surely part of the religion and life of Persia and its people. Certainly the aims of the present educationists are high, and show understanding of the varied needs of the town dwellers, villagers and tribes-people. Vocational efficiency and leadership are specially stressed. The much-needed training of teachers is urged so that their share may be that of teaching and the pupils' that of being taught rather than mere "memorization." He sees the need of true learning accompanied by action, taking the place of age-long "drudgery and effort."

The difficulties of the Persian script are pointed out and the suggestion made that the Latin alphabet should be gradually adopted. Modern agricultural methods must be employed, as for years to come Iran will be mainly an agricultural country. For this and other needs specialized education is needed.

The last chapter deals with the social advancement of Iran. "Its salvation and progress," we are told, necessitate more extensive and better education of women. The health of the people needs investigation and improvement. Sound spiritual leadership is also needed. The writer says: "Man feeling his imperfection is seeking to see where perfection lies. The universe calls on his spirit and he wants to know his place in the universe. . . . It is time for the state to create centres for educating these spiritual leaders in accordance with the ideals of the nation and the exigencies of the twentieth century. . . . A country like Persia, with thousands of years of religious tradition, cannot dispense with religious guidance, but such guidance should be enlightened and should be made to meet the needs and requirements of the time."

C. C. R.

The Journal of Robert Stodart. With an Introduction and Notes by Sir E. Denison Ross. 6½" × 5¼". Pp. 128. Map. Luzac. 1935. 5s.

This little work, discovered by Sir Denison Ross at the Bodleian Library and edited by him, is a journal kept by Robert Stodart, who was a member of an English Embassy to the Court of Shah Abbas. The Ambassador, Sir Dodmore Cotton, was accompanied by Sir Thomas Herbert, whose classical account of it has been edited by Sir William Foster.

The Embassy landed at Gombron (now Bandar Abbas) in 1627. The Ambassador brought with him Sir Robert Sherley, once a prime favourite of the Shah, but now a hindrance to the success of the Embassy, since he had claims which were unlikely to be met by Shah Abbas and would constitute a source of irritation.

Ignorant of the usage of the Persian Court, Cotton had brought no gifts for the Shah, while the letter of Charles I. merely dealt with questions of commerce, which were considered to be beneath the notice of Abbas.

At Ashraf, "a very preti place," Cotton was not well received. The Shah then asked him to meet him again at Kazvin, but a few weeks later both the Ambassador and Sherley died—a tragedy for the survivors.

The editor prints the report of Dr. Gooch, which clearly shows how discourteously the Embassy was treated throughout, no proper food being provided in a land where hospitality is lavish. In fact, hunger, fatigue, and the sense of failure probably caused the deaths of both Englishmen.

Stodart's diary is not complete, but interesting to one who knows Iran. Like many other people, he believes that a dromedary is a two-humped camel, whereas it is a thoroughbred camel with one hump. At Julfa the Englishmen were hospitably entertained by the Armenians and went to a picnic on the banks of the Zinda-rud.

The ruins of Persepolis, which he terms Chelmenar or "The Forty Pillars," Stodart described as "that famous place of ancient memori, wher those heroicke princes of the eastern part of the world liued, as Cirus (Cyrus), Cambices (Cambyses) and diuers others." Finally, after a long fatiguing journey, "we came to Gombroon, being the port, which place we did long to see." In this account of the homeward voyage, a visit to the Cape of Good Hope is described, and finally "we came to Plymouth roade."

Thus ended a most unsuccessful Embassy, the failure partly being due to the fact that the Ambassador was unprovided with gifts. I recollect being told that Sir Henry Rawlinson, some two hundred years later, resigned the post of Minister in Persia, as the Foreign Office failed him in this essential respect.

P. M. SYKES.

Palestine of the Arabs. By Mrs. Steuart Erskine. 8½" x 6". Pp. 256. Illustrations. Harrap. 10s. 6d.

In this book the authoress has set herself the task of presenting the case for the Arabs of Palestine. For this, all students of current affairs, as well as that great body of opinion which follows with interest, and sometimes anxiety, the march of events in the Holy Land, must be grateful.

The political conflict between the native Arab population and the immigrant Zionists is one of the legacies of the World War that has so far defied solution. Much has been written from the Jewish angle, but this book is the first serious attempt to present the problem from the standpoint of the non-Jewish community, to whom sympathetic reference is habitually made in official reports and pronouncements, but whose claims and aspirations have never yet been adequately interpreted. The writer has therefore set out to redress a balance, and consequently her book is frankly, and indeed unashamedly, partisan. If, however, here and there she has lent too ready an ear to prejudice and has accepted too closely at face value what she has heard from those towards whom her sympathies lean, this detracts in no way from the general value of her book. Furthermore, her work differs in a gratifying manner from the usual propagandist speech or publication on the subject of the Palestine problem in that it concludes with a suggested solution.

The book opens with a short historical sketch of the country from earliest times till the final expulsion of the Turks by General Allenby's victorious troops. The second chapter gives an interesting account of the Arab Nationalist movement in pre-war days and of the various political manœuvres of the War period, when the Allied Powers played shuttlecock with the destinies of the Arab provinces of the moribund Ottoman Empire. Then follow chapters on the events and developments that have taken place since the British occupation: on the political parties in the country: on archæology, the Beduin and the spread of education and social work amongst the Arabs: and in conclusion a chapter setting out the suggested solution of the political problem under what is termed the "cantonization" scheme.

It soon becomes clear that the authoress is fundamentally opposed to the whole

idea of Zionism: she holds it to be an imposition of one race upon another, a high-handed action foreign to the traditional policy of Great Britain (pp. 73, 74). On such a point of principle, she or anyone else is entitled to whatever opinion they will; but the Palestine Mandate, which embraces the Balfour Declaration, is an instrument of international policy on which there can be no going back, and the greatest service that their friends can render to the Palestine Arabs is to do their best to persuade them to accept this fact, that it is useless to "kick against the pricks," and that always to preface their arguments with the demand for the abrogation of the Balfour Declaration is seeking the impossible and only strengthens the hands of those who oppose them.

It is, however, in the passages that deal with the racial disturbances that have broken out from time to time since the British occupation that the authoress lays herself open to the most serious criticism. In the first place, the account at the end of Chapter III. of the riots in 1920 and 1921 is confused. It was the Jaffa riots of 1921 that were immediately caused by the activities of the Communist element among the Jewish immigrants, whereas the outbreak in Jerusalem at Easter, 1920, was in the great part due to the excitement of nationalist feeling on the proclamation of the Emir Feisal as King in Damascus, although the Zionist question was a contributory cause: and the attack by a Jewish policeman on an Arab family related in the same passage refers presumably to the Hinkus incident that occurred at Jaffa during the riots of 1929. Every allowance must be made to the Arabs for the provocation they have suffered and the state of desperation to which they have been reduced by the unchecked onmarch of Zionism: but no impartial observer could deny that the actual outbreaks in every case took the form of savage attacks by Arabs on Jewish quarters or isolated settlements, when the old and the weak have been the principal sufferers. The authoress has closed her eyes to nearly all of this, and the hideous butcheries of Hebron and Safed scarcely appear in her story. And the charge that Jews ever engaged in indiscriminate shooting of men, women and children will certainly be resisted.

It is also difficult to accept some of her statements on economic subjects. In certain districts the fellah is in a truly parlous condition, for which war havoc, droughts, the dead hand of the absentee landlord and his own improvidence may all bear the responsibility. Elsewhere, especially in the vicinity of the towns, the villages have received their fair share of the prosperity and development which is undeniably due to the Zionist movement. It is regrettable, too, that the Rutenberg hydro-electric scheme, which provides the blessings of electric light and power over most of the country, should be thus decried (with the help of photographs) on the ground that the works have impaired the amenities and the associations of the Lake of Tiberias and the upper reaches of the Jordan. The reduction in the level of the lake was in part due to the series of droughts that have been experienced over recent years. An agreement has now been entered into with Mr. Rutenberg for the protection of the water level, and Nature's luxuriance will soon clothe the channels that were cut by his Corporation to augment the supply of water to their plant. Only Jewish energy, skill and vision could carry out such an enterprise or the other works of reclamation that are restoring large tracts of swamp and waste to the profitable use of man. If there is a choice between Hitler and the water-buffalo, there can be no doubt which way the scale must weigh.

All this is the more to be regretted as there is so much in the book of real value and truth. The Arab people of Palestine have a just grievance in that, eighteen years after the British occupation, they still have no knowledge of what their political future is to be. Their interests have been repeatedly recognized by the Mandatory, and they look with justice for some tangible proof of that recog-

dition. They see Jewish immigrants entering the country of their fathers at the rate of over 50,000 a year—in one month recently more Jews were admitted than were counted in the historic Return under Zerubbabel!—and they hear on all sides the Zionists assert that there are many other Arab lands into which they can move; which is to them as if the men of Kent were to be told to migrate to Cumberland to make way for the modern descendants of the ancient Jutes!

The Jews, too, are entitled to know where they stand. Recently the authoritative voice of the responsible Secretary of State declared that there could be no question of a Jewish State. What then is the future of Palestine to be?

It is here that the last chapter of Mrs. Erskine's book offers a valuable contribution. She quotes in detail a scheme submitted from an Arab source for the division of the country into autonomous Jewish and Arab centres, to embrace Transjordan as well, under a Federal Government at the Centre. She mentions that, as she understands, such an idea originated with Dr. Weizmann—this is also alluded to on p. 297 of Mr. G. K. Chesterton's book, *The New Jerusalem*. She might have added that, for economic and physical reasons, Palestine is in effect already "cantonized," as the Jewish settlements are practically confined to the plains, where only is it possible for them to introduce the intensive methods of cultivation necessary for their existence. Thus the suggested scheme would mean the establishment on a political basis of what has already come about to a great degree by natural processes. Such a scheme would be a reasonable interpretation of the different obligations laid upon the Mandatory and would conflict with none. And the question may be asked, What is the alternative?

The book is written throughout in an attractive style, and is illustrated with a number of photographs of Arab scenes and personalities. Whatever views may be held on much that it contains, it will be deservedly widely read.

L. G. A. C.

The Doctrine of the Şûfis. (Kitâb al-ta'arruf li madhhab ahl ʿal-taşawwuf.)

Translated from the Arabic of Abû Bakr Al-Kalabâdhî by Arthur John Arberry, M.A., Assistant Keeper of Oriental Books and MSS. in the India Office, formerly Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xviii+174. Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d.

The author of this work, Al-Kalabâdhî (died *circa* 380 A.H. = 990 A.D.), while describing with authority the belief and practice of the Şûfis, is concerned with demonstrating their essential orthodoxy which, since the *cause célèbre* of Al-Hallâj (Al-Huşeyn ibn Manşûr, executed at Baghdâd for persistent blasphemy in 309 A.H.), was being impugned by theologians. He writes:

"They (Şûfis) are agreed that all the ordinances imposed by God on (His) servants in His Book, and all the duties laid down by the Prophet (in the Traditions), are a necessary obligation and a binding imposition for adults of mature intelligence; and that they may not be abandoned by any man, whether he may be a veracious believer (*siddîq*) or a saint or a gnostic, even though he may have attained the furthest rank, the highest degree, the noblest station."

That is quite true of all the early Şûfis, but not of many of the so-called Şûfis of to-day. Religion has two aspects, public and personal, one being a matter of observances, the other of personal experience. In the time of the Prophet and his immediate followers, when Islam was religion without theology, there was no separation of the two, which were regarded as inseparable. It was when, in response to the polemics of the Eastern Christian Church, and in imitation of

them, an intricate and sterile theology developed and was sedulously cultivated by those who might be regarded as official exponents of religion, and, associated with public observances, passed current with the mass as true religion that the simply pious drew apart from it, seeking refuge in devotions and austerities which were marked in their dress and demeanour. That was the real beginning of *Şûfism*. Al-*Ghazzâlî* later, by his splendid rejection of theology as worthless when compared with faith and conduct, made it the essence of Islamic philosophy. It is one of the ironies of history that the *Şûfîs* in the course of time should have developed a scholasticism almost as intricate as that from which they first revolted. But that has nothing to do with the present work, which treats of *Şûfism* before its Persian and Indian aberrations.

As to the origin of the term *Şûfî* there is no certainty. Here the derivation from *Şûf* (wool), *Şafa* (to be pure), and *Şuffah* (bench—referring to the *bench* in the Prophet's mosque) are mentioned, though the two latter are grammatically improbable; but not the derivation favoured by some good etymologists (e.g., Ibn-al-Jauzî) from *Şûfah*, a surname given in pre-Islamic times to one dedicated to the Ka'bah, and hence having the sense of "set apart" or "consecrated." *Şûfî* predilections on this point are negligible, for it is certain that they did not name themselves; the people named them. On everything for which *Şûfîs* are themselves responsible this book is of high authority. The author does not attempt to defend Al-*Hallâj*, but he quotes him as "One of the great *Şûfîs*," which is significant of his own attitude. Anyhow, the charges on which Al-*Hallâj* was condemned (with the concurrence of some leading *Şûfîs*) do not lie against *Şûfism*, though the attempt of the ecstasies allegorically to express the inexpressible has undoubtedly led to much misunderstanding. As Al-Kalabâdhî says: "Such experience does not come within the scope even of reference, much less explanation." The trouble with the *Şûfîs* has been that, while declaring loudly that they cannot speak of it, they speak and write and sing of it continually in terms apt to mislead and tempt the vulgar.

Of the spiritism of the later *Şûfîs* there are hardly any traces here, though we think the remark of Abû Suleymân (p. 130), "A man never turns back save when he is on the road; if he had arrived he would never have returned," refers as much to the departed soul as to the soul in ecstasy, meaning that only the less fortunate spirits can be called up at a *séance*.

That *Şûfîs* even in those days were too apt to mistake dreams and visions for reality may be judged from the following extract :

Abû *Ĥamzah al-Khurâsânî* said: "One year, when I performed the pilgrimage, I was walking along the road, when I fell into a well. My soul contended with me that I should cry for help; but I said: 'No, by God, I will not cry out!' I had hardly completed this cogitation, when two men passed by at the top of the well, and one of them said to the other: 'Come, let us fill in the top of this well from the roadway.' So they brought a stick and a reed mat. I was moved to cry out; then I said: 'O Thou who art nearer to me than they!' and I held my peace till they had filled in the well and gone away. Then I saw something dangling its feet into the well and saying, 'Catch hold of me.' So I caught hold of it, and behold, it was a lion; and I heard a voice saying, 'O Abû *Ĥamzah*, this is excellent. We have rescued thee from destruction in the well by means of a lion.'"

Mr. Arberry's translation of this highly technical work is admirably clear and simple, so much so as to hide the extreme difficulty of his task completely from the reader. His introduction and brief footnotes are all that is needed for

elucidation. Now and then the sense—not the accuracy—of his rendering seems questionable, especially in quotations from the Qur'ân; and on page 144 "God is great" is obviously a mistake for "God is greater." In particular, Mr. Arberry is to be congratulated on his rhymed translation—a most difficult feat—of the many poems quoted in the Arabic text. Here is an example:

"This I have proven, this I now declare,
This is my faith unbending,
And this my joy unending:
There is no God but God! No rivals share
His peerless majesty,
His claimed supremacy.

"When men have been alone with God, and know
This is their tongues' expression
And this their hearts' confession:
This ecstasy of joy knits friend and foe
In common brotherhood
Working to common good."

Anyone who reads this work attentively will have a clearer idea of what Sûfism really is than is possessed by many modern Şûfîs. There is an index of the names and places mentioned.

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

An Early Mystic of Baghdad. A study of the life and teaching of Hārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibî. By Margaret Smith, M.A., Ph.D. Pp. 311. London: The Sheldon Press. 1935. 15s.

Al-Hārith was famous in his day as a theologian and mystic; his mystical books have been preserved, but his refutations of his theological opponents are lost. The present volume collects the little that is known of his life, notices those who were associated with him, whether as teachers or disciples, traces his influence on later men, especially on al-Ghazālî, and sets out his doctrines at length with plentiful quotations from his books, which are scattered in libraries from Oxford to Brusa, for none of his bigger books has yet been printed. The extent of his dependence on those who preceded him is not made clear, and one is left with the suspicion that he only arranged the ideas of those who came before him.

Dr. Smith almost lets you forget that al-Hārith was a Muslim, though his teaching is rooted in the common stock of Muslim ideas. His doctrines of intention, acts of the heart, repentance, and the relations between reason and revelation are built on a foundation common to all Muslims. He laid stress on intention, that all acts must be done with a single eye to God's glory. This was no novelty. The general view was that no infidel could do a good act because it could not be in the service of a God in whom he did not believe: to be exact, he could do one good act, he could try to believe in God. Only one theologian allowed good acts to infidels. The distinction between acts of the heart and acts of the members was well known, though the interest of the divines in it was not that of the mystics. Some said that the only acts of men were those of the heart; acts of the members were the work of nature. The spheres of reason and revelation were sharply separated, some divines teaching that only religious institutions like the daily prayers were known by revelation. As al-Hārith could make God

say of reason, "By thee I am known and through thee I am worshipped" (p. 93), it is not surprising that conservatives confounded him with those who said that God could be known by reason alone. Some divines set man's knowledge of God in a class apart from all other knowledge. About repentance the common belief was that it blots out sin. One had taught that, if a man repents of a sin and then commits it again, he is punished twice because the second offence cancels his repentance and its effect. At first it is surprising that al-Hārith, who had such an intense sense of sin, did not adopt the view that there are no venial sins because all are rebellion against God. This, however, was a heterodox opinion. In a "study" of a thinker questions like these have a place.

The saints were not all on the side of predestination; al-Murdār was called the monk of the Mu'tazila.

It is natural that al-Hārith had enemies; his reliance on weak traditions annoyed the purists, and his doctrine of fellowship with God was an abomination to those whose faith was that God is like nothing else, and that nothing else can be like Him.

There are several errors of fact in this book. One is that the four imams are called theologians. Al-Shāfi'i said that a theologian should be flogged and paraded round the town. Sentences on pp. 97 and 225 are nonsense. The book would have been better for a thorough revision before printing.

A. S. T.

Palestine Caravan. By Moshe Smilansky. Crown 8vo. Pp. 276. Methuen. 1935. 7s. 6d.

In this delightful collection of stories the author, himself an old-established agriculturist and a founder of Rehoboth, that most attractive Jewish settlement in the Vale of Sharon, tells of life and love among the peasant folk of Palestine. With masterly touch he portrays the proud, sensual Beduin, the stolid, quarrelsome fellah, the reckless, idealist Halutz.

He writes of the Palestine he came to forty years ago, when at the call of Zion he left his native Ukraine to become a pioneer in the movement for the settlement of Jews in their historic homeland. In the extensive development that is now taking place under modern conditions of government, many of the scenes that he describes are inevitably passing: we are therefore the more grateful for his canvases of a life that differed little from the days of Deborah and Ruth.

The descriptions of village scenes and customs, of suddenly changing climate, of Nature's lavish loveliness are entrancing, and demonstrate that the author's love for his subjects is as deep as his knowledge.

Much is true poetry: as, for instance, telling of the glories of Galilee:

"It is a beautiful spot: beautiful, green and sheltered; the mountains form a chain around it; spring water runs out of the ravines of the hills; shady trees stand on the slopes; between the trees are the green herbage and many flowers. The sun smiles on it throughout the day, and sheds its brightness and favour on the place. Here all things glorify their Maker: birds in the tree-tops, crawling creatures among the tall grasses, frogs in the water. The trees and the grasses and the water themselves all sing and rejoice and are glad the whole day long. Here the rays of the sun are also soft and gentle in harmony with the charm of the place."

Or, again, of the Sea of Gennesaret:

"The sun rose still higher, right above the Mountains of Golan. The light extended its dominion over the entire Kinneret, and the shadow retreated into the hills. From the dell of Migdal and the valley of Gennesaret came the wind, the west wind, and blew upon it, bringing it back to life. It quivered and stirred, spreading its tiny ripples to all its shores, so that it shimmered like the scales of some monstrous fish; and in the sun the scales gleamed like gold. The sun rose still higher above Kinneret, and took its radiance away from it. Its reflection was confined to one place, and from thence a trail of fire ran the length of the water. The heavens had taken possession of Kinneret. The skies ruled over the waters. The waters were blue, blue and deep; and one could fancy that the upper heavens and the lower heavens were each greeting the other."

The book epitomizes one of the marvels of Zionism. The English version is a translation from the original Hebrew. When the author first set foot in Palestine, Hebrew as a language was dead, unknown and unwanted outside the limits of ritual. Now it has taken its place among the vernaculars of the world.

No translation can fail to miss something of the colour and life of its original: yet this book is so admirably rendered that English readers will be charmed no less than those who are able to enjoy it in its author's own tongue.

L. G. A. C.

Galilee Galloper. By Douglas V. Duff. 8½" × 5¾". Pp. 298. Frontispiece. John Murray. 1935. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Duff has already given proof that he can wield a facile pen, as those who have read *Sword for Hire* will remember. His second book *Galilee Galloper* is the chronicles of one Abu George, a Palestinian police officer who served in the force about the same time as Mr. Duff himself. It is a story of rather thrilling exploits in the early days of the Palestine mandate, when the country was suffering from the brigandage that war always leaves in its train, and when the methods adopted for its suppression were sudden and drastic.

It is during times like these that the highly trained and experienced police officer, with an ingrained respect for police methods and regulations, finds himself at a disadvantage, and frequently the best type to clean up a mess of this description is a ruthless fighting man, who is not afraid to use his own hands and who has little or no respect for police traditions. Such a man was Abu George.

Many men of his type came to the fore during the war—roistering soldiers of fortune who proved absolutely invaluable in all ranks up to that of battalion commander. The trouble, however, is to find a place into which they will fit comfortably in the humdrum days of peace and ordinary routine. Men of the Abu George breed really belong to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when there was permanent scope for their energies and primitive methods, but they do not harmonize with the general scheme of things to-day except when there is a war or a revolution; and this is hard on the man who has performed prodigies of valour and hard work during the emergency.

Abu George, on the author's own showing, was a very first-class officer so long as there were raiders to chase, riots to suppress, and murderers to catch. Immediately, however, he had imposed on his district some respect for law and order, and things had settled down to the ordinary routine of everyday police work, Abu George found life boring to a degree and resented it. One cannot help feeling that *Galilee Galloper* must have been rather a trial to his superiors,

and despite Mr. Duff's championship one is not surprised to hear that he resigned from the service.

There is much to be learnt of Palestine and its people if one reads between the lines, for Mr. Duff, who is neither pro-Jew nor pro-Arab, is something of a student of human nature. The following gives a very concise and correct account of the most vociferous class in this mandate :

"The Palestinian of the middle classes is absolutely incapable of loyalty to his associates; knowing themselves only too well, they distrust their comrades. If money or advantage is to be gained by betraying partners, there are very few of them that will not snatch at the opportunity. No rebellion in Palestine can ever lead to anything. Even if the conspirators achieved all their ends, the subsequent squabbles over the spoils will always allow the beaten party time to recuperate and crush their erstwhile conquerors. Faith in each other, comradeship, or loyalty to a bond are things they do not understand. The lower, more ignorant classes are easily aroused to a furious state of murder and desire for battle by the literate class: they have only to appeal to the innate fanaticism to tell them that the Faith has been insulted or is in peril at the hands of the Infidels to rouse them. Add to this that most of the farmer and peasant class are in the clutches of the townsman money-lender, who charges as much as 300 per cent. per annum, and it is easily to be seen how these people win over their dupes. The worst feature of all is that the guilty persons seldom suffer. As soon as they have things in train they discreetly withdraw to their own homes, or even to Government offices, so that, should the Rising prove abortive, they will easily be able to prove not only their complete innocence, but that they were willing to help the Government in its extremity. It is only the poor devils of peasants and fanatics who have to suffer and die, either at the hands of the Forces or, later, on the scaffold."

The only fault one has to find with the book is the bitterness that Mr. Duff shows to those in authority in Palestine. Headquarters the world over have always seemed incapable of understanding the point of view of the man in the out-station—this is one of the burdens sent to try us—but one wonders if the powers that be in Palestine were quite as black as Mr. Duff paints them.

C. S. JARVIS.

Rapport sur le Pèlerinage au Hedjaz de L'Hégire, 1353 (A.D. 1935).
(Conseil Sanitaire Maritime et Quarantenaire d'Egypte.)

The eighth annual report of the Council follows the prescribed lines of the preceding report. Precise statistics are still rendered in respect only to those travelling by sea. The relevant figures show an increase of over 50 per cent. on the preceding year (1934)—*i.e.*, 35,000 in lieu of 22,700.

Figures for land arrivals are still somewhat conjectural, but it is estimated that the total arrivals from all sources were 80,000, which represents an advance of about 20,000.

As the total Mohammedan population of the world is estimated at somewhat over 200 millions, a rough calculation appears to indicate that possibly 1 per cent. of them may acquire the merit of the Hajj during the course of their lives.

Whilst the numbers of pilgrims vary considerably from year to year, it is

interesting to note that a figure (70,000) very comparable with that of to-day was estimated by Burckhart for the year 1814. Pilgrimage under modern conditions is obviously conducted under greatly improved conditions of speed, safety, and health. The sea routes and the Hedjaz railway are now much reinforced by a marked development of the inland motor transport facilities, consequent on the inauguration of the automobile route between Baghdad and Medina.

The ceremonies of the Pilgrimage take place in the early part of the (lunar) month of Dhu'l-Hijja. Consequently the date of the Pilgrimage changes from solar year to solar year; while at present the Pilgrimage is performed in the cooler months, in another eighteen years or so it will have to be performed in the summer, under much more trying conditions.

It follows from this that cases of sickness and death will be more numerous in those years when the Pilgrimage is held during the summer months, or alternatively that the annual volume may tend to run in cycles determined by the prevalence of summer or winter conditions.

The report, as on previous occasions, is largely devoted to medical and sanitary matters, and it is of particular interest to note how widespread is the organization designed to safeguard the health of the pilgrims, particularly by inoculation, disinfection, and water purification. In general, the sanitary condition of the pilgrims appears to have been satisfactory. No cases of plague or cholera were reported in the Hedjaz during the pilgrimage period, but hospital admissions for many varying complaints, including snake bite, appear to have been numerous. In passing, it may be noted that amongst the relatively few deaths recorded were those of two Soudanese aged seventy-five years and eight months respectively.

It must be confessed that the report is both exhaustive and exhausting. The collection of data respecting such a variety of different nationalities, converging on Mecca from every point of the compass, is undoubtedly a difficult and confusing task, but it would much assist a general understanding of the whole report if summaries could be provided of a much more general and inclusive character than those which at present figure therein.

A. C. H.

The First Crossing of South-Western Arabia. By Hans Helfritz. *Geographical Review*, published by the American Geographical Society of New York, July, 1935.

Herr Helfritz possesses one traveller's qualification in superlative degree: he is a magnificent photographer. It seems remarkable after what I think is now his fourth journey into the Hadhramaut that he should understand so singularly little of the country, its inhabitants, its history, or even the work of previous travellers. His shortcomings in these respects may be attributable to his little English and less Arabic, for, with the exception of von Wrede and Hirsch, most of the literature of the Hadhramaut is in English; but knowing so little Arabic, Herr Helfritz would have been well advised to travel with an interpreter, easily procurable in Aden.

Nevertheless with the handicaps mentioned it is quite a remarkable journey which he here describes. The most remarkable part of it is from the point at which he left the protection of the Qu'aiti country—*i.e.*, Henin, some twenty-seven miles west of Shibam, to Beihan. Actual travel by the routes from the coast and in the Wadi Hadhramaut is as safe and secure as anyone could wish. Beihan itself, very much visited from Aden, always shows hospitality to the stranger, and from Harib to Hodeida Herr Helfritz could not have been in safer hands than

those of his Imamic guards. By virtue of this descent to Hodeida, Herr Helfritz crossed the south-western corner of Arabia, but I think it is worth recording that Flight-Lieutenant Rickards and Colonel Boscawen separately made journeys from the Hadhramaut via Shabwa and Nisab overland to Aden.

The present account of Herr Helfritz' journey is happily much more restrained than some of his previous ones. We find, for instance, no mention of the cannibals, whose invention cost Herr Helfritz his entrée to the Hadhramaut, nor of the fourteen-storeyed houses of Shibam, but there are still a number of errors which could have been avoided. He starts off by telling us that he travelled from Shihr via the Wadi 'Arf to Tarim under the escort of Seibanis. Apart from the fact that the Seibani territory is some forty miles to the westward, and that they act only as escort and carriers on the Du'an roads, the people through whose territory Herr Helfritz travelled are the hereditary enemies of the Seibanis. They are, in fact, the once greatly dreaded Hamumi tribe, and as it is the Hamumis who have the monopoly of the route through the Wadi 'Arf it must have been with this tribe that Herr Helfritz travelled.

It is misleading to say that the "upland surface falls gradually toward the interior and finally merges into the great desert." From an altitude of 6,000 to 7,000 feet the land falls towards the main Hadhramaut valley (2,000 feet) and then rises again to another plateau or *jöl* 3,000 to 3,500 feet above sea-level. From this second plateau a series of wadis run out into the great desert.

Herr Helfritz' definition of the Wadi Hadhramaut is confusing and inaccurate. That part of the wadi known as the Wadi Hadhramaut starts some way west of Henin and is for the most part barren and sandy. Henin itself, still an important village with some large houses, is rapidly becoming desiccated, but eastward one gradually enters more fertile land, and from al Qatn onwards the wadi is well cultivated, though the right bank is more fertile than the left. The name Wadi Hadhramaut is applied to the wadi as far as Husn Dhoban Maseila beyond Tarim, whence it is known as the Wadi Maseila. The Wadi 'Adim, as Herr Helfritz' rather inadequate map would have told him, is no part of the Wadi Hadhramaut, but one of its tributaries running in from the south in the neighbourhood of Tarim.

There is no district of Hadhramaut as Herr Helfritz describes it. There is the political province or *liwa* of Shibam which includes the Wadi Hajarein (the latter part of the Wadi Du'an) and the Wadi Hadhramaut as far as the Kathiri boundary, a little east of Shibam, but politically the term Hadhramaut is now usually applied to the territory controlled by, or under the influence of, the Qu'aitis and Kathiris.

A lot of the cultivation in the Hadhramaut depends on the *seil* or flood which comes down several times a year. Occasional frankincense trees still exist in the Hadhramaut, but, practically speaking, any trade in the gum is long extinct. Rain does fall in the winter, and during my visit there, which took place in the winter months, the *seil* came down to Shibam.

There does not appear to a great variety of birds, but they are on the whole not uncommon, and rather than the carrion-eating vulture I should say the most common bird in the Wadi Hadhramaut is the blue-checked bee-eater (*Merops persicus persicus*).

It should perhaps be pointed out that Fig. 3 on page 397 is not the town of Qasm, but the castle of the Tamimi chief a mile or so outside the town.

It is incorrect to say that the entire district east of Tarim is inhabited by the Tamimi tribe, for As Som and Fughma are two of the principal settlements of the Manahil in whose terrain also Qabr Hud is situated. The Manahil extend

many miles down the Wadi Maseila. Their eastern neighbours are the Mahra, who hold the lower reaches of the wadi.

Herr Helfritz describes al Hauta, a quarter of al Qatn, as being the palace of the Sultan of Shibam. There is, however, no such person. The province of Shibam forms part of the dominions of the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, and he is represented in it by a Governor. At the time of Herr Helfritz' visit this was a member of the Sultan's family, Sultan 'Ali bin Salah, a young man of great influence in the province and with the neighbouring tribes. He has in particular great influence with the well-known Sei'ars, as his mother belonged to that tribe.

I have as yet registered no protest against Herr Helfritz' spelling, as on the whole what he means is plain, though why Shabwa should be spelt Shobwa is beyond me. I could have endured Shubwa, as that at any rate would have given many people the correct pronunciation.

Herr Helfritz was unaware that in passing Shabwa he was close to Sabota, the ancient capital of the Hadhramaut, and I suspect that it was my telling him of its former glories that led him to try and reach the place early in 1935. According to an account from a friend in the Hadhramaut I understand he actually penetrated the place by night, but was fired on and driven out when his presence was discovered in the morning. Colonel Boscawen, who passed near the place, described it to me as a miserable village of about thirty huts. The shining marble ruins of its sixty-five temples, which Wyman Bury saw from a distance, have yet to be discovered and examined close at hand. At present Shabwa is in the hands of the Al Bureik, a small tribe of Sheikhs and once the owners of Shihr.

Herr Helfritz is again wrong in speaking of the *Sultan* of Beihan. The ruler is known as the Sharif, and he and his people are amongst the most friendly of the tribes or states of the Aden Protectorate. They constantly ask for us to go there and establish police and other institutions of civilization. The Mas'abi are led by the Mas'abi Sheikh, who is subordinate to the Sharif and at present on very good terms with him. The whole district is surrounded by South Arabian ruins and inscriptions, and also boasts one of the many tombs of the prophet Sho'aib (Jethro).

W. H. INGRAMS.

General Rigby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade. By Mrs. Charles E. B. Russell. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 404. Allen and Unwin. 16s.

This book is the well-told biography by his daughter of a very remarkable man, who during the middle of last century served his country in many parts of the East as a soldier and political officer with high distinction and conspicuous success. Christopher Palmer Rigby was born in 1820 at Yateley Lodge, Hants, of a family of long tradition. His early childhood at home and at school was far from happy. This story makes pathetic reading, but these miserable years formed in him the mainsprings for kindness and understanding with those who suffered, as shown by his indefatigable pains taken to see slavery suppressed, which at his time was still practised around the shores of the Indian Ocean. He thus fills a very prominent place among the noble champions for human rights and liberty who lived and often died in the pursuit of their exalted mission. In 1836, at the early age of sixteen, Rigby joined the Native Infantry of India. From the very beginning he lost no time in making himself acquainted with the historical, geographical, commercial and social conditions of the country. His keen linguistic studies enabled him to qualify before having finished his third decade for the

interpretership in six Oriental languages, besides being able to speak in fifteen tongues. In 1840 Rigby was transferred to Aden as Quartermaster, Interpreter and Paymaster to spend nearly four years of a very strenuous life at this inhospitable place, with the result that he broke down in health and had to go home on long leave which he used for extensive travels in Great Britain and on the Continent, including a lengthy stay in Russia. In 1854 he was back with his regiment in India. The following year took him on secret service to the Persian Gulf, where he remained till 1858. During the Persian Expedition under Sir James Outram, he held the joint appointment as Assistant Civil Commissioner and Military Commandant of Bushire, thus being entrusted to build up the important position of Great Britain at this place for the pacification and control of the countries around the Gulf.

The most prominent part of Rigby's career began when in 1858 he was appointed Political Agent in Zanzibar in succession to Colonel Hamerton, who had played such an important rôle during the reign of Said Bin Sultan, the ruler of Oman and Zanzibar and founder of the Al Bu Said dynasty in East Africa. The latter, a close and staunch friend of the English, had been succeeded at his death (1856) in Zanzibar by his son Majid, who received Rigby with the distinction his position and personality justified. Rigby considered it his main duty to arrest the cruel traffic in slaves—it is stated that by his intervention 8,000 of them were set free—which was still taking place in the Zanzibar dominion in spite of the treaties concluded with Great Britain in 1839 and 1844 by Said Bin Sultan, who had thus sacrificed not only an annual income of many thousands of pounds, but had also exposed himself to the unpopularity with the ruling classes of his subjects.

Rigby reproached Majid for not having supported him sufficiently in his exertions to restrict the traffic; perhaps not fully realizing the difficult position of this ruler, which did not allow too drastic modes of procedure to be precipitately taken in the matter. It must be remembered that while Rigby was acting with great eagerness and strong human feelings for the abolition of slavery in a country where it was practised through generations and even in accordance with religious institutions, not to mention the sanction of and selfish use by European and American exploitation, it was only a few lustrums earlier that in England married women were sold by their husbands in the market-place with a halter round their neck for a few pence. It is also a historical fact that at the same time soldiers were sentenced by court-martial to receive up to 500 lashes, and that the execution took place in public, sometimes until the delinquent fainted and had to be taken to hospital for treatment. As late as 1869 deserters were being tattooed on the breast, and men discharged with ignominy were branded on their right side. Strokes with the cat and the birch are even to this day a legal punishment. It was General Gordon who, notwithstanding his firm religious conviction (he never forgave Slatin for having in an extreme case outwardly sacrificed the Cross for the Crescent) and his professed strong anti-slavery sympathies, found it impracticable to abolish domestic slavery in the Sudan, and even published in 1884 a proclamation to this effect which under the circumstances received Lord Cromer's approval.

In 1859 a rebellion against the Sultan Majid, led by his brother Barghash and morally supported by the French, broke out in Zanzibar. It was owing to the energetic interference of Rigby supported by British men-of-war that the revolt was crushed, thus saving the Sultan his throne and firmly establishing British interests. Indeed, a very respectable record of marked ability and forceful character on a much exposed station!

Rigby left Zanzibar in 1861, and, having returned once more to India for a short time, retired from active service in 1867 with the rank of Major-General. But up to the time of his death in 1885 he manifested a keen interest in everything connected with the denouncement of the slave trade, and rendered thus valuable service to the cause he had so much at heart.

A special chapter of the book is devoted to the personal relations which Rigby had with many prominent explorers during his stay at Zanzibar, including Livingstone, Speke, Grant, von der Decken, and Burton. That the last-named had considerable difference with Rigby, who rightly objected to Burton's behaviour towards the natives who accompanied him on his expedition, was already known through the explorer's own story in *The Lake Regions in Central Africa*. The controversy is here once more recalled and substantiated by documents in detail. A small mistake must be rectified. Mrs. Russell states (p. 104, n. 1) that no record of English ships visiting Zanzibar earlier than 1799 exists. It was the *Edward Bonaventure* which in 1591 was the first vessel to show the British flag at Zanzibar, several others following before the end of the eighteenth century.

The authoress has spared no pain to produce a biography of high standard and rare objectivity, which will rank as one of the best among those dedicated to the memory of a great servant to his country in the colonial field and of a noble and attractive personality.

R. S.-R.

Transcaucasia : An Example of Bolshevik Conquest Policy. This article in the German periodical *Ost Europa* deserves notice. It is by Professor Gotthard Jäschke, whose contribution to *Die Welt des Islams*, headed "The Road to Russo-Turkish Friendship," was reviewed in this Journal last quarter.

The post-war history of Transcaucasia is little known, writes the Professor; it shows how practice differs from theory in Bolshevik treatment of nationality questions. Lenin and Stalin saw the necessity of taking into account the growing national spirit of all the non-Russian races in Russia after the fall of the Tsar, and also the possibility of using it in their struggle for a "World Revolution," which in reality was to be the continuation of the old imperialistic policy.

In their Declaration of the Rights of Nationalities of November 16, 1917, they proclaimed self-determination and the foundation of independent States as the right of the various peoples of Russia. This did not mean, however, that, for example, the Caucasus, or even the Turkish territory conquered by the Tsar's generals in 1916, should be left to itself. On the contrary, Stalin made it his business to utilize it for the "World Revolution." For this purpose Stepan Shahumian, a reliable tool of Lenin's, was appointed extraordinary commissary for Caucasus affairs; and on January 12, 1918, a decree was issued, which deserves special attention as showing how far Russia's new masters were at that time from the friendship with Turkey which was made so much of later on. The decree, not easily accessible to-day, is given textually.

DECREE NO. 13 OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIES RELATING TO
TURKISH ARMENIA.

The Council of People's Commissaries declares to the entire Armenian People that it will maintain the right of self-determination up to the point of complete independence for the Armenian People in Turkish Armenia occupied by the Russian army.

The Council of People's Commissaries considers the following measures neces-

sary until a free vote of the whole Armenian population shall have established the national will :

1. The army occupying Turkish Armenia is to be immediately withdrawn and replaced by an Armenian National Guard for the maintenance of personal security and social order.

2. Armenian deserters and Armenian refugees dispersed in different countries must be allowed to return to Turkish Armenia unhindered.

3. The Armenians deported during the war by the Turkish Government to Turkish provinces in the interior shall be allowed to return to Turkish Armenia unhindered. The Council of People's Commissaries will insist on this in peace negotiations with the Turkish Government.

4. The provisional administration of Turkish Armenia shall be undertaken by an Armenian Committee and by a Council of popular representatives elected on democratic principles. The provisional extraordinary commissary for Caucasian affairs, Stepan Shahumian, is authorized to render every assistance to the Armenian People for the execution of Articles 1 and 2, and to form local commissions for the purpose of the withdrawal of the army in Turkish Armenia.

NOTE.—The geographical boundaries of Turkish Armenia shall be determined by representatives of the Armenian People elected on democratic principles, in agreement with the population of neighbouring and disputed districts, together with the Extraordinary Commissary for Caucasian Affairs.

ULJANOW-LENIN,
*The President of the Council of People's
Commissaries.*

DJUGASHVILI-STALIN,
The Commissary for Nationality Affairs.

Dr. Jäschke describes Lenin's pro-Armenian policy as a piece of bluff worthy of the Tsarist régime.

(*Reviewer's Note.*—In promise and performance it is curiously like the German Manifesto of August or September, 1914, addressed to the Jews in Poland, reproduced in a letter to *The Times* this Armistice Day.)

The soi-disant liberator Shahumian, however, did not succeed in penetrating into Turkish Armenia. He was expelled from Tiflis, where he wished to establish himself, and took refuge in Baku. There, with the help of the troops returning from the front, he perpetrated a fearful massacre of the Moslem population, whose death shrieks contrasted strangely with the Pied Piper tune of the appeal to the working-class Moslems in Russia and the East :

"Turks and Tartars of Transcaucasia whose mosques were destroyed by the Tsarist Government!

"From now on your national culture is free. Organize freely your national life!"

When Khalil Pasha (Enver's uncle) occupied Baku after its evacuation by the English Dunsterforce, the Moslems retaliated by carrying Shahumian and twenty-five other Bolsheviks across the Caspian and shooting them.

Lenin carried out his policy by playing off the various nationalities in the Caucasus, one against another. The first victim was Azerbaijan, then came Armenia, then Georgia.

Moslem opinion judged the Bolsheviks by Shahumian's action and was decidedly hostile. Tchitcherin took the first step by persuading Azerbaijan to conclude an alliance against Denikin, holding out as an inducement the recognition of her independence. After Denikin's defeat the mask was dropped and the red

army crossed the frontier. The Bolsheviks gained possession of Baku by a double stratagem. They managed to entice the Azerbaijan army to take the field against Armenia, and they pretended that the red army was to march into Anatolia to rescue Mustafa Kemal. Khalil Pasha was then in Baku with a number of Turkish officers and was much respected by the population. It was said that he would command the red army and lead it into Anatolia. On April 28, 1920, Baku presented a curious spectacle. The national blue-red-green flag and the red flag with hammer and sickle and the Turkish flag were all seen side by side; Turkish officers were in the streets announcing the good news of the approach of the rescuers of Mustafa Kemal. But a dreadful awakening was at hand. That day a telegram was sent to Lenin by a provisional military revolutionary committee announcing that it had taken over the government at the desire of the proletariat of Baku, but that it was not strong enough to deal with opposition, and therefore begged for support. On May 1 the red army made its entry under the command of Lewandowski, who told Khalil Pasha that he knew nothing of a march into Anatolia, and advised him to go to Moscow to clear up the misunderstanding. Immediately wholesale arrests were made, including all Turkish officers, and the Cheka under the Jew Pankratow began its bloody work. It was openly admitted that the Bolsheviks had never thought of assisting Anatolia, but meant to secure possession of the petroleum of Baku. Moreover, Baku was to be, in Lenin's words, "a Marxist window on the Moslem East." When later on the notorious agitator Mustafa Subhi climbed through this window into the neighbouring Turkey to help on the "World Revolution," he was flung out again with unexpected violence. The bitter resentment of the Azerbaijan population against the Bolshevik betrayal found expression in a series of revolts, which were drowned in a sea of blood.

Armenia enjoyed a brief respite, due to Bolshevik preoccupation with the campaign in Poland. But on December 5, 1920, the red army occupied Erivan, where it was received with the expectation that it came to drive the Turks out of Armenia and that it would then return home. Meanwhile, however, Lenin, convinced of the strength of the Turkish national movement, had seen the advantage of friendship with Mustafa Kemal. He gave up the plan of a great Armenia, and declared that his pressure on Mustafa Kemal to yield territory to the Armenians had been a "mere misunderstanding." The red army remained in Erivan and treated the population much as it had that of Baku in the preceding May. The Armenians, undeceived at last, revolted in exasperation in February, 1921, while the red army was engaged with the "liquidation" of the last Trans-Caucasian problem in Georgia.

The forcible subjection of Georgia to Moscow needed careful handling, for in May, 1920, the Bolsheviks had by treaty formally recognized its full independence, and the conquest of a socialist republic might be looked upon as red imperialism. The first step was to assure benevolent neutrality on the part of Turkey. A Georgian envoy had been received in Angora on February 8, 1921, and Lenin saw that the time had come to strike. The approved procedure was again followed. A revolutionary committee launched an appeal to the Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers of Georgia and to Comrade Lenin for support. The small Georgian army made a brave resistance, but was overpowered by numbers. Trotsky later on admitted: "We have no reason to conceal or minimize the part played by our troops in the Bolshevik victory in the Caucasus."

To prevent a repetition of what had happened in Erivan, Lenin recommended mild measures in Georgia for the moment. Later on the curb was drawn tighter, and in 1923 Bolshevik decrees not hitherto applied in Georgia were made current

there too. The fiction of independence came to an end, and the frontiers of the three Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia were drawn by agreement between Moscow and Angora. All attempt at resistance was stifled by the Cheka, which shot hostages when necessary, as in Erivan on February 16, 1921, and in Tiflis on August 28, 1924. Nevertheless during the last fifteen years there have been numerous bloody conflicts with the mountain tribes, especially in Azerbaijan. The most submissive were the Armenians. In spite of all disillusion they saw in the new Russia the only Power on which they could rely for support. Bolshevik propaganda has encouraged the belief among Armenian emigrants that the Church in Soviet Armenia is protected against persecution, whereas in reality it only exists on sufferance.

Dr. Jäschke concludes his well-informed article by noticing the Bolshevik attitude towards the Pan-Turanian movement.

The Latin alphabet for the Turkish language adopted in Azerbaijan in 1922 differs greatly from that adopted in Angora in 1928, so that the Turks on both sides of the frontier are separated by their different scripts. The Bolsheviks encourage the splitting up of the Turkish language into numerous dialects, for which they provide separate dictionaries and even grammars. In Azerbaijan alone twenty-one distinct races have been discovered! Racial unity is suspect, and in spite of friendship between Moscow and Angora there is a high Chinese wall between Anatolia and Azerbaijan or Turkestan. Turkish national poets like Namik Kemal and Mehmed Emin are forbidden in Russia. Dr. Jäschke was personally informed by the late Yusuf Akchura, president of the Turkish Historical Society, that he had ordered certain scientific books from Kazan, and after a long delay received through the Bolshevik Embassy in Angora a packet of communist propaganda.

Stalin has often complained that Azerbaijan contains few class-conscious proletarians. The rule of Moscow is felt more and more to be a foreign domination, and in spite of all discouragement the national spirit is gaining ground. As the indirect method of unification through conversion to Bolshevism has failed, the old policy of Russification, so bitterly denounced in 1917, is being tried again. Hordes of Russian settlers are being brought in. Baku is said to have already 700,000 inhabitants, of whom one-third are Russians. The compulsory planting of cotton instead of corn forces masses of peasants to emigrate.

The writer adds that in Transcaucasia German settlers, whom he calls "das Deutschtum," are subjected to systematic persecution.

A. T. WAUGH.

Glory and Downfall: Reminiscences of a Russian General Staff Officer. By General P. A. Polovtsoff. Pp. 359. With index and fifteen illustrations and a map of the Caucasus on the end-paper. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd. 1935. 15s.

The author divides his autobiography into twelve chapters, most of them of great length and presumably written by himself in English, as there is no hint anywhere of a translation from Russian or French. He is to be congratulated on his excellent English, and he plunges us straight *in medias res*, as there is neither Preface nor Introduction. Members of the R.C.A.S. will naturally turn to his two chapters on "India and Central Asia" and "The Beauties of Kashmir," but they are likely to be disappointed, as there is nothing fresh to be found in them. What he has to tell of the Russo-Japanese War and the Great War is, however, of interest,

as he speaks as a General Staff Officer who passed out first in his staff examination. In Manchuria he was on the staff of Kuropatkin, whom he frankly criticizes as responsible for "several mistakes," though he had "a great deal of personal charm, and, being very clever, he afterwards always found excuses and explanations for what he had done, which entirely convinced and satisfied the person he talked to, but which did not help him to win battles"; and again: "In him the brain was predominant. His plans were clever . . . he did not know how to impress his will on others." We get a graphic description of the battle of Mukden and the author's despair at the want of decision which should have turned defeat into a Russian victory.

Our author next put in two years in India on secret service, where he met Kitchener, who told him that the next war would be one of trenches, and where he formed a high opinion of the Indian Army. He left India to return to Russia via the Pamirs and Turkestan, and then left the service. The opening of the Great War found him in Paris and he immediately started to cross France in his motor, reaching Marseilles on August 3. He then went on to Brindisi, where he became a deck passenger on an Italian boat going to Odessa. On this voyage he witnessed "at close quarters" the fight between the German ships *Goeben* and *Breslau* and the British cruiser *Gloucester*. On reporting as an officer of the Reserve in Petrograd, he was sent to the Caucasus to raise and command a "native regiment" of cavalry—Tartars from Elisavetpol and Baku. Of this job he made a great success, owing, doubtless, in no small degree to the fact that he himself was of Tartar extraction. After seeing fighting on the South-West Front, he went to Petrograd, where he lunches with the Emperor and refers to his "heavenly blue eyes" and his "charming smile," but at Mohilev he tells how he heard mutterings of the coming storm and of "intrigues" and "treason," and returns to Petrograd, arriving on the very morning of the outbreak of the Revolution. He was promptly sucked into the vortex, becoming eventually, under Kerensky, Commander of the Petrograd Military District with its garrison of 300,000 men. Everyone in the capital went "red," including the Grand Duke Cyril, who appeared in a deputation wearing a large red rosette. The story of General Polovtsoff's two months' command is thrilling reading. He was up against Soviets, Soldiers' Councils, Bolsheviks, German agents with heavy money-bags (£1,000,000 came through one day in July via Stockholm), Bolshevik Republics at Schlüsselberg and Cronstadt, the latent danger of a German dash on the capital, and, ever pouring sand into his machinery, the miserable vacillating Provisional Government who lost chance after chance of stamping out the arch-Bolshevik leaders. At the end of two months in his command Kerensky sent for him and explained he was obliged to dismiss him as too much of a counter-Revolutionary, but after a short leave he was promoted General and gazetted Commander of a Caucasian Cavalry Corps of eight regiments in the Dno district. If his efforts to restore order in Petrograd had proved futile, he found a worse condition to deal with in his native home. He frankly confesses that order is not an appreciated virtue in Russia; he writes: "Order is the last thing in this world which a Russian craves for. The whole of Russian history shows it. It is an imported article and mostly made in Germany." Nevertheless, he made a last gallant effort to evolve some order out of Caucasian chaos, but the yeast of Bolshevism was working too strongly, and the only bright spot in the welter is the staunchness to the last of his beloved Tartars. He tells a typical tale of his appeal to one Denis Sheikh, an old Mullah of local influence, whom he tried to enlist on his side in stemming the flood tide of confusion. The old fellow summed the situation up by declaring: "Allah has chosen to inflict a universal madness on

the whole of humanity—it is the will of Allah—nothing can be done.” Nor could it. The Provisional Government fell; Kerensky bolted; the last stand for law and order in the capital was made by the Battalion of Women (whom General Polovtsoff had himself raised) and the cadets, who were all wiped out by machine-gun fire. The Caucasian army had meanwhile melted into bands of brigands and at last, as no money was forthcoming for pay, even the faithful Tartars were disbanded; so with his wife, who makes a belated appearance in the narrative at this juncture, and his devoted body-servant Daniel, the trio managed eventually to cross the frontier into Persia and safety after a wonderful journey on which they dodged captivity and death daily, and the epic ends in their arrival on the author’s “farm at the foot of Mount Kenya, exactly six months after a day when, in the Kabarda district, I had given up my last hope of fighting against what the old Caucasian mullah considered a temporary insanity of mankind.”

A very readable story spiced with many amusing tales.

WOOLRYCH PEROWNE.

Soviet Geography. The New Economic and Industrial Distributions of the U.S.S.R. By N. Mikhaylov. With a Foreword by the Right Hon. Sir Halford Mackinder. London: Methuen and Co. 10s. 6d. net.

This book is the first of its kind, I believe, to be published in England, and as such is a bad precedent. Announced as a compendium of “exact information” about the vast economic and industrial changes now taking place in the U.S.S.R., it would entirely mislead any inquiring reader, personally unfamiliar with the Russian scene, by the distortion of facts and unscrupulous suppression of pertinent detail which are the web and woof of these 220 pages of unblushing propaganda. Soviet propaganda is no novelty and is to be expected in official publications. It is only exceptional in a pseudo-scientific work like this, published by a reputable English firm as an impartial guide to knowledge.

In a delightfully written and all too short preface Sir Halford Mackinder deals very deftly with this “political pamphlet of the indirect order,” as he describes it, and gives it more than its meed of praise.

Since the Soviet Revolution the whole basis of life in Russia has been transformed with terrific and ruthless energy. Exploration has been busy in many hitherto practically unknown areas of the country, and the results of these expeditions have caused new maps to be made. New towns have grown up at lightning speed. New industries have been started. All this complex of ideology and achievement undoubtedly presents a field of the greatest interest to the outside world. A book which would accurately chart the course of development, showing what has been done and what still remains to do, while indicating the difficulties and failures as well as the undeniable successes of the new forces at work in the U.S.S.R., would be invaluable. This is what *Soviet Geography* promises to do. It is actually a travesty of what such a book should be—uncritical, unreliable, untruthful. Fact and fiction, the dream of to-morrow and the reality of to-day, the plan and its fulfilment are glibly confounded in a picture of conditions in the U.S.S.R. as little tinged with reality as are the miraculous day-dreamings of Jules Verne. In carrying out plans of the magnitude now envisaged by the Soviet Government, delays and miscarriages are inevitable and have been freely admitted in many instances by the official world in Russia. This is not good enough, however, for Professor Mikhaylov’s story, which does not mention a hitch or a

difficulty from beginning to end. By making Soviet economic achievements seem so effortless and easy, the author really defeats his own purpose and rather minimizes the gigantic difficulties which in so many cases have had, and still have, to be faced.

The section dealing with the redistribution of the flora and fauna of the U.S.S.R. makes excellent reading, once it is put in its proper place—as an imaginative *tour de force*. Let us forget that there are millions of harassed Russian housewives to whom a lemon or a head of salad is still a rare treat. It is far more exciting to be assured by Professor Mikhaylov that the apricot “spends the winter” in the open near Leningrad, that the Arctic Circle has its own vegetable supply, and that hot-house flowers are blooming in the ice-bound Arctic Islands. In a word, as the worthy professor claims, the flaws of inclement nature are being rectified! It would spoil the Soviet fairy-tale to mention the human tragedy which is being enacted at the same time—the thousands of deported men and women undergoing a “process of social regeneration” who have contributed to his rectification of nature: draining marshes, building canals, felling forests, etc., under terrible physical conditions. Furthermore, in Professor Mikhaylov’s saga of agricultural progress in the U.S.S.R., there is not a word of the famine produced by collectivization in the Ukraine or the many knotty problems raised by the enforced cultivation of cotton in Central Asia. “Agriculture is conducted on a larger scale in the U.S.S.R. than anywhere else in the world.” Thus, as again and again in this book, a quantitative superlative (perhaps of little value *in se*) completely dominates the picture.

Among the many Soviet axioms echoed in this book is the dogmatic belief in civilization based on concrete, electricity and wireless. Consequently the traditional existence of the nomads of Turkistan is swept aside as a “miserable life in tents . . . in inevitable poverty and starvation.” The nomads seem to think otherwise, as is shown by the difficulties experienced by the Soviet Government in their recent efforts to settle them in concrete houses. . . . In their age-long wanderings they have evolved a mode of life which in the opinion of an expert witness like Owen Lattimore is an admirable example of a self-contained economy. This will not save it from the doom decreed for the nomadic life in Moscow.

An adequate review of this book would in the end amount to almost a new version of the original text, which calls for drastic commentary or direct refutation at every page. The best that can be said for it is that it is extremely stimulating and well written, with a note of triumphant vitality from beginning to end which recalls the tremendous creative energy now transforming the face of the old-time Russia. There are many entertaining diagrams which are far more useful than the text itself.

Every reader of *Soviet Geography* would do well to glance at the same time at another recent book, *I Speak for the Silent*, by Professor Tchernavin, where certain aspects of Soviet economic planning are discussed, from the angle of a specialist engaged in putting them into practice. It is clear, *inter alia*, from Tchernavin’s book that much that Professor Mikhaylov accepts as economic *fait accompli* (because inscribed in one plan or another) is really nothing more than hot air, which would collapse at the first impact with scientific analysis.

Soviet Geography may be good enough as a textbook for Professor Mikhaylov’s students at the Central House of the Red Army. It is certainly not good enough to publish abroad as a *vade-mecum* to the new Russia.

VIOLET CONOLLY.

Dawn Over Samarkand. The Rebirth of Central Asia. By Joshua Kunitz. Pp. 348. New York: Covici Friede, Publishers. \$3. No date.

Events in Russia, whether in the European or Asiatic dominions of that great country, have produced, since the revolutions there, a mass of books of varying but usually inferior quality. Nearly all these books are almost childish partisan. Bolshevism seems to provoke prejudices which never permit any concession to rival statements. The historian of the future, if he be so unwise as to try, will have a weary task wading through a mass of hastily prepared and hastily written propagandist literature.

This book, *Dawn Over Samarkand*, is one of these works. It is purely pro-Bolshevist. Everything in the new garden of Central Asia is perfect.

The publishers write on the dust-cover most ecstatically of Mr. Kunitz and his book, and tell us that his brilliant interpretations reveal the nature of the whole problem in the white light of reality. It is probable that this brilliance has excused the publishers from providing an index or illustrations, and has allowed them to fob the reader off with two clumsy maps in the tail-pieces.

The book, however, is a most commonplace volume. It is the blood-brother of dozens of others. It is a long-winded, rambling, didactic volume, full of stale legends and foolish fables. Its criminals are the British Government, with Messrs. Bailey and Etherton as the villains of the piece, with the "Emir" of Bokhara as the runner-up. On the other side of the stage we have the heroic Bolsheviks who, by introducing tractors and the mechanical toys of the West to the simple Asiatic, have opened the doors of paradise.

The book, however, does give an elaborate, if involved, account of events which resulted in the capture of Bokhara by the Bolsheviks. It recounts at length the forays of the Basmachis, and has a certain value in describing obscure happenings during a season of anarchy and revolution. Whether it can be called an aid to the elucidation of that period is doubtful, as the outlook is one-sided.

To us, in Great Britain, it is interesting to see ourselves from a very unusual angle. England is accused of casting covetous eyes on the Caucasus and Central Asia (p. 77). We are told (p. 78) that "the Bolsheviks' dramatic disavowal of Russia's czarist past . . . naturally carried with it the implication of sharp censure of the predatory practices of the remaining imperialist countries, chiefly England." No one knows what such a sentence means, and the book is full of similar magniloquent verbosity. On page 90 Sir George Macartney, called "the British Political Resident," appears on the scene, and the author then gives a very confused account of the advance of Bolshevism into Central Asia.

On page 102 the drama is enlivened by the advent of Messrs. Bailey, Blacker, and Etherton, the last of whom is called indifferently "Mr." and "Lieutenant-Colonel." "Perfidious Albion" is the heading of these paragraphs. On page 106 Colonel F. M. Bailey "fled to the Bokharan Emir." The author is manifestly astonished at the idea that anyone should have opposed the Reds, and accuses Colonel Bailey of plotting against the Government. That was precisely what the Bolsheviks were not at that time. On page 110 we are given a vivid and depressing picture of the success of British policy. Persia lay helpless under the tramping feet of the British armies. Caucasia was shackled hand and foot by the Scotch battalions. The English Fleet [was] in the Black and Caspian Seas. In Cabul a spineless government [was] completely under English sway. The above is the picture as drawn by Mr. Joshua Kunitz, and then the rest of his book describes the rise and splendour of Bolshevism.

It is all rather crude and naïve: and it is certainly sincere. Like all the propagandists of Bolshevism, Mr. Kunitz believes that civilization is a synonym

for machinery. He grows ecstatic over Stalinabad, and believes that an electric bakery, a cinema laboratory, and a State Publishing House—all in capitals—with many other man-made wonders (p. 243), really mean progress. Of course, they do not necessarily mean anything of the sort.

The author shows the same touching faith in statistics that every Bolshevik does. He quotes them freely, and he implicitly believes in their accuracy: and consequently both the figures and the enthusiasm he produces on the expansion of the cotton crop are truly remarkable.

Well. There it is: a book loosely written, full of zeal and energy, and quite unconvincing to any detached person. No "pro-Bolo" can ever understand that, before the advent of the crude and inhuman doctrines of Marx into politics, mankind was quite happy. For centuries we existed pleasantly without tractors, motor-cars, and other inventions; and so it is with Bolshevism. Asiatic Russia was a peculiarly prosperous country, where food was cheap and the people left much to their own devices. Having destroyed everything in their customary childish and unnecessary manner, the Soviet are now endeavouring with little success to restore the plenty they so stupidly dissipated.

The book invites criticism as to spelling and phraseology. Bey presumably means "Bai" (a well-to-do-man in Turki), Casi (p. 23), Casii (p. 70)—apparently the Latinized plural of Qazi—Bek for Beg, and other solecisms occur. It is news to be told (on page 229) that Hindustan and China have considerable Tadjik (*sic*) populations, or that the easygoing Turki is one of the most fanatical Moslems in the world.

Changing Asia. By Egon Erwin Kisch. English version by Rita Reil. Pp. 267. Map; illustrations. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

The publishers of this book inform us that the author is a really great reporter, long famous in Europe. They assure us that a friend of his writes that "he is almost a myth in Central Asia," and a list of the great achievements of "The King of Reporters" follows. Indeed, he is "tireless, prodigious, and implacable." After this introduction the English reader can take up this book with confidence. It is a well-produced volume, the print is excellent, the paper and margins suitable, and the index satisfactory. The illustrations are adequate, and are provided by "Sovfoto, New York," and "Intourist, Inc." The map is atrocious.

The narrative is interesting, and, generally speaking, well set forth, but the book shares the fault of all volumes on this part of the world. It is partisan and grossly propagandist. A good account of Tashkent (in Chap. II.) is spoilt by the conviction, running through the book, that all that was, is bad: all that is new, is good. Even the new latrines are cited for honour (p. 25), and later youths gargle with "riled" water (p. 26), whatever that may be. The journey to Samarkand is well described, and the pest of flies is not ignored.

There are curious sidelights illustrating the gulf between Europe and Russia, which show that no true Russian really believes himself a European. So that when (p. 41) the comrade sends them all to hell, he is merely echoing the opinions of his fellows. It is this same comrade who sneers at the churches and crime of Chicago. The author rightly execrates the prisons of old Bokhara, but the passing British critic, whilst agreeing with this attitude, cannot forget the penal methods of the Soviet. The island prisons on the White Sea, the timber camps, and a hundred other barbarities are far worse and far less excusable than the tyranny of an Oriental potentate. So that the slaughter by the Amir of 3,200 people (p. 59) is a mere drop in the ocean of blood spilled by the Bolsheviks in the support of their rule.

Chapter VII. describes Stalinabad, and here we have, as we always do have, in all this Sovietized book-making, a long eulogy on the material benefits of the new Russia. These writers fail to understand the elementary principles of civilization. They cannot grasp that a nation may possess every mechanical invention: it may have doctors and chemists, professors, factories, and sanitation: the most modern and noisiest forms of transport, and yet may remain far more uncivilized than an impi of Zulus brandishing their assegais. This materialized estimate of all progress means precisely nothing.

The miasma of statistics hangs over the book, obscuring the descriptions and misleading the reader. Few statistics are of any value, fewer still enlighten the investigator, and fewest of all in point of fact are those that are given off in dense and dismal vapour by the Soviet bureaucracy.

Masses of figures (pp. 92, 93) are mere waste.

There is a vivid and admirable description of silk-worms (p. 110), but that of the revolutionary lady from the Ukraine in charge does not evoke affection.

There is a great deal well worth reading. The lot of the Kulak (p. 152), the description of the Kolchos (*sic*) p. 153, the sidelights on many occurrences in Central Asia—*e.g.*, how Enver, spoken of in no loving terms, was killed at Sarikhosor on August 4, 1922—and other matters deserve notice.

Once again England is the bogey, the menace of the simple Soviets, the greedy ogre from the West. General Malmson (*sic*), "Tig Jones" (*sic*), a captain in the service of His Majesty the King of England, who executed twenty-six commissaries in Baku (besides others); the "Kokander autonomy," run by English puppets (p. 81); Captain Baly (*sic*) (p. 81), who whipped the Amir's army into shape (p. 81), and so on, arouse our ridicule. It was Captain "Baly's" army who enabled the Amir to execute the 3,200 men referred to above; and on the very last page of the book (p. 267) England is cited as the obstacle to Central Asiatic progress.

Of course, there is a lot of nonsense about petroleum and soap being unknown in the old days (p. 174), that only three per cent. of the people in pre-Bolshevist times drank tea, that shirting was very rare, and so forth. We are told that irrigation is only now understood (Chap. XV.), which to those who knew Central Asia with its gardens and fruit seems very wonderful.

It must be confessed that, though very well written, this song of praise about the material progress of the country does become boring. All books on Central Asia bristle with strange words, and words sadly misspelt, and this volume is no exception. We have such changelings as Kok-Tshaj (p. 126), Sindabad for Zinda Bad (p. 135), Ak-Mechet (p. 14), Muchamed (p. 48), Calif (p. 85), Andshuman, Taharat-Chanar, and others. The River Vakhsh wanders through the pages, but its spelling is abnormal. These are not serious blemishes, but they might have been avoided.

Mr. E. E. Kisch has recently published a book on China. It is to be noted that it is less tendencious. There is no reason why books on Sovietized countries should be all, like this one, so violently prejudiced, for such writing seldom convinces—and defeats its object.

Clashing Tides of Colour. By Lothrop Stoddard. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 414. Scribner's. 1935. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Lothrop Stoddard is encumbered with a conviction. He believes, with evident sincerity and as firmly as the National Socialists of Germany (whose racial

doctrines he almost entirely ignores), that the major races are fundamentally different from each other and cannot be fused or reconciled within any measurable time. At the most, one may adopt certain external forms or practices of another, but a true or lasting harmony of diverse stocks is inconceivable. This view is expressed in turgid language and with imperfect lucidity in the first quarter of his book, where nations "welter" in "chaos," and a very excited account is given of international problems. Mr. Stoddard's excitement weakens his hold on his dictionary, and we are presented with an Asia *literally* Balkanized, a China *literally* torpedoed, and a number of other "literal" disasters which can only have occurred in the most metaphorical of senses. Even such grammatical distinctions as that of the "transitory" and the "transitional" are lost to sight. It is perhaps unreasonable to demand that an author in a frenzy shall write correct English; but if he fails to do so, the reader may be pardoned for closing the book.

Having blown off a vast quantity of steam on the subject of miscegenation, Mr. Stoddard calms down and becomes progressively more interesting and intelligible. The evil effects of introducing, rapidly or forcibly, a Western civilization to a backward people are still occasionally discussed as though difference of race, and not difference of culture, lay at the root of the trouble; but such perversions of the evidence become rarer, and disappear almost entirely in the last half of the book. The present position of leading countries in Europe and Asia, and of Africa as a whole, is analyzed in brief chapters, and though there is room for healthy disagreement with some of the author's opinions, the style of writing is simpler and the argument, if any, more convincing. In a summary treatment there is not room for detailed argument, and only the main outlines are drawn in each picture. The result is pleasant, and we have here Mr. Stoddard at his best. Having escaped from under his "colour" obsession, he is brightly descriptive, bringing to light the conflict between nationalism and Pan-Islamism in the Islamic world, the divergence between British and French colonial policy in Africa, and the alternative forms—revolution or world-conquest—of the explosion which he foresees in Japan. All this is excellent, and illustrates the clash between civilizations and cultures which may be irreconcilable. But the clash is not due to *colour*, and Mr. Stoddard leads no evidence to prove that it is.

C. F. S.

North to the Orient. By Anne Morrow Lindbergh. Large Crown 8vo. Pp. 248. Chatto and Windus. 1935. 10s. 6d.

This book is a personal and non-technical account of the pioneering flight made by Mrs. Lindbergh in company with her husband in the summer of 1931 from Washington to Nanking via the Grand Circle course, "the shortest surface distance between two points on a sphere." In her preface Mrs. Lindbergh describes the book as "an attempt to capture a phase in the history of travel that is perhaps unrepeatable, and, as such, is worth being recorded." She may congratulate herself on a most successful attempt, for not only has she succeeded in capturing the magic for her own amusement, but she has imprisoned it in such a charming web of everliving freshness that her readers cannot fail to go through the whole adventure with something of her own enthusiasm, not unmixed with relief that nothing worse befell her than the ducking in the Yangtze.

The book is a delightful record of an adventurous journey, but to those who have some experience of flying, and especially to those who have experienced long-distance flying over little-known country, it gives in broad outline, sufficient for the expert to discern and appreciate the essentials, a background of

all the technical and geographical information necessary for a pioneer flight. Anyone planning a similar flight cannot fail to obtain some value from reading Mrs. Lindbergh's account. A single flight, no matter how long, from one point to another, without any intermediate landings, is child's play when compared to a flight in which there are several landings in strange places and unexplored waters, often amongst people who have never seen an aeroplane; the forced landing at Shishmaref, the duel with the fog, the Japanese fishermen, and the starving people in the flooded areas in China are only bits of the great adventure, but each in its way might have had a different ending but for the character of the two adventurers. Throughout the book one cannot lose sight of the man behind it all, the real driving force, the organizer, technician and leader. This simple and vivid record shows clearly that, no matter what difficulties beset a route, as long as we have men like Cabot, Frobisher, Davis, and Lindbergh, new routes will be developed for posterity to use, and once the trail is blazed others will follow. This is a point that Mrs. Lindbergh could not make in her book, but it impressed itself on my mind, and I finished the story with a feeling of pride that I had been allowed to share in the great adventure if only through reading and enjoying every word of it.

It is too early to attempt a forecast of what may follow in the wake of this flight, but it is not too much to say that the potentialities of this short cut over the crown of the world are immense.

The flight started from Long Island on July 27, 1931, and at once we meet the troubles that beset the woman who is not mechanically inclined, but who has newly turned technician, for Mrs. Lindbergh was not a passenger in the float-plane "Sirius," she was officially the fully qualified wireless operator, but happily for her readers not so fully qualified that she could not see the funny side of her difficulties. All the same, I believe that Anne Morrow Lindbergh knew more about her wireless set than she would lead us to believe, and that Charles A. Lindbergh never had a moment's uneasiness about his capable and efficient wireless operator.

The flight is full of incident. New York to Washington—for the official departure—then back on their tracks to Maine to visit Mrs. Lindbergh's old home; then Ottawa and the "small boy" amongst his elders; Moose Factory and Churchill, mapped, but not mentioned; Baker Lake and the old firm; Aklavik and the last ship of the year; Point Barrow with the first threat of fog and the thrill of the "all-clear" message coming through; the first forced landing and the casual hunters of duck; Nome and the King Islanders; all pass below the sea-plane and are caught by Mrs. Lindbergh's expert eye and skilful pen. Then Russia flies past; Karaginski and the family party; Petropavlovsk and the village fire brigade, quite like home; then Russia is gone and Japan emerges from a bank of fog, this time a fog that left little to the imagination, and we have a simple and sincere record of a time in space when nothing but faith in the pilot separated the "Sirius" from complete destruction. Even after they were safely down on water it required the polite insistence of the Japanese in sending to their aid "Mr. Shinshiru Maru"—or was he a ship?—with his, or her, "Singing Sailors" to save them from defeat. I shall be surprised if someone does not produce a Christmas toy of the "Singing Sailors"; they deserve to go down to posterity in nursery history. Then we visit the fisherman's hut under the watchful eye of Colonel Lindbergh; then the Tea Ceremony, a diversion, but excusable because of the manner of its telling; I hope that some day the Tea Ceremony will find a more important place in a larger volume on Japan, for Mrs. Lindbergh appears to have a soft spot in her heart for the Japanese people and their customs, and she

writes about them with true feeling. Finally, we are in China helping the victims of the great flood of 1931.

The adventure ended on October 2 with an unexpected and disastrous accident on the Yangtze; the two Lindberghs were fortunate to escape, for it is not without reason that the Chinese say, "No one who goes under the Yangtze's yellow surface ever comes up again." Not only did the Lindberghs cheat the river, but the good ship "Sirius" also escaped, thanks to the aircraft carrier "Hermes," who had been an unwitting party to the ducking in the first place. The "Sirius" lived to conquer fresh seas and lands, completing, amongst other flights, a 30,000 mile survey around the North Atlantic Ocean in 1933 before retiring for a well-earned rest to the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.

In her preface Mrs. Lindbergh says that no geographical knowledge could be gained from reading her story, and yet the final chapters tell, in a few words, more about geographical features, especially rivers, than one would find in many a geography book. A useful appendix gives details of the equipment carried and shows the reasons that prompted the inclusion of the various items. It illustrates very forcibly the careful thought and planning that lie behind all successful enterprises of this kind. Much of the equipment was necessary for what Mrs. Lindbergh so aptly describes as "the back-stairs of aviation-magic."

Just as Mrs. Lindbergh played her necessary but vital part in the adventure, so Colonel Lindbergh plays his part in this book with his admirable little maps; all silent witnesses to the perfect team-work that exists between these two very remarkable and exceptionally gifted people.

R. G.

The Problem of the Far East. By Sobei Mogi and H. Vere Redman. 7½" × 5¼". Pp. 352. Victor Gollancz, Ltd. 1935. 5s.

This is for the most part an unsatisfactory book. Of its 352 pages 218 are devoted to Modern Japan and only 76 to China, a division altogether disproportionate to their relative importance; and the final 40 pages, by far the most interesting and the best written part of the book, to Far Eastern international relations. Unfortunately few readers are likely to have sufficient patience to persevere thus far, and for the majority commencement at page 297 is to be recommended, for parts of the final section are sensible and well worth reading.

The book is said to be a collaboration, but there is little evidence of this; the different sections do not hang together, and differ noticeably both in style and treatment of the subject. If the book is, as the publishers state, intended for "ordinary intelligent citizens" in Europe and England, more care might have been taken over the style and grammar, which are to say the least indifferent.

Mr. Mogi is a graduate of the London School of Economics, and his point of view is well to the Left and quite unrepresentative of prevailing Japanese opinion; indeed, it would not be surprising if he were in danger of being locked up for "dangerous thoughts," so liberal are his views. The Socialist and Trade Union movements, to which considerable space is devoted, cut little ice in Japan; neither do party politics, corrupt as they are shown to be. On the other hand, the deep underlying forces in Japanese life, political and economic, get scant treatment, though there is an interesting treatise on the constitution, a significant sidelight on which is thrown by the recent victory of the Conservative devotees of the "divine right of the Emperor" theory over Professor Minobe and the "constitutional monarchists."

The treatment of China is cursory and not particularly well informed, the

economic chapter being profusely illustrated with statistics, which since most of them refer to a single year only are of little value. Here again the underlying forces are scarcely touched on.

The final section of the book, a survey of Far Eastern international relations, comprising Russia in addition to Japan and China, is, however, well written, and if published by itself as an article in a political quarterly would have been a useful contribution to the subject. It is only a pity that the effect is spoiled by the mass of indigestible stuff which precedes it. The last chapter, with its plea for the establishment of a non-capitalist régime in China as the only alternative to a conflict in which the Western Powers and the United States can scarcely avoid becoming involved, is thought-provoking even though unconvincing.

The proof-reading of the book has been slipshod, and there are a large number of slips. To quote only two, the Ashikaga Shogunate was not established in 1932 (p. 25); and a recent Prime Minister of Japan is called "Hanagachi" on one page (p. 115) and, correctly, "Hamaguchi" on the next. Such slips should not be allowed to appear in what purports to be a serious work.

J. S. S.

Japan and the Pacific. By Nathaniel Peffer. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 256. Hamish Hamilton. 10s. 6d.

Japan and the Pacific is an interesting book by a keen observer, Nathaniel Peffer, with a perhaps natural pro-American and anti-Japanese bias.

The proof-reading of the book has been carelessly done; on page 53 the date of the Twenty-One Demands is given as 1925 instead of 1915.

The author states on page 40 that in 1860 "the spoliation of China had begun. . . . Great Britain detached Burma." Burma was not a part of China at that date, but was ruled by a Burmese king.

The description of the growth of concessions gives a wrong impression. The author states that China's "economic life-blood was canalized to flow to centres from which the foreigners drew enrichment." This may be true, but the other side of the picture is that China thus found export markets. Again: "The most valuable sites were pre-empted for foreign business." Foreign concessions were granted, usually on bad lands useless to the Chinese, in order to concentrate the "Foreign Barbarians" in one place.

"All conveniences, community facilities, public services and general arrangements were determined and conducted for the foreigners' benefit." Maybe, but these conveniences were made for the foreign community by the foreign community. The Chinese had previously shown no desire for such things. When the advantages of modern civilization were shown to them they evidenced their appreciation thereof by pouring into the concessions. Cleanliness, sanitation and security constituted the lure.

In Chapter III. the author states that in 1910 Japan began to close its grip on South Manchuria. "For all practical purposes only Japanese could trade." Other nations were trading in Manchuria at that time. All the big banks and foreign firms were represented there—Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Jardines, Arnholds, Anderson Meyer, Standard Oil Co., etc. There were resident Consuls representing America, England and most European countries.

The author has made up his mind that a war is inevitable. "Only war can stop Japan." It may therefore be concluded that Japan will avoid war. "America might go to war to safeguard peace, but it would come out with the Manchurian

plains." Can any serious observer visualize America controlling, or wishing for control of, the Manchurian plain? Again, Mr. Peffer states that America has been taking definite decisions; he says: "Concretely America must yield or Japan must yield. As has already been said Japan will not, America gives every indication that it, too, will not. Perhaps it cannot in self-preservation. . . . In that case then almost as a matter of physical law Japan and America must collide." No, Mr. Peffer, we are not convinced of the inevitability of collision. Nor can we think that there is any question of America's "self-preservation" on the Asiatic mainland.

Mr. Peffer comes to so many wrong conclusions that it is difficult to remember that he has been in the position of a close observer in the East for some years. Perhaps the reason is contained on the first page, where the author describes his book as "a book about war in the Far East," so, war or no war, we are called upon to be alarmed and terrified, whether we will or no.

H. ST. C. S.

People in China: Thirty-two Photographic Studies from Life. By Ellen Thorbecke. With an Introduction by Dr. W. J. R. Thorbecke, formerly Netherlands Minister to China. George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., London, Bombay, Sydney. Price 15s. net.

This is a rare book, rare in the sense of being uncommon and excellent. The title is not quite correct: more precisely it should be *People in North China*. Madame Thorbecke, wife of His Excellency Dr. W. J. R. Thorbecke, late Netherlands Minister to China, has put the time, four years, that she spent in the Dutch Legation at Peking to very good use in describing a series of types of the folk among whom she lived. There are thirty-two photos, each prefaced by a description of the kind of man, woman or child that is depicted—the Manchu Duke, the soldier, the countrywoman, the launch driver, the concubine, and so on. How well and truly set forth these descriptions are, only those of us who have lived for years in Peking can say, and our comment would be that they are all correct and faithful portraits.

Each face is a masterpiece of photography—the character stands out in every detail. The studiously terse chapters help considerably to analyze the personality of the different subjects. People who have never been in China could form a very good estimate of contemporary Chinese from this volume. There is a well-written Introduction by Dr. Thorbecke, who condenses Chinese history into a few paragraphs and then goes on to deal with the formation of the Republic and present-day conditions in China. He makes a slip, however, when in dealing with the Great Wall he states that under the Ming emperors "the encirclement of the whole North of China was accomplished." Perhaps that is a simple error of diction, for, as everyone knows, the Great Wall was only a protective barrier running along China's north and north-western frontiers to repel invasion by Manchurian and Mongolian predatory hordes.

Madame Thorbecke has carved out a new line, which will be of great assistance in forming a close estimate of the personal characteristics of all the people she describes. We would be still further in her debt if she could depict in similar fashion the types to be met with in Mid and South China, for they differ in many ways from their northern congeners.

Messrs. George G. Harrap and Company have produced a work of art in their style of publishing this book.

G. D. G.

The Romance of the Western Chamber (Hsi Hsiang Chi): A Chinese Play written in the Thirteenth Century. Translated by S. I. Hsiung. With a Preface by Gordon Bottomley. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd. Price 8s. 6d. net.

Mr. S. I. Hsiung, who introduced to the British stage the play *Lady Precious Stream*, has been encouraged by his success to give us another example of Chinese drama in the volume now published by Messrs. Methuen.

The Western Chamber is a well-known classic which has been enjoyed by succeeding generations of Chinese for over seven hundred years. The authorship is lost in the mists of antiquity, though it is generally believed to have been written by two great poets, Wang Shih Fu and Kuang Han-Ch'ing, in the thirteenth century.

Since that time various literati have had a hand in producing numerous editions with annotations. What Mr. Hsiung has done has been to consult the best of these editions, selecting the dialogue from some and the poetry from others, and to weld them into a harmonious whole, the result being a very fine play dealing with the old, old theme of love. The translation sticks remarkably closely to the Chinese text, and we are presented with a picture of Chinese ways of living and modes of thought which, while delightfully quaint, are very expressive and interesting. Preferring accuracy to anything else, Mr. Hsiung's word-for-word translation makes the poetry lack fluency in our ears. There would be no great difficulty in adding to the play's attractiveness by making the cadences rhythmical, more in song form, which could be done without sacrificing the spirit of the original. This is the only criticism that can be made in a story which is otherwise well told. Once one gets a grip of the plot, one gets carried along with ever-increasing expectancy as to how it is going to unfold itself and as to whether it will end happily or not.

Long ago in the Chen-Yuan period (A.D. 785-805) of the T'ang Dynasty there lived a certain Mr. Chang, a youth of gentle and cultivated nature. He was a stranger to anything in the nature of impropriety. When he had reached the age of twenty-two he had "never had anything to do with the fair sex." While he was travelling he happened to sojourn in a district where he met a wealthy widow, whose possessions were in danger of being despoiled by a War Lord. Mr. Chang was able to secure official protection for her, as he was a relative of her family, also he personally knew the War Lord.

In the play, the widow thanks him and introduces to him her son and daughter, whose lives he has saved. Mr. Chang at once falls deeply in love with this girl, who is a striking beauty, and he soon shows all the signs of love, being neither able to sleep nor eat, even forgetting where he is going when he takes his daily walk. The girl's name is Ying Ying, and she has a faithful maidservant called Hung Niang. It is through the medium of the latter that Mr. Chang manages to convey an amorous sonnet to his fair one.

Ying Ying, much to his surprise, replies with a love verse, and so their "affair" begins. At length the maidservant arranges a clandestine meeting, and a *liaison* is laid which ends in the complete conquest of Miss Ying's heart. This is expressed in a very tender scene which Mr. Hsiung tones down from the somewhat sensuous original in such a way as to make it acceptable to the British public.

The play ends by the love-stricken Chang going away to study, to seek distraction for his mind. During his absence Ying Ying is married to another man, though she never forgets her first and only love. They meet again once more, but only to exchange sweet sentiments about their romance.

The author has produced a readable volume, and he has edited the play so that it could be acted with every chance of success. It is an artistic production throughout, and the endless praise it has earned from Chinese audiences adown the ages indicates its possibilities as a romantic drama which could also earn praise in this country.

G. D. G.

China Changes. By G. J. Yorke. Pp. 334. Jonathan Cape, Ltd. 1935. 10s. 6d.

Some three years ago Mr. Gerald Yorke went to China to study at first hand the Treaty Port system, on which he was writing a thesis. But the Treaty Ports did not claim his whole attention, and he found time to travel widely in the interior, to act as Reuter's correspondent in a war in the north and a rebellion in the south, to visit the Communist areas with Peter Fleming ("One's Company"), to meditate in lonely hermitages, and to acquire a wide knowledge of the more obscure byeways of Chinese literature. The result is this delightful book, in part descriptive of Mr. Yorke's own experiences and in part essays on various aspects of Chinese life and thought, with a conclusion on "Reconstruction," wherein he discusses the efforts Chiang Kai-Shek and his group are making to build in their own fashion a modern State out of the present chaos.

Whether you like travel sketches or more serious reading on politics or philosophy, you should read this book. For Mr. Yorke is a man of unusual tastes and learning, a sort of modern counterpart of the mediæval wandering scholar, with a well-stocked mind and keen sense of observation, equally at home in the tactics of the Jehol campaign, the theory and practice of Chinese Communism, Buddhist meditational practices, and the technicalities of flood prevention. He has a nice sense of humour, and an obvious fellow-feeling with Chinese, with all manner of whom he quickly got on friendly terms in spite of an almost complete lack of knowledge of their language. When he has remedied this deficiency he should give us another book, for he has a gift for travel and for this kind of writing.

If criticism may be offered, there are too many names of persons and places which have little meaning for the general reader unacquainted with China, and a tiresome number of note references which tend to distract the eye. It might have been better had the book been presented in the form of essays rather than as a consecutive and inevitably disjointed narrative; but it is nevertheless thoroughly readable and should interest all whose range of reading is not bounded by the conventional.

J. S. S.

Chinese Art. Edited by Leigh Ashton. Kegan Paul. Paper 2s. 6d., cloth 3s. 6d.

The first of the official handbooks produced especially for one of the great winter exhibitions at Burlington House was, I believe, *Persian Art*. Two of the authorities who contributed to that volume also contribute to *Chinese Art*. They are Dr. Laurence Binyon and Mr. Leigh Ashton. The former writes the introduction and the chapter on painting and calligraphy, and the latter edits the volume and writes one chapter on sculpture and lacquer, and another on textiles. Mr. R. L. Hobson contributes a chapter on the potter's art, Mr. A. J. Koop writes on bronzes and *cloisonné* enamel, while jades are dealt with by Dame Una Pope-Hennessy.

All these names are well known, and some are celebrated. We are therefore led to expect something exceptional both in matter and style, and these anticipations are fully satisfied.

Dr. Binyon, Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum until his recent retirement, tells with lucid brevity how to approach Chinese painting by describing the painter's own approach. After a short discussion of materials and other practical controlling influences, he gives a masterly outline of the historical and cultural influences which takes us across twenty centuries in little more than twenty pages.

Mr. R. L. Hobson, Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, gives a marvellously clear account of a subject upon which he is the great authority. For those of us who have been eagerly awaiting a fresh book from him during the past few years his chapter on ceramics is all too brief. Yet it seems to contain all the essential information which the general reader should have if he is more fully to appreciate the beauties of pottery and porcelain.

In addition to his distinction as the designer of the Chinese Exhibition and his gifts as a connoisseur, Mr. Leigh Ashton commands an easy and attractive style of writing. His work and his position at the Victoria and Albert Museum entitle him to speak with authority upon sculpture, lacquer and textiles, and nowhere else can be found a more readable and concise summary of information about these crafts.

Mr. A. J. Koop is Keeper of the Department of Metalwork at the same museum. His study of the little-known and highly technical problems connected with Chinese bronzes has once again given us a statement which is admirable in its immediate getting down to basic facts and its working out of sound deductions.

Those of us who have read Dame Una Pope-Hennessy's book on jade will be interested to know that she writes on this subject again here. She excels in conveying to the reader her enthusiasm and her knowledge. The chapter, and, in fact, the whole book, reaches a standard of literary merit far superior to most textbooks of this kind.

Added attractions are the twenty-four excellent half-tone plates, a chronological table and a selected bibliography.

Altogether this pocket volume is a remarkable production, giving the reader (for the absurdly low sum of half a crown or—in cloth—for 3s. 6d.) 111 pages of concentrated, authoritative, yet eminently readable information. The few proof-corrections which have been overlooked are insufficient to merit a serious criticism.

ARNOLD SILCOCK.

Beauty in Exile: Chao Chun. By Shu Chiung (Madame Wu Lien-teh).

This is the story of a Chinese damsel who was chosen to be a consort of the Emperor. Her name Chao Chun means Beautiful, or more correctly, Brilliant Lady. Her father was Prefect in what is now the Province of Hupeh.

The Emperor, Yuan-ti, the ninth of the famous Han dynasty which so impressed itself on Chinese history that Chinese to the present day proudly call themselves "sons of Han," was on the throne. There occurred in these days an eclipse of the sun and an earthquake. These were signs that Heaven was angry and there was danger that the people would attribute Heaven's anger to some fault in their imperial Master who was "the Son of Heaven."

Like Pharaoh, the Emperor had a dream. He saw in his vision a lady of extravagant beauty and sent a deputy to traverse the land and find the dream damsel. Like all such officials, the deputy made his office an opportunity for enriching himself. The lady the Emperor chose for his bride would have ample opportunity for advancing the fortunes of her family, and this prized position was not to be had for nothing.

The Brilliant Lady was found, but her father, a rigidly righteous official, refused to bribe the envoy, and so his daughter languished in the cold palace, and the Emperor sighed that his dream paragon was never found.

Eventually that lady came to the notice of the Emperor, but under tragic circumstances. The Khan of the Hsiung-nu, a fierce Tartar tribe, sent to His Majesty a demand for Chinese beauties for his harem, and in the parade of ladies of the court the Emperor saw his dream come true. Like all dreams, it came true too late, and the pearl of the court was carted off to be the bride of a Tartar Khan. She had to live in a tent and eat rancid mutton, but she was to the end of her life a civilizing influence. She died and was buried near the frontier of China, where her tomb is shown to this day.

It may be added that the book is written in impeccable English, and it makes a poor reviewer, who thinks he knows some Chinese, green with envy when he calls to mind the names of foreigners, English and others, who, in their day, were called sinologues, but not one of whom could write a page in Chinese that would compare with the English written by Madame Wu Lien-teh.

The book is published by Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai. It is illustrated and presents us with a picture of the barbaric splendour of the Chinese court half a century before Christ was born.

J. D.

The Real Abyssinia. By Colonel C. F. Rey, C.M.G. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 291. Illustrations and map. Seeley Service. 10s. 6d.

This is an eminently readable book, and gives an excellent account of Abyssinia for those who have little knowledge of the country.

The matters dealt with include: A description of the country, its various peoples and their customs; the Emperor and the form of Government; foreign penetration, the armed forces, slavery, the Church, history of the country, and its trade and resources.

For the student of things Abyssinian, however, it is somewhat disappointing, with the exception of the last three chapters on the resources and trade of the country, which are very good.

A fair account is given of the Amhara and Galla races, a little information concerning the Gurage and Fallasha, less of the Danakil and Somali, but nothing of other races such as the Agau, Kafficho, Wallamu, etc.

Considering Colonel Rey's ten years' experience of the country and the evident liking he has for its inhabitants, one would have hoped for a more comprehensive work, and one feels that he could have written such a book.

From the few Amharic words used, it does not appear that the author is much at home in the language. The transliteration is in the French—not the British—fashion, and even so is often wrong.

K'aramth for Kiramt, Gebbi for Gibbi, Broundo for Brindo, Goubu for Gubbo, Libacha for Lebashai, Guecho for Gesho, are examples of this.

"Afa Negus" means "mouth"—not "breath"—of the King.

His habit of calling the capital "Addis" is irritating. If he were in the U.S.A. he would hardly continually refer to New York as "New"!

In Chapter XIV. the difference between the two questions of slave trading and domestic slavery is well brought out and deserves careful reading, as we are all of us in Europe so much against the idea of any form of slavery that we find it difficult to do anything but condemn it off-hand.

It is refreshing to find a European who has been in Abyssinia liking its

inhabitants, for, in general, residents and travellers give them a bad name. The reason given by Colonel Rey for his attitude is an example of the old truth that if you do not know a race well, it is unlikely that you will see their good points, and make allowances for their bad ones.

The Abyssinians are a proud and independent people, and it is only a "good mixer" and tactful person, like the author, who will be in the position of being able to appreciate their many good qualities.

Even Colonel Rey, though, cannot find much good to say about the Abyssinian Church, which is a dead weight on the back of the country, and a hindrance to all progress.

The account of the commercial and industrial development of the country is excellent. Capital has been made of the fact that Abyssinia has not yet developed her resources, but Colonel Rey points out that several concessions have been granted to foreigners, and the Concessionaires have never really tried to develop them.

With his usual fairness, though, he also points out that the Abyssinians themselves have done little to get really first-class European assistance to open up their country. The reason for this is their innate suspicion of all foreigners, and it must be acknowledged that they have good grounds for such mistrust.

The author touches on the currency question, which is one of the chief obstacles to trade in Abyssinia. He also points out that the country is completely self-supporting with regard to foodstuffs, and that she could easily produce a surplus for export.

With regard to her mineral resources, he rightly considers that this is a question for experts, and, in view of our present information on the subject, one on which nothing very definite can be stated.

J. I. E.

England, Italy, Abyssinia. By Major-General H. Rowan-Robinson. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Pp. viii + 148. Illustrations. Maps. Clowes. 5s.

Any book on military subjects from the pen of General Rowan-Robinson is sure not only to be interesting, but also to be of real value to the student, and this book is no exception.

In his preface, the author disclaims any personal knowledge of Abyssinia, and some criticisms of his subject-matter have their origin in this fact. Until the crisis arose between Italy and Abyssinia, there was probably no country in the world about which less was known by the general public than the latter.

In some of its chapters the book suffers from having been written before the outbreak of war. General Rowan-Robinson treats of Abyssinia, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, Lord Napier's campaign and Italian campaigns up to and including Adowa, the existing tension between Italy and Abyssinia and its causes, the military situation, and ends with a general summary of events and opinions.

In his chapters on the British and Italian campaigns, General Rowan-Robinson is on his own familiar ground, and it would be difficult to find a clearer or more concise account of these operations.

It is sterile to reflect on "what might have been," but if Italy had not seized Massowa in 1885, it might, as General Rowan-Robinson remarks, have changed the course of history very much for the better.

The treachery of Ras Gugsä is a striking example of the doubt expressed by the author on the patriotism of the Abyssinians.

A very fair and unbiased account is given of the tension between the two countries, and no unprejudiced person will fail to agree that Italy's peril was a pure myth.

It is another matter, though, the statement that Abyssinia's failure to develop her resources, or to allow their development by foreigners, places her outside the pale, and that she, by refusing to allow such development, is "committing in the economic sphere a crime as serious as that which Italy appears inclined to perpetrate in the military and political sphere." This is a new type of "crime."

The world is suffering from a surfeit of commodities; and again, with the exception of problematic oil, what has Abyssinia to offer?

She is, *par excellence*, an agricultural country, and if fully developed could export wheat, barley, horses, cattle, more coffee than she does at present, and possibly cotton. Is not the world glutted with these products already?

To turn to minerals, iron and coal exist, but not in such quantities that they could do more than meet her own demands if developed, and thus adversely affect the imports of these two commodities from Europe.

Gold has been exported for years, but the question of whether it is a feasible financial operation to mine it on a large scale is one for experts.

Abyssinia herself has not the capital to develop any mineral resources she may have, and if concessions be granted to any European group, can it be doubted that it would be the case of the Transvaal and Johannesburg over again?

The Emperor of Abyssinia, in a note to the League of Nations in 1926, referring to his people, stated "throughout their history they have seldom met with foreigners who do not desire to possess themselves of Abyssinian territory, and to destroy their independence. . . ." And history proves that the Emperor is right.

If America, or some small European State, such as Sweden, were desirous of developing Abyssinia's mineral resources, the latter would probably agree.

In Chapter VII. General Rowan-Robinson is in favour of a mandate over Abyssinia, but it is doubtful whether "the majority of mankind" consider this an eminently suitable proposition.

That the Emperor is unwilling to sign away the independence of his country is surely not "curious."

The author takes up a very controversial attitude regarding our obligations to the League of Nations. He is, of course, entitled to his own opinions on the subject, but having put them into print, they are now fair ground for criticism and partake too much of the "scrap of paper" theme to be acceptable to most Englishmen.

In the last two chapters of his book General Rowan-Robinson is on his own ground again, and it is a pleasure to read such an expert, well-balanced account of the military situation—and as true now (November, 1935) as when it was written in August.

His remarks on air action are particularly instructive for non-soldiers, amongst whom there is so much loose talk on the subject.

His remarks also on the proper employment of machine-guns and automatic rifles should be in the hands of every Abyssinian leader.

Errors in facts are few, but the Fallasha are Jews by religion only, not by race, and have certainly therefore not preserved the latter in its pristine purity.

Theodore did not win his way to the throne, partly by virtue of birth, as he was the son of a poor peasant.

The transliteration of names is poor, and mainly in the Italian fashion, although, of course, a British fashion exists. Tavabatch for Tawabach, Kassai for

Kasa, Dejazmatch for Dajjasmach, Cagnasmach for Qaññasmach, Guerazmatch for Girazmach, are examples.

It would astonish and horrify a Dajjasmach to be told he was a rearguard commander!

Habeschi does not mean Abyssinia—which if not Ethiopia (Ityopya) is Habasha—and is presumably the German spelling of the Arabic word Habashi—an Abyssinian.

As the author does not claim any special knowledge of the country, it is presumably his authorities who are at fault.

The map at the end of the book is a poor one, such important places for the study of an Italian invasion as Jigiga, Gorahai, Sasa Baneh, Daggah Bur, Geledi, Debra Markos, Debra Tabor, Ankobar, Gallabat being omitted.

J. I. E.

Women Called Wild. By Rosita Forbes. Grayson and Grayson. 12s. 6d.

Rosita Forbes must have travelled more widely than any other living traveller, and from every field she has plucked an ear of wheat. For the present work she has ranged from Abyssinia to Shanghai, and thence across "the waste spaces" to West Africa and Buenos Ayres. In Abyssinia and neighbouring Arabia she gives valuable information as to the present position of slavery, showing that, in the former country at any rate, the Emperor is trying to put down the trade in slaves, but meets with opposition, or evasion, from the powerful interests which profit by it. She writes: "By law and custom, Abyssinia has always been against the slave trade, although slavery as a domestic institution is accepted as a matter of course."

Arabia, she states, is looked upon as a land of hope for the slaves bought for export in the wilds of Abyssinia.

"You did not mind leaving your people?" I asked.

The reply was that "she worked like a camel and was beaten like a dog, and that she had never had a full stomach in her own home."

In the Asir province, into which Rosita Forbes was the first English woman to penetrate, the attitude of a slave girl was the idea of bettering herself by a change to a richer household, and we are given an example of such promotion to be the slave of a paramount chief of the Beni Abs. These stories prove that a new generation must grow up in Arabia before there will be any real feeling for the emancipation of slaves for which Great Britain has worked so long and so earnestly.

With the space at my disposal, I can only point out that this book of stories is "strong meat," which makes thrilling reading and proves the marked ability of the writer to probe deeply wherever she passes.

P. M. SYKES.

Sixty Years in the East. By Sir William Willcocks, K.C.M.G. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. iii + 338. Blackwood. 15s.

The writer of this review has often been told that Sir William Willcocks, as a small boy, ran barefooted over the foothills of the Himalayas and was famous locally for his remarkable fluency in unparliamentary vernacular. A curious prelude to an unusual knowledge of Scripture and of Biblical history, in later

years, which found expression in the translation of the New Testament into colloquial Egyptian.

This naïve biography has no pretensions to literary style, but has a crisp distinction of its own which places in clear perspective an arresting narrative of sixty years of crowded life. When only five years old Sir William stepped straight into history :

“We soon learnt that the great Indian Mutiny had broken out, and that sepoy on their way from Meerut to Delhi were harassing the countryside and killing all the Europeans they encountered. Our house was soon in flames.”

So the family fled to the hills while the father went to serve on the Ridge facing Delhi.

Sir William was educated in India and graduated at the Roorkee Engineering College. He had already made a name for himself as a skilled and resourceful engineer when, in 1883, he was selected by the Inspector-General of Irrigation in India to be sent to take charge of the Nile Barrage in Egypt. The Indian period gives a description of the life of a civil engineer which is entertaining in its accuracy and interest. It is easy to trace, too, the development of a character and an ability which eventually conceived and constructed the Assuan Dam and the Delta Barrage, abiding memorials of his work in Egypt. An even greater conception was the Iraq Irrigation Scheme, unhappily as yet unfulfilled, which was to do for Babylonia what he had already done for Egypt.

“In her long history of many thousands of years Babylonia has again and again been submerged, but she has risen with energy and thoroughness, rivalling the very completeness and suddenness of her fall. She has never failed to respond to those who have striven to raise her. Again, it seems that the turn has come for this land, long wasted with misery, to rise from the dust and take her place by the side of her ancient rival, the land of Egypt.”

The actual biography, which ends with a most interesting description, interspersed with shrewd and informed comments, of journeys in Canada and the United States, was completed in 1916. The events of the remaining fifteen years of this remarkable life are briefly described in the preface and carry the reader on to the time when—

“That Pasha who knew the Egyptians, who helped to abolish their corvée and give them their Nile, and improve their health, their wisdom, their diet, their agriculture, their common sense, this Pasha having finished the last chapter of Revelation in 1932, departed this life to the great glory of God.”

And indeed, if only to show how intensely human Sir William was, a fitting addition to this epitaph would be that a transparent honesty, a detestation of humbug, and a sympathetic understanding of the peasant of the lands in which he worked were enhanced by an agreeable sense of humour. Here is a record of great achievement, and here, too, is a story which cannot fail to absorb and interest.

J. S. S.

A USEFUL paper which Miss Lindgren wrote for the *British Journal of Psychology* (published in the October number) has been added to the library. In it she discusses at length the factors which make for successful work in terms which should help equally the anthropologist, ethnologist, or, it may be added, the administrator or business man. The paper is divided into six sections: the first four deal with the need of training, theoretical and practical training for observation, and behaviour; and the two last apply chiefly to scientists, to memory training and practical recording. She deals at length with the necessity of being of the right type for the particular group in which work is to be done. It is obvious, she says, that a person whose physique is in constant maladjustment to climate, diet, and general mode of life will have unnecessary difficulties. It is perhaps not so obvious that temperamental characteristics should also be considered. We shall find therefore as a general rule that old sayings, such as that "the French get on very well in China," "the Irishman is a favourite in Mexico," need not be laughed altogether out of court.

She also speaks of the need and added interest which come from understanding something outside one's own special subject. Some knowledge of ethnology will give conversations and stories and records of customs, the hearing of which are part of the administrator's daily work, a special value, and the anthropologist will note many small facts which would otherwise be overlooked or considered too trivial to write down.

Notes and Queries on Anthropology. 5th edition. 1929. 6s.

Anthropology and the Practical Man. By E. W. Smith. 1934. 1s. 6d.

Both, obtainable at the Royal Anthropological Institute, are recommended.

TO HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD THE EIGHTH

TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY KING EDWARD THE EIGHTH.

May it please Your Majesty,

We, the President, Chairman, Council, and Members of the Royal Central Asian Society, beg leave to express to Your Majesty our profound sorrow at the death of our beloved Sovereign, His late Majesty King George V.

We also crave Your gracious permission to tender to Your Majesty our loyal congratulations at this time when it has pleased God to bring You, in the plenitude of Your powers, to the throne of Your illustrious ancestors.

We pray for Your Majesty a long life and happiness in the devotion of Your subjects and the prosperity of Your Empire.

We subscribe ourselves Your Majesty's most devoted servants,

[Signed in the name of all Members by Sir Horace Rumbold
(Chairman), Honorary Officers, and Members of Council.]

HOME OFFICE, WHITEHALL,

March 17, 1936.

SIR,

I have had the honour to lay before The King the Loyal and Dutiful Address of the Royal Central Asian Society on the occasion of the lamented death of His late Majesty King George the Fifth and have received The King's Commands to convey to you His Majesty's grateful Thanks for the assurances of sympathy and devotion to which it gives expression.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

[Signed] JOHN SIMON.

ADDRESS SENT TO HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY,
JANUARY, 1936

TO HER GRACIOUS MAJESTY QUEEN MARY.

May it please Your Majesty,

We, the President, Chairman, Council, and Members of the Royal Central Asian Society, beg leave to offer to Your Majesty our most respectful homage and sympathy on the occasion of the death of our beloved King. We pray God that you may have strength to support the sorrow which has befallen Your Majesty through the death of our Sovereign, and find comfort in the loyal devotion which his subjects bear to Your Son, King Edward the Eighth.

We crave Your Majesty's permission to subscribe ourselves your devoted servants,

[Signed by Sir Horace Rumbold (Chairman), the Honorary
Officers, and Members of Council in the name of all Members
of the Society.]

HOME OFFICE, WHITEHALL,

March 17, 1936.

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that the Address of Condolence of the Royal Central Asian Society on the death of His late Majesty King George the Fifth has been laid before Queen Mary, whose grateful Thanks I am to convey to you.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

[Signed] R. R. SCOTT.

THE POSITION IN THE FAR EAST*

By E. M. GULL

MAY I begin by saying how very pleasant it is to find oneself back in the bosom of the Royal Central Asian Society. I can assure you that on many occasions while I was travelling my thoughts returned here. When one was sitting in Nanking, listening to the subtropical hum of the electric fan, one's mind conjured up visions. It is pleasant indeed to be back.

After describing his itinerary on the map the lecturer proceeded: My subject is the situation in the Far East. The situation, as I see it, is composed of three situations. There are the Russo-Japanese situation, the Sino-Japanese situation, and the situation in Japan. Of course, in actuality they are not as separable as they are on paper. In fact, if one were dealing with them diagrammatically one would have to draw a sort of genealogical table. The three situations are inseparably related, but for purposes of discussion I think one must approach them separately, and if I am at all successful in my exposition you will see how they are interrelated as I proceed.

To take first the Russo-Japanese situation. Here the main and vital point which I want to bring out is the difference between the situation as it existed a few years ago and as it exists to-day. A few years ago it was possible, I think, to argue that the Japanese were acting upon the defensive. Today, as I see it, one has to come to the conclusion that they are acting on the offensive.

In submitting my reasons for saying that, I would like to remind you of certain points which I made when lecturing before this Society

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society at Burlington House on February 12, 1936, Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN said those who were interested in China did not need even that he should mention the name of the lecturer, who was very well known. Mr. Gull had had an interesting experience. After ten years in England he felt that he was getting a little rusty and went back to China for nine months, travelling all through the country. A great many of the audience were absorbed in Chinese art and were living in China's past history, and it was doubly interesting to those who walked round Burlington House gallery day after day, living in China as it *was*, realizing its old history, to hear something about the China of to-day.

in 1932, just after the Manchurian incident, on March 16. I then made the following points: First, that Japan had a number of rights in Manchuria which were extremely important to her and which the Chinese appeared to her to be side-stepping; secondly, that those rights had been acquired as a result of the war with Russia, who, prior to the war, appeared to be aiming at control over Manchuria; had, in fact, gone a long way towards establishing control and appeared to be aiming at Korea also; thirdly, that accordingly China's forward policy appeared to Japan in the light of a potential reversal of previous decisions; finally, that Japan's interest in Manchuria, regarded from a strategic point of view, was comparable with our interest in Belgium, an interest traceable—and I actually traced it—right back to the sixteenth century. On these various grounds, I say, it was possible in 1932 to regard Japan's action in Manchuria as defensive. I do not say that that was the correct view: I say it was an arguable view.

Can we say the same thing to-day? What light can I throw upon that question as a result of my visit to the Far East? I need not remind you that Jehol had been taken over by Japan before I went out. That happened in 1933. On August 29 of last year I had a very instructive talk with X.* Among the matters discussed was the future of Outer Mongolia. X told me through his interpreter (I do not speak Japanese) that Japan had definitely made up her mind that she had to get rid of Russian suzerainty in Outer Mongolia. The interpreter said—though, of course, I was unable to check the accuracy of his translation—that that determination had been arrived at in contemplation of the possibility, and despite the possibility, of hostilities. Later, on September 7, I had a conversation with Y. I put to Y certain points which I had gathered during my stay in Tokio, whence I had come away convinced of the existence of a new doctrine—viz., that North China was essential to Manchoukuo. I told Y that I had gone over these points with Z, and that he had said to me: "True, there is that doctrine, but if you go away in the belief that it contains anything political and is not purely economic, you will be wrong. I can assure you that you can divest your mind of that idea." Y, after hearing what I had to say, said that, speaking for himself, he must say quite frankly that the doctrine had three elements: it was not only economic, it was also political and strategic. What he meant by calling it economic and political you will see as I go on. His justification for describing it as strategic was in

* The lecturer asked his audience to treat all mention of names confidentially. He indicated that the names were those of persons of importance.

part the fact that Russia was building four railway lines, one from Verkhne Udinsk to Urga, one from Semipalatinsk towards Uliassutai, and two between Semipalatinsk and Tashkent towards Chinese Turkestan. I was furnished with a sketch-map showing these lines in process of construction. He also dwelt upon what he described as the immutability of national policies and aims. He thought that the Russia of to-day was just as ambitious and imperialistic as the Russia of the Czars. I should add also that, in discussing this doctrine that North China is essential to Manchoukuo, I indicated the possibility of south North China becoming necessary to north North China. He said he did not think that constituted any practical difficulty. If such a question arose it would be dealt with in accordance with circumstances. Well, there you have one important Japanese saying it is necessary to turn Russia out of Mongolia, and another indicating that the construction of railway lines by Russia towards Sinkiang made it desirable for Japan to establish strategic control over North China.

Now, can a programme of that kind be termed defensive? It is true that Vladivostock presents a great danger to Japan. It is also true, however, that Russia, only last spring, sold the Chinese Eastern Railway. It is true that all along the Amur River Russia has been strengthening her position very considerably, but, seeing what ideas the Japanese have in their minds, is it not possible to regard such strengthening of her forces as defensive from her point of view? It is true that Russia is advancing towards Sinkiang and that Russian influence is very strong there, but I need hardly call your attention to the enormous distance that separates Sinkiang from Manchoukuo. I think if you take these facts together you will agree with me in the conclusion that, however justifiably we may have described Japan's policy in 1931 as defensive, we can hardly do that to-day. That is the main point I want to bring out in relation to the existing Russo-Japanese situation, which is liable, in my opinion, to lead to hostilities at any time.

To turn now to the Sino-Japanese situation: Here the essential fact is the one described quite correctly by the American Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, "that an effort is being made—and is being resisted—to bring about a substantial change in the political status and condition of several of China's Northern Provinces." What light does my recent visit enable me to throw on that part of the Far Eastern situation?

I referred a few moments ago to my conversation with Y and to the doctrine that North China is essential to Manchoukuo, and to his

remarks as to circumstances having to decide whether south North China was necessary to north North China. On October 2 I had an interview with A, an important Chinese official in North China.

A was quite one of the most attractive of the Chinese in North China at the time of my visit, at least I thought so. He talks English well, for he takes lessons every day. There is something puckish about him, and you would not be surprised if, during his conversation, his hand went stealthily to a drawer out of which he pulled a large piece of plum cake. There is a strong element of the schoolboy in him. He told me that the Japanese had been to him and had said: "You are extremely well placed here. You can take control of the Customs Revenue, the Salt Revenue, and make yourself independent. If you will, we will support you." He said that they had gone to other leading personages in North China with much the same kind of proposition. None of them were willing to take any such step, but he added, very significantly as things have turned out, that if matters got worse, if the pressure increased, it might become necessary to take some kind of collective action with the knowledge and approval of Chiang Kai-shek.

On October 14 there was a conference of military officers in Daren, after which announcements appeared that unless the Chinese Government abandoned its double-faced policy, the Japanese army would take steps to expel all Chinese troops from the five Provinces. I am leaving out deliberately a number of details because there is not time to include them, but I must tell you that throughout these months the Japanese Press and the Press in North China had been full of reports and details of proposed methods of economic co-operation between Japan and China. This Conference of military officers in Daren came after a number of these announcements had appeared.

On September 24 a very remarkable statement was issued by General Tada, who is in command of the Japanese forces in North China. This statement was issued, in the first place at any rate, for the private information of the Japanese Press, and, like many such statements, when it got out, it was denied. It was some time before the text could be obtained, and I did not get a copy of it until a week or so before leaving China in November. It is a very lengthy document, from which I will give you only a very few extracts. "Let us repeat," says this document, "that the basic principle of Japan's policy towards China, based as it is on the Empire's great missions, which consist of the salvation of the world and humanity, is for the salvation of the Chinese people and for the promotion of co-existence and mutual prosperity

between the two countries. . . . In carrying out the above-mentioned policy there is a great force of obstruction. It is the force created by the Kuomintang headquarters and of the régime of Chiang Kai-shek. . . . Chiang Kai-shek has repeatedly proved unfaithful to Japan. The Kuomintang has become the party of Chiang Kai-shek. It is wrong to have the impression that Chiang and the Kuomintang are separated and separable. . . . It may be considered as a vital observation that Chiang Kai-shek will change his attitude when the general situation becomes unfavourable. Such a change would spell submission, which act has the possibility of leaving behind a bad reputation for an indefinite period of time. . . . Therefore the Japanese Empire should act independently and create a paradise for co-existence and mutual prosperity. . . . That paradise will be extended by degrees to such an extent that China will have to change her attitude sincerely or even they (Chiang and his clique) will not be permitted to exist. North China is at present the district where the above-mentioned policy can be most easily and quickly carried out."

That was on September 24. On November 15 the Administrative Commissioner in what is called the demilitarized zone—a zone of 5,000 square miles which Japan insisted on having demilitarized after she had taken Jehol in 1933—issued a telegram urging the establishment of an autonomous régime in North China. The telegram received support from the Japanese, especially on the part of a man whose name you have frequently heard, General Doihara, who is sometimes referred to as the Lawrence of the Far East. Never was a comparison less justified. To begin with, General Doihara talks Chinese abominably. Moreover, little of the dare-devil is apparent in his personality. I should describe him as a moustached Cupid in a bowler hat, with trousers that bag at the knees. He is, nevertheless, the firebrand *par excellence* of the Far East, and wherever he appears you can be pretty certain there will be some kind of trouble. General Doihara, I say, supported Yin Ju-kêng, the Administrative Commissioner of the demilitarized zone. The Japanese army was having manœuvres at the time, and there were quite a lot of Japanese troops at Shanhaikuan. It looked, indeed, for a week or so as though an autonomous area consisting of Shantung, Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, and Shansi was really going to be created. Incidentally I may remark that I had seen C when I passed through Shantung. He was aware of the various intrigues that were going on, and his comment to me was that if the Japanese really thought that they could bring off an autonomy move-

ment in the areas I have just named, all he could say was that they were dreaming. For a week or so, however, the movement looked like coming off.

As you know, it did not. Negotiations which were being carried on in the North suddenly came to an abrupt end. They came to an end upon the instructions, to the best of my knowledge, of Chiang Kai-shek, who was having conversations, I think I am right in saying, with the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Ariyoshi, in Nanking. What the inner story of these negotiations was I do not know, and I doubt if anyone does. The fact remains, however, that instead of a large autonomous area you have to-day only the semi-autonomous area comprising Hopei and Chahar. In other words, as I see these developments, what I had been told might happen had, roughly speaking, come about—namely, collective action was taken by the leading Chinese in the North with the knowledge and the approval of Chiang Kai-shek.

Now, is the situation going to remain thus? Personally I don't think it is. I do not think the Japanese are going to be content with an autonomous area of that kind. It does not give them the scope they need, and recent news has indicated that they intend to work for more. Meanwhile, as you know, they have occupied the greater part of Chahar, which is said to have given them large stores of iron ore. Moreover, as recent telegrams in *The Times* have told you, there are indications that they are working for financial separation between the North and Nanking. Whether these reports are premature or inaccurate I am not in a position to say, or perhaps I should qualify that by saying that up to the present time, as announced by Mr. Eden in the House of Commons, no financial disruption has occurred; revenues are being sent to Nanking.

Now, what are the Chinese going to do? Their attitude is an essential part of the situation. Here you will find great disagreement among foreigners. I, personally, left China believing very strongly that the Chinese have made up their minds, if the Japanese continue their policy, to resist. They have come to the conclusion that, in such circumstances, that is the only thing they can do; that it will be no good trying to arrive at an agreement with Japan, because the kind of agreement she wants would be an overriding agreement that China shall sign on the dotted line whenever requested to do so. This is no piece of platform exaggeration. Those were the terms in which I actually discussed the question myself with one of the most important

of the Chinese. As to the likelihood of the Chinese resisting, a good many people disagree with me. I should make that plain to you. There are people who know China as well as I do who do not believe that that is likely to happen. I can only give it to you as my own strong impression that, if the pressure continues, resistance will be resorted to.

Now, turning to the situation in Japan, what light does that throw upon her policy in China? It throws very considerable light. As you all know, Japan is a poor and a densely populated country, and her policy in China is to no small extent the result of these two facts. I say these two facts, but I want to make it quite clear that I regard as erroneous the statement that density of population is linked with shortage of food supply. That is a view which you will frequently hear expressed and which I myself expressed here in 1932. From researches made since then, however, I do not think it is a tenable view. I will not go into figures unnecessarily because time is passing quickly, and figures are always rather tiresome, but I think they bear me out. At all events they are taken from what will shortly be recognized, if it is not already, as a standard work, one written by a member of the Council of the R.C.A.S., Mr. Hubbard. The present population is 68,000,000 odd, and Mr. Hubbard reckons upon an increase to 78,000,000 odd by 1950. With that population they will require a rice supply of something like 85,000,000 *koku*. He estimates that there will be an available supply of 105,000,000 *koku*, so I do not think, as regards the immediate future at any rate, it is correct to say that Japan's growing population is rendered dangerous by shortage of food supply.

On the other hand, it is necessary for Japan to find employment for this increasing population. It is necessary for her to find fresh employment for something like 200,000 people annually. She can only find this in industrial employment, and if she can find markets for her manufactures. Accordingly, the pressure of Japan on China is to a large extent the expression of a desire to secure an enlarged market there. Her pressure is directed towards establishing such conditions as will assure her of a more reliable and better market than she has enjoyed in the past. Thus she wishes to put a stop to anti-Japanese boycotts and to control the development of China's own industries, and, while she is doing that, her plan is to divert Chinese labour to the production of raw materials.

That is another reason for Japan's pressure upon China, that she

suffers from a shortage of raw materials. Here again there are a number of figures, which I am not going to give you, which illustrate that point very convincingly. Japan needs iron, oil, aluminium, lead, tin, and zinc, and she has to get these things from outside. She can get some of them, so she thinks, from China.

The third group of factors that is affecting, and is partly responsible for, Japan's policy in China comprises in the first place economic depression, especially among the agricultural population. This has had, and is still having, a poor time. For instance, in 1933 the value of the cocoon crop was something like 500,000,000 yen; in 1934 that value had dropped to 198,000,000. The rice crop in 1934 was the worst since 1913. Even among the industrial classes, notwithstanding industrial expansion, there is depression, for the wage-earning classes have not shared in the fruits of expansion. There has been no increase in real wages, and, according to one estimate, money wages have dropped by something like 8 per cent.

Now, as you know, the army is drawn mainly from the agricultural classes. Moreover, as you also know, during the last ten years there has been considerable change in the composition of the officer class, or, rather, in the sources from which that class is drawn. It now comes to a very much greater extent than it did from the middle class and, I think I am right in saying, the lower middle class. So the army tends to reflect the dissatisfaction with economic conditions which exists in the agricultural and industrial sections of the community. Moreover, one has to bear in mind also that just at the time when economic affairs in Japan were at their worst the country appeared to be losing face abroad. In her own estimation she was in 1931 losing prestige both in Manchuria and in Europe. The officer class reflected the sentiments born of that loss of prestige also. Thus you had all sorts of ideas circulating in the Japanese army of an anti-Capitalist and anti-Politician character. In 1931 the army took control and it retains control.

Now, I think these remarks of mine would be left rather in the air, and would have rather an academic character, if I did not endeavour, before concluding, to relate the situation in the Far East to ourselves. For the situation cannot be regarded in a detached way, as though it did not concern us. On the contrary, in my view it concerns us very closely indeed.

Some of you may perhaps have noticed the letter which I had in *The Times* a day or two ago, in which I quoted an extract from my

diary of a conversation with a Foreign Office official in Tokio. That extract read :

While we had interests in China—as had other European countries—Japan's interest was a life and death matter, the more so in view of the exclusion of Japanese from so many parts of the world—Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. It was clear that owing to the widespread nature of her interests Great Britain desired the maintenance of the *status quo*, and the League of Nations was her instrument for achieving this. Japan's attitude towards Britain had passed through three phases: the first was admiration and friendship; the second was friendship crossed by misgiving; and the third—the present phase—was one of suspicion that Great Britain was opposed to the spread of Japanese civilization.

That is a very unsatisfactory feeling for Japan to entertain towards ourselves. I go further: I say that it is a dangerous feeling. We have big interests in the Far East, as you know, considerable interests in North China, more than considerable if we include Shanghai, while in South China we have imperial interests; I refer to Hong Kong.

To what extent is Japanese feeling justifiable? Are we preventing her from getting raw materials? Not directly. Are we placing difficulties in her way in her access to markets? Yes, we are. We have been doing so, as you know, through our system of quotas. Does that constitute an indirect handicap on her acquisition of raw materials? In my view it does, though I qualify it by stating that at the present time the handicap is a small one. That is suggested, I think, by the fact that Japan's total exports are still increasing. Nevertheless, we have recently been following a policy which, the Japanese feel, restricts them, and which in fact does restrict them. Whether we can change that policy or not, whether it is advisable to do so, is a very complex question upon which I shall not enter this evening. All sorts of considerations must be given due and full weight. Not the least is the condition of our own people—in the distressed areas, for instance. It is all very well to think of Japan's difficulties, we have to consider our own. Nevertheless, as between ourselves and Japan, a situation is rapidly developing which is unsatisfactory, to say the least of it, and which in my view, as I said a moment ago, is dangerous; a situation in which Japan looks upon this country as deliberately endeavouring to restrict the spread of her civilization. That is an exaggerated way of expressing the position, but it is the way in which the situation, as seen by Japan, was actually expressed to me.

In conclusion, on that point, perhaps I may refer to a letter which appeared in yesterday's *Times* from Lord Lothian. It was odd that he should have a letter in the same issue as myself on exactly the same point. He said:

The root of the problem does not lie in territorial or colonial exchanges. The urgent need is to make it possible for the so-called suffocated countries to buy foodstuffs and raw materials with their own currencies or by exporting in exchange their own manufactured products in quantities sufficient to make an immediate impression on their domestic unemployment and under conditions which promise a steadily rising standard of living at home in the future. How that is to be done is a matter for scientific economists to advise and for statesmen to propose to their peoples. In this aspect of international peace-making—the aspect which alone promises a general reduction in tension and armament expansion—we are far more likely to enlist the co-operation of the New World than in action which has in it the direct risk of war.

DISCUSSION

Asked whether he thought there was any truth in the stories of a secret understanding between Japan and Germany, the lecturer replied: I am afraid I have no light to throw on that. One has heard the report and cannot but regard it as likely, nor is there any question, of course, that there is a great deal of similarity between the German point of view and activities and the Japanese point of view and Japanese activities.

To a question whether he had been able to form any opinion of the preparedness of Japan for hostilities with Russia in the Outer Mongolian district and the resistance of the Chinese, Mr. Gull said: I can throw more light on the second part than on the first. In regard to the possible resistance of the Chinese I can say that while I was in Nanking I struck up a friendship with one of the German military advisers. He said that a tremendous change had taken place in the spirit of the Chinese army in the past few years, and that in his opinion there was a nucleus of an army which was efficient and could put up a good resistance to the Japanese, though it would depend on the circumstances in which hostilities occurred whether it did or not. As to Japan's intentions vis-à-vis Russia, I am rather in the dark. Unless one starts off with military knowledge, of which I possess none, it is very difficult from a journey such as I made to gather any concrete information. One can say, however, that the Japanese at the present time are quite

astonishingly confident. Presumably their confidence is based on something, for the Japanese are not fools. They are amazingly confident at the present time and they know the risks they are running. If it is part of their policy to get rid of Russian suzerainty in Outer Mongolia they have presumably measured their risk in military terms.

Asked whether it was fair to say that the Japanese were spoiling for a fight with the Soviet, Mr. Gull replied: Not merely for a fight. As to whether they would fight to get rid of the Russians, he said: I think they are planning to get rid of Russian suzerainty in Outer Mongolia, and I do not see how that can be done without hostilities.

Lt.-Col. H. ST. CLAIR SMALLWOOD: It has been suggested that Japan could take on China and Russia simultaneously. A book has recently been published which says that she must fight Britain. There you have four countries, with, possibly, a war with America as well. Can Mr. Gull tell us, first, whether the financial situation is such that she could take on all these military adventures, and, secondly, whether there is in Japan any body of opinion opposed to the military opinion of which we hear so much? I have spoken with Japanese civilians who are convinced that the military opinion will not long control the policy of Japan.

Mr. GULL: There may come a time, if the army is so extravagantly confident as to take on Russia, China, the United States, and ourselves, when Japan will get the worst of it. In such circumstances, of course, the present control of the army over the situation would soon come to an end, but unless they mismanage things very badly, they will not work things out quite in that way. As to the comparative strength of the civilian element in Japanese affairs, all I can say from personal experience is that I did not meet any expression of disapproval of what the army is doing. That does not prove that there is none. One hears, on the contrary, that there is. In the question of finance we strike what I think everybody regards as, I will not say a mystery, but a situation which nobody has satisfactorily explained as far as I know. Consider the figures. The most optimistic estimate of revenue for 1936-37 is 1,500,000,000 yen. The estimated cost of the army and navy is 1,300,000,000 yen. Naval and military expenditure is 46 per cent. of total expenditure and 70 per cent. of the revenue apart from loans. Can that go on? We have been saying for years past that it could not, but it does.

Mr. W. R. TAYLOR: On the point of who is in control in Japan, I was told that one very sure indication is to watch the marriages and

see whom the women are marrying. Since 1931 the popularity of officers has been very high and it shows no sign whatever of going down. As for the restrictions on China, I entirely agree that many of the Chinese have come to the conclusion that at a certain indefinite point they must resist. I have spent three years in Nanking and have some memory of the long Civil War between the National Government and the Communists. Many people in Nanking are of opinion that the Nanking Government could not fight Japan, because if it did the Communists would come in from the west. The Government say the Communists have 100,000 troops, and a Communist who had just come out of prison told me they had 500,000. You can take which figure you like. If China declared war on Japan, the first thing Japan would do would be to block the ports and seize the strategic railways. There would be an immediate collapse of the Chinese financial system and you would have wandering soldiery with nothing to pay them with. That is wonderful material for Communism. Does Mr. Gull consider the Communist question one of the very important points in the affairs he has been discussing?

Mr. GULL: It is undoubtedly an important aspect of the situation in China, but in relation to the possibility of resistance by the Chinese I am less sure. It is my opinion that the Communist menace would disappear in the event of hostilities. That is a bold thing to say, and I may be wrong. But North China has been solidified and unified to an amazing extent by the anti-Japanese agitation, and I do not believe the Communists—who after all are not Communists on any sort of idealistic basis but by force of circumstances—would be governed by anything except anti-Japanese feeling. Of course Japan would seize the ports, but it does not follow that the Chinese have not thought things out on those lines. Their resistance would probably be along the line of the Lang-Hai railway, with headquarters, perhaps, on the Yangtze, the aim being to keep open three routes of access to the outer world. The Chinese do not want hostilities, naturally, and will avoid it if they possibly can. All I want to emphasize is that in my opinion they will resist the Japanese if the Japanese continue to press as they have done hitherto.

CANTONISATION: A PLAN FOR PALESTINE

By ARCHER CUST

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on March 4, 1936, the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E, D.S.O., in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think that there is a matter of no greater importance at the present moment than the future of Palestine, especially when one considers the position in the Mediterranean. We are very fortunate in having Mr. Cust, who is going to give us one possible solution of the Palestine problem. It sounds an ambitious thing to attempt, but Mr. Archer Cust has at least the excuse for his temerity that he is exceptionally qualified by long residence in and deep interest and knowledge of, the country of which he is going to speak. His experience commenced at the beginning of the Palestine campaign. He was appointed under the capable leadership of Sir Ronald Storrs at the end of the war. Mr. Cust subsequently served in every district of Palestine during the twelve or thirteen years during which he was there. He was *aide-de-camp* to Sir Herbert Samuel; he was also private secretary to Sir John Chancellor, and he was Acting District Commissioner in Jerusalem during some of the most difficult times right up to the riots in 1929. Therefore, whatever you or I may conclude after hearing his paper, at any rate no one of us will doubt his qualifications to speak to us, or be anything but very grateful to him when we have heard him. I will now call upon Mr. Archer Cust to speak.

THE political future of Palestine is a problem inherited by Great Britain as a legacy of the World War that so far has defied solution. At the termination of hostilities the Middle East lay at Great Britain's feet. Egypt was under a Protectorate, and practically the whole of the non-Turkish provinces of the Sultan were in the occupation of the victorious armies of the Empire. General Allenby commanded from the frontier of Uganda to the Taurus Mountains and as far east into the Arabian Desert as he wished. There was not a Turkish soldier unaccounted for in the Mesopotamian and Syrian

vilayets. Constantinople and the Caucasus were occupied by General Milne's divisions; Persia was in a state of vassalage. In the two decades since then much water has flown down the Nile. Turkey and Persia have had their national resurgence under Mustapha Kemal and Riza Shah; Ibn Saud has consolidated his position in the Arabian Peninsula; Egypt, subject to certain restrictions, is an independent Monarchy; 'Iraq is a Member of the League of Nations; Trans-Jordan is a semi-independent Arab Emirate; Syria has made some advance along the road of constitutional reform. Only in Palestine, by reason principally of the Zionist complication, has so far no progress towards a solution of the political problem been possible, and Great Britain, in defiance of all her principles of Empire, can only govern by the power of preponderating armed force.

An attempt is now to be made to establish a Legislative Council to be composed of twenty-eight members, partly elected and partly nominated. Of the elected members, twelve in all, nine will be Arabs and three Jews, and of the nominated, five Arabs and four Jews, with five official and two non-official members to represent commercial interests.

These proposals are being fiercely attacked by all the representative Jewish bodies for the principal reason that the distribution of seats, reflecting as it does the fact that the Arabs are still the majority in the country by about four to one, would officially relegate the Jews in their National Home to the status of a minority community. They are not prepared to consider any Council in which their representation does not equal that of the Arabs. On their side the Arabs are dissatisfied with its constitution, which they suspect is designed to perpetuate a system of Crown Colony government in their country, and which gives them so little say in the vital questions of land sales and immigration.

The prospects for the success of these proposals are thus not bright, and it therefore becomes important to consider whether any practical alternative is available. That is the purpose of this paper.

It is well to reconstruct first the background of the country's history, because of Palestine it is particularly true to say that a clear understanding of the past is essential for an intelligent appreciation of the present.

Jerusalem fell before the armies of the Romans under Titus in A.D. 70, when the great Diaspora took place. The Jewish kingdom lost its identity in the Roman province of Syria, and the Jewish political connection with their homeland was brought to an end.

The Dark Ages then crept over the civilized world, and there is

little light shed on the history of the Holy Land until the establishment of Christianity by the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century. The Persians, we know, invaded the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean at the beginning of the seventh century, sacking the Byzantine towns and destroying the churches with which Constantine had enshrined the sites connected with the life on earth of Jesus Christ. In 637 Jerusalem fell once more, this time to the Arab hosts of Islam under the Caliph Omar, after the decisive battle of the Yarmuk, when the armies of the Emperor Heraclius, blinded by the dust-storms that blew in their faces from the parched foot-hills of the Jordan, were scattered. The eleventh and the thirteenth centuries saw the Crusades, perhaps the most amazing, certainly the most romantic, episode in the history of the Middle Ages, but the Moslem domination, that had already existed for five centuries, was quickly reasserted. Thus from early in the seventh century, apart from this brief interruption, whether borne by the Prophet's successors, by the Mameluke Sultans from Egypt, or by the Turkish Pashas, the Crescent waved unchallenged over the Land of the Law and the Cross.

All this time small communities of Jews had preserved themselves in their old home-land, in particular in their holy cities of Safed and Tiberius, studying their Law and lamenting their race's glorious past before the Wailing Wall. But for centuries Palestine passes out of history. It is hard to imagine the dense veil that closed over the countries of the Mediterranean whilst they lay under the stagnant rule of the Soldan. The first shaft that pierced the gloom, and, as it were, brought the lands of the Bible back on to the map of the world, was the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon, when the Pyramids, that had been well known to Herodotus but for centuries are not mentioned in history or literature, were rediscovered, and Acre, before whose walls the armies of Cœur de Lion and Saladin had massacred each other, was again the scene of a famous siege. In Europe at the same epoch the French Revolution had undermined the last entrenchments of Mediævalism, and one of the results of the Age of the Goddess of Reason was the beginning of Jewish emancipation. The same period, too, saw the rise of the House of Rothschild, which in the financial support that it gave to the British Government played an important part in Napoleon's final overthrow. We have thus coincident the re-emergence of Palestine out of the gloom of its protracted night, and the revival of the Jewish spirit in the wake of the great liberalizing movements that were transforming Western Europe; and, as the world

awoke, the Jewish Diaspora began to direct their eyes towards the land of their fathers. So the earliest attempts among the Jews to drift back and strengthen the remnant communities in Palestine began: and in this country particularly, where the house of Rothschild was already honoured and where Disraeli was bringing the name of Jew into prominence as author and as rising statesman, interest began to be awakened in the historic connection of the Jew and his homeland. Two factors accelerated this movement. First the visits to Palestine of a great London citizen, Sir Moses Montefiore, and secondly the rousing of British opinion in the internal affairs of the Syrian provinces of the Turkish Empire that was occasioned by the Christian massacres in Damascus in the sixties and the French "Drang nach Osten" under Napoleon III. Mention may also be made of the visit to Jerusalem of King Edward VII. when Prince of Wales in 1860, when he was accompanied as Chaplain by Stanley, the historian of the Jewish Church and future Dean of Westminster. Thus, by the middle of the last century, there was in this country a growing sympathy for the return of the Jews to their native land; indeed, while Imperial France took up the mantle of the Most Christian King as the protector of the Christians in the Turkish Empire, so the Government of Queen Victoria came to regard itself as the protector of the Jewish minorities in Palestine. The rate of immigration was greatly accelerated in the seventies and eighties as the result of the persecutions in Russia. That time also saw the foundation of the first Zionist association, "Chovevei Zion"—the Lovers of Zion, and the inauguration of the earliest Jewish colonies through the munificent charity of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. So that when Hertzl, the Viennese journalist, stung by the injustice committed on his race in the Dreyfus case, convened the first Zionist Congress at Basle in 1897, and confronted the world with the claim that the historic connection of the Jewish race with the land of Israel should be legally recognized, his faith fell on ground that was already well prepared.

None of these developments, however, affected the lives of the native Arabs in Palestine. They saw the Jewish colonies springing up here and there, usually in the most inhospitable and derelict surroundings. As these were mostly of the plantation type, they found ready employment in their olive-groves and vineyards. So they welcomed them, especially as the earlier Jewish agricultural settlers were at pains to adapt themselves to the character and customs of the country. Of political Zionism the Arabs had not the slightest suspicion.

So we come to the Great War, and the throwing in by Turkey of her lot with the Central Powers. It soon became clear that a cardinal element in the Germano-Turkish strategy would be to attempt to cut the life-line of the British Empire, the Suez Canal, and in 1915, in pursuit of this objective, they succeeded, after accomplishing a desert march that will be held by the future military historian as one of the most remarkable tactical exploits in the war, in reaching the bank, and for a few hours the Empire's main artery was cut. This brought home to Great Britain that at all costs this threat must once and for all be removed and that this could not be assured by defending the Canal on its banks, but by carrying the line of battle far away up to the north. Here we were only following the strategic principles of the Pharaohs of old. So the Palestine campaign, originally intended to relieve the threat to the Suez Canal, became one of the major operations for the wearing down of the Central Powers' resistance. The world of Jewry was watching. What would happen to this land, their Land of Israel, to which their thoughts had never ceased to turn throughout all the centuries of exile and persecution, when the Turkish dominion would be at an end? Was it not a Heaven-sent opportunity to get Hertzl's great ideal converted into a reality? The occasion came in 1917. The fortunes of the Allies were at a low ebb. Great Britain's principal army was stuck in the Passchendaele mud; the French armies were still immobilized by the widespread mutinies that followed the disastrous Nivelle offensive; Russia was slipping out of the war; Italy was staggering under the blow of Caporetto; the U-boats were not yet mastered. Clearly an end to the war could not be seen, unless the U.S.A., with its vast monetary resources, largely Jewish controlled, and its immense reserves of men and material, could be brought into the alliance against the Central Powers. Great Britain and her Allies wanted the sinews of war; Jewry wanted a promise; both attained their purposes in the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917.

From what I have related Jewish ambitions in Palestine would seem to have been running along an easy course towards an assured goal. In circles far beyond those of Jewry itself the return of the Jews to the Land of Israel was hailed with enthusiasm in the light both of fulfilment of prophecy and of reparation for the wrongs inflicted on the Jewish race. Moreover, the slogan of the early Zionists, "A people without a land to a land without a people," was firmly believed in. Few gave any thought to the fact that in Palestine there was already a developing native population; indeed the true state of the country

could not be understood, seeing that at the time of the Balfour Declaration it had not yet been occupied by the British forces. The framers of the Declaration, however, knew better. Whereas the Turkish Empire of the 1850's differed little from that of Suliman the Magnificent, the liberalizing and modernizing developments that were so pronounced everywhere in the Mediterranean countries in the latter half of the century had not failed to have a profound effect on the Sultan's Syrian provinces. Partly for religious and philanthropic reasons, but as much for political motives, the Empires of the West and of Russia had covered the sacred soil with schools, churches, hospices, hospitals. Public security advanced enormously. Railways and roads were built, and for the first time, perhaps, since Roman days the native population were introduced to the elements of a civilized life. Moreover, a degree of local autonomy, as, for instance, in the shape of municipal councils, had been accorded, and when the Constitution came into being under the Young Turk in 1908 the Arab provinces duly sent their representatives to the Parliament at the Porte. Thus the prevalent idea that Palestine and its inhabitants were still in Abrahamic conditions of existence was completely false. There were still indeed the feudal barons, the Muftis and the Cadis and the Sheikhs, but there had already emerged an active and intelligent native class of officials, commercial employees and the like, who had received a modern education in the foreign missionary establishments. This, however, those who mattered understood; so the original claim of the Jews that Palestine should be restored to them as the home of their nation was not acceded to, but the British Government confined itself to stating that it viewed with favour the establishment *in* Palestine of a National Home for the Jews, and would use its best endeavours to that end, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. Of course the Arabs were not consulted over the matter—indeed, they could not be as they were still the subjects of a belligerent enemy power. The Balfour Declaration was textually incorporated in the preamble to the Mandate, which was finally approved by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24, 1922, and the different articles in the Mandate are expressed to carry into effect the principles that the Declaration enunciates.

The Balfour Declaration thus contained a twofold obligation, and the whole difficulty of the Zionist problem has been the balancing of the positive promise as to the establishment of a National Home with the limiting proviso regarding the non-Jewish population.

I have drawn the historical background because I wanted to try and bring out the salient factors and forces which have gone to create so acute and so baffling a controversy. We have seen how for eighteen centuries the Jews were, politically speaking, completely cut off from their homeland, though a "remnant" had remained; how since the seventh century the Arab has lived there, and apart from the turbulent episode of the Crusades, Islam had without challenge been the dominating force; how in the last century the century-old idea of the return of the Jews was awakened and was advanced with enthusiasm not only in Jewry but also in Western Europe, notably in this country; how that conception was not even dimly comprehended in Palestine itself; and how the Arab population of the country had progressed no mean way along the road of culture and civilization. Had Napoleon undertaken to restore the Jews to Palestine, his course would have been easy; the British Government found themselves a century too late.

I will now very briefly sketch the course of events since the British occupation. The Arabs welcomed the British troops as liberators rather than conquerors. The news that Great Britain was pledged to the policy of Zionism came as an unbelievable shock to them, and they soon gave evidence of their bitter resentment at what they considered the spoliation of their homeland for the benefit of a race of aliens, and of all people, to their way of thinking, for the Jews. While Moslem and Christian had slaughtered each other down the centuries, there had never been any such conflict between Moslem and Jew, but that Jews should have any pretensions to political power in an Arab country, and most of all in a land that was sacred to both the Moslem and the Christian religions, was unthinkable. Thus they settled down to uncompromising opposition to Zionism, regarding it as fundamentally unjust that the Jews could have any claim to political rights in a land from which they were expelled some six centuries before the Moslem conquest; furthermore, they held the policy of Zionism to be in complete conflict with the promises that had been made to their leaders at the time of the Arab Revolt in the Great War and to the principles of self-determination which they were told inspired the policy of the victorious powers. So the years of hatred, suspicion, frustration and inevitable repression that have sullied and scared the Holy Land since the British occupation began. Bloodshed there has been on five occasions, in Jerusalem in 1920 and 1922, in Jaffa in 1921 and 1933, and the terrible country-wide riots in 1929, when the horrors that the best friends of the Arabs cannot attempt to excuse of Hebron and

Safed occurred. To-day only the presence of a tremendous British force prevents a ghastly civil war breaking out again.

It is unnecessary for our purpose to recount in any detail the history of the country under the High Commissionerships of Sir Herbert Samuel, Lord Plumer and Sir John Chancellor. Sir Herbert Samuel's period of office was a period of Stabilization, when the country was tamed and the foundations of a modern system of Government well and truly laid. Lord Plumer's term was a period of Consolidation, when the impetus of the Zionist movement, largely on account of grave economic difficulties, appreciably slowed up, and the anxiety of the Arabs was thus proportionately allayed. Sir Herbert Samuel, in 1922, acting upon the policy enunciated in the White Paper of that year, had attempted to establish a Legislative Council. The Arabs refused to participate in the elections for the principal reason that thereby, in their view, they would be condoning the Zionist policy. Lord Plumer definitely discouraged any move to introduce constitutional reform, and it was left to Sir John Chancellor to pave the way for another attempt. Considerable success attended his preparatory efforts, greatly due to his own personality, backed by his wealth of experience as a colonial administrator, but he committed the one fatal crime—he was unlucky. The favourable atmosphere he had succeeded in bringing about was utterly dispelled by the 1929 outbreak, which took place when he himself was on leave, and the immediate seeds of which—the unfortunate Wailing Wall incident on the Day of Atonement, 1928—were sown before he ever set foot in the country. Two other political moves during this period must be referred to. In 1922, as a measure designed to satisfy the promises made to our Arab allies during the Great War, the Emir Abdullah was confirmed in his position as a semi-independent monarch in the Trans-Jordan segment of the Mandate, which area under a Memorandum adopted by the League of Nations was specifically excluded from the Zionist provisions of the Mandate. And the White Paper of 1930, and the interpretative letter of the Prime Minister to Dr. Weizmann, which followed the report of the Parliamentary Commission of the Disturbances in 1929, solemnly repeated the fact that the British Government regarded the two obligations of the Mandate, the establishment of the Jewish National Home on the one hand and the protection of the Arab communities on the other, as of equal weight. The promise given by the Prime Minister to the Arab Delegation that visited England at that time, that the Mandatory intended to take immediate steps to set up a Legislative

Council, was also confirmed. It is that promise—after six years now—that the Government is attempting to implement.

We saw at the beginning that the prospects for the success of the proposed measure are not encouraging. There may still be prevalent the conception of the upbuilding of a future Palestinian national unit, grown up from the fusion or the semi-fusion of the two long-separated branches of the Semitic family and imbued with a common Palestinian patriotism. But there is no Jew so Jewish as the Jew in the Land of Israel. He considers himself the élite of his kind, and rightly so. His whole outlook is Western. Similarly, and no less rightly, the Arab remains an Oriental, and regards himself as a member of the great Arab race whose past was so glorious. Would it not be better to recognize—indeed, to encourage—such natural sentiments, and, provided no statutory obligation is transgressed and physical conditions allow, to give to each section of the population its own area in which to live and develop along its own lines, instead of trying to superimpose one upon the other and force them along together within the constricted framework of a form of Crown Colony administration? This is the purpose behind the Cantonisation Scheme which I will now proceed to put before you, as a suggested practical alternative to the proposals that have recently been published.

First, let us recapitulate what are the various obligations that have been laid upon the Mandatory. They are six :

1. The fundamental obligation contained in Article XXII. of the League of Nations Covenant to educate the people of the country in the way of self-government until they can stand alone.

2. The establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jews.

3. The safeguarding of the civil and religious rights and position of the non-Jewish population.

4. A semi-independent Arab state in Trans-Jordan and the non-application of the Zionist provisions of the Mandate to that area.

5. The Custodianship of the Holy Places.

6. The strategic and commercial interests of the British Empire.

Let us now analyze these obligations. Firstly, what is meant by a National Home for the Jews? Books have been written on the meaning of these six words. I am going to put a definition before you in the words of one than whom there can be no better judge, Sir Herbert Samuel, the first High Commissioner, himself a leading Zionist Jew, whom the Zionist Organization regarded as their nominee. "The Jewish National Home," he said during his term of office in 1921,

“should possess national characteristics—in languages and customs, in intellectual interests, in religious and political institutions.” Again he said—all this can be read in the Palestine Handbook—“ . . . the Jews should be able to found in Palestine their home and that some of them, within the limits fixed by the numbers and interests of the present population, should come to Palestine in order to help by their resources and efforts to develop the country to the advantage of all its inhabitants.” And again: “. . . in a word, the degree to which the Jewish national aspirations can be fulfilled in Palestine is conditioned by the rights of the present inhabitants.”

These words were indeed written fifteen years ago now, but nothing that has happened, and indeed is happening, in the world since that time can affect the principle that characterizes that definition—the principle to which the British Government has time and again made it clear it is determined to adhere.

Now we have the rights of the present inhabitants—*i.e.*, the Arabs—which must condition the fulfilment of Jewish aspirations. Revisionism, the right wing of Zionism, talks unashamedly of squeezing the Arabs out by buying up their land and by economic pressure—there are vast Arab lands elsewhere, so let them go there! This is not treating the two undertakings as of equal weight.

Official Zionism has set its face against any form of Legislative Council until they and the Arabs have agreed as to its pre-requisites—which under present circumstances puts the matter off to an indefinite future. But the Mandate enjoins the development of self-governing institutions, and manifestly it would be the negation of justice to withhold from the Arabs the elementary right of representation at the behest of one section of the community, that section, moreover, which, even with the present rate of immigration and assuming the economic prosperity persists, must remain numerically the inferior for some years as yet, having regard to the large natural increase among the indigenous population. So, as the British Government and the High Commissioner realize, an attempt at constitutional reform cannot be longer delayed. Here is one right of the Arabs that must condition the fulfilment of Jewish aspirations.

Then there is the burning question of land purchases. Here it will be well to make a reference to the much criticized Hope Simpson Report. In 1930, Sir John Hope Simpson, a distinguished retired Indian Civil Servant with long experience in land settlement, who was at the time engaged in the settlement of Greek refugees from Anatolia

in Macedonia, after a painstaking enquiry at the request of His Majesty's Government, advised that no further *agricultural* land should be allowed to pass out of the hands of the indigenous population, as the cultivable land available was already insufficient for the proper livelihood of the Arab peasantry, who were even then suffering from congestion, quite apart from the natural increases in population that would occur in the future. He described how the land that passed into Jewish ownership became as it were extra-territorial from the point of view of the Arabs, due to the quite logical prescription of the Jewish colonizing agencies that only Jews should be employed on land bought by the subscriptions of Jewry as a whole, and gave the view that if the sale of land was not restricted, it would amount to a violation of Article 6 of the Mandate under which the Mandatory is required to ensure that the rights and position of the non-Jewish section of the population are not prejudiced. Sir John's conclusions and calculations were welcomed by the Arabs and bitterly assailed by the Jews, but his estimate of the amount of cultivable land available has subsequently received substantial official confirmation.

In disproof of Sir John Hope Simpson's calculations, it is contended that during the last four years some 200,000 Jews have immigrated into the country. Sir John, however, only advised a proscription on the transfer of *agricultural* land, and the latest Jewish statistics show that of that 200,000, nearly three-quarters have settled in the towns, in Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem. But this is no evidence that what Sir John pointed out would become a violation of the spirit of the Mandate has not occurred. It seems hard to believe that so eminent a Government expert, who was subsequently sent out for flood-relief works in China and who is now one of the Newfoundland Commissioners, should have been so uniquely wrong about conditions in Palestine.

Since Sir John Hope Simpson wrote his report, land purchases have proceeded unchecked, so that the bulk of the best land—that is to say, the land in the plains—is now in Jewish ownership. And purchases by them have now begun to be made in the hill districts. That it is realized something must be done to preserve a modicum of a subsistence area for the Arab peasantry is shown by the recent decision, much opposed by the Jews, to introduce protective legislation on the lines of the Egyptian five-feddan law. The trouble, though, is that it is never difficult to turn the corners of such legislation, as was proved in the case of previous similar attempts. So in the matter of

land there is another right of the Arabs of which account must be taken by the Mandatory.

As to the obligation regarding the non-application of the Zionist provisions of the Mandate to Trans-Jordan, here the Mandatory is not a free agent—it is a League decision that it is applying. So, whatever the Jews may feel about their exclusion from the lands of Moab and Gilead, they must accept that they have no political standing in that territory whatsoever.

As regards the Holy Places, Jerusalem and Bethlehem are world possessions. It is inconceivable that Christianity would ever again surrender the shrines of the Resurrection or of the Nativity, or that anything could be done to affect Moslem ownership of the Haram ash-Sharif, the third most sacred Mosque in Islam. Here, therefore, in any political solution some special arrangement will have to be made.

As to the strategic and commercial interests of the British Empire, the Port and oil area of Haifa, the terminus of the desert pipe-line from 'Iraq, have now become vital elements in our Imperial communications and strategy, as present events are showing only too clearly. Here again much more than purely local considerations are involved. All these matters must be taken into account in a Cantonisation scheme.

Now having dealt with the obligations laid upon the Mandatory, let us consider the physical conditions of the country: for a scheme such as I am describing would obviously be impracticable if the two peoples were generally intermingled. Palestine is a land of rich valleys and rocky hills, the coastal plains of Sharon and Acre, the great plain of Jezreel, and the Huleh Basin in the north, while the hills of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea form the backbone of the country. The Jordan valley and the Dead Sea, of course, divide Palestine proper from Trans-Jordan.

In 1925, a Joint Survey Commission, under Sir John Campbell and Professor Elwood Mead, visited Palestine under the auspices of the Zionist Organization to report on the conditions, actual and potential, of agricultural settlement and development. The Commission formed the definite conclusion that the Jews should not attempt to establish settlements in the hill districts as it was there impossible for them to introduce a system of agriculture in the intensive form that was essential to their standard of living. Here is indeed a clear pointer—the hills for the Arabs and the plains for the Jews. The Jewish Colonization Agencies have been guided by that principle, so that it has come about

that Palestine is in effect "Cantonised" already. A glance at the map will show how the Jewish settlements are grouped in roughly homogeneous units, following certain well-defined geographical features. They stretch right up the coastal plain from Tel-Aviv to Athlit, a short distance below Haifa, and into the plain of Acre beyond. To the eastward, the extensive settlements of the Emek form a rough narrow parallelogram stretching from near Haifa to Beisan. In the north-east there are the settlements round the Lake of Tiberias and in the Huleh Basin, now reinforced by the acquisition of the drainage concession. South of Jaffa are the old colonies in or in the neighbourhood of the Wadi Hunein. Apart from these there are only a few isolated and old-established settlements, principally in the Jerusalem district, though Jewish penetration is now evincing itself in the Galilee hills and in the far south in the Hebron and Beersheba districts.

The essence of the Cantonisation scheme is that areas should be officially defined within which Jewish acquisition of land and close settlement would be permitted and encouraged in discharge of the positive obligation under the Mandate regarding the National Home, and without which the land would be reserved for the needs of the indigenous population.

A delimitation of Arab and Jewish "Cantons" on the basis of the existing distribution of these two peoples would in principle, as we have seen, be easy, although the Druze area and the Nazareth district would constitute a detached Arab area in the north and the Wadi Hunein, cut off by the Ramleh-Lydda corridor to Jaffa, a Jewish island in the south.

It could be arranged that all the essentially Arab centres—*i.e.*, Nablus, still retaining traces of the Moslem fanaticism for which it used to be notorious; Gaza, the birthplace of the Imam Shafi'; Hebron, containing the second most sacred mosque in Islam that encloses the burial place of the patriarchs in the Cave of Machpelah; and Acre, previously the seat of the Turkish Pasha—should fall within the Arab sphere, while the Jewish Holy Cities of Safed and Tiberias, where the Mishna and Kabbala were compiled, would be included in the Jewish area in the north. The capital of the Jewish Canton, the National Home, would be Tel-Aviv.

Of the three principal towns, Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa-Tel-Aviv, the last would cause no difficulty as the Arab and Jewish sections of the combined city are already from the point of view of local administration entirely distinct. In fact, the scheme now enunciated is in reality an extension and elaboration of the principles that have been followed

for the municipal administration of Jaffa and Tel-Aviv, the former an Arab-speaking Eastern town, based on a traditional social and administrative system, and the other a Hebrew-speaking town on most modern lines, whose organization is constructed upon a completely different foundation. For reasons already indicated, Jerusalem, the religious metropolis of the world, and Bethlehem, and the Port and oil area at Haifa would be excluded and reserved to direct administration by the Mandatory. Possibly the Jerusalem reserved "enclave" might include Jericho and the Dead Sea potash deposits as well.

Special arrangements would have to be made for the Beersheba district. This immense triangle of country stretching from Gaza across north of Beersheba to the Wadi Araba, and then down to Akaba and up again along the Egyptian frontier, is at present nearly all desert, and its only inhabitants are a few Beduin tribes. Could water be found here in proper quantities the opportunities for settlement would be almost unlimited. It could be provided that an area in which water adequate for intensive agriculture had been found might be added to the National Home unless administratively too inconvenient.

Definition of Arab and Jewish areas would not involve any expropriation or forcible change of proprietorship. There would be no compulsion placed on the Arab owners of properties falling within the Jewish sphere to sell their holdings, nor would there be any objection to Jews residing or being employed in the Arab sphere, or *vice versa*. But in the Jewish areas the local law and language would be Jewish, and in the Arab areas, Arabic for all.

The effect of the policy would be to assign for the establishment of the Jewish National Home almost all those districts in which alone do conditions exist under which that historic ideal can find accomplishment, and to preserve the position of the Arab agricultural community in the areas outside. A criticism of these proposals that will readily occur is that, although the Arabs would be secured in their properties in the denuded and low cultivation hill districts, such fertile and productive tracts as remain available to them elsewhere would be certain to suffer still further contraction. The Jews would obtain all the best land and the Arabs would be cooped up in the hills, where their congestion would become worse and worse. This very comprehensible criticism would be met by the abolition of the unnatural and irritating Jordan frontier and the linking up of the Arab areas of the west side of the river with the State that now comprises the eastern segment of the Mandated Territory. These combined areas would provide the

Arabs of the whole Mandated Territory with a homeland that would give adequate scope for the healthy development of their national and economic life to which they are entitled, for the free intercourse between the rich and extensive lands of Trans-Jordan where population and development are both needed and the congested area opposite, that is now impeded owing to political suspicions, would be restored.

It would probably be found convenient under such a scheme that the capital and Court of the consolidated Arab Canton should be moved over from the isolated and recently derelict Circassian settlement of Amman, where they are at present pointlessly and expensively located, to the historic political and administrative centre of Nablus.

Cantonization would imply the codification on an established political basis of a condition of affairs that has already largely come into being by natural processes. Under it His Majesty's Government could with full justice say that they are carrying out all the obligations that have been laid upon them as Mandatory for Palestine, if not as completely as the most vocal protagonists of the different causes would wish, at all events as far as circumstances permit. Once the dominant political issue has been settled, and in this respect both Jews and Arabs know where they stand, then it will be possible for the Mandatory to proceed with full confidence with the development of self-governing institutions and the encouragement of local autonomy that the Mandate enjoins, and to delegate to the two sections of the population the widest measure of independence in the management of their own affairs. Under such a system the principles of the Organic Law that is at present applied in Trans-Jordan could be adapted to cover the Cis-Jordan Arab districts as well, and side by side with the autonomous Arab Administration would be set up a Jewish Assembly—the historic title Sanhedrin might be revived—under a "President" to administer under a similar Constitutional instrument the Jewish National Home.

The reserved areas of Jerusalem and Haifa would remain both municipally and administratively under the direct control of Commissioners appointed by the High Commissioner. The Canton Administrations would send representatives to a Central Legislature or Council of State, presided over by the High Commissioner, in Jerusalem, and on which would sit ex-officio the British Commissioners of Jerusalem and Haifa and such other official members as might be determined. The position of the Emir Abdullah, and similarly of the "President" of the Jewish National Home, in relation to the Council of State would

require to be regulated and the legal and financial relationships between the Central Government and the Canton Administrations would need to be carefully worked out, but comparison with the various Federal systems elsewhere should render these matters not unduly difficult.

The main purpose, in any event, should be to accord to the Canton Administrations as much legislative and executive authority as possible, and to replace direct government by the Mandatory, that fosters nationalist excesses, by a supervisory and inspectorial system. The Mandatory would need to retain full control over certain state services such as Defence, Customs, Passports, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Antiquities, and would continue to collect the receipts on their account; but the full authority in such departments as General Administration, Local Public Health and Public Works, and Education would be delegated to the autonomous administrations, who would at the same time assume responsibility for the collection of local revenues. To begin with, it would probably be found necessary to introduce safeguards in the way of a strong cadre of inspectors, or by requiring the appointment of British officials to certain key posts, as is the case in the more important municipalities in Palestine at the present time. In the same way the British Resident at the Court of the Emir Abdullah might be maintained, and it might be found advisable to create a similar appointment to supervise and assist the administration of the Jewish National Home.

The matter of immigration, which is now such a bone of contention between the Mandatory and the Zionist authorities, would largely settle itself, as the Jewish administration would have the authority to admit, and would be responsible for the maintenance of, as many immigrants as they wished into the areas under their control. It would only rest with the Mandatory to retain sufficient power to ensure that the rate of immigration did not approach the economically absurd and thus become a potential source of danger to neighbouring territories.

It is unnecessary to add that a solution of the political problem of the country would secure a vast saving in administrative costs, as much of the immense expenditure—now some million pounds a year, or not far off a pound a head for every Arab man, woman, and child in the whole territory on both sides of the Jordan—that under the present circumstances has to be voted from Palestine funds alone on police and defence would no longer be necessary.

How would such an evolution appeal to the Arabs and to the Jews? The Arabs, feeling at last secure that they would not be exposed any

more to the danger of being bought out of the remainder of their country, and seeing the desired opportunities for effective responsibility in the governance of their country now opened to them, would assuredly regard the scheme with favour as at least a great advance on the present position. In certain Jewish circles, however, it is to be anticipated that there would be opposition on the ground that His Majesty's Government were attempting to crystallize the Jewish National Home in a manner that was not consistent with the promise which was made to the Jewish people as a whole, and that such a measure would tend to dry up the flow of Jewish capital to Palestine. To this the reply would be that as the Jews wish to live so they must let live; that they are being offered the opportunity of colonization and settlement in practically all the available areas where on their own showing it is possible for them to live and prosper; that the Jewish National Home must not expect to depend indefinitely on subscriptions from outside sources; and, furthermore, that a basis is being founded on which a real National Home can be constructed, a home where the land is the unalienable possession of the Jewish people, where Hebrew is the only national tongue, and where they would be able to exercise the fullest possible degree of autonomous self-government, subject only to the sovereign control of the Mandatory Government through its representative, the High Commissioner. No such degree of national character could ever be approached with the continuance of government on the lines of the administration of to-day. Moreover, the stabilization of the political situation and the allaying of bitterness and suspicion would, it could reasonably be hoped, before long open to them the vast territories of Trans-Jordan, from which they are at present barred owing to political passions and fears, in the same guise as they will be able to live in the Arab areas of Palestine proper. Discerning Jewish opinion would assuredly be in favour of a policy developing along these lines, even if it might mean the toning down in the face of hard facts in some measure of the fullest conception of their ideology, especially such opinion as feels the shame and repugnance of the fact that the age-long ideals of the Jewish people are only seeking fruition behind the shelter of a revetment of British bayonets.

Palestine is, indeed, a precious inheritance. It is the Holy Land whose place-names are graven on our earliest memories; yet to-day it is a prey to the money-merchant and the speculator and the venal broker. Its soil is, in effect, put up to auction. It is claimed that the Cantonisation scheme is a fair and reasonable interpretation of all the

obligations laid upon the Mandatory and that it conflicts with none of them. Under it a Jewish National Home possessing the characteristics and bearing the responsibilities of true nationhood is established in Palestine; the rights of the non-Jewish communities for which the Mandatory is equally responsible are preserved; the self-governing institutions enjoined by the Mandate are introduced, and the interests of the British Empire in this vital corner of the world are secured.

Cantonisation is not entirely a novel idea. Mr. Chesterton mentions in his book, *The New Jerusalem*, published in 1920, that at that time Dr. Weizmann suggested Palestine might evolve into a Commonwealth of Cantons on the lines of Switzerland, and some ten years ago it was advocated in the English Jewish Press in Jerusalem. There is certainly also a volume of Arab opinion to which it commends itself, as may be read in the instructive book recently published by Mrs. Steuart Erskine, *Palestine of the Arabs*.

I have now given you my own opinion for what it is worth, but it is founded on many years of the closest association with the country and its people.

Perhaps, then, here may be the germs of an understanding, whereby the wounds of the Holy Land may be healed and peace at last may come to Jerusalem.

Professor GIBB : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Cantonisation has been so much in the air recently in Palestine that I, personally, am indebted, as I am sure that everyone here is indebted, to Mr. Cust for explaining the project in detail. I think that none of us can help feeling that, politically, the scheme sounds feasible, but I confess that I am not entirely convinced. I do not know whether there is only one standard scheme, or whether there are alternative schemes which vary to any extent in their details. In any case, the criticisms which occur to me are not criticisms, for the most part, on detail, but criticisms on points of general principle. In the first place, is there really the slightest chance that such a scheme would be acceptable to Zionist opinion as a whole? In spite of Mr. Cust's assurances, I should be inclined to say that there is not a hope. It seems to be contrary to the general, and the increasingly marked, trend of the Zionist movement which is attempting rather to push out into Trans-Jordan, to push northwards into Syria, and to push southwards into the Beersheba district. It is quite true that

under the Cantonisation scheme the Jewish character of the allotted Cantons would be intensified. It would be a much more Jewish home, but at what, to Zionists, I feel sure, would appear to be a prohibitive cost—namely, at the expense of drastic limitations of number and drastic limitations of opportunity. Although I cannot speak for Zionist opinion, it seems to me that at the present moment it would not be prepared to accept such limitations in view of the situation in Germany and the threatening situation in Poland and in other countries. In the second place, it would certainly involve an increase, and a complication, in the administrative machinery which is already heavy, and, in fact, probably too heavy a burden on the small revenues of Palestine. Mr. Cust made a tentative distribution of Central and Cantonal services and revenues, but on a rough calculation it appeared to me that with that distribution, basing it on recent budgets, the figures would leave something over half the total revenues to the Central or Mandatory authority. For example, Customs, which constitute, I think, on the average, about two-fifths of the total revenue of Palestine, would go to the Central authority, which would undoubtedly be considered to be rather a hardship by Zionist opinion, in view of the fact that by far the greater part of the Customs is derived from Jewish trade. That is a matter of detail, and no doubt it might be argued that it could be met by allocation as between the different Cantonal administrations.

Mr. Cust left entirely in the air the problem of law, which I confess, to me, is no detail, but something that is fundamental to the whole problem of Palestine and Syria. This is not the place in which to go into this problem at the moment, but I think that one realizes that there would have to be some definite understanding with regard to law. Is there going to be a single law, or are there going to be three kinds of law—Jewish law, Arab law, and Mandatory law—and who is going to administer them all?

Turning from the Jewish side to the Arab side, I feel that the proposal stands very little chance of any acceptance there either. After all, the universal criticism made by the Arab, a criticism whose justice is generally acknowledged, is that the mandatory régimes in Syria have introduced disunity and division where there was no division before, and they have not only introduced division, but they have multiplied division. It seems to me that the Cantonisation scheme, in effect, creates still further divisions, although it is, in part, offset by the suggestion that Trans-Jordan and the Arab Cantons should be united. But it is, as Mr. Cust himself admits, a rather difficult division from the point of

view of the Arabs in that it leaves the richest parts of Palestine in the hands of the Jews. From our point of view, too, surely it would be a confession of failure; and however intractable the problem of Palestine is, I think that it is peculiarly repugnant to us to confess failure; besides, does it not conflict in the last resort with what Mr. Cust himself declares to be the fundamental obligations of the Mandate—namely, to educate the people of the mandated territory in self-government until they are able to stand alone? It is difficult to see how Cantonisation can ever provide a solution to that problem of self-government. It is merely a repetition of the Ulster situation, requiring the continual presence of the British Government to maintain the peace. On all these general grounds I think that the project of Cantonisation runs counter to the dearest hopes of the Arabs, it runs counter to the tendency of the Zionists in Palestine to expand, and it intensifies what I believe is the essential weakness of the whole Mandatory situation in Palestine—namely, that the policy of a national home for the Jews in Palestine was prejudiced from the first by the smallness of the area in which it was applied. If you try to put a pint of water into a pint pot which is already half full you can see what the disturbance would be, but if you have a barrel you can put in, not only a pint, but a gallon without causing any appreciable disturbance at all. I cannot see any ultimate solution to the Jewish-Arab problem except one which would include at least the absorption of Palestine into some larger unit. It may be objected, perhaps, that in all this the interests of England and of the British Empire have been left out of account. I, personally, yield to no one here, and not even to you, Mr. Chairman, in my conviction that the cause of the British Empire is the cause of world peace (Hear, hear), but, after all, that is not strictly the problem that is before us. The problem is really how Jews and Arabs are going to be enabled to live in peace as the Mandate requires. If we are going to put the British Empire first, well and good, but let us at least, with courage and honesty, say so. I am personally inclined to think that if we see to the interests of the Jews and Arabs the rest will be added to us. (Applause.)

Professor NORMAN BENTWICH: When I was sent a notice of the meeting and asked if I would speak, it may have been assumed that I would be speaking in opposition to my friend Mr. Archer Cust. Because we have crossed pens once or twice in the past, was it thought that I would cross words with him to-night? But I am going to say, "Thou almost persuadest me to be a Cantoniser." It is certainly a brilliantly ingenious scheme, and, for part of the purpose for which he proposed it,

a scheme which should be thoroughly considered. But as a division of the country, when he played King Solomon with the small child of Palestine I did not think that he was the wisest of men. Perhaps Mr. Cust, acting like King Solomon, has suggested that division because he is certain that nobody who loves Palestine will accept it. (Laughter.)

It seemed to me that in the premises which led up to his conclusion he was, perhaps, making the contrast of Arab and Jew too glaring and too lurid. I should like to pay my tribute to the brilliant summary of Palestine history which he gave us in a few minutes (Hear, hear); but when he came to the more recent periods I thought that he became more impressionistic. In regard to the history of the war, for example, the account that he gave of the Balfour Declaration was almost American impressionism. It is a story which I heard in America of the reason why England made the Declaration, to persuade the Jews in America with their money to come on our side; but we in England know that the English people and English statesmen have had a belief in the return of the Jewish people to Palestine based on the Bible, and they have given support to that idea for a century. Their support did not start, and it did not come to realization, simply during the Great War.

Again, it seemed to me that Mr. Cust overstrained the fact when he suggested that it was an unbelievable shock to the Arabs that Great Britain was pledged to uphold the Zionist idea. I do not think that that is the case if one looks at the actions of the leaders of the Arabs. Nor is it quite in accordance with the picture to suggest that England has ruled Palestine, is ruling Palestine, and can only rule Palestine, by the overpowering force of arms. This "immense Army," as he called it, in Palestine consists of two battalions to-day. There may be a fleet in Haifa Harbour, but it is not present to avoid civil war between the Jews and the Arabs. Palestine was, for many years after the war, a most extraordinary oasis of peace in an unrestful and bellicose Middle East. Nothing was so striking as the contrast between Palestine and Syria where there is no question between Jews and Arabs. The serious trouble in 1929 was caused, or certainly largely precipitated, because there was no British military force at all to uphold order if there came a sudden crisis.

Again, I think that Mr. Cust was over-painting the picture when he suggested that there was a fundamental antithesis between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, and that they cannot get on together because their outlook is so different, because the Arab is an Eastern and the Jew is a Western. I submit that the true position is that both of them are

Janus-faced, and that Jew and Arab look both to the West and to the East. The Jew may have his main face to-day to the West and his profile to the East, but he comes from the East, he wants to get back to the East, and he is a Palestine Orientalist. The Arab, although he is to-day mainly of the East, at the same time is anxious to be, and is, in our generation, rapidly Westernized. These two peoples, who are both of the East and of the West, can get together in Palestine. I respectfully agree with what Professor Gibb said, that it would be a betrayal of the mission of the English people in Palestine to give up that purpose of bringing the Jews and the Arabs together as a Palestinian nation. Good things are hard, and no doubt it is hard to bring about a harmonious Palestine in which Jews and Arabs will co-operate; but it is no way of getting out of that difficulty to try short cuts. Cantonisation is to me something like the Douglas credit scheme. One thinks that there is something wrong, and tries some easy solution; but there is some fallacy at the bottom of it. If I may say so, the fallacy is that, economically, anyhow—whatever may be the political dissensions at the moment between Arabs and Jews in Palestine—their interests are bound up together. It has been proved in the years since the Mandate was given that the Arab will prosper and increase in well-being as the Jew comes to Palestine and mingles with the Arab population. That has been abundantly proved in the Coastal Plain. In the most recent summary of the history of Palestine, Professor Toynbee says that the touchstone of peace in the Middle East may lie with the fellahin in the hill country of Judea and Galilee. Their misery to-day is an instrument of propaganda. If they gain well-being, then it may come to pass that there will be a recognition by the Arabs that the Jewish national home in Palestine can be a benefit to the whole of the Arab people. Then, as Professor Gibb suggested, the Jewish population may spread over a much larger area than little Palestine. That purpose cannot be achieved if you divide up Palestine economically into Cantons. The Arab in the hill country will become happy only if he also is able to increase his well-being; and that will come about by the spreading to the hills, as to the Coastal Plain, of Jewish enterprise, Jewish science, and Jewish enthusiasm. If one looks at the map of Palestine, as Mr. Cust has suggested the division into Cantons, what a tiny strip he leaves for the Jewish national home!

It did seem to me, however, that Mr. Cust's suggestion might provide a solution where he offered it as "an alternative to the proposals which have recently been published." That is, I take it, an

alternative to the political proposals. I conceive that as a way of dividing Palestine for political representation, this idea of Cantons may be an ingenious suggestion. It may be that you can create some legislative body by a division into Cantons which would give a chance of co-operation of the two peoples. That is a matter which might be examined by a Royal Commission such as was suggested in the Debate in the House of Lords last week on the Legislative Council for Palestine. Several speakers urged that this question of self-governing institutions in Palestine required thorough consideration, and that a Royal Commission would be the instrument to do it. You may say that we want the best of both worlds; to have the possibility of the Jews extending over the whole of Palestine and to have self-governing institutions in which the Jews shall be fully represented. I want the best of both worlds, and I think that we all do; but if we cannot get the best of both, then at least let us keep the best of the one world—an integral Palestine—that we have. (Applause.)

Colonel NEWCOMBE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to congratulate Mr. Cust on his admirable historical sketch, which was very brief and very much to the point, but there is one point that I should like to emphasize. Before the war the Jews were gradually being put in colonies in Palestine, with the assistance of American Jewish money and the approval of the Turks. The American Ambassadors in Turkey were nearly always Jews at that time, and they gradually, and slowly, got colonies established in Palestine. There was no ill-feeling, so far as I am aware, between Jew and Arab then, and there need not have been afterwards had we followed the slow and gradual policy of immigration according to ordinary laws of other countries, allowing an average number of people to come in; and when those people grew up as Palestinian citizens, they would gradually, with their brains and with their extra education, rise to the top and govern the country. It would then be the fault of the Arab if the Arab could not keep pace with them. Now Professor Norman Bentwich said that before the war a vast number of English people thought that Palestine was the real home of the Jews. I was brought up, personally, in that tradition, but how many of us have ever seen the other side? I did see the other side. I was at a conference in Jidda in 1917, and I know how very, very deeply we felt at that time that we might be let down by the British Government. This was before the Balfour Declaration. I remember saying to friends of mine, and their saying to me, that if the Arabs were let down we could never go

back because our faces would be black. I remember that now, and still feel it deeply. Any number of Arabs spoke to me later with the feeling that they were let down. I have always felt that the Arab had no feeling against the Jew. They agree that the Jew is one thing and the Zionist is another, and I prefer to talk of Zionism as against Judaism, because the one is political and the other is personal. Therefore there is no personal feeling against the individual in any remark that I am making, and it is entirely a political question.

The question, as it stands now, is really insoluble. I cannot see how we are ever going to get a solution on present methods. According to the Mandate, we have to teach these people to govern themselves. You and I know, and we all know, that we cannot possibly leave that country and let them govern themselves unless we do something to improve the situation. Mr. Cust has put up a proposition. It is a most attractive one. This is not the time to consider details. It is a matter, as Professor Norman Bentwich said, for a Royal Commission or for some body of Arabs and Zionists to consider. At least it is a definite proposition that can be discussed. You can go to the Zionist—I say “the Zionist,” and not “the Jew”—and say: “Here is something definite.” The Jews—not the Zionists—have got brains, and they have also got a very considerable spirit of acquisition. Professor Gibb suggested this in saying that they are wanting to go into Syria and to go here and there. We have all got a certain amount of that spirit of acquisition. Even the British Empire has a little of that. But the Jew knows better than any of us when he is up against a brick wall. He has got that sense. We could put up something to them and then go to the Arabs. We do not blame the Zionists a bit for trying to get all that they could in the Balfour Declaration, but we do blame the British Government at that time: they were so busy with the war that there was no time to see clearly, and they did not see the facts. They had not time to go into details. Let us admit that the British Empire can be wrong occasionally. We are sometimes wrong. But now we can get these people together and say: “Here is a proposition: Is it a workable one, or is it not?” It might lead to something. It is the first scheme of which I have heard that at least gives hope for some possible solution.

Mr. LANDMAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to say a few words upon the Jewish point of view, and I am not afraid to say from the Zionist point of view, even after the words of the last speaker. No doubt Colonel Newcombe was exaggerating rather

when he suggested that the Zionists were peculiarly aggressive persons. I know quite a lot of Zionists, and I am one myself, and I have not noticed any particular difference between Zionist Jews and the other kind.

I was much impressed by the very friendly sentiments which actuated the Lecturer in his remarks about the Zionist question and Jews in general. I think that all Jews and Zionists will appreciate the friendly tone of his remarks. That does not, however, mean that the Jews or the Zionists—leaving out of consideration whether they are the same—will have any view other than that which has been so well expressed by Professor Bentwich to-night. We—the real mother—cannot allow the child to be cut up.

I was also much impressed by the historical survey and the sweep of the Lecturer's remarks. One could not help feeling, while he spoke, that he appreciated how the hand of Providence was in this question. He made us see how, for 2,000 years, the soil of Palestine has lain fallow and undeveloped, covered with stones and marshes, and in some miraculous way has never become a settled State, and, at the same time, for the same 2,000 years, a homeless nation has stalked through the centuries, a tragic picture of endless suffering. Then one day the hour of destiny strikes. Allenby sweeps away the Turks from the land, and at the same time the British Government proclaims its intention of helping the restoration of the Jews to their national home. From that moment the land begins to blossom, life begins to be restored, and the long silence which has prevailed in Palestine through the ages comes to an end. In this miraculous work of Providence, can one conceive a nobler task for this country than to lend a helping hand? I think that there is nothing in British activity overseas comparable with the aid given in this Providential work, and I feel sure that every one of us will see that there is no other solution to the question of Palestine than the full implementing of the promise which all Englishmen know in their heart of hearts was the promise originally of God and later of human beings—namely, that Palestine is to be the Jewish land.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—As the House of Lords says by six o'clock in the evening, the hour is late, and I must not detain you for long. Our Lecturer refuses obstinately to make another speech. He has asked me to correct, or, at any rate, to qualify Professor Bentwich's remark about the defence and the mere two battalions. Mr. Cust points out that however that may be, no less than £1,000,000 has been spent on defence in the Palestine Budget to-day, and there are

700 or more British police to be added to the two battalions. You must remember that Palestine bases itself on a very much larger force in Egypt, and it relies upon it. In fact, in Lord Plumer's time he went so far as to rely entirely on me when I was there, and he abolished all military forces, and made me rather anxious. I have been travelling in Palestine ever since my childhood, but even so I cannot speak in any way as an authority. I took no part the other day in the Debate in the House of Lords, because I should have found it very difficult to know what to say. I should probably have agreed with the majority of those who took part in the Debate from rather a different angle. I am not a very great believer in the value of Parliamentary methods in any country, and I should think that it is a very unfortunate time to attempt to inaugurate them in Palestine to-day. It is hardly likely that the Jews will accept a minority position, and that is well known. You cannot blame the Arab if he sees little virtue or security in a self-government that deprives him of any power to legislate on the things that matter most deeply to him, such as land or the immigration question. I believe that a Mandatory power has to carry the burden for many years yet, and perhaps longer than the Jews themselves will like. Perhaps they might like a constitution when they have a majority. Personally, I should think that probably the Mandatory's duty will not be finished even then. I cannot say that I agree very much with Professor Norman Bentwich's solution of a Royal Commission, although I think that it emanated from the House of Lords. I was rather tempted, when the suggestion was made, to mention the fate of the Simon Commission's Report. It seemed strange to me that so soon after that we should flee to this solution under far more difficult circumstances. However that may be, I believe—and I gather that Professor Gibb will not be surprised to hear me say it, because I think that most of us realize it—that the future of either the Zionist or the Arab cause for many years to come has got to depend upon the wisdom and the strength of the British Empire in that part of the world. (Hear, hear.) Here I shall quote Professor Gibb in a very wonderful book of his that I was reading to-day, who concludes that the Arab and the Jew are not Janus-faced, but, if anything, they tend to belong to the Western group of nations rather than the Eastern, although they scarcely know it themselves. However that may be, on the strength, the wisdom and the ideals of the British peoples, and their love of freedom, and all the things that have drawn both Jew and Arab to us, will depend your fates, whichever you be in this room. Therefore I

conclude that the Mandatory carries a burden, and will be the adjudicator for many years to come in this great and all-important question.

That does not alter the fact that unless we have brilliant essays, and clear-thinking people like Mr. Archer Cust, of wide experience, to come and put these problems before us and give us an opportunity of solution, we shall never reach a solution. It is on the anvil of a great deal of thought and discussion that we shall forge the ultimate result for the two peoples. I am more optimistic than some people. We are tackling an even more difficult racial problem in India to-day, and we have not despaired. Although the Jew and the Arab is a pretty tough proposition, I think that the Hindu and the Mussulman is no mean competitor. We have not despaired with regard to India, and I do not think that we need yet despair as regards Palestine. I think that the danger with regard to Palestine at the moment is that some of the Jewish people might kill the thing that they love. It is the pace that kills. I have the impression that some of the Jewish people are killing by the pace what they most seek to preserve. I hope that you will not mind my making that suggestion.

I had nearly forgotten to do the most important thing, and that is to propose, in your names, that a very hearty and most sincere vote of thanks be accorded to our Lecturer for what was really a brilliant paper, and one of the best that we have had in the Society for a very long time. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to give Mr. Cust the applause which he does not want to have. (Applause.)

THE MUSLIMS IN THE MODERN WORLD*

BY MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Let me reassure you by saying at once that I do not intend to cover the whole of my vast subject. All I shall try to do is to make a sort of Cook's lightning tour of the field, mentioning things which I have noticed personally or which have interested me; and then to indicate what seem to me the major problems which confront the Muslims and the way in which they are being solved; naturally with an eye to British policy and British interests since I am in London addressing a Society which has at heart the welfare of the British Empire in the East.

When I was a child I was told: Never call yourself a Conservative; call yourself a Tory. The Conservatives have no conscience. Among the Tory things which I was brought up to admire was Disraeli's Oriental policy by which England was to become the mentor of the Islamic world, to foster and assist its revival, using Turkey as interpreter and intermediary somewhat in the way that people dealing with live wires use rubber gloves. Disraeli saw in this the logical conclusion of a fairly long tradition of British policy and saw how it could be used to give to the casual agglomeration of our Eastern Empire wide foundations and a decent human purpose. His vision was discarded, and the views of "sober-minded men" prevailed in England. But in the East, Disraeli's speeches had a great effect, and in more than one country people set to work upon his programme.

Disraeli was, in fact, the founder of pan-Islamism, which is now regarded by our statesmen as a danger; just as Jove's thunder, if left about and picked up by someone else, became a potential danger to Jove. Germany picked it up, and to-day Italy is inclined to try it.

You know what happened. Mr. Gladstone was a gentleman who shuddered at the approach of an unbaptized person. The Sultan was unbaptized; the Czar was thoroughly baptized. There was a ruthless propaganda against Turkey, in face of which the Conservatives opined

* Lecture given on March 18, 1936, SIR CHARLES INNES, K.C.S.I., in the Chair.

that we had been backing the wrong horse. We backed Czardom for the last ten years of its obviously doomed existence and, what is more, after Czardom had collapsed we went on with the partition of Turkey on our own account, thus drawing all the odium which had till then attached to Russia only in the minds of Muslims on to our own heads. I shall not go further into details. What I have said is enough to remind you of the background of my subject, which is the condition of the Muslims in the world to-day.

The condition of the Muslims to-day is sorry as compared with what it was three hundred years ago; pitiful compared with what it was a thousand years ago; but compared with what it was fifty years ago I think it has improved considerably. Then it seemed quite hopeless. Now it is full of hope. The Muslims needed shocks—and Heaven knows they have had them.

Disraeli's idea was for the Muslims to advance as a body under British protection at their own pace, in their own way, under their own head. It was written, however, that they are to advance separately as nationalities; the pace is set for them by Europe's pace now that they face Europe with no high protector; and they have now no head. And yet I say that their condition is hopeful.

Because the principle of nationality has been forced upon Islamic peoples there are some who think that Islam has been split up, and who exult therefor. There are people, I am told, who, when themselves diseased, delight in infecting others. If the case were as they think it is, it would mean that the clock of progress had been set back thirteen hundred years for a considerable portion of the human race. Only a very cynical mind would exult at that.

But I think they are wrong. The new nationalisms have been forced on the Islamic world as a political necessity, a part of the new armour which must be put on in order to contend with European nations. Whatever aggressiveness they have is not toward Muslims. Intercourse between Muslims of these nationalities is not less brotherly than it was before.

And that nationalism may prove a blessing in disguise. For certain adaptations and changes must be made, and it is better that they should be worked out separately according to the requirements and mentality of the various groups, and co-ordinated afterwards.

If representatives of all the Muslims met together to devise a general plan to-day there would be no agreement. The Muslims, as a body, have to come into modern life and that involves a renaissance and a

reformation, and these are actually taking place. The new order is bound to come and it will come quickly.

The Turks—heroic race!—have made a dash at it. I rather wish they hadn't; but in some ways it is a good thing, for it has forced the Muslims of other countries to think seriously what are, and what are not, essentials of religion. I do not blame the Turks that they were too much occupied with their own troubles to think of other Muslims, that they were impatient of the claims of other Muslims which had cost their race so much. They were thinking more of Europe and America than of us. And they had to placate the sole supporter of their independence—not England, as it should have been, but Soviet Russia. Consequently their reformation has little of the look of a religious movement; and is not, what it might have been, a model and a guide for all the Muslims. And it says much for the love in which they are held by other Muslims that even among the old-fashioned their actions are commiserated and condoned rather than resented. They are a nation to whom everything must be forgiven.

For the thing which hurts their fellow-Muslims most of all—the ban on Arabic—I cannot hold the Turks chiefly responsible. With all her heroism, Turkey could hardly have escaped the destruction planned for her after the Great War if the Czardom had survived till then. The same can be said of Persia and hinted of Afghanistan. Those countries owe their independence mainly to the new position created by the appearance on the scene of Soviet Russia. Naturally, therefore, one would look for traces of Russian influence in their subsequent policy.

Soviet Russia wishes to destroy organized religion. It would have stiffened opposition to her “anti-God campaign” if Turkey had stood strongly for Islam as understood by Russian Muslims. So we see in Turkey not an “anti-God campaign” but a campaign against the whole organization with which religion had become associated in the mind of the average Turk.

Again, when Moscow forbade the use of the Arabic script in Soviet territories—following a saying of Lenin to the effect that the Revolution could never permeate regions where that script prevailed—it would have almost nullified the edict if the printing presses of Turkey had gone on pouring out literature in Turkish—the language of so many Russian Muslims—in Arabic type. Hence the adoption of the new script in Turkey, and the *banning of the Arabic script*.

There are Shî'as in Soviet territory—notably in Daghistan—so in Persia, too, we find a secularizing policy. Here the Arabic script is so

completely naturalized and the Persians take such pride in it that it is unassailable, and Persian is no language of the Russian Muslims. One suspects the same whispered prompting behind the ill-judged and ill-mannered innovations attempted by Shâh Amânullah in Afghanistan.

To return to Turkey.

Seeing the Protestant peoples of Europe generally more advanced than the Roman Catholic peoples, and stronger militarily, some Turkish theorists had long thought of a Reformation as a thing desirable in itself, since Turkey's national aim must be supremacy in modern progress. There were successive edicts which astonished Europe and dismayed the Muslim world, showing that the Turks were free from all old prejudices. Frankly, their fellow-Muslims do not quite believe it.

The Qur'ân is now recited and the congregational prayers are now said in Turkish instead of Arabic. Well and good. A huge State department ramifying throughout the country and a large number of pious foundations of dubious Islamic status have been swept away. And there the analogy with the Christian Reformation ends; for believing Turks believe exactly as they did before. There is nothing wrong in all this. What the Muslims of the world think wrong is not the use of the Qur'ân in Turkish but *the banning of the Arabic Qur'ân*, which is the only genuine Qur'ân, and of the prayers in Arabic. This seems inexplicable until we remember the Soviet ban on the Arabic script.

If the Turkish Republic had not forbidden public reading of the Qur'ân in Arabic—we may have been misinformed; I hope we have—but had allowed it together with the Turkish translation, if they had allowed the saying of the juma'ah prayers in Arabic on certain occasions, it would have pleased the Muslims outside Turkey and would not have hurt the Turks nor weakened their reforms. The ritual Arabic is a bond between Muslims as Latin is a bond between Roman Catholics, and it is the more needed in our case, for we have no hierarchy. The most disquieting fact in the Turkish situation from the Muslim point of view is that what organization and means of religious instruction the people had have been abolished and nothing apparently has yet been set up to replace them.

The attitude of some young people from Turkey whom I have had the luck to meet is curious. They proclaim themselves good Muslims and break all the rules. They will argue earnestly that such things as abstaining from pork and alcoholic drinks are not religion—which, of

course, is quite true in one way and quite untrue in another, for they are injunctions of the Qur'ân. And this they do, not in the manner of the naughty young Egyptian of a former day—*moi, j'adore le jambon*—but earnestly and with an almost missionary ardour. But they vow they would shed the last drop of their blood in defence of Islam. And I believe it.

In Persia the chief thing to be noted, as I hear, is the decline of Shî'a fanaticism and the rise of a rationalism which brings its votaries nearer to the Sunnî point of view.

In Afghanistan, after the storm which Amânullah's flippant interference with the people's customs raised, a reasonable programme of reforms had been pushed forward steadily and, so far as I can judge from Afghan publications and talks with wandering Afghans, with success.

There is another independent Muslim State—the most important of all politically, since its territory includes the Holy Places—Sa'ûdî Arabia. Its ruler is extremely popular throughout the Muslim world, firstly because he punished the Sharîf Huseyn, who is regarded as the Judas of the Turkish tragedy, and secondly and increasingly because he cares for and protects the pilgrims who suffered terribly under Huseyn. I have heard much praise of his régime from our Hyderabad pilgrims, who say he has produced a miracle of law and order in Arabia. His Wahhâbîs, on the other hand, have a bad name with the unregenerate majority in India on account of their tomb-destroying habits, and because in India the word Wahhâbî has long been used to denote any strict Muslim who calls certain current practices by their proper name. With the reforming party, on the other hand, the word Wahhâbî is a word of praise. But no matter what the ruler or the government of that land may be, every Muslim in the world is its defender, for it includes the Holy Cities, Mecca and Madina. It is the sensitive heart of the whole Islamic brotherhood, and this brotherhood should be treated politically as a living organism rather than a congeries of nations.

Arabia is the danger-point of the Islamic world, the point with which Disraeli would have avoided direct contact. The Yaman has especial claims to the reverence of a number of Shî'a sects in India and East Africa, and I have heard murmurs at the activities of foreign powers, Italy and England, in that country. The feeling for Arabia is as strong as ever. A false step here may cause a vast upheaval. The touch upon Arabia ought to be the lightest possible. And I am sure

that if Disraeli had been here he would never have allowed France or Italy to come anywhere near the Red Sea.

There are two countries, Egypt and Al-'Irâq, which owe much—in the case of 'Irâq as a nation, everything—to England. Nationalist feeling in both countries is not friendly to England. In Syria, public opinion is hostile to the French. All those countries were partitioned off the Ottoman Empire. As for Palestine, what can one say except that it has badly damaged England's name for justice in the East? The ancient peasantry of Palestine are being systematically dispossessed of their lands under England's mandate in favour of a people whose aim is to reduce that peasantry to "hewers of wood and drawers of water" precisely as the Israelites did of old. The Jews, it seems, have made no progress, but what can we say of the Mandatory power that lends itself to such a crime?

Of the condition of religious thought in Egypt I had a rather terrifying glimpse when I went there six years ago to revise my translation of the Qur'ân. The reactionaries were in control and they were fierce and narrow-minded. But I also found much reforming activity. Egypt is a centre to which all the Arabs look for culture, and when her light burns clear again it will be a great gain for Islam. I was much impressed in Egypt by the piety of the black people—Barbaris and Sudânîs. They formed about 60 per cent. of the congregation in the mosques I attended. They are extremely earnest and devout. I found them always reading in their leisure moments. And I noticed that the books which they were reading were not the fairy-tales they used to read of old, but books of devotion, of *fiqh* (religious jurisprudence), and modern school-books.

It is only among subject peoples that one finds things nearly as they were before, say, 1911, the year of the Italian raid on Tripoli which began the series of events, so tragic to the Muslim world, which a Prime Minister of England called "the last and greatest crusade."

The Algerians and Tunisians, when they travel, are distinguished by their sense of universal Muslim brotherhood. At home they cannot utter what they think. The French are a wonderful people. They have no colour prejudice whatever. They would accept a Senegali as President of the French Republic, and would not mind if France were populated by negroes provided that the negroes called themselves French, spoke French, and kept the French flag flying gloriously. What they dislike is resistance to the French idea that any subject of

France should obstinately prefer another language and another culture. The Arabs do resist; they prefer their own language and culture to that of the French, and so the blackest negro from West Africa is admitted to full French citizenship and the Algerians in their own country are deprived of full rights. To be admitted to French citizenship a native of Algeria must declare that he accepts monogamy in principle—not in practice: that is the snag. Most of the Algerians practise monogamy, and most of the Frenchmen in Algeria, perhaps, practise polygamy. But the Arab cannot accept monogamy in theory, and the Frenchman can.

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Of Tripoli, I am told that it is all for the Italians, and regarded as an annexe of Italy. Here I may say something about Muslim opinion regarding Abyssinia. There are many Muslims in Abyssinia and they have been ill-treated by the rulers of that country. Italian rule would be an improvement on the present state of things. Muslims are, of course, shocked to see bare-faced aggression, but they have learnt to regard it as the way of European powers. They regard with no small degree of apprehension the coming of a European power so near Arabia. But what they feel most keenly is the difference between the fervent sympathy aroused in England when a so-called Christian nation is the victim and the glee that was manifested when the victim was a Muslim country. I think that is a fair summary.

Everyone agrees—I have heard it from Tripolitans and Javanese and Algerians—that if one has to live under the rule of a non-Muslim power, England is the best non-Muslim power to live under.

In India we had our Khilâfat movement—which was suddenly deflated by the action of Turkey in deposing the Khalifah. We have had an alliance of the Muslims with the Hindu nationalists and seen the Hindus draw away when they beheld the Muslims leading, as Muslims are apt to do when it is a case of organized action, not of oratory or office work. Except for a few very earnest, conscientious men who, in spite of much unpleasantness, think it their duty to side with fellow-countrymen rather than with foreigners, the Indian Muslims are now adherents of the British, and most of them distrustful of the coming Federation of All India.

Living as minority communities among a majority whose promises they feel they cannot trust, conscious of hereditary right to lead and

dominate, they are very much alive and deeply conscious of the ties of Muslim brotherhood, despite the fact that they are always quarrelling among themselves.

People in England blame the Indian Muslims for emphasizing their difference from the majority of Indians and for their communal distrust of Hindus. They are not alone to blame for that. An influential section of the Hindu community is never tired of preaching that the Muslims are intruders who have no right to tread the sacred soil of India; and of representing the most brilliant period of Indian history, in which Hindu and Muslim shared, as an age of tyranny and spiritual and intellectual night. No less a historian than Sir Jadunath Sarkar has written of Islam as a religion "whose followers are taught to regard robbery and murder as a religious duty," and of the Mughal Empire as "a thinly veiled brigandage." And Sir Jadunath is mild compared with other pandits.

It is a lamentable fact that only in Muslim institutions such as Aligarh and in the many colleges and schools in the Nizam's Dominions can an Indian get the just perspective of his country's history or learn to appreciate the valuable contribution of the Muslims to Indian education, civics, culture, and religious thought. There are many Hindus who recognize this fact and send their sons to Muslim institutions on that account and because of the ever-growing importance of the Urdu or Hindustani language, which is the language which the Muslims speak.

The rise of Urdu is a remarkable phenomenon. A mixture of Arabic, Persian and Turkish words with Hindi, it was first used in the *Urdu* (royal camp) of Muslim emperors where Persians, Turks and Arabs served with Rajputs. It soon became a written language and has now become the lingua franca for a vast region. I have heard it claimed that Urdu is now spoken by four hundred million people. It is certainly very widely known, and its part in maintaining a position for the Muslims in India can hardly be overestimated. In Hyderabad we have now a university in which the language of instruction is Urdu. It bids fair to become the best frequented university in India. In countries where the whole or the great majority of the population is Muslim, Islam and nationalism go together. I have noticed that particularly in young men from Java and Sumatra, whose zeal for Islam was one with their desire for their country's independence. In India, for the reasons I have hinted, the Muslims as a body hold aloof from nationalism. Their thoughts are with the Muslims of the world, and

when they get some education they seek the revival of their own community as part of the general Islamic revival.

The need of modern education is universally felt among the Indian Muslims, and its legality, long a matter of dispute, is now established. To seek education in the widest sense is now accepted as the Greater Jihâd—the most urgent need of Muslims nowadays—which may be taken as the view of Turkey also and of many of the Muslims in the Soviet Republics. Indeed, it is becoming now the universal view.

Education is being feverishly sought by parents and by children both. The young men, here as elsewhere, are keen on motoring and flying, cricket, football and the cinema. They are familiar with modern appliances. They are possibly apt to be less strict in their religious observances than were their fathers, but I am not sure of that. The older generation was by no means perfect. They certainly have a clearer view of their religion than their forefathers had. Judging from what I have been told I should say there has been a marked improvement in religion and conduct—especially conduct—in the past fifty years. To illustrate my point, here are two little stories which are told in Hyderabad, one of fifty years ago, the other of about twenty years ago.

A man denounced his neighbour to the judge as a Wahhâbî—a puritan who bothered quiet people with his puritanism—and the judge asked the accused to describe his daily life.

He said: "I get up in the morning and I have a good drink of toddy, then I go to the Saint's tomb which is near my house and wish the saint good-day, then I go and sit at the shop of a friend of mine and gossip till I hear the noonday call to prayer, when I go back to my house and eat the food my wives have prepared for me. I rest awhile and then I have a drink of toddy and go to visit a mistress whom I keep where my wives cannot get at her. I stay with her till I hear the 'Asr call to prayer." The judge here interrupted, saying to the accuser indignantly: "Wahhâbî, indeed! The man's a pukka Muslim."

My other story is of an event that really happened. A whole quarter of the city was commoved and there was rioting one night in Muharram because some drunken Shî'as declared that the frogs in the pools were saying: "Ḥasan! Ḥuseyn!" and shouted that it was a miracle, and their Sunnî neighbours were indignant and swore that if the frogs were saying anything articulate it was obviously "Abu Bakr! Umar! 'Usman!"

Neither of those stories would be credible if told of Hyderabad to-

day. There has been a vast improvement in religion and in conduct. And in honesty I must add that this improvement has nothing to do with any modernizing movement, but is the work of quite old-fashioned Muslims assisted by a time of law and order. Still the old order was never perfect. Every preacher worth his salt was always denouncing its shortcomings from the point of view of true Islam.

I should say generally that the young men of to-day have true Islamic policy, and it is astonishing how many of them do manage to keep their traditional duties even when they come to England.

I have not travelled much in Northern India, where the Muslim strongholds are. I have been to Sind and have visited Delhi and Agra. But I have served H.E.H. the Nizam for ten years in various capacities, and our Hyderabad is a sort of capital city for all Muslims. All kinds of people come there from afar, attracted by the fabled wealth of His Exalted Highness. And many of them used to call on me at my office, or greet me in the mosque, and tell me things.

I have sometimes thought that if England were ever again minded to adopt a benevolent Islamic policy, Hyderabad might well be made the centre of that policy, because, though the majority of the subjects are Hindus, the State has the prestige of the old Mughal Empire, and is itself no bad example of Islamic government; because it is dear to the hearts of all the Indian Muslims, and because it is unreservedly pro-British. I speak of it as it is to-day. What will happen to it in the Federation, who can tell?

I gathered from my talks with Muslim travellers that the Bolsheviks are not regarded as a danger in the way that Europe is regarded as a danger. It is taken for granted that they have a false idea of God. For the rest, their communism and their atheism are regarded as their religion and better than idolatry. They are given credit for complete sincerity and a genuine wish to serve humanity.

I heard a very saintly man who had lived some time in Moscow express the hope that they would eventually become Muslims. The reason given for the hope was curious. The Bolsheviks say, "There is no God." Well, is not that already half the Muslim creed? Every one of us must pass negation point. We have to say, "There is no God" before we can truly say, "except Allah."

The prevalent opinion of the Russian Muslims seemed to be—I am speaking of about two years ago—that more good than harm was likely to accrue to their communities from the Bolshevik régime. When the Muslims had acquired the education and the scientific training which

the Russians offered freely it would be time enough to reconsider the position.

I was surprised to read in a book by so generally accurate a writer as Professor Gibb a description of the Muslims of China as "some small communities." They are scattered all over that huge country as minorities, but according to my information they should total about 60,000,000, rather more than less. In a Chinese Supplement published many years ago by *The Times*, for which the information was supplied by the Chinese Government, their number was given as fifty million, with the remark that they were rapidly increasing, though they had no missions such as the Christians had.

Much Chinese Muslim literature has come to me from time to time which I cannot read. But from a word here and there given in Arabic characters I judge it to consist of religious instruction of the orthodox kind and exhortations to be up and doing.

Everywhere in the Muslim world to-day there is desire for modern education. And with the spread of modern education there is—is bound to be—a return to first principles, which will make the social revolution happen painlessly and almost unobserved.

The Purdah system is doomed, for it is becoming generally recognized that it is bad for women and their children in the way of health. People are beginning to realize that the ordinances of Islam are not static but dynamic. They see now that when an interpretation fails to serve the purpose of the ordinance there is something wrong with the interpretation, not the ordinance, and the former must be changed. The ordinances of Islam regarding women are all manifestly designed for woman's protection and benefit. The purdah has become a cruelty to women. Therefore it must go. But that does not mean that decency—the object of the Islamic injunction on which the interpretation "purdah" was imposed—must also go.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that modern Europe will be followed blindly. There are features of the capitalist system which Muslims cannot accept, just as there are features of the Communist system which they cannot accept, for they compare both with a system which exists nowhere to-day but is for them the perfect system of society.

Again, mere progress for the sake of progress—rushing on—seems mad to them. They cannot adopt the nationalism of Europe for the Prophet's saying: "He is not of us who sides with his tribe in aggression; and he is not of us who calls others to help him in tyranny; and he is not of us who dies while assisting his tribe in injustice." And in the

Muslim laws of war there stands the order : “ Destroy not their means of livelihood ”; which does away for them with “ economic ” weapons.

The mass of the people everywhere are still traditional, but the children tend increasingly to go to modern schools. They bring in new ideas and there is no rift in the home. And so the change is taking place without impairing the solidarity of the most wonderful brotherhood the world has ever seen.

As people realize that, historically, this civilization is as much the product of Islam as of Christianity they lose their horror of it. They see how Islam, as it once was, could improve it. And they see why Islam, as it is to-day, is incapable of improving it. They see that the first thing to do is to improve the status of the Muslims. But that alone is not enough.

There are two things which in the West have always been opposed—Faith and Free Thought. In the early days of Islam a profound faith in God went together with free thought on every subject under Allah. We have to get back to that. There are people who are opposed to the idea. They have not the sense to see that we are all already thinking freely—I mean, outside the scholastic cell which has imprisoned Muslim thought for the past three centuries—without prejudice and with no array of worldly power to influence judgments for or against. It is the first time that ordinary Muslims have been obliged to discriminate between the war-time commandments and the peace-time commandments in the Qur’ân. And outside critics still continue to confuse them. For instance, I recall a statement in a book by an American missionary, who is considered an authority on Islam, to the effect that there is no legal status for Christians in the Islamic State except that of subjects paying tribute. The truth is that the status of subjects paying tribute belongs only to Christians who come into the Islamic State as conquered people; that it is enjoined for the time of conquest—it is nowhere said that it should last for ever; that it does not belong to Christians who come in by invitation or agreement, and that it never did preclude another form of contract. But the perpetual state of war with Christendom made Muslims concentrate upon the war-time order.

We are peppered with books from France, England, America, expressing grave concern for our sad plight and depicting the Muslim world as *in extremis*. I should describe it as in the full flush of revival.

The war barrier has fallen, and Islam can now spread northward and westward, as well as southward and eastward. For the first time since the very earliest days it can be judged on its merits as a religion

without prejudice. A number of the Muslims are conscious of an opportunity and, remembering similar occasions in Islamic history, expect a miracle. Some look to Japan. One wishes that the miracle could take the form of a return to England's old Islamic, so-called "Asiatic," policy, which would be good for England too, for whatever you may say of Asia, the chivalry of Asia can give you things which Europe cannot give—implicit faith, undying loyalty and love—in return for a little trust and constancy. Asia does not buy and sell such commodities, she gives magnificently.

SIR ABDUL QADIR: We have listened to what was not only a very thoughtful but also a very thought-provoking discourse. As Mr. Pickthall has told us, he has translated the Holy Qur'ân, he has wandered over the world, and has come into contact with some of the best thought in Muslim India to-day. His lecture covered such a wide range that it is impossible for anyone to take up all the points that he made, but I can at least thoroughly endorse and support his opening remark, that Islam is going through a time of renaissance and revival.

He traces the dropping of the Arabic script in Turkey to Russian influences. I am not sure that I should entirely agree with that opinion. I need hardly say that the Muslims in India do not approve the dropping of the Arabic script in Turkey. I am one of those who think that that script has got some intrinsic claims to recommend itself to adoption. I think the AtaTürk changed the script to come into line with the West, but if the world outside Turkey were to recognize the value of the Arabic script one day, then the AtaTürk would see that he was not well advised in dropping the script, though I may not live long enough to see the change.

I daresay that Soviet Russia had something to do with this and some other changes in Turkey, but the real cause to my mind is a desire to imitate the West in everything. That is what was responsible for the troubles of King Amanullah of Afghanistan, to whom a reference has been made in the lecture. I think that he was one of those who have been led to think by the successes of Western civilization that its externals constitute progress and are to be copied. Amanullah was much flattered wherever he went in Europe, and was impressed by the progress he saw, and he thought that he must at once introduce changes in Afghanistan. He thought the secret lay in the wearing of hats by men or in the ladies' cropping of their hair. He may now perhaps notice that the ladies' hair is again growing a little longer. When the

war was going on short hair was convenient. Now when things seem more permanent, long and wavy hair is in favour. Amanullah thought that the progress of Europe depended on their transitory fashions. He insisted on shaving the beards of gentlemen, and on bobbed hair for those girl students who were going to Europe to study medicine. Naturally such measures were disliked. His mistake was in taking the externals for the essentials of modern civilization.

Before concluding my remarks I may say that I agree with Mr. Pickthall in thinking that the Turks love Islam in spite of the changes that have been introduced in their country. I think the heart of Islam is sound, and I think it desires to advance, and that is a desire with which we must all sympathize.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. E. CROCKER: I have travelled in the North-West of India, in 'Iraq, in Africa, and have met Muslims everywhere. Side by side with the growth of our Empire are the responsibilities which confront us in dealing with our vast Muslim population, a responsibility perhaps not always realized with regard to Jews and Arabs in Palestine. I have heard both sides of the question during my travels through Palestine and Syria. On the one hand you have the demand for increasing Jewish immigration, regardless of available work for the immigrants, while the Arabs are up in arms against the expropriation of their land. Now we hear that efforts are being made to raise £3 million in America to bring Jews out of Germany, many of whom are to be placed in Palestine.

My second point touches the Muslim-Hindu question in India, already very competently dealt with by the lecturer. Here you have an entirely different situation, where a virile Muslim minority is faced by an overwhelming Hindu majority. The situation is extremely difficult, but on its successful solution depends to a great extent the prosperity of the British Empire.

ANOTHER SPEAKER: After the concluding remarks of the last speaker, I would like to ask the lecturer whether he can distinguish between Turkish and Arab culture. Secondly, if the preponderance of Muslims in Poland, so that they have recently built a new mosque, is, in his opinion, a sign of the advance of Islam in Europe. Thirdly, can he tell us how far Islam has advanced in Japan?

Mr. PICKTHALL: I only know that Disraeli chose Turkey as an ally for England because he considered that the mentality of the Turks came closer to that of the English than that of any other Muslim country. There is a certain riddle that goes as follows: Two ducks in

front of a duck, two ducks behind a duck, a duck in the middle. How many ducks are there? I have found that an Englishman and a Turk will alike answer either three ducks or five ducks: whereas an African or an Arab will always say seven ducks, counting separately every time the word duck is mentioned.

With regard to Islam in Poland, I know nothing about the Poles, but I believe the Muslims there represent the past in Europe, like the Muslims of Hungary, rather than the future. I think that Islam there is something that should be built up, not something new. What you tell us of revival there is very interesting.

I should think more hopeful the opening of the first mosque in Japan at Kobé the other day.

If I might answer Colonel Crocker's remarks: You were comparing, sir, the position of the Muslim community in India with the problem in Palestine. But in the second case it is we who are the criminals. We were not responsible for the presence of the Muslims in India, we found them there.

COLONEL CROCKER: I did not mean to imply that the two cases were parallel; but only that both were problems of vital importance for the solution of which we are responsible.

SIR CHARLES INNES: I believe it is usual on these occasions for the Chair to sum up the discussion, but I have no intention of doing so this evening. I do not feel competent to discuss the very large problems of other places that have been raised, but about India I do know something. There are 240,000,000 Hindus in India, as well as Muslims. We are not there to treat with them separately, but to treat both Muslims and Hindus as Indians. It has been our policy to treat Muslims and Hindus impartially. I have lived thirty-four years in India, and you can take it from me that ordinarily the two communities live peacefully together. We cannot say what policy our rulers will follow, but as a Society we have the greatest sympathy with Islam, and we wish that that revival and renaissance for which Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall hopes may take place.

IN KOREA, 1935*

By G. V. HETT

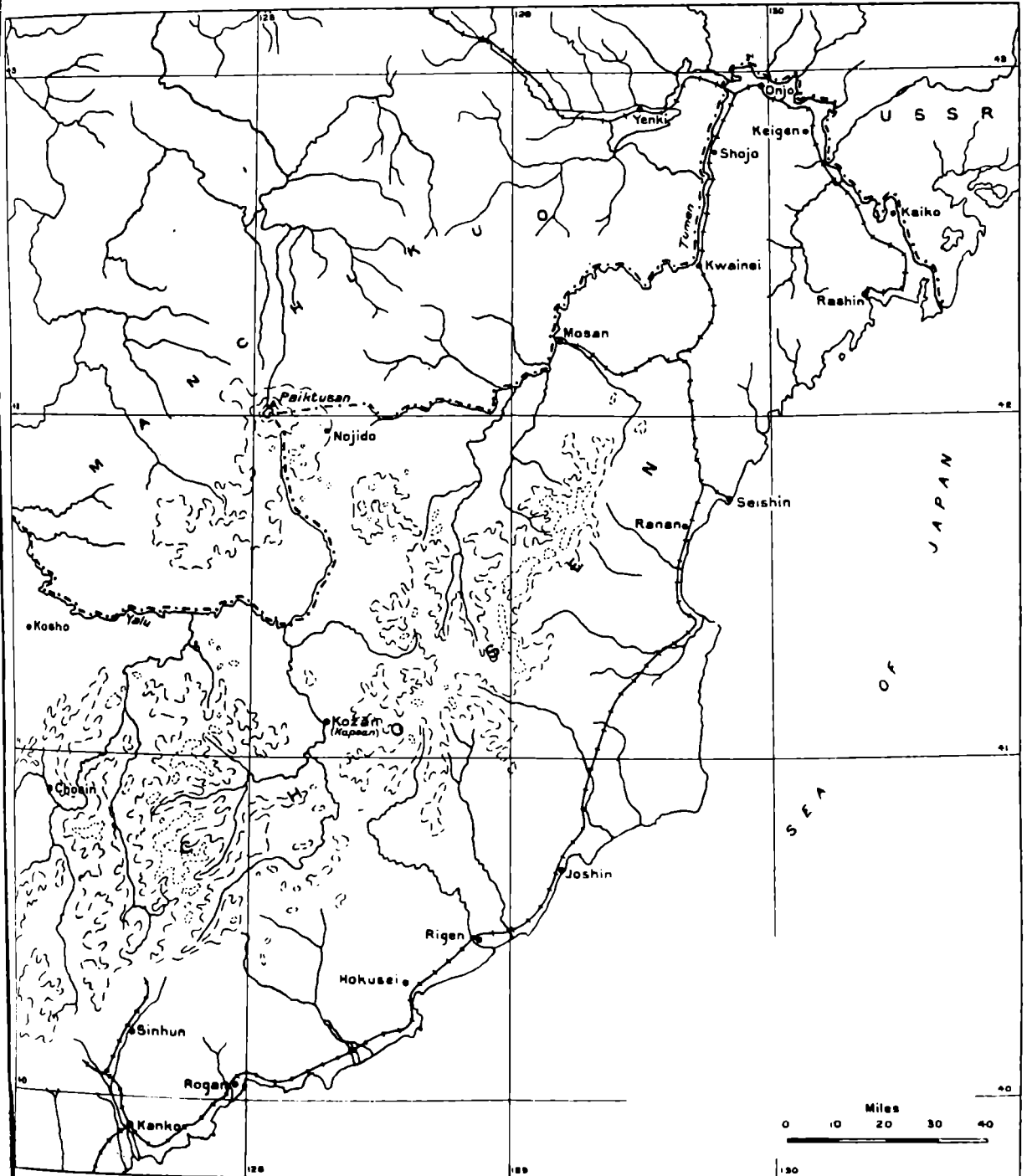
I HAD set out for Eastern Asia with the intention of collecting mammals in East Siberia. Unfortunately unexpected difficulties cropped up, and I was forced to change my plans and collect, instead, in Korea. Additional troubles and official difficulties combined to reduce my time from over three months to six weeks. Luckily for my purpose, communications in Korea are good, and I was able to cover a fair amount of country considering the time at my disposal. My original intention had been to cross the northern part of the peninsula from east to west, making a rough survey of the mammals.

Now there is one rather interesting point about the mammals of Korea, and that is the fact that there is a difference between those of the north and those of the south, the former being characterized by the Siberian roe deer (*Capreolus pygargus*) and the musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus*), while in the latter they are replaced by the Chinese roe deer (*Capreolus bedfordi*) and the water deer (*Hydropotes inermis*). I believe that it is still uncertain as to what amount of difference exists between the smaller mammal of the northern and southern parts of the peninsula. The dividing-line between the two forms lies, roughly, about Kanko. For a time I was puzzled at this division, which does not seem to have been properly accounted for, but a reason was suggested to me by looking at the map. As may be seen, the west coast has an irregular outline with many indentations in it, and the sea is relatively shallow, which is in direct contrast to the east coast with its clean sweeping line. These facts suggest a drowned coast-line on the west and a raising of the land on the east, as though the whole peninsula had been given a tilt. These facts are borne out, I believe, by the presence of raised beaches on the east. I did not have time to investigate these for myself, but they were mentioned to me by a mining engineer

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 5, 1936, Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis Younghusband in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN said: We are going to have a lecture on Korea, that country which used to be called the Hermit Kingdom. Mr. Hett was collecting specimens as recently as last autumn for the Natural History Museum.

who knew the country well. This being so, it seems not improbable that there was once a continuous land connection between China proper



and the south-western portion of Korea, by which the southern types of animals could have migrated, while the northern forms entered from Manchuria and the maritime province of East Siberia.

I made the starting-point of the first trip Chang-jin or Chosin, as the

Japanese call it, a small town in the north-west of South Kankyo province. From here we journeyed eastwards for two days with ponies to the centre of what was reputedly a good district. I think that the country had been a good district for animals: there still remained a large proportion of forest land which is so regrettably absent in the south owing to the indiscriminate wood cutting of the Koreans; but, on the other hand, the population of the northern districts has increased largely in recent years, which, though excellent in itself, tends to restrict the abundance of animal life. I was, however, able to determine that the Himalayan black bear, the Siberian roe deer, and the northern forms, generally, predominated in this portion of the country. From the collecting point of view this first trip was not successful, but it afforded us interesting glimpses of the country.

The scenery is not really attractive on account of the great preponderance of granite which allows little variation in the form of the hills, and also by the fact that most of the country is much the same height, giving one a feeling of being shut in when one walks for long on the tracks that follow the valleys. The best point about the country is that, unlike the south, much of the forest land remains on the hillslopes, so that the country has not suffered from the devastating effects of soil erosion. Undoubtedly the country seems its best on an early morning in autumn, when the hilltops are bathed in sun and the valleys filled with mist, which is perhaps the reason that the country has been given the somewhat flowery title of the "Land of the Morning Calm." The land, generally, is cultivated wherever it is cultivable—that is to say, in the long narrow valleys and on the more sheltered portions of the hilltops, the slopes being generally too steep to be tilled.

In addition to agriculture, the Koreans practise mining and dredging for gold, which is found generally distributed over the country, and many of the long flat valleys that twist and turn round the granite spurs contain groups of white-clad Koreans washing for the gold that they sell to the Government at something below market price.

The houses are all timber-framed, with the kitchen at one end and the chimney at the other, thus heating the house economically and efficiently. Some of these houses are thatched, while others are roofed in with boards held down by stones, but in general the standard of construction of the houses is good, and they are not nearly as squalid as would appear from some of the early accounts of this district. There would seem to have been a distinct change for the better in recent

years. Signs of past ingenuity and thought are found in their water-wheels and grain pounders, and it is significant that these all belong to a traditional pattern and are all designed to save trouble without regard to time. Throughout the whole peninsula the people give evidence of a high standard of civilization in the past, which has gradually but steadily decayed. It was interesting to note that even the peasants in remote districts had finely shaped hands.

The rural population in the north seems very contented, and with only a small police force to control a very large area, crime is negligible. The average Korean is not over-industrious, and provided he has a strong and obedient wife is quite content to be left alone to contemplate or gossip when he can, and to till the fields, which he does well, when he must.

The character of the Koreans proved an obstacle to my purpose. On this first journey I took with me a hunter and a tracker who were recommended to me in Seoul, and an interpreter whom I picked up in Kanko. I since learned that it was a mistake to bring Koreans from the south, as they both look down on the northern peasants and also have a poor physique and little energy. For some reason the Koreans have acquired a reputation for being mighty and valorous hunters and tireless walkers. My hunter was a fair specimen of the Southern Korean, and not only borrowed a ruck-sack to carry his lunch, but then complained of the weight that he had to carry and sat down frequently to rest. In the end I was forced to send him to watch a water-hole while I hunted with a local man who had little knowledge of hunting, but great enthusiasm. We hunted together without much success, but parted the best of friends. The tracker may have been excellent in his way, which was unfortunately the Korean method, of following deer in the early spring, when they are in poor condition, and capturing them eventually by tiring them out. He used to follow a track, humming and singing an old Korean song as he went and slashing at the trees as he passed. It seemed unlikely that we could teach him other ways in the short time at our disposal, so we left him to guard the camp. The third member of our party was the interpreter Hung Tso, who spoke both Japanese and Korean, but little English. His favourite sentence was, "I hear, but cannot speak," which was his way of letting us know that he did not understand without loss of face.

The condition which severely limited our chances of success was the thickness of the woods. Owing to our enforced change in plans we were considerably further south than we had intended to be and

the leaves had not begun to fall. Still, hunting was impossible under these conditions, and as it was impossible to procure dogs locally we left as soon as we had collected a number of small mammals.

Returning to Chang-jin was not as simple as the journey out had been. We had dismissed the pony men on arrival at our destination, and all that we could obtain locally in the way of transport was one decrepit pony, a bull and a cow. The bull continually rid itself of its load, and would often start off on a tack of its own, dragging its hapless attendant with it; the pony had often to be supported over the difficult stages, and the cow was unbelievably slow even for a cow. It was all that we could do to make the men and beasts cover the forty-five miles back to Chang-jin in two days. Up till now we had slept in Japanese inns in the towns and made use of our tent in the country, but for once we thought we would try a Korean house. The choice was not a happy one, for the inn lived up to the worst reputation of Korean hostels in respect of vermin.

For the second trip I decided to try the northern part of the high eastern range that runs down the length of the peninsula. We went into the mountains a little to the south of Seishin with a mixed party of Russians and Koreans. Part of the journey was done on a small lumber railway that ran up into the hills, but the last part had to be done with porters, as there is no path which would be feasible for a pony towards the higher ground.

The country here proved more interesting on account of its height. The hills were still composed of granite, but the vegetation was more definitely zoned according to the altitude. On the lower slopes there were woods of oak and birch, on the upper slopes there were pine, fir and larch, while the tops above six thousand feet were bare.

My chief aim on this trip was to obtain specimens of goral and musk deer, but once again we met with little success. The country had once been good game country, and the woods used to afford shelter to wapiti and sikka deer as well as goral, musk deer, roe, boar and bear. Once again we met with failure. For ten days I hunted that valley, employing Russians and Koreans in various capacities and trying spotting, hunting with dogs, driving and ranging the whole country from above the timber line to the lowest oak woods. The result was one small musk deer. In addition to this animal we came across the tracks of a few boar and a number of goral droppings.

This was a disappointing result, particularly from one of the wilder

mountain ranges which is one of the few places that is unpopulated, and the reason for it lies in the requirements of Chinese medicine. Animal parts have a definite market value, and directly the commercial element enters hunting, game is in danger of extinction. The classical remedy is the stag's horn tonic, which is in great favour with elderly mandarins. A good pair of horns of wapiti or sikka deer, taken in the spring when they are in the velvet, are worth anything from 300 to 1,000 yen, and the direct result of this demand is that wapiti and sikka deer are now almost extinct in North Korea. In six weeks' hunting in three different districts I came across one wapiti track and none of sikka deer.

There are no restrictive laws to prevent the extinction of game. There are, it is true, restrictive measures concerning firearms, but this is designed purely to prevent trouble amongst the Koreans. Any person who is entitled to possess a firearm may shoot almost without limit. An example of this was given me by one of the Koreans who accompanied me on this trip. He claimed that he and his father had taken four hundred goral from this district in ten years. The goral is not a prolific animal, and such a toll must inevitably cause its extinction at no very distant date. In addition to hunting, trapping is practised consistently by the Koreans, and since they are very expert at it this is an even graver menace to animal life. The commonest form of trap is the noose, which is often set at intervals in the gaps of a carefully prepared hedge. At one hill, which was the only suitable place for goral for some miles round, I found a whole line of these traps stretching right across the hill. There were well-marked paths showing that the animals had been living here for many years, but only one fresh track and very few droppings could be seen. The other animals had, presumably, already been taken. Another common form of trap is the box trap baited with a pig and designed to catch tiger and leopard. There are very few of these animals left now, so that they are not so common as formerly, but old and broken-down traps may be seen in many parts. Deadfall traps and pits are forbidden by law on account of the danger they cause to the unwary, but they are still set in parts where the police are unlikely to inspect the woods, and one has to be careful not to be caught in some of them. One of my Russians did fall into a pit a few years previously, and had a lively hand-to-hand struggle with an entrapped roebuck.

In addition to hunting, a number of Koreans live by root searching. The famous ginseng root is the chief prize, but it is now so rare that

it brings in a small fortune to its lucky finder. But there are other roots that have a market value, one of which is exported to China for the purifying of bad water.

The hunters and root searchers are the most pantheistic of all the Koreans, and their small shrines are set up everywhere to the local spirits. By examining the shrines one can tell something of the people who are frequenting any given locality, for the objects left in each shrine denote the profession of him who left them. Hunters will usually leave a piece of red silk in the shrine, trappers leave white silk and root searchers white paper. Passers-by will often throw in a stone to appease the local spirit.

Now that wild animals and wild ginseng root are becoming increasingly rare, their domestic counterparts are filling the medicine shops more and more. The sale of cultivated ginseng roots is a State monopoly, and already a group of Russians have started the nucleus of a herd of spotted deer for the purpose of sawing off the horns of the stag and selling them to the medicine shops, a form of farming which flourished in Siberia before the Revolution and which has been taken over by the Soviet. The domestic product, unfortunately, does not tend to oust the wild varieties in the market and is only regarded as a poor sort of substitute, rather like saccharine for sugar, and so there is little hope that this alternative will help to ease the persecution of animal life.

With nearly a month of my time passed and only a moderate collection of the smaller animals to my credit, I was beginning to feel desperate when I planned the last trip, which was to be on the Manchurian border, east of the extinct volcano of Paiktusan. This country has been the least touched of any, and the frequent bandit scares have done something towards keeping down the number of hunters and so preserving the game.

For this journey I took with me one Russian whom I judged to be efficient, another who owned transport, *e.g.* a car, to take us to the border and a pony for trips further into the country, one Korean to act as cook, and a second man whom we picked up locally and who acted as general handyman. The journey to the village of Nojido, which is the last hamlet on the border east of Paiktusan, takes about a day and a half over roads which are sufficiently bad to reduce traffic to a minimum, and our first base was a house about three miles beyond where the road stopped.

The country is a distinct contrast to the rest of Korea. The out-

pourings of lava that culminated in the volcano of Paiktusan, the Ever White Mountain, have produced an entirely different type of scenery, due to the predominance of volcanic and metamorphic rock. Most of the valley of the Tumen is composed of basalt, and the valley itself is filled with pumice brought down from Paiktusan by the river. I had little time to examine the lower part of the valley, but I noticed several river terraces which might well correspond with the raised beaches on the east coast.

The result of the difference in geological formation has been to produce a country that is flatter, with lower hills and broad marshy valleys. Birch trees and larch trees predominate over pine and fir, and the south slopes of the hills are covered with oak woods. In appearance the country is more like the Manchuria-Siberian border than it is to the bulk of Korea.

We kept Nojido as our base, and from there made several camps on both side of the border. In this last country we met with considerably more success. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly, animals both large and small were more varied and more numerous. Secondly, the bulk of the leaves had fallen, so that it was possible to see further though still impossible to walk quietly. Thirdly, one of the Russians was a good hunter, knew the country, and possessed two very good dogs.

Numerous rootlings in the valleys and over the cultivated fields soon showed us that pig were numerous, and one or two days in the woods convinced us that there were plenty of roe deer, and our traps soon began to bring in a number of small animals. Also the Koreans in this district were willing and anxious to help in bringing us animals, particularly when they realized that we were prepared to pay for them. Previously, the people had seemed too apathetic or too unskilled to be able to do much.

The first large animal was shot by my wife, who succeeded in catching a large boar at its early morning bath, despite the advice of the Russians, who said that such a method was impossible. After that we were kept busy, I hunting the whole day, while my wife was in charge of the skinning and purchasing and trapping of the small mammals.

There were several interesting points about the distribution locally. Firstly, though small mammals were comparatively common on the Korean side of the Tumen, they were much rarer in Manchuria, with the exception of the hares, which seemed to prefer the Manchurian side.

Secondly, both the boar and the roe deer were exceptionally large of their kind, a fact which I believe to be due to the abundance of feed, particularly in a good acorn year. Thirdly, that there was a definite migration of roe deer from north to south across the Tumen at this season (the middle and end of October). Fourthly, there is a seasonal alteration in the distribution of the animals according to their feed—that is, in a good acorn year the animals will all frequent the oak woods on the south side of the lower hills, while when the acorns are poor they will move to the higher ground further into Manchuria, where there grows a particular form of long, coarse grass. Fifthly, that the high ground in Manchuria is the hibernating ground for quite a number of bears in this district, as it is only in this part that there is much in the way of large standing timber that provides them with the necessary hollows and holes for their winter sleep. When I was there the bears had not yet moved in to winter quarters, so I was unfortunate in this respect.

It was in this no-man's-land just north and east of Paiktusan that I came across the one and only sign of tiger during the whole of my time. The dogs found a boar that had been killed some three weeks previously, of which only the skull and the hooves remained, and from the way that the leg bones had been bitten clean through, not gnawed, it was evident that it was a tiger who had made the kill. I was interested in this, for it confirmed my previous impression that it was one of the few places left where it is possible to-day to go and hunt for tiger, since disturbed political conditions have spoiled most of the hunting grounds for the present. As my plans had been disarranged I was hunting before the snow fell, when I had little chance of finding a tiger.

Much of the credit for what success we had rested with one of our Russians, Ivan Kusmich, and his two dogs, one of which was described as Chinese and the other as Korean. In the autumn a great part of one's chances depends on the efficient working of these dogs, and the method is, I believe, peculiar to eastern Asia. One takes a line of country up wind and the dogs are allowed to range free, though they never range very widely. As soon as they pick up a fresh scent they follow it, but do not start barking until they have stopped and held their quarry. They do not, as is usual, give tongue while they are in pursuit of their quarry. Two dogs working well together will, I believe, stop a bear with ease, but often fail to bay a really big boar, which will usually turn and run unless it is of a

particularly lazy disposition or is in a bad temper. The biggest boar that I shot proved to have a diseased gall bladder, which I suspected was the reason for his temerity in turning on the dogs.

It is far better to hunt with only two dogs that are really good than with half a dozen that are indifferent. The addition of one young dog, remotely resembling an Alsatian, to our pack proved a failure. Instead of strengthening the others he often spoiled their hunting by dashing ahead and disturbing the animal. One can hunt boar in the winter by still hunting in the woods when the snow is down and deadens one's footsteps and when the animals are herded together for the rut and show up well against the white of the snow. In autumn such a method is impossible owing to the noise one makes on the thick carpet of dead leaves. Roe deer we had to obtain by walking them up like rabbits. Only occasionally was a stalk possible when we happened on them crossing the open valley of the Tumen on their southward migration. During the whole time I never saw a roe deer feeding in an open place, though I hunted the country regularly in the early morning and the evening.

One of the nicest points in Ivan Kusmich's character was his insistence that the credit of his success lay with his dogs and not with himself. This was an attitude that I found very different from that of most of the hunters out there, who acquire a reputation on remarkably small basis. He had been an old gold prospector working on the Zeya and at Okhotsk. He had worked for some years under the Soviet at a time when the authorities made use of the old prospector. As soon as the Communists had trained a number of young men for gold production, the old prospectors, who were all regarded as suspected persons, began to disappear, some being sent to North Siberia, others vanishing. Fearing that the same fate would overtake him, Ivan Kusmich had escaped over the border into Manchuria, whence he made his way to Harbin to report to the White Russian headquarters there, and then made his way to Korea, where he has since lived by hunting. He had used a part of the small stock of gold that he had smuggled out of Russia as stoppings for his teeth, and every time he ventured over the border into Manchuria he dreaded an encounter with bandits, for fear he would have all his teeth forcibly extracted.

The Manchurian border close to Paiktusan has an evil reputation for bandits, a reputation that dates back some years. Some of the toughest amongst the Chinese are reputed to have settled in these outlying districts, partly for the purpose of growing opium poppy and

partly for the opportunity it gave of making raids against the less forceful Koreans. Since the line of police stations along the border is interrupted by the stretch of uninhabited country by Paiktusan, and the Tumen and Yalu rivers are no barrier near their source, it is quite easy for the Chinese to make raids into Korea. This they used to do, and on one occasion burned the police station at Nojido and captured some forty Koreans. Since the spread of Japanese influence in Manchuria the position has been improved considerably. The Japanese police have crossed the border and cleared this strip of country of its former inhabitants. To-day only deserted huts and clearings bear witness to the past number of hunters, trappers, root searchers, and opium growers who used to live scattered about in this country. As the Chinese have been moved out so the Koreans have moved in, and one frequently comes across Koreans in Manchuria hunting, trapping, and searching for roots, and this may possibly foreshadow a further expansion of the Koreans, who are a prolific race.

This treatment of the Chinese in the country in which they have settled may seem a little harsh, but it seems to have been effective in checking the activities of the bandits. The atmosphere of suspicion still remains, and I was amused to find that a number of people we encountered over the border either fled from us or went out of their way to avoid us, which was very different from Korea, where the whole population would flock out to gape at us.

The Koreans in this part of the country have obviously benefited from Japanese protection, and I did not find a strong anti-Japanese feeling as I had been led to expect. It is true that there was a certain amount of grumbling, but it was mostly on small points, as when our ponyman had his house inspected by the police and was firmly told that he must keep it clean, for which I was heartily thankful since we had to spend several nights in it. The nearest approach to a concerted national movement is that of the Young Koreans, a society whose aims are still nebulous but whose activities take the form of an attempt to make all Koreans change from their traditional costume and adopt dark clothes in winter. They attempt to enforce their ideas by splashing black paint on the white clothes of those who wear them after a certain date. I do not know how rigorously this campaign has been carried out, but the effects of it may be seen even in this remote district. The campaign is, I believe, condemned by the authorities, but it has in its favour the fact that if successful it would effect a greater economy in time of the women who have to do the washing of their husbands'

clothes. However picturesque it may be, the Korean costume is not suitable to hard work.

Korea is undergoing a period of transition, but the changes are being affected almost entirely by the Japanese, and in this respect it is difficult to compare the country to other Eastern States. The country has undoubtedly made great progress under the present administration, and the next ten years should prove to be intensely interesting as regards its change and development.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: It has been with extraordinary interest that I have been sitting here, watching these views and listening to what Mr. Hett has had to tell us. Four months hence it will be fifty years since I looked down on Korea from that ever-white mountain, Paiktusan, which Mr. Hett was speaking of just now. I was travelling with Mr. James, who was Vice-Consul at that time, and one object of our expedition was to find what was known as the Ever White Mountain. We supposed that the name was due to its peak being above the line of eternal snow, as such a name would imply in India. We went through thick forests, found the mountain and went up it, and discovered that the white appearance was not due to snow, but to white pumice-stone. On the top of the mountain we found a beautiful lake in what had been the crater, for the mountain was volcanic in origin. From that lake towards the back side of the mountain flowed the River Sungari, and on the other side the Yalu River, which forms the division between Manchuria and Korea.

Korea was then truly "the Hermit Kingdom," and almost unknown; one or two Europeans had been into it in the south, but the forests in the north were entirely unknown. It is with surprise that I learn there are motor roads and even a railway up to that frontier now.

The lecturer spoke of bandits. There were bandits there in those forests when we were there. We found them very honest, worthy people. We gave them money, and they undertook to see us through, and we travelled with considerably more safety there than in China. We lived cheek by jowl, and slept among them—so you see the company I was brought up with. (Laughter.) They were so honest among themselves that if a man found a ginseng plant growing, and not yet ready for taking, he would make a mark round it; and although the plant was worth £50 at that time, after he had marked it no one else would touch it but the owner.

As regards animal life, Mr. James (later Sir Evan James) was very

keen on shooting. We had not time for much, but we saw very little indeed of either bird or animal life. When hard up for food on one occasion we shot only one tree-partridge in three days, and had to live on that and nothing else for that time.

There was everywhere report of gold on the Manchurian side of the border. I did not see much, though there were these reports of it.

On the Manchurian side of the frontier the forests were considerably thicker than those in Korea. Day after day and week after week we marched without seeing the sky. I found a forest a much more gloomy place to go through than a desert. The air of a desert can be exhilarating, but when you go on and on through a dense forest of that sort the gloom tends to be very depressing.

Before proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, I would like to ask whether anyone here wishes to put any questions, or if there is anyone present who has also been in Korea?

DR. DARROCH: I visited Korea for the first time some 23 years ago. The Koreans then dressed in the white garments of which the lecturer has spoken, and wore the Korean triple hat, rather like a Welsh hat in shape, and tied under the chin with three separate strings. An American who saw it is said to have prophesied their downfall, for he said that people who could not invent a better way of securing their hats could not hold their kingdom. At that time all the buildings of importance in the country seemed to be copied from Peking; the principal Buddhist temple was a copy of the Temple of Heaven at Peking, and the country was then exceedingly loyal to China and regarded China much as Moslems regard Mecca. The only strife in the country then was the quarrel that was always going on between the King and Queen; they were at daggers drawn. An American missionary, Dr. Underwood, showed me a little cabinet in his house. He carried food from this cabinet directly into the King's palace. From fear of poisoning the King trusted no one about him to prepare his food. It was cooked under Dr. Underwood's supervision, and only the King and he had keys to the cabinet in which it was carried. The struggle between the King and Queen led to the downfall of the kingdom of Korea.

From the hilltop above the town one looked down into China; a man was always on guard there, and if anyone appeared on the horizon he gave the signal, and everyone came out to welcome the messenger from China.

But it seems that Korea backed the wrong horse, for China could do nothing to help them when Japan came; and the whole country went over to Japan.

Mrs. GULL: I was in Korea last year, in September, but the part of Korea that I saw was confined to the railways and the capital. The subject of bandits interested me a good deal. The bandits are not now the gentle playfellows that Sir Francis describes. They are giving the Japanese a lot of trouble. We went up to Harbin when the Emperor went up, and the line of rail was guarded every few yards by soldiers, because of the danger of bandits. In Harbin we heard of no less than six bandit outrages on the line within a few days.

Miss CHRISTIE: I was in Korea twenty-eight years ago, just after the Empress was murdered. I felt convinced that Korea would be under Russia if the Japanese did not take it.

A point that I thought might be of interest is that the pines that you have seen in Mr. Hett's pictures will grow over here. Pines that I brought back with me from Phyeng-Yang are growing to-day, twenty-eight years later, in Scotland. I was also able to grow azaleas that I brought back with me from Korea.*

A MEMBER: May I ask the lecturer whether the Koreans still wear their characteristic black head-dress?

Mr. HETT: The black head-dresses are still largely seen in the towns. They wear white clothes always in summer, and change to dark clothes only in winter. I am not clear as to what exactly are the motives for this.

Another SPEAKER: I should like to know if there is any improvement in the milk supply in Korea? When I was there some years ago I believe that I was the first mother to keep a goat to provide milk for my little son, which goat accompanied us wherever we went.

Mr. HETT: The difficulty in obtaining milk still exists. The only dairy herd in the country is near Sai-ching. Such cattle as there are in the country are all used for draught purposes. Nowadays one can buy butter, which comes over from Japan.

When closing the meeting Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND said: I am sorry to hear that the manners of the bandits have deteriorated since I was in Korea. (Laughter.) I think we must conclude that that is due to the downfall of the Chinese Empire.

* *Pinus Koraiensis*. Miss Christie also brought seed of these trees home, and in 1934 the trees coned for the first time in Scotland. The tree is very ornamental.

In 1886 there was not a single Japanese nor a Russian in either Korea or Manchuria. I think there is no doubt that the unsettled conditions in those regions is due to the break-up of the Chinese Empire.

We have had a most delightful afternoon, and we wish to thank you, Mr. Hett, most sincerely for your interesting and most instructive address.

THE WAR IN ABYSSINIA*

By MAJOR-GENERAL A. C. TEMPERLEY,
C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

I AM well aware that in this audience to-night there are a number of members of this Society more qualified than myself to speak upon the subject. I can only remind you of the advice in the Far West: "Don't shoot the pianist; he is doing his best." If you will accept my remarks in that spirit, I feel that you and I will not quarrel. I am going to try to put before you the war as a whole, and I do not think it is possible to do that without looking at the political background. Most wars have their roots far in the past and this war is no exception to that rule.

The first thing I want you to consider for a few moments is the Italian case. One may have hard things to say about Signor Mussolini and about the Italian attitude, and certainly no one can be found in this room to justify aggression, but that does not alter the fact that, apart from the question of aggression itself, there is a great deal to be said on the side of the Italian land hunger and the demand for colonies. If you throw back your minds to the latter end of the last century, Africa was the scene of a great struggle for colonies. The best part of Africa was grabbed by us and the French. The Germans came in a bad third. The Italians had only achieved unity in 1870, were then a struggling Great Power and had to accept the crumbs that fell from the rich men's table. These were two poverty-stricken pieces of desert along the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Across those wretched strips of sand they saw Abyssinia, a country fit for white men to live in and flowing, as they believed, with milk and honey, not to mention gold and other precious metals. They saw the Emperor Menelik, a great man, consolidating an Empire, and naturally they were envious. Then came the Great War and the Peace Conference. You will recollect that, during the opportune withdrawal of the Italian representatives for a few days, when they went back to Rome in a huff, the British and French representatives divided up the German colonies and

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on January 22, 1936, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., in the Chair.

Italy got nothing. Then, of course, Italy went through a bad period politically and was almost slipping into Bolshevism when the Fascist movement saved it. With the rise of that movement came a consciousness of nationality that Italy previously had lacked. They were not content to see some of the best elements of their population migrating under another flag, and, as their population increased, their demand for colonies became more insistent—and their demand for raw materials as well. I do not doubt that Signor Mussolini has dreamed his dreams of a great African Empire, like the old Roman Empire, spreading from Libya across the Nile Valley, whenever we should be weak enough to clear out of Egypt and the Sudan, to the Red Sea. It is an attractive vision. During the years that I was at Geneva the Italians took the greatest interest in mandates. Whenever a question arose involving a change in the character of one the Italians were foremost in trying to press their claims, and they argued that they had been unfairly treated in the past. Then, I think, they began to learn the unfortunate, the cynical lesson of the post-war era, that constitutional agitation does not get you very far. They saw that, time after time, the great Powers would recognize a *fait accompli* and say little more about it, and that violence nearly always paid. They saw it at Vilna, at Memel, and even to a certain extent perhaps in Ireland and India. I suppose they made up their minds that, having failed in constitutional agitation, violence was the only method left of getting colonies. I do not know how Signor Mussolini considered the question of the League, but it seems to me that always before his mind must have been the lesson of the Manchurian crisis. He saw that when the League had to handle that affair the only people who made any agitation about handing over the Chinese province to Japan were the small Powers. I suppose it would not be unreasonable for Signor Mussolini to believe that the same scene would be re-enacted when the Abyssinian crisis came on. He thought there would be a great deal of talk at Geneva, that a number of resolutions would be passed and, in the end, just as the League tacitly recognized the *fait accompli* of Manchuria, it would recognize the *fait accompli* of Abyssinia.

Having gone so far, I shall be suspected of being a Fascist propagandist, with a black shirt under my waistcoat, but I shall have other things to say which may relieve you of that fear. I have only endeavoured to put before you the view that a not unreasonable Italian might take on the question of getting colonies.

Next in my excursion round the political scene, I shall have to say

something about the French attitude. They have been very much criticized in this country for their lack of enthusiasm for League principles and for the Covenant of the League. There is no doubt justification for that criticism, but you must remember that the French look at nearly all international problems from one point of view only, and that is Germany. They regard any political combination of Powers, any activity in other directions as a pure waste of time, and not only a waste of time but a deplorable waste of effort. From the French point of view, the fact of a strong military Power having a large part of its armed forces in Africa and the whole of its attention drawn away from Europe, the whole of its drive and force turned southwards instead of northwards, seems a deplorable situation, as they deem it the duty of all self-respecting Powers to unite with the French in watching Germany. After long and patient diplomacy, after years of bickering with the Italians, the French concluded the Rome Agreement last year between M. Laval and Signor Mussolini, in which they decided to let bygones be bygones and that a new era of peace should exist between them. Now the important part of this agreement was the military agreement, in which both sides were to disarm along their common frontier; that is to say, the French were able to move the divisions facing the Italians along the Alps to the north-east to make them stronger against Germany. The Italians were at liberty to do the same, and the Italian Government, it is believed, undertook certain obligations as to the number of divisions they would concentrate at the Brenner in case Germany attacked France. I am not telling any secrets, but I believe this to be the case. There is no doubt about the existence of the military agreement, and I do not think that the facts can be denied. It is quite clear, from the French point of view, that their great object must have been to avoid coming down on the opposite side to Italy. After years of struggle they had got this agreement and they were not lightly going to cast it aside. When it became a choice between Italian friendship and ours the choice became a very difficult one. But in fact France had no real alternative, because our resources and our history and tradition showed clearly that we, as an ally, were more valuable to France than Italy could be. In the most cynical weighing of the scales France could have little option but to come down on our side—if the choice had to be made. Then again there is another consideration which affected the French very much. If it should unhappily come to the point of a war in the Mediterranean between us and Italy, at the worst it would be for us chiefly a matter

for the Fleet and air forces. To the French it would mean that they would have to mobilize their army. The French Government believed that any attempt to mobilize their army for service against Italy would produce something like a revolution, the country being so profoundly divided on the question of sanctions. If that be true, it puts the French in an extraordinarily difficult position, and one can have sympathy with them if they are less enthusiastic in taking a strong line against Italy, whether in oil sanctions or terms of peace, because, in contrast with us, their public opinion is very divided.

Then there is our own attitude. I think that has come as a surprise to a good many people. If you look back on our long history you will see that there is no country that has been such an exponent of the art of grabbing colonies as ourselves. We are the greatest of colonizers, and it must have come as a great shock to Signor Mussolini, who may well have said: "Here is the great exponent of doing what I am going to do. Why should England object? Nobody has done it more than she has." Another very disconcerting thing about us is that we make up our minds so late. It was the same in 1914. In that summer—perhaps on July 28—nobody knew which way England was going. Certainly her statesmen did not know. Yet by August 3 the country was united. On this present issue, too, we made up our minds, comparatively speaking, very late, but when they were made up—in September last—I think you will agree that there was real unity. When Sir Samuel Hoare made his great speech at Geneva, I think the country was completely behind him. Of course, there may be more than one reason why the country is united. I think there were many currents that made up that unity. There were sections of opinion with whom the chief reason for enthusiasm was that it was a fight to a finish with Fascism; they would have been less enthusiastic if we had been attempting to coerce Russia. Others were disturbed about Italy getting astride our communications with India and the Dominions. Another large section was out for defending the League of Nations, first, last, and all the time. But whatever the reason, public opinion was united.

There is one more point of view: that of the League. The only criticism I have heard of the League is that it was too slow and too late. I do not know that that is a very fair criticism. After all, the League, according to its constitution, is bound to try to work for a settlement until the two parties have actually gone to war. The League had no power to order Signor Mussolini to stop sending troops through the Red Sea last year. They might have invited him to do so, and I

imagine that Signor Mussolini would have replied by leaving the League. He had not then committed an act of war. When Abyssinia was invaded the League took immediate action, the imposition of sanctions, as it was bound to do. Some people—Mr. Lloyd George among others—have said that sanctions are no good and, in any case, are too late. I do not want to go into a long discussion of sanctions, because I want to pass to the military part, which is my only justification for appearing on this platform, but I would say that, whatever Mr. Lloyd George and others may think on this subject, Signor Mussolini at any rate does not agree with them. The extremely rigorous restrictions he has imposed on the Italian people, the real nervousness displayed by him and by the Italians concerning the effect of sanctions, are a clear indication of how they feel and how they fear their ultimate effect. As to the question of oil sanctions, I will say only a sentence or two. We can only act if we have a united League and if the non-League Powers will take drastic action as well. It is no use the League Powers acting if steps taken by the non-League Powers result in plenty of oil being sent to Italy. I understand that Italy has seven months' supply of oil; if all the oil producing Powers would impose sanctions the end of the campaign would be bound to come very soon.

I pass from what I may call the political background to the campaign itself. I do not think I need describe to you the country; you are probably all acquainted with it through the newspapers. The centre part of it is a great massif of mountains, some of them twelve and fourteen thousand feet high, and surrounding it are the fringes of deserts, the Ogaden and Danakil desert and so on. The Italians, who had prepared for this campaign for years, realized that it was going to be a war of engineers and communications. The armies have to be fed and to get their ammunition. This remains the chief problem of the war. In considering it the Italians had another very grave problem to consider, and that was the number of troops they were to use. They had a considerable respect for the warlike qualities of the Abyssinians, and they dared not risk a defeat. If Italy had another Adowa, her prestige would sink so low abroad and in Italy itself that she could hardly recover. This forced them to the view that they must use overwhelming numbers, and they decided to send something like a quarter of a million men to Abyssinia. I think it is this decision that has done more than anything else to decide the fortunes of the campaign. For it is only a matter of arithmetic to see that if you employ a quarter of a million men, the supply question will bulk so largely

and the difficulty of feeding them will be so great that the possibility of a rapid decision is ruled out once and for all.

In the north the Italian objective is Addis Ababa, the capital. They decided to employ ten divisions from Eritrea. Later they increased that by yet another division—four regular divisions, five black shirt divisions, and two native divisions. They had a secondary front in the south to support an offensive from their other colony, Somalia. Here they began by using two divisions only—one white and one native—and the reason they could not employ more divisions was that, during the monsoon, the whole of the troops on this front had to be fed from Bander Kassim on the Gulf of Aden, which meant a lorry haul of six hundred miles for every day's food. They have since been reinforced by two more divisions. The obvious objective of the Southern Force under General Graziani is to reach Harar, which is the only important town besides Addis Ababa, and to cut the railway from Addis Ababa to Jibuti. As you know, the railway is the only line of supply the Abyssinians have. At the present moment ammunition is going through fairly well, and the sooner the Italians cut the railway the sooner they deprive the Abyssinians of any chance of getting ammunition; it is only a matter of time, after the ammunition is cut off, when the Abyssinians will have to make peace, because they manufacture none in the country.

These are the two fronts. Of the Abyssinian forces very little is known, but they probably had about a million fighting men. The limiting factor, of course, is not men but rifles. It is believed that they had not more than half a million rifles when the campaign started. They had a few hundred machine-guns, no artillery of any kind, no tanks of any value, and only half a dozen aeroplanes. They have no engineers, no supplies, and no staff. The Emperor managed to establish a few depots for corn, but the Abyssinian campaign methods are simple. Each man sets out with a bag of meal, which is supposed to last a month. When that is finished they live on the country as far as they can, and when food in the villages is exhausted the armies have to disperse and go home. It is a somewhat elementary method of warfare. The great difficulty, of course, is ammunition supply. Nobody knows exactly how much ammunition there was in the country when the war started, but I believe the most optimistic estimate was one hundred million rounds. If you double it, that is still not very much. One hundred million rounds for half a million rifles means two hundred rounds as the average for each rifleman to last him for the

campaign, and I suppose the Abyssinians, not being the best trained soldiers in the world at husbanding ammunition, might fire off the two hundred rounds in the first five minutes! That is roughly the armament of the Abyssinians. The Emperor's bodyguard, and standing army of about thirty-five thousand men, are trained on European lines, but the rest are merely tribal bands, twenty thousand, ten thousand, five thousand, under the controls of chiefs, with very little allegiance to the Emperor and liable to disperse when food runs out. There is no real control, and it is not a very promising army with which to confront European soldiers equipped with the most modern armaments.

As to the course of the campaign: Italy's main idea at first was a political success. Her object was to secure a great victory at Adowa, and she used six divisions for the initial advance, keeping four in reserve. They crossed the frontier on October 3 and took Adigrat and Adowa. That had a great political effect in Italy, and it was done practically without casualties. After delaying a month they pushed on to Makalle, which they took on November 7 and where they still are. They advanced, in other words, about fifty miles, and their front runs from Makalle along the River Takkaze. It is within the bounds of possibility that, when the rains break in April, they will still be there. When they got to Makalle they found to the west of it a great tangle of mountains called the Tembien massif, where, I believe, the Abyssinians are still holding out. It is inside the Italian lines and it may take them weeks or months to turn the Abyssinians out. It is terribly difficult mountain warfare and the Abyssinians are fighting extremely well.

What has been the reason for these prolonged delays? The reason has been entirely roads. The roads they have made so far in Abyssinia are nothing but dirt tracks. The difficulties are incredible—up mountains seven or eight thousand feet, down ravines three thousand feet and up again. They have to carry two thousand tons of food and ammunition to the front every day. The lorries cut up the whole of the road surface and the men and animals are ankle deep in dust all the time. A hundred and ninety-eight lorries broke down in the first four days' march and were thrown aside into the ravines. The casualties in lorries have been enormous and so have those among the pack animals. They have forty thousand labourers working on the roads and they can only just keep the roads going to allow lorries to go through. In Makalle they could not get wheeled vehicles through for

the first three weeks. The troops were fed by pack transport and aeroplanes. I am told that between the frontier and Adowa there are twelve hundred hairpin bends. What the other fifty miles to Makalle can be like I do not know, but I believe things are very similar. When you consider figures of that sort and the thousands of tons of stores that have to be carried, you see what a dreadful problem the Italians have. They cannot move because they cannot feed their men. If they advance they have to make more roads, and I repeat that I shall not be surprised in the least if they do not make any substantial advance from Makalle before the rains, because of the terrible conditions of their communications.

Originally the Abyssinians did not dispute the advance at all. The Italians would have been very glad if they had. It would have been a great help to bring off a big battle like Omdurman and dispose of thirty thousand Abyssinians. That might have knocked Abyssinia out of the war. But the Abyssinians did not dispute the advance until ten days before Christmas and then a surprising change came over the front. One knew that the Italian Air Force had become very active, having learned that the Abyssinians meant to hit back. Then in ten days the Abyssinians struck three hammer blows. Advancing with a few thousand men in secrecy by night, they crossed the Takkaze River and forced a way very deep into the Italian line, penetrating many miles and driving the Italians before them. It was only after very severe hand-to-hand fighting with reinforcements brought in that the Abyssinians were stopped. As far as I know, the Abyssinians are still substantially at the points to which they penetrated in the three counter-attacks. That, of course, has changed the whole situation in the north, because, what is called in military language, the initiative has passed to the Abyssinians. Temporarily they are calling the tune, and the Italians suffer the demoralization of feeling themselves on the defensive and not knowing when a few thousand Abyssinians are going to turn up behind and attack them at night. It is a very uncomfortable feeling.

The Abyssinians seem, too, to have discovered a way of overcoming the modern armaments. One thought that aeroplanes, tanks, and machine-guns would be their undoing, but they have learned to neutralize all these in the mountain warfare, so that the only success the Italians have from the air is in bombing Red Cross hospitals. The situation on the northern front is extremely interesting.

In the south General Graziani had a very difficult task. He had a

front from the British border all the way down to Dolo, about four hundred miles, and with only two divisions of about ten or twelve thousand each. They must be pretty thin on the ground. He got to Gorahai in November and then tried to make a dash towards Sasa-Baneh. He was attacked at Anale and lost four tanks. Since then, apart from Dolo, he is still holding the front where he was when the war began. In the last few weeks he has got reinforcements of one black shirt and one white division. He is now able until the next monsoon to use Mogadishu as his base, which shortens the distance that he has to bring his food. Something has definitely gone wrong on the Ogaden front. Nobody knows quite what it is, whether it is sickness, desertions, rain, or what is the cause. General Graziani is singularly uncommunicative, and no foreign correspondents are allowed on the front, so nobody knows what has happened. At Dolo, however, he has had a striking success. Some time ago Ras Desta announced that he was going to invade Italian Somaliland with two hundred thousand men. All Abyssinian figures are inclined to be unreliable. Ras Desta did everything he should not have done. He proceeded to establish himself in the valley of the Ganale Dorya River and sat down. It is a fatal thing for the Abyssinians to do, because they merely eat their food and are an object for Italian air bombardment. Above all, he tried to entrench a position, and that again, I think, is equally fatal for Abyssinian methods of war. He made no move. Obviously, Graziani was anxious about the situation. He attacked Ras Desta once by air and once by flying column and then decided to destroy him once and for all. He moved half his force to Dolo, went for Ras Desta's force sitting in this river valley and, by all accounts—in ground favourable for his tanks and aeroplanes—he cut it to ribbons. I doubt if the casualties are anything like the reports, but that force is completely dispersed and broken as a military organization. I understand Ras Desta has considerable reserves some distance behind. Whether he has or not the Italian offensive seems to have been planned for political reasons to raise the morale at home and I doubt if the military result will be considerable. There is no real objective except to disengage Dolo. The further General Graziani goes the longer becomes his line, and it is probable that the problem of carrying food and petrol will shortly become very difficult. It would not be easy to get to Addis Ababa that way and he is going further and further away from his true objective—namely, to cut the railway and get to Harar. Of course, it has heartened the Italians on the home front to feel that their army has done something at last, and

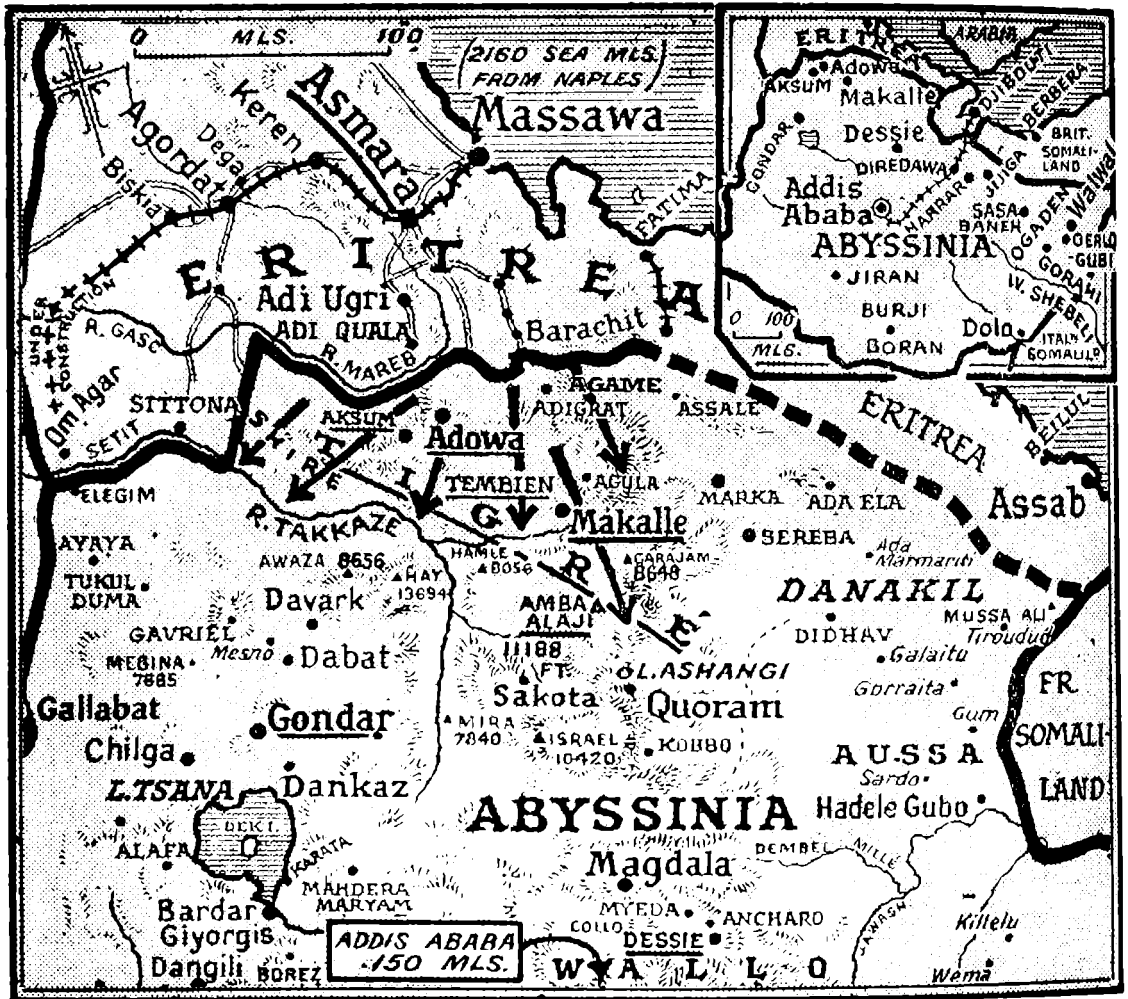
we cannot neglect the moral factor at a time when things were not going at all well.

That, very briefly, is the situation of the campaign at present. I would like, in a few sentences, to make some very rash forecasts about the future. The Italian General Staff warned Signor Mussolini and begged him not to embark on this campaign. They said it would take five or six years at least and might cost him hundreds of thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of money. In spite of that, he obstinately decided to go through with it. Their idea was a slow advance, gradually absorbing the country. Signor Mussolini's profound miscalculation has been the attitude of the League. I do not know, and I do not think anybody here knows, how soon the economic sanctions, which have stifled seventy per cent. of Italian trade, will exercise a stranglehold on Italy. A time will come—in a few months, nine, ten, or eighteen months, I do not know—when he can no longer maintain his army in Abyssinia and he has to see them starve or bring them home, and it is a race between the effect of sanctions and putting Abyssinia out of the war. If he can put Abyssinia out of the war by a series of crushing victories, cause the army to disintegrate before sanctions take effect and without the intervention of the League of Nations, Signor Mussolini has won. If he cannot, he has lost. It sounds simple. All great strategic problems can be very simply stated, and it does not require any great ingenuity to state this one. But a further question involved in this is the rains. From April to October there can be no fighting. What is he going to do if he is not much nearer Addis Ababa and with five hundred miles to go? He cannot get to Addis Ababa for two years, possibly three. If he is still some fifty miles beyond Makalle and has to contemplate six months' rains, what will he do? He has to put the men in hutted camps. Where is the material to come from? He has to make macadam roads; and think of the sickness, the war-weariness, and the impatience at home! Then, possibly, before the rains dry up, sanctions may have forced him to bring the army back. It is not an inviting prospect.

A month ago, if I may venture my own opinion, I thought it possible that Abyssinia would be put out of the war. Chieftains were going over with suspicious rapidity. They showed no fight, and one wondered if they were ever going to start or whether this drift over to the Italians would become so general that the armies would disintegrate entirely. I thought a month ago that might happen, but the complete stagnation of the Italians, their inability to move for the last

two and a half months in the north, and the fact that the Abyssinians have not lost heart and, when they fight, they fight extremely well, has caused me rather to revise my opinion. If the Italians cannot make any substantial advance before the rains, I can only say I do not envy Signor Mussolini and Marshal Badoglio the decisions they will have to make when the rains begin in April.

The CHAIRMAN, expressing the thanks of the meeting to General Temperley, said: He has traced the origin of this adventure into which Mussolini has plunged his country and given us a graphic account of the military situation on the north and south fronts. When the lecturer mentioned that the Italians were astonished at the attitude that we, in particular, took up towards their projected acquisition of a colony, I thought myself that two great countries were in the same position. The reason is that they have come into the world too late. Germany only achieved her unity really in the war against Austria or in the Franco-Prussian war, and Italy about the same time. Up to then they were engaged in fighting among themselves and exhausted their energies in internecine quarrels, and, when they were united, the best portions of the world outside Europe had been snapped up by countries united from the first. That presents us with a problem to which I do not see the solution.



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A CORRESPONDENT IN ABYSSINIA

BY LIEUT.-COMMANDER M. H. M. DURAND

Lieut.-Commander M. H. M. Durand gave an informal account of a visit to the war zone in Abyssinia, where he was sent as War Correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*, at a Members' Meeting on March 10. General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., in the Chair. The following notes give a brief outline of the lecture.

BECAUSE I have recently come home from Italy's northern front in Ethiopia, I am always having to prophesy what is going to happen next. When I was in Asmara, it was I who was asking the military experts among the journalists what the next moves would be.

For instance, when Marshal Badoglio took over and reporters and photographers found themselves virtually imprisoned in Asmara, I asked a Polish staff captain, who was doing War Correspondent out there, what the Italians were going to do next. His answer was definite.

"They can do nothing. They will stay where they are until the rains, and then they will starve." Events have turned out rather differently. But you can't blame anybody, however expert he may be in military matters, for being a poor prophet.

In that strange campaign in Ethiopia, over a terrain of crag and precipice, where Nature seems to have lost her temper with the landscape or to have become demented, things happen which in any other war would seem fabulous.

The invaders occupy a large province almost without firing a shot, and they march peacefully, without even taking the normal precautions of piqueting heights and so on, through places that are natural fortresses, where one would think a handful of men could hold up a battalion. When they are consolidating positions and developing communications, fighting begins behind their lines.

Anti-aircraft guns fire downwards at bombing aeroplanes—as happened when Count Ciano led "La Disperata" squadron to attack an Ethiopian camp in the Buia valley.

Oerlikon guns opened on the aeroplanes from the mountain-sides above. There seems to have been no tactical reason for the squadron

to dive so low—it was just a piece of typical Italian heroism, which often seemed to me to militate against the taking of simple precautions.

One of the strangest phenomena of the campaign was the escape of Colonel Mariotti's flanking column from a perfect ambushment in Enda Gorge, near Azbi, where Degiacc Cassa Sebat's force held it for a day.

The purpose of the column was to protect the left flank of the main Italian advance on Makallé.

Mariotti's force set out, 2,000 strong, all Askaris or Danakils—about half of them boys of 16 or 18—under tried Colonial officers, some of whom had had 16 years' experience in Libyan campaigns.

The column was carrying four chests containing 10,000 thalers, and 10,000 rifles, to be presented to a force of Danakils which was expected to join up before they reached the well at Elefan. Thirty camels carrying four mountain guns followed, and the supply train. The column was always in fighting order, as an attack was expected.

It soon became apparent that the maps were very inaccurate; unmarked mountains were encountered and sometimes where mountainous country was expected there would be a plain.

No Danakils joined before the column reached Elefan, but shortly afterwards they appeared. Instead of 10,000, however, there were only 200 of them. All the time, confusing reports of Sebat's movements and intentions were coming in.

The white officers were stared at in amazement by the groups of inhabitants passed on the way. At Elefan, where natives were interrogated, only one old man had seen a white man before—and he was doubtful, because it was the Greek shopkeeper in Makallé he had seen, and the old black was not sure he counted as white.

No answer had been received to a letter written from Damallé by Mariotti to Sebat, telling him to submit or take the consequences, and at Au it had been learned, from chiefs who made submission, that he was preparing to attack with a force that was not composed of natives of the district. Where and when the blow would fall, no one could foretell. Sebat was said to have 400 trained men and 100 irregulars.

Mariotti's column left Au at dawn on the 12th. He was already behind time, since Makallé had been occupied three days before. After nearly four hours' march the column reached a small gorge, half a mile long and very narrow, running east and west.

The dry bed of the Enda river ran along the bottom, the sides were precipitous, Mount Lugbu formed the north side, Mount Derdega the south. Fifty yards up the side of Lugbu a mule track ran. The other

end of the gorge was practically closed by a slope of the northern mountain.

During the three hours' climb towards this gorge the progress of the column was accompanied by an insistent, reiterated, clear bird-call of two notes on the left flank. Afterwards officers thought this must have been a signal.

The column entered this gorge, instead of halting and bringing up the guns, without even taking the precaution of piqueting the heights. The flanking files, composed of men from the band of Massawa, were only 30 yards up the mountain-sides on either flank of the main column.

The vanguard, commanded by Colonel Belly, had almost reached the eastern end of the gorge, and only the supply caravan, protected by the rearguard of the 26th Battalion of Askaris, were still outside it, when Mariotti suddenly exclaimed that the place was a perfect one for an ambush. He called two orderlies, sent one forward to halt the van and the other back to summon the captain of the camel battery.

When this officer came up, Mariotti gave him the order to bring up the guns and train them on the ridge in front.

As the captain saluted there came a crash of musketry from three sides, which echoed round the gorge so confusingly that it was impossible to locate the enemy concentrations. The artillery captain fell with a bullet in the ankle.

Twenty-three out of the 30 camels carrying the artillery were shot down, and in the first volley the crew of one gun were killed. The Italian sergeant himself served and fired a gun all day.

Colonel Belly, who was 62 years old, was wounded in knee and hand by machine-gun bullets, but led the van to the attack in an uphill charge. Hand-to-hand fighting ensued, but the column could not force the end of the pass. On the north flank the Ethiopians reached the road before being driven back—largely by the use of hand grenades.

Five machine-guns were playing on the Italian column, in addition to Mauser rifles and rifles presented by the Italians in 1928. It transpired that the end of the gorge was only lightly held and that the main Ethiopian forces were on the flanks.

For a few terrible minutes it seemed as though the black soldiers of the Italian forces would break and run, and only the example and exhortations of the white officers and Askari non-commissioned officers rallied them. The young Askaris became wildly excited and rushed about, their tall tarbouches being brushed off in the shoulder-high

scrub until the ground was littered with them. The Askari non-commissioned officers produced lions' claws and strips of lion-skin and exhibited them, boasting of the lions and men they had killed and exhorting the men to be lions in battle.

Firing continued spasmodically all day long. Twice a reconnoitring aeroplane flew over without sighting the column in its desperate straits. The band of Massawa was only able to hold its own, and the 26th Askari Battalion, attempting an attack from the rear of the position towards the flank, could only get part way up the mountain-side. They had placed the few remaining camels and the supply-train mules in a position by a cliff out of fire.

At intervals all day an Ethiopian trumpeter blared defiance with mocking trumpet blasts, a sound which afterwards Italian officers said was the worst thing in the whole action. After some hours every blast drew a volley and even bursts of machine-gun fire, as the men's nerves frayed; but the trumpeter was well hidden in a cave and he was never hit.

Mariotti prepared for a last stand and retreat. For three and a half hours the action hung in the balance, but no further attacks came, only the rifle fire of an invisible enemy and the derisive sound of the trumpet.

And all the while Degiacc Cassa Sebat and his staff could be seen through field-glasses on a distant Amba top, well out of range, calmly watching the progress of the fight.

Night fell and firing ceased. Mariotti ordered no fires, no smoking. The portable radio set was put into commission. Signals for help were broadcast, Adigrat, Adowa, Asmara were called—but there was no reply.

Then Colonel Mariotti, speaking the very language of that heroism to which I have already referred, said: "Nobody hears us. We are abandoned by all. Let us hope that God has not abandoned us!"

No shots were fired all night, and just before dawn Mariotti said: "We cannot stay here. We must gain the heights. Another night here means destruction."

All were convinced the Ethiopians were waiting for them, but as a last desperate attempt the colonel sent the van in single file up the hill-side. Heavy losses seemed certain, but the alternative to this was destruction.

Carrying wounded, picking up wounded who had lain exposed all night, the column moved slowly on.

Not a shot was fired. The Ethiopian force had vanished in the night. And though the column left its supply train far behind and was without food for four days, the only other casualties suffered were among the wounded they carried with them.

The High Command sent aeroplanes to drop food by parachute for the column. Looking back on Azbi, when more than half a day's march past the town, the column saw the aircraft busily dropping supplies. Doubtless the natives enjoyed them.

That was a neat trap, and during the fight the Ethiopians did well. Their shooting was not very accurate, I learned, but it was low and the ambushed force had a lot of wounds from rock splinters. But to let a chance like that slip shows the Ethiopians don't understand the possibilities of guerrilla fighting. They still think it clever to advance in mass-formation—at least, they did before their recent reverses.

I never suspected they would be so asinine as to try to stand up to the Italians in a straight fight. In a pitched battle the Italian superiority of training and of weapons is bound to tell. Furthermore, the Ethiopians, like the Askaris—native troops under Italian officers—are quite tall fellows sometimes, but their physique struck me as poor. The Italians seemed far more burly. The only advantage the blacks have over their white invaders, man for man, is speed.

While Mariotti was leading his column round the edge of the Danakil desert, I was leading Ras Gugsa's irregulars across the plain of Makallé, and I speak with feeling when I say those blacks can move. For at the end of the march from Agula on the previous day with an Askari column I had come across John Whitaker, war correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune*, and we joined forces for the night, which we spent under a bush. The chanting of a Shumbashi (sergeant) waking his Askaris roused us before dawn, and I had the pleasure of hearing an Italian colonel ticking off one of his officers in generous terms. In a high voice, shaking with passion, he almost screamed: "This is the second time this has happened. If it happens a third time, I shall kill you with my bare hands, and face court-martial in any court in the world."

These Askaris were going to Dolo, so we left them, after going down the steep Amba, and struck right to intercept the advance on the town. The sun came up over the mountain range behind us, and the air began to lose some of its chill. As we topped a low spur at the centre of the three cliff-like ends of the mountain we saw in front of us the rough stone walls and conical thatches of the hamlet called

Ariena. Some Ethiopians with long rifles slung on their shoulders were moving about among the huts, but we saw a black girl come out of a tucul carrying on her head a bulbous water-pot with the neck stuffed with straw, and this "business as usual" atmosphere reassured us.

Our arrival created a stir. Our reception might well have been hostile. Actually these inhabitants of the Tigré showed no sign of resistance to the invaders. One young black lad ran to fetch the chief. We sat down on some rocks, and while we were waiting I hired a small black boy to carry my roll of blankets.

It had to be a very small boy, because as soon as an Ethiopian is big enough to carry a rifle or scimitar he will not demean himself by carrying burdens—those are for women, old men, and children. I once induced one, by giving him money, to take my pack and let me carry his rifle, but after about a hundred yards the youngster suddenly sat down on the track and refused to look at me or to speak. His shame had overwhelmed him, and further offers of cash did not avail to restore his *amour propre*.

From where we were sitting Whitaker and I had a fine view of the plain of Makallé.

Cultivated fields stretched across to the mountain, behind the western spur of which the town was situated, and almost straight across our path ran the stream which goes on to Dolo—the Mai (river) Dolo. Directly south was a walled house built of brown stone, with a low, square gate-tower at its eastern end, which had a few eucalyptus trees grouped about it.

On the spur of the mountain hiding Makallé the dun-coloured tuculs of a village called Sciafat were clearly visible. There was no sign of any Ethiopian forces—Ras Seyum had evidently wisely decided on discretion for this occasion.

The chief of the village appeared with two or three more warriors, all with slung rifles, and we did our best to talk with them by signs. When they understood we wanted to go on to Makallé, there was an outburst of chattering. The chief pulled aside his shamah of dirty grey and pointed to two red and yellow cartridge belts round his waist. There were eight empty places in one of them.

"Makallé!" he grinned meaningly. Then, raising his hands as though holding a rifle, he said, "Hou! Hou! Hou!" And he shook his head at us, and rolled his eyes warningly.

Another warrior quickly thrust himself forward, held up his left

hand, and counted on his fingers up to thirteen. "Makallé!" he said triumphantly, striking his chest with his fist, meaning he had killed five more men than his chief, who did not look pleased.

I stood up then and repeated, "Makallé," nodding. A great jabbering ensued, the chief laying a detaining hand on my arm and shaking his head violently.

At this difficult moment a youth came up with a wicker bowl in his hands. The chief took it from him and with a courtly gesture presented it to me. His dignity sat well on him—he was quite a fine-looking, rather Arab-like type. I did my best to keep my horror out of my face when I saw the bowl was full—there must have been a good pint and a half of goat's milk in it—and that there were a number of drowned insects floating on the surface; but with a quick aside to my American colleague to the effect that he was "in this, too," I did my part, insects and all. Whitaker groaned when I handed on the bowl to him.

I then offered the chief a cigarette, which he took with an air of pleased interest. He blew out the first match I held up for him, so I signed that it was necessary to suck in. When he did so, the result was unfortunate—he made a face of acute disgust, coughed, threw the cigarette on to the ground and spat. But a few seconds later he picked the cigarette up again, pinched it out with his fingers, and tucked it away inside his shamah.

We tried to get out of our difficulty by signing that we were not going to Makallé, but to another village we could see to westwards—its name was Lacci—but the chief and two warriors insisted on escorting us. We went down a precipitous track, and found when we reached Lacci that there was a big gathering of warriors and elders, all very puzzled about us, but prepared to be friendly.

We sat on a low stone wall while they crowded round, and did our best to talk by signs. Another bowl of milk was brought, but I could only manage a mouthful.

I made friends with one youngster by admiring his rifle. It was Belgian-made, and had the Ethiopian lion and some Amharic characters engraved on it. Our friendship was sealed when I presented him with two wax matches, which he evidently considered valuable treasures, and I was glad to see how pleased he was, because for some minutes a black had been sitting beside me on the wall sharpening an offensive-looking, crooked knife on the stone. Another had been sitting beside my colleague, doing the same thing with a bayonet.

I managed to explain that Gugsu was coming to Makallé, which caused a great buzz of excitement, in which I heard the words "Haile Selassie Gugsu" repeated, and my statement was fortunately underlined by two reconnaissance aircraft flying over. This resulted in what appeared to be a meeting of Parliament, and we took the opportunity to move on.

It was now about two hours after sunrise, and we made the best pace we could over the broken ground towards the western cliff-face of the Amba. As we approached it ten Caproni bombers roared over, and almost immediately after we saw the white robes of the leading irregulars of Ras Gugsu's forces coming over the top of the mountain.

We made haste to intercept them, but they reached the bottom before we could get across. They halted there for us, however, and, when we came up with them, greeted us with hand-clapping—naturally thinking we were Italian officers.

Their leader was a picturesque, bearded fellow, dressed in breeches and a chocolate-coloured pullover, and wearing a scimitar. He made signs asking us to lead his line, and so we set out side by side at the head of the column, with a scout about five yards in front of us.

After about a quarter of an hour we saw that there were two other lines of irregulars on our right, moving parallel with us across the plain. From each little cluster of huts on the Amba sides all round came the high, far-carrying call of welcome, a trilling sound made by the women.

My colleague dropped back down the line to try to find out if it was going to enter the town itself, and so I, an Englishman, was left for some time "in charge." Actually I merely followed the scout, though once when I saw that we were drawing ahead of the other two lines, and that the rear of my line was straggling, I turned and held up my hand to halt the column for a few minutes. When the alignment was correct I led my irregulars on again.

After crossing Mai Dolo we approached fields of tall millet, and I was relieved to find that some dark objects I saw among the crops were only rocks.

Then a Fitaurari, a minor chieftain, rode over to us from the centre line—he was extremely puzzled by me—and directed the left line towards Sciafat. The padding of black feet quickened to a jog-trot, and the line swung eastwards. As my goal was the town, I abandoned my "command" and joined the centre line.

FROM RAWALPINDI TO LONDON BY CAR

BY LIEUT. L. D. M. PATTERSON, ROYAL SIGNALS

[The enclosed notes are included for the benefit of those members coming home from India by car.]

THE party from Rawalpindi to Alexandretta consisted of Lieut. T. A. K. Hickman, 13th/18th Hussars, and myself. From Alexandretta to Budapest Captain Mockler and Messrs. Chaytor and Kemble, of the Royal Artillery, travelled with us. Our car was a 1929 Chevrolet Tourer, and the Gunners had a 1928 Ford Tourer.

Our route from Quetta to Budapest, except for small differences, was that followed by Lieut.-Colonel Boyle in 1933, and described in detail in his book, *The Motorists' Vade-Mecum from Lahore to London*.^{*} We found this little guidebook quite invaluable. The information it contains was exactly what we required, and easily found. From Rawalpindi we travelled by Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Razmak, and Jandola to Wana; thence by the newly opened Tanai Post—Gulkach Road to Fort Sandeman, Hindubagh and Quetta.

We left Rawalpindi after much last-minute business at 2 p.m. on March 11. We had hoped to get up the Khyber Pass and spend the night at Landi Kotal, but found the road closed at Jamrud, owing to a shooting episode in the pass the previous day. After the garrison had kindly given us tea, we returned to Peshawar for the night.

March 12. The next day, over the Kohat Pass to Kohat for lunch. Then through simply terrific country, like the abomination of desolation of the Book of Daniel. The superb road ran through miles of scorching rock, gashed by great rifts, with nowhere a tree or blade of grass, to the green oasis of Bannu.

March 13. More of this country the following day, but mountainous and cleft by an occasional steep valley with a river and a strip of cultivation. We climbed steadily to lunch at Razmak. In the afternoon, southwards along a twisting and tortuous valley road to Jandola. Here we turned sharply westward, and sped along a

* Published by Thacker, Spink, Calcutta.

macadam road with a really wonderful surface and banked corners; past the little Tanai Post (lighted up by the evening sun and with its Union Jack fluttering bravely in the breeze) to Wana, which we reached at dusk.

March 14. Next day to Quetta by the newly opened road from Tanai Post to Gulkach, through the Gumal river, at present negotiated with the aid of two N.C.O's and a gang of coolies, provided by a thoughtful Government. We sent all the baggage over first, and with the coolies on the tow rope, and the water above the axles, the car half floated across. A bridge is promised over this river. At present it is a formidable obstacle, and would have been impassable had floods made it any deeper.

The track from Tanai Post to Gulkach was fair, thence to within eight miles of Fort Sandeman, rough. The last eight miles was over a very fine gravel surface, a thirty-foot road being marked out with small stones straight across the desert. Here it was possible to do a comfortable 40 m.p.h., one of the fastest stretches on the whole journey.

After lunch at Fort Sandeman, we drove hard for Quetta along the Zhob Valley road; two hundred miles with only one village, the little post of Hindubagh. Judged by Indian standards, the surface was very rough, but the road went straight on for miles without incident or a blade of grass, crossing every thirty miles or so the narrow-gauge railway from Fort Sandeman to Quetta, with its warning signs, "Beware of Trains." We hoped we might catch a glimpse of the twice weekly train, but we had come the wrong day.

We reached Quetta at 9.15 p.m., having taken some seven hours to do the two hundred miles from Fort Sandeman. From Wana to Quetta we had met not a single car. The Tanai Post to Fort Sandeman road is open to private traffic on Thursdays and Sundays only. We made the journey on Thursday and spent the week-end in Quetta.

March 18. We left Quetta by the weekly train to Nok Kundi on Monday morning, with our car in a van behind us. The Gunners in their Ford did this portion of the trip by "land" a few days later, but it must have been terribly exhausting.

March 19 (93 miles, 12 hours). We got away from Nok Kundi with difficulty at 2 p.m. on Tuesday. The unloading of the car and the extraction of the petrol from another van proved extraordinarily tedious. We were fortunate in securing as guide the police superintendent of Qila Safed, the British post on the Persian frontier. With him and his rifle we reached the post at midnight, after having been

stuck twice in sand. Without him it would have taken several hours more. The track was truly appalling.

March 20 (52 miles, 3 hours). At Mir Jawah next morning the Customs were charming, and amused at my attempts at the language. Driving carefully so as to reduce, as we thought, the dreadful jarring of a very rough road, it took us 3 hours to do the 52 miles to Zahidan. There we learned that the only speed for Persian roads is 30-40 m.p.h.!

March 21 (301 miles). We left Zahidan at 8.30 a.m. next morning, having decided to do the 300 miles to Birjand in one day. The road, including 100 miles across the desert, was fair. We had tea with the friendly Sikh who sells petrol at Qaimabad, and reached Birjand about 8 p.m., breaking for the third time our resolve not to drive at night.

March 22 (201 miles). Next day, over a much worse road to Turbat-i-Haideri. We approached this town, again in the dark, to find that to reach the garage-hotel we had to cross a broad river. It fortunately proved to be shallow, and we were encouraged by a guide, whom we persuaded to stand on the running-board. It was nevertheless a nasty experience.

March 23 (112 miles). After a cold, uncomfortable night we left for Meshed. The road goes over two magnificent passes, which had only been free of snow for a short time. We were most glad of the poshteens we had bought in Quetta. We spent three nights in Meshed, thereby losing the time we had gained, but we had come too fast, and were badly in need of a rest. We were shown round the town, and saw the outside of the mosque which contains the tomb of Imam Riza; the excellent bazaars; and later visited the modern tomb of Firdausi, at Tus, some twenty miles away.

March 26 (150 miles). The first day out from Meshed, on our way to Teheran, we saw the modern tomb of Omar Khayyám at Qadim Gah.

March 27 (290 miles). We spent two nights on the way to Teheran at garage-hotels, the first night at Sabzawar, the second at Semnan.

March 28 (141 miles). The third day we climbed up and down along a very fine but winding road, amidst the wonderful scenery of the Elburz Range. The highest pass is near Firuzkuh, a busy little place full of people occupied on the railway, which is being tunnelled from Teheran to the Caspian.

Teheran is a mixture of ancient and modern. Large and expensive American cars share the road with drushkas, whose horses are extremely well cared for, and generally compare favourably with those of any city in Europe. A great deal of the architecture is modern and

Western in style, but one has only to go up a side street to find oneself in the East again.

March 31 (190 miles). From Teheran we went up to the Caspian, retracing our steps to Firuzkuh, and from there following the half completed railway down the gorge, through which, by dint of much zigzagging and tunnelling, it eventually reaches the coastal plain. We found ourselves in scenery different from anything else in Persia: fertile land under cultivation; neat hedgerows, and trim little villages, mainly of thatched wooden houses.

April 1 and 2 (275 miles). We went along the coast from Meshed-es-Sar to Resht and Pahlevi, spending one night at a good modern hotel at the mineral springs of Ab-i-Garm.

April 3 (280 miles). Then back up the Rud-i-Safid Valley to Kazvin and Hamadan. We arrived late at night, owing to a series of minor mechanical troubles, but found a warm welcome from kind friends.

April 4 (132 miles). The last part of the Persian trip was through very fine mountain scenery. Our last night in Persia we camped near Taq-i-Bustan, a large cave containing two giant columns. Near the entrance a small river comes pouring out of the perpendicular rock.

April 5 (139 miles). The last day through Kermanshah, and then down through a long pass and the town of Qasr-i-Shirin to the 'Iraq frontier at Khosravi. The contrast in the demeanour of the Frontier Guards was extraordinary. The Persian sentry was dour. The 'Iraqi was jovial, and beamed all over his face when we arrived.

April 6 (107 miles). We spent a night in the very comfortable Railway Rest House at Khaniqin, which boasted long baths and electric light, and next morning reached Baghdad. Here we spent the weekend, and found it a disappointing drab town. We soon realized how much British influence has diminished in 'Iraq.

April 8, 6.30 a.m., to April 9, 7. a.m. (568 miles). We left Baghdad at 6.30 a.m. on Monday and reached Damascus about the same time on Tuesday, with a stop of two hours on Monday evening at Rutbah, that wonderful post in the desert, where one can get almost anything like petrol and postage stamps, and, of course, a very good dinner at the Rest House.

Crossing the desert was an extraordinary experience. Hundreds of miles with, to the unaccustomed eye, no landmark whatever, though Jean, our driver, seemed to recognize nearly every feature. No grass, few rocks, very little sand, just baked earth, flat for miles, then rising and falling in long dunes, then flat once more.

April 9 (40 miles approx.). We saw the bazaars, the Ommayed mosque, and Saladin's tomb in Damascus, and left in the evening for Baalbek, where we had our second puncture of the trip. Our first had been outside Nairn's garage in Damascus that same morning!

Next morning a hurried tour of the ruins at Baalbek, which proved to be the most superb spectacle of the whole journey, and then to Beyrout. Thence we went up the Mediterranean coast in cloudy weather and sometimes rain, through Tripoli, where, though it is the terminus of a pipeline, we could find no one to sell us petrol; and Latakia to Djisp-el-Chougour in the mountains.

April 11. The following day we reached Alexandretta and the Turkish frontier, and then for a while we felt we were back in the Middle Ages! The first night in Turkey we spent on the bank of a rapid river, which we reached at dusk. We felt we dare not risk crossing the foot-deep, icy-cold, brown snow water till dawn, when we entered Dortyol for breakfast.

April 12-13 (77 miles). There were no metalled tracks between the Turkish frontier and Adana, and it took us two days to do the 77 miles. At Alexandretta we had joined forces with the Gunners in their Ford, and through Turkey the two parties were able to render each other valuable assistance.

April 14 (120 miles). Fortunately from Adana there was a metalled track to Tarsus, and thence through the Taurus mountains. The scenery was very fine indeed, and the day being overcast the Cilician Gates were most impressive. Here road, railway, and river pass through a narrow gorge.

April 15 (177 miles). We reached Nigde at nightfall, and after a good supper decided to go on a short way and camp by the roadside. It was a fine night to begin with, but about midnight it started to drizzle. We packed up and started about 2 a.m. By 5 a.m. we had covered thirty miles, along a road which for the first twenty-five miles was six inches deep in mud. The problem was how to keep the back wheels in the ruts cut by the front wheels. If they got into a different set of ruts the car progressed crabwise, putting great strain on the chassis. As we had at intervals to jump out and push the car straight, we got miserably cold and wet.

At 5 a.m. we reached a harder, better track across a wide desert plain to Kaiserieh. After Kaiserieh the road degenerated into a mud track, which fortunately was dry, and only improved a few miles from Kershehir, where we spent the night.

April 16 (178 miles). Next day the road was worse, being extremely muddy, and necessitating the use of chains, and by evening we had only made Bala, thirty-two miles from Ankara, on the mountain-top, and very cold. Both cars were short of petrol, and to our dismay there was none to be had in Bala—only paraffin, so we decided that we could not go on in the dark.

April 17 (32 miles). Next morning, as was only to be expected, both cars ran out of petrol, the Chevrolet eight miles and the Ford twelve miles from Ankara. Fortunately we were on a lorry route, and both got in shortly after lunch.

The new capital is a fine city, built regardless of expense, with tarred roads, good buildings, buses, motor-cars. Behind is the citadel, an interesting conglomeration of styles and stones: Greek, Roman, Mediaeval.

April 19 (30 miles). We left Ankara on a fine tarred road, but about seven miles out, when we had to turn off, we got on to the usual mud track. After about an hour it started to rain, making the track practically impassable. We decided to get back to the metalled road while we could. Even so the cars could only plough through the mud with chains and great difficulty. On several occasions clinging mud had to be scraped off from between the chassis and the wings before the wheels would revolve; all this in the rain.

April 20 (20 miles). We made Ayash that night, only thirty miles from Ankara, and in the wrong direction. We had only gone a few miles the next day, when a small pinion in the back axle of the Chevrolet sheared, weakened no doubt by the tremendous gruelling of the day before. The Ford towed the Chevrolet for some eight miles, but then could go no further, owing to a steep and slippery slope, made worse by a shower of rain. We went two miles into the town of Beybazari in the Ford, and were able to charter a local lorry to tow the Chevrolet into the town.

We spent Easter Sunday in Beybazari while the broken spindle for the back axle was fetched from Ankara. It was ordered by telegram at 9 p.m. on Saturday night from the Beybazari lorry proprietor, whom we met on his way to Ankara, and he brought it with him, arriving at Beybazari at 4 p.m. on Sunday, as he had promised. With the aid of the local Singer sewing machine agent for the delicate work involved, the car was ready by 10 p.m.

Meanwhile, over a round of insidious Turkish tea "cocktails" (small glasses of tea, saturated with lemon and sugar) in the Beybazari

lokantasi, we had been supplied with a guide to Brusa. Without him it would have taken days to get there. With him we took twenty-two hours.

April 22 to 4.30 a.m. April 23 (250 miles). We left Beybazari at 6.30 a.m. on Monday, and reached Brusa, with short halts for food, at 4.30 a.m. on Tuesday.

After several hours on the flat we crossed a high range of hills, where the road was mainly fair, hardened by a very occasional service of buses! From the top we got a wonderful view right across the intervening plains to the snow-capped mountains of North Turkey. The far side of the mountains we embarked on a veritable farm-cart track, which wound in all directions, bifurcating and even trifurcating frequently. It was very rough, and we were glad when after thirty miles or so we reached open country and a better track, which ran parallel with the railway to Eskeshehir, which is an important railway junction and aerodrome.

Here we halted for an hour, and fed before setting out on the last stage of the journey. From Eskeshehir onwards there was a chaussée road, mainly atrocious when one gladly sought out the tracks, which usually run parallel to this kind of road, but improving as we climbed again into hilly country round Segut and Bilijik, and quite fair as we neared Brusa at dawn. We thought Brusa the most pleasant town we had passed through in Turkey. A fine square, with a statue of Attatürk in the centre; pleasant pavé streets, and a good hotel, the Hotel Osmanli.

April 23 (30 miles). We drove on a fine metalled road to Yalova, a pleasant resort on the Sea of Marmora.

April 23 (50 miles). Here the cars were loaded on a very rickety fishing boat, which sailed for Istambul, with Captain Mockler, R.A., in the stern. The rest of us left after tea in a large comfortable ferry-boat of French manufacture. The voyage across the Sea of Marmora and up the Bosphorus and Golden Horn was wonderfully beautiful. Half-way we were overtaken by the sunset with its glorious warm pink glow on the water, and the islands we passed were all bright with its soft rays. It was 9 p.m., and quite dark, when we reached the quay, but the city was ablaze with bright lights, reflected in the black water.

With some difficulty we manœuvred the cars off the fishing boat on to the jetty, and drove to the Hôtel de Londres, where we were given a warm welcome and a superb supper by the Greek proprietor.

“Make yourselves at home, gentlemen, make yourselves at home. I have three servants entirely and always at your disposition!”

We were very sorry we could only stay two nights in Constantinople. We were only able to see the mosques of Sultan Ahmed and Santa Sofia, and make a very hurried tour of the city.

April 25 (135 miles). Except for ten miles of tarmac out of Istanbul, the track in Turkey-in-Europe was as bad as that in Turkey-in-Asia, and woe betide anyone who has to attempt the journey in bad weather, for the surface would become impassable mud. For some twenty miles through the “suspicious” zone we had to carry a gendarme, but we were glad to have him for a guide. We came across several stretches of Roman road during the day, which did not appear to have been repaired for several centuries, but it was not till the late afternoon, at Luluburgaz, that we eventually reached a rough metalled road. We had a high tea at a restaurant in this quaint old town, and then went on and camped by the roadside for the night, about fifteen miles from Edirne (Adrianople), the last town in Turkey.

Next morning, after breakfast at Madame Marie’s little hotel in Edirne, we crossed the Bulgarian frontier. From now on, though sometimes the surface was very bad, we were always on a metalled road.

The route we chose was through the truly beautiful cities of Sofia, where we were most kindly entertained, and Belgrade, where the hotel-keeper thought us fair game, and produced a bill only comparable to the Ankara one. Then Budapest, Vienna, and Munich, at each of which, owing to our very short leave, we could only sadly spend one night. Finally, Saarbrücken, decorated for Herr Hitler’s first visit after the plebiscite, Metz, Verdun, and Cambrai, near where, in a field, we spent the last night of the journey.

Then on May 5, the eve of Jubilee Day, Boulogne, Folkestone, and London.

The journey of 7,500 miles had occupied just eight weeks. Nevertheless, until road conditions are vastly improved, it should not be done in less than three months. We found it terribly exhausting, and we were unable to see half of what we would like to have seen en route. We accomplished the journey in that short time thanks to a merciful Providence, which kept us fit throughout, and arranged everything far better than we desired or deserved.

EASTERN INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE WEST*

By LENNOX B. LEE

IN dealing with a thesis such as *Eastern Industrialization and its Effects on the West*, in which a vast amount of information is compressed into so readable a volume, one is conscious, particularly when considering its bearing on the cotton industry, of surveying the position from the standpoint of an industrialist actively engaged on the day-to-day problems of that industry, and therefore not possessing the same degree of detachment as one less closely connected.

It is a feature common to all industries passing through periods of severe depression that proposals for relieving the position multiply as rapidly as each new level in the circle is reached. The more far-sighted are the first to press for remedies. Others either do not see or are disposed to minimize the dangers of inaction, and drift into opposition, not because they wish to oppose alternative measures, but because they would "rather bear the ills they have than fly to others that they know not of." While professing to be detached in their contemplation of the extent and depth of the depression, they have always in mind the effect any change may have upon their own interests. In the meantime, the position becomes worse, and remedies which were once adequate become less fitted to the facts. In this country, with so many conflicting interests, it is extremely difficult to secure the necessary agreement to any scheme of general reorganization. Such schemes inevitably unsettle those who profit by the existing state of affairs, and a difficulty confronting those who desire new methods and greater efficiency is the opposition of an articulate and vociferous minority. Their interests are involved in the state of chaos in which the industry is kept by uneconomic price cutting, and they dread any form of reconstruction which will resuscitate those who have temporarily collapsed. As the controversy develops, the Press, and through it public opinion, is influenced by such ideas to support purely destructive criticism.

* *Eastern Industrialization and its Effects on the West*. With special reference to Great Britain and Japan. By G. E. Hubbard. With a Conclusion by T. E. Gregory. 8½" × 5½". Pp. xxii + 395. Oxford University Press. 18s.

Mr. Hubbard's book deals with Japan, China, India, and Great Britain, and, after a historical introduction, he reviews their industrial position, peoples, organization and finance, and finally their future prospects. I propose to follow the same order.

In Japan, as Mr. Hubbard points out, the army is drawn largely from the farming classes, and the military may, therefore, be expected to favour peasant protection. Here is perhaps the significance of the recent assassination of leading statesmen with its evidence of more than a convulsive outbreak of a few junior officers, and of something which indicates a conflict on a larger scale than the official Japanese version suggests. Japan is a small country, and only one-fifth of her surface is fertile, but her population has trebled within the last seventy-five years. Her people are crowded together on the one-fifth at a density of 2,500 to the square mile, or four times that of England. Two-thirds of the people live in towns and villages of less than 10,000 inhabitants, and one-half of the workers are cultivators. The average size of their farms is less than three acres, and, with four to the family, they support life on £13 a year. Japan presents to the world at large an appearance of considerable strength, but behind the appearance are deep cleavages which go down to the foundations of her social structure. About one-half of the 1936 Budget is devoted to the Services, and the militarists, aware of the underlying weakness, are pressing their advantage to the full.

Another recent change is the greater measure of compulsory control imposed upon exports. The agreement made in October last between the Japanese and American textile exporters to the Philippine Islands marks a new feature in Japanese commercial policy. It differs from the Indo-Japanese Agreement of 1934 in that the latter was a direct bargain by which the Japanese promised to take raw cotton in return for piece goods. In the Philippine agreement the recently established Association of Japanese Exporters promised to restrict exports of piece goods to this market to fifty-four million square yards a year for two years, beginning August 1, 1935, and on the face of the agreement there appeared to be no specific concession made in return. Since the Japanese have made it a condition that the restriction will only be observed so long as the tariff is not raised, the implication that the tariff rating will not at present be increased may be regarded as a counter-concession. From November 2, 1935, the Japanese Government introduced compulsory control over exports of silk and rayon manufacturers to certain markets.

To some extent this control is the outcome of fear that if some bounds are not set to the expansion of Japanese exports, further quotas and restrictions will be imposed.

Japanese importation of wool has expanded since the figures given in the book were compiled. For 1935 the imports were 243 million lbs. as compared with 182 million lbs. for 1934, Australia's share being 94 per cent. in 1935 and 85 per cent. in 1934. Exports of wool yarn, which rose from 1,300,000 lbs. in 1932 to 5,900,000 lbs. in 1934, declined by about 500,000 lbs. in 1935, and exports of woollen piece goods reached a new high level of 28,500,000 square yards. In view of this expansion in the Japanese woollen industry, and of the source from which it draws the bulk of its raw material, the outcome of the Manchester Trade Mission to Australia is awaited with much interest. The Canadian-Japanese Tariff Agreement, which became effective from January 1, 1936, removes the Japanese 50 per cent. *ad valorem* surtax on the import of certain Canadian products, and the Canadian surtax of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. *ad valorem* on the import of all Japanese goods, in addition to making certain other concessions of mutual benefit. It is too early to judge finally what effect this agreement will have, but it is certain that Lancashire industry will suffer. The importance of bleaching, dyeing and printing as a factor in the expansion of the Japanese cotton industry calls for rather more notice than it has received. Quotations received recently for coarser cloths indicate that the price in Japan is about the same as in China, but the price of finished goods from Japan in foreign markets frequently bears little relation to that of finished goods from China. Is it possible that, owing to the large print trade in her own market, Japan's exports are subsidized by higher internal price levels? In checking prices from large producers of grey cloth in Japan there is every evidence of price consistency. Where finished goods are concerned, especially the better class, one finds increased Japanese competition in China. These differences indicate that a closer investigation of costs in the finishing section is required to explain some of the factors affecting the prices of goods offered by the Japanese.

The reference to factories using power and employing fewer than ten workers, which implies that they are subject to inspection under the Factory Act, is open to question. According to the relevant clause, only places employing more than ten, or carrying on a dangerous trade, are so affected. Many small units using power are therefore not subject to the regulations. A recent publication estimates that 34 per cent. of

the workers of Japan are employed in industries not under supervision of the authorities, where the length of the working day is not controlled.

The significant parallel rationalization, which has accompanied that of the large-scale industry, is also worthy of greater attention. Reference is made to this in the case of bicycles, but it is not limited to that industry. Raw materials are distributed to small workshops for partial or total manufacture. The products are then collected and marketed, and in this connection the cheap family labour in the hands of the small weaving concern has been responsible for many of the low and apparently absurd prices quoted for cotton goods in overseas markets.

Turning to China, there are one or two minor inaccuracies to which attention should be drawn. In the first place, it is not necessary that the entire capital of factories shall be under Chinese ownership if they are to enjoy exemption from export duties. All registered factories are so exempt, and a majority of the foreign factories in Shanghai possess this privilege, though without registration as a Chinese Company this is now difficult to obtain since a controlling interest by Chinese capital is required. There are, however, indications that the export tax will soon be removed, and with it will disappear the main benefit which privileged factories enjoy.

The hours worked in Japanese-owned mills are given as eight and a half to ten per day as compared with eleven to twelve in Chinese mills. This is not correct. Japanese mills work the same length of time as the Chinese mills. There are, however, occasions—and there have been many during 1935—when Japanese mills have gone on short time by eliminating one or more shifts.

Reference is made to the development of chemical plants and to a so-called Government plan for a one and a half million dollar investment in an alcohol factory in Pootung. This is a reality and not a plan, the factory having been in operation since the early part of 1935. Heavy acid plants have been in existence in Shanghai for some years, and a plant for the manufacture of nitrogen began work twelve months ago. In North China soda ash plants have been in existence for years, and they claim to meet fully 50 per cent. of China's requirements. A heavy acid plant was erected at Honan within the last two years and a further one is about to open in Canton.

The raw silk industry, which is assumed to have shrunk to unimportant proportions, has, on the contrary, considerably improved. For

the first five months of 1935 the number of bales exported reached one and a half times the total exports for 1934, and prices have advanced 25 per cent.

No account has been taken of new developments in the woollen mill enterprise, in which the wool has been imported in the form of "tops." Production is being effected by both British and Japanese mills in Shanghai, and has already grown to large proportions. It is to be remembered that Japan began the importation of wool in this form until her scouring plants were established. The increased purchase of wool from Australia does not represent an increased consumption *per capita* in Japan since 1925, but only a change over from "tops" and yarn to raw wool. Clearly, then, the beginnings of wool enterprise in China are significant, and in this connection we may note that Messrs. Paton and Baldwin have erected a large factory in Shanghai for the spinning of wool yarns.

In discussing China's industrial future, Mr. Hubbard refers to the "widespread tendency to regard investment partnership in industry between Chinese and foreigners as the most promising line of advance for the development of China," and points to many difficulties before such partnerships can be entertained. In theory the idea is excellent, but the foreigner has to guard against three dangers: the family interest, with its pressure to fill positions without regard to qualification and in times of difficulty a collapse of responsibility, the expectation of quick returns, and a division of profits up to the hilt with no provision for reserves. Failure to agree on such matters is a frequent cause of trouble.

The spinning industry developed early, and there was a ready market for yarns for hand looms up and down the country. Much of the grey cloth produced in the interior is dyed in small plants, of which there are thousands.

Turning to the statistics relating to cotton, many of the tables reveal a lack of intimate acquaintance with the industry. For instance, figures such as "Spindles per worker," "Looms per worker," "Yarn output per worker," and "Cloth output per worker," and comparisons of "Daily output per female worker in spinning," "Annual output per female worker in yards" are of little value. Not only is there no reference to the count of yarn or the type of cloth or the picks per inch, but they do not inform the enquirer whether in the spinning section they comprise operatives (male and female) throughout the mill, or whether, where male operatives are in question, the mill generates its own power and has a male staff engaged on it. Unless statistics of this

character are specific, they lose all meaning, and as a basis for deduction in attempting to arrive at some positive conclusion, they mislead.

The following specific details in relation to a mill in Shanghai will serve as a useful comparison, and enable the reader to judge the degree of accuracy of the figures given in the book :

(a) Female operatives per 10,000 spindles : 60 per shift; 120 per day, double shift. This includes all female operatives up to and including ring frames, and is equivalent to 166 spindles per female worker per shift, or 83 spindles per female worker per double shift, as against 61·2 spindles (undefined) for 1933 in Japan. If males were included in the above figure, taking such a number from the power-house staff as would be consistent with a mill buying its power and possessing boilers for heating, the number of spindles per worker would be reduced to 145 per single shift or $72\frac{1}{2}$ per double shift. The spindles given in the chapter on China are 16 per worker for Chinese mills and 24 for Japanese mills, and these may not be as near an approximation as the facts warrant.

(b) Female operatives per 1,000 looms (including female labour on pirn winding, cone winding, beaming, drawing-in, weft store and warehouse) : 406 per single shift, or 812 per double shift. On a double-shift system this is equivalent to 1·23 looms per weaver. If males were included this total would be 463 per single shift and 926 per double shift, and the looms per worker 1·08 on the double-shift system. This is in keeping with the Japanese mills, given in the chapter, but to what extent the figures are compiled on the same basis it is difficult to say.

Excluding those not directly employed in weaving, there is one worker to each four looms.

The figures quoted as " Cloth Output per Worker per Year " without greater detail can convey little. Not only is the pick unknown, but the length of the pieces is not specified. If the Japanese output in China is computed on the basis of 120 yards, it gives a total yardage of 94,320 yards per worker as against an annual production per female worker of 57,694 for Japan in 1933. The number of looms per female worker is given as 2·55 for Japan as against 1·1 per worker for China. Such figures are very conflicting.

The average daily wage rates for female workers, according to recent information, are spinning \$0·47 and weaving \$0·56½. As the yen and the Shanghai dollar are of approximately equal value, these figures might, in assessing the remarks made on page 206 in relation to Chinese workers, conveniently be compared with those on pages 119 and 120 in

relation to the average daily wage rates in Japan. Judging from evidence received from those in China, who have also had experience in Lancashire mills, the remarks of Mr. Arno Pearse with regard to the "absence of natural sense of cleanliness and neatness" are open to challenge. It is claimed that in this respect the Chinese operatives compare not unfavourably with similar operatives in Lancashire.

It has to be remembered that about \$10 worth of rice will keep a Chinese family for a month, and the vitality of the Chinese is, on the whole, remarkable. The turnover of labour is high during the summer months, but this is probably due to the conditions under which the operatives live and the heat rather than to the conditions within the modern factory. At other times there is not a great deal of ordinary sickness, and such an epidemic as "flu" is more or less unknown. The main causes of illness are bad housing, bad sanitation, and water. Turnover in labour is much influenced by a spirit of independence due to the simple needs of the workers. Wages, too, have to be considered in relation to essential expenses. The main expense for the Chinese operative around big cities is rent, but with several members of a family working, this becomes less burdensome. With improvement in housing and such local services as water supply and sanitation, the wage basis will probably rise. On the other hand, the humblest of dwellings around Shanghai have electric light, and the Chinese female operative can now spend her surplus on such things as permanent waving and on other luxuries!

Conditions are certainly bad in many of the so-called factories, but mention should be made of the better conditions in the Japanese mills in Shanghai. The principal industry is that of cotton, and in the main it possesses more modern mills and better conditions than are here described. For all that they vary considerably.

The method by which most of the Japanese employers in China engage operatives is very similar to that employed in Japan. They are housed and fed within the works compound, and on the whole the conditions are good—far better, in fact, than conditions outside. Too little is said in the book about this aspect of the labour situation in Shanghai, and the impression drawn is that the conditions are little removed from slavery. This state of affairs is chiefly to be found where contract labour is prevalent.

Of the general illiteracy of operatives there is no dispute, but under proper conditions and with the right inducements the Chinese can become very efficient. The extraordinary skill of Chinese typists, for

instance, is typical of potential efficiency in other directions. In dealing with the Chinese operatives' tendency to strike, the book accurately portrays a very noticeable feature.

The protection afforded to textiles, while it plays an important part in the development of China's home production, is less than might be inferred. Reference is made to an import duty of 30 per cent. *ad valorem* on coloured piece goods. This has now been reduced to 25 per cent. The duty on raw cotton, some of which must be imported (local cotton values bear a relation to the imported value), consolidated tax and duty on other essentials, such as raw materials, dyestuffs, chemicals, etc., make the net protection, however, extremely small, and in the case of coloured goods from imported cotton it is estimated at less than 5 per cent.

The difficulties of the exchange position with which merchants and industrialists always have to cope is adequately dealt with. It is a mistake, however, to say that progress has been retarded, first by the fall of silver, and then by the rise. Experience of industrialists in China has been that the fall in silver, being coincident with the fall in general commodity values, was responsible for the world depression missing China until a period much later than in other countries. The depression was felt when other countries went off the Gold Standard and was intensified by the rise in the value of silver and local currency due to America's silver-buying policy.

Improvement has been made during the past two years in the production of raw cotton, and a moderate quantity capable of spinning finer counts of yarn has been grown. The difficulties associated with adulteration are considerable, and there is a grave danger that China may nullify the progress she is making if she disregards the necessity for delivering to the user a satisfactory water content.

Our third country for consideration is India. In a constantly changing world a book such as we are considering requires revision, at least in details, almost as soon as it is published. The recent history of the Indo-Japanese Agreement illustrates this. Effect was given to the agreement early in 1934, but it is only now that its results can be accurately judged. The quota allotted to Japan, under the agreement, excluded artificial silk goods, and, compared with the previous average, was extremely high. Japan has not only filled it, but, by getting round the agreement, has increased her total exports to that market. By the shipment of perfect prints in four-yard lengths as "fents" at a re-

duction of 15 per cent. in import dues, by smuggling large quantities of textiles into native ports, and by concentrating upon artificial silk goods not covered by the agreement, she has nullified its intended effect.

The question of Japanese piece goods competition in India has exercised the minds of producers, both in India and in Lancashire, for a considerable time, and Mr. Hubbard rightly stresses its importance in relation to the development of the Indian textile industry. In this connection three facts stand out prominently—the enormous growth of Japanese imports, the decline in the British share, and the expansion, almost entirely at the expense of Lancashire, of the cotton industry in India. Greater prominence should have been given to the hold which the mill-owners possess on the Indian Government and the Tariff Board. The numbers engaged in the industry, compared with the total population, are negligible, but, in order to allow this small proportion to maintain its position, the whole country is penalized to the extent of 25 per cent. on piece goods from Great Britain and 50 per cent. on those from other countries. What is so often spoken of as “Indian feeling” in these matters, particularly since the Congress movement of 1930, only affects a small proportion of the total population (including the mill-owners), but the influence of this small minority, which exploits the nationalistic element for its own ends, appears to be in the inverse ratio to its numbers. As an instance of how it works, when the quota was fixed on Japanese piece goods and a reduction of 25 per cent. (from 75 per cent. down to 50 per cent.) was made in the import duty, there was no corresponding concession made to exports from the United Kingdom. As landed prices of piece goods from this country are 100 per cent. higher than those from Japan, the differential preference gives Lancashire no protection.

India is easily competitive with Lancashire. Evidence of this is to be found in the latest figures for Ceylon, where, since the Japanese were prevented from flooding the market, India has considerably increased her share of the trade and has now reached Lancashire's level for piece goods. Despite this position, and the much advertised Clare-Lees/Mody Pact of 1933, no concession has been made to Lancashire, and in competition with Japan, Lancashire is at a greater disadvantage to-day than in 1931, when, during the height of anti-British feeling, the duty was increased. In face of these facts—Japan's competitive ability over India, India's supremacy over Lancashire, and the better feeling prevailing in India towards this country—Lancashire is justified in asking for more favourable treatment.

Linked with this question of duties is that of trade reciprocity. Mr. Hubbard has shown that Indian trade is "complementary" with that of the United Kingdom, whilst it is competitive with that of Japan. In these circumstances it is natural to ask why cotton piece goods imported into India from Japan should bear a direct relation to the amount of raw cotton purchased in return. Though it is by far the largest Japanese import from India, cotton only represents a small proportion of Indian exports to the United Kingdom. For instance, Great Britain's tea imports from India exceed the total imports of Indian cotton into Japan. If, therefore, reciprocity is to be a basis of trade relations it is hard to understand why specific items should be separated from the rest of the country's productions. To base trading agreements on such a foundation is a travesty of the principle.

In examining some of the handicaps under which British industries have laboured during post-war years, Mr. Hubbard singles out the more outstanding influences for comment. After referring to the return to the Gold Standard in 1925 and to the inability of industry to adjust the disequilibrium between the price level and costs of production, he arrives at the conclusion that "lack of mobility and adaptability is not a characteristic of wages and labour alone. The height of wages is not absolute, but relative to the productivity of labour, and the productivity of labour depends not on labour only, but on the whole organization of production." It is admitted on all sides that there is ample room for improvement in organization, and that such improvement calls for close co-operation, including labour. Trade Unionism, however, instead of joining in such collaboration or taking a lead, was more concerned with restricting the introduction of labour-saving devices and thereby artificially maintaining a greater number of workers than was required. Demarcations and restrictions, which increase costs, lower the ability of the industry to compete and directly reduce orders. The more enlightened Trade Union leaders were, of course, alive to this, but they lacked the courage to press the long view. The introduction of a new machine or method threw men out of work, and it was human nature that they should seek to save themselves. Provision should undoubtedly have been made for the displacement of labour so that both sides could have worked together for the well-being of the industry as a whole. The retention of out-of-date plant could not be justified merely for the maintenance of existing wage payments, and the sooner opposition to the shortening and improvement of processes gave way to enlightened interest and support, the better it would be.

The influence upon the export trade of foreign investment is also brought to the reader's attention, and it is pointed out that since the war exporting industries have been adversely affected by the change from long- to short-dated loans. This is true, but it should also be borne in mind that the Treasury embargo on loans to foreign countries has an equally serious effect, and, in so far as the embargo assists in the maintenance of sterling at a higher rate of exchange than would otherwise be the case, British goods are higher priced in the markets of the world and therefore less competitive. When world prices were falling and the great primary commodity producing countries were suffering and looking for cheaper goods, there was an increasing tendency to turn to newer sources of supply, with serious consequences to Lancashire.

Another influence which has had a crippling effect on the cotton trade is that which resulted from refinancing during the post-war boom of 1919-1920. While it is true that many of the firms involved have since been either reconstructed or liquidated, the evil effects of the policy then pursued have not been as quickly removed. So long as the banks, in the hope of liquidating frozen credits, were prepared to uphold firms whose existence could no longer be economically justified, so long was it possible for the merchants to "play off" "weak sellers" against each other, drag firms financially sound down to the same level and bring the commercial position of the industry to the state we see it.

Mr. Hubbard lays emphasis throughout the book upon the hastening by the Great War of the development of competitive industries in markets which were formerly Lancashire's largest customers. Much of this development, when viewed from the standpoint of existing world productive capacity, was economically unjustifiable, its impetus arising more from the desire to relieve the pressure of unemployment and to gratify national pride than from the necessity to embark upon new enterprises. Though Lancashire was well aware of the industrial expansion throughout the world, even before the war, nothing was done to prepare for the inevitable contraction of her own trade. The advent of the Great War, with the shutting off of many countries from Lancashire, diverted demand to other suppliers, giving an impetus not only to home production, but to Lancashire's growing competitors, and in particular to Japan. When the demand from the denuded markets could not be supplied and delay occurred, further diversion of business followed.

No discussion of the problems confronting the Lancashire cotton industry can omit the question of marketing, and here the singular position of the merchant in relation to the producer has to be taken into account. The merchant is not concerned, as is the producer, with the maintenance of productive machinery at full capacity. His primary concern is to make the maximum of profit with the minimum of risk. He is a free agent, and, with his capital liquid, he naturally seeks to employ it to the best advantage. To this end, not only does he transfer his orders from one supplier to another, but if circumstances are favourable in other centres, he will operate from them. When taxation rose, many foreign merchants transferred their business to other countries, and thus, at a most critical time, the link with many of Lancashire's important markets was broken. Producers depend largely upon merchants, of whom at least 60 per cent. are foreigners, who can easily withdraw their connection or transfer their capital, leaving the producers unprepared to meet the new situation.

No amount of reorganization on horizontal lines will secure the teamwork which is fundamental to the reconstruction of the cotton industry on sound lines. Mr. Hubbard, after quoting from a speech made by the writer to the stockholders of the Calico Printers' Association, and in which this question was dealt with at some length, comes to the conclusion that "it should not be too readily assumed that the 'Vertical' amalgamation within the industry advocated by some of the experts would be the best means of solving its problems. There may be serious disadvantages," he adds, "in too closely integrated organization, and it is possible that the essential advantages might be attained by a more efficient system of marketing and by increased co-operation between marketing and the various stages of production." The history of the industry during the past decade does not, however, hold out much hope for "increased co-operation" on voluntary lines. Notwithstanding endless discussions and exhortations, the sections of the cotton industry remain as sharply defined as ever. In each there are those who are prepared to produce at a loss rather than collaborate with others lest some should get more out of the bargain than themselves. Everywhere there is rigidity and the sectionalization of expert knowledge, and the wider and more important issues are treated from an exclusive standpoint. Inefficiency or lack of drive at any stage, whether in production or distribution, reacts upon the other stages and hampers them. If, by reason of a better selling organization, one of the horizontal groups is enabled to obtain excessive margins and exploit

those in succeeding groups, costs increase, business is lost, and the industry generally is put out of competition. With no real co-ordination in the industry, the problem is how to reconcile the opposing interests and at the same time retain the business in the country. The writer suggested in 1934 :

“Combinations on vertical lines of a series of units, including spinning, weaving, finishing and distribution, are an alternative possessing many advantages which should commend themselves to all members of the industry. It assumes the closest co-ordination from the spinner to the ultimate distributor working as one team with one plan of campaign and one balance sheet, and by this means no sacrifice of what is beneficial in the existing system need be involved. On the contrary, while overcoming many of the present difficulties, a degree of flexibility would be introduced which is entirely lacking at the present time. It is not, of course, suggested that the various processes should be precisely balanced within each association. Some, for instance, might have more spinning, others more weaving, or others more finishing than necessary for their requirements. In these circumstances they would sell yarn or cloth, as the case might be, while the finishing would sell services. While the larger combinations would be able to standardize and merchant their own productions, there would remain ample scope for the manufacture of specialities for the merchant wishing to keep outside any co-operative movement. Sufficient competition would also remain to provide the necessary stimulant for the maintenance of efficiency.”

Further advantages would be the greater facility in the removal of surplus plant and “the absorption of all intermediate and collateral profits, together with the consolidation of efficient firms working in complete agreement to one end, the direction and control of the whole gamut of manufacture and selling would be by methods which have been successful in other trades.”

Unfortunately, although the case for rationalization in the cotton industry has been increasingly stressed in recent years and continues to command more and more assent, little progress has yet been made. Various redundancy schemes have been put forward, but only to be overwhelmed by sectional interests unwilling to accept the position which an orderly scheme might give them lest it should be less favourable than they might perhaps maintain for themselves. The deluge may overwhelm them in the end, with everyone else, but they are satisfied to stand on a little higher ground than the others in the meantime.

After many years of dissension, the Spinning Industry Bill,* designed

as a hesitating and partial remedy for the problem of redundant capacity on one branch of production, has secured the support both of the industry and of the Government, so that the scheme it embodies emerges as the first to take practical and legislative form. It has been described as the only piece of co-operative effort on which the cotton trade has been able to secure a fair measure of agreement. It is the first agreed recognition of the benefits of concentrating production in fully running mills, and its aim is to enable a depressed industry to bring its productive capacity into more reasonable relation with the size of its market in an orderly way instead of by bankruptcy. Yet at every stage the opposition to the Bill has illustrated the undying struggle of the sectional interests. For all that, the progress that has been made in the matter of redundant spindles may be welcomed as a sign that there is new hope for other schemes of reorganization which are long overdue.

It has only been possible to deal with some of the more outstanding points, and, in conclusion, we must pass to Mr. Hubbard's final chapter, in which he summarizes the changes which have taken place in Imperial trade relations during post-war years, and describes the influences which are still at work in the same direction. Much as one may deplore these changes, the evidence shows that it is extremely unlikely that there will be any reversion to the old order, and in planning future economic development this fact has to be recognized. The possibility of organizing the British Empire as an economic unit is becoming more and more remote, and it is therefore all the more necessary that this country should take a leading part in the promotion of a new international policy—one based not merely upon loyalties, good as that may be, but possessing, in addition, the solid foundation of economic interest whereby each can contribute to the well-being of the whole. The desire for self-sufficiency, resulting in the piling up of tariff barriers, quotas, and other restrictions, must have a disastrous effect on the future standard of living. There is no reason why those countries which could co-operate on more rational lines should continue to commit economic suicide. The alternative is the formation of a commonwealth of nations linked together on a basis of free trade and collective assistance, each collaborating in industrial and trading matters by the pooling of raw materials and the granting of economic and financial assistance, but each at the same time being left free to develop

* This was written during the early part of February, 1936, before the Spinning Industry Bill had reached its present stage.

its interests as a separate unit along the lines of the production of goods for which it is most economically suited. A solution of the difficulties in the present situation demands a policy based upon the common good rather than upon reckless rivalry, and if such a group of nations, as has been indicated, could be brought together, many questions which already present so much difficulty and many others looming on the political and economic horizon might be a great deal nearer solution.

THE MUSLIMS IN THE MODERN WORLD

SIR RONALD STORRS' speech at this lecture, inadvertently omitted from the discussion, was as follows :

It is with very great diffidence that anyone would venture to speak in the presence of so renowned an authority on Muslim questions as Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall. He has published the best novel on a Muslim that I have ever read; in *Sa'id the Fisherman* he presents an Arab as he is—an Arab, and not a Public School rendering of a Rudolph Valentino Shaykh. (Laughter.)

But I must differ from the lecturer when he says that Egypt, Palestine, and Syria bitterly regret that they no longer form part of Turkey. Certainly Arab Palestine regrets the problem of Jewish immigration. In Syria there is some discontent. But in Egypt there is nothing but relief at being out of the Turkish Empire. The Egyptians consider the Turks backward, and they consider their own culture superior, as Arab culture *is* superior to Turkish. And as they said themselves in the war, "Awizinhum tayyib min ba'id" ("We wish them well from afar"). Only those not in the Turkish Empire could ever have thought it well from far or near.

Where is that "glee at the defeat of a Muslim power" to which the lecturer referred? I have never seen or heard it. (Applause.) We have the greatest sympathy for the Muslim renaissance. Traditionally there has always been in England a great deal of sympathy with Turkey. I would respectfully protest that none of us here have ever felt any such "glee," and I have never met it elsewhere.

The lecturer regretted that there is no longer one Pan-Islamic State. It is the fate of all great religions, unfortunately, to become nationally divided. The one great Christian European State split up into nations. But at least they practise the Christian religion as much as they ever did. The Muslims feel strange at first without a Khilafat. It seems improbable, however, that a Khalifa can now be re-created, and they will have to become used to doing without a visible head of their faith.

I would like to conclude with a parallel to the very interesting sound imitation of the frogs that the lecturer described. In Palestine the doves are said to murmur, "Wahhdu Rabbikum" ("Proclaim the Unity of your God").

REVIEWS

ANGLO-FRENCH COLLABORATION IN THE NEAR EAST

England and the Near East : The Crimea. By Professor Temperley. With a Frontispiece and 3 maps. 9" x 6". Pp. xxx + 548. Longmans. 1936. 25s.

It would be quite impossible within the limits of a single article to do justice to Professor Temperley's fascinating and monumental treatise on the Crimea. The book is evidently the first of a series which the Professor of Modern History of the University of Cambridge proposes, in due course, to give to the world on "England and the Near East."

Before hazarding any observations on Professor Temperley's authoritative treatise, one is tempted to suggest that, at the present juncture in the history of mankind, it becomes more than ever imperative that students of history, and those who undertake to guide their studies, should bear in mind that such students are the future electors, whose study of past events must be kept closely related to current history and to probable or possible developments in the near future.

The author of the review of this book in *The Times* Literary Supplement of March 14 reminds his readers that while the Near East Question, and the lands affected by it, have been the theatre of the most dazzling achievements of British heroism and statesmanship, they have also illustrated the depressing incoherences of British policy and the excitable vagaries of the British national temperament.

The present writer does not presume to criticize, or even to review, Professor Temperley's authoritative treatise. He merely wishes to offer, for the consideration of readers of the Central Asian Society's Journal, some considerations suggested by the situation at the present time, and the tendencies which have led up to it—from the passage of the Argonauts up the Bosphorus in search of the Golden Fleece (!) to the day when Mustapha Kemal, the present Dictator of Turkey (after being exiled and outlawed by Western "statesmen," if they can truthfully, or properly, be so designated), turned the tables upon united Europe, and brought into being the present homogeneous Turkish State.

The history of the Eastern Question (leaving on one side mythology and the utterance of the Oracle of Delphi, of which it might be appropriate to remind the present ruler of Turkey) is the history of the British Embassy to Turkey, and the figure which undoubtedly still towers above every other figure in that history is that of Stratford Canning, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe. It may or not be true, or correct, that the phrase "Buyouk Elchi" was merely used to indicate the distinction between an ambassador

and a minister; but, in the case of Stratford Canning, he was, and always will be, known as the "Great Ambassador"—that being the literal translation of the Turkish words.

The vagaries, and vacillation, of Western politicians have finally confronted Europe with three Dictators—Mustapha Kemal, Mussolini, and Hitler—and the first, and the last, of these three are determined—whatever may be the cost—to obtain for their respective countries proper recognition and equality of treatment with the other nations of the world.

If this situation be kept steadily in view, a close study of the events preceding the Crimean War, and which led up to it, by the light of Professor Temperley's profound erudition and indefatigable industry, will be illuminating.

Unfortunately, he has limited himself to the period which begins with the British fleet's destruction of Turkish sea-power at Navarino, and ends with its protection of the Turkish capital against Russia.

The juxtaposition of these two incidents most admirably illustrates the vagaries of politicians.

In his Foreword, Professor Temperley differentiates between the way in which Orientals "intrigue" and Western diplomats "negotiate"! Is there really so very much to choose between East and West in this particular? And does not this remark from so highly cultured and judicially-minded a man as Professor Temperley illustrate in a striking and most instructive manner the urgent necessity of divesting ourselves of all preconceived ideas and studying history by the light of the present situation and the possible developments, and dangers, of the immediate future.

In a letter to the writer, dated March 19, from a distinguished French writer (an Academician, a journalist, and a close observer and student of current events) the following impressive expressions occur: "Mon sentiment est net: il faut faire la paix ou la guerre; et si nous ne voulons pas la guerre, alors faisons la paix. Il n'est que temps! Prenons Hitler au mot: '*Let us give him a chance.*'" (The italics, and the English, are the Frenchman's.)

He adds, a little further on: "J'ai horreur des discours chauvins, et des attitudes qu'on ne peut pas soutenir. C'est le mot du Maréchal Pétain à propos de M. Sarraut: '*Je n'aurais ni parlé ni agi comme lui.*'"

"Je suis bien aise de vous répéter cette parole (ce militaire parle d'or) afin de vous faire voir qu'il n'y a pas en France que des imbéciles."

It seems clear that the object of British statesmanship to-day should be to make it possible (both in France and in Germany) for the strong body of public opinion in favour of peace in both countries to make itself heard. A decided step in that direction has already been taken as a result of the undeniable skill of Mr. Anthony Eden and Lord Halifax, and it is devoutly to be hoped that their lead will be followed up.

The situation to-day is very different from the time when the Czar of Russia was himself sole Dictator, and (whatever may have been his protestations to the contrary) he certainly was determined to be crowned, and to celebrate Mass according to the Orthodox rite, in the Cathedral Church of S. Sophia, in the ancient capital of Constantine.

Many people in this country at that time considered it only right and proper that Russia should have access to "warm water" by making herself Mistress of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, but the subsequent history of Russia hardly lends itself to very much regret that she did not become the autocrat of Europe and of the civilized world, as would (apparently) have been the next natural development unless an unending series of wars and revolutions had succeeded the enthronement of the Czar "of one more Russia" on the Bosphorus.

Nobody will be found to quarrel with Professor Temperley's view that the Crimean War was a "tragic blunder," but whose was the blunder? We are told by the Professor that the Great Powers could not save Turkey. She alone could save herself, and reconcile her Christian subjects by reform. He adds that the Turks, in fact, waxed weaker and weaker and the Christians stronger and stronger. As a matter of fact (and this interesting historical monograph adds fresh confirmation to this opinion), if Stratford de Redcliffe had been allowed to carry out his policy, and if the Turks had not been subjected by Western Europe (excluding, of course, England) to the policy known as *piétiner le cadavre* (the policy of carving up the Sick Man's estate without waiting for his demise, as was suggested by the Czar to Sir Hamilton Seymour), it can hardly be doubted that both Moslems and Christians would have been spared much suffering.

Unfortunately for civilization, for the world, and for Turkey, it seems quite impossible, after any war, to prevent intriguing amongst the very nations who ought to be most sincerely and loyally wedded, to bring about an honourable peace which should do justice both to victors and vanquished.

It is not enough to say that the Turks were "left to themselves" after the Crimean War. It is recorded that, when Ali Pasha, the Grand Vizier, saw the British fleet sail away after the signature of the Treaty of Paris, he slapped his thighs and used disrespectful language about the folly of British statesmen. Unfortunately, France and England did not maintain their collaboration. The melancholy tale is sadly told in Stanley Lane Poole's *Life of Stratford Canning*, so that the promulgation by Sultan Abdul Medjid of the Hatti-Humayun which should have been, and in certain ways was, the crowning triumph of the great Ambassador's career, was reduced to a dead letter by intrigue.

By Imperial Firman known as the Hatti-Humayun of February 18, 1856, the Sultan removed all distinctions of religion or race between all classes of his subjects.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (and none knew so well as he the character of the people with whom he was dealing) insisted that it was not enough to procure the promulgation of the Decree, but means must be provided for enforcing it, in the event of its being ignored, or set aside, by the Turkish Government. Under the influence of France the Treaty of Paris was made to disclaim all right of interference between the Sultan and his subjects. In this way the nominal breaking down of all barriers between Moslem and Christian, Turk and Frank, was reduced to a dead letter. It is difficult to read without a pang the graphic description by Stanley Lane Poole (vol. ii., pp. 444 *et seq.*) of the scene in February, 1856, at the British Embassy in

Pera, when the Great Elchi, bareheaded and in full uniform, surrounded by his staff, received the Commander of the Faithful Caliph of Islam, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, on the only occasion in history when a Sultan of Turkey attended in state a ball at a foreign Embassy. Over the Ambassador's head coloured lamps traced the linked names of "Victoria" and "Abdul Medjid" in lines of fire across the court, lighting up the arms of the Grenadiers, Highlanders, and Horse and Foot Artillery who formed the guard of honour. In front a troop of English Lancers clashed up to the gate, escorting the carriage in which was seated the Sultan himself. As the Grand Seignior alighted an electric wire communicated the fact to the British fleet, and the Golden Horn forthwith rang out with salvoes of cannon, while the band in the forecourt of the Embassy played "God Save the Queen." Lady Stratford was giving a *bal costumé*, and the Sultan decided to honour it with his presence. The full-dress uniforms of English, French, and Sardinian officers were matched and outshone by the rich costumes and jewelled robes of the Armenians, Persians, Kurds, Greeks, Turks, and Albanians, and by the robes of the Greek Patriarch, the Armenian Archbishop, and the Jewish High Priest. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe walked, in presence of all his colleagues, hand-in-hand with the Commander of the Faithful, and Abdul Medjid, as he gazed in wonder and amazement at the scene, as he redescended the staircase, lined with Lancers and Light Dragoons, must have thought (says Mr. Stanley Lane Poole) that he had changed places with his predecessor Haroun al-Rashid and lost himself in the enchanted palaces of the Thousand-and-One Nights.

Whatever the future may bring forth, it cannot be denied that Stratford Canning broke down—for all time—all official distinctions of class, race, and creed in Turkey. They had been publicly swept away. The bars which fenced about the seclusion of the greatest Moslem Sovereign were removed, and, henceforward, Christian and Turk met on equal terms. The Great Elchi single-handed had worked the miracle.

It is inexpedient, at the present juncture, to examine too closely the influences which (so far as Turkish reforms were concerned) successfully emasculated the Treaty of Paris. The years which succeeded the Crimean War had aggravated the labours of the Great Elchi by intrigue at the Sublime Porte and by want of support at home. In spite of his undeniable triumph on the spot, the Ambassador wrote, in bitterness of disappointment, to his brother: "To be the victim of so much trickery and dupery and charlatanism is no small trial; but I have faith in principles as working out their own justification, and fix my thoughts on that coming day when the Peace of Paris will be felt in its miserable consequences."

If it be true that the Crimean War (like every war) was a tragic and ghastly blunder, surely the post-war blundering has had far more tragic consequences.

By the irony of fate, at the present time the struggles of the present Turkish Dictator are directed to breaking down the barrier of inferiority which Western nations persistently insist upon setting up between themselves and their Moslem neighbours.

The relations of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe with Sultan Abdul Medjid

form a melancholy contrast with the attitude of Lord Salisbury at Constantinople twenty years later.

Lord Salisbury's later utterances and proceedings do not redound to his credit as a statesman or even as a man of the world. During the whole of his stay at Constantinople for the abortive Conference of 1876 he remained closeted with the Russian Ambassador Ignatiew! After leaving Constantinople he expressed the opinion that his former friend Ignatiew was one of the greatest (if not the greatest) liar in Europe, and, at a still later stage, he expressed the opinion that the refusal to fall in with the Czar's proposals to Hamilton Seymour was a mistake; and, again, still later, Lord Salisbury assured the world that either he himself, or the Government of Great Britain, had "put their money on the wrong horse" when they decided to "maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire."

The ease with which Ignatiew duped Lord Salisbury in 1876 is explained equally easily; and (in justice to Lord Salisbury be it said) it reflects no credit on the Russian Ambassador to Turkey. Lord Salisbury was, all his life, a strong and most devoted and devout Churchman. He believed that the Faith once delivered to the Saints would be confirmed and strengthened if only the unhappy divisions rending asunder the Church of Christ could be smoothed away. To this end he was ardently desirous of securing intercommunion between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. Count Ignatiew arranged the most elaborate functions in the oratory of the Russian Embassy, and the ornate and elaborate ritual of the Orthodox Church, presented in its most perfect and attractive form, undoubtedly impressed Lord Salisbury, who forgot entirely, in his religious fervour, the sinister reputation of his host, the Russian Ambassador, who (we may be sure) took good care that the British Plenipotentiary was treated, in the course of the service, by the officiating ecclesiastics with all the pomp and circumstance which church ritual prescribes for monarchy or its representatives.

The very natural revulsion of feeling, when Lord Salisbury's eyes were ultimately opened to a full appreciation of the contemptible trickery of which he had been the victim, easily explains the bitter tones in which Lord Salisbury spoke of Ignatiew in after years. All these considerations, however, do not repair the damage done to British prestige by Lord Salisbury's mission to Constantinople and by his treatment both of the Sultan of Turkey and the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Elliot.

It is to be hoped that, in subsequent volumes in this series, Professor Temperley will allow himself a somewhat larger canvas for his picture of the international relations of Great Britain in regard to the so-called Near East.

At the present time Tokyo is hardly further from Downing Street than was Therapia in the days of Stratford Canning. If the name of Constantinople must now be replaced by the meaningless "Istanbul," it must not be forgotten that the capital of Turkey can now be reached, by air, in less than twenty-four hours; while wireless telegraphy renders possible instantaneous exchanges of instructions, and ideas, between almost any two countries of the world, however far apart they may appear to be on the map.

The imaginary lines, called frontiers, drawn on the earth's surface have

lost all real significance—except as possible bones of contention. East is West and West is East, and it remains to be seen whether the advance of science is to be made an instrument of progress, for the real benefit of mankind, or if civilization is to express itself by the obliteration of the human race.

This short survey of a brilliant book, dealing with a momentous period of history, would be incomplete without some brief mention of two questions which have profoundly influenced human progress in the regions they concern. These are: (1) the regularization of the navigation of the River Danube as a natural international waterway, and (2) the opening of the Suez Canal, an artificial waterway, open to the ships of all nations, whether armed or not, and whether in peace-time or in war, and expressly exempted at all times from blockade.

The effect upon British finances of this latter statesmanlike stroke of Disraeli may be estimated from the fact that the price paid for the shares in November, 1875, was £4,080,000, their value on March 31, 1934, being £88,570,241. In addition to this obvious financial advantage, Great Britain nominates ten out of a Council of thirty-two administrators. The scheme for the construction of the Canal was opposed both by Palmerston and Gladstone, the latter suggesting that it was not a sound one from the business point of view.

The appointment of a Commission to regulate the navigation of the Danube is almost the only concrete achievement directly resulting from the Crimean War. Up to that time the only navigable branch of the river was that flowing into the sea at Sulina. This, although the only navigable branch, discharged only 7 per cent. of the waters of the Danube into the sea. The depth of water on the bar varied between 7 and 11 feet, and the entrance to the Sulina branch was a wild open seaboard strewn with wrecks. On one night in 1855, 24 sailing ships and 60 lighters were wrecked, the loss of life on that one night reaching a total of 300 souls. There were also (as might be imagined) sinister stories of wrecking, and piracy, of every kind.

Owing to political difficulties, in the way of the selection of the future navigable branch to be opened up to shipping, work was "provisionally" undertaken at Sulina, the technical and financial sections being respectively assigned to Great Britain and France.

The first British Commissioner was Sir John Stokes, an officer of Royal Engineers who had distinguished himself in the Crimea, and he appointed as his technical assistant a young officer of Royal Engineers, Captain (afterwards Sir Charles) Hartley, who was Chief Engineer of the Danube Commission from 1856 to 1907. The Commission was under the Turkish flag until the Treaty of Berlin, when it was transformed into an international sovereign body with a flag of its own, in complete independence of the territorial authority. Roumania, however, was represented on the Commission by a delegate.

The grain trade of the Black Sea no longer possesses the great importance of those early days, but the experiment has a very special interest, and its brilliant success entirely justified the enterprise of its authors. One satis-

factory feature of the case is that the British and French Commissioners always enjoyed the most cordial relations, and collaborated with an uninterrupted harmony which augurs well for any similar experiment of a like nature in the future.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was a triumph of French engineering of an even greater and more sensational character. The occasion was the apotheosis of Napoleon III., much in the same way as the state ball at the British Embassy, in presence of Sultan Abdul Medjid, had marked the apogee of the career of the Great Elchi.

The stage is now set for an experiment in international legislation beside which the questions of the Danube and the Suez Canal sink into insignificance. Moreover, it may be objected that neither of these questions has any connection with the subject of Professor Temperley's book. Germany was not even in existence, being represented by the Kingdom of Prussia, while, similarly, Italy was represented by the Kingdom of Sardinia.

The point is that England and France, in close collaboration, succeeded in turning to the direct benefit of Europe the war which has left behind a navigable river, open to trade, where once was nothing but a nest of pirates; while France, almost single-handed, through the genius, diplomatic skill, and tenacity of Ferdinand de Lesseps, has endowed Great Britain with a channel through which her communications with the Overseas Dominions of the Crown can flow with uninterrupted regularity.

Immediately on the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War the Czar issued a Circular (dated October 31, 1870) intimating that Russia could no longer consider herself bound to the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 in so far as these limit Russian rights of sovereignty in the Black Sea. England protested vigorously against the assumption that Russia could, by her own act, without any consent from the other signatory parties, release herself from her treaty obligations. The dispute was settled by means of a Conference which met in London in December. It was agreed at this Conference that the clause which secured the neutrality of the Black Sea should be abrogated, the Sultan at the same time being allowed to open the Dardanelles and Bosphorus to the warships of friendly and allied States in the event of the rights secured to him under the Treaty of Paris being threatened.

Herr Hitler can hardly consider it beneath his dignity to accept a method of settling the present dispute, and putting an end to a most dangerous deadlock, with the precedent set by the Czar of all the Russias, in circumstances not altogether dissimilar.

PHILIP C. SARELL.

Survey of International Affairs, 1934. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Pp. 743. Maps. Oxford University Press. 28s.

These annual volumes, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and edited by Mr. Arnold Toynbee, are absolutely indispensable to anyone who wishes to obtain an accurate knowledge of international events. They are written by experts with scholarship and impartiality and merit the closest study. The survey for 1934 is of particular

interest to members of the Royal Central Asian Society, as more than half of it is concerned with events in Asia. In addition, Mr. H. V. Hodson writes illuminatingly on World Economic Affairs, while Part III. gives an account of the situation in central and north-eastern Europe, with special reference to relations between Germany and Austria.

In the Middle East the four years, 1931-4, covered by the survey were of great interest. The period was marked by the beginnings of some kind of political understanding between the countries situated there, and though reports of a Four or Five Power Pact may be premature, the Muslim Congress in Jerusalem of December, 1931, was a definite portent, for even if there have been no striking or permanent results, owing to internal disagreements and lack of funds, and though efforts were made to avoid any charges that this Congress was in any way influenced by the pan-Arab movement, there is little doubt that the aims of its conveners were as much political as religious. It is true that Turkey was not represented, but the Shiis, for the first time, attended, as did delegations from the Egyptian Wafd and the Indian Khilafat Committee. Naturally there were setbacks, such as the Saoudiyah Yemen war which was distinguished not less by the ability with which Saoudiyah gained a rapid victory than by the moderate terms accorded to the vanquished—a lesson to Western Powers and a further proof that the ruler of Saoudiyah may be considered to be the greatest Arab who has lived since the Prophet Mohammed, while the disputes between Iraq and Iran regarding frontiers and the Shatt el Arab still remain unsettled.

Again, whereas Persia, now Iran, was the only country in the Middle East which belonged to the League of Nations, by 1934 she had been joined by Turkey, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Doubtless the decision of Turkey, and to a less extent that of Afghanistan, to abandon their aloofness from League affairs was influenced by the policy of Soviet Russia, whose anxieties in the Far East induced her to join this capitalistic body, while Iraq became a member when the British mandate over that country came to an end.

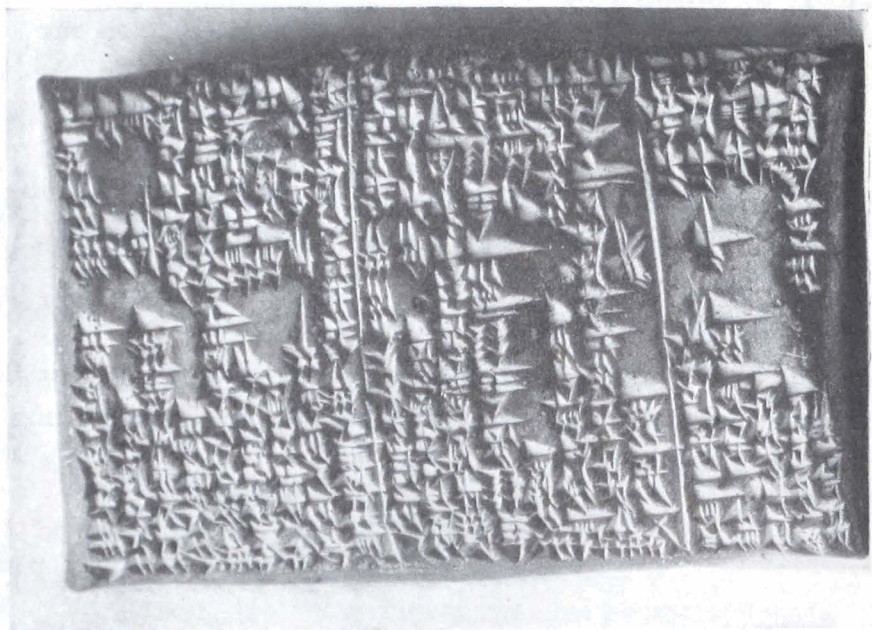
Yet it was the divergent policies of France and Great Britain in respect of their mandatory obligations which were the most important issues, for while Syria found herself deprived of that measure of self-government which she once enjoyed, Iraq in November, 1932, became an independent sovereign state. Whether Great Britain's haste to relinquish her responsibilities was more disinterested than France's hesitation to do so may be doubted, nor is it as yet certain that her policy has been more successful, for, as Mr. Toynbee sums up:

“It would still have been premature for an Iraqi to account himself politically more fortunate than his Syrian neighbour, or for an Englishman to assume that the British Government in Iraq had been more successful or more altruistic than the French in Syria in the manner of discharging their mandatory responsibilities . . . and as for the Mandatory Powers, the French, when charged with a reactionary Imperialism by the Syrian Sunnis, might comfort themselves with the thought that they had avoided laying themselves open to the accusation of having abandoned the Druses and

IRAQ

(published twice yearly)





A Babylonian glass-maker's recipes in cuneiform of the XVIIIth century B.C.

Alawyn to the fate to which the Assyrians had been abandoned by the British."

The truth is, as Mr. Toynbee clearly points out, that a profound change had taken place in the British attitude towards the exercise of political control in Oriental countries. "This kind of dominion, which had formerly been regarded as the chief prize of Imperialism, had now come to be looked on no longer as a precious asset, but rather as a burdensome and embarrassing liability."

This new attitude, which has been slower to appear in France and of which no trace has yet been seen in Italy, undoubtedly induced Great Britain to hasten to give up her mandate in Iraq, and the somewhat paradoxical position arose of the Mandatory Power pressing for such an end, the advisability of which the Permanent Mandates Commission was more than doubtful. And their doubts were directed towards the future of the minorities in Iraq, with what reason the event proved. For while the Commission accepted as reasonable Great Britain's thesis that in Iraq an administration on the level with that of the best in the world could not yet be expected, in its report to the League Council it quoted Sir Francis Humphrys' now famous declaration regarding "moral responsibility," stating: "Had it not been for this declaration the Commission would, for its part, have been unable to contemplate the termination of a régime, which appeared some years ago to be necessary in the interests of all sections of the population."

A full and accurate account is given of the Assyrian troubles of 1933 and of the events leading up to them, and Mr. Toynbee, admitting that the Assyrian problem was "in several ways peculiar and unique," considers "that the fact that relations between these Assyrian immigrants and the young Arab state went wrong was largely the fault of the Assyrians themselves, and still more the fault of the British, who were blameworthy on two distinct counts, first for having compromised the Assyrian relations with the Arabs by taking Assyrians into British service to suit British convenience, and in the second place for having prematurely sought and obtained release from their mandatory responsibilities in Iraq—again to suit British convenience."

As regards the Iraqis, though the behaviour of a section of their army at Simmel and elsewhere cannot be pardoned, "it must, at any rate, be conceded that the Government did not allow the Assyrian trouble to overwhelm it, but managed to carry on their administration creditably in other parts of the field."

It has sometimes been objected that criticisms of Great Britain's termination of her Iraqi mandate have been merely destructive and *ex post factum*. It has been asked what else could she have done. Surely she could have been franker as to the existence and nature of the Assyrian problem. She could have reported to the Permanent Mandates Commission that Iraq was in every respect fit for independence, but one danger existed which could hardly be reckoned to be her fault. The League Council could then have taken what steps it thought fit to meet this danger and would have been responsible for any trouble which might subsequently occur. Had Great

Britain adopted such an attitude, no one could then have described Iraq as the least fortunate of our imperial adventures, nor would the fine work which Englishmen have done in other directions in Iraq have been so completely forgotten.

Both in Iraq and Iran the oil factor was important. In Iraq agreements were reached between the Government and the Iraq Petroleum and the British Oil Development Companies—and here it may be noted that it is not generally recognized how much Iraq owes to King Feisal, to whom a special and well-deserved tribute is paid elsewhere in this volume, for his skill as a negotiator in this matter. Iraq is now assured of a minimum sum of £600,000 (gold) in oil royalties, which sum, of course, will be greatly increased as oil production develops.

Iran, which, in view of the heavy fall in oil royalties in 1931-2 (£306,000, as compared with £1,400,000 in 1929-30), had reason to feel jealous of the terms secured by Iraq, denounced the agreement with the A.P.O.C. in November, 1932, and here was another instance of “the profound change of outlook which has transformed British public opinion and policy since the Great War of 1914-18,” for here the high-handed action was Oriental, while the Western Power “did forgo the employment of the traditional means of asserting its will by force—when force was still at its command—in order to submit its case and to subordinate its nationals’ immediate interest to the post-war collective system of international law and order.” In fact, it was Great Britain which turned to the League, and which eventually accepted terms definitely more favourable to Iran than those of the original D’Arcy agreement of 1901. It was perhaps hardly to be expected that either Iraq or Iran should feel greatly concerned over any question of world over-production of oil.

In Palestine the period was one of comparative political quiet, broken only by the disturbances of October, 1933, which, unlike that of 1929, were directed against the Mandatory Power rather than against the Jews, and which, perhaps in consequence, were the more easily suppressed. But despite the surface peace no progress was made towards the reconciliation of Jews and Arabs, and in consequence none towards any system of self-government, though the inauguration of some Municipal Councils afforded a slight hope for the future. Certainly the lot of the Mandatory Power in Palestine is not happy. Its duty is to deal out impartial justice, and therefore it cannot expect to be popular with either party, each of which demands preferential treatment.

If the political situation was unchanged, the economic boom was truly remarkable, coming as it did when the rest of the world was still in the trough of the depression. Yet it may be doubted whether this boom was based on sound foundations. Imports far exceeded exports, the figures for 1934 being £P.15,200,000, as against £P.3,250,000, and of the exports 80 per cent. were derived from citrus fruit. The danger of reliance on one form of exports is obvious, as the experience of other countries, for instance Brazil, Chile, and Egypt, has already shown. Jewish sources reckon that ultimately 50,000,000 cases can be produced and sold, as compared with a probable export of 11,000,000 cases in 1936-7, but it appears probable that long before

the former figure is reached the markets of the world will be saturated. And apart from agriculture and the potential wealth of potash, Palestine's only economic asset lies in the recovery of her entrepôt trade. The great increase in revenue, which has largely been derived from customs receipts, has enabled the Government to build up a reserve fund of close on six millions (it was only £775,000 at the end of 1929), but as Mr. Toynbee points out:

"Meanwhile the tendency displayed in Palestine's balance of trade raised two questions. First, was the difference in value between recorded exports and imports likely to diminish before the evil day, which was bound to come sooner or later, when the invisible imports on which the country was living would fall off? And, second, was the value of export of the one staple export crop likely to maintain its current rate of increase?"

The question of invisible imports is naturally bound up with that of Jewish immigration. Here, too, the figures are remarkable. The Jewish population increased from 83,794 in 1921, or 11 per cent. of the total population, to over 300,000 in 1924, or 25 per cent. The official figures for Jewish immigration were 27,862 for 1933 and 38,244 in 1934, in addition to which there was considerable illicit immigration, a source of anxiety to the Mandatory Power and a grievance to the Arabs, which indeed was the principal cause of the disturbances of 1933. Many of these immigrants introduced capital; in fact, in 1934 there were 5,124 Class A immigrants, each possessing capital of over £P.1,000, a large number coming from Germany.

In August, 1931, Mr. L. French, late Civil Secretary to the Punjab Government, was appointed Director of Development, and later a development loan of £2,000,000 was floated. Of this £250,000 was to be devoted to the re-settlement of displaced Arabs. Mr. French, however, was able to show that up to the end of 1934 he had only admitted 616 heads of families to the register, while he had disallowed 2,578 claims. These figures appear to disprove the Arab allegations that the process of Jewish agricultural colonization had been displacing Arab cultivators on a large scale. This was just as well, as it was found—as it has been found in other countries—that no surplus—that is to say, no uncultivated—lands existed. Nor does Mr. Toynbee consider that there are grounds for believing that Jewish immigration has harmed the original Arab inhabitants. It is true that the position of Arab cultivators in the hill districts was deplorable, but this was largely owing to two years of drought, but others living in and near the towns have undoubtedly benefited. Nevertheless, the impartial observer cannot be satisfied that all is well economically, and he is quite sure that everything is not well politically.

The survey deals only with the year 1934 in the Far East. During this year a sort of stand easy developed, for this was one of the two years which had to elapse between Japan's formal notification on March 27, 1933, that she would withdraw from the League and the date of her actually leaving it. Inside China the efforts of General Chiang Kai Shek, who had conducted a particularly successful operation against the Communists in the South Yangtse basin, had done something to strengthen the authority of the Central Government, but nevertheless there was little abatement of

Cantonese criticism of Nanking, and other signs existed that southern separatism remained a very serious problem, while the attitude of the different war lords was often far from reassuring. Another influence was General Chiang Kai Shek's initiation of the "New Life Movement," which was launched at Nanking in March, 1934, and "aimed at raising the standards of the common people in their everyday habits and conduct." This movement has made considerable progress, especially on those ultra-nationalistic lines which are a mark of the present times.

The economic position remained serious. A heavy adverse trade balance and a series of droughts were complicated by the export of upwards of one-sixth of the total silver in currency. This naturally presented a great problem.

"This loss of the basis of Chinese currency was due in the first instance to the raising of silver value by American Government purchases, which caused the price of silver in London to rise to as much as 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per oz. above the price in Shanghai, and thus created an irreducible inducement for the drain of silver out of China."

After ineffectual protests to the United States Government, the Nanking Government at the end of the year placed a virtual embargo on the export of silver, and eventually in November, 1935, the dollar was stabilized at 1s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

In Japan the tension between the military and civilian groups continued, and it gradually became obvious that the military were likely to win the day. Throughout the year the country was instructed in matters of national policy by a series of manifestos issuing from military quarters. The eventual establishment of a Fascist or military dictatorship appeared probable, nor does it appear much less improbable to-day.

Despite a boom in cotton and rayon exports, the distress of the farming classes continued and their heavy indebtedness remained a pressing problem. Herein indeed lies the key to the understanding of internal affairs in Japan.

As regards external affairs, by far the most important development was that of Japan's adoption of a kind of Monroe doctrine for the Far East. The Japanese point of view was set out in a statement to the Press by Mr. Amau, Chief of the Intelligence Section of the Japanese Foreign Office. He told his listeners on April 10 that:

"Japan was absolutely opposed to foreign interference in China in any form whatsoever, and would oppose any new plans of international co-operation with China. Schemes of technical assistance were apt to lead to intervention in China's affairs, and so to prolong the state of confusion prevailing in that country."

He affirmed at the same time that Japan did not seek to close the open door, nor to disregard the Nine Power Pact. This thesis was developed and elaborated as the year went on. Japan justified her "mission" in China by her territorial propinquity and special interests in Eastern Asia. In fact, her imperialistic action differed little from that of Western Powers during the nineteenth century.

Exacerbation between Japan and the United States was undiminished, for America was not, as was Great Britain, engrossed in European affairs,

and paid far more attention to the Far East. She felt strongly regarding the questions of naval ratios, commercial rivalry and Japanese oil legislation. On the other hand, there were signs of bonds of sympathy between Japan and Germany. Both had seceded from the League, both were bitterly opposed to Russia, and in general both felt united by a common isolation.

In Russo-Japanese relations the liquidation of the Chinese Eastern Railway dispute solved an awkward question, but mutual fear and mistrust remained. Russia had sought a pact of non-aggression, which Japan held to be premature. As a result both parties continued to develop their strategic positions and communications on the Amur front and clashes were of frequent occurrence. Nor has the position improved since then. And yet there is one strange feature in the situation. The ideas of the Japanese military class, members of which are the most inveterate enemies of Russia, are, except for their violently narrow nationalism, as regards social economics more nearly those expressed in Moscow than those of any other country.

R. S. S.

Magna Britannia. By Professor J. Coatman, C.I.E., M.A. Large crown octavo. Jonathan Cape. 10s. 6d.

"The destiny of the British Empire is that it shall become a living, working model of the world commonwealth of the future."

This, as Professor Coatman states, is the essence of the analysis of the true character of the British Empire which he has attempted in his most penetrating and far-sighted book. Taking as his watchword the motto of his old school, "Dare to understand," he fearlessly examines the political and economic problems which beset the world to-day. He shows that if our Western civilization is to survive, present-day mutually destructive economic nationalism must give way to the constructive view of the nations as fellow-workers in a common cause. Here he perceives the true value and meaning of the British Empire, wherein artificial or forced relations between its component parts are constantly being changed into ties of mutual co-operation, consciously and freely accepted by all concerned. The creative force of a world-State can thus be studied in a living Commonwealth of Nations, which provides a concrete example to inspire and guide those who do not themselves belong to it.

After outlining the moral and philosophical principles on which the British Commonwealth is based, the author examines its political institutions and machinery with special reference to the Statute of Westminster as the foundation of its constitution and the Imperial Conference as the one vital consultative and deliberative body which lays down the broad lines of policy to be implemented by the constituent Governments, and which is, in fact, "the trustee of our heritage."

While the greater part of the book is devoted to the study of political and economic co-operation within the Empire, Professor Coatman deprecates the tendency to regard economic problems as being the most vital ones. In an inspiring chapter on intellectual co-operation he discusses some of the means by which it may be possible to ensure that the varied and widely scattered peoples of the Commonwealth and Empire may keep and cherish in unity with each other

common ideals and objectives. As he says, there are good reasons for believing that these problems are the really fundamental ones.

In view of opinions which are still widely held by a large section of the business community in this country, and which have received, of recent years, widespread publicity in the Press, it is interesting to read that—

“There can be no limitation whatever of the complete fiscal and financial autonomy of every self-governing member of the Empire. There can be no question of the impossibility of creating one great customs union out of the whole British Empire with a tariff wall around it against the outside world. There can be no question of the impossibility of creating a central all-Empire economic authority to lay down the tariff and general economic policy of the different British countries. These and other similar proposals are bad economics, bad politics, and some of them, at any rate, bad morals, and they fly straight in the face of all the economic, political, and spiritual development of the Empire during the past century.”

Flexibility and mutual forbearance have enabled the members of the Commonwealth to overcome almost insuperable obstacles of conflicting interests in the past and are a sure guide to success in the future. But—as the author wisely states—it is not enough that the British Empire should survive in a form satisfactory to its own members. It must also be an active power for good in the world. As the world's greatest market, and as the centre of the Empire, the United Kingdom has a quite peculiar obligation to see that whilst remaining good Imperialists we remain also good citizens of the world. The delegates at the Ottawa Conference unanimously expressed the opinion that “by the lowering or removal of barriers among themselves provided for in these agreements the flow of trade between the various countries of the Empire will be facilitated, and by the consequent increase in the purchasing power of their peoples the trade of the world will also be stimulated and increased.” Since these words were written the trend of tariffs in the Dominions has been downward. This supports the argument that the Ottawa policy does not bar the way to progressive freeing of trade between the different countries of the world.

The chapter on migration throws much new light on a thorny subject. The author holds that there are two main avenues of employment in which there is likely to be real expansion. The first is the closer settlement type of farming such as dairy production and fruit-growing. The second, and more important, is the potentialities of the Dominions for further development of manufacturing industries. He summarizes his views in the following statement:

“The United Kingdom possesses unexampled resources in capital, technical knowledge, and skilled workers which are not being used to their full capacity, while overseas there exist all the resources of power, minerals, and other raw materials necessary for the creation and extension of secondary industries. If these resources could be brought together by intelligent survey of markets and rational mobilization of capital and labour, it would go far towards placing the economic structure of the Empire on a sounder basis than at present. It is by aiming at a general sense of security, the fullest and most satisfying use of man's abilities, and the health and prospect of the family, that the economic organization of our Commonwealth can maximize human welfare, rather than by concentrating upon the greatest possible output of goods and services regardless of the inequalities of its distribution and of the unequal efforts and sacrifices involved.”

Professor Coatman's views on the Indian problem will be read with special attention in view of his unusual qualifications to express an authoritative opinion. Of exceptional interest is his study of the great impression and influence which

the recent reforms in India are likely to make and exert on the subject races of our own and other empires all over the world.

Space does not permit of any detailed treatment of this thought-provoking book. While there may be criticism from certain quarters of minor suggestions such as the control of our overseas investments in favour of Empire countries, it will be generally recognized that the author has made a most valuable contribution to the constructive consideration of perhaps the greatest problem which faces us at the present time. *Magna Britannia* is a book which should be read by every servant of the Empire. To those whose work brings them face to face with everyday Imperial problems it will be a stimulus and a guide. One hopes that it may be followed by further works on the same subject. Incidentally, let us hope that steps may soon be taken to re-establish the Chair of Imperial Economic Relations in London University, which was so ably filled by the author, and which provided the first organized body of studies of problems connected with the British Empire.

T. M. A.

Arabian Adventure to the Great Nafud in Quest of the Oryx. By Douglas Carruthers. 10" × 6½". Pp. xii + 208. Photographs. Witherby. 8s. 6d.

We have had to wait a quarter of a century for Douglas Carruthers' account of his great expedition to the neighbourhood of Taima in search of the oryx. Arabia, yet but little changed since Nabonidus and other princes of Babylon frequented the same locality—possibly on the same errand—more than 2,000 years ago, had nevertheless already been warned of what was in store for her in the near future. The Hijaz Railway had just been completed as far as Madina, and Carruthers travelled from Damascus to Ma'an by train. The rest of his adventure was experienced under the traditional conditions of camel travel, and he would perhaps have been horrified at the thought that his book would one day accompany its reviewer by motor-car from Damascus to Jauf and thence via Hail and Riyadh to the Hijaz. Hence the long delay in the submission of this review.

Arabia is indeed changed since those days. The gallant railway has, it is true, ceased to function beyond the limits of the new Trans-Jordan, though there is still hope of its serving Madina again some day. But the motor-car has revolutionized the old system of Arabian communications, and wireless telegraphy has also played an important part in the transformation. Motor-cars now reach Taima by many roads—from Madina, from Hail, from Jauf, and from Tabuk. Yet, apart from Fathers Jaussen and Savignac, who visited the locality a week after himself and were turned out immediately with scant ceremony, no European appears to have visited it since Carruthers. And his predecessors were all great names in the history of Arabian exploration—Wallin, Guarmani, Doughty, Huber, and Euting. His account of Taima and its surroundings is therefore more than welcome, though it comes so late. It comes to us in this age of films and sensationalism like a zephyr from the golden age of Arabian exploration, and its most important defect is perhaps that it has borrowed some excellent photographs of Badawin scenes (evidently taken within sight of the Damascus oasis) from a recent work that reads more like a screen scenario than an account of serious exploration.

Carruthers did much important work during the war and early post-war years in reorganizing our disjointed and defective knowledge of Arabian topography. The "Million" maps of the country bear witness to his devoted and self-effacing co-operation with the War Office and the Royal Geographical Society. His edition of Carlo Guarmani's travels of 1864, published by the Arab Bureau for official use

only, was not the least notable of his contributions in the same direction, and certainly deserves to be more widely known. His exhaustive list of astronomically fixed positions in Arabia was of immense value at a time when nothing in the nature of a proper survey had been attempted in any part of the desert peninsula beyond the limits of the Aden protectorate. Our knowledge of Arabian geography has greatly increased during the last decade, but it is to pioneers like Carruthers and Hogarth that the credit is due for pointing the way and preparing the ground.

His book is definitely in the tradition of the old pioneer explorers. Those who know Arabia best will like it best. Others should read it for the wealth of curious and interesting information on a variety of matters which the author has skilfully worked into a tale told with the modesty traditional to Arabian travel. "It seems rather late in the day," he writes, "to attempt to recognize adequately the help I received so long ago, but if Mr. G. P. Devey, then British Consul at Damascus, should read this, it will show him that I have not forgotten . . . the diplomacy with which he allowed me to escape from his tender care!" Mr. Devey, alas! has been dead several years and can never read these words of appreciation, but other consuls may be inspired to imitate his diplomatic myopia. The same disease, but not in a diplomatic form, apparently (according to Carruthers) robbed Doughty of the honour of being the official "discoverer" of the Taima Stone now in the Louvre. That credit must go to Euting, who first definitely recognized its significance, though Charles Huber may also have actually seen it before him, ultimately became its legal owner by purchase, and soon afterwards paid for it again with his life. Carruthers has a great deal of extreme interest to say on this subject and the great controversy it engendered, but he is surely in error in speaking of Huber "as a Moslem." Had he been one he would surely have visited Mecca (but why Macca?), and, in any case, his accidental passage through its outlying suburb of Shuhada (owing to his guide losing the way) would not have caused him the qualms it did.

The hero of the book is, of course, the oryx, and its most fascinating chapters are the two devoted to a full account of our knowledge of this animal in Arabia since the earliest times. In connection with Doughty he makes a slight slip in saying that "the only trophy he brought back from Arabia and which he exhibited at his lecture before the Royal Geographical Society on November 26, 1883, was a single 'rod-like' horn of the oryx"! In point of fact, Doughty also brought back an ostrich egg, which in 1919 he presented to Lawrence, giving the oryx horn at the same time to me. As regards the records of oryx in the south, the author seems to have missed certain references to it midway between his date and Cheesman's, which he will find in the *Heart of Arabia*. At any rate, Carruthers was the first European to bag an oryx in Arabia—a great achievement in which only Boscawen, twenty-one years afterwards in the south, has succeeded in imitating him. Yet the motor-car has already appeared on the scene, threatening to hasten the disaster incepted by the modern rifle. The oryx, as I was told at Jauf in December, 1935, by Wuld 'Ali tribesmen, still survives where Carruthers shot his specimens, but in an ever-narrowing circle. They spoke of it as being none too easy to find anywhere, but in the Rub'al Khali eastward of Najran they are still apparently numerous, and at the present moment there is a calf from there in captivity at Riyadh. On the other hand, the ostrich, now extinct in the south, still maintains itself in the north in fair numbers in spite of the motor-car. Of the wild ass I heard as being extant still along the western flank of the Oman massif, while Carruthers makes no mention of two animals not long since reported, on purely native evidence, too readily believed, by a German archæologist in the Yaman—the giraffe and the rhinoceros! As Carruthers says of another scholar's

reference to the existence of bubal hartebeest in Arabia, this bit of information is "unconvincing."

Space forbids further browsing among the all too few pages of this most welcome and valuable addition to the literature of Arabian travel. Everyone interested in the country or contemplating a visit even to its fringes should read it, and everyone who reads it will learn a great deal about Arabia that he will find nowhere else. Carruthers has hidden his light under a bushel all too long, and it is sincerely to be hoped that he will not now rest content with his present contribution to Arabian lore. We cannot but suspect that he has a great deal more to tell us if only he can overcome his apparent reluctance to write. And that it is obviously his duty to do.

H. STJ. B. PHILBY.

A Paladin in Arabia. The Biography of Brevet Lieut.-Col. G. E. Leachman, C.I.E., D.S.O. By Major N. N. E. Bray, O.B.E., M.C. With a Foreword by Sir Samuel Hoare, G.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D. 8½" × 5¾". Pp. xviii + 429. 23 photographs, 3 maps. London: Heritage. 12s. 6d.

In writing the biography of Brevet Lieut.-Col. G. E. Leachman, Major Bray has done a genuine service to his country. This biography of one of the outstanding figures of our time should have been written many years ago, and I can only imagine that it was the difficulty of the task occasioned by Leachman's reticence, and the fact that none knew what was going on in his mind or sometimes his very whereabouts, that discouraged other writers from attempting it. Having myself served under Leachman, I know only too well that if a report had to be written it contained the bare essential facts; the results he obtained were recorded, but the means employed to obtain those facts remained his secret.

It has remained, then, for Major N. N. E. Bray, who himself served for a short time in Iraq, and was Leachman's friend, to record for future generations what is known of the life history of this "Paladin of Arabia." Major Bray's task might well have been impossible had it not been for the generous help of Lieut.-Col. Sir Arnold Wilson and Mr. St. John Philby, both of whom handed over to him all the material that they had collected for possible publication at some future date.

Major Bray's opening chapters deal shortly and very charmingly with Leachman as a child, schoolboy, cadet at Sandhurst, and finally as a wounded subaltern spending his twentieth birthday in a field hospital in South Africa. These

Succeeding chapters deal with Leachman's return to South Africa, and consist of Leachman's character never changed.

Succeeding chapters deal with Leachman's return to South Africa, and consist principally of extracts from letters home. In these there is much repetition, but the final stages of the South African campaign consisted in the main of weary marches and counter-marches relieved by small skirmishes, and repetition was the essence of the picture.

The next period is of peacetime soldiering in India—hard study for military exams., and hunting trips, ending with his first experience of exploration, a hunting journey into Tibet, taken rather typically without the necessary Government permits, and later a longer journey through Kashmir. This section is incidental to the book; it records a period of training and brief descriptions of *shikar*, which will recall many happy, exciting days to all who have worked and played in India.

To one who knew the man, even if only intermittently for five years, and was only in close contact with him for perhaps the space of one year, his story, the

culmination of his early work and ambitions, starts at Chapter X. with his first journey by sea to Basra and thence overland via Baghdad and Aleppo to England. The route is now well known, but in those days it was a journey of some note.

The author has not been very accurate over the spelling of some of the place names, and, having ridden some dozens of times from Ramadi to Hit, I know the distance to be nearer thirty miles than the fifty-five recorded. This section of the book was taken from Leachman's brief diary, and, having no maps as we know them to-day, and having to judge distance by the hours of march of an exceedingly mixed caravan, such mistakes are excusable.

In 1909 Leachman undertook his first real journey into Arabia, an unsuccessful attempt to reach Hail. This account is given in detail, and is of great interest, as it contains much Bedouin politics and tells of the movement and wars of the great Anaiza and Shammar tribes.

Owing probably to Turkish intervention, Leachman was not allowed to enter Hail, although he had penetrated to within a few hours' journey of the town, and had to march with a caravan to join Sa'dun Pasha of the huge Muntafiq Confederacy, passing through the battlefield where Sa'dun had recently driven off the forces of Abdul Aziz ibn Sa'ud. Many bodies still lay on the ground.

Passing up the Euphrates, Leachman reached Karbela, and on April 4 entered Baghdad, slipping past the Turkish sentries in the dark, and shortly afterwards a horrified sentry was trying to stop a ragged Bedouin from entering the British Residency.

On May 29, 1910, Leachman started on a 1,300-mile ride on horseback on a circuitous route through Kurdistan and Anatolia to Aleppo, which he reached on August 10. He traversed the greater portion of Palestine, and finally crossed 540 miles of desert by camel in nine days, a feat few Arabs would undertake and few Europeans survive. Altogether on this journey Leachman travelled about 2,590 miles on horseback and by camel in 154 days, including halts.

After Leachman's return to India and subsequent leave home, his next journey was one of 1,380 miles from Damascus to Riyadh, where he was entertained by the Emir Abdul Aziz ibn Sa'ud, and thence to the Persian Gulf. The story of this journey is told by Leachman himself, and is of particular interest.

The next part of the book brings us to Leachman's work in Iraq during the War, and, if necessarily fragmentary, as he worked for the most part alone and wrote and talked little, it will prove of the very greatest interest to all those who served on this front.

As I was on the Upper Euphrates for the last two years of Leachman's life, I am able to check most of the facts, which are surprisingly accurate considering the great difficulty of collecting them. Some extracts from the diary of Corporal Wing, of the Armoured Cars, are not so clear, particularly his account of two officers who were held to ransom at 'Ana in July, 1920, but were murdered before Leachman could reach them. I have a feeling that I must have been one of them; anyhow, this happening would seem to have been kept very quiet, for no one at Ramadi heard of it.

The story of Leachman's tragic end is correctly told as far as it is known from the evidence collected at the time, but I do not think it is quite correct to suggest that no one realized the seriousness of the situation below Faluja.

A few days before the end Leachman sent me to the Yusufiyah Canal, which was outside the Dulaim Division, to collect the records from the irrigation officer's house, as it had been evacuated in a hurry. Every Arab I met was openly carrying a rifle, even in my presence. I cut across to the Saqliyeh Canal and spent the night in the tent of Leachman's murderer, Sheikh Dhari ibn Dhaha of the Zoba.

Here everything was the same, and at least a hundred armed men sat up round a camp fire all night. On the following morning I rode through the various tribes between Khan Naqtah and Faluja, and found them in a very restless state and full of apprehension for the future.

I telephoned a report to Leachman, and later met him in Faluja on his way to Baghdad. After I had given him a full report, he remarked: "I thought you would have a tough ride, and am thankful to see you back. I only wish Baghdad realized the position. Anyhow, I am going in to tell them." Naturally, none of us anticipated Leachman's murder, but we certainly realized the seriousness of the situation.

Major Bray's book is illustrated by three maps and twenty-three excellent photographs, and he is to be congratulated on the mass of information that he has collected. The author is a little inclined to "plug" Colonel Leachman's virtues—the reader might, I think, have been left to see these for himself—but the book is most excellently written, and I can strongly recommend it to all who wish to meet, even if for the first time, one of the greatest soldier-explorers of our time.

The Foreword is written by Sir Samuel Hoare, G.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D., and consists of two descriptions of Leachman quoted from the book. The first of these is by Fahad Beg ibn Hadhal, paramount Sheikh of the Amarat Section of the Anaiza, the oldest and greatest of Leachman's many desert friends. Leachman was blood brother to Mutib, Fahad's eldest son, who died of tuberculosis when quite a young man.

The second description is from the pen of the late Miss Gertrude Bell, whose work in Iraq, and whose books and letters, are so well known.

L. W.

The Wilderness of Zin. By C. Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence. 10½" × 7¾". Pp. 166. 40 plates. Jonathan Cape. 1936. 18s.

The Wilderness of Zin was first published in 1915 by the Palestine Exploration Fund, and is an account—a hurriedly written one—of an archæological expedition undertaken by Sir L. Woolley and Lawrence through the wild, unexplored country that lies south of Beersheba. It is said now that there was some special significance in the fitting up of the expedition, which started at the end of 1913, as the object was not so much the studying of the various Byzantine towns, but was organized rather with a view to mapping and obtaining some knowledge of this unknown stretch of country which would no doubt figure in the war that was impending. Captain (now Colonel) Newcombe was hard at work mapping in the Wadi Araba to the south and arousing the suspicions of the Turk in Akaba, and Lawrence and Woolley were entrusted with a hurried survey of the area to the north. Whether there is any truth in these rumours only those "in the know" can tell, but one must be grateful to the organization that inspired the expedition, for it has provided us to-day with another specimen of Lawrence's work.

The book was completed in a hurry in 1914 after the War had broken out, and the proof-reading and the seeing of the volume through the press was undertaken by Mr. D. G. Hogarth, as both Lawrence and Woolley had been called to Egypt for special service. The book, as its title denotes, is a description illustrated by plans, maps, and photographs of the archæological remains in the area of Zin, which comprises Southern Palestine and Eastern Sinai, and is also a most concise topographical record of the country.

With a joint authorship it is difficult to detect how much of the book is the work of Lawrence and how much that of Woolley, for the quality of the writing

throughout is of a very high order, with the easy attractive style of *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*.

The book deals firstly with the plateau country south of Beersheba, and gives a full description of the deserted Byzantine towns of Esbeita, Raheiba, and Khalasa. The expedition then crossed over into Sinai in the vicinity of Auja and spent some days studying the traces of Roman occupation in the area. Here they parted, and Mr. Woolley crossed over the border again at Ain Gedeirat to visit Kurnub and Abda south of Beersheba, whilst Lawrence journeyed south to meet Colonel Newcombe near Akaba.

The book is chiefly remarkable for the fact that, though the two authors were only engaged for a short six weeks making their survey, they have nevertheless compiled a most conclusive and accurate account of the whole of this very wide area. Lawrence particularly shows his very remarkable clarity of vision and powers of deduction in his all too short description of Eastern Sinai and the Darb el Shur—the ancient road to Egypt:

“The wearing monotony of senseless rounded hills and unmeaning valleys makes this southern desert of Syria one of the most inhospitable of all deserts—one which, since the Mohammedan invasion, has been the unenvied resort of defeated tribes too weak to face the strenuous life of the greater deserts.”

He saw that Sinai has never had a prosperous past, and attributes rightly the signs of civilization and intensive cultivation in the Kossima and Auja areas to the fact that the main road to Egypt ran through this district; and the caravans coming from the ports of Suez and Tor with the merchandise of the East required halting-places where supplies, water, and forage could be obtained. I personally have the feeling—an uneasy one—that Lawrence, in six weeks, succeeded in seeing as much of Sinai and understanding it as I have achieved in over fourteen years.

In his account of Ain Kadeis his puckish humour comes out, and he scarifies a Mr. H. C. Trumbull, an American, who in 1882 gave this Ain a typical American “write-up” in flowing journalism and was therefore responsible for the identification of this dirty little waterhole with the Kadesh Barnea of the Bible.

A pleasing side to the book is the tribute to Colonel Newcombe for the work he had done in Southern Palestine and the unfailing help he rendered to this expedition. Colonel Newcombe has so successfully “hidden his light under a bushel” that only those conversant with his work and activities in the past are aware of how much he achieved in the days prior to the War and exactly how far he was responsible for the success of the Arab revolt in 1917 and 1918.

S. C. JARVIS.

The Jesuits at the Court of Peking. By C. W. Allan. 8½" × 5½". Pp. x + 300. Messrs. Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai. \$8.50.

Matteo Ricci's Scientific Contribution to China. By Henri Bernard, S.J. Translated by E. C. Werner. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 108. Six photographic illustrations. Henri Vetch, Peiping. 7s. 6d.

These two books deal with what is, perhaps, to Europeans the most interesting period of Chinese history—the opening chapter of the present story of Sino-European intercourse.

Since the days of early trans-continental trade between Eastern and Western Asia, a traffic which was broken off by the conquests of Islam, the enterprise of the Polos in the late thirteenth century was the only important link between Europe and the Far East in medieval times. The discovery by the Spaniards nearly 200 years later of a short-cut to the Indies—as they thought—served to stimulate their

rivals, the Portuguese. Both must have been encouraged by Marco Polo's account of the riches, the culture, and the wonders of the East, and in particular by his story of the wealth of Cippangu. In those islands, according to his book, gold was abundant beyond all measure; the king's palace was entirely roofed with fine gold; the same precious metal, in plates like slabs of stone, was used for paving; and rose-coloured pearls and other precious stones were found in abundance.

The voyage of Vasco da Gama, a few years after that of Columbus, was more fortunate than that of the great Genoese, who died in the belief that the territories which he discovered and which have ever since been called the West Indies were an outlying part of the Far East.

When da Gama's fleet, with great red crosses on its sails, reached the Indian coast in 1498, the territories discovered by the Portuguese became potential Catholic countries. The Cross accompanied the Sword, the conquered were baptized with insistent haste, and the ground which the conquerors had taken from the natives became immediately hallowed by the erection of churches.

The dream of christianizing Asia was no new thing. About the year 1250 the Crusaders had come into contact with an element of Christianity, the result of Nestorian effort, in the Mongol conquerors of Western Asia; and the project of an alliance with the raiders, which would at once drive the Muslims from Palestine and spread the doctrine of Christ across Asia, was conceived. But it was not to be. Islam was too powerful; and in the fifteenth century the Crescent was everywhere triumphant over the Cross.

After the first foothold in Goa, it was about half a century before the first Catholic missionary reached the eastern end of Asia. Francis Xavier founded a mission centre in Japan in 1549, but he made but little headway against the persistent reasoning of the Japanese. His anxiety to influence China and, through China, Japan was intense when he realized that the Japanese were guided in all their culture and in all their opinions by the example of China. There, he heard, the national religion was a moral system, very little regard was paid to heathen gods, and the people were peace-loving and unusually devoted to learning, particularly to astronomy.

He was, however, forbidden to land in China, and it was while endeavouring to effect clandestine entry into the country that he fell sick and died in 1552 on the island now known as St. John, off the coast of Kuangtung.

Early in the sixteenth century the Portuguese had founded a commercial centre at Malacca. Operating from this place, Portuguese traders first made their appearance off the coast of Canton in 1511. Six years later one of them was favourably received by the authorities, but the suspicions of the Chinese were justly aroused by the piratical behaviour of subsequent comers, many of the Portuguese were put to death, and further entry was proscribed.

Several abortive efforts by the Portuguese missionaries to gain a footing in the country were made from 1555 onwards, and the mission station in Macao was founded soon afterwards, but no permanent headway was made until the arrival of Matteo Ricci. This extraordinarily versatile and broad-minded man reached Macao in 1582, and, working his way warily through the country, arrived in Peking in January, 1600, during the reign of the Ming Emperor known as Wan Li. It was not, however, anxiety on the part of the Chinese to hear his message that procured for Ricci the entrée to the capital. He had already established at Canton a widespread reputation for scholarship, and he went northwards with a large collection of European articles—scientific instruments, clocks, glassware, and maps, obtained through the mission at Macao—which, he knew, would arouse interest and curiosity at the Court. Reports of the wonderful things that the foreign teacher had with

him, and of his knowledge and skill as a mechanic and mathematician, had travelled before him. The Emperor rose at the bait and summoned Ricci to his presence.

Such success as the Jesuits achieved in China was not, however, wholly due to their appeal to the scientific curiosity of the Court. Ricci and his followers realized that they were in a land of compromise, where "face" mattered more than anything else. The traditional rôle of poverty and humility was laid aside, and the Jesuits succeeded as scholars where they would have been disregarded as mere preachers. Ancient Chinese practices in regard to ancestor worship, though they would have been (and subsequently were) condemned in Rome as idolatrous, were condoned. The sufferings and humiliating death of Christ were not insisted on, for how could the Chinese, accustomed to deify their ruler, accept a religion which taught that its founder had willingly been subjected to indignity?

The Dominican and Franciscan monks, who followed later, preached that all the emperors of China, as well as Confucius himself, were, as heathens, damned to the everlasting fires of hell. In consequence, the teachers of such heresy were imprisoned, tortured, and deported.

The Jesuits, on the other hand, by their diplomacy and tact, succeeded as did no other sect in the early days; and at the close of the Ming dynasty they numbered among their converts 114 members of the royal family, 40 eunuchs, and 14 high officials.

When the Manchus established the Ch'ing dynasty in 1644 the influence of the Jesuits was even enhanced. The Chinese calendar was adjusted by them; astronomical instruments to replace those made in the Yuan dynasty according to the teaching of Islam were constructed; the Emperor, sick to death of malaria, was cured by "Jesuit bark"; the same Emperor heard for the first time with the most eager interest of the Copernican system. Did the Court need makers of cannon, mathematicians, gardeners, glassworkers, mechanics, artists, architects? The Jesuits supplied the necessary experts in all branches of knowledge, skill, and industry.

But the mission of the Jesuits was, on the whole, a failure. They taught the Chinese much, but their principal message failed to penetrate deeply. Face was too strong. How could the people accept as a final authority on matters of religion a Pope, a foreign ruler, when their own Emperor was Son of Heaven? Jealousy and loss of face among the scholars of the empire caused rumours to be circulated about the true reason for the advent of the foreigners. These rumours prevailed, for any assembly in China was immediately associated with subversive tendencies. Under the reign of Yung Cheng the missionaries were suppressed, persecuted, and deported. In the following reign, that of Ch'ien Lung, they were only tolerated as artists and craftsmen, and the persecution of those engaged in propaganda continued. Other influences at home, religious and political jealousies, were at work, and in 1773 the Order of the Jesuits was suppressed by Clement XIV. Forty-one years later the Society was re-established by Pope Pius VII., and the work of the Jesuits in China was begun once more, again on chiefly scientific lines. An observatory which has become famous throughout the East was founded near Shanghai at Siccawei, a name which perpetuates the identity of the most famous of Ricci's converts; and today the members of the Jesuit Mission in China well maintain their ancient tradition of scholarship and scientific research for the benefit of the community.

This fascinating story is graphically set forth in C. W. Allan's work. Though showing no great evidence of original research or erudition, the book presents a very readable account of the doings of the Jesuits in China from the earliest times

until the present day. It is not easy to put this interesting book down until the final page is reached, and the author is to be congratulated in giving to English readers a clear and popular summary of so intricate and fascinating a story. It is a pity that more care has not been taken in editing the text.

Interesting portraits of two of the Ch'ing emperors are included among the illustrations.

Father Bernard's little book of ninety-three pages is more specialized. Himself a member of the Society of Jesus, he has had access to the unique collection of ancient Jesuit books in the Peitang Library in Peiping; and twenty-three of these, produced between 1496 and 1591, are enumerated in the valuable bibliography at the end of the book, to which frequent reference is made through the text.

The first chapter is devoted to an interesting account of the medieval contributions to mathematics and other sciences made by the Mussulmans, who supplied in Arabic what was lacking to Europe in other tongues. It was to the Mohammedan teachers of Western Asia that China was indebted for her early astronomical and other scientific learning, and it was by the enterprise of the Mongol rulers of the Yuan dynasty that this learning was made available.

But it is with interest that we read that the treatises introduced in the Yuan dynasty became a dead letter for Chinese scholars after the expulsion of the Mongols in 1368, and that the official education, devoted exclusively as it was to the study of Chinese literature, neglected more and more the exact sciences. Thus the officially ordained curriculum for the public examinations soon after the beginning of the Ming dynasty prescribed no mathematics beyond those known in the third century B.C., and even that rudimentary study competitors were allowed to ignore.

This attitude has characteristically prevailed in China to within the present generation, and only forty years ago a Chinese scholar who had even the slightest knowledge beyond the classics was almost unknown.

No wonder, therefore, that the Court mathematicians in Ricci's day were found incapable of accurately predicting the eclipse of the sun or regulating the calendar.

Sixteen pages are devoted to a detailed account of the learning available in Europe in the early seventeenth century, and to a description of Ricci's studies before he went to the East, which he did at the age of thirty. He was characteristically modest, and, though his learning was certainly greater than that which he claimed, his success was probably due to his personality at least as much as to his erudition.

The third and fourth chapters deal with Ricci's methods of attacking the problem of imparting scientific instruction, and in particular instruction in astronomy, to the Chinese, a problem the immensity of which can only be appreciated by those who know the difficulties of the Chinese language. He found the scholars very ignorant. After many years of experience he wrote:

"The Chinese do not possess any sciences; one may say only mathematics are cultivated, and the little they know that is without foundation; they borrowed it from the Saracens. . . . They just manage to predict eclipses, and even in that they make many mistakes."

And again:

"These people know nothing more than to lay out their numbers in accordance with their rules; they do not understand their meaning, and if the

result is erroneous they content themselves with saying that they have conformed to the precepts of the ancients."

The solar eclipse of December 15, 1610, when the whole Court of Peking, assembled in all its glory, waited expectantly for the sun to be darkened, forms the theme for the fifth and last chapter of this interesting monograph. It was vital that the Son of Heaven should know in advance what the movements of the heavenly bodies would be, and when, owing to the faulty calculations of the official astronomers, the solar performance was half an hour late and the sun set before totality was achieved, the scandal that ensued may be imagined. As the result, the Chinese calendar was readjusted by the help of the Jesuit fathers, but it is characteristic of the mentality of the people that the efforts of the foreigners met with the most strenuous opposition. The loss of face occasioned by the fact that the Chinese had to seek help from foreign sources was even greater than that caused by a faulty calendar.

It is perhaps a pity that the translator has adhered as faithfully as he appears to have done to the form and idiom of the original. The result is that many of the sentences of the English version are awkward in form and style and even obscure in meaning.

E. B. H.

The Horse: A Factor in Early Chinese History. By Professor W. Perceval Yetts. *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua IX.*, 1934.

Professor Yetts's erudite article especially appeals to horse-lovers. It recounts how, when Chang Kien, the earliest land explorer of China, made his famous journey across the Gobi to Central Asia, he reported, on his return in 126 B.C., the existence of a special breed of horses in the Kingdom of Farghana. He wrote: "These are blood-sweating steeds whose stock is the offspring of Supernatural Horses."

The great Emperor Wu, of the Han dynasty, was naturally anxious to secure this wonderful breed for China, and, as Chang Kien explained that they were partly fed on lucerne clover, the seeds of which he had brought back with him, the Emperor immediately ordered the extensive cultivation of this valuable clover, which is universally used in Persia to-day and, to some extent, in Central Asia. Failing to secure the horses by peaceful missions, an army was despatched, but the hardships of the way made its defeat certain. However, in 102 B.C. a second army defeated the Farghana forces and "several tens of excellent horses" were handed over to the victors.

It would be most interesting to ascertain the origin of the Farghana breed, and Professor Yetts deals with the question in some detail. Here I would only suggest that it is possible that the breed might have come from Bactria (now Badakhshan), which country was conquered by Alexander the Great and remained under Greek rule for some two centuries after his death. But were the horses of Bactria a native breed—they are highly praised by Marco Polo—or were they descended from the famous Nisæan horses of Western Persia? In any case, the celebrated Tang horses were almost certainly descendants of the Farghana "blood-sweating Supernatural Horses."

P. M. SYKES.

The Last of the Empresses—and the Passing from the Old China to the New. By Daniele Varè. 9" × 6¼". Pp. xiv + 258. 12 photographs, plan, line drawings. London: Murray. 15s.

His Excellency Signor Daniele Varè served for a number of years as a secretary in the Italian Legation at Peking at a time when the Empress Dowager was still alive. He went home to take up other diplomatic posts, and then returned to China on his appointment as Italian Minister to the Republic under changed conditions. By that time the old China had passed, and he was able to study it from the comparative standpoint of the new. These factors give authority to his book, and we can feel sure that much of what he writes is the outcome of observations made on the spot. He has had the advantage of having seen for himself and lived amongst the scenes and circumstances in which the Empress Dowager passed her most famous years. He has thus been able to realize to the full the various political actions in which she took a leading part, and this has enabled him to sift more thoroughly the sources of his information.

Those of us who have read *China under the Empress Dowager*, by Bland and Backhouse, must have wondered at the courage of another writer to take up the same subject, and at the outset Signor Varè frankly acknowledges that he owes his inspiration to that *magnum opus*. But he has managed to steer clear of too much plagiarism and to introduce a good deal of new matter that is highly interesting.

The Empress Dowager was no ordinary personage, and her whole life, from the date of her entry as a junior concubine, at the age of sixteen, to the Imperial harem of the Emperor Hsien Feng, was a succession of remarkable achievements. Hsien Feng at that time was a sickly, degenerate youth twenty-five years old. One day at the Summer Palace, while the Emperor was passing along a rustic path, he heard a sweet voice singing. He stopped and asked who the singer was. When she was brought to him he saw for the first time his little concubine of the third grade. From that day onward Yehonala, as she was then called, entered into the Emperor's graces; he became infatuated with her. She held him in thrall and yet managed to avoid the jealousy of her colleagues and to become also a favourite of the old Dowager Empress, who died in 1855.

Yehonala's future was assured from the moment when she bore the Emperor a son. She was promptly promoted to the first grade among the concubines, and a year later she became Empress of the Western Palace. It was at this time she began to have access to State documents; she read the reports from the provinces and offered advice on all important subjects. While thoroughly at home in the sensuous surroundings of the harem, she could shine also in the Grand Council Chamber and gave proof of possessing a bureaucratic mind. With so many gifts, so much aptitude for government, and such personal charm it followed as a matter of course that Yehonala should carry all before her. She became so influential in the Forbidden City that there was no one to oppose her. But it was her misfortune that China at this time was undergoing a period of transition when momentous changes were taking place. The Tai Ping rebellion was ravaging the land, and in 1860 the plenipotentiaries of England and of France, accompanied by foreign guns, had arrived to insist upon the right, in accordance with the Treaty of Tientsin (1858), to maintain diplomatic relations with China and to keep Resident Ministers in Peking. Then followed the deplorable sack of the Summer Palace and the flight of Hsien Feng and his Court to Jehol, where the dispirited Emperor fell ill and died. His body was brought back to Peking, where his will was opened. By Yehonala's clever handling of this document—the "Legally Transmitted Authority"—the work of appointing a Council of Regents was rendered nugatory,

as the Imperial Seal had not been affixed. It was missing, and no one knew where it was until she produced it later on when she had collected round her the Regents she wanted and had got rid by execution and banishments of the other high officials. She had now arrived at the top of the ladder, where she remained till her death.

The steps by which she obtained her position are well described by Signor Varè, who gives a clear account in the first seven chapters of all the surrounding events and brings us up to the end of an epoch, for Hsien Feng was the last Emperor of China to reign in Peking before the coming of the foreign diplomats. The author says: "In a sense the Chinese idea was justified in that the presence of foreign officials in Peking constituted a contamination and a sacrilege. . . . The old seclusion might be maintained behind battlemented walls and the old mystic super-philosophy; but the aloofness and the mystery were no more. Peking might be visited and described by 'foreign devils' from all over the world. In that unveiling the greatest of Eastern cities lost something of its own soul."

He then tells us of the working of the Chinese Foreign Office and the way in which the Empress proved her power and administered lessons to her haughty princess, and in Chapters IX. and X. he recounts all that is known about his subject at this time—her personal charm, her dresses and extravagance, her morals, and the difficulties which she overcame in the management of powerful officials and Court eunuchs, in whose hands lay much of the Palace management.

About this time Yehonala changed her name to Tzu Hsi, "maternal and auspicious," the name by which she is known in foreign histories. She had to put up with trouble caused by the eunuchs, for "the whole system of administration which made the eunuchs intermediaries between the Court exchequer and the tribute bearers of the provinces was one that seemed specially designed to foster the cupidity of the guardians of the harem and to accentuate the dangerous confusion between their private interests and the interests of the Crown." One of her favourite eunuchs, An Te-hai, was beheaded by the Governor of Shantung with the connivance of her brother-in-law, Prince Kung, much to her annoyance, and, when the question arose of finding an heir to the throne, Tzu Hsi took care to exclude Prince Kung's lineage from the succession. The history of China was altered to avenge a eunuch's death.

Then follows a lucid description of the Tai Ping rebellion, and we come next to the brief reign of the Emperor T'ung Chih, who in 1872 ascended the throne at the age of seventeen. He was Tzu Hsi's son, her only child by the Emperor Hsien Feng, but he had none of his mother's capabilities. He was a weak, dissipated youth, and there were no bonds of love or sympathy between mother and son. He became estranged from her and died at the age of twenty under suspicious circumstances.

We are told how Tzu Hsi got her own way in the selection of a successor. She brushed aside all opposition at the meeting of the Grand Council and insisted on the nomination of the child of her sister, who was the wife of Prince Ch'un, the junior brother of the late Emperor Hsien Feng. The account of this meeting of the Grand Council, prolonged through the night and followed by the dramatic ride through a wild dust-storm to Prince Ch'un's palace to fetch the babe from its cradle and bring him to the Forbidden City, is well and truly described; this we know from current history.

While the Emperor T'ung Chih lay dead, his young widow A Lu-te was keeping her long vigil beside his bier. Her child was still unborn, and Prince Kung, at the Grand Council Meeting, called to choose an heir, pleaded for delay until the birth of the posthumous child. But not long after this the youthful

widowed Empress died and her unborn baby perished with her. Was it suicide or foul play? Only Tzu Hsi and her eunuchs could answer that question. They maintained that the young Empress's grief had not allowed her to survive her imperial consort. This was only one of the many deaths which have been laid at Tzu Hsi's door and her guilt accepted as probable, if not proven.

We now come to the years of tutelage of the child Emperor Kuang Hsü, during which, one after the other, all the leading actors on the stage were got rid of by banishment, sudden mortal illness, or by being ordered to commit suicide by handing them the silken cord. We gather how she managed her great Viceroy, Li Hung-chang, how she harried would-be reformers like Sun Yat-sen out of the country, and the masterful way in which she imprisoned Kuang Hsü when, acting on the advice of K'ang Yu-wei, he promulgated his famous series of Reform Edicts. During two long years he remained a prisoner in a pavilion in one of the lakes in the Forbidden City, and it was now that the third of Tzu Hsi's regencies began. Her *coup d'état* did not attract much attention abroad. Public opinion was occupied with the war in South Africa, and the European Powers took little interest in Chinese politics.

Germany in 1897 had seized the port of Tsing Tao; in 1898 the British leased Wei Hai Wei; and in 1899 the French occupied Kuang Chin Wan in the Kuang Tung peninsula. Russia at this time became the most dangerous of the imperialistic Powers by her designs on the northern provinces of the Chinese Empire. Japan's easy victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 had excited the jealousy of the other Powers, following the cession of the Liao Tung peninsula with Port Arthur. Russia, France, and Germany brought pressure to bear and forced Japan to restore the conquered territory. These events all led up to the wave of anti-foreign hatred that culminated in the Boxer outbreak of 1900. Signor Varè has collated the plentiful information of all the events of this time, and into the process of summarizing them he weaves the paradoxical part played by the Empress Dowager. The historic siege of the Legations, followed by the arrival of the Allied Relief Force, saw the flight of Tzu Hsi and the Emperor Kuang Hsü with the whole Court to Hsi An Fu, in Shensi Province, where they remained for a year.

Back in the capital, Tzu Hsi set about making herself popular. She inaugurated a policy of reconciliation between her country and the foreign Powers. She regained her prestige and, with the Emperor kept well in the background, was able to impress her personality on all who came near her. But though she had become old, she still presided over meetings of the Grand Council and imposed her will on it every time the councillors assembled in the Palace.

She died in her seventy-third year, and was buried with great pomp and circumstance in the Eastern Tombs. Twenty years later her grave was broken into and all the rich jewels and jade ornaments that were in her coffin were rifled by common thieves.

The volume concludes with an epilogue telling of the birth of the Republic and its subsequent struggles.

This short recapitulation culled from Signor Varè's pages is meant to whet the appetite for a perusal of the whole book, which is so interestingly written that it will grip the reader from beginning to end. It reads more like a novel in the way it carries the reader from one exciting chapter to another. It is well documented throughout, and care has been taken to make each phase in the life of this wonderful woman, Tzu Hsi, Great Empress Mother of China, as accurate as possible. She was the last of the great Asiatic rulers, and with her passed much that was picturesque, thrilling, and incomprehensible. The volume includes a portrait of

the Empress and other illustrations. The initial capital letters at the beginning of each chapter are drawn by the author's daughter, Elizabeth M. Varè, and have as background various Chinese scenes that add to the attractiveness of the book.

We can congratulate Signor Varè on the way he has carried out his self-appointed task, and, though his book does not supplant *China under the Empress Dowager*, by Mr. J. O. P. Bland and Sir Edmund Backhouse, it is a most readable corollary—the best thing of its kind among the many recent books on China.

G. D. G.

Jacquemont's Letters from India, 1829-1832. Translated, with an Introduction, by Catherine Alison Phillips. 9" x 6". Pp. xxxii + 372. 4 illustrations. 3 maps. Macmillan. 21s.

Of the many debts which Great Britain and India owe to the Royal Asiatic Society, not the least were the facilities afforded by its Vice-President, Sir Alexander Johnston, and other distinguished members to Victor Jacquemont for the mission in India which he undertook on behalf of the French Jardin des Plantes over a hundred years ago. The splendid send-off given to him by the Society at a dinner at the Thatched House, and the letters of introduction from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck) and leading officials in India, backed by his own *bonhomie* and indomitable perseverance, made his arduous undertaking a brilliant success. His mission covered not only most of British India, but many Indian States—the Panjab and Oude, both then independent, as well as Kashmir, Kathiawar, Ladakh, Lahaul, Spiti, and Little Tibet, then unknown even to the British, and was fraught with serious perils and continuous privation. In the end, when his valuable scientific investigations, botanical, zoological, and geological, were almost complete, and he was looking forward to an early return to his beloved France and his many relatives and friends, he succumbed to an abscess of the liver at Bombay on December 7, 1832. His splendid constitution had been steadily sapped by exposure to the extremes of heat and cold combined with bad food, for he lived when on his travels like an ascetic. If ever there was a martyr to duty in the cause of science, he was one, and it is well to know that both his scientific work and his vivid and extraordinarily accurate descriptions of the India of a century ago have from the first received the widespread recognition they deserved, both in France and England.

Seven volumes of letters and diaries were published in France soon after his death. A selection from his letters was published in London as far back as 1834. In the present volume Miss Alison Phillips has made an admirable selection from all the material available, and has put it before us in an English translation which reproduces Jacquemont's crisp and witty idiom. She has prefixed to it a valuable introduction, which helps us to understand Jacquemont's engaging personality and his almost uncanny insight into people and things.

To these natural advantages were added the experience of different races and systems of government acquired in his wide travels before he reached India, and his facility in learning both to read and to write the languages of Northern India. That enabled him to exchange bouquets in Persian with the Great Moghul at Delhi, the exiled Afghan and Kashmir Amirs, Shah Shufa and Shah Zamán, at Ludhiana, and even more freely with the great Ranjit Singh at Lahore.

Of his travels he writes (p. 315) to his brother in Paris: "What a journey I shall have made! London, Philadelphia, Haiti . . . Niagara, a Brazilian forest,

the Arctic winter of New York, the peak of Teneriffe, Mont Blanc, Table Mountain at the Cape in Africa, a hurricane at Bourbon (Réunion), the Ganges at Benares, Delhi and the Great Moghul, the source of the Jumna, one of the sources of the Indus, Lamas, Chinamen, and finally Kashmir; the highest mountains in the world."

Even to-day that itinerary would have merited the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. What a feat it was over a hundred years ago, especially in India, where he had to travel on foot often for months at a time and never had more than a bullock cart, a camel, or a pony to fall back upon! But it was that homely method of travel that enabled him to get into touch with all classes from the highest to the humblest; and throughout he preserved that freshness of outlook and Gallic vivacity which are so well reflected in these letters. His judgment of men and things is impartial; his survey of the political situation in India, including his scornful rejection of the possibilities of a successful Sikh, Afghan, or Russian invasion—on which his Paris friends were often dwelling—is proved by the history of the last hundred years to be surprisingly accurate; while his observations on the merits of British administration as compared with that in the Indian States—especially the Panjab and Kashmir—and in the French and Portuguese colonies, for which he expresses profound contempt, are a unique testimony by a competent critic to British rule in India as he saw it.

But Jacquemont's critical faculty never slept. He was highly appreciative of the uniform kindness and hospitality he received from all British officials, and most enthusiastic in his admiration of those in the most responsible positions—the Governor-General; Sir Charles Grey, Chief Justice of Bengal; Pearson, the Advocate-General; Prinsep, "the wittiest man in India"; William Fraser, the Commissioner of Delhi (his special hero); Wade and Murray, the Political Officers of Ludhiana and Ambala; Kennedy, the Agent of the Panjab Hill States and the founder of Simla; with all of whom he found much in common and formed close friendships.

But he was not so favourably impressed with the rank and file of the civil and military officers. He often found them worthy but dull, overpaid, too luxurious in their habits, prone to extravagance, which frequently loaded them with debt, and, though honest and impartial, slow to get into close touch with the people they were in charge of. His comparison of the officers of the British and Indian Armies—much to the disadvantage of the latter—is most acute, and he gets to the root of the matter in tracing it to the absence of "the mess" in the Indian regiments, while shrewdly anticipating that it will disappear when that defect is made good. He finds the British officials in Northern India—north of Benares—markedly superior to those in Bengal and Bombay, and attributes it to the greater responsibility and wider outlook of the former, who in those days were steadily pushing forward the boundary of the Empire towards the north-west. The soldier-politicals of Delhi and the then North-West Frontier, with whom he came into closest contact, won his special admiration.

The farther north he travels, the more he finds to admire. He says (p. 169): "I do not know whether it is an optical illusion, but I am greatly pleased with the Panjab and its inhabitants. . . . The unsophisticated Sikhs of these parts have a simplicity and frank courtesy of manner which a European appreciates all the more after travelling about in India for two years. Their fanaticism has died down, and such is their tolerance that Ranjit's Grand Vizier is a Moslem, and his two brothers, who are also Moslems, have an equal share in the Sikh Prince's favour." What a contrast to the violent Sikh-Muslim antagonisms of to-day!

Perhaps the most interesting among these fascinating letters are those describing

his interviews and correspondence with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, then at the zenith of his power. Favoured by the introductions from the Governor-General and the presence of two French Generals, Allard and Ventura, commanding respectively Ranjit's cavalry and infantry, at Lahore, Jacquemont's visit was made under the happiest auspices, and he was soon in high favour with the shrewd but suspicious Maharaja. Here is his own description (p. 171), dated Lahore, March 16, 1831:

"I have spent a couple of hours on several occasions conversing with Ranjit. His conversation is a nightmare. He is almost the first inquisitive Indian I have seen, but his curiosity makes up for the apathy of his whole nation. He asked me 100,000 questions about India, the English, Europe, Bonaparte, this world in general and the other one, Hell and Paradise, the soul, God, the devil, and a thousand things beside. . . . He is particularly annoyed at not being able to drink like a fish without getting drunk, or eat like an elephant without choking. . . .

"Though he has had ten years' experience of their devotion, loyalty, and uprightness, he is often rather suspicious of the four Frenchmen [Generals Allard, Court, Ventura, and Avitabile]—two of whom, I may say, are Italian—who are in command of his armies and have trained them on European lines until they are very well disciplined. He is sometimes visited by doubts as to whether they may not be English or Russian. . . . He probably takes me for an English spy. . . . When I left him after my first audience, he exclaimed that I was certainly not English. 'An Englishman,' he said, 'would not have changed his position twenty times, or used so many gestures in speaking; he would not have spoken in such a variety of tones, now high, now low; he would not have laughed as occasion arose,' etc. I am to go to Kashmir. I am to go wherever I like. The King will have me guarded everywhere. I shall enjoy the same security as in the English possessions."

Thereafter the Maharaja, who was clearly no mean judge of a man, showered favours and presents on Jacquemont. His chief minister, Gulab Singh, the founder of the present Kashmir State, was made responsible for the traveller's safe conduct to Kashmir and the regions beyond. Jacquemont draws a most favourable portrait of Gulab Singh, but a terrible picture of the oppression practised generally in the Panjab and Kashmir. Perhaps the greatest tribute ever paid by the Maharaja to any foreigner was his offer to make Jacquemont his Viceroy in Kashmir with a salary of 2 lakhs of rupees per annum. The offer was wisely refused.

Jacquemont's great obligations to the Maharaja did not cloud his judgment. He sums up Ranjit's qualities with judicial impartiality as follows (p. 173): "This model Asiatic King is no saint. He cares nothing for law or good faith, unless it is to his interest to be just and faithful; but he is not cruel. He orders very great criminals to have their noses and ears cut off or a hand [the reviewer, fifty years ago in the Panjab, saw many such victims], but he never takes a life. He has a passion for horses which amounts almost to a mania. . . . He is extremely brave, a quality rare among Eastern princes, and though he has always been successful in his military campaigns, it has been by treaties and cunning negotiations that he has made himself absolute King of the whole Panjab, Kashmir, etc. . . . A professing Sikh, though in reality a sceptic, he goes to Amritsar every year to perform his devotions, and, oddly enough, visits the shrines of various Moslem saints as well. . . ." All subsequent history confirms the accuracy of this picture.

Such powers of observation make Jacquemont's testimony to the British administration the more valuable.

After two years' travel over Northern India he writes (p. 206): "One has to have travelled in the Panjab to realize what an immense benefit the domination of the English in India is to humanity! What misery 80 millions are spared by it! An enormous proportion of the population in the Panjab lives only by the gun; perhaps it is the most wretched element of all, and yet, in all justice, it should have no other right than to be hanged. I cannot witness the hideous evils of such a system without ardently desiring to see the English carry their frontiers from the Sutlej to the Indus and the Russians occupy the other bank of the river."

Elsewhere he writes that on the Maharaja's death civil war in the Panjab is inevitable and the British will be driven to extend their frontiers to the Indus, but that a Russian invasion of India is impossible. He adds (p. 221): "The English government in India, though it still calls for reforms, none the less merits much praise, and its administration is an immense benefit to the provinces subject to it. I had not appreciated it at its full value till I had travelled through the country which has remained independent—remained, that is, the scene of hideous acts of violence and continual brigandage and murder."

Indian memories are short, and few of those now striving in England and India to get rid of British rule realize what India owes to the Pax Britannica.

Here we must reluctantly leave M. Jacquemont—not the least illustrious of the great line of French writers, including Bernier, the Abbé Dubois, and Chailly-Bert, who have left us such vivid and accurate pictures of India as they saw it, and thereby furnish the most convincing justification of our rule there.

M. F. O'DWYER.

Fifty Years with John Company. From the Letters of General Sir John Low of Clatto, Fife. 1822-1858. By Ursula Low. Pp. xxvii+420. 12 illustrations and Index. John Murray. 1936. Price 15s.

This book must be taken as the annals of the Low family and their connections rather than as a history of the last fifty years of the Honourable the East India Company. John Low sailed for India in 1804 and finally left that land of regrets in 1858 while the embers of the Mutiny still smouldered. The actual record of his career in India as set out in this book begins from 1824, when Low returned from sick leave in Mauritius and had joined the Political Service, and it is as a political officer and not as a soldier that his claim to a high place in Indian history lies. At a time when the annexationist policy of Dalhousie was leading to the great upheaval of the Mutiny, Low's voice was one of the few raised in warning, and Low's theories of the rights of native rulers prevail to this day. Low remains, as Kaye states, "the Nestor of the Political Service."

The period of Indian history covered by this book is well documented, especially in contemporary correspondence; recently we have had Miss Eden's letters and a republication of some of Victor Jacquemont's letters. Miss Eden's *Up the Country* is the classic of the times. John Low's letters are not in this category for liveliness, but the book gives a good picture of life both in India and in the lowlands of Scotland in the first half of the nineteenth century. Of special interest are the family connections with the Metcalfes, Shakespears, and Thackerays, great Anglo-Indian names all. The genealogical tables given in the book are necessary if one is to follow the text with accuracy and to find one's way through the intricacies of Scots kinships. It is also well to bear in mind that the writer of the book is John Low's granddaughter.

The description of an early journey home by the overland route is of value,

and of Central Asian interest is the story of Richmond Shakespear's journey to Khiva and his liberation of Russian captives and delivery of them on the shore of the Caspian at Dasht Kila. Richmond Shakespear figures also as the hero of the rescue of Lady Sale and the Kabul prisoners near Bamian in 1842.

But it is chiefly for the sidelights thrown on Anglo-Indian life that the book is valuable. The day of the "Nabobs" had waned and the shaking of the pagoda tree was no longer creditable. The Company's servants had become earnest administrators and served long and hard for their pay and pensions. The rate of mortality remained appalling; in the eighteenth century it was computed that but one in seventy of the persons sent out to India by the Company returned home.

John Low was one of the leaders of the honourable band of reformers of British dominion in India.

R. A. L.

The History of the Sikh Pioneers. By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. 9½" × 6½". Pp. xvi + 560. Illustrations, maps. Sampson Low, Marston.

This is the story, culled from records compiled by the late Captain W. B. Spurgin, of the birth, deeds, and death of a corps which, in its lifetime from 1857 to 1932, has seen more active service and earned, if not more, at any rate as much, honour—including the highest, the title of Royal—as any other unit of the Indian Army.

No wonder that Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob, in his foreword, remarks that in view of the record of the Pioneer battalions and their proved indispensability in the war it seems extraordinary that the military authorities in India should have acquiesced in getting rid of every Pioneer corps in that country.

The author, in his last chapter, gives some inkling of the reasons—the first of which is economy and the second the progressive march of science, which has outstripped the work of these soldier-labourers. "Roads of all kinds now penetrate jungle and mountain. Sikkim, Abor, Lushai, Kumaon, Swat, Chitral and Gilgit, the Afridi plain, Mahsud and Wazir, all know the graded pack road," says the author, so perhaps the Pioneers' motto "*Aut viam inveniam aut faciam*" should be translated, "You can't find a road I have not made"; but even so one cannot but agree with Sir George when he says: "*Perhaps* the 'soldier and sapper too' has served his time. I who write, who have seen the Pioneers this forty years and more in peace and war, I venture to say, 'Perhaps.'"

It was in the days of the Mutiny, when the sappers and miners, both at Roorkee and Meerut, had thrown in their lot with the mutineers, that the need for men to lay the sap and carry sandbag and fascine to the fortress of Delhi was badly felt, and it was a brainwave of the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Robert Montgomery, of Lahore, and a suggestion by him to John Lawrence, that led to the hurried enlistment of "a fierce, lawless, hard-working race to whom, for the very sake of peace and their uplift from hereditary ways of crime and even of thuggism, the Administration had given work on roads and canals. . . . These men were the Mazbhi Sikhs, a portion of the depressed and outcaste folk of the Punjab, who had come under the umbrella of Sikhism."

To most of those who will read this book the story of how the rescue and burial by some outcastes of the body of the Sikh Guru led to their inclusion in the brotherhood of Sikhs is well known, and this work tells how these same outcastes, when admitted into the Army, never once betrayed the trust placed in them and proved over and over again that they have "guts" and valour no less than the

higher castes of the fighting clans and—given leadership—fight and endure with the best.

Perhaps it is in this last word "leadership" in the Indian Army of to-morrow that the clue is to be found to the puzzle why all Pioneer corps have been disbanded. Can it be that the Indian military authorities have had to bow to caste prejudice? If so, do they lie under the impeachment of having—for their own purposes and to fill an urgent need—dragged out of the mire of pariahdom a class who have served them well, only to push them back again?

The difficulty of creating for the ex-soldier a social status in his own village commensurate with his services to the King and higher than that which his caste and land and wealth gave him at his birth is known; and the lower the caste, the greater is this difficulty.

The author deals sympathetically and fairly with these questions of the education and uplifting effect of recruitment in India. He points out that soldiers are organized and enlisted primarily for war, and if a secondary reason of uplift comes with it, why, so much the better. Experiments with other classes—such as the Moplahs—have failed, but the Mazbhis were not only not a failure, but a remarkable success, both as Pioneers and soldiers.

Recognizing this, the military authorities attempted to give permanence to the uplifting effect of their recruitment by the grant of land to Mazbhi pensioners on the canal colonies, with the result, says the author, that the Mazbhis may well be included among the cultivating community of the Punjab. If this is true, and also the further dictum that "the whole community of Mazbhis, and to a lesser extent, of Ramdasias, had a new racial being that centred round the Pioneer corps," it seems doubly deplorable that that corps should cease to exist.

Mazbhis, however, are not to be altogether debarred from the Army, for there are still to be companies of Mazbhis in the sappers and miners, and in the Indian platoons in British units for machine-gun drivers, etc.

This may to some extent, but obviously to a very small extent, check the inevitable backward slide of the Mazbhis in the social scale. Luckily for them, the "Great God Progress" has given them another opening, and that is the motor industry, wherein, as mechanics and drivers, they are finding self-respecting employment, perhaps more suitable to them than agriculture.

For all that, the reader is left with an uncomfortable feeling that this humble, brave and faithful race has been sacrificed on the altar of a somewhat doubtful expediency.

It is unnecessary in this review to do much more than give the names and dates of the operations in which at least one and sometimes all three of the three Sikh Pioneer battalions, the 23rd, 32nd, and 34th, were engaged in the years between the Mutiny and the date of their disbandment in 1932: China 1860; Waziristan 1859-60; Ambeyla 1863; Abyssinia 1867-8; Hazara 1868; Second Afghan War 1878-80; Hazara 1888-92; Miranzai and Samana 1891; Sikkim 1888; Gilgit and Chitral 1894-5; Tirah 1897; China 1900-1; Waziristan 1900; Tibet 1903-4; Abor 1911-12; France, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and N.W.F. 1914 and after; Third Afghan War 1919.

Not only are detailed accounts of all these operations given, but a preliminary survey of the political and other reasons leading to them. The reader is thus treated to a very succinct history of Great Britain in the East, far better than he could expect from a mere chronological record of the doings of one corps.

In nearly every one of these series of operations, deeds of heroism are recorded—fanatical rushes by bands of Ghazis, sangared positions stormed, fort gates blown in, roads built and cut under fire, and the like—but perhaps the account of

the work of the Sikh Pioneers in the small force under Napier that invaded Abyssinia, made 118 miles of roads up a ladder of hills from sea level to 10,000 feet, dug wells, and beat off the Abyssinian rush at Arogee, took part in Magdala, and forced the mad Emperor Theodore to behave himself, ranks as high as any of the proud records of the Pioneers. At any rate, Mussolini, with all his tanks and aeroplanes and skilled road engineers, has done no better.

For an example of pluck and endurance one could look far and find few things to beat the crossing of the snowbound Shandur under the indomitable Borrodaile, and the march of the 23rd Pioneers from Gilgit to the relief of Chitral in 1895. Coming to the Great War, the part that the Pioneers played in France and Mesopotamia, whether in dealing with the flooded waters of the Tigris or sacrificing themselves in the bloody battles ordained by generals—whether as labourers with their spades or fighting men with their bayonets fixed—was honourable indeed, but the reading thereof, and especially the story of Kut, makes one inclined to agree with the disgruntled regimental officer who remarked that “Wars are only won because there are generals on both sides.”

To sum up, the present reviewer can give this book no higher recommendation than to say that he intends to send it “for perusal and return” to his son, a would-be Frontier officer.

R. J. W. H.

Genghis Khan. By Ralph Fox. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xix + 285. 8 illustrations and 2 maps. John Lane. 12s. 6d.

This book is a well-written biography of the great Mongol conqueror. On the somewhat crude wrapper we are told that “it is the only book in English which is based on a study of the original sources, with the exception of Professor Vladimirtsov’s essay, an English translation of which was published in 1930.”

In 1927 there appeared, nevertheless, a book called *A Servant of the Mightiest*, by Mrs. Alfred Wingate, the life story of Chingiz Khan, which was based on nine of the authorities quoted in Mr. Fox’s bibliography, as well as several others. Mr. Fox himself confesses in his preface that, save for a rudimentary knowledge of Turkish, he has been dependent entirely on translations. Thirteen years ago, however, he appears to have visited Mongolia, and therefore his remarks on modern Mongolia deserve attention. The hardy Mongols of the Middle Ages, whose strength was later to be sapped by Lama Buddhism, are now gathered into Russian schools and universities, a Mongol horseman now commands an army of the Soviet Union in Central Asia, Mongol airmen fly over the steppes and hills, and Mongol poets have not forgotten the name and glory of their founder Chingiz (the Very Mighty) Khan. In remembering him they no doubt avoid the mistake of Mr. Fox, who refers to the *brown* eyes of Chingiz Khan on page 26, and to the *blue* eyes of Chingiz Khan on page 35. For those blue eyes were an important characteristic denoting his Aryan descent.

Since Yule and Cordier are among Mr. Fox’s authorities, it seems ungracious that he should refer to the great French savant as “a dull and unobservant historian,” particularly as he has evidently been almost too much impressed by Cordier’s view of the Chinese Empire in decline. But Mr. Fox does not appreciate the fact that from all time the Chinese people have held to a pure democratic ideal. Their rights were paramount. They could not be considered as slaves, because the whole idea of sovereignty in ancient China was based on the principle that the ruler only held his divine right by service. Mr. Fox says: “The famous

reforms of Wan-An-Shi [*sic*] in the eleventh century held up collapse for a little, but Wan-An-Shi was too wise for his generation and had no great social force to support him, while every statesman and official saw his position menaced by this statesman who wished to let the poor man breathe, even though the rich man be forced thereby to curtail a little of his luxury." This is an awkward sentence, but the facts are still more awkward. The political socialist, Wang An-shih, established a salt monopoly, enforced equal taxation, and passed a law by which money lent to agriculturists in the spring at 2 per cent. per month had to be repaid in the autumn, regardless of the factors of circumstance and climate. All public land preserved for charitable purposes had to be sold, and the money realized had to be regarded as a national fund. As money became scarce, exchange and barter were enforced, though officials could demand goods at a fixed price. Wang An-shih was strangely opposed by the traditionalists, and when his laws were repealed, after ten years of devastating effect, the people rejoiced. Mr. Fox does not, perhaps, quite understand that the agricultural Chinese, to this day, prefer their traditional ideals to any political socialism or communism. He skips too lightly from the Tang dynasty (620-907 A.D.) to the beginning of the Sung dynasty (960 A.D.). Between these there were fifty years of disruption under minor dynasties. And the Sung dynasty only yielded to the Khitan in the north because the memory of Wang An-shih was revered by certain politicians and the traditionalists were undermined by pacifists and traitors. Indeed, the southern Sung dynasty was not defeated by the Mongols till 1279, after the death of Chingiz Khan, and then only because it had lost the traditional ideal through Buddhism and luxury.

The first two parts of Mr. Fox's book deal competently with the Mongols and the rise of Chingiz Khan. The name of the conqueror's father is given as Yesugai-Bagatur, which is not quite right, since *Bahadur* is a word meaning "hero" or "noble," not a name, but a title of respect used in the East to this day.

Mr. Fox has rather an irritating habit of referring to the Mongol congeries as knights, seigneurs, and jacquerie. Knights surely belonged to a European system, and seigneurs and jacquerie must be associated with France. In fact, the Mongol state was not strictly a feudal system. For though, under that system in Europe, vassals held their lands from the overlord on condition of military service when required, the difference in Mongolia was that there was no agricultural land to be held in fief. It was rather a family system, wherein the nomads preyed on each other or united for further conquest.

Mr. Fox, indeed, is not quite accurate enough. The pressure of economic forces which led to conquest is well described. But when he has done with some rather unjust criticisms of the Chinese—namely, that "no other nation has ever had so many maxims extolling guile and cowardice," and that their humour is always bitter—when also he has passed too cursorily over the invasion of the northern Kin Empire and the siege of the northern capital, which he prematurely calls Peking, though its name was then Chung-tu, we come to safer ground. Mr. Fox knows his subject when he says that the world would not have heard of Chingiz Khan if he had not gone westward. Undoubtedly Mr. Fox has heard more of Chingiz in this connection than otherwise. The descriptions of the Kwaresmian Empire in general and of Bokhara and Samarkand in particular are excellent. So are the accounts of the great caravans of that time.

We are only slightly dismayed when we find that Bamian is spelt Barmiyān, as we might be if we suddenly found Delhi spelt Delley.

Early in the book it is stated correctly that, according to Mongol law, the youngest son was always the heir. It should therefore have been explained that the reason why Ogotai, the eldest son, was nominated by Chingiz to be his heir

was that Chingiz disinherited his youngest son Tuli, as a punishment for his excessive slaughter in Khorassan.

Finally, Mr. Fox's conclusion that "the Mongol conquests mark a great turning-point in human history, with results as striking for Europe and our own civilization as for Asia," is sound and true. His idea that China, "under its cover of prosperity, remained under Kubilai the same land of suffering and want" is not so true. China suffered chiefly under the Yüan dynasty, through the introduction of Lama Buddhism, which itself spelt the decay of the Mongols. The Chinese, despite their sufferings, had an unquenchable virility, which enabled them to throw off this yoke and establish a new native dynasty—that of the Ming.

The book has a good index and two maps, and is well illustrated with reproductions of Chinese paintings. It is, however, a pity that the frontispiece should be marked with the glaring inaccuracy of a wrong title. This picture, which was on loan from the Chinese Government at the recent exhibition at Burlington House, is a painting attributed to Yen Hui (fourteenth century), and its title is, "Indifferent to Cold and Snow." It is an example of that satire which Mr. Fox thinks bitter, but which, surely, in this case should have appealed to him. It shows a rich man riding cosily in his palanquin, while his attendants shiver, and in a corner a poor man in rags is anything but indifferent to the cold. It is a masterpiece of subtle irony, the whole point of which is missed when it is labelled in this book with the title of another picture—namely, "The Haunt of the Sage."

A. W.

Buddhist Cave Temples of India. By Major R. S. Wauchope. Pp. ix + 121. 50 plates. 1 map. Calcutta: Edinburgh Press.

The rock-cut temples of India, though some of them are, as Major Wauchope remarks, fairly accessible, for the most part lie somewhat off the beaten tourist track, which no doubt accounts for the fact that they are far less generally known than they should be. For not only are they in their nature unique examples of religious architecture, but they are of great variety and great antiquity, and contain some of the finest sculpture and mural paintings that Asia has ever produced. Incidentally, many of them are set in beautiful surroundings, for the organizers of these stupendous works evidently had a strong feeling for Nature.

The caves, of course, have been surveyed by the Archæological Department, but Major Wauchope's remarkably good photographs—there are fifty plates in all—were taken by himself, with one exception, and his descriptions have the merit of being based on his personal observations. His method is lucid, and his chronology and classification give full information for the visitor. He takes us in turn to the Mauryan caves of Bihar and those of Cuttack, Kathiawar, Karli, Bhaja, Bedsa, Junnar, Nasik, Kanheri, Mahakel, Elephanta, Bagh, Ellora, and Ajanta. He has a fine and attractive subject, and his book will be really helpful for the general public, for whom it is intended.

One general criticism must, however, be made. The spelling of the Indian words is sometimes misleading as well as inaccurate—*e.g.*, "Garūda," "Stāmbha"—and the glossary contains some incorrect statements. "Griha," for instance, is not limited to the sense of "cell," and one does not know on what authority the origin of the invocatory "Om" is given.

These and similar blemishes do not, however, seriously detract from the undoubted merits of a book which has obviously entailed a great deal of trouble and travelling, and which supplies a real need.

J. V. S. W.

Matter, Myth and Spirit : Or Keltic and Hindu Links. By Dorothea Chaplin, F.S.A., Scotland. Preface by Sir Grafton Elliot Smith. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 224. Illustrated. London : Rider and Co. 1935. 8s. 6d.

This is an unpretentious book by an industrious lady who has done a great deal of research in a subject for which she has no proper grounding or equipment. In spite of serious defects, it contains some interesting material.

Mrs. Chaplin has noticed a large number of what appear to her to be resemblances between the folklore and early culture of Great Britain and Ireland on the one hand and of India on the other. She suggests as an explanation that an army of Indo-Aryans, or else of Sumerians (whom she regards as a sort of proto-Aryans), marched across to America via the Miocene Bridge and carried Aryan culture into that continent, from which it was subsequently carried by someone to Great Britain and Ireland.

The Rig-Veda, she tells us, contains references to numerous expeditions made from the Aryan country to outer lands. Moreover, "Indians have told me that records exist of a Hindu army having made its way in almost inconceivably early times to that land which we call America." The expeditions of Ravana, recounted in the Ramayana, are also significant to her mind. For in the course of them Ravana fought the Nivata Kavachas; and the name "Nivata" resembles "Nevada," the name of an American State possessing rock-drawings within its limits. Besides, the American Indians had a Shamanistic religion, and the word "Shaman" is derived from the Sanskrit *śramaṇa*, an ascetic or monk.

Now, if the author had consulted books of reference or standard works, which she is evidently not in the habit of doing, she would have found that historically the name of the State in question is the Spanish for "snowy," referring to the Sierra which overlooks a part of it, and that the derivation of the Mongol word *shamán* from *śramaṇa*, which was only an unsupported guess, has been abandoned of late years in favour of an affinity in the Ural-Altai language-group. Moreover, the *śramaṇa* was not a witch-doctor, like the *shamán*, and India is not a country in which the witch-doctor has been particularly prominent, as he has been in Malaya, Mongolia, and many parts of Africa. There is no real link, therefore, between the Shamanism of the American Indians and India, so far as present knowledge goes.

In support of the first part of her thesis—*i.e.*, that American culture is derived from India—Mrs. Chaplin points, further, to the lotus symbol in the Maya remains, the worship of a serpent deity in prehistoric America, the cultivation by the Incas of a sacred grass called *koḳa*, corresponding to the *kuśa* grass of Indian ritual, place-names in America bearing a close resemblance to the Sanskrit names of mythical persons, animals, etc., and a certain number of other resemblances. Quite so; but good and detailed evidence has already been produced by Sir Grafton Elliot Smith and Professor Perry in support of the view that the old civilization of America came almost entirely from India, through Indo-China and the Polynesians, and that it originated mainly from Egypt in the first instance. Mrs. Chaplin does not appear to have discovered much that is new in this direction, except for some very unsafe derivations of names and words; but she has assigned a wrong route for the transmission of this culture, when the right one has been known for years.

As to coincidences of names, it is open to anyone to say, for example, that "Canberra" resembles "Chambéry," and "Paramatta" resembles the name "Paramé" in Brittany, and hence either Australian culture is derived from France, or, alternatively, French culture is derived from Australia.

As to the second part of the argument—*i.e.*, the resemblances between Indian

and Celtic culture, into which the author enters far more fully—she hardly makes any attempt to dispose of the possibility that the Celtic culture, and any earlier culture of these islands which may have been inherited by the Celts, may have come, not via America, but by an overland trans-European route or through the straits of Gibraltar. She makes the most of the belief entertained by the Celts themselves that they had come from the West. But the Celts have a well-ascertained history in Europe; and as regards the pre-Celtic culture, Mrs. Chaplin does not make out much of a case for an American origin. Her theory that there may have been land between Brazil and the Old World in the early days of civilized man, though believed by many, is reported by the geologists and anthropologists to be contrary to ascertained fact. Land did exist there, but not later than the Tertiary period. Egyptian civilization does not go back much beyond 4,000 B.C., and the carriage of Indian civilization to America took place as late as the fourth to eighth centuries A.D.

Finding the bull, the boar, and the serpent representing deities in Celtic art, the author asks, "In which sacred literature other than that of the Hindus" can these "be traced to a definite source as divine symbols?" As a matter of fact, not only are bull and serpent extremely prominent as divine symbols in Egyptian religion, but the Egyptian god Set took the form of a boar on one occasion, just as Vishnu did. Again, one has only to turn up the index to *The Golden Bough* to find all these three creatures to have been regarded as embodiments of deities by the ancient Greeks. It is a weakness of Mrs. Chaplin's book all through that she has not investigated the folklore of the countries lying on or near the overland route between India and the British Isles, but jumps almost always straight from Celtic to Indian or American data.

She gives a most ingenious reason for connecting Morris dances with the Maruts, through craftsmanship and the Vaisya heaven, which was the *Marut-loka*; but she is not aware that according to the reference books the Morris dances probably only reached England in the later Middle Ages, and can therefore hardly form a safe link between ancient Britain and India.

When, however, she gives a photograph of an indisputable elephant symbol found in Banff, one has to admit that some cultural matter of undoubted Indian origin did find its way as far as these islands. This particular elephant carving has been mentioned already by more than one specialist writer, and similar elephant traces have been found in Scandinavia. The Banff carving was evidently not done by a person who had never seen an actual elephant. But how it came to be executed in Scotland at all is a problem, it must be conceded, which has not yet been unravelled.

The author also draws a parallel between Hallowe'en and certain Indian festivals, which depends very little on resemblances of names and is somewhat impressive. Hallowe'en, which begins at midnight on October 31, is recognized by Macculloch, the author of *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (1911), to have taken the place of the Celtic Samhain, a festival of the beginning of the year, of death and birth, of the renewal of vegetation by decay, and of new fire—having, he suggests, gathered to itself some attributes of earlier and later festivals. Mrs. Chaplin describes Samhain as the festival of Samana, Lord of Death. She may have authority for this, although Macculloch seems to know nothing of this deity, and describes Dagda, the earth god, as lord of the dead. However that may be, Mrs. Chaplin is able to point out what Macculloch did not know, that the festival of Yama, the Vedic god of death, coincides approximately with Samhain, and that the Indian feast of Lamps, Díváli, also comes at about the same date. In Scotland, she adds, one of the forms of celebration of Hallowe'en consists of a procession of

lamps made of turnips hollowed out. The lamps seem *prima facie* to link Hallowe'en distinctly with Díváli. But autumn festivals of prehistoric origin are probably widespread throughout Central and Southern Europe, and an analysis of them would be necessary before it could safely be assumed that any of the elements of Samhain were derived from India.

The author equates the Celtic Can, the full-moon god, with Chandra, Bran or Vran with Varuna, Shony or Shanny (Saturn) with Shani, and so on, giving facts in support of her views. That there was some degree of correspondence between the pantheons of the various peoples by whom the Indo-Germanic languages were spoken in the ancient world is probably common knowledge, but the reviewer has not been able to trace any book in which the Celtic and the Vedic deities have been compared in any such detail as this. The resemblance between Lugh and the Vedic Budha is particularly full.

The parallel drawn by the author between the *síd* and Kailasa is legitimate, but it is a question whether the *síd* does not equally resemble the Elysium of the Homeric Greeks, to which Macculloch compares it.

As to the belief in transmigration among the Celts, and the esoteric doctrine handed down in the seminaries of the Druids, Mrs. Chaplin relies, not unnaturally, upon Julius Cæsar's account. She draws a parallel with the Brahmins and Hindu doctrine. Macculloch, however, holds the weight of evidence to be against the correctness of Cæsar's statement in regard to transmigration in general. His view is that, as the Romans came to know the Britons better, they ceased to ascribe to them a general belief in transmigration, or an esoteric religion, and that Celtic stories show only gods and heroes as being born again, and contain very little trace of a mystical religion. However this may be, it is a question whether any parallel can be found in the early history of Europe for such a powerful priesthood as the Druids. For its counterpart we may look to India, as Mrs. Chaplin does, or to Egypt, or possibly to Babylonia.

Mrs. Chaplin may be right in regarding the grotto at Margate, with shell designs on its walls, of which she gives a number of photographs, as prehistoric Aryan work. But Baedeker describes it as "probably early nineteenth century." To the ordinary eye the author's "Ganesh," "turtle," and "lotuses" are very dubious in the photographs. The word *cathakumba*, given in this connection as a Sanskrit word and the original of "catacomb," does not seem to appear in the usual Sanskrit dictionaries. But Mrs. Chaplin's work is generally free from careless mistakes.

It has only been possible to give a small selection out of the material with which the book is packed. The Indian material reads as though the author had obtained most of it by submitting her Celtic material to Hindu Sanskritists and asking them if they could suggest any Sanskrit parallels. While there is too much of dwelling on resemblances of names and words, a good deal of interesting material has been obtained in this way.

Mrs. Chaplin unfortunately shares most of the illusions under which Hindus labour as to the history of their religion and civilization.

Sir Elliot Grafton Smith, evidently not agreeing with the author's conclusions, passes them over, and states that "the chief interest of her work is the practical demonstration it affords of a new method of unveiling the remote antiquity of mankind." He describes this as a "wonderful book." As to the propriety of his adjective, one can only say that he is one of the greatest living authorities on anthropology, and that the book certainly has its points of interest.

It may be worth while for experts in various departments to go through and sift the material contained in it.

A. F. K.

Nanda Devi. By Eric Shipton. With a Foreword by Hugh Ruttledge. 9" x 6". Pp. xvi + 310. Illustrations. Hodder and Stoughton. 15s.

This is a book by a mountaineer about mountains, but it will appeal almost as strongly to the veriest plainsman, not only for the vivid descriptions of stupendous mountain scenery, for breathless excitement, and the beauty—at times poetic—of its prose, but also for a humour and humanity that combine to make as delightful a book of travel and adventure as any that has appeared for some time.

In a foreword by no less an authority than Mr. Hugh Ruttledge the exceptional nature of the feat accomplished by the author and his friend and companion, Mr. Tilman, is explained. "It is," Mr. Ruttledge says, "with some knowledge of the facts that I acclaim the success gained by Messrs. Shipton and Tilman and their three Sherpa comrades as one of the greatest feats in mountaineering history."

The story is mainly concerned with the "successful entry into and departure from the 'inner sanctuary' of the Nanda Devi basin, a place only about seventy-five miles from Almora (in the north-east corner of the United Provinces of India), yet hitherto more inaccessible than the North Pole." This feat and the two great traverses of the Badrinath-Gangotri and the Badrinath-Kedarnath watershed will stand out in Himalayan mountaineering history as epoch-making.

Of the justice of Mr. Ruttledge's praise the reader becomes more and more convinced as he reads the quietly humorous and calm descriptions of the appalling difficulties and dangers daily faced and daily overcome by these two intrepid Englishmen and their three gallant comrades, the Sherpa porters.

Of these latter the author writes delightfully. From the description of the explorers' attempt to meet them on their arrival by train from Darjeeling at Calcutta and the eventual discovery of "three exotic figures" calmly sitting at the hotel "clad in shirts and shorts and crowned with billycock hats from under which glossy black pigtails descended," to the last chapter, the unfailing merry loyalty and endurance of these three add a very human touch.

Though the 25,660-foot peak of Nanda Devi—the highest in the British Empire—was not itself reached (or attempted), the persistent efforts of this very small party took them safely over the ring of mountains—nowhere lower than 19,000 feet or so—that guard this Queen Mountain of the Himalayas, and proved, in the words of Mr. Ruttledge, that "a small homogeneous party, self-contained, able to live off the country, with no weak links, and ably led, can go further and do more than the elaborate expeditions which have been thought necessary for the Himalayas."

The story may be divided into three main parts, the first dealing with a reconnaissance trip before the monsoon of 1934, which took them up the eastern side of the Rishi Ganga Gorge—the same which, when attempted on its western side in 1907 by Dr. Longstaff, the mentor and beau-ideal of the author, had appeared impossible—right up to the ridge of the range of which Nanda Devi is the culminating point. The second deals with the two wonderful crossings before the monsoon was over of the Badrinath-Gaumukh and the Badrinath-Kedarnath watershed—regions which Hindus hold in awe and veneration as the home of their great Trinity and the birthplace of their sacred mother Ganga.

Those of us who have penetrated—perhaps in search of markhor—even into the fringes of these mighty mountains can visualize to some extent the awe-inspiring grandeur of their higher recesses and can appreciate the pluck and endurance that brought this little party, living as they had to do for weeks on end on bamboo shoots as they hacked their way, yard by yard, through the dark,

bramble-clogged forests on their almost perpendicular slopes. No wonder they earned merit for their double pilgrimage in the eyes of the priests of Badrinath.

The third part of the story tells of the second venture, in September, up the Rishi Gunga Gorge and over it into the "secret shrine" of the goddess Nanda Devi, and the exploration along its glacier foot and final exit by a route till then deemed impossible by the Sunderdhunga Col and the head of the Maiktoli Valley.

That this final exit was almost as hazardous and trying as any can be seen from the following: "Hour after hour we puzzled and hacked our way down, sometimes lowering our loads and ourselves on the rope down an ice cliff, at others chipping laboriously across the steep face of a tower or along a knife-edged crest, always in constant dread of finding ourselves completely cut off," until at last "evening found us working on dry ice three thousand feet down. Beside us to our right was a prominent rock ridge, which, though lying immediately below the highest line of hanging glaciers, offered us a heaven-sent alternative if only we could reach it. We cut steps to the edge of the glacier, and from there we looked down a sixty-foot ice cliff into a steep slabby gully. The gully was evidently a path for ice avalanches, but it was narrow, and once in it we could run across in a couple of minutes. By chipping away the ice in a large circle we soon fashioned a bollard. Round this we fastened a rope, down which we slid. . . . A short race across the gully, with our hearts in our mouths, took us to a little ledge under the overhanging walls of the ridge. . . . No sooner had we got the tents pitched than there came a fearful roar from above, and for fully a minute a cascade of huge ice blocks crashed down the gully, sending up a spray of ice dust, while a number of ice splinters landed harmlessly on the tent."

Like many mountaineers whose sense of beauty lures them to spots where Nature can be seen at her grandest, the author has a strong vein of poetry in his writing.

"The morning was of exquisite beauty. The air, cleansed and purified by the rain of the previous day, was filled with the delicate scents of the pinewoods. From behind the great ice peaks came the beams of the newly risen sun, in magnificent contrast to the sombre, heavily forested country about us. The trees with their drowsy limbs still wet with dew, the song of the birds sharing with us the exaltation of the new-born day, the streams splashing down in silver waterfalls or lying dormant in deep blue pools, all played their part in this, the second act of Nature's pageantry of dawn."

The story of these journeys is so engrossing that one longs for a better map than the panoramic sketch map inside the cover. The photographs are beautiful and the small illustrations by Bip Pares are excellent.

It must have been a wonderful friendship between these men that helped them to endure together and to win through. Though both were experienced mountaineers—Mr. Shipton was a member of F. S. Smythe's Kamet expedition of 1931 and of the fourth Everest expedition of 1933, and Mr. Tilman had accompanied Mr. Shipton on three expeditions in East and Central Africa—any lack of mutual trust and confidence would, one cannot help thinking, have been fatal to their chances.

That the love of the mountaineer for the mountain is a love that passes all understanding, he who reads this book will nevermore deny.

R. J. W. H.

A Conquest of Tibet. By Sven Hedin. Translated by J. Lincoln. 9½" x 6½". Pp. 400. Illustrations. MacMillan. 15s.

Dr. Sven Hedin tells us early in this book that "even as a boy I devoured Abbé Huc's and Prshevsky's descriptions of journeys in Tibet and dreamed about the opportunity of seeing that country," and that "at the age of twenty I began my wanderings in the Mohammedan lands of Western Asia and gradually, in the course of years, pushed my way deeper into the very heart of the earth's largest continent." In the half-century which has since elapsed he has attained his early ambitions, and his achievements have placed him in the front rank of the world's travellers and explorers; and to-day, at the age of seventy, he is still, as the world knows, in the field.

In his present book, *A Conquest of Tibet*, he recalls his journeyings in that country from 1896 onwards, in the summer of which year he "established headquarters in the oasis Khotan, and began preparations for my first decampment for Tibet." He is not here concerned to make any contribution to the common stock of knowledge or of ideas, but to describe the adventures and perils that befell him in his travels in Tibet. The book is, in fact, mainly a record of personal adventure, of hardship endured, of indomitable resolution.

There could, indeed, hardly be any adventure, in the wide gamut of the possible in Tibetan travel, that should not have come Dr. Hedin's way sooner or later in the course of the many and tremendous journeys he made at a time when the foreigner was not so understood of the Tibetans as he is to-day. He has been in peril of nature and man, of the elements at their most inclement, of brigands and wild animals, of high altitudes and low temperatures, of pass, precipice, and avalanche, of the desolate wilderness of the northern belt, of snowstorm and blizzard, of frostbite, cold, hunger, thirst, even of shipwreck—the latter in canvas boat and coracle on lake and river.

And he here recalls, for the benefit of the general public, enough of it to fill a book of 400 pages. The majority of the readers to whom a book of this type will appeal will not miss the maps, itineraries, dates, and index that are looked for in the ordinary travel book; while they will welcome the numerous illustrations, all sketches by the author himself, which, though of varying artistic merit, achieve their purpose of impressing the general scene upon the reader's imagination.

L. M. KING.

The Mineral Resources of Burma. By Dr. H. L. Chhibber. 9" x 5½". Pp. ix + 320. 9 plates and 1 folder map. London: Macmillan and Co. Price 18s.

During the war Burma was probably Britain's most important source of mineral wealth in the East, but in the trade depression which followed Burma suffered alike with other countries.

The signs of the times, however, point to trade revival, so it is now timely to have at hand a compilation on the mineral resources of Burma when money for development is more easily forthcoming than has been the case for some years past.

This volume, which in reality is a companion volume to *The Geology of Burma*, by the same author, is essentially a work of reference, but nevertheless the ordinary reader will find in it much that is both interesting and informative.

The opening chapter, which is short and succinct, deals with the geological and geographical distribution of mineral deposits, and a table is added showing output for the period 1926 to 1930. It would have been an improvement had this table been more up to date.

Next follows a chapter on gem stones, the most important of which is the ruby, and it is to be regretted that this particular industry has been so adversely affected, one of the factors being that of synthetic production.

Following are two chapters on Jadeite and Amber respectively, the former being very fully discussed and amplified by remarks on the petrology of the parent rocks. These two chapters may appear over-lengthy, but this is easily explained by the author's more intimate connection with the jadeite and amber areas.

Other chapters are devoted to Iron Ore, Coal and Lignite, Gold, Silver-lead of Bawdwin, Tin, Tungsten, Salt, and other minerals, this latter including those of only passing interest as well as those of economic value.

A chapter on Petroleum is contributed by Dr. L. Dudley Stamp, who cites the action of bacteria on vegetable matter under shallow water conditions as the origin of the deposits.

A chapter on Soils, with analyses, and another on Water Supply lend character to the book. The complete study of the former is essentially the work of a specialist, but there is no reason why the broad outline of his findings should not be made available in a general work, especially in these days with the trend towards intensive crops.

The concluding chapter is devoted to Roadstones and Building Materials, the sites of the principal quarries being given and a summary added showing building materials furnished by different geological formations.

Illustrations comprise nine plates, thirteen figures, and a folder map showing mineral distribution, whilst a very full list of references is provided to each chapter, that on Roadstone alone being excepted. The whole is double indexed under the heads "general" and "locality."

The book is a valuable work of reference on a country which is gaining prominence, and should prove a useful addition to the library of civil and mining engineers operating within Burmese territory.

H. A. M.

The Geology of Burma. By Dr. H. L. Chhibber. With contributions by R. Ramamirtham and Foreword by Dr. L. Dudley Stamp. 9" x 5½". Pp. xxviii + 538 + 23 plates and 3 folder maps. London: Macmillan and Co. Price 30s.

Literature regarding the geology of Burma has in the past been almost entirely confined to the publications of the Geological Survey of India, so this treatise appearing in popular form is not merely to be welcomed, but, coming as it does from one who not only had easy access to available records, but is able to write with first-hand knowledge acquired from active participation in the survey of the country, it follows that a work of merit is to be expected, and the reader who takes up this volume with that expectation will not be disappointed.

The first nine chapters present a clear, concise, and easily readable account of the physiographical features of the country and the relation of such features to the underlying geological structure, the headings being: Physical Features, River Systems, Lakes, Earthquakes, Hot-Springs, Mud Volcanoes, Denudation, Limestone Caves, and Coastline. All these chapters sustain interest throughout, and the reader constantly wishes for more, especially so with Chapter V., dealing with earthquakes, a subject which is too often omitted or only lightly touched upon by many authors.

Chapters nine to twenty-four deal with Stratigraphy, the subject being treated

under the usual system of nomenclature. A sub-heading of "Lithology" to each system enables the nature of the rocks to be more easily appreciated, and under that of "Fossils" is given the leading types, free from the details of the specialist, whilst a table is provided whereby the correlation with the rocks of India can be readily established, and likewise with those of the Dutch East Indies.

Igneous activity occupies seven chapters, in which are very fully described not only the occurrences and petrological characteristics of the rocks, but attention likewise given to their distribution in time. Analyses are provided in selected cases.

The author's work is brought to a fitting close by a synopsis of past land movement, entitled "Geotectonics," whilst the book is completed by two appendices which correlate the geology of Burma with the adjacent regions of Malaya and Assam.

For the geology of a country the size of Burma to be dealt with comprehensively in a book of normal dimensions is no mean effort, and although there are times when the reader may feel that detail is lacking, yet to elaborate any one portion would be to spoil the "balance," whilst to elaborate the whole would be to make the size unwieldy and the cost prohibitive. It is fitting, therefore, for those who wish to read on particular lines, that an ample and well-chosen bibliography is added to every chapter.

Illustrations comprise thirty-seven line drawings and twenty-three photographic plates, the majority of which are well reproduced, whilst three folder maps of serviceable scale are affixed to the end. These maps would be clearer for a little colouring, but the interested reader can do this for himself. The usual index is provided, and the whole is well bound and the type clear.

The book will appeal alike to the student and to the more serious reader; in it the lecturer will find many new examples for the classroom; whilst for the economic geologist or mining engineer operating in Burma it may well be deemed a textbook.

The author is to be congratulated on a well-balanced production which is not merely interesting to read, but, possessing the merit of practical usefulness, is doubtless destined to become a standard work on Burma, and it is only to be hoped that this treatise may serve as an incentive to others, more especially to those actively employed in the lesser-known portions of the Asian continent.

H. A. M.

The Turkish Transformation. By Henry Elisha Allen. 228 pp. text, Bibliography, and Index. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1935. Price 11s. 6d.

There can be no doubt as to the interest of the subject of Mr. Allen's book. After a period of definite hostility, followed by a period of scepticism, it has at last come to be more or less generally accepted in this country not only that the New Turkey has come to stay, but also that it is there that one of the most remarkable and wide-sweeping manifestations of post-war change and revolution has taken place. Quite a number of books on the subject have appeared in the last few years, and though Turkey has not been responsible for the same flood of futility that Russia has, a few at least of these books have approached complete valuelessness. Mr. Allen's work is not to be included among these, and if it is also not to be cited among the very few really first-class books that have appeared in connection with such subjects since the war, it is at least sincere, reasoned and unassuming,

and tells us something of Turkey from a rather new point of view—that of the man whose main interest is “religion” in a broad ethical sense of the word.

After a short historical introduction and a chapter describing the gradual penetration of Western ideas before the war, the author passes on to his main theme, and religion is from then on the focus of his enquiry, except for a long chapter on social institutions and civics. This chapter gives a good picture of the energetic striving of a small body to bring new ideas of thought, cleanliness, activity and health to an indolent and ignorant population, though taken as a chapter it is rather too long and disconnected.

In Chapter V., “The Rush to Westernize under Kemel Ataturk,” the author brings out well how Turkey was not only in need of reform, but how she was also, as a whole, prepared for it, and he goes on to show the wideness of the penetration of Western ideas. Though bad has naturally entered along with the good, Turkey has succeeded to a considerable degree in filtering the elements; she has not fallen a victim to that ghastly love of baseless statistics which is so characteristic of Russia, nor has she been completely overcome by the belief that a polished façade necessarily means that culture is present within. She is upholding the importance of the Turkish contribution to her future culture-complex as well as the Western. A refreshingly frank quotation from Abel Adam expresses this (p. 68), and it may be repeated here :

“To-day we are living in the era of nationalism; we have not yet reached the era of humanism. European civilization acts on the principle of nationalism; we must also do likewise. No nation recognizes the rights of other nations, or shows mercy or runs to help others. The terrible wars in Europe show this principle plainly. . . . Europe acts on the principle of nationalism. We see an English type which is willing to kindle the whole world in order to light his pipe. All European powers are like that. We, the Turks, shall be also. This is an exigency of the present-day humanity; therefore it is useless to criticize it or speak against it. Movements contrary to this principle are simply ridiculous. The League of Nations is a pitiful example of this sarcasm. To-day there is no humanitarian mentality in Europe, and therefore we also cannot act on humanitarian logic. We have nationalism and nationalistic logic only. This is the struggle for existence, and it is the foundation of life everywhere. This is an axiom; it is self-evident.”

If Mr. Allen is right, Turkey is modernizing Islam to suit the demands of this new age and outlook. At one time it seemed that a definite anti-religious trend was about to develop; Mr. Allen suggests that this has now passed, and that the new “common-sense” aspect of the faith, as exemplified in Ali Vahit’s extremely sensible sermons, will, in the long run, become supreme, both above the Western agnosticism and above the older, more conservative aspect of Islam. If he is right, his conclusions in Chapter IX. that the various foreign schools in Turkey may hope to continue must be incorrect. Most of these are missionary ventures, and it is hard to see how they can ever be anything but an anomaly. Their fate has surely been sealed as missionary schools by the ardent move for patriotism and for Turkey as a national home, and, if they cease to be missionary schools, the very reasons of being of most of them ceases also.

A few definite facts may be questioned. Thus on page 20 Mr. Allen states: “After the war, because Istanbul was too exposed to British sea-power, the Kemalists made their decision to shift the national capital to Ankara.” The move was surely made to a great extent to escape from the semi-Greek, semi-Levantine

influence of Constantinople, in an effort to seek purity in a purely Turkish city. On page 66, again, he attributes the decay of agriculture to wars. But surely the laziness and apathy of a large portion of the country population was, and is, much more to blame.

The book is overfull of quotations, it is somewhat disconnected, and for the English reader made at times rather heavy going by the use of such phrases as "put into the discard" (p. 179). But it is solid, reasoned, and sincere, and does not suffer from the violent partisanship on one side or the other that so often mars books of this nature. From a University Press one might have expected a rather more elaborate map than that glued into the end-papers, and the sensational dust-cover is hardly an embellishment.

D. T. R.

The Monks of Athos. By R. M. Dawkins, M.A., F.B.A., Fellow of Exeter College and Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek at Oxford. Pp. 379. With notes and index. 6 plates in half-tone; 7 drawings. Map. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1936. 15s.

Books dealing in one way or another with Mount Athos that have appeared since the beginning of this century form quite a considerable library, and even those that have been published in English during the last few years very nearly fill a shelf. Some of these books have been primarily concerned with history, some with painting, some with scenery, and some with Athos as an outpost, or rather place of survival, of Byzantine culture; some have been serious works, some hurried travel journals, worked up from impressions gathered during a single visit of short duration; others again, like one of the most recent, have sought to achieve notoriety by sacrificing talent, taste, and truth to a temporary and vulgar sensationalism. Good and bad, serious and sensational, however, they nearly all deal with some aspect of the visual and concrete, with scenery, art, topography, or the details of everyday life, even if tales are told and legends recounted by the way.

Professor Dawkins' approach is a very different one, for the book consists in the main of a collection of legends and stories. The purpose of adopting this attitude is best described in the author's own words, taken from the concluding chapter of the book. "What is the value of this collection of stories?" he asks. He answers:

"It helps us to build up, I hope, a picture of a way of thinking, or rather a way of feeling, so remote from most of what we find in the modern world, as to have for us at least the interest of something very strange, and hardly of our own day at all. The orthodox pilgrim to Athos, very shrewd as he may be in the affairs of this world, is towards his religion a man of simple mind. He does not see Athos with the eyes of the Frank, which are held by the beauty of the woods and the hills; to him such things hardly count. Nor has he the feelings of the scholar or of the historian of art or of any of the curious and inquisitive tourists and travellers from the West, who from time to time come to enjoy the hospitality of the monks, and to see so many things which can hardly be seen in any other place. To the pilgrim it is enough to know that there are stowed away somewhere books with golden letters and pictures of emperors, and that the walls are covered with paintings of saints and scenes of holy lives; that he gets sometimes a glimpse, and hears much more, of the gold and silver cups and jewels locked up in the treasuries and behind the

glittering screens of the churches. What he sees are numerous monks following a path which he feels is in some way higher than his own, living lives of austere fasting, chanting in their stalls through the long night services; he sees numerous churches which are to his taste of the greatest beauty, though to him one fresco may be very like another; and he sees all through mists of incense and lit by the quiet flame of innumerable tapers, sometimes, if he is lucky, at a watch service, when all the shapes seem to change as the great ring-shaped chandelier is swung this way and that, and the wandering lights set forth in a figure the dance of the angels before the throne of heaven. . . ."

This passage gives some idea of the approach of the book and of the beauty of Professor Dawkins' writing, and it serves also as a full justification of the book, if justification be needed to satisfy this practical world. It is a book which could only have been written by one who knew not only Greek, but the Greek world and the Greek mind, thoroughly and intimately, and who could divorce himself completely, without backward thought, from the bustle, rush, and materialism of the Western world, so far removed from all that is Athos. The stories which the book tells are continually enlivened by the author's attitude, by his great knowledge and culture, and by the way in which parallel material from elsewhere is introduced. The stories are told delightfully and straightforwardly, and lose nothing of their pristine freshness, yet the later accretions of the legends are neatly distinguished from the parent stems, though there never appears any hint of that ponderous analysis with which the learned so often annihilate all charm. The treatment is peculiarly gentle, peculiarly intimate, and through the whole book, never overstressed, but never forgotten in the numerous digressions, there runs a distinct and definite theme—the picture of monkish thought.

This motive is, as it were, announced on page 50, where the differences between East and West are alluded to; for the rest of the book it forms a sort of undercurrent, binding together the tales of wondrous happenings, of icons not made with hands, of icons that have their own motive powers and dictate their own desires in no doubtful terms, of miraculous springs, of the foundation of monasteries and cells, or of the lives of saintly hermits. Through the tales, again, we get a vivid picture, not only of thought, but also of the everyday life of Athos and of the place itself; a clearer and truer picture, one feels, than that to be gained from most of the more fully illustrated works that have appeared, and certainly, to all who love reading, a more delightful one. That ability to convey an atmosphere, even to describe a scene, which the eighteenth- and earlier nineteenth-century writers usually possessed, and which has since so often fallen a sacrifice to the mechanical aid of the camera, is here strikingly to the fore, and in the book, just as much as on Athos, those who sympathize with a less hurried age than the present will find a welcome retreat.

Only at the very outset does the book fail to transport one completely. Here, owing to the complexity of the subject, a rather large number of introductory cross-references have had to be included. After the first few chapters, when essentials of Athosite life, scenery, and geography have been clearly outlined for those unfamiliar with the peninsula, the main theme can unfold itself, and it does so in a manner which is at the same time interesting, entertaining, and delightful. It is even more than this; the book will undoubtedly prove an essential standard work to more than one group of reader and student. Thus to any interested in folklore and in tales of old standing it must become invaluable; to all who are concerned with the study of the Byzantine world, its history, its art, or its social life, and to all who love Greece, or more particularly, Orthodox Greece, the book

will prove an essential; to those who have to do with Byzantine iconography or epigraphy it will furnish invaluable information. But its real appeal will, undoubtedly, be most apparent to those who already know Athos, or at least some of the other monasteries of the Levant. To such readers Professor Dawkins' book will assuredly prove more than a worthy successor to Curzon's famous work, which they will wish to read, to own, to read again, and to dip into. And, with the exception of Curzon, such books are rare indeed.

D. T. R.

Prisoner of the Ogpu. By George Kitchin. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Pp. 336. Frontispiece and map. Longmans, Green and Co. 1935. 15s.

This is a sad tale of "man's inhumanity to man" as practised in penal camps of the Far North by Soviet Russia and described by the author, an innocent victim of the Ogpu organization. The story is well told of the cruelty, hardships, ruthless methods to extort confession, filthy surroundings, insufficient food, and bestial character of some of the criminals. Part of the warden's introduction on page 46 to the new arrivals is significant:

"You have arrived in the Northern Penal Camps of the Ogpu. There is no district attorney here; you cannot complain to anybody. Therefore I advise you to work conscientiously and not to make any row. There can be no counter-revolution here. For attempting counter-revolution we line people up against the wall and shoot them. For rows, thieving, insubordination—also to the wall. I advise you to realize this and remember it. Not auntie's house party, but a penal camp," etc.

Two instances are given of pouring two buckets of cold water over a prisoner almost naked while standing in the snow and biting wind.

To those who have visited Russia on inspection tours, and to those who may go in the future, I recommend that they should read Chapter XIX., "There is no Convict Labour." This chapter gives what happened following on the agitation in New York and London against the importation of Soviet goods produced by penal or forced labour, particularly in the lumber industry:

"Several foreign correspondents came to the Archangel region, where they were shown the camp buildings adorned with new signboards designating them as 'schools,' 'clubs,' etc. These reporters were satisfied that all the reports about convict labour in Soviet Russia were false. They stated in their newspaper articles that the penal camps did not even exist and that no prisoners worked in the forests. The deception was complete."

I call special attention to this last sentence. The "voluntary colonization" movement followed on as the result of this agitation, and is described in the next chapter, but there was nothing voluntary about it.

In Chapter XXIII., "The Last of the Mohicans," we read of a real hero, Prince Oukhtomsky, holding his own in the midst of all this villainy and iniquity and never giving way. He was a cavalry officer in the World War, and was badly wounded and captured by the Bolsheviks during the retreat of Denikin's army. He was offered his liberty and command of a division in the Red Army in the Polish campaign, which he declined, stating that he had sworn allegiance to His Majesty the Czar. He was an open foe of the Bolsheviks, but his nobility of

character, fearlessness of speech, and dignity while undergoing all the misery and hardships of the camp shine out and make one marvel that such a character could exist in the sordidness and bestiality described in this book. The author has done well to put him in the last but one chapter by himself.

The climax comes in the author's release in the last chapter after four years' imprisonment and his return to wife and child when he reaches Finland.

A postscript gives a list of thirteen penal camps still in existence in Soviet Russia in February, 1932. Of 300 prisoners who came to penal camps with the author in December, 1929, only 40 were still alive in February, 1932.

A note added to the Preface states that the author died in London from pneumonia and complications resulting from his privations in Russian penal camps while this book was going through the press.

W. B. L.

Wassmuss, "The German Lawrence." By Christopher Sykes. 8" x 5½".

Pp. xxii + 272. With 12 photographs. Longmans, Green.

Wassmuss, the hero of this story, was a man of deep learning. He was remarkably good-looking, and was gifted with the power of making friends and holding their affection.

In 1914, when war broke out, he was German Consul in the Persian Gulf. Already he had learnt to know and to love the inhabitants of the mountainous hinterland of Bushire (Tangestan). His love was returned; the natives had for him, as one of them put it, "a certain sacred feeling."

Early in the war Wassmuss was sent by the German Government to Fars to stir up trouble for the British in much the same way that Lawrence was sent to Arabia to stir up trouble for the Turks.

At first his efforts met with success. He captured the whole of the British colony at Shiraz, including the Consul, and held them captive for nearly a year.

Later his influence began to wane, mainly owing to lack of funds, and after the Armistice Wassmuss was himself arrested and sent under duress to Germany. The manner of his capture and the treatment meted out to him by the British are a page in our history of which we have no reason to be proud.

After the war Wassmuss returned to Fars on a strange and quixotic venture.

Like Lawrence, he had made promises on behalf of his Government. He thought that by farming the land he could make money enough to pay the Tangestanians a sum that would redeem his bond.

He was tricked, scorned, and broken.

In the book the story is badly constructed, so much so that at times the hostile doings of Wassmuss seem to be mixed up with the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 and the author's own experiences at school. Moreover, the descriptions of places are not always true, and parts of the narrative are not true.

For instance, we read (pp. 181-2) that Gilan "is infested with dangerous animals, and there must be few, perhaps none, of its people who do not suffer from malaria. It rains incessantly. That human beings should live there is a matter for wonder . . . this natural slum."

Tigers, bears, and wild-boars are found, it is true, but they are not dangerous to human beings. Malaria is rife, especially in the lowlands. But so it is in many parts of the Persian highlands. The rainfall, though heavy, cannot be much greater than that of Devon. Finally, Gilan is one of the most fertile regions in the world, a land abounding in wonderful trees and exquisite wild flowers; comparable

to Switzerland for natural beauty. To call this land "a natural slum" is a most perverse description.

Here are two examples of literary fiction :

On page 9 the author writes that the merchants who had taken sanctuary (the *bastees*) in the British Legation cried, "Aee Constetution!" when they heard that the Shah had consented to grant a constitution. This with the story that follows is nonsense.

The Persian word for "constitution" is *mashrúta*. But that is not what the *bastees* cried on the occasion in question. What they did cry was, "Ma'azúl shud!" ("He is dismissed!") They had been clamouring for the dismissal of the Atabeg-i-'Ázam, who represented reaction. The whole scene, though enacted thirty years ago, rises up before me as if it were yesterday.

The second example is found on pp. 223-225.

Briefly, what happened in Kazvin was this :

When Wassmuss and Spiller were brought from Tehran to Kazvin in 1919 they were taken to the D.A.P.M.'s quarters, not to the Consulate. Wassmuss objected that he was not a criminal to be placed in what was virtually a prison, and he soon began a hunger strike. This placed the military authorities in a quandary, and they asked the British Vice-Consul to mediate.

As a consequence the two Germans were taken from the D.A.P.M.'s quarters to the house of the bank manager (which was also the Vice-Consulate), where they were placed under strict guard. The book says they were not! There they stayed for some days in quarters that quite satisfied Wassmuss's sense of his dignity. The statement that "all his old rage broke out again" is most unfair, and raises doubts as to whether he really did seethe with wrath as often as the book would have us believe. Though he whiled away much of his time by writing indignant protests against his detention and the seizure of his personal effects, he only once showed anger, and that was when he spoke of the wrenching away of Danzig, "that thoroughly German city," from the Fatherland. And he never forgot to be courteous.

While the Germans were in the Consulate the Vice-Consul went away for three days, not on a hunting expedition, but to take the keys of Wassmuss's boxes to the British Legation in Tehran, so that it should not be said that the British had illegally broken open his boxes. A few kind words, and Wassmuss had readily given up his keys.

During the absence of the Vice-Consul "a certain Frenchman," who happened to be Monsieur Lecomte, the Minister Plenipotentiary, passed through Kazvin. He spent a night at the Consulate, where he met Wassmuss in the drawing-room. The German was choosing a book. The two began to talk, and found each other charming—until Monsieur Lecomte discovered who his fellow-guest was.

The conversation on page 225 never took place.

A few days after the Vice-Consul's return, Wassmuss and Spiller escaped. The discovery was made, not by the Frenchman, who by that time was in Baku, nor even by the British sentries, but by Isma'il Khan Sūzāni, the Vice-Consul's *pish-khedmat*, when he took the prisoners their early morning tea.

In escaping Herr Wassmuss did not, in point of fact, break parole, though the manner of his leaving was unfair to the British Vice-Consul. That Wassmuss realized this is clear from the long letter of excuse he left on the writing-table of his empty room. The letter is extant.

A man with Wassmuss's knowledge of Persia and the Persians would make his way from Kazvin through the Elburz valleys to Tehran without much difficulty.

Yet footnote 2, page 226, would have us believe the contrary. Wassmuss's wound (*vide* p. 199) may, of course, have given him trouble.

There are one or two minor defects in the book :

Page 68, etc. : The Persians do not say "Anglees" when they mean "Englishmen." The noun is singular. So, too, is "Almani."

Page 85 : A misprint—viz., "Hammadán."

Page 156 : Why write "English Dawla" for "English Government"? Besides, the word should be "Dawlat."

Page 263 : Why use the archaic English "Great Sophy"? To many readers the meaning must be obscure.

The city 100 miles south of Tehran is Kum, or Qum, not Gum.

Though the author has failed to describe Gilan, the picture he gives of the country behind Bushire is wonderfully true to life. His portrait of Wassmuss is good, and, above all, he arouses and holds the reader's interest by the mysticism with which he surrounds his hero. In this he is right, for Wassmuss, like Lawrence, was a mystic. That alone explains many of his actions.

Mr. Sykes is a skilful writer, and it is to be hoped that when Wassmuss's own story has been revealed he will prepare another edition of this book.

H. G. H.

NOTE.—It is only fair to state that the reviewer had unique opportunities, which were denied to the author, since he was a resident for many years in Iran and incidentally entertained Wassmuss at Kazvin.

A Post-War Bibliography of the Near Eastern Mandates, 1919-1930 :

Arabic Periodicals Fascicle, by Viscomte Philippe Tarazi (Arabic with English Translation), pp. ix + 545; French Fascicle, by Professor Philippe J. Bianquis, pp. xviii + 208. American University of Beirut.

Viscomte Tarazi, Librarian of the National Library in Beirut, who began the first of these noteworthy contributions to bibliographical material some forty years ago as the foundation of a four-volume history of the Arabic Press, has departed somewhat from the pattern of the other fascicles of the series as published by the American University of Beirut. He has classified no separate articles, as have the other volumes, but has listed with admirable care and pains all Arabic newspapers and journals which have been published from December 6, 1800, when *Al-Tanbih* (The Awakening) appeared in Alexandria under the auspices of the French Army of Occupation, to 1929, not only in Arabic-speaking countries, but also in Europe, the Americas, and Australasia. The names of the founders and the dates of first publication have been included with great accuracy, the only addition which it seems possible to contribute being that *Lisan al 'Arab* made its first appearance in Baghdad, following its transference from Damascus, on June 23, 1921. Viscomte Tarazi has also included a number of tables which, as he rightly observes, should "reveal many things pertaining to Arabic journalism, unknown to journalists, historians, writers, and orientologists."

It is shown, for instance, that from the standpoint of numbers Egypt, with a total of 1,398 Arabic periodicals, heads the list, but that from the standpoint of population the Lebanon has had one journal to every 2,000 of its inhabitants, whereas the average in Egypt is about one to every 10,000, and in certain other Arab countries about one to 600,000. It is also revealed that many centres far from Arabia, as New York with 52 periodicals, San Paulo with 49, and Buenos Aires with 39, have had more Arabic publications than many important cities in Arabic-speaking countries, as Jerusalem, Tripoli, Tanta, Jaffa, Algiers, and Basra.

Explanation for this phenomenon, it may be suggested, is to be found not only in the extensive migrations of Syrians to the New World, but also in the growth of Arab Nationalism, which, repressed by the Turks, found expression in the Arabic Press abroad and was imported into the Ottoman Empire through the foreign post offices.

The growth of Arab Nationalism also seems to be the primary factor behind the 850 per cent. increase in Arabic journals in Syria and Palestine from 1904 to 1914 over the previous ten years (1894-1904), although the frequent suppression of newspapers by the Government authorities and the subsequent resumption of publication under another name undoubtedly swelled the list of publications.

One cannot refrain from wishing that Viscomte Tarazi could have told even more in what is already a mine of information: of when and perhaps why newspapers came to an end, of the relationship of the Press to the Arab Movement, of the reason why the Arabic Press in Arab-Asia made such notable increases between 1904 and 1914, but declined in numbers elsewhere, and of the effect of Arab journalese, if such exists, on the written and spoken language of the people. Perhaps some day Viscomte Tarazi will complete his history of the Arabic Press and will give the answers to these and to many other questions.

Professor Bianquis has also made a definite contribution to the bibliographical material of the Near East. He modestly professes to be a novice at bibliography, but with characteristic French thoroughness and clarity he has amassed a vast amount of material and classified it in a manner likely to be of value to the student as well as to the reading public.

Two features not present in the volumes dealing with other languages seem apparent in Professor Bianquis' work. The first has been possible by a liberal interpretation of the principle laid down for the series that no articles on archæology and excavations should be listed unless they referred to the period 1919-30. The result is a comprehensive listing of works published between 1919 and 1930 referring to archæology in all its phases, a field in which the French have been particularly productive.

It is also interesting that the number of works and articles by writers with Arabic names is by far larger in this fascicle than in any other section dealing with non-Arabic languages, and that most of such articles deal with the French mandates. The facts seem to point to the existence of that predominance of French education and culture in Syria and in the Lebanon which the French have claimed, with some foundation, as the basis of their claim to act as Mandatory of the Syrian Mandated States.

P. W. IRELAND.

Jews in Palestine. By A. Revusky. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi + 390. 18 illustrations and map. P. S. King and Son. 1935.

The situation in Palestine changes so rapidly from year to year that there is a recurring need of books which will bring the record up to date. Mr. Revusky's account of the work done by the Jewish settlers and of their present development in the direction of education, agriculture, health, and industry is the most complete which has appeared in recent years. If anything, it is a little too complete, and though the details and figures will be useful to students for purposes of reference, they are sometimes over-abundant for the general reader. The description of colonizing and development work is in general more satisfactory than the discussion of political or semi-political questions. Various nations and peoples are mentioned in the course of the book, and few of them escape the author's condemnation. "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way," and few but Jews have

an impartial hearing. When, in fact, the British treatment of the Jewish element in Palestine comes under consideration, whether in the special chapter devoted to this subject or in casual references elsewhere, the writer's *animus* against the Mandatory Power and all its British employees is so violent that he frequently descends to talking nonsense. The official is spoken of as "usually a Tory and a Diehard," and, again, he is "fairly efficient in a mechanical manner," etc. This sort of thing, fortunately, makes Englishmen laugh, but it explains anti-Semitism.

The Jewish expansion in Palestine since the war has undoubtedly been remarkable, and it is improbable that any race, not moved by so strong a national or religious impulse and so urgent a hunger for a National Home, could have achieved one-half of what the Jewish settlers have done. The chapters in this book on agriculture, co-operation, education, industry, and health depict the welding of Jewish immigrants from the most diverse countries into a conscious nation with their own language and a determination to "make good." They are making good, and no one who has examined, as the reviewer has done, their achievements, on the spot, can doubt that this small territory has a great future before it, and may exercise, as Mr. Revusky anticipates, an influence in the world entirely disproportionate to its size. Despite the bias which unbalances the political chapters, the book may be cordially recommended to all who are interested in Palestine.

Mr. Revusky writes in a slightly Americanized style. We meet such expressions as "ordered evacuated," and far too many things are "sizeable." But his style is not difficult to read.

Persiens auswärtige Wirtschaftsbeziehungen. Doevel. Friedericksen, de Gruyter und Co. Hamburg.

This book provides a very useful background to the changing economic scene in Iran. It is a good guide, being both informative and critical. The style is heavy and unattractive and rather suggests that the author has no first-hand acquaintance with men and things in Iran. Apart from the lack of local colour, however, there are only a few points which might have been otherwise treated, if the author had been able to visit Persia while writing this work.

The economic position of Iran has been very systematically examined, but unfortunately there is no index, which considerably impairs the value of the book. There are chapters on the finance, currency, trade, communications, and industrial development of Iran, which cover the ground well. Since the book was written in 1932 there have been important developments in the country. Nevertheless, Dr. Doevel correctly forecasts the course of events in the economic field.

Mineral Wealth of Persia.—The author rather exaggerates the mineral wealth of Persia, which, except in the case of oil, is not known to be specially important. The coalmines of the Elburz range at Shemshak, where the Iranian Government recently installed some of the most expensive and up-to-date machinery produced in Germany, would be scarcely considered worth working in Europe, owing to the poor quality of the coal.

Communications.—In stating that Persian roads are not motor roads in the European sense, Dr. Doevel scarcely does justice, I think, to the main arterial roads of Persia. There are bad breaks, of course—as, for example, the execrable twenty miles on the main road between Qasvin and Teheran, but for the most part they must be set down as a very creditable achievement on the part of the present Government.

Trade.—Trade is dealt with on a regional basis—a good plan, in view of the

distinct characteristics it has in the different provinces. The analysis of Soviet and British trade with Iran is well documented and hits the right nails straight on the head. Soviet trading practices in Northern Iran are sharply criticized as unfair and opportunistic, while tribute is paid to the "exemplary consular service of Great Britain." The author justly complains of the unreliability of Persian statistics. If he had ever endeavoured to get behind these figures by personal inquiries in any Government department in Teheran, he might even more roundly criticize the authorities for their bland obstruction of any serious studies of their country by foreigners. Economic research in Persia is hopelessly complicated by this attitude on the part of Government officials, who in the last resort hold all the key information to the situation, but seem to consider it good patriotism to prevaricate about such elementary data as the annual production of sugar or the wage rates in any given industry.

V. C.

Economic Conditions in Iran (Persia). July, 1935. Department of Overseas Trade. Report by S. Simmonds, M.B.E.

This admirable report brings up to date the survey of Iranian economic conditions given in Dr. Doewel's book (reviewed above), and contains a wide range of precise detail not to be found elsewhere. The last D.O.T. report on Persia appeared in 1930, and since then many important changes have been instituted in the economic sphere—*e.g.*, the control of foreign exchange, the foreign trade monopoly law, the new road tax of 1932. All are carefully noted here with that modicum of criticism permissible in a diplomatic report. The control of foreign exchange in conjunction with the foreign trade monopoly law has clearly failed as a means of reversing the adverse balance of trade, though it has, on the other hand, made possible the establishment of several domestic industries in Iran. The very complicated machinery of foreign trade planned by the Iranian Government would require a staff of statisticians and customs officers far more honest and efficient than Iran commands to-day. The situation has not been improved in this respect by the wholesale dismissal of the Belgian customs officials who served the administration for many years.

In analyzing the financial position of Iran and the recent Budget estimates in particular, Mr. Simmonds points out that "no details are published as to the surplus or deficit realized in a particular financial year, and the value of the Budget estimates is thereby considerably lessened." This is a point of fundamental importance which has received far too little attention hitherto. It simply means, as Mr. Simmonds goes on to state, that the necessary data are simply not available for an exact appraisal of the present financial situation of the Iranian Government. The amount of the national reserve fund is another closely guarded secret, and, failing this information, it is impossible to say how far the present expenditure of the State on industrial development, railway construction, and military supplies is actually increasing the country's indebtedness. Mr. Simmonds concludes that "at the present time the expenditure of the Iranian Government for all purposes is definitely in excess of revenue from all known sources, and the national reserve held abroad is low."

Trade.—In the year under review (1933-1934) there was a noticeable decrease in imports of consumption goods and an increase in imports of machinery, automobiles, railway material, and cement. Japanese competition in cotton piece

goods, which rose from 19.5 per cent. of the total imports in 1932-33 to 45.6 per cent. in 1933-34, affected the imports of these goods from the former chief importing countries, the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

Germany appears as the chief importer of industrial machinery, followed by Czecho-Slovakia (mainly machinery for the new sugar factories), the United Kingdom, and Sweden.

The imports of mineral oils and sugar have heavily declined from the U.S.S.R. since 1930. According to the Soviet-Persian Commercial Agreement of 1927, Soviet Russia enjoyed a hundred per cent. monopoly of both these items, but for different reasons both monopolies have now lost effect. In virtue of the new Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's Concession of 1932, the Company's sales' organization has rapidly spread throughout the northern provinces of Iran, where formerly only Soviet oil was found on the market. The Soviet sugar monopoly was virtually cancelled in 1933, when, as a result of the alleged unsatisfactory provision of the market by the Russians, the Iranian Government allowed other countries to start importing sugar on a quota basis. Home production of sugar is also increasing in Iran, though this budding industry has still many difficult problems to face, owing to the careless way in which it was originally planned.

General Trading Conditions.—Under this heading a great deal of valuable information regarding trading conditions in different parts of Iran has been compiled. Anybody familiar with the country could also add many details to this account, which a consular officer must prudently suppress lest he offend the ever-watchful susceptibilities of the domestic authorities. Nevertheless, the main facts are here. Trading conditions since the introduction of the Foreign Trade Monopoly have changed rather than improved. The obstacles facing both the importer and consumer of foreign goods are many and discouraging. For importers these include restrictions and regulations involving trouble and delay at every stage of business. Moreover, the fluctuating rates for export certificates, the road tax, the Customs' gold surcharge, the obligation to buy foreign exchange at arbitrary rates, and increased taxation are all reflected in the higher prices of imported goods charged to the consumer.

Industrial Development.—Virtually no industrial development had taken place when the former D.O.T. Report on Persia was written. This last report therefore covers the entire field up to date.

Iran is now producing cotton and woollen textiles, sugar, matches, leather, glassware, soap, beer, cigarettes, and jute goods. Foreign technicians are still the backbone of many of these factories, working with the Iranians as managers and foremen.

The hitherto neglected Caspian shore, where the Shah has been accumulating vast and valuable properties, is now receiving active attention. The largest cotton mill in the country is to be established shortly at Ashraff, in the heart of a good cotton-growing district. The quiet village of Deh Nou, or Noe Shahr, as it will henceforth be known, is to be converted into a modern port under the technical supervision of a Dutch firm of hydraulic engineers. It is also to be the site of the first silk-spinning and weaving mill in Iran, though silk cocoons have long been exported to Italy.

Transport and Communications.—The Government is to be congratulated on the introduction of stamped way-bill forms for road transport so as to fix responsibility for safe delivery of goods on both the garage and the driver. This measure should do much to eliminate the local irregularities of transport, which often weigh heavily on trade. It should be more popular than the Government's declared intention to monopolize all motor transport service throughout the country and

to standardize freight rates, with the object of encouraging export trade via particular routes and ports.

It is now expected that the northern section of the Trans-Iranian railway will be completed in May, 1937. All the contracts for this sector have been given away. Italian contractors are taking a leading part in the work.

There has been no commercial aviation in Iran since the cancellation of the Junkers contract for passenger and mail air service in 1932. Provision was, however, made in the Budget for 1935-36 for the purchase of aeroplanes, to be used for the establishment of an air mail service. It is to be hoped that this will materialize, and that if foreign flying instructors are invited to co-operate they will have better luck with the Persian Government than their Swedish predecessors.

Social Questions.—The standard of living of the mass of Iranian peasants is extremely low. Owing to increasingly heavy taxation and the general trade depression, it has been steadily falling in recent years. The improvements which have been introduced since the accession of the present Shah do not yet include a modern drinking water or sewage system, and the lack of these fundamentals is a heavy handicap to the health of the people at large.

More attention is now being paid to education, but Iran still lags behind either the U.S.S.R. or Turkey in providing general elementary education.

There has been a widespread effort in the larger cities and towns to improve the paving of streets, and during the past two years most of the main thoroughfares of Teheran have been macadamized. Some of the new public buildings and the better class dwelling houses which are now being erected are in many cases most unsuitable imitations of European buildings, with shadeless doors and windows, upon which the hot sun of the plateau beats unmercifully. They are one of the unfortunate minor results of the passion for Westernization now sweeping the country.

This report closes with a map marking the industrial developments in Iran from 1931 to 1935, which shows at a glance the geographical distribution of the new factories, and is extremely useful.

In reviewing the foreign relations of Iran, the question arises as to why neither the Soviet-Iranian Commercial Agreement of 1935 nor its runner-up, the exchange of notes between the Soviet Union and Persia of December 1, 1934, have ever been published, in view of the fact that both countries, as members of the League, should automatically register all treaties and agreements with the League Secretariat at Geneva.

VIOLET CONOLLY.

Le Pétrole en Perse. Azami Zangueneh (Abdul Hamid). Les Editions Domat-Montchrestien. Loviton et Cie. Paris. 1933.

This book is divided into two parts. The first reviews the history of the oil industry, showing the economic and political issues leading to the world struggle for oil. It is not an original contribution in any sense, but rather a recapitulation of pertinent passages from standard reference works, strongly pervaded by Persian national sentiment.

The second part deals specifically with the subject of Persian oil and its exploitation under the D'Arcy Concession. Owing to the author's biased nationalistic attitude, a serious economic analysis of the organization of the

A.I.O.C. and of its very complicated business and financial machinery is not to be expected from this work.

An outsider can readily sympathize with the feelings of a progressive Persian who resents the exploitation of his country's oil resources by the British. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the British have done an admirable job in these oilfields, and it is very doubtful whether the Persians have the business experience or capacity to run an industry of this magnitude.

The author of *Le Pétrole en Perse* does not pause to consider whether his compatriots would be equal to this task or not, or whether the country as a whole—the largest part of whose revenues come from the successful management of the oil industry—would benefit by a change. His great ambition is to see Persians in control of Abadan. Azami Zangueneh will not look the facts honestly in the face and admit that if the Persians had been capable of organizing and running this great industry which has been developed with foreign capital and brains, there was nothing to prevent them doing so before the British came in. The considerable time and money expended by D'Arcy in prospecting for oil in Persia before applying for the original concession surely entitles him to be regarded as something better than an alien marauder, which is more or less what he represents to Zangueneh.

The small number of Persians hitherto employed in the A.P.O.C.—apart from labourers—arouses indignant comment. *Pace!* In virtue of the new A.I.O.C. concession, they are now being widely appointed throughout the country as managers, supervisors, etc., by the Company.

On the technical side the book is marred by the lack of an index and the constant mishandling and misprints of English names.

VIOLET CONOLLY.

Measuring Ethiopia and Flight into Arabia. By Carleton S. Coon. 8¼" × 5¾". Pp. 319. Illustrations. Jonathan Cape. Price 12s. 6d.

The book bearing this curious title is a record of the adventures of an American anthropometric expedition in Abyssinia and the Yemen in the winter of 1933-34. It is, however, far from being a technical treatise on anthropometry, the scientific results of the expedition being, as we are informed in the Foreword, reserved for more formal publication. In fact, the author is almost too scrupulous in avoiding the technicalities of what must be his special subject. He devotes some eight pages only to what he apologetically describes as a "brief and rather schematic description, which is also very incomplete, of the ethnic groups comprising Haile Selassie's Empire." The description is, however, so informative and interesting that one would have welcomed more in the same vein.

For the rest, except for some political digressions to which I shall revert, the book is a very entertaining account of the experiences of the three members of the expedition—the author, his wife, and Mr. Forbes—and of the people with whom they came into contact, written with a complete absence of those qualities that one associates with American journalism. There are no superlatives, no swank, and no slang. Many of the party's experiences were both disagreeable and dangerous, as when their measuring operations at Addis Ababa were violently broken up by the police and they were compelled to flee the country; nor can a voyage from Aden to Hodeidah in a dhow have been very comfortable, especially for Mrs. Coon. But the author strikes no attitudes; dangers, discomforts, and the

exasperating delays due to the almost incredible obstructionism and venality of the native officials are recorded with unflinching good humour, as though they were all part of the normal routine.

The Yemen proved very much more hospitable to the party than Abyssinia, and they stayed for six weeks in Sana'a as the guests of the Imam Yahya (to whom the book is gratefully dedicated). There is a valuable account of Sana'a and its inhabitants (one is surprised to find that they included an extra-consular European community) and of an interview with the Imam at which Mr. Coon was embarrassed by being unexpectedly required to remove his shoes and to reveal the holes in his travel-worn stockings.

But in the light of recent events interest will chiefly attach to the comparatively few pages of the book in which Mr. Coon gives his impressions of the Abyssinian political landscape. One interesting point he makes, which has not been stressed elsewhere, is the influence of Japan's example on Abyssinian opinion:

"If Japan can, as she has done, assert her hegemony over the continent to which her islands form an appendage, and furthermore can follow her assertion with undisturbed action, there is no moral reason, to Ethiopian thinking, why the King of Kings should not do the same with Africa."

Mr. Coon's attitude to the political and moral issues involved in the Abyssinian question is frankly and disappointingly cynical, and his cynicism leads him to proffer fantastic, if interesting, explanations of the motives of British policy. Having observed that the civilized world is becoming decadent and developing "what one may hesitantly call a conscience," he discusses the question why Great Britain is now so eager to preserve peace (he is apparently writing immediately before the outbreak of war), and comes to "the first and most obvious conclusion that Great Britain is no longer sure that Italy will win." In the event of an Abyssinian victory (which, it is interesting to note, he considers quite possible) he thinks that Great Britain will either take over Abyssinia herself to protect her neighbouring colonies from the victorious and rampant Ethiopians, "or she will before the climax find some means of ejecting Ethiopia from the League of Nations and, with the consent if not the help of France, step in and help Italy."

Mr. Coon has also something to say of Italian aspirations on the Arabian littoral, of which he found evidence in Yemen. At that time, he says, the Italians were in a fair way to gaining virtual control in the Yemen, and were also casting eyes at the Hadhramaut, but Ibn Saud's subsequent victory upset their plans and forced Mussolini's agents to leave Sana'a.

"Having lost out to Ibn Saud . . . the Italians saw by the autumn of 1934 that the eastern half of their projected Red Sea empire had been definitely withdrawn from their grasp . . . and their ante-bellum campaign against the Lion of Judah had then its definite inception."

This reading of past events strikes one as being more shrewd and to the point than some of Mr. Coon's attempts to forecast the future.

The book is illustrated by photographs which are both good enough and few enough to make one wish for more.

R. S. M. STURGES.

Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life. By Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto.
London: Cassell and Co. 12s. 6d.

To say that this frank and engaging autobiography is the life story of a typical Japanese woman of the upper class would be incorrect. Up to the time of her

marriage, it is true, the authoress led the normal life of a girl of her class; but her entry into matrimony marked the first step in a career which was to be the reverse of conventional. Nevertheless, despite—or perhaps because of—her break with convention, the story she unfolds in these pages provides the Western reader with a remarkable insight into the life and thought of present-day Japan and with a clear and vivid picture of both the changing and the unchanging social conditions in that country.

In a sense Baroness Ishimoto's narrative may be regarded as allegorical, for her own inner struggles, so ably and tellingly portrayed, serve to reflect the difficult alternatives which Japan, as a nation, is called upon to face. Like the authoress, with her bitter task of choosing between loyalty to the ancient and honoured code of her forbears and loyalty to progressive principles, Japan is now "facing two ways"—the modern progressive way along which she has already travelled so far and so beneficially, and the way of reaction urged by those who view with dismay the steady and rapid destruction of ancient and greatly cherished traditions of the past. It is the old, old struggle between the dictates of the head and the heart, a conflict of divided loyalties.

In their account of Baroness Ishimoto's childhood days the earlier pages of this book recall that very charming autobiography of another Japanese lady, *The Daughter of a Samurai*. Here we are introduced once more into the inner circle of Japanese family life, a happy, care-free life on the whole for the children, in spite of sundry inhibitions arising from the mildly despotic rulings of the Japanese family system and of still lingering feudal traditions.

At an early age the authoress came under the influence of three outstanding men, whose respective teachings were to have a marked effect on her in later years. At the Peeresses' School, where she received her education, General Nogi, the hero of Port Arthur, was President, and from him she imbibed those teachings of loyalty and self-sacrifice of which he himself was so perfect an exemplar. From Dr. Inazo Nitobe, liberal scholar and exponent of "Bushido," who was a friend of her father's, she came to learn much of what is best in both the ancient and the modern world; and from her uncle, the young but brilliant and ambitious Yusuke Tsurumi, she received the urge to join the ranks of the progressives and eventually to become a leader in raising the social and political status of womanhood in Japan.

It remained, however, for her husband, a young nobleman with advanced and somewhat unconventional ideas, to bring to fruition the seed implanted in earlier years by the teachings of these three men. It was something of a tragedy, therefore, that, after having encouraged his wife to break with convention and engage in independent thought and action, this husband should himself have lost his youthful enthusiasm for social uplift and progress and expected his wife to return with him to the rut of slave-like obedience from which he had previously compelled her to raise herself. For a time Baroness Ishimoto did her best to comply with his wishes in this respect, but she had already advanced too far along the road of progressive womanhood to submit tamely. In the subsequent struggle between divided loyalties she drifted further and further apart from her husband, with the inevitable result that finally they parted, he to return to a life of semi-feudal ideals and she to a life of independence as a leader in the movement for women's emancipation and social reform.

Her active interest in social reform had first been aroused in the early days of her married life, when, with her husband, she had voluntarily forsworn the life of ease and comfort to which her wealth and social position entitled her, and had settled down to a life of hardship, discomfort, and penury in the coalfields of Kyushu. The poverty and distress among the miners and their families had made

a lasting impression on her, and it was the memory of the reckless manner in which the wretched women-folk of these districts had been forced to breed large families, far beyond their ability to support, that led her later to interest herself in the movement for birth control, a task in which she was greatly assisted and encouraged by Mrs. Sanger, whom she came to know intimately during her stay in America.

Whether one agrees with this particular gospel or not, it is impossible to withhold admiration from this pioneer crusader in Japan for the way in which, in spite of the social ostracism which her work entailed and the serious obstacles she encountered, she struggled so hard to remedy the evils of unrestricted breeding among the poverty-stricken miners and others of her own country.

As an interesting and valuable sidelight on contemporary social life and thought in Japan this book is certainly to be strongly recommended. If, however, a further edition is to be published, there are a few minor errors of fact that might be remedied, and on pages 227 and 371 respectively are typographical slips which should be noted. The Kotoku conspiracy took place in 1910, not 1920; the great Japanese educationalist was not Hukichi Fukazawa, but Yukichi Fukazawa. These, however, are but trivial errors which do not detract in any way from the general high level of this interesting work.

M. D. KENNEDY.

The Chinese-Japanese Puzzle. A Study of Origins, Causes, and Effects.

By Neville Whyment. London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1932.

This is a series of scholarly essays on Far Eastern problems and would form a basis for anyone wishing to take up the study of a much-troubled part of the world, for it would seem that Japan, China, Manchukuo, and Mongolia are now becoming a political cockpit for internecine warfare.

Mr. Whyment has been Lecturer in Chinese and Japanese at Oxford and London Universities; he was also Professor of Oriental Classics and Mythology in Tokyo, so that he has been living in circumstances that gave him opportunity for seeing and setting forth the fruits of his observations gathered direct from Chinese and Japanese sources.

In this small volume the author has tried to examine the situation as nearly as possible through the eyes of the peoples most closely concerned, for, according to him, "there are already too many books on the Chinese and Japanese treated from a definitely partisan point of view." The best way to attack the "puzzle," he thinks, is to make a comparative study in national psychology, and throughout the book he manages to stick fairly closely to that idea. Practical psychology has, however, been generally confined to individuals or, at the most, to small groups, and the author cannot refrain in this connection from having a "dig" at Commissions. He says: "The resolving of international problems by national psychologic analysis has so far not been attempted, and we find Commissions sent to the ends of the earth to investigate problems which are falsely stated because they are completely misapprehended. Men who are neither psychologists nor anthropologists, who do not speak the languages or know the history of the people concerned, are despatched to territories they only know from an atlas, and are expected to set right ancient wrongs by virtue of some magic touch."

The chief object of the book is to give a plain story to the man who wants to know what is behind the Eastern news he reads daily.

Part I.—The historical background, although it contains little that anyone interested in Oriental literature has not read time and again, is nevertheless quite good in the way it is written. We are taken through the beginnings of contact between China and Japan, China's internal troubles, and Japan's feudal stagnation and her cultural debt to China, to the awakening to Western ideas. There are those who consider it was little short of criminal to wake up the slumbering East, but it just had to come.

Though both China and Japan realized they would have to "go Western," the former was handicapped by the impossibility of rapid decisions and achievements, while Japan, on the other hand, was able to move with lightning speed once the decision to move at all was taken. Both nations saw that it was necessary to send some of their young men abroad to see for themselves what the outside barbarian world was like. These students stepped out of mediæval feudalism into the broad daylight of the materialistic, mechanistic world of the late nineteenth century, and they brought back evidence to show both China and Japan that they would remain mediæval till they reformed themselves to the foreign standard. It was with alarm and suspicion that the East awakened to Western ideas.

In Part II. we are told of Japan's changed allegiance to China, from whom she had hitherto got all that made her what she was. The decision of the Shoguns to admit foreigners freely let Japan see that Western peoples had much more to offer than the best that China had, and Japan's inferiority complex for her great big helpless neighbour soon changed to one of superiority. "In these days Japan came to hate China and all the country stood for. Her hatred proceeded from various causes, the chief of which was the realization of what China had been to her in the past, together with the fact that foreign Powers were showing a deference to China which they so far withheld from Japan."

"Understand China," said the Powers in effect, "and the whole East is open to you." Japan thus felt she was being disregarded; it was a far greater blow to Japanese self-esteem than any attempt to rob her of her place in the sun. When, early in this century, John Hay, of the Open Door China policy, said, "Whoever understands the mighty Chinese Empire socially, politically, economically, religiously, has a key to world politics for the next five centuries," Japan felt her cup of bitterness was full. All this preoccupation with China infuriated Japan, who now became clamorous to attract the attention of Western nations and to concentrate on a new economic structure in order that she might have the necessary gold to compete in trade and ships and fighting equipment with Europe and America. China had nothing to teach her now, and this was the breaking-point from Chinese tutelage. So Japan took greedily all the white men had to offer and was soon able to boast of having achieved in fifty years what had taken Western nations half as many centuries.

The virility of the United States has permeated Japan; American display, self-confidence, dash, "pep" have appealed to the Japanese much more than the phlegmatic calm of the North European peoples.

The author, in analyzing Japan, shows how that country is still far from overcrowded—"great tracts of unoccupied, untilled territory"—and how by her own choice, without coal or iron in her own soil, she has become an industrial nation. The pilgrimage from the countryside to the cities becomes greater every year, and so do the imports of rice from China and coal and iron from Manchuria.

In the event of a war conducted on blockade lines Japan would very soon be reduced to starvation.

The fall of the Chinese Empire and the national disintegration consequent on the Revolution of 1912 is dealt with, in Chapter III., in a scholarly way. It shows

how the revolutionaries, though earnest enough, made their greatest mistake in attempting to jettison, at one blow, all the cherished traditions of the nation. They fell into the hands of forces which got beyond their control, with the result that China found herself taken over by officials who had a complete lack of mental or material equipment to control her destinies. Professor Whyment thinks the hope of success must lie in a strong individual guiding hand. He maintains that an undisputed ruler, conscious of his own authority (as compassed in the divine right to rule until a successful challenger should rob him of his power) could again link up the broken line of authority. At the time the Professor wrote this it seemed the best solution, but in the light of current events in Europe some of us are now doubting the blessings of dictatorship. But, in any case, he has good reason, for China's headless condition has not only been a source of weakness to her, but also to the world at large.

The author thinks that the hatred which has sprung up between China and Japan, in place of the former friendly relationship, plainly arises from essential differences in the psychology of the two peoples.

A point is made of the abysmal ignorance of Oriental affairs prevailing in Europe and America in the study of Far Eastern problems. The Professor regards it as "a disgrace to those who prate so loudly of their accomplishments and achievements in World Civilization."

For Japan's defiance of Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and her setting aside of the Nine Powers' Treaty the author would like to see the Western Powers actively taking the Japanese to task and asking for guarantees, territorial or otherwise, "for her future good behaviour." Our comment on this would be: "What a hope!"

This book was published in 1932, and a number of political typhoons have blown over North China and Manchuria in the few years that have elapsed since it was written.

There is, nevertheless, a good deal of groundwork, logically composed, in this study of Far Eastern problems that would be found helpful by those who wish to enquire further as to causes and effects of what is now going on. Every month sees new situations arising. Each fresh complication is but an addition to the puzzle. One can only hope that comparatively empty Treasuries in Japan, China, and Russia may put a restraining hand on the international resentments which are smouldering and which are with difficulty kept from bursting into flame. We can commend this book as a very good guide to the study of Oriental psychology.

G. D. G.

The Chinese Eye: An interpretation of Chinese painting. By Chiang Yee. 7½" × 5". Pp. xvi + 240. Illustrations. With a Preface by S. I. Hsiung. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Road. 7s. 6d.

This interpretation of Chinese painting comes at an opportune moment when the Chinese Art Exhibition is on view at Burlington House. Such an introduction is badly needed, for, to the Western eye, Chinese painting often seems to be caricature rather than portraiture. The book has twenty-four plates representing the work of Chinese artists from the earliest times down to modern days. These add much to the value of the book, and though some of them—notably Plate III., "The Physician's Visit," in which the huddled figures seem to suggest the attitude of monkeys—border on the grotesque, yet no observer would fail to see that the hand that drew that picture was that of an artist.

The author explains to us that artists are poets. They cannot work to order. They must await the divine afflatus. Without this they are helpless. He proceeds to tell us how inspiration comes: "Before he takes up his brush our artist must feel his heart beating beside Nature's—must be conscious of sharing in her creative acts." Kuo Hsi, one of the greatest landscape painters of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1276) and a critic of some authority, once wrote: "Before beginning to paint a man should feed his inspiration. He may drink in the cloudy spring weather, or watch the forms of flowers and birds; stroll about reciting poetry or burn incense and taste tea. As soon as the mind feels the approach of inspiration the hand, instinctively, has an urge to paint. Then he may open out the paper and prepare the brush to give it expression. When inspiration dwindles let the brush stop and continue at the next inspired moment. The result will then be of unusual excellence and full of 'Rhythmic Vitality'."

We are given an anecdote of an emperor who made ability to paint a qualification for official preferment. On one occasion he gave the line—

"A monastery buried deep in the mountains"

as a theme for a picture. The winning picture showed the figure of a monk coming to fetch water from a spring; no sign of a building. It was argued that the monk must have been drawing water for the use of the invisible monastery. He was therefore adjudged the winner.

Commenting on the picture of the philosopher Lao Tzu riding on an ox (Plate II.), the author quotes the Tao Teh Ching (Classic of Knowledge and Virtue): "Those who have unbounded virtue are to be compared to babies whom poisonous insects do not sting, beasts of prey do not seize, and carnivorous birds do not attack."

One can only say that these babies are like the invisible monastery painted by the artist that won the emperor's prize.

On page 186 we are told that Rhythmic Vitality—or Spirit Harmony—is the most vital part in all our paintings. This term is, in fact, scarcely to be expressed by anything but spiritual sublimity. The nobility of man's nature, the depth of his feeling. The spirit sets in motion the phenomena of the world as the hand of the harp player sets in motion the strings of his instrument. Only if the painter is under the influence of an interior emotion will he express, through the medium of his brush, this vital animation.

The meaning of this somewhat mystical passage is that the Chinese artist does not paint Nature as a copyist would. He sits before his landscape and drinks in its beauty and then, metaphorically speaking, paints the impression the scene has made upon his senses.

This is all very well, but the question arises, Does he improve upon Nature? Can Nature be improved? One would like to know what a Japanese artist would say to a man who sat down before majestic Fujiyama and proceeded to paint, not the mountain, but the impression the mountain made on him. I am sure the Japanese artist would say: "There is the mountain. Nothing you can imagine can compare with its sublime beauty. You may paint it a thousand times, and every picture would be different and every picture would be beautiful. He might remind his Chinese friend of Oliver Cromwell, who, when he was being painted, insisted that the wart should be in the picture."

Nevertheless, this book is admirably written and admirably illustrated. The plates are excellent, and to me, who am not an artist, Plate IV. on page 30 is most appealing. It is the picture of a lady leaning her head on her hands, sitting

at a library table. The title is "Hors de Combat," and the relaxed figure with its air of utter dejection suggests the word "beaten." It is the end.

Like the Chinese artist with his pictures, this reviewer is only giving his impression of the book as it appealed to him. In conclusion he will add that he is sure that no one who buys the book will regret his purchase.

J. D.

A Background to Chinese Painting. By Soame Jenyns. Pp. xxviii + 208. 40 plates. Sidgwick and Jackson. 10s. 6d.

This is an unusual book, for the author manages to combine a pleasant, readable style with great erudition.

The title chosen for the work is modest, since far more than a "background" is provided; in fact, the reader will find few gaps which he would like to see filled, even in the foreground of the subject. In other words, most of the questions about the history and environment of Chinese painting which the non-expert is likely to ask are here answered fully and lucidly.

Mr. Jenyns, for instance, explains the interaction of Tibetan painting with Chinese, but he goes further and shows how Indian art affected Tibetan. This is an illustration of the thoroughness with which the author tackles each branch of his theme.

There is a wealth of allusion and anecdote, as catholic in its selection as can be seen in any work on Chinese art. It ranges from the origin of the willow-pattern plate to a list of the presents sent to the Emperor with a petition by the Jesuit Ricci. This is typical of the wide variety of subject which is brought in by the author to help his argument.

The seven chapter headings give a true impression of the scope and interest of the book. They are as follows:

1. A general survey.
2. The influence of religion.
3. The relation to calligraphy.
4. The patronage of the throne.
5. The choice of materials and technique.
6. The treatment of landscape and the human figure.
7. The use of bird, flower, and animal motives.

I have already referred to the author's thoroughness in tracing the interactions of Tibetan and Chinese painting. His survey here is typical of the rest of the book, for he manages to slip in so much powder with the jam that the reader will find that he has read in brief a description of various branches and sects of Buddhism, of Taoism, and of Confucianism, and a political history, as well as a survey of the art of painting, by the time he turns the last page. Yet that page will be turned with a sigh of satisfaction (not a sigh of relief), for at no time will he be conscious that large doses of powder have been absorbed or that jam is being adroitly administered.

The Preface, by W. W. Winkworth, is a work of art. It is addressed to collectors of paintings, but its charm of style is such that I could have read it with equal delight (though less profit) if it had been addressed to collectors of the most useless and futile of *fal-de-rals*.

Altogether this is a most welcome and readable book, and one which is complementary to the other excellent books on the subject. It is comprehensive

and practical, and its reliability as a guide is endorsed by the fact that its author is Assistant Keeper of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum.

ARNOLD SILCOCK.

The Prose-Poetry of Su Tung-po. Being translations into English of "Fu." With introductory Essays, Notes, and Commentaries by Cyril Drummond Le Gros Clark. The Foreword by Ch'ien Chung-shu, B.Litt., Lecturer in English and Chinese, Kwang-hwa University, Shanghai. Published by Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai.

Chinese poetry, like most things Chinese, begins far back in history. The book of odes, said to be edited or compiled by Confucius, is, of course, the standard work on the subject, but it is archaic and stilted. The art reached its highest standard in the poems of the Sung dynasty about 1,000 years after the times of Confucius. The greatest of these comparatively modern poets was Li Tai-poh, and the poet whose book we now have in an English dress bears to him a striking resemblance. It is said of Li that "he was gay, dissipated, and drunken with a tragic end." The same may be said of Su Tung-po, for he was a poet who suggests the name of Robert Burns as the nearest to him of our British poets. Su, to be sure, was an official. So was Burns, though in a minor capacity. Su loved a lass and loved a glass; the latter propensity is said to have been his ruin. The legend is that Su was in a boat on the Yangtse River on a moonlight night, and, rising in a tipsy state to toast the Queen of Heaven—the lady in the moon—he toppled overboard and was drowned. Well, there are worse ways of ending one's life, and Su is remembered by his countrymen with something of the same affection as respectable Scotsmen give to "Ranting, Roving Robin." This book gives us samples of only one kind of Su's poems. These are called "fu." The author says that "Literally 'fu' means a diffusing or spread out. The 'fu' was originally a spell. In its purely magical form it was derived from the hymns by the recitation of which the priests of Chu compelled the gods to descend from heaven." To give an example, we take a paragraph from the first "fu" in this book. The title is: "Modern Music in the Yen-ho Palace":

"Harmoniously in front of the easy cushion of the Emperor the assembly
Awaits the striking of the stone chime for the first time.

Thus may all be in accord when the notes of virtue are sounded."

There may be the makings of poetry in a passage of this kind, but it has only a very distant kind of relationship to poetry as we know it. It does not follow that the words thus linked together are not poetical in Chinese. It only shows that in process of translation the fine essence of the original is lost. Let us try again.

"I dreamed that a Taoist priest tall in stature
And with a gracious mien spoke of a balm that is precious.
The lofty pine, a thousand feet in height is old—yet dies not.
It pours its resin down into the soil or like a tortoise stores it.
Take it and drink, for thus shall life be limitless."

This is scarcely poetry, as we know it. But as certainly it is not prose as we know it. What is it, then? It is a "fu."

J. D.

Thirty-Second Transactions of the Japan Society.

The thirty-second number of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, cover the Society's forty-fourth session. It is in no whit inferior to its predecessors. The papers recorded are up to the usual high standard, and the plates, particularly those illustrating Major W. Peer Groves' paper, "Some Little-known Japanese Wares," are particularly fine.

Dr. Arthur Lee, Bishop in South Japan, gives an excellent picture of present-day development in Japan, just the type of unbiassed description that seems hard to come by in these days of propaganda and anti-propaganda.

The "Personal Recollections of the Court of Japan," by Baroness d'Anethan, are entertaining, and historians will be interested in Captain Boxer's article, "Hosokawa Tadaoki and the Jesuits, 1587-1645," and Dr. Ponsonby Fane's valuable and important contribution, "Abdication in Japan." The journalistic interest is well represented by Mr. K. Ishiwaka's "Journalism in Japan" and Mr. F. M. Jonas's "Foreign Influence on the Early Press of Japan."

The Honorary Editor, Mr. Albert J. Koop, and his fellow-members of the Japan Society's Publication Committee are to be congratulated on the production as a whole.

H. ST. C. S.

PERSIAN HISTORY

Four articles bearing on Persian history have been added to the Library, and can be had on application :

Zeitschrift d. Deutsche Morganländische Gesellschaft, vol. 14, part 3/4. "Eine neuentdeckte Quelle zur Geschichte 'Irans im 16 Jahrhundert."

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. viii., part 2, "Nardir Shah's Campaigns in Oman," by L. Lockhart.

International Affairs, "'Iran (Persia) To-day," by A. C. Edwards.

Slavonic Review, "The Political Testament of Peter the Great," by Laurence Lockhart.

PERSIA—'IRAN

THE following letter makes clear the right use of the word 'Iran and 'Iranian. It was sent in response to an incorrect use of 'Iranian in the Journal :

"The facts are simple. Here is a country called by its own people now, as always, 'Iran; in it is a great southern province named Fars, or Pars—that is, Persis, or Persia. Since the time of the Greeks the country has been known to Europeans by the name of this southern province, the home of the early dynasties. The Government of the country now desires, not unnaturally, that the country shall be known by its proper name. But Fars does not thereby become 'Iran.

"The literary language of the country is Farsi, not 'Irani, and should continue to be called Persian. In the same way the Gulf is named after the southern province, whose shores it washes, and not after the whole country, which stretches north to the Caspian; the 'Iranians themselves have always called it *Khalij-i-Fars*, the Gulf of Fars. Persian Gulf thus remains historically more correct and geographically more accurate.

"Your obedient servant,
"R. DE C."

OBITUARY

COLONEL A. C. PARKER, C.M.G.

COLONEL PARKER was appointed to Sinai as its first British Governor in the year 1909. In those days Sinai was, to say the least, in a lawless state, and the Arabs of the peninsula regarded themselves as being more or less in complete control of the situation. It was Parker's task to evolve some form of Government and arrive at a state of affairs where public security could be maintained. He found that his greatest difficulty lay in the fact that the Arabs recognized their own Orfi laws and no other, whilst the Egyptian Government ignored the tribal ordinance and tried to enforce instead the ordinary law of Egypt. He managed after much trouble to get the Government to recognize Arab law by Khedivial decree, and after this all cases of a purely Beduin character were tried in tribal courts under Parker's supervision, and the judgments were enforced. Previously the Arabs had heard their own cases, but, there being no official authority for these judgments, they were never carried out. Owing to this the peninsula was never free from raids and murder, and was generally in an unsettled state. The greatest credit is due to Colonel Parker for achieving this, for it is no easy matter to convince legal pundits sitting securely in an office in Cairo that the law of the country should be substituted by an ordinance that existed only in the heads of Arab sheikhs. The policy which he inaugurated has now been followed all over the Middle East, and it would not be going too far to say that Colonel Parker is very largely responsible for the present entirely satisfactory state of affairs in all the Arab countries controlled by Great Britain.

Colonel Parker's name is possibly not very well known outside Egypt—he was essentially of a quiet and retiring nature—and it is realized by few what a very great person he was at one time in Sinai, Southern Transjordan, and South Palestine. Every Arab in this area knew him, and his nickname, "Barkal," without the Bey or Pasha—a sure sign of respect and reverence—was one to juggle with in those lawless areas. Every Arab to-day remembers Barkal, and when they heard of his death a telegram of condolence was sent to Mrs. Parker and signed "All Sinai."

He had a very quiet manner with Arabs, and the steady stare entirely devoid of all expression that he adopted when dealing with a man who was telling a lie invariably defeated the Arab bluff, and the truth in all Arab matters never escaped Barkal.

He left Sinai in 1912 to manage the Police School in Cairo, but returned to the Canal on the outbreak of war and took over El Arish immediately it was reoccupied by British troops. Till the Armistice he was in charge of Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, and in 1918 was re-appointed Governor of the province, holding the post till 1923, when he went to Cairo to take over the Director-Generalship of the Frontier Administration. He resigned from this post in 1925 and returned to England.

Parker is not only mourned by the Arabs, who knew, loved, and respected him, but also by all the British officers who served under and with him, and who knew him as a loyal and trusty friend, a first-class administrator, and, above all things, a very great British gentleman.

C. S. JARVIS.

ASSYRIANS FROM 'IRAQ

THE ARCHBISHOP'S APPEAL

AN appeal which merits the support not only of those who are interested in the peoples of the East, but of all who value the good name of Britain, is that which is being made by the Archbishop of Canterbury on behalf of the Assyrians from 'Iraq.

His Grace brought the matter to the notice of the House of Lords in February, when he reviewed the position of "that ancient nation and church called Assyrians or Nestorians," and announced that he had pledged himself to make a special appeal, on their behalf, to the people of the country. His reasons were cogent.

He recalled the Assyrians' services to the Allied cause during the World War and the lapsing of British protection of them when the Mandate in 'Iraq was surrendered, and pointed to the moral responsibility, on both these counts, of Britain for their just treatment. He spoke of the "deplorable massacres at Simeil and at Mosul" in August, 1933, and showed that the memory of this occurrence "made the continuance of the Assyrian people in 'Iraq quite impossible."

The Archbishop recalled the negotiations which had led to the scheme for settlement in the area of the Ghab on the left bank of the Orontes River of some 20,000 or 30,000 of these people, at a cost estimated "provisionally and only approximately" at £1,140,000, and entertained high hopes of the success of this scheme.

It has, indeed, many features to commend it. Captain G. F. Gracey—now Organizing Secretary of the Assyrian Settlement National Appeal, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury is President—went over the ground last summer and reported on it very favourably. It is true that considerable works of irrigation, drainage and barrage will be necessary, but once this is accomplished there would be ready for agricultural development an area of about 100,000 acres, sufficient not only to supply the needs of the Assyrian settlers, but to compensate local owners whose crops and villages will have to be submerged by the building of a barrage and the construction of an artificial lake for irrigation. The Assyrians will find abundant pasturage for their flocks on the Ansarich hills; they will be in close proximity to the seat of

Government, they will have as neighbours fellow-Christians in the Alouites, and for markets the large towns of Aleppo and Homs. Moreover, from a strategic point of view, the Ghab 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 Ghab.

Towards the £1,400,000 required the British Government has promised £250,000, the 'Iraqi Government a like sum, the French Government £380,000, and the League of Nations £80,000. This leaves a sum of about £180,000 to be provided for. Some of this may be raised by credits and loans, but the bulk, as the Archbishop has said, will have to be raised through an appeal to the British public. Lord Stanhope, who spoke for the Government in the Debate of the House of Lords, also said that there seemed to be no other way of finding this £180,000, and the Government would therefore commend the Archbishop's appeal for funds.

In coming to the aid of the Assyrians we are helping a people who deserve help both by reason of their sterling character and the services which they rendered to Britain and her Allies in a period of great difficulty. They have suffered gravely. In the larger cities of 'Iraq many of them have been continuously unemployed for years, for the exaggerated nationalism of the 'Iraqi Arabs precluded their giving employment to Assyrians when they could get their own nationals. The Assyrians have also been under constant police surveillance, and their movements have been restricted; they have suffered hunger and privation of the barest necessities of life, and their life for years past has been one of constant fear and apprehension.

Contributions in aid of the Assyrian Settlement National Appeal should be sent to the Joint Hon. Treasurers, the Right Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P., and Colonel Robert Vere Buxton, D.S.O., 20, Gordon Square, London, W.C. 1.

FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT ALLENBY,
G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

THE Royal Central Asian Society mourns the loss of an honoured and beloved President. Lord Allenby had a close and intimate connection with the Society for nine years: three years as Chairman and six years as President. During his latter term of office, the Society became The Royal Central Asian Society: the present coat of arms was granted and the Lawrence Medal inaugurated. His services to the Society, in which he took the deepest interest, were invaluable. Not only did he preside on all important occasions, but his presence could always be relied upon when required, though often at considerable inconvenience to himself. To those who worked with him, his wise counsel in the direction of affairs and his varied knowledge were an inspiration and a strong support; while his kindly but informed criticisms, and his quotations, drawn, as it seemed, from a limitless poetical store, were a constant delight.

The Editor of *The Times* has been good enough to give permission to quote from the obituary notice of Lord Allenby which appeared in that paper; the writer has, therefore, no hesitation in reproducing from that notice what appears to him to be an admirable appreciation of Lord Allenby's character.

"A man of powerful physique and of determined will, a bold sportsman and a fearless rider, these were Lord Allenby's outward and dominant attributes. His resolute countenance and confident yet dignified bearing spoke truly of a tireless energy, boundless strength of purpose, and great moral and physical courage. Dependant on such qualities, and of kindred nature, were the professional characteristics which early marked him out as a cavalry officer and military personality of far more than ordinary promise. He had come by the familiar nickname of 'The Bull.' But behind his massive exterior there lay a keen intellect, sharpened in later life by long study, that only revealed itself to those who had either intimate dealings with him or the ill fortune to oppose him in purpose or argument. To his staff and to his subordinates in the field, Allenby's straightforwardness was his most striking characteristic; any form of prevarication or dissimulation was abhorrent to his nature. Such a direct and clear-cut temperament could not bear a grudge: his disapproval, freely and forcibly expressed at times, was reserved for disobedience or slipshod execution of orders, still more for want of frankness. These big faults he could not overlook. Those who served Allenby honestly, or to the best of their ability, might rely on receiving

generous recognition of success and on a very human allowance being made for errors committed in good faith. Closer acquaintance revealed in him a shrewd judgment of men, a wide knowledge of matters apart from his profession, a sense of humour, and a faculty for enlightening conversation on a multitude of varied topics. He was remarkably well read and well informed. His receptive memory was well stored with a comprehensive historical knowledge relating to all countries and periods, and he possessed a familiarity with scientific questions surprising in a layman. He was an enthusiastic naturalist and botanist, the study of birds and plant life constituting the favourite recreation of his leisure moments. These lighter and, by many, unsuspected qualities rendered Allenby an admirable host and a delightful guest."

It is respectfully submitted that the very strength of Lord Allenby's character found expression in his attitude towards the two most profound influences in his life. They were that most gracious and gentle lady who formed a remarkable complement to him, and with whom, for forty years, he enjoyed the great happiness of a companionship such as is given to few; and his mother, with whom he regularly corresponded until the day of her death, and to whom he gave a constant and steadfast devotion.

Lord Allenby, on leaving Haileybury, first studied for the Indian Civil Service. Having failed to pass this examination, he decided to become a soldier. He recently declared that he began life in the army with little ambition, vague as to the future, and accepting events as they came. Thus he joined the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons on May 10, 1882. He spent the first years of his career in South Africa. He saw service with his squadron in Bechuanaland; and in 1888 was Adjutant of his regiment, which was then employed in repressing armed disturbances in Zululand.

In spite of his confessed attitude of mind at the outset of his career, the writer feels sure that Lord Allenby's insatiable thirst for knowledge must have induced in him a serious study of his profession at an early stage. Fourteen years after he joined the army he passed into the Staff College—a prelude to rise to distinction, and the turning point in his career.

At the Staff College Allenby was very popular among his fellow-students. Everyone liked this big, happy boy with his passionate love of nature, who rode so straight at his fences, and who charged the military problems with such impetuosity and zest. It was soon recognized that he had the great qualities of leadership. His ability was undoubted; but it can also be said that, stimulated by the Staff College education, his mental powers developed later from strength to strength.

During the South African War Allenby held the following commands, in which he was able to display his ability in the field. First of a squadron, next of his regiment, and lastly of an independent column. He emerged from that war with the reputation of being a very knowledgeable and determined leader.

It is interesting to note that with twenty years' service, and at the age of 41, he had become a Brevet-Colonel, a C.B., and had been promoted to command the 5th Lancers. A good career so far but in no sense meteoric. Command of a cavalry brigade, promotion to Major-General, and appointment as Inspector-General of Cavalry followed in due course.

In this latter appointment he carried on the system of instruction which had been initiated by his predecessor, General Douglas Haig, and took a deep interest in weapon training. The successive efforts of these two fine cavalymen produced a force which later proved itself immeasurably superior to the German Cavalry whenever they met.

By virtue of his appointment as Inspector General of Cavalry, Allenby assumed command of the Cavalry Division of the Expeditionary Force in August, 1914.

During the retreat from Mons he covered the exposed British left flank. Later, during the Marne period, the cavalry was formed into two divisions—one division under General Allenby, the other under General Hubert Gough. There seems to have been a lack of direction by G.H.Q. at this time, which probably explains why greater results were not achieved. But there had already been ample opportunity for the cavalry to prove that it was the finest body of mounted troops in existence; and later, a sure indication of careful and comprehensive pre-war training, it greatly distinguished itself in static warfare by its defence of a most important sector in the British line—the Messines Ridge. The two cavalry divisions had already been formed into a corps with Allenby, now a Lieutenant-General, in command. For nearly three weeks that intrepid commander held his ground. His troops were outnumbered, and were inadequately supported by artillery. But, aided by a few infantry battalions, they refused to give way. The attenuated line only finally yielded up the position, to which it had clung so tenaciously, when it was overwhelmed by the attack of an entire infantry corps.

In the spring of 1915 Allenby assumed command of the 5th Army Corps, and was engaged in the normal course of trench warfare until October in that year, when he received promotion as G.O.C. in C. of

a new formation—the Third Army. This army took little part in the Somme battle of 1916, but fought the Battle of Arras in the following year. The original conception of this battle was an attempt to break through the German front. The British Third Army was to attack near Arras, while the major attack was to be carried out by the whole French Army, under Nivelles, further south.

The French failed completely. The Third Army met with marked success on the first day, but soon found that it must carry on alone. Under these circumstances there was no hope of a break through. The battle was continued for some time under very unsatisfactory conditions; and for this Allenby incurred some adverse criticism. But once the French attack had failed, no other result was possible.

The Third Army commander, however, was soon to be transferred from the sombre trenches of France to a new theatre, and to a type of warfare of which he was to prove himself a master.

In the spring of 1917 conditions in Palestine were unpromising, as the British had twice failed to take Gaza. At this juncture the Cabinet decided to continue the offensive in that theatre of war, but also determined that, prior to the offensive being renewed, a new commander must be appointed. Sir William Robertson, then C.G.S. at the War Office, who had a profound admiration for Allenby, was instrumental in getting him appointed, and he reached Cairo in July, 1917.

His immediate act was a thorough reconnaissance of the Palestine front. This was the result of his stocktaking: On the credit side, some young and virile commanders and troops with great possibilities; across the Sinai desert a wire road, a railway, and a pipe-line carrying water from the sweet-water canal in Egypt to the troops before Gaza. These material and priceless benefits were the legacy of his predecessor, Sir Archibald Murray, to whom in his first despatch, and on many subsequent occasions, Allenby gave ungrudging and generous acknowledgment. In addition, he brought back from his visit to the front an appreciation of the situation and a suggested plan for the next offensive, the work of Sir Philip Chetwode, which he examined, found good and adopted.

On the debit side, he found a somewhat depressed and disgruntled force, conscious of two attempts which had ended in failure, and mostly living in hot and very uncomfortable surroundings. He lost no time in stating to the Government his absolute requirement in guns and reinforcements. He then transferred his own headquarters from Cairo to near the front, where he would be in close contact with his troops.

This was one of his most characteristic and successful decisions: for thus commenced that intimate personal contact with his troops which was maintained throughout his campaign; and though at times a very severe taskmaster, making exacting calls, such calls invariably met with unhesitating response. He concluded his preliminary arrangements by a re-organization of his force into one mounted and two infantry corps.

And all the while a great grief was with him wherever he went. His only son, Michael, a young horse artilleryman of very great promise, to whom he was particularly devoted, had died of wounds in France. He threw himself into the task before him with even more than his usual energy.

It is interesting to contrast the beginning and the end of his Palestine campaign. At the commencement of these brilliant operations, which indeed may be regarded as a model for all time, he did not hesitate to adopt a plan which had been thought out by one of his subordinate commanders, and which he grasped was in all respects a wise and sound one. While he delivered an attack against the outlying defences of Gaza in order to deceive his enemy as to the real point of attack, he struck at the Turkish left flank which was at Beer-sheba, holding his cavalry ready to pass round that flank and cut the lines of retreat. Somewhat less than a year later he carried out a conception which was entirely his own. The idea, which first formed in his mind on a somewhat smaller scale, developed bit by bit into a plan for the complete defeat and destruction of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies opposing him west of the Jordan. By carefully thought out plans he mystified the Turk, and misled him into believing that the attack would be directed against his Fourth Army on his left in the hills of Moab. Instead, on September 19, 1918, Allenby broke open a gate on the Turkish right on the sea coast with his infantry, and passed his cavalry through the gate to crown a victory which the infantry's break through and advance had so successfully commenced. Nor would any reference to these operations be complete without telling how during his period of preparation he established complete command of the air, and during the operations used his planes in perfect combination with his cavalry.

The relations which Allenby established with his staff were very happy. He thoroughly understood how to use them to the best advantage. Those who were in more direct contact with him testify to his complete confidence. The attitude of those who had not the privilege of dealing personally with him, but who were very well known to

him all the same, may be described as affectionate admiration somewhat tinged with awe. A very characteristic story is related of him by one of his Staff officers. At the close of the first day of the Turkish débâcle in Palestine, Allenby said to this Staff officer, "I am going to Damascus. Can you feed a cavalry corps?" The reply came, "There is not enough transport for forage." Allenby bade him say next morning exactly what could be done. The Staff officer came then and said, "We can carry no meat for men nor bulk forage for horses. I think it is a great risk." "Oh! do you?" retorted Allenby. "I am going." And with the help of his troops and his staff he got there.

It should be added that he gave generous acknowledgment of this help in his subsequent despatches. And not to his staff only, but also to Lawrence for his work amongst the Arabs. When Lawrence died Allenby broadcast a grateful appreciation of him, which he later amplified in an article written for the Society's Journal.

Allenby's campaign in Palestine may conveniently be divided into four phases: Philistia, Judea, Moab, Sharon. His operations in Philistia culminated in the capture of Jerusalem. When, some years previously, Kaiser Wilhelm had entered the Jaffa Gate mounted, and clad as a Crusader, the Arabs had said, "A better man than you will walk." Allenby entered the Holy City on December 11, 1917, on foot.

After Jerusalem he made a general advance northward in Judea and in Sharon to gain more room; he captured Jericho; he raided twice across the Jordan into Moab. His troops were unable to capture Amman or remain in Es Salt, but the result of these raids in inducing the Turk to maintain large forces east of the Jordan were far-reaching.

Allenby's plans for further operations now received a rude shock, for, in the spring of 1918, the call of France was so insistent that he gave up all that he could spare—2 complete infantry divisions, with 24 additional British battalions, 9 Yeomanry regiments, some heavy guns and some machine-gun companies. During the spring and summer months he received reinforcements—an Indian cavalry division from France and 2 infantry divisions from Mesopotamia, all highly efficient troops, and Allenby's superiority in cavalry was maintained. But most of the additional Indian battalions sent to make up the depleted division already in Palestine were but partially trained. Allenby's army in Palestine had to be re-organized once again. Towards the end of July he visited a divisional headquarters and, in the course of conversation, told the commander that his troops must be ready to fight in six weeks' time. To this the astonished commander

replied, "But I have only just got the last of my Indian battalions, and they are practically untrained." Allenby looked at him with gleaming eyes, but controlled himself with an unusual effort, and rapping out, "They will be ready in six weeks," turned on his heel and left the tent.

Allenby's victory in Palestine has already been mentioned. The cavalry continued the pursuit into Syria without pause, and, aided by Feisul and his Arabs, obliterated the Turkish Fourth Army and captured Damascus. From Damascus the advance was relentlessly carried on. A single cavalry division, weak in numbers and far beyond support, captured Aleppo. Though the Turkish forces far outnumbered their pursuers, they asked for an armistice.

In five weeks from that famous dawn attack on September 19, the cavalry had captured a town 500 miles distant from Sharon. Four hundred guns and 75,000 prisoners had fallen into the hands of Allenby's victorious soldiers. This victory concluded his war service. After the Armistice with the Turks, Allenby had ample opportunity to demonstrate his capabilities as an administrator. He was first occupied with a sound and workable system, which he initiated, for the organization and conduct of the occupied enemy territory. Later, he proceeded to England for consultation with the Government and for a short holiday. His time there, however, was brief, for when serious disturbances broke out in Egypt in March, 1919, he was appointed High Commissioner of that country for six interesting and eventful years. He soon found that the calls of Egypt were becoming daily more insistent. The situation was delicate and difficult. He therefore handed over the command of the troops in Egypt and Palestine, and the Administration of Palestine, in order that he might concentrate on the main problem, the reconciliation of the growing nationalist aspirations of Egypt with safeguarding the needs of British Imperial Defence—a problem which then appeared to defy solution.

While he handled the situations as they arose with firmness, Allenby was sympathetic towards Egyptian aspirations. In his attempt to reconcile these two conflicting interests he incurred the adverse criticism of the British residents in Egypt, who asserted that he was prepared to sacrifice British interests in his endeavour to solve the problem. But the many references to his career which have lately appeared in this country and in Egypt (eleven years after he left it) have testified to the fact that he began his administration in an Egypt which was in a highly disturbed state, and that he left that country tranquil.

During his six years as High Commissioner he upheld his great

office with much dignity and confidence, and raised the prestige of an Englishman to a very high level.

At the end of the Great War Allenby, already a G.C.B. and a G.C.M.G., was promoted Field-Marshal; he was raised to the peerage, Viscount Allenby of Megiddo and Felixstowe; he received the thanks of Parliament for his services together with a grant of £50,000. He had been the recipient of many foreign decorations, and was a Knight of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem.

Six years more public service in Egypt confirmed his sure and abiding reputation as a great captain, a great administrator and a great servant of his country.

After he finally returned to England from Egypt he found ample opportunities for indulging in his favourite pastime—fishing—and in his enthusiasm for travel. But few of those who had served under him would have been prepared for the change in his outlook which found expression in his last public utterance. By way of comparison the writer would reproduce first a story which was related to him in September, 1918, and then give Lord Allenby's own words of just a few weeks ago.

When the Turks were endeavouring to escape with their transport down the Wadi el Fara ("The Valley of Death") and had been repeatedly bombed by our planes, an airman, just returned to headquarters to report, said wearily to a Staff officer that it was dreadful and he could destroy no more. This was told to Allenby, merely that he might gauge the effect of air action. He immediately burst out that the pursuit must continue without remission until the enemy was completely beaten.

Eighteen years after his final triumph, when delivering his Rectorial address to the students of Edinburgh University, he declared the faith which, after mature reflection, had come to him.

"More than half a century ago I entered the Army, with little ambition, vague as to the future, accepting events as they came.

"I had no expectations or idea of attaining the rank of Field Marshal. I never thought that your University might raise me to the dignity of a Doctor of Laws: that I should have the honour of receiving the Livingstone Gold Medal of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society: or—highest distinction of all—that I might be chosen by you as Rector of the University of Edinburgh.

"All these things have come to pass. . . .

"Knowing that pride is a sin to be reprehended, while gratitude is commendable, I will not proclaim my pride: but I do express my gratitude to all those who have helped me on my way through life. . . . Since victory came many years have rolled by. What has victory given us? . . .

“In the end war is not a satisfactory method of settling disputes. Ordeal by battle brings lasting benefit to neither combatant. . . . Nationalism is commonly held up to admiration as a high virtue, while internationalism, which is, in other words, generous sympathy with our fellow-men, is branded as a crime, a surrender, a betrayal of our peculiar interests and rights. Until this view—this regrettable attitude—is altered we cannot hope for an enduring amelioration in international relations. . . . A distinguished scholar and profound thinker, the President of Columbia University, has emphasized the fact that the fundamental evil in our day is the world-wide lack of confidence. In his opinion world consultation and co-operation are essential to world prosperity and international peace. . . . I believe he is right. To my mind his are wise words. When mankind has matured in wisdom it will be generally accepted that international interests are inseparably interwoven. When that is universally appreciated such epithets as militarist and pacifist will disappear, obsolete, forgotten, and none of us will be afraid to stand forth and say with Abou ben Adhem, ‘Write me as one that loves his fellow-men.’”

Less than three weeks after he uttered these words, the call came to him, quite suddenly, as he was sitting in his study—a fitting reward for a life of strenuous service and high endeavour.

“So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.”

J. S. S.

ANNIVERSARY LECTURE

(JUNE 24, 1936)

The Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd in the Chair.

UNEXPLORED REGIONS OF THE HADHRAMAUT

By W. H. INGRAMS, O.B.E.

THE purpose of my lecture is to give you some account of the Sei'ar country to the north of the Hadhramaut hitherto undescribed, and that part of the Wadi Hadhramaut known as the Wadi Maseila, leading from below Tarim to the sea, which had remained unexplored, save for an aerial reconnaissance, until the journey made by my wife and myself at the end of 1934.

I will also endeavour to describe the extraordinary contrasts of modern civilization in the midst of utterly mediæval surroundings, to be found in the great towns of the main wadi. These towns—Shibam, Seiyun, and Tarim—were, until recently, little visited by Europeans, but thanks to the Royal Air Force and the landing ground at Shibam, due, like so many others in the Aden Protectorate, to Squadron Leader Rickards, their appearance there is now a comparatively frequent phenomenon.

The shores of the Hadhramaut have, of course, been known since time immemorial. Wellsted was, I think, the first to explore the coastal region, and mention should also be made of the admirable geological work done by Little in 1919.

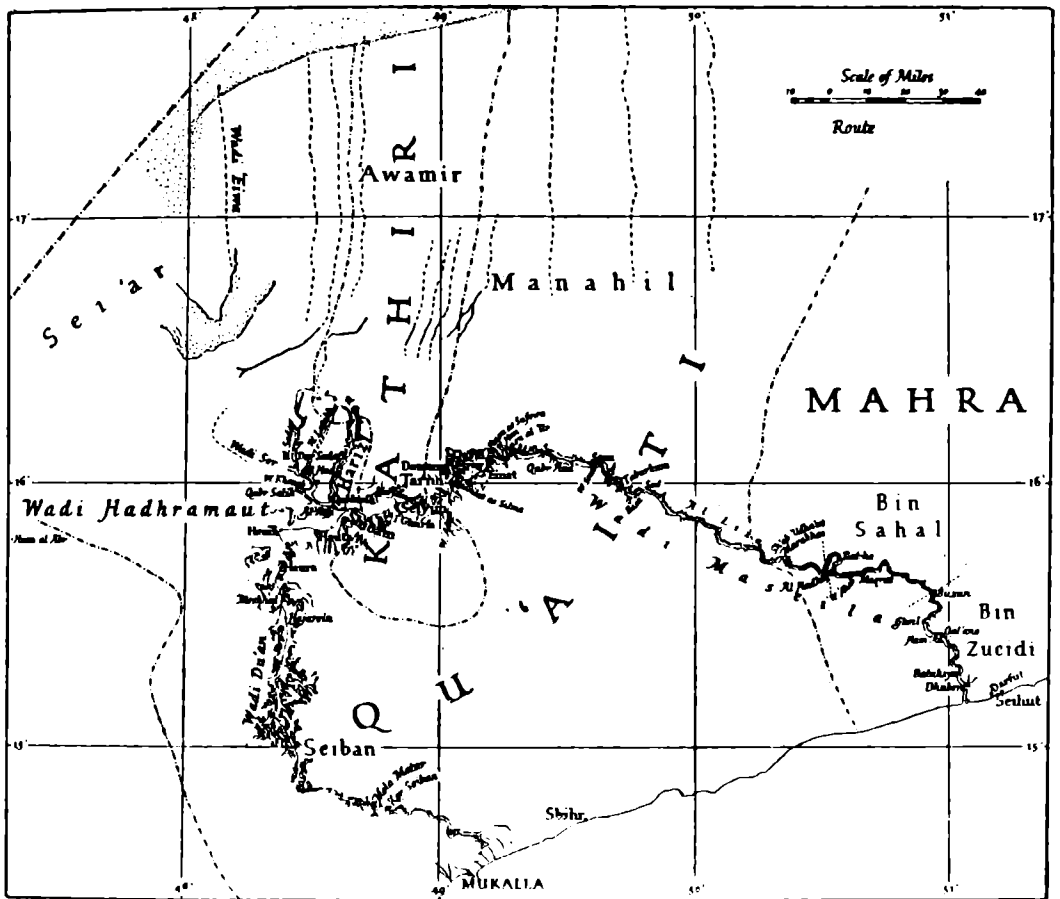
Von Wrede was the first European to visit the interior of the Hadhramaut. In 1894 he was followed by Hirsch and the Bents. The Bents reached Shibam and Hirsch had a brief glimpse of Tarim.

In 1906 Dr. Hogarth summed up our existing knowledge of the Peninsula in his classic work, the "Penetration of Arabia." Of the Hadhramaut he said, "Interest in Hadhramaut should not be suffered to decline yet. About half the trunk wady still remains unexplored

and the least-known part is that upon which border the ancient Mahra tribes."

But until after the Great War the Hadhramaut remained a sealed book, hemmed in by the mountains and the desert, a country under the influence of a fanatical church party and considered too sacred for the eyes of unbelievers.

A quarter of a century after the Bents had left it Lee Warner reached Shibam in 1919. He was followed by Colonel Boscawen, by Van der Meulen and von Wissman, and by Helfritz. The Air Force



pioneers were Wing Commander Cochrane and Squadron Leader Rickards. Although not a European, I think mention should also be made of Captain Nasr ad Din, an able political officer. The building of the landing ground led to the first visit of a resident of Aden, Sir Bernard Reilly, who flew to the wadi in 1933.

As a result of these journeys the main wadi became known as far as Qabr Hud, and Colonel Boscawen also penetrated the Sei'ar country as far as the Great Desert. Nobody has been able to persuade him to describe his journeys, and his routes are therefore largely unknown. I be-

lieve we followed his way for part of the first half of our journey there, and came back, I know, by a different route. We were also the first Europeans to travel beyond Qabr Hud and, passing through the Mahra country, to traverse the main wadi to the sea. Thus, nearly thirty years after he had drawn attention to it, the part of the country catalogued by Hogarth as remaining to be explored has been examined. For my part, I have fulfilled a modest ambition formed in 1923 when I was serving in Zanzibar and first learned something about the country from immigrant Hadhramis, and I can never be sufficiently grateful to Sir Bernard Reilly, who made it possible for me to go there.

The wadi was no doubt one of the principal ancient routes to and from the Hadhramaut and beyond. It was also probably the route followed by the Azdites in their great migration from Yemen to Omān. We found some traces of ancient travellers in it. For an authoritative account of the incense routes I must refer you to Miss Stark's book.

Mrs. Bent was the first European woman to visit Shibam, and it is interesting to record that this is remembered in the country, for a learned Seiyid travelling from Shibam with my wife to Seiyun referred to it and congratulated her, as they crossed into Kathīri territory, on being the first European woman to visit that country. The Seiyids of Tarim also gave her a warm welcome on that account.

We were followed to the Hadhramaut by Miss Stark, whose ambitions lay to the west of Shibam. Her recent book is giving delight to many readers, who are learning how kind and hospitable most of the people of the country now are. All through our own journey, with one single exception when some Mahras evinced signs of wanting to exterminate us as unbelieving intruders, we experienced nothing but warm hospitality and friendliness. We were, I believe, the first Europeans to find themselves in the interior of the ancient Mahra country, and they may well be excused for not knowing what we were. On several occasions, passing through the Manahil and Mahra tribes, passers-by took us for a new kind of Seiyid and once or twice attempts were made to kiss our hands. We played no part in this deception and told those who asked us what we were, but our Beduins sometimes acquiesced in the description.

It is not generally known that the Hadhramaut is a part of the Aden Protectorate, and before I begin to describe our journey it may be of interest if I say something about its place in that not well-known British Dependency.

The extent of the Aden Protectorate is much greater than many people

imagine. Its coastline starts in the West from Ras Murad, opposite the Island of Perim, and it runs eastwards to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates the coastline of the Protectorate from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Omān. Roughly speaking, it is bounded on the west and the north by the kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country, which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Omān. The Protectorate also includes the Island of Soqotra.

The coastline I have described includes that of the Aden Settlement, which is, of course, British territory. The Aden Settlement and the Aden Protectorate are separate entities; the former being directly administered by a Chief Commissioner on behalf of the Government of India, while the affairs of the latter are supervised by a Resident on behalf of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The posts of Chief Commissioner and Resident are combined in one person.

The Aden Protectorate had its origin in the relations conducted by Captain Haines, the first Resident of Aden after its capture in 1839, with the tribes in the vicinity of Aden which were directed towards making the safety of Aden itself more assured. In due course treaties and agreements were entered into with the chiefs of many tribes. These treaties dealt with a variety of different subjects, and, at a later date, the more important provided, amongst other things, for the extension of His Majesty's gracious favour and protection to the tribes concerned, and included an engagement on the part of the tribes not to cede their territories to a foreign power.

To-day there are upwards of fifty chiefs who are in more or less direct correspondence with the Residency at Aden. Some thirty of these are in treaty relations, and six are gun chiefs. Of these six Their Highnesses the Sultans of Lahej and Mukalla have salutes of eleven guns, and the Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, the 'Amir of Dhala, the Fadhli Sultan, and the Lower Yafai Sultan have nine each. Many of these chiefs have stipends, some granted by treaty and some by grace. They receive in addition certain presents, and some have the privilege of issuing recommendatory letters in favour of their tribesmen. For some years certain of the chiefs have also been in the habit of receiving presents of, or been allowed to purchase, supplies of arms and ammunition for defence purposes.

The principal object of the presents paid to chiefs and others has been to ensure the good behaviour of the recipients generally, and in particular to endeavour to secure safety on the main caravan routes.

The system has its roots in the past, and during the last few years there has been a tendency to divert the money so paid to objects which, in the long run, will prove of greater benefit to the country and its people. The schemes that have so far been started are, a school for the sons of chiefs, tribal dispensaries, and tribal guards. During the present year a start is to be made with agricultural experimental and demonstration plots, and with the maintenance and improvement of motor tracks. Space does not permit of any account of the progress so far made with these schemes. They have, of course, had to meet with the suspicion and distrust usually accorded by backward people to innovations, but it will not be exaggerating to say that they are gradually making headway, and that they have the support and encouragement of the more influential and intelligent chiefs. It is worth while recording that several thousands of rupees were subscribed by the chiefs to the school within a few months of its being opened.

There is a great deal of difference in social standing and importance between the treaty chiefs. They range from rulers as important as Their Highnesses of Lahej and Mukalla, through lesser Sultans such as the Fadhli and the Haushabi, and Sheikhs with as little control as the Mausati and Muflahi of Upper Yafa', to rulers of single towns such as the Sheikh of 'Irqa, and petty chieftains such as the Rija'i Sheikh of the Subeihis. Amongst the non-treaty chiefs are, a man as enlightened as the Kathiri Sultan (who, however, is in a special position), the Dathina Sheikhs, and the Mas'abi Sheikh, who is partially dependent on a treaty chief, the Sharif of Beihan.

I am afraid that this hasty survey of the composition and organization of the Aden Protectorate is necessarily incomplete, and that it cannot give you a really accurate picture of the situation as it is. It may, however, give you some idea of the complexity of political conditions that exist over this large tract of country, and of the steps that are being taken, without resorting to direct administration, to help the chiefs and people to make the best of their country.

It can be confidently anticipated that the Aden Protectorate will in the future continue to make progress towards peace and prosperity. It is not to be expected that it can ever become a really rich or flourishing country. We all know of the Arab's genius for disunity, and the country is not blessed with much natural wealth. There is, however, no doubt that it can improve considerably, and to help it to do so it has, if I may mention them, three great assets. These are, the Colonial Office, the present Resident, Sir Bernard Reilly, and the Royal Air

Force. The present time is, of course, one of experiment, but schemes for the welfare of the inhabitants always receive helpful advice and encouragement within the limits of very moderate means.

Many people appear to regard the Air Force as a stick with which troublesome tribesmen in difficult countries are licked into submission. They have, it is true, a police function of the prevention of crime and disorder, but I should never have imagined without actual experience, that it would have been possible to give so much peace at the cost of so little damage. Air action is seldom resorted to, and then only when all other methods have failed. So much care is taken to avoid casualties that I think I am right in saying the one or two that have occurred in internal operations have only been souvenir hunters. Lately, when, after much provocation and continued outrage, it has been necessary to issue a warning, the mere threat of air action has been enough to produce the desired result. But the Air Force does a great deal besides keeping order. I have long observed the great good that the Navy does as Ambassadors of Empire, and in the dissemination of goodwill. There are never more popular visitors than the Navy in their annual cruises to Zanzibar and Mauritius. I have also seen recently the atmosphere of friendliness they at once established when I visited Soqotra in a destroyer in March. What the Navy does at the ports the Royal Air Force does in the interior, and despite differences of language the visitors from the skies always seem welcome when they drop down without warning in the midst of some distant tribe. There are now thirty-five landing grounds in the Protectorate, kept in condition by the tribes themselves. Some of the tribes are less visited than others, and it is not uncommon to receive requests for visits or complaints of neglect if they are delayed. The Royal Air Force are always willing to take doctors to attend the sick, and to bring back patients to the hospital in Aden. Whenever circumstances permit they give a lift to chiefs and tribesmen. It is services such as these that help to bring peace, quiet, and goodwill nearer in a country in which petty warfare and raids are the national sports. Talking of sport, I might also mention that football is becoming increasingly popular in the Protectorate. Knowledge of it is being spread by sending the masters of the school on football tours in their holidays. When I left Aden there were possibilities of a dispute between two friendly rulers. The question at issue was which should be the first to pay a visit to the other's capital with a football team.

A glance at the map will show that the two chiefs who are the most

important in the Protectorate are so geographically situated as to make them the natural leaders of the western and eastern portions of the Protectorate. The Sultan of Lahej has already gone a long way towards establishing a hegemony over his neighbours. He is *de jure* suzerain of the Subeihis, and to a lesser extent of the Haushabis. Without in any way interfering with the internal affairs of his northern and eastern neighbours, he has shown such wisdom in his dealings with them, that they naturally seek for and accept his arbitration in their troubles. There are occasional tiffs it is true, but even the independently minded mountaineers of Upper Yafa' show more and more of a tendency to seek his advice, and this tendency is naturally carefully fostered. His Highness is one of our greatest bulwarks in the Protectorate, and schemes such as I have mentioned for the improvement of the country meet with a ready response and encouragement from him. He maintains, of course, a complete independence in matters concerning the internal administration of his state.

The Sultan of Mukalla has not yet succeeded in establishing his leadership to the same degree as the Sultan of Lahej, though there are not wanting signs that a wise Sultan could make considerable progress in this direction. There are schemes afoot for helping the state of Mukalla to continue the progress that has been made by the last two Sultans. We have recently had to mourn the death, after a lingering and painful illness, of His Highness Sultan 'Umar bin 'Awadh. His nephew and successor, His Highness Sultan Salih bin Ghalib, has just recently been recognized, and we are hoping for great things during his reign.

Speaking politically, we usually refer to the territories of the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla and of the Kathiri Sultan as the Hadhramaut. Geographically, the term may have either a narrower significance and mean only the Wadi itself, or the Wadi and the country immediately surrounding it, or a wider sense and include some of the country nominally 'Aulaqi and the country of the Wahidi Sultans of Balihaf and Bir 'Ali to the west, and even the Mahra country to the east.

If the Sultan of Mukalla is regarded as the leader of the eastern part of the Protectorate, the Wahidi Sultans are politically, perhaps, more oriented towards him than to their western neighbours, but the 'Aulaqi looks towards Aden. The Al Bureik, the Al Hamam, and the Al Karab are Janus-faced, and hover between the Hadhramaut and the 'Aulaqi, but politically they are considered as 'Aulaqis.

My paper is concerned chiefly with the Qu'aiti and Kathiri

dominions. Hitherto I have endeavoured to give some idea of their relationship to the rest of the Protectorate. Space will not allow of even a brief résumé of Hadhramaut history. Until last century the dominant dynasty in the country was Kathīri. In the Middle Ages the Kathīri introduced mercenary soldiers from amongst whom two Yafai dynasties, the Kasadi and the Qu'aiti, grew to importance. Gradually the Kathīris were pushed back into the eastern part of the Wadi Hadhramaut proper and the Kasadis were eliminated. Qu'aitis and Kathīris have never been on really happy terms. The reasons are to be found in the history of their relationships, but the existing difficulties form the principal problem to be faced in helping the Hadhramaut to a brighter future.

In 1918 an agreement was negotiated by the Qu'aitis and Kathīris in which they declared that the Hadhramaut was an appanage of the British Empire. The instrument recognized that the Qu'aiti Sultan was the senior partner in the country, and provided that relations with the British Government should be conducted through him. It guaranteed to the Kathīris autonomy in their own internal affairs. The really important point of the agreement is that it recognizes that the prosperity of the country depends on the mutual co-operation of both parties. So far suspicion and lack of mutual goodwill have operated to prevent this being achieved.

One reason for the fact that the Hadhramaut is well known outside its borders is that so many of its people go abroad to seek their fortunes. There are probably nearly 100,000 Hadhramis living abroad. In the Far East, in Java and the Straits Settlements, there are important colonies of them. Those living in Java easily outnumber the colonies elsewhere, for they are estimated at about 70,000. The Singapore colony is small but it is immensely wealthy. The thirteen principal individuals or families own property valued at over two and a half million pounds sterling. Out of this amount the wealth of one family is equivalent to nearly £1,170,000. In East Africa there are large colonies, in Kenya, Tanganyika, and in Zanzibar, but they are much poorer than those in other places. There are a considerable number in Abyssinia, in the Sudan, and in Egypt, many of whom are well-to-do traders. There is again a large colony in Saudi-Arabia. It is interesting to note that to a great extent each colony abroad is connected with a particular place or places in the Hadhramaut. In Java the majority of the emigrants are from the Al Kathīr. The Singapore community originates principally from Tarim and Seiyun. In East Africa where

the term Shihiri, or man of Shihr, is often applied to a man from anywhere in the Hadhramaut, they come chiefly from the Tamimi tribe. Finally, the Red Sea contingent is recruited mainly from the Wadi Du'an. Hadhramis in the service of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad are in a different category, but they amount to 5,000 or 6,000, mostly of Yafai origin. The Sultan of Mukalla is hereditary Jemadar of the Nizam's bodyguard. This does not exhaust the list of colonies of Hadhramis abroad, though it includes the most important. They are to be found as far afield as China and are almost ubiquitous in the Near East and the south-western parts of the Indian Ocean. I have met them in Madagascar and in the Comoro Islands.

My wife and I left Aden by steamship on October 29, 1934, and arrived at Mukalla on the morning of October 31. We stayed in Mukalla until November 6, on which date we left for the Wadi Du'an by donkey. We arrived at Masna'at al 'Aura on November 11, and on the 13th started, again on donkeys, up the Wadi Du'an towards Shibam, where we arrived on November 16. We started off on camels from Shibam on November 24 for the Sei'ar country, and, after a round trip in the country between the Wadi Hadhramaut and the Great Desert, returned to Shibam on December 1, travelling the same day by car to Tarim, which we left on December 6. From Tarim we travelled by camels down the Wadi Hadhramaut, called in its lower reaches the Wadi Maseila, to Seihut, which we reached on the morning of December 18, sailing again the same day by dhow for Shihr, where we arrived on December 20. We drove back to Mukalla by car on the afternoon of December 21, and sailed again for Aden on December 30, arriving at Aden on January 1.

We were accompanied throughout our journey by an Aden friend, Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad Salih Ja'fer, and by two servants, Zaidi bin Bukheti, an Mtumbatu of Zanzibar, who has now been in my service for sixteen years, and Ganess Chamari, an Indian of Mauritius, who has cooked our food for the last five.

I suppose there are few primitive countries so naturally easy and comfortable to travel in as the Hadhramaut. At any rate this was our experience. At Mukalla we were well housed with European comforts in the Sultan's guest house. Its domestic economy is presided over by a majordomo, with an office on the ground floor. Our cook saw him every morning, said what provisions were required for the day, and these were duly delivered. It seemed strange, too, to have to go to Mukalla to be able to indulge in a European bath with running water.

The Sultan of Lahej also has these luxuries in his palace, but in Aden they are scarce. Then, after the six days of marching and camping over the wadis and *jōls*, it is pleasant to descend to the Arabian Nights' atmosphere of Du'an. We found comfort again at Shibam, and after the hard going of our excursion to Reidat as Sei'ar were glad to come back to the luxuries of Tarim. While we journeyed down the Wadi Maseila it was pleasant to know that ease awaited us again at Shihr and Mukalla. In saying this I do not want to give the impression that the marching and camping part of a journey is not the most enjoyable, for to look back on travel in the wilder parts of the world is to yearn to travel again.

The caravan roads of the Hadhramaut are also remarkably well organized, for apart from the many natural springs and waterholes, the more important routes are well provided with *siqayas*, or public fountains, near villages, and *qarifs* and *naqbas*, artificial pools and cisterns for rain water, in the desert places. There are also *muraba'as*, rest houses, at intervals approximately of a few hours' journey over the principal routes crossing barren country. *Siqayas* are usually endowed and it is the duty of someone in the village near which they stand to keep them filled with water for the benefit of thirsty travellers. *Muraba'as* are built mostly by wealthy merchants to afford the traveller shelter from the sun during his midday halt, and rest and security at night. There are also in many places graves of saints at which travellers may leave their property under the protection of the saint until they wish to reclaim it. The system works very much like railway left-luggage offices, but there are no fees to pay.

There is little trouble about organizing a journey over these roads, for although Cooks have not yet set up a branch at Mukalla, the brokers of the Beduins function in much the same way, and, taking all the trouble out of his hands, arrange for the transport of passenger and baggage to his destination. Even the fares, though not printed in a local Bradshaw, are established and well known.

Mukalla itself has been so often visited and described that there is little need to say much about it here. It is the seat of the Qu'aiti Government, and the headquarters of the *liwa* or province of Mukalla. The Qu'aiti dominions are divided into five *liwas*—Shihr, Mukalla, Du'an, Hajr, and Shibam. The resident population of Qu'aiti territory is probably rather over 200,000. The annual value of its foreign trade is perhaps sixty lakhs of rupees and remittances into the country, principally from the East Indies, may amount to as much as £630,000

a year. The state revenue is probably at least seven lakhs of rupees and the expenditure on public services about three. The population of Mukalla town is about 16,000, and of the province 30,000. Mukalla is the principal port of entry for the Hadhramaut, and the principal market for the interior. It has now several schools and a dispensary. It has also a good water supply brought by aqueduct from springs about four miles away. During our stays there, both at the beginning and end of our journey, we visited most parts of the province, which is well served by motor tracks. Perhaps the most interesting of these excursions was to the walled town of Gheil Ba Wazīr, which is the principal seat of the Hamumi tobacco industry. The Sultan has a charming bungalow there.

It took several days for the arrangements for our journey to be completed, and we left Mukalla by car for Tila as Sufla where we found our caravan waiting for us. Our first two days' journey led through the Wadis Himem and 'Ankedūn to Hisi, under the heights of the Kor Seiban. Here we left the wadis and started our journey over the plateaus or *jōls*.

During our first afternoon we saw carved on the alabaster-like rock, which was polished white by the footsteps of men and beasts, the names in Himyaritic and Arabic of passing travellers. Even the Arabic ones, some of which were dated, went back a long time, but the presence of the Himyaritic names reminded us that the road was thousands of years old, and we could be sure that the scenes we saw had remained unchanged during all these centuries. Carvers of names often arouse one's wrath, but I think if I had had the necessary instruments I should have been tempted to add an English name to those we saw there.

After a chilly night at Shūara, nearly 6,000 feet high, we started our journey next morning by following a narrow track which clings to the side of the mountains called Aroba and Mola Matar, and soon saw below us the grave of the giant Mola Matar, from whom the mountain takes its name. This was the first of the many giants' tombs we saw in the Hadhramaut. The spot is sacred to the Beduins, who hold there an annual fair, and I wondered whether the place was not a relic of one of the old sanctuaries of the pre-Islamic nature gods, particularly as the name means rain. The tomb is also a well-known "left-luggage office."

Two more days over the *jōl* brought us on November 11 to Du'an. Just after half-past twelve we had our first glimpse of the stupendous

chasm of the Wadi Du'an. The moment when, over the edge of a precipice nearly a thousand feet high, the wadi beneath comes into sight is quite unforgettable. The bed of the wadi is lined by a river of green date palms mingled with the lighter green of 'elb trees (*Zizyphus spina-christi* L.) and cultivation. One does not at first perceive the towns, and then out of the pale brown-sand-coloured cliffs there seem to rise up great castles of the same colour.

Nowhere else in the Hadhramaut did we sense exactly that feeling of peace and calm which broods over the sunlit sheltered depths of the Wadi Du'an between 'Aura and Khoreiba. Down here, indeed, below the level of the world, it was difficult even to recall the barren windswept heights over which we had travelled. News seemed somehow to drop into the wadi from the sky. Not that there was much news, but every letter that came appeared to be almost common property and formed a topic of conversation in several scores of homes. Sleep brooded over the place, not just the sleep of out-of-the-way country villages cut off from rails and telegraph wires, but the eternal sleep of a distant past which has never known an awakening. Forgetting the many little wars that have taken place there, it seemed, indeed, as if the last exciting thing that could have happened in the valley was the rushing of the torrents of the subsiding flood, for its handiwork, as we were told, is everywhere apparent in these deep river-beds.

The interiors of the houses were of peculiar beauty, particularly in those houses furnished in the pure Arab style. Fashions have changed to a great extent in recent years in Du'an. Old doors were low, often not more than four feet high. Old rooms were also low and dark. All that has changed in the houses of the well-to-do. Their doors are high but still beautifully carved, and the rooms, too, have grown larger. It is becoming a standard practice in Du'an architecture to build the houses on the principle of self-contained apartments. Several house-owners told us with pride that every room in their mansions had a bathroom attached. Looking over them gave us the impression of flat hunting.

Our own little flat in Ba Surra's castle was delightful. The door into it opened on to a narrow, whitewashed, carpeted passage. A turn to the right brought one to the entrance of the living room on the left, and a step or two further on, at the end of the passage, there was a small bathroom on the right. The entrance to the living room was a well-proportioned arch without a door. The room itself was perhaps twenty feet square and about ten feet high. Two of the walls had

three windows each, no glass but beautifully carved lattice work in four frames, each furnished with inside shutters. In one of the walls was a small glass window in the shape of an old Arab lamp, quite high up. The system gave plenty of light without any glare. The walls were whitewashed, and each side of the entrance a door, five feet six by just over two feet in a heavy carved frame, gave on to large cupboards in which rifles, bandoliers, and clothes were hung. These doors were studded with iron nails, two inches in diameter and burnished with lead so that they looked like silver, and have been taken for dollars. On each door there were thirty-five such nails. The frame, three feet higher than the door and a foot wide on either side, was also studded with these burnished nails, and so were the wooden locks. The ceiling was an attractive herring-bone arrangement of slats of rough-hewn and unstained date wood. The beams of carved *'elb* wood were supported by four square carved pillars of the same material with wide carved capitals. Between three of these pillars there were three plain wooden poles, fixed high up, over which clothes were hung. There were hooks in the ceiling from which lamps were suspended. The floor was spread with camel-hair rugs striped rust-brown, white, and black. A few cushions completed the furniture. It cannot be imagined how cool, refreshing, and inviting the room was.

We slept in another flat in which the general arrangement was similar, though the bathroom was larger. It had in it an excellent boiler of a pattern we often found again, furnished with a charcoal stove which burned all night and heated the water. The room was smaller than the other and not square. The entrance was through a beautifully shaped Moorish arch set in a screen of *'elb* wood carved and studded with these silvered nails. On each side of the door there was a recess in the screen for books, among which I noticed Tabari's history. The floor had Persian carpets, and a brass bed in one corner was covered with a blanket with a design of a red lion on it. This was evidently popular, as we saw it many times again. Here, and we saw many others, was a large carved chest of *sissum* wood inlaid with brass of Indian workmanship. There are many such chests in Zanzibar and they have come to be known as Zanzibar chests. Large articles of furniture such as these provided us with a never ceasing source of wonderment in the Hadhramaut—namely, that they had all been carried through wadis and over *jōls* on camels.

We saw many rooms during our two days in Du'an and the design of all was much the same, though some were bigger and more elaborate

than the two I have described. Many of them were rooms such as would have been dear to an illustrator of the Arabian Nights. A lot of them were positive museums. The owners themselves seemed to know that their decorations were not in the best of taste, but explained that they liked them and apologized for them on that ground. The walls were simply covered with "junk," cheap brass work, oleograph pictures, pots and pans, cups and saucers of a "present from Brighton" description, trays of wood and brass, glass dishes, coffee pots, lamps, fly whisks, even primus stoves and kettles. Some of the ceilings were quite attractively painted in blue and red and green and yellow, and one room we went into had coloured windows of red and blue and green.

During the two days in which we enjoyed the hospitality of the Ba Surras in Du'an we had an initiation into the mysteries of bee-keeping. The hives are tunnel-like structures fitted into the walls of the houses, and consist of circular sections about a foot in diameter. In the outside wall is a small hole through which the bees enter and leave the hives. Du'an enjoys two honey crops in a year, that of June, July, and August being regarded as the best, for in it the bees collect the honey from the blossoms of the *'elb* trees. The honey obtained during the second crop from November to March is gathered from a small bush called *qarmala*, and while it is highly esteemed it is considered very heating and may not be eaten by pregnant women. If there is much rain during April and May the bees make a black honey called *helb*, and they are said to grow much stronger for they consume this honey themselves. Describing the swarming of the bees, Ba Surra told us that a second queen bee (they call the queen bee *āb* or father) will leave the hive and go a short way away, followed by some of the others. The bee owner takes a mat and rolls it up in the shape of a hive, closing one end and sprinkling inside a perfume of the perfumes used by the ladies. Approaching the swarm, he gently takes the queen in his fingers out of it and puts her into a small cage made for the purpose. The cage is then placed inside the rolled mat. An assistant beats a tin or a copper tray and the bees leave the place where they have swarmed and come to the queen. The swarm is now carried to a hive, the queen bee and her cage put into the hive, and in go the bees after her. The English bee-keeper will recognize much that is familiar in this description.

The bees collect the crop in twelve to twenty days, and when the owner sees the hive is full he fits on more sections until they have

finished. Thirty to forty pounds of honey are collected from a single hive at each crop. The honey is gathered by smoking the bees out from behind. When they have left the exit hole is stopped up and the honey is taken, one section being left for the bees. In times of drought honey is put into the hives for the bees to eat. The second crop was on when we visited the valley, and at every house round golden combs were put before us. We were taught to eat it neat, with a spoon, and shown that by dipping each spoonful in a glass of water one could eat much more.

'Aura is the headquarters of the Du'an province. The co-Governors are the brothers, Sheikhs Muhammad and Ahmed bin 'Umar Ba Surra, who are the heads of the Ba Surra clan of the Seibani tribe, which is the principal tribe of the province. The population of the province is about 53,000.

From Du'an our way to Shibam lay along the wadi, and we spent three nights on the road—at Sif, at Meshhed, and at Haura. At Sif, which has been given a bad reputation, we were hospitably entreated. We met there Seiyid Ahmed bin Hussein bin Harūn al 'Attas, the very delightful *Mansab* of Meshhed. His life's work consists in travelling round composing disputes. He rides a horse, wears a red sash of office, and is preceded by a small drummer boy on a donkey. Two of the Seiyids of the Hadhramaut considered themselves so holy that they were unwilling to shake hands with my wife, but Seiyid Ahmed bin Hussein, one of the holiest of them all, adopted a very paternal attitude and was even photographed holding her hand. I was much pleased when he said, in an entirely unsolicited way, that he was very glad to see a representative of the Government travelling through the country. There had been foreigners, he said, and he had never understood why their own Government had not visited them. He expressed great admiration for the way that the British Government tried to lead the way in establishing world peace. Peace making, he said, was his own work. It may be well to remark here that in all my contacts with chiefs and people of the Aden Protectorate I have never found anything approaching an anti-British sentiment. I cannot say that some tribes do not sometimes give trouble. They certainly do. But I have always been conscious of a warm feeling for the British. I am certain that they prefer us to any other European power and to any of their Arab neighbours.

Between Sif and Meshhed we visited Hajarein, which has a beautiful situation on the heights of a wadi island, but which on closer

acquaintance is dirty and tumble-down. When we were there the stench was appalling, for a sickness had killed many of the cattle and the carcasses had been thrown over the cliffs on which the town stands.

At Meshhed we spent a happy day exploring the ruins and collecting flint and obsidian implements, pieces of pottery, and fragments of inscriptions. Meshhed is a modern town in the province of Shibam, but autonomous. It was founded by the Al 'Attas Seiyids in an attempt, which proved successful, to put an end to two centuries of raiding. There are several domed tombs and an annual fair is held, but there is no cultivation, for the Seiyids are supported by the offerings of travellers and of dwellers in distant parts.

The flint and obsidian flakes at the Himyaritic ruins of Gheibun had been missed by previous travellers. We found them in such quantities as to indicate, according to Professor Seligman, who kindly examined them, a factory site. With beads, bits of bronze, worked stones and alabaster, they gave us material to picture something of the life of the ancient inhabitants. According to the locals these were 'Adites and giants. Indeed, a sheep's tooth was pronounced to be a tooth of the teeth of one of the sons of 'Ad.

We had expected to be met at Meshhed by cars, but as they did not turn up we rode on to Haura.

Next morning we rode from Haura out of the Wadi Du'an, or Hajarein as it is called here, into and across the wide extent of the main Wadi Hadhramaut, reaching the little town of Henin under the northern cliffs. Sheikh Muhammad Sa'id Marta', a retired merchant from Java, gave us welcome refreshment and drove us in his Opel to Hauta, where we were kindly received by Sultan 'Ali bin Salih, the ex-Governor of the Shibam province. After tea with him we drove on to Shibam, and were soon installed in a pleasant little villa of East Indian style in the rich men's suburb of Seheil.

The town of Shibam, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild.

There has been a great deal of exaggeration as to the height of Shibam houses, but, bearing in mind that they are built entirely of mud, they are amazingly high, six storeys being the average height.

The architecture of Shibam is wholly Arab, though Seheil shows signs of modern and foreign influence. The two features which single out Shibam as being different from other South Arabian towns are, the way in which the houses are crowded together and their height. The reason for these two features is that it was not only necessary to provide for the defence of the town by giving it a wall, but also because the size of the eminence on which the town is built, and which raises it above the floods, did not permit of the expansion of its perimeter.

Shibam is the capital of the Shibam province and the town has a population of about 7,000. That of the province is about 33,000.

On the second day of our stay we drove to Seiyun to take tea with the Kathīri Sultans and Seiyid Bubekr al Kaf. We passed al Ghurfa on the way, and were astonished at the remarkable system of trenches which had been built there for the prosecution of a local war which had just come to an end, but had lasted for five or six years. The trenches included a system of communication trenches which reminded me of Flanders, and were built to enable the people of both sides to reach their fields in safety. It sounds almost incredible, but the leader of one side had enlivened the proceedings by importing a sort of armoured car from Java. With the advent of peace this had become derelict and was up for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet presumably other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

Seiyun is a delightful town of about 1,500 houses and some fifty mosques. It is dominated by a majestic palace, near which is a newly constructed market showing signs of western influence in its architecture.

Seiyun is the capital of the Kathīri Sultanate with a population of some 20,000. The total population of the Sultanate is over 50,000.

We drove right through the city to the Sultan's guest-house in the suburbs, which are rapidly extending eastwards. The guest-house is a pleasant, low, rather rambling, whitewashed building with an open courtyard in which there is a large swimming pool. A small petrol engine keeps the water perpetually running. At the side of the swimming pool is the drawing-room furnished with comfortable easy chairs, tables, and sofa.

A few days later some of the Air Force from Aden landed at Shibam, and we all visited Tarim. Shibam does not boast many cars, and when three had been used by the visitors the only one remaining was a bright red Graham Page, in bad condition and without a driver. The owner seemed averse to lending it owing to its condition, but

eventually we made arrangements and a relation of the owner drove us back to our villa, where we picked up my wife. She took the wheel and we started off, leaving Shibam just before five o'clock.

The car had no foot brake in action, the hand brake only functioned when the car was practically at a standstill, and the steering gear was loose. Added to this we ran into a sandstorm when crossing the landing ground, which continued for some time. The road to Seiyun we had already experienced, but from then onwards the track was new to us, and driving was something of a menace, for the road was full of bumps, water channels, small chasms, and other perils. Husan and I would almost certainly have been bumped right out of the car if the hood had not been up. Somehow, however bad the bumps, Hasan always managed to keep his everlasting cigar in his mouth. By the time we reached Mariama, a small village ten miles from Tarim, it was almost dark. Here we were made to pick up an unwanted escort, a customary form of obtaining money from travellers.

After losing the track several times, and twice just pulling up on the edge of precipices, we crossed the dry beds of two wadis, and a little later suddenly saw ahead of us some bright lights. As we drove nearer we could see the dim shape of an immense house, the front of which was one mass of electric light. An astonishing sight to see in the wilderness that surrounded it. The walls of Tarim loomed up in front of us, and it was with intense relief that we drew up to the gate of the town. It was already closed, for it was now a quarter to eight, and it was not until my wife hooted many times that finally two women unbarred the big wooden doors and pulled them apart. As it was the year of grace 1934 I felt that it was appropriate that the first European woman to enter Tarim should have done so by driving a car there in a suitable atmosphere of adventure.

We drove over an open space and along narrow roads to a palace decorated with flags and illuminated all over with electric light. We were welcomed by our millionaire hosts, Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman, Bubekr, and 'Umar al Kaf—the principal members of the wealthiest Hadhrami family in Singapore. They took us upstairs to an immense drawing-room, but before entering we requested a wash and brush up. A man who appeared to combine many functions, but for the moment was the head butler, showed us our bedroom, and took me along to the bathroom. It was with something more than mere astonishment that I entered this luxuriously equipped room. A marble bath had been built into one corner, a fitted basin with running water stood against the

wall, on a ledge near the window had been spread an assortment of bottles containing scent, hair lotion, face creams, and other aids to beauty. There was a shower-bath, snow-white towels on a rail, soaps, loofahs, a set of pink enamel brushes, comb, and hand mirror, every conceivable toilet accessory, and everything worked. By the time the perfect butler-*cum*-valet had enquired what hair wash I should like I was feeling distinctly out of place without dress clothes!

The drawing-room was furnished with large, comfortable chairs and sofas, many small tables, English carpets, gilt mirrors, chandeliers, and cupboards filled with jam and butter dishes. Electric fans, iced drinks, and telephones (connecting up the houses of the Al Kaf family) completed our astonishment, and we began to feel that it would all have disappeared like Aladdin's palace in the morning.

Our bedroom contained two brand-new brass bedsteads fitted with mosquito-nets, and furnished in pink crêpe-de-chine, a luxury which I had always imagined to be the prerogative of the most expensive actresses. While dwelling on these marvels it should not be forgotten that every single thing from the beds to the motor-cars, which are taken to pieces and re-assembled in one of the three towns of the main wadi, are brought up by camels. It takes twelve to carry one car.

We were woken next morning by the butler bringing us early morning tea and realized with relief that Aladdin's palace had not disappeared in the night. Hearing that there was a swimming pool we decided to have a bathe before breakfast, so, dressed in bathing-dresses and wraps, we drove to a house outside the town where we found a perfect bath set in delightful surroundings. There were changing rooms on one side, a small terrace on the other arranged with carpets and pillows to make an excellent sun-bath or drying retreat, and a high wall at one end over which trees and flowering creepers from the adjoining garden gave a very pleasant touch of colour. The bath itself was about thirty feet long, and the water sufficiently warm to be enjoyable and sufficiently cool to be refreshing.

A surprise awaited us on our return drive *via* Seiyun to Shibam, for during the night the *seil* had come down, and the two wadis that had been bone-dry the night before were now flowing with water. In the first wadi we had to drive across the water was not above the knees, but our car stuck, and altogether it took about half an hour for the party of six cars to cross. The second was worse, for though not so wide the water was deeper, and every one of the cars stuck and had to be helped across and the engine cleaned on the other side.

I have dwelt on the wonders of the three big towns of the main wadi at some length, for it seems to me that it would be hard to equal the contrasts between them and their surroundings. In the West it is not difficult, seated perhaps on what is left of the encircling wall of a mediæval town, to conjure up the past, and, with a knowledge of history, even to picture the gradual change of the surroundings, and in the life of the people, from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. Roads are built and railways laid down. Horses and horse-drawn traffic become less and less as cars appear and fill the roads. The streets dark at night, and the houses dimly lit, gradually grow bright as gas and then electric light take the place of dips and oil. The increasing roar of traffic and the blare of gramophone and wireless are heard.

It is easy living in the present to picture the past, but it is much more difficult to live in the past and conjure up the future. In the Hadhramaut we found ourselves in the unfamiliar atmosphere of mediæval surroundings and conditions of life, with no friendly policeman and only savagery outside the walls. It was as though men from this past had stepped forward several centuries of time and brought back twentieth-century furniture, cars, telephones, electric light, iced drinks, baths, and every mod. con. In Tarim we sat under an electric fan in a modern drawing-room and through its windows watched a battle going on outside the walls of the city. Such is a daily occurrence in times of peace. At night we watched Charlie Chaplin performing incredible drunken antics. Only a short way from us the bulk of the population slept in their caves, in their little stick huts, and in their mud *dars*. Every man has his dagger and rifle within easy reach.

During our week in Shibam we learnt much about the Sei'ar, with whom and into whose country we were to travel. The Sei'ar are the wolves of South Arabia. They raid their neighbours in the steppes and in the past have been known to attack travellers on the main Qu'aiti routes. They raid also far into the sands. Roaming in packs they are brave enough and howl loudly in their own country, but when travelling in small numbers over main routes and settled country they adopt a hangdog mien, choose the byways and travel by night, for every man's hand is against them. They only appear openly at Shibam where they behave, and at Meshhed where they sell their camels at the annual fair.

Seen from the air their country in the steppe is a nightmare country,

and one can imagine nothing worse than to be lost in the maze of ragged clefts scored in a landscape of utter flatness.

We started off for these barren wastes with ten camels. Leaving the main wadi, we entered the Wadi Ser and travelled up the Wadi Khonab to visit the tomb of the prophet Salih. The tomb is about sixty-four feet long and eleven feet wide, and is contained in a long, low building. There is a Himyaritic inscription set up at the head, and there are a number of fossils laid on the tomb. It has previously been visited by the Bents and by Colonel Boscawen. It has changed much since the Bents' time, when it was not roofed. It is a very sacred spot to the Beduins of the neighbourhood, but educated Muslim opinion places the authentic tomb of Salih in the Sinai Peninsula. Salih has at least one other tomb in South Arabia.

Having inspected the tomb and its surroundings we retraced our steps, and later in the afternoon turned again into the Wadi Ser. Next morning we passed a few poor villages. At first there was plenty of vegetation, but it soon became scanty and there was merely a waste of stones, a few bushes, and some small plants. There was a little sesame being cultivated round the villages, and we saw the people ploughing the sandy soil with camels. Near the tiny village of Al Had we came on a rough Himyaritic inscription on a massive boulder standing upright at the side of the wadi. So far we had followed the route that the Bents had trodden in January, 1894, and here was the inscription Mrs. Bent describes.

A little further on we turned right into the Wadi Sodaf and were now in Sei'ar country. Sand, stones, *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.), and *harmal* (*Rhazya stricta* Dene) seems an adequate description of our way.

In the afternoon we passed the little village of Dar Sodaf, the last we were to see in the wadi. After this the wadi narrowed considerably and the vegetation became thicker. Our Beduins pointed out to us a long grave which they said was that of Nebi Mola Sodaf, from whom the wadi takes its name. They could or would tell us little of their prophet, perhaps because Hasan made remarks about his not being "written." He may possibly have some connection with Sadaf, whom Arab genealogists give as the descendant of Hadhramaut, the son of Qahtan.

In its upper reaches the Wadi Sodaf becomes rapidly narrower and the vegetation more scanty. It has several tributaries, and as we passed each one the path became rougher, so that finally we were unable to

ride. When we had almost reached the top of the wadi we were met by 'Awadh bin Tannaf, the son of the Sei'ar chief. Tannaf had heard that we wished to visit his country and, anxious to obtain our bounties, had sent his son-in-law, whom we met our first night in the Wadi Ser, and now his son, to meet us. Shortly after this we reached an *'aqaba*, and having mounted it we found ourselves again, for the first time since we had descended to Du'an sixteen days before, on top of the world. It was a brown stone *jōl* utterly barren. Once again the world appeared in a series of levels, and although it was dull enough country it was pleasant to see again for a short time something more open, and nice to be able to ride again over smooth ground.

We were now on the watershed which separates the wadis running south towards the Hadhramaut from those that run north into the Great Desert—Ar Rimāl, as the Sei'ar called it.

We camped at Qā' al Fadhūl, an open, stony plain with a little vegetation, in a slight depression.

We had started off from Shibam with Ba Rumeidan, the home of Tannaf, as our immediate objective, and we had made arrangements for our camel men to stay there while we went on through the Wadi 'Eiwa to the edge of the desert. Our party had contracted to take us to Ba Rumeidan in three and a half days, and we had now been travelling for that time but had not yet arrived there. Enquiries elicited that it would take us the best part of two days' march to reach Ba Rumeidan and from there to the edge of the desert would be another four days. As I had not unlimited time this was not feasible, more particularly as I could obtain the information I wanted from Suleiman, Tannaf's son-in-law, and 'Awadh. They pointed out to me the directions of various places and the time it took to reach them, and after that we started on our return journey stipulating for another route. So we rode northwards over the *jōl*, which was even more barren and desolate than the way to Du'an. There were a few miserable-looking shrubs but little else, though we soon came in sight of the scattered settlement of Qā' al Fadhūl. We passed by the *qarif* or waterhole from which our supply had been brought the night before. Its supply and that of other *qarifs* at Qā' al Fadhūl depend on rain, there being no other water northwards until beyond Ba Rumeidan. We ourselves carried water with us in skins as we should find no other during our day's journey. Grazing for camels, too, was practically non-existent and consisted only of stunted shrubs in occasional depressions. There were flat-topped hills all round but no peaks to be seen. Our track was well marked

and now and again we crossed others. From an occasional higher level we often had distant but dull views, endless flat, brown, gravelly series of plateaus, varied now and then throughout the day by patches of black. At noon we passed across a shallow depression marking the boundary between Sei'ar and Kathīri territory. On the further side we saw for the first time a feature, a small pointed hill a mile or two ahead, and soon passed the first of a number of groups of ruins. This place was called 'Urum, and all the ruins consisted of rough dry stone erections belonging to a bygone age, which our Beduins attributed to the children of 'Ad. The buildings could not have been big enough to shelter adequately normal-sized human beings, and the absurdity of their sufficing giants did not seem to have occurred to our Beduins.

We halted near some ruins which had looked rather exciting from a distance, descending from the camels between the small pointed hill before referred to and another little hill with a ruin on top. This hillock was the first of a series of four, the first three close together and the fourth some distance on, but the whole did not extend over a greater distance than a quarter of a mile. The first three hillocks were crowned with circular ruins, and between the third and fourth there were fifteen heaps of stones in a straight line on the crest of the slope. Below the slope was level ground and perhaps a quarter of a mile ahead another row of stones and ruins on a hill. In between the level ground was sprinkled with chert flakes, indicating the location of a factory of chert implements.

Leaving this place, our track lay along one of these straight lines of upright stones, curiously arranged. Our Beduins could not tell what purpose they served. We halted finally for our night's rest at a barren spot called Sih ar Rieidat al Kathīr, at the beginning of the Wadi Qubhudh down which we were to travel the next morning.

A short ride brought us to the two *dars* of Rieida, after which the vegetation became thicker and signs of animal life more abundant. Presently we came to an *'aqaba* leading down to the wadi bed. It was very steep and extremely rough going. From this point the wadi belongs to the Al Hariz tribe, of which our *muqaddam's* father was the sheikh. Such inhabitants as there are live in caves in the walls of the wadi, some of which are very large. The entrances are built up with loose stones and only a small gap left for man and beast to enter. Smaller caves are used for goats. Some of these holes are so small that they appeared to be little bigger than rabbit hutches.

Unlike most wadis which are better as one approaches their mouths the Wadi Qubhudh became steadily worse and worse, winding a great deal and full of round smooth boulders, some of them only a few feet in diameter but others almost as big as small cottages. However, as we reached the respectably sized village of Qubhudh, it widened out and improved. Near the village two boys ran out to meet the caravan, kissing the men's hands in greeting. Other children, men and women soon followed, for this was our *muqaddam's* home, and it certainly looked very attractive with the 'elb trees and dates round it.

The village of Qubhudh consists of a number of fair-sized houses round which are many underground cellars for storing grain.

We had expected in the morning that we should be met by a friend in Shibam with a car, but when there were no signs of it we rode on to the junction of the Wadi Ser with the Wadi Hadhramaut, where our friend found us and took us to Shibam in his smart Buick. Twenty minutes' drive sufficed for the five or six miles to Shibam which had taken us two hours to ride on camels. We stopped there only long enough to take in petrol, and then made for Seiyun and Tarim.

We spent five days among the welcome comforts and luxuries of Tarim. Perhaps the two most interesting sights we saw were a recently discovered Himyaritic tomb and a dance at Dammūn in honour of a successful ibex hunt. As we were reminded by representations of the ibex on stones from Himyaritic ruins in Tarim that animal was sacred to the ancient South Arabians, and it is probable that the pagan celebrations we witnessed were a relic of the old worship.

We left Tarim on December 6. Our kind hosts, the Seiyids of Al Kaf, accompanied us by car as far as Maseilat as Silma. The name Wadi Maseila—the Valley of the Floods—is applied to the Wadi Hadhramaut from Husn Dhoban Maseila on the Tarim side of this place, which is 2·8 miles from Tarim.

The Wadi Hadhramaut is the key feature of the geography of the country to which it gives its name. North and south of the central wadi the land rises to watersheds formed of the plateau land from which wadis drain, on the northern watershed, into the sands and the main wadi respectively, and on the southern, which is much higher, into the main wadi and the sea.

Immediately east of Tarim the wadi changes in all its aspects. Politically it becomes Qu'aiti again, being inhabited by the Manahil and Tamimi from which tribes our camel men came. It remains Qu'aiti until it becomes Mahra. In Kathīri territory the main trend of emigra-

tion is to the East Indies, but east of Tarim the Tamimis go principally to East Africa.

Possibly the most striking change east of Tarim is that the wadi, which, most peculiarly, narrows from eight miles width near its source to a hundred yards at its mouth, not only is markedly narrower but becomes a river for most of its length. It is perhaps one of the nearest approaches to a real river in the whole of Arabia. The Wadi Maseila receives its first principal contribution of water from the Wadi 'Adim, and its second a little lower down from the Wadi Hun. The only other important tributary above the waterless part of the wadi is the Wadi Sena. From Basa' to Marakhai the wadi is in ordinary times dry, and this part is known as Al Liza. From Marakhai the river flows perennially to Buzūn. The principal tributary below Al Liza is the 'Akid.

When we had said goodbye to the Seiyids, we continued our journey by car, leaving the main track to visit 'Einat, a city of Seiyids which is under Qu'aiti dominion. It is remarkable for the number of mosques and domed saints' tombs it contains. One or two of the mosques had square minarets which reminded me of village churches. I had seen one like this in Tarim, but they are rare and unlike the usual Hadhramaut mosque.

We went on to Qasm, the capital of the Tamimi tribe but still within the Qu'aiti sphere of influence. The Tamimi chief has a fine turreted castle outside the town. The people were very friendly, and many had East African connections, so that I was having constant conversations in Swahili. We found our caravan at Husn as Sufeira, a mile beyond the town, where there is another castle of the old-fashioned description with turrets at the corners.

The cars now returned to Tarim, and when our camels were ready we rode off. The route as far as Qabr Hud has already been described, so that it is not necessary to do more than mention that we explored the imposing ruins of Husn al 'Ur perched on an island which rises to a hundred feet above the level of the wadi. There are several island fortresses in the wadi and their presence adds confirmation to the more than probability that the wadi formed one of the ancient high roads into the interior.

We spent that night at As Som and next day, passing through the large village of Fughma, reached in a long day's journey Qabr Hud, the most sacred place of the Hadhramaut. The village, which consists mostly of well-built houses belonging to rich Hadhramaut families, is

only inhabited at the time of the pilgrimage in the month of Sha'ban. We had arrived there at night so that our first glimpse of it was in the faint white mist of the morning, which was slowly drifting away from the sha'b, on the side of which the tomb lies, when we climbed up above our camping place in the wadi to see where we were. The calm and beauty of it made a great appeal to us which was not dispelled with nearer examination. In the whole of the village and sanctuary we met no sign of life save a young heifer and a few pigeons, and no doubt the silence and peace contributed much to the atmosphere of calm and sanctity which pervaded this holy spot.

We climbed up the broad and imposing flight of steps and explored the innermost recesses of the prophet's tomb. The principal part of the sanctuary is the dome covering the cleft in the rock into which the prophet disappeared when hard pressed by his pursuers. The actual tomb, some ninety feet long, stretches up the side of the hill behind this dome. Below the dome is a large rock, surrounded by white colonnades, which is said to be the hump of Hud's petrified camel.

After we had seen everything we departed regretfully and continued our way down the valley, which from here to the sea was unexplored. In a little while we came to some Manahil working camels to draw water from the river for irrigation purposes. The method they use is ingenious and is employed also by the Mahras further down. The river is usually at some distance from the foot of the steep bank above which the land is cultivated. Channels are dug from the river and a deep hole made at the foot of the bank. A scaffolding is erected over the hole to carry the usual well machinery, and a mud aqueduct, supported by tree trunks and branches, carries the water on to the higher level ground, where it is distributed by canal in the usual way. A sloping walk of timber covered with earth is also provided for the team of animals and humans.

We were continually crossing and recrossing the river. In places it was deep, and on several occasions during our journey down the wadi we had some difficulty with fordings.

During the morning we gained our first additions to the caravan, seven young and four loaded camels with their accompanying Beduins. We went on gaining fresh recruits till when we arrived at Seihut we were at least ninety camels strong.

We left Qabr Hud on the 1st of Ramadhan. Our midday halts were, of course, primarily devoted to lunch and to rest, and I wondered

on this day how many of the caravan would fast. Only one, a Seiyid who had been sent with us for greater safety, did so. After lunch and a rest, my wife and I often occupied ourselves with writing, collecting natural history specimens, or taking photographs. Hasan usually rested or slept all the time. The Beduins, too, often slept, though sometimes one would take a companion's head in his lap and remove the livestock with the point of his curved dagger.

We had not been going long when we came to Sena, a pleasant place with much cultivation irrigated from the river. It stretches along the wadi and its habitations are either caves under the wadi walls built up with mud and stick facings, or mean huts of mud and sticks with flat tops and not more than five feet high. This is the usual type of dwelling down the wadi.

Early next morning we passed an ancient dam. It is very strong looking and well built of masonry and cement, and it joins an island hill, which is simply called Qara, to the left cliff of the wadi. The river now runs in a channel which fills the wadi between Qara and the right cliff. Shortly after this we met the *Mansab* of the Manahil tribe collecting his tithes from the inhabitants of the wadi, and then came to the long-drawn-out settlement of Tabürkum. Below Tabürkum the river was much divided into a series of delightful streams rippling busily over the stones between pleasant patches green with grass.

At Basa' the river disappears and the water skins were filled up from the last pool, so that we might be supplied for the next two days. While this operation was being carried out we met a man who volunteered to take us to a place called Sad to see what we understood were some rock paintings.

From Basa' the wadi became narrower and appeared to rise slightly. After a ride of forty minutes our guide brought us to a spot under the left bank and, full of anticipation, we climbed up the cliff. There was a natural seat or shelter hollowed out three-quarters of the way up, and on the rocky ceiling there was a good deal of writing painted in red and white. The work looked perfectly fresh, but it was, I suppose, extremely ancient, for some of the characters resembled Himyaritic.

The waterless part of the wadi is known as Al Liza, and our Seiyid told us that considerable digging, even to the depth of a hundred palms, had failed to find water. None the less, there is a good deal of vegetation, particularly tamarisk.

As we progressed down the wadi the walls became less monotonous and less regularly high. We had many views of quite distant peaks

and pyramids. Frequently we noticed curious figures and statues carved out by the weather among the broken sandbanks and the rocky cliffs.

From the Wadi Hadhuf the left bank of the wadi belongs to the Mahras and the right to the Manahil. There are feuds between the two tribes and, when we passed the junction, our Minhali camel men announced that in future they were Tamimis.

We spent three waterless nights and then, passing Sha‘b ‘Udha‘ut, which marks the point at which the whole wadi becomes Mahra, we came to a place called Marakhai. Here the river begins again in a narrow stream beside the left cliff. Frogs and small fishes abounded in clear water. It was grassy underfoot, and the wadi was beautifully green and almost English in appearance as the ‘ithl (*Tamarix* sp.) and ‘ais (*Tamarix* sp.) are so like young fir trees. The morning light lit up the dew-covered spiders’ webs, and the grass seemed more emerald green than any we had known. The wadi was not more than 100 to 150 yards wide, but, except for the narrow ride of green turf over which we were passing, it and its slopes were packed with trees. There was quite a riot of variety in the vegetation, and among it all the *ariata* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.) soon became the most striking object. We saw a lovely copse of them ahead, some forty or fifty feet high. Birds were singing in the trees and brilliantly coloured kingfishers stood on tree trunks in the river feeding off the fish. We were soon soaked with the dew from the branches.

Dwellings, however, appeared to be no more elaborate and consisted of the usual mean stick huts. Near Hautat as Seiyid the river was full of green water weeds and surrounded by grassy pasture on which cows were grazing. A little further on we disturbed some whistler ducks. In places there were patches of cultivation and others now disused. The people cultivate one season in one spot and another somewhere else, clearing the ground by felling and burning the trees.

A caravan of forty joined us near Bin Qora, another long ribbon-built settlement, where there were fishing nets, for in these lower reaches of the river the Mahra catch small fish in the stream. They have cattle as small as those of Soqotra.

At this point the wadi makes a big bend to the north, and we had pointed out to us a short cut over the *jōl* for foot travellers which cuts off in two hours the bend in the wadi which camels take six hours to follow.

We camped for the night just beyond the little village of Hadhāfa,

and next morning took on our first *siyar* representing the Bin Sahāl clan of the Mahras. He was a nice-looking lad of not more than sixteen, and the responsibility of looking after our large caravan seemed to sit on him quite lightly. At night when we were camped in some deserted corner of the wadi he would climb up the cliff and announce to the empty, echoing rocks that we were under his protection. The Mahras seemed a foreign people, for their language, clothes, and customs are different. Their neighbours on the west seem scarcely to regard them as Arabs, though they themselves consider they are of much purer Arab stock.

We crossed and recrossed the river during the morning, and at the settlement of Bat-ha we had to mount a steep *'aqaba* as the river fills the wadi bed. The view from the top was most beautiful, for there were long straight stretches of clear green water, fringed on each bank with vegetation. When we came down we did our best to converse with some Mahras who were working in their fields. Two of them, whom we asked for eggs, looked very negroid.

During the afternoon we saw the first extensive signs of the lava which is such a conspicuous feature of the wadi for most of the rest of its length. From the distribution of the lava we deduced that the wadis were, in point of time, older than the volcanic stream, that then they had been filled with lava to a depth in places of at least 100 to 120 feet, and that afterwards the river had carved out a new bed.

Next morning we came to Maqrat, an island hill in the wadi with the river running round to its left. We approached it through pleasant date groves and found its three-storeyed *dar*, perched on the top, very palatial after the five-foot huts of the past week. The scenery beyond was extremely beautiful. The cliffs were all broken up and lying in low hills with sheer rock walls in the background. We crossed the river, which had been dammed and was accordingly deep in parts. At many places down the wadi the Mahras dam the river, principally with brushwood.

The wadi was now widening out and the vegetation was not so uniformly tall. We had reached a very wide plain with a considerable amount of cultivation and extensive date groves.

The plain narrowed during the afternoon ride and we eventually camped in a heavily wooded spot, again among forest trees, but with no sign of habitation near us.

Most of the next morning we rode through woods. Here and there in little clearings were small villages. We came out of the wood to

see Buzūn in the distance, a village of a fair size which marks the beginning of the territory occupied by the Bin Zūeidi clan of the Mahras. Here we took on a Bin Zūeidi *siyar* who was also extraordinarily youthful.

Passing Buzūn we plunged into the shade of the forest again, and after an hour or two came out into open country with many scattered *sumr* trees, though the thick vegetation continued by the river.

During the next day's ride the vegetation became less and less, though there were here and there small villages with dates and greenery, due to springs. They were mostly in attractive situations in the higher corners of slopes of the wadi. We came at midday to Qal'ana which, in the distance, looked an important place, for it had a large turreted castle and a number of seemingly respectable mud-built houses. On arrival, however, we found that the castle was in ruins and most of the thirty odd houses round it also broken and deserted. It is, in fact, worth comment that there was every sign of a diminishing population in the lower part of the wadi. From Buzūn onwards we were continually passing deserted villages. Our Seiyid had told us before that there was much sickness in these lower reaches, and there must have been, in the not far distant past, a bad epidemic of malaria.

At Qal'ana, except for occasional pools, the river came to an end. It is said that after the *seil* it continues to run to Qal'ana as we saw it for about a month. As soon as the *seil* has finished there are only pools beyond Qal'ana as far as Batahīya. After the first month the flow is only as far as Gheil, which we had passed during the morning, and after yet another month it reaches only as far as Buzūn whither it flows perennially.

Just below Qal'ana we came to a fair-sized island hill in the middle of the wide wadi crowned with a stone wall attributed to the children of 'Ad and called Husn 'Ad. The situation and height were very much the same as Husn al 'Ur but the work did not appear to be so elaborate.

We camped for the night at a deserted spot called Qatāt al 'Abīd, having passed in the afternoon occasional Mahras spreading out *ariata* and *raḥh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) leaves which are dried and taken to Seihut for fodder. Others were gathering *ariata* wood to sell for firewood in the same place. We also passed a sha'b called Al Kohl which owes its name to antimony deposits.

Our way next morning, until we came to the village of Semarma, was barren and stony. At Semarma, however, there was plenty of

cultivation and dates, but the bulk of the population seemed to be in the cemetery, which was the largest we had seen.

Beyond the deserted village of Batahīya we left the wadi for good, though we could still see it on our right. We turned a corner, mounted a rise, and fully expected to see the sea, but in fact we did not see it until late in the afternoon when we were less than a mile from it.

After lunch under a solitary *sumr* tree we rode on to a village in the estuary called Dhubeia, where we had the only unpleasant incident of the journey. Here we were stopped by men of the Bin Zūeidi clan who wished to shoot us as they were not going to have Christians in their country. The danger, which was real enough for some minutes, was eventually surmounted, thanks to our Seiyid, to a Seiyid in the village, but principally to Mseika, our *siyar*, who told them that their behaviour was disgraceful and that if there was any trouble he was going to fight with us. The whole of the rest of the caravan also said they would fight with us, so the Zūeidis climbed down and told us we might go on to Darfāt. Months later in Aden travellers from Qishn and Seihut, as well as a man from Soqotra, told us that a month or two after we had passed the *seil* had come down in a sudden flood, as it often does, but that the only man who had been swept away and drowned was the Zūeidi who had been the ringleader of this incident. While the discussions as to our future were going on we made friends with our sympathisers, who seemed numerous, though they explained that they could do nothing against the Zūeidi, who, coming down from the mountains, now tyrannize Seihut and the coastal villages near.

We camped at Darfāt, rather dejectedly, alongside a cemetery and only a short distance from the sea. Next morning we reached Seihut, where we were kindly treated by Sultan Sa'ud, the representative of his relative the Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra. He confessed he could do little against the Bin Zūeidi, who really control the town.

Seihut is a mean and dirty town of mud-built houses and nothing like the impression one receives of it from reading the description in the *Red Sea Pilot*. It had taken us twelve days to cover the 230 odd miles from Tarim.

We sailed away in the afternoon on the good ship *Matrab*, a dhow of twenty tons with a delightful crew. The following afternoon we touched at the little port of Ras al Qarn, and woke the next morning to a wonderful sunrise at Shihr. We spent two days at Shihr, where Sultan Salim, the Qu'aiti Regent, had come to meet us. The comfort of the pleasant old palace was indeed welcome, and we had several

interesting expeditions in the neighbourhood. Perhaps the most interesting was to Tubāla, nearly seven miles away, whence the water supply of Shihr is brought by an aqueduct. Tubāla is situated on a small green hill covered with cultivation and date palms. The hill is literally oozing with hot springs, most of them sulphurous. Its gardens were full of *bedam* trees, bananas, and tobacco.

Shihr is the capital of the Shihr province. It is a mediæval, if not ancient, town. It was once important, but has declined with the growth of Mukalla, but it is still an important market for the country eastwards, and it is the principal port of import for goods destined for the Kathīri portion of the Wadi Hadhramaut. The population of the town is probably 6,000 to 7,000, and of the province about 44,000. The principal industries are the drying and curing of fish and the dyeing and weaving of cloth.

We drove the forty-two miles back to Mukalla along the hard sandy beach, and were glad enough to see again the comfortable guest-house where we stayed a week before a ship came to take us back to Aden.

The Chairman, Lord Lloyd, having to leave at the end of the lecturer's address in order to keep an appointment at the House of Lords, asked Sir Percy Cox to replace him in the Chair and wind up the proceedings after such discussion as might follow the Paper.

Sir PERCY COX: Though I travelled a good deal, while at Muscat, on the Oman side of the peninsula, my actual acquaintance with the Hadhramaut was confined to a very narrow escape from shipwreck on its inhospitable coast. But that is another story.

Though I did not see him before we came in, I think my friend Sir Bernard Reilly, Chief Commissioner at Aden, and the lecturer's chief, is among the audience. I ask him kindly to come up and make such comment as may suggest itself to him on Mr. Ingrams' narrative.

Sir BERNARD REILLY: Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is difficult for me to add anything to what Mr. Ingrams has said this afternoon. My own knowledge of the interior of the Hadhramaut is limited to a journey of a few days, when I visited the three towns of Shibam, Seyyun, and Terim, that you have just been shown in photographs. I have never personally seen the outlying districts that the lecturer visited.

His journey, and that of Mrs. Ingrams, was of great interest, and in my opinion, of great local value to us at Aden. We have had treaty relations of long standing with the Quaiti Sultans of Makalla, but our

relationship with the Kathiri is much more recent, and is based upon a treaty that was made during the Great War. The Kathiri then made a treaty with the Sultan of Makalla, and agreed that the Hadhramaut should become one entity, and further that by virtue of their treaty with the Qu'aiti, the Kathiri Sultan would come into the sphere of the British Protectorate. But no direct treaty between ourselves and the Kathiri was made then, nor does a direct treaty exist even now, and until recently it was not practicable to visit the country.

But it had come into our orbit, and we therefore felt, not only an interest, but also responsibility for people who had wished thus to come into our sphere of influence.

The pioneer work in opening up the country we owe to the Royal Air Force, who made surveying flights, and have now a landing-ground at Shibam. But still we remained very ignorant of this territory, and it was desirable that something should be done to fill the gap in our information.

That gap was filled when Mr. Ingrams came to Aden, and he, with Mrs. Ingrams, was able to explore the Hadhramaut in detail.

In his lecture Mr. Ingrams has not explained the value to the British authorities at Aden of the report he brought back. We feel now that we have details and a knowledge of the conditions of the country, on which to form our policy in dealing with that outlying region. I sincerely hope that Mr. Ingrams will return to Aden and continue the valuable work that he has commenced.

The CHAIRMAN: I fear we have no one else here possessing any special knowledge of the Hadhramaut, but before I close the proceedings I should be interested to know, and I expect many of those present would be also, what the present position is in regard to the interpretation of Himyaritic rock-inscriptions. It seems to me that those seen by Mr. Ingrams of which he has shown us specimens on the screen, must be of considerable importance. I feel sure that Professor Gibb, who, as you know, is Professor of Arabic in the University, will be able to give us some light on the subject.

Professor GIBB: A considerable number of Himyaritic inscriptions have been brought to Europe in recent years, and a good deal has been done on the subject. I do not know if Mr. Ingrams has done anything about the inscriptions he has brought back, or photographed; but if he wishes it, I can certainly put him in touch with authorities on the subject.

CHAIRMAN: Is it now possible to read the Himyaritic script?

Professor GIBB: Yes, the inscriptions can now be read, if they are not, of course, in too fragmentary a condition. At the present moment studies in the Himyaritic language are chiefly being carried on at Hamburg, Leyden, and also to some extent in Austria and some German Universities. We seem to have dropped behind in this country lately in these studies.

After thanking Professor Gibb for kindly responding to his request, the CHAIRMAN said: As you are aware this evening's lecture is our "Anniversary" one, which implies that its subject is of special interest and importance, and I am sure you will agree with me that Mr. Ingrams' paper has thoroughly fulfilled our expectations. He has evidently made the best of his opportunities for travel since he was appointed to the interesting and important post which he now occupies under the encouraging auspices of the chief who has just been speaking to us.

When I was his age I had very similar opportunities for travel in the unexplored parts of Omān, and I did not fail to take advantage of them. Unfortunately I did not realize that my experiences were of any importance or interest outside the limits of official reports and the results remained buried for five and twenty years!

Now we have changed all that. Whatever you may hear to the contrary, I can assure you that in almost every part of the world there is still plenty of exploratory travel to be done, or done again more intensively. Government departments are out to co-operate and encourage wherever they properly can, and it is generally recognized that any serious and well-equipped expedition in unfrequented regions may hope to bring back results or material which will be of interest and probably important to one if not several branches of natural science.

In short, if the young explorer of today is prepared to equip himself with a measure of knowledge and make serious use of his opportunities he may be sure of helpful interest from many such directions.

Another new and important aspect of exploration today, as compared to the nineties, is to be found in the part which the gentler sex has come to play, either in sharing a husband's enterprise, as Mrs. Ingrams did in the present case, and we hope will again, or in "solo" expeditions, such as Miss Freya Stark carried out last year in the same part of the world. They are able to make contact with life on the spindle side among the communities met with on their travels in a way which no mere man can possibly do; and thereby they not only make really valuable contribution to the results achieved, but add great charm

to the record of them. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I must not detain you longer, and now ask you to join me in thanking Mr. Ingrams very heartily for the very interesting and competent account he has given us of an important piece of travel in a little known tract of country, including a considerable area never before explored by any previous European traveller.

H.E. SIR HAMID BIN ISA AL KHALIFA, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
SHAIKH OF BAHRAIN

H.E. THE SHAIKH OF BAHRAIN, with his two sons and accompanied by Mr. C. Dalrymple Belgrave, attended a reception given in his honour before the Anniversary Meeting and stayed on to the lecture. He was delighted with the pictures of the Hadhramaut shown on the screen and conversed freely with many of the Arabic-speaking members of the Society who were present.



LAWRENCE MEMORIAL MEDAL.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING, JUNE 24, 1936

IN the absence of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, General Sir William Beynon presided.

Brigadier-General Sir PERCY SYKES: We, the Honorary Secretaries, beg to report that the year under review has been overshadowed by the death of His Gracious Majesty King George, who was pleased to make the Society a Royal Society. The Society presented loyal addresses to H.M. King Edward VIII. and to H.M. Queen Mary, which were duly acknowledged. These addresses have been entered in the Golden Book.

We next wish to place on record the valuable services rendered to the Society by the late Lord Allenby, who was completing his fifth year as its President. To Lord Allenby the Society owes the great honour of having been made a Royal Society, while his approval and strong support to the scheme of the Lawrence Memorial Medal was of the greatest value. Our Chairman paid a tribute to Lord Allenby's greatness and a meed of sympathy to Lady Allenby at the first meeting held after his death. Lady Allenby has accepted nomination as an honorary member of the Society, and promises to attend our meetings.

The Lawrence Memorial Medal, the work of Mr. Eric Kennington, has been termed "a master medal" by Sir George Hill. It has been awarded to Major J. B. Glubb, O.B.E., M.C., for valuable services rendered by him while commanding the Levies in 'Iraq and the Desert Patrol of Trans-Jordan for some sixteen years. It will be presented to Major Glubb when he is able to obtain his leave, but the disorders in Palestine have prevented the grant of leave in Palestine and Transjordan.

The appeal for the medal has brought in £166. It is most desirable to raise another £50, and we appeal to members for this sum and to members of the general public who are interested in Lawrence's great work in Arabia.

In view of the increase in our activities we wish to point out the importance, nay the necessity, of having a larger income. Members can help by proposing new candidates for election, but we make a special appeal for gifts or legacies. All great societies, such as ours is rapidly becoming, receive support of this description.

The Society's losses through death have been very heavy, and we have to report the deaths of fourteen members. Three of these were widely known for their distinguished work—Colonel A. C. Parker, of Sinai; Mr. Williamson, of the Indian Political Service, whose place in Gyantse and on the Tibetan borderland it will be difficult to fill; and Captain Monckton, who did pioneer work in the turn of the century in New Guinea, and whose amusing books on his work as Resident Magistrate are well known. Two younger men were Mr. Ian Rolleston, the young political officer killed in the Zanzibar riots, and Captain Geoffrey Meynell, who was awarded a posthumous V.C. for his gallant work on the Indian Frontier.

There have been 62 resignations. We have, however, elected 153 new members, and our numbers have now reached 1,620.

Our lectures have covered a wide field, and at the present time there is surely no continent so interesting to watch as Asia.

The civilization and art of the Far East were set out at the Chinese Exhibition of last winter. The Society gave a luncheon in its honour, which was attended by the Crown Prince of Sweden, and at which Mr. Laurence Binyon gave a brilliant exposition of the meaning of Chinese art. Mr. Basil Gray gave an interesting lecture on the same subject after the exhibition had opened.

The lectures on the Far East were given by Sir Francis Lindley on British Policy towards Japan; Mr. Gull gave a vivid account of the position in China when he returned from a long visit; while Colonel Smallwood gave the Japanese point of view at a members' meeting, and Colonel Stewart spoke on the plight of the Chinese farmers.

The journey from Peking to India, through the southern Gobi and Chinese Turkistan, has been made by three Europeans lately; two of them, Mr. Peter Fleming and Miss Ella Maillart, gave brilliant lectures on this great journey, and Sir Eric Teichman, who followed a different route, is lecturing on July 22.

Mr. Owen Lattimore, the great American authority on the Mongols, and editor of *Pacific Affairs*, gave an excellent lecture on the problems of the Mongols.

Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, whose sudden death is a great loss to us all, spoke on the Muslim position in the Modern World. Lady Ravensdale spoke on Persia, and Captain Alan Macdonald gave a lucid account of the tribal rising in 'Iraq.

The Young People's Lecture was given by Sir Denison Ross on the Himalayas, and was followed by the lovely coloured cinematograph films of India taken by Miss Newman. Ian Hay, from whose book, *The Great Wall of India*, the title of the lecture had been taken, also attended and spoke a few stirring words. Mr. Claremont Skrine showed beautiful slides when he spoke on Kalat; and a lecture was given by Colonel Lorimer to this and the Royal Asiatic Society on the Burashaski-speaking people of Hunza.

There have been two meetings on the Abyssinian question: the first a lecture by General Temperley, and the second an account by Commander Durand of his experiences as war correspondent. Major Jarvis lectured on the Three Deserts; and the Palestine problem has been stated in three different ways: Fakhri Bey Nashashibi speaking on the Arab side, Dr. Weizman on the Zionist, and Mr. Cust putting the case for Cantonization.

The Dinner Club under Colonel Newcombe, which is such a special feature of the Society, has held some important and well-attended meetings during the past winter.

The Society is very deeply indebted to its lecturers, and also, perhaps, equally to its reviewers. It is owing to them that the very high standard set by the *Journal* is maintained.

Finally, we owe much to Miss Kennedy, Miss Wingate, and Miss Cope,

whose capacity, tact, and enthusiasm are mainly responsible for the constant progress of the Society. But we must never be content, and our watchword must ever be "Forward."

The HONORARY TREASURER read the accounts as at the end of this *Journal* and declared that they were satisfactory; the year had ended with a small balance, and the members were assured that their money was spent on the year's work. The investments were small, but had risen in value.

The CHAIRMAN then put the elections to the Council to the members :

As President, the Right Hon. Lord Lloyd.

The Chairman (the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold) and the Vice-Chairman (Sir E. Denison Ross) to be re-elected for the year.

Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes and Mr. E. M. Gull to be re-elected as Honorary Secretaries. (Applause.)

As Vice-Chairmen, General Sir William Beynon and Sir Harry Fox retired in order of seniority, and were not eligible for re-election for this year. Mr. Bertram Thomas also wished to retire, as he was abroad. Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode had accepted the Council's invitation to be a Vice-President; Mr. G. E. Hubbard and General Sir John Shea, senior members of the Council, were also recommended by the Council to fill the two vacancies.

As members of the Council, the two already mentioned and Sir Ronald Storrs retired in rotation, and the Council recommended that Sir Ronald Storrs be re-elected, and that Admiral the Earl of Cork and Orrery and General Rowan Robinson be elected to fill the vacancies.

Members would be glad to learn that Viscountess Allenby had accepted honorary membership under Rule 5.

These names were put to the meeting, and, the elections having been ratified, the meeting was closed.

THE ECLIPSE OF INNER MONGOLIAN NATIONALISM*

By OWEN LATTIMORE

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Lattimore was one of the greatest living authorities, if not the greatest, on the Mongols; he had journeyed with them, knew their language, their customs and their history; he and his wife had opened their house and hearts to these people, now so caught between the upper and nether millstone, and could speak of their personal as well as their political troubles. Mr. Lattimore was the editor of *Pacific Affairs*, and his knowledge was wide.

BY the conquest of Manchuria in 1931, Japan laid claim to an empire on the continent of Asia. Korea, where Japan had stood for many years, was, after all, only the threshold of the mainland; Manchuria was the door. When the door had been forced, three passages opened out, leading to the Maritime Province of Siberia, to Mongolia and to North China. Whichever direction Japan turned, Mongolia would acquire an importance greater than at any time since 1911, when at the beginning of the Chinese Revolution Tsarist Russia had intervened in Outer Mongolia, and it had seemed for a while that the frontiers of the Chinese Republic might become quite different from those of its predecessor, the Manchu Empire.

The new emphasis, after 1931, fell particularly on Inner Mongolia, the linking territory which touched Outer Mongolia, Manchuria and North China alike. The eastern part of Inner Mongolia overlapped far into Manchuria, and, beginning with this eastern part, the whole of Inner Mongolia had been divided between Chinese provinces. This was begun in Manchuria in the last years of the Manchu Empire and completed in the rest of Inner Mongolia under the Chinese Republic. Officially, no Inner Mongolia remained on the maps. It had been entirely converted into Chinese provinces, and this had been done for a purpose. In the first place, it prevented unity among the Mongols. In the second place, each of the Manchurian provinces, and each of the provinces of Jehol, Chahar and Suiyüan, contained a base of Chinese territory and a margin of Mongol territory, and the function of the

* Lecture before the Society on April 29, 1936, Sir Denison Ross in the Chair. The lecturer has considerably rewritten his notes, leaving out the descriptions of Mongol life and personalities, and elaborating the political discussion.

provincial authorities was to expand the Chinese base until it absorbed the whole of the Mongol margin.

There had long been an Inner Mongolian nationalist movement, trying to unite the Mongols and oppose this process, but in the course of the twenty years from the Chinese Revolution of 1911 to the Japanese invasion of 1931, many of its leaders had been killed, others had grown older and more hesitant, and others had fled. Outer Mongolia had diverged completely from the orbit within which the Inner Mongolian type of nationalism had an appeal. Inner Mongolian nationalism was focussed on resistance to Chinese colonization and political control; revolution within the Mongol tribal structure itself had never become an acute question. Outer Mongolia, since its release from Tsarist Russian domination, had gravitated toward the Soviet Union. It was too far from China to fear either colonization or political control, and by repudiating the enormous commercial debts which it owed to Chinese merchants it had created a barrier which made even unofficial relations with China difficult. No adequate focus for political nationalism existed, and the forces of unrest and discontent within the tribal structure of Outer Mongolia had therefore turned right away from political nationalism and become engaged in social and economic revolution.

Inner Mongolia was, in consequence, more isolated than it had ever been. In the atmosphere of defeat which prevailed, many Mongols had come to count on foreign intervention in the affairs of China as the only hope for a revival of nationalism. Yet when intervention came, in 1931, there was no concerted Inner Mongolian movement in response to it; partly because the character of the Japanese inroad on Manchuria was at the outset not clear. The Mongols could not tell whether it was a temporary intervention or the beginning of a permanent conquest. The Japanese themselves hesitated, at first, with an eye on the rest of the world. Only after the Lytton Commission of the League of Nations had revealed the confusion, lack of positive principles, hypocrisy and cynicism of the countries which might have made the Manchurian crisis a test of international honesty, did Japan fully commit itself to conquest on an imperial scale.

By this time the initiative had escaped the Mongols altogether, and passed to the Japanese. Inner Mongolia could not put forward national claims that either China or Japan would recognize; much less other countries. The best it could hope for was the sub-national classification sometimes granted to minority peoples. Of this, at least, there seemed for a while some hope. Japanese policy toward the Mongols was in-

fluenced by a small body of Japanese experts, most of them military officers, who had travelled and lived among the Mongols for years, knew their language, knew the tribal divisions and leading personalities, and were minutely informed about the cross-influences of tribal and religious politics among the Mongols, and about provincial and central government politics among the Chinese, which had prevented theoretical Mongol nationalism from cohering into a genuine national movement.

The guiding principle of the experts, according to Mongol belief, which is confirmed by the early course of Japanese policy, was that the Mongols, beginning with the Mongols of Manchuria, could be enlisted as valuable flank auxiliaries of Japanese conquest, for both political and military use. They were to be made to trust the Japanese without reserve or suspicion as the people who had delivered them from being exterminated by the Chinese. They were to be given as much independence as possible within their own territories, and a status in some ways resembling that of the Cossacks in Tsarist Russia and in some ways that of some of the frontier peoples of India, whom the British do not rule directly but from whom they recruit troops—these troops, because they do not feel themselves to be conquered subjects, being for that very reason reliable for service anywhere else in India. The first result of this policy would be to make the Mongols adhere to any form of government set up by the Japanese in Manchuria, instead of resisting it either passively or by aiding Chinese guerilla forces. An equally important result would be that the Mongols in the rest of Inner Mongolia would tend to gravitate away from China and toward Manchuria, so that in the event of Japanese expansion westward along the Great Wall, they would not need to be conquered but could simply be enlisted.

Finally, all Mongols in Outer Mongolia who were discontented with the results of the social revolution there would look toward Manchuria. This was especially important in the period when Japan was consolidating its hold on Manchuria. Japanese prestige was rising as the process continued, and had not yet reached its maximum. At the same time the prestige both of the Soviet Union and of the Mongol revolutionary movement, which was less advanced than that of the Soviet Union and therefore modelled itself on Soviet experience and precedent, was at a minimum. An attempt had been made to collectivize the Mongol economy, which did not fully take into account the difference between Mongol herdsmen and Russian peasants, with the result that a sullen opposition developed, with great losses to the national wealth, because

of the hundreds of thousands of cattle slaughtered by people who did not want to have their herds collectivized. There was even an attempt at counter-revolution, and although the refugees who escaped from Outer Mongolia at the time admit that the rising was put down by Mongol troops, without Soviet intervention, it was plain that for a while there existed a genuine Mongol resistance to the Outer Mongolian Revolution, as well as a genuine Mongol Government and army supporting the Revolution. The policy of the Japanese Mongol experts took into account the possibility of using such periods of crisis to convert Outer Mongolia from social revolution to political nationalism. The Inner Mongolian movement of attraction toward Manchuria could, theoretically, be turned into a movement of expansion toward Outer Mongolia, represented as a movement of liberation from revolutionary tyranny, and free therefore of the taint of conquest.

The "expert" policy worked well at first, at least to the extent that the Mongols in Manchuria, who, besides being important as the largest minority population in Manchuria, occupied so much of the western territory of Manchuria that it would have been difficult for Japanese troops to garrison the Mongol region rapidly and effectively, were split apart from the Chinese and politically immobilized. Nor can there be any doubt that this policy suited what was then the higher strategy of Japanese conquest. It is plain that the cycles of the rise and fall of dynasties, with relation particularly to the Great Wall frontier, have been minutely studied in Japan. Both the conquest of Manchuria and the extension of control from Manchuria into China have revealed a masterly knowledge of the lines of social and political cleavage in China and of the historical laws of the formation of mutually hostile territorial groupings, not only along the Great Wall frontier but in North China and the Yangtze valley.

Beyond this point, however, Japanese policy loses the certainty of its touch. It knows how to exploit the weaknesses of both Mongols and Chinese, but is not the master of its own weaknesses. This is probably because there is no historical precedent for the transition from the phase of splitting up China and Mongolia, as under the old type of conquest, to the phase of uniting them again under Japanese imperial control. The historical empires of conquest in China, like that of the Mongols in the thirteenth century and that of the Manchus in the seventeenth century, would be of no use in guiding Japanese policy. It is at this point, therefore, that Japan has to face problems for which there is no set formula. The difficulty is not the conquest of China, but the

disciplining of the forces released in Japan by the conquest of Manchuria and by the possibility of further expansion into China and Mongolia.

The record of Japanese policy toward the Mongols in Manchuria and the rest of Inner Mongolia illustrates these problems. The Japanese began by forming an autonomous Mongol province in Manchuria, called Hsingan. Its importance may be gauged by the fact that it occupies the whole western frontier of Manchukuo and is the largest province in the country. There are four subdivisions of the province, the boundaries of which are partly determined by tribal groupings and partly by the former division of Mongol territory between the Manchurian provinces of Heilungchiang, Kirin, Fengt'ien (Liaoning) and the province of Jehol, which Japan added to its Manchurian conquest in 1933. The province of Hsingan has, however, no capital, its affairs being administered directly from a bureau in the central government of Manchukuo at Hsinching (Ch'angch'un). Obviously, this was a structure which permitted the development of racial and cultural solidarity, but not of political or truly national unity.

When the mechanism had been set up, its working characteristics had yet to be proved. Everything had been done, according to Japanese theory, over the heads of the Mongols themselves. It was obvious, therefore, that any benefits which the Mongols got out of the system must be merely a by-product of the benefits to Japan. It was plainly necessary for the Japanese to prove, if possible, that mutual benefits did exist; but since the Mongols could not take hold spontaneously of an elaborate mechanism invented by the Japanese, every working part had still to be supervised by the Japanese who had invented the system.

Here the Japanese policy began to break down. The original experts, many of whom are said by Mongols to have been sincerely and actively pro-Mongol, were a limited group who had acquired their expert knowledge through years of experience. They were influential enough to draft a policy, but not numerous enough to supervise the details of its execution. Partly because of this, and partly because the result of conquest was to create, in Japan, a demand for imperial jobs which the enthusiasts of conquest could not possibly resist if they were to retain their popularity, the autonomous province of Hsingan was flooded with a type of bureaucrat which had a disastrous effect on Japanese prestige. The new men had no comprehension whatever of a relation between Mongols and Japanese approximating to alliance. They wanted to enjoy the superior feeling of belonging to a conquer-

ing race. They did not learn Mongol, or live among the Mongols; they despised the Mongols as a barbarous people, and wanted only to sit importantly at desks during office hours, and after office hours to be as Japanese as possible and to have nothing to do with dirty natives. Moreover, the urgent need to spread in Japan the glad news of the benefits of imperial glory made it impossible to train Mongols to replace these men. On the contrary, more and more jobs had to be found for Japanese, with the result that Mongols have increasingly been excluded from all but the lowest positions, except for the few who hold figure-head positions at the top.

There have been comparable economic results of the Japanese control of Hsingan province. It has been impossible to buffer the Mongol economy in such a manner as to give the Mongols a feeling of security and independence, in useful contrast to the old feeling of being dragged down by Chinese exploitation and submerged by Chinese colonization. Both Mongol agriculture and the livestock economy of the pastoral Mongols have shown how impossible it is to combine Mongol nationalism with the Japanese demand for economic exploitation. Far more than half of the Manchurian Mongols, numerically (though occupying a good deal less than half of the original Mongol territory in Manchuria), live by agriculture in the Chinese manner. Because of the necessity for revising and centralizing the land taxes and organizing agriculture in such a manner as to drain its products most effectively toward Japan, it was impossible to include many of these Mongols in the "autonomous" province of Hsingan. They have therefore been retained as national minorities in the Chinese-populated provinces of Manchukuo. This made it plain that even the most pro-Mongol policy of the Japanese did not aim at a radical modernizing of the Mongol economy to include both agriculture and livestock. Japanese policy had to be "archaic"; it could allow for the political usefulness of the Mongols, but had to keep their economy subordinate to that of Japan.

Ambitious plans for the improvement of Mongol livestock did exist, but these plans also aimed at providing benefits to Japan. The Mongol sheep is an "all-round" animal. It is exceptionally hardy, and can survive with a minimum of winter protection. Its coarse wool is suitable for felting, and therefore excellent for making the round Mongol felt tents. Its meat is excellent, with a high proportion of fat (especially concentrated in the large tail, which is necessary for the Mongol winter diet. The skin taken whole, without shearing the wool, makes clothing that is both warm and durable. This one animal, therefore, provides

the Mongol with food, clothing and housing. The surplus of wool and live animals which the Mongol sells is of low commercial value; but this does not matter to the Mongol in comparison with the fact that he has a stable, independent economy. With all his basic needs provided for, he need sell only in exchange for luxuries, the relatively high price of which affects individual purchases, but does not necessarily disrupt the social structure.

“Improvement” of the Mongol sheep is necessary if Japan is to control a supply of wool which will make Japanese industry independent of the Australian supply; but to improve the quality of wool means a decrease both in the hardiness of the sheep and in its meat value. Moreover, the valuable “improved” wool is not so good for making felt tents. The sheep-breeding plans that would benefit Japan would therefore result in breaking down the independent livestock economy of the Mongols and making them dependent on a money economy. Food and clothing and housing would all have to be paid for out of the export of wool; and as the export would be controlled by Japan, the Mongols would become dependent on imports from Japan. It is the conservative stubbornness of the Mongols in wriggling away from the control of a money economy which, more than difficulties of climate and pasture, accounts for the Japanese failure to increase rapidly the herds of the “improved” sheep in Manchuria. The same considerations are important in the “improvement” of the Mongol breeds of cattle and horses. The “ignorant and backward” Mongol prefers a relatively low economy, under which he is his own master, to a relatively high economy under which he would become the coolie employee of Japanese wool-growers, dairy interests and cavalry-remount breeders.

The more sinister implications of Japanese policy did not at once become apparent, and Japanese prestige was therefore at its highest during 1932, when Manchukuo was being organized and the autonomous Mongol province of Hsingan set up, and the early part of 1933, when Jehol was being conquered and added to Manchukuo, and part of it allotted to the Mongols in Hsingan. From that time on, the process of trying to implement the promises made to the Mongols interacted with the process of Mongol disillusionment; and it was in this phase, when the paralysis of Mongol political thinking which had resulted from the initial shock of the Japanese invasion was beginning to wear off, that there began in the western part of Inner Mongolia, where the Japanese had not yet penetrated, an autonomy movement designed

both to establish the claim that the Mongols were something more than "colonial" subjects of China, to be disposed of without consultation, and to align them with China against the further extension of Japanese control.

This was the movement which, in 1934, won recognition for the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Political Council. From the beginning it was led by Te Wang, whose Mongol name is Prince Demchukdongrob, of West Sunid, the westernmost of the Ten Banners of Silingol League in the north of Chahar Province. (The Mongols of the Silingol League, although their territory forms part of Chahar Province, are not to be confused with the Chahar Mongols, whose tribal territory occupies the middle part of Chahar Province and extends westward into Suiyüan Province.) The tribes and territories that came within the scope of the movement were those of the Silingol and Chahar Mongols, both in Chahar Province, those of the Olanhab League, the Ordos Mongols, the Western Tumet Mongols and the four westernmost Banners of the Chahar Mongols, all in Suiyüan Province, and (though these two were less immediately affected) the Alashan and Edsingol Mongols in Ninghsia Province. The Alashan Hoshots and Edsingol Torgots are historically Western Mongols, though their territories appear on the map as a prolongation of Inner Mongolia; the other Mongols affected all belong to Inner Mongolia proper, so that the movement may be said to have included all the territories of Inner Mongolia that had not been brought under direct Japanese control by the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the conquest of Jehol in 1933.

The movement plainly originated in the feeling that the Mongols of Manchuria and Jehol had, by their passive acquiescence in the Japanese conquest, missed a dramatic opportunity. By acting independently as Mongols they could, at the time of the Lytton Commission, for instance, have put it on record that there existed a Mongol question in Manchuria distinct from "the Manchurian Question" as a whole, and they could have established Mongol claims in the eyes of the world by making it plain that the Japanese conquest involved the occupation of Mongol territory as well as Chinese territory. Their failure to act made it possible for Japan, eventually, to grant them an "autonomous province" of Hsingan, in Manchuria, as a charity, with the result that the Manchurian Mongols could not question any detail of Japanese policy without having the Japanese turn on them and ask, "Who gave you this province?" The fact that the Mongols of Manchuria had their hands tied in this way accounts for the presence, in Te

Wang's following, of many Manchurian Mongols, who felt that they would rather serve under a genuine Mongol leader than Japanese patronage.

Te Wang's movement was therefore essentially defensive, and it had also a double nature which made it suspect in Chinese eyes. Its first object was to identify the Mongols as a separate people, entitled to choose for themselves whether their interests lay with China or with Manchukuo and Japan. Having achieved this essential definition, it was intended to effect as close an alliance between the Mongols and China as the Chinese would allow; because both Chinese and Mongols were weak and on the defensive in relation to Japan, and both could benefit by a defensive policy acted on in common. It is hard to see what other course could have been followed by the Mongols, or rather by the small group of politically sophisticated Mongols led by Te Wang; yet no such policy could possibly win Chinese confidence, because the Chinese policy toward the Mongols implied not only a double objective but double dealing, and the politicians responsible for it inevitably suspected the Mongols of putting pressure on them for the sole purpose of driving a better bargain with Japan.

On the map and in the eyes of most of the world, Inner Mongolia is a part of the Chinese nation, whose fate involves Chinese national policies; but on the spot and in practical politics it is cut up into sections which are assigned as loot to the rulers of the Chinese frontier provinces. The provinces of Chahar and Suiyüan (and the provinces of Manchuria and Jehol when they were under Chinese jurisdiction) each contain a "base" of territory populated by Chinese and a "margin" inhabited by Mongols, as already described. Nominally, the colonization of Mongol territory by Chinese is an enterprise of national interest, increasing the national wealth by a better utilization of land and relieving the pressure of population in China by migration. In practice, the "increase of wealth" is monopolized by the military and political rulers of the frontier provinces, who take over Mongol land for nothing or a nominal price, in the name of the nation, and assign it to themselves or their own nominees as "colonizing agents" for resale or lease to colonists. The peasants who are actually settled on the land are drawn from overpopulated or famine regions, and therefore, being desperately poor, can be victimized by a system of absentee landlordism and excessive rents which maintains their standard of living permanently at a level rather lower than that of the average of North China. The "benefits to China" are in this way short-

circuited by the small ring of insiders who first deprive the Mongols of their lands and then ruthlessly exploit the Chinese who replace the Mongols.

The partitioning of Inner Mongolia between a number of Chinese provinces prevents the Mongols from uniting effectively, because every Mongol attempt to unite raises national issues which cannot be discussed between the Mongols and the National Government because of the intervention of the provinces, the authorities of which do not act from motives of national responsibility but solely for the personal profit of their controlling military, political and financial cliques. It was intervention of this kind which hamstrung the Mongol effort, under Te Wang, to raise the discussion of Inner Mongolian problems to a national plane. Since the Mongols needed national unity in order to protect their elementary interests, freedom from control by the separate Chinese provinces was essential to them; but since they were too weak to stand alone, even when unified, their self-interest suggested that instead of national independence they should work for a provincial status of their own. To describe Te Wang's movement as an attempt to secure full Mongol independence is therefore misleading. The demands of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Political Council, if fully met, would have resulted only in cancelling the partition of Inner Mongolia and creating what might be called a "province of Inner Mongolia," having virtually the same relation to the Nanking Government as any Chinese province, but safeguarded against the direct exploitation of Mongols by Chinese.

The crucial test therefore fell on the Chinese. All depended on whether the Mongol demands were judged by standards of statesmanship or of selfish politics. Only true statesmanship could have overlooked the personal interest involved in order to set relations between China and Inner Mongolia on a footing which eliminated imperialist rivalry between Japan and China for the control of Inner Mongolia, and so isolate Japan as the only aggressor to be feared by the Mongols. There was no statesmanship of this kind to be found in China. The Mongol policy of the Nanking Government did not go beyond using Mongol pressure on the provinces in order to increase the Central Government's power of intervention in provincial politics. The policy of the frontier provinces was conducted throughout with a cynicism which, if Inner Mongolian affairs had only been a little better understood by the rest of the world, would have marked the Chinese frontier politicians as traitors who hardly bothered to disguise themselves.

From 1934 to 1936 the "Inner Mongolian question" never advanced beyond a struggle between Nanking and the provinces which completely evaded larger questions of the national interest, while the Mongols themselves hesitated, afraid to push their demands more insistently because of the danger of being accused of acting as the tools of Japan. This enabled Japan to stand by, aware that the struggle would end in making both China and Inner Mongolia more vulnerable. Nanking deserves less blame than the provincial governments for the final outcome. It was handicapped by lack of an initial control over the northern provinces, and therefore its policy of backing the Mongols in order to put pressure on the provinces was an essential preliminary to a successful handling of the problem. Where it failed was in showing its willingness to drop the Mongols if the northern provinces would concede a minimum of "face" to the Central Government, and in revealing its unwillingness to carry the bluff to the point of risking defiance by Shansi, Suiyüan and Chahar.

It is against one man, Yen Hsi-shan, that the Mongols feel most bitter. General Yen is the ruler of Shansi Province, which in turn controls the border province of Suiyüan. The Mongols interpret General Yen's policy as follows: he wishes to retain Shansi, Suiyüan and the Mongol fringe of Suiyüan under a control as rigid as possible, with only a minimum acknowledgment of the authority of Nanking. Then, if the Japanese finally determine to seize this region, he will anticipate the seizure by handing it over to them, Chinese and Mongols and all, thus trying to manoeuvre Japan into a position in which, having been able to take over such an important territory in good running order, it will have to take him over also, as a deserving pioneer. At the same time, by way of insurance, he must lay up as much as he can in hard cash, in case a last-minute deal with the Japanese should prove impossible, or in case he should not receive from them the price of his treachery.

For this reason, the opium policy of Yen Hsi-shan has for the past two years been an important factor in the skirmish of intrigue which has completely displaced any possible nationally conceived Chinese policy toward Inner Mongolia. The opium monopoly of Shansi Province draws a large part of its supply of raw opium from the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia. If the opium caravans were sent direct across Shensi to Shansi, they would either be bandited on the way or impounded by rival militarists. The safest and cheapest route is through Inner Mongolia, north of the great bend of the Yellow

River. By following this route, the caravans pass through Mongol territory, which is entirely free of banditry, and the caravans, each carrying hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of opium, have to pay in taxes only a "grass and water" levy of 20 or 30 cents per camel for each of the tribal territories through which they pass. This light tax is the one traditionally assessed on low-value loads of wool, brick tea and so forth, and can hardly be called a tax when levied on cargo of such high value as opium. Some of the opium caravans in former years used to pass right through Inner Mongolia to a point north of Kalgan, delivering their cargo for sale in the province of Chahar, but in recent years the Suiyüan authorities have sent trucks north from Kueihua to intercept them, thus diverting the whole of the opium trade to Suiyüan and Shansi.

When the Mongols had won the first round, in the recognition by Nanking of their Autonomous Political Council, they had next to finance a government capable not only of representing the Mongols but also of organizing them. They had been granted by Nanking a subsidy which would have served as a nice bribe if Te Wang and the other Mongol leaders had elected to divide it up between themselves, but which was not large enough to finance the public services which the Mongols needed. They had also been granted a kind of charter, however, and one of their rights under this charter was the collection of taxes, independently of the provinces between which the Mongol territories were still officially divided. Each clause of this charter first affirmed a right and then modified it with a subclause, so that the whole could be nullified unless the Mongols stuck to their guns. Thus one clause declared that Chinese colonization of Mongol lands should cease forthwith, with a rider providing that "if colonization should be necessary" in any given region, it should be arranged by competent authorities. Another clause granted the Mongols the right to raise taxes, but provided that "the details" should be arranged later.

This was the clause which the Mongols tested by trying to tax the opium caravans. There was an immediate protest from Suiyüan Province, backed up by the sending of Chinese troops to protect the opium route. The Mongols appealed to Nanking, and the issue was at last squarely joined, though not on the basis of an open discussion of national interests. It should be made clear at this point that the Mongols were not trying to rival Suiyüan and Shansi in the exploitation of the opium traffic. They were merely trying to finance a Mongol government, independent of Nanking subsidy. The only

Mongols who smoke opium are along the fringe of Chinese settlement; in areas where the Mongols remain under their own Banner administrations opium is rigorously forbidden. There was never any question of selling to the Mongols the opium from the caravans passing through their territory.

In the dispute over opium taxes the Mongols again won the first round, by splitting the Chinese interests which opposed them. Chahar Province, which had been deprived by Suiyüan of its former share in the supply of opium from the west, was willing to back the Mongols against Suiyüan in return for recovering a part of the trade. The situation therefore became deadlocked, with neither Chinese nor Mongols willing to risk open fighting for control of the caravans and with the fate of China's northern frontier largely dependent on the success or failure of Yen Hsi-shan in protecting his personal opium revenue. After long negotiations a settlement was made on the basis of allotting Chahar Province a share of the supply of opium, and dividing the extra opium levy between Suiyüan, the Mongols and Chahar. The Mongol share, however, was not to come out of a direct levy, but out of a refund through the province of Suiyüan. This meant, of course, that the money, like the Nanking subsidy, became a bribe offered month by month, since payment could be stopped whenever Mongol policy did not suit those who held the money; and as Mongol policy was far from pleasing to Suiyüan Province, the Mongols have, so far as I know, never received any of the opium tax.

Inner Mongolian Autonomy reached and passed its high mark with the partial success in standing up to Suiyüan over the opium tax. A Mongol movement which would not accept a subsidy as a hint to keep quiet, and which was capable of setting Chinese against Chinese, as in the case of using Chahar support against Suiyüan, created alarm. Nanking weakened in its support of Te Wang, and the Shansi-Suiyüan interests of Yen Hsi-shan set to work vindictively to get rid of the threat offered by him. The method followed was to detach from him those princes whose support had been least enthusiastic. In the Ordos and in Olanchab League, under the jurisdiction of Suiyüan, there are a number of princes whose territories have been partly colonized. Most of these princes have invested some of their money in land farmed by Chinese, and also draw a share of the Chinese land tax (a clause to this effect being frequently inserted in agreements when a Mongol prince "sells out" the interests of his tribe by helping to arrange for Chinese colonization, although the land thus colonized never belonged to the

prince, under Mongol law, but to the tribe as a whole). The interests of such princes, depending on the degree of colonization, tend to be more closely identified with those of the Chinese officials and landlords than with Mongol nationalism.

By working on a few of these princes, the Suiyüan authorities succeeded in splitting the movement led by Te Wang. Without openly opposing Mongol autonomy, they urged the recognition of one "autonomous council" for the Silingol and Chahar Mongols in Chahar, and another for the Olanchab, Tumet and Ordos Mongols in Suiyüan. A Suiyüan Mongol Autonomous Political Council was thus eventually formed, the high officials of which were all nominees of the Suiyüan provincial authorities—princes whose names alone are a parody of Mongol nationalism, and tantamount to an insulting accusation against Te Wang's sincerity. The Nanking Government finally indicated its abandonment of Te Wang by recognizing this Council, and appointing as Chinese political adviser to it Yen Hsi-shan himself, the man who from the beginning had most openly obstructed Te Wang's movement. As for Te Wang, he has not "gone over" to Japan; he has been tied hand and foot and thrown to the Japanese.

As a result of this, Inner Mongolian Autonomy is now a dead issue. The only spontaneous Mongol attempt to form a united front with China against Japan has failed. It was the only attempt, Mongol or Chinese, to make an honest settlement of the issues between China and the Mongols since the Chinese Nationalist Revolution of 1925-27, when for a time an Inner Mongolian Kuomintang attempted to co-operate with the Chinese Nationalist Revolution. Te Wang has been discredited in the eyes of the Mongols themselves, because his failure meant that the only young, honest, talented, patriotic Mongol prince willing to modify the hereditary privileges of the aristocracy for the sake of the nation was unable to accomplish anything real for his people. Since his failure was due partly to the defection of the most dishonest Mongol princes, as well as to the intrigues of Chinese politicians, the ruling class as a whole has been even more thoroughly discredited.

In the circumstances it would be rational to expect a more radical movement in Inner Mongolia, combining revolt against the princes with resistance to both Chinese colonization and Japanese conquest, but for the fact that the resources of Inner Mongolia are so slight, and the shadow of Japanese military power so deep, that such a movement would be promptly crushed. Resentment and disillusionment have, however, spread the state of mind that favours a radical policy; it lies

latent, awaiting the turn of events which for the moment are beyond the control of the Mongols. Those who have seen military service are particularly important. Owing to lack of arms and money, Te Wang for two years was bringing levies to be trained in shifts at the headquarters of the Political Council. As these men did their service, they learned something of the issues faced by the Mongols, and saw at least the possibility of national unity, and what they learned they took home with them.

There can be no doubt that the original possibility of a Mongol nationalist movement in alliance with Japan, spreading from Manchuria and the rest of Inner Mongolia to Outer Mongolia, has now been reversed. For while the Mongols in Manchuria have grown to dislike the Japanese more and more, and the Mongols in Chahar and Suiyüan have been disappointed both by their own leaders and by the lack of Chinese statesmanship, the prestige of Outer Mongolia has been rising. The only armed resistance to serious threats of Japanese invasion, since 1931, has been along the Outer Mongolian border (if we except incidents on the Soviet-Manchurian border). When a radical or revolutionary sentiment has been created, but has not the resources that would enable it to act independently, it naturally looks toward the nearest source of possible support from others. Inner Mongolia to-day, therefore, looks toward Outer Mongolia: toward the only Mongol Government that exists, and the only Mongols who have become allies of a strong nation without becoming a subject people.

DISCUSSION

See footnote, p. 416.

The Chairman called first on Sir ERIC TEICHMAN, who said they had listened with great interest to Mr. Lattimore's account of the Mongols and his explanation of the unfortunate position in which the latter found themselves under the pressure of three great countries. Personally, he agreed with the lecturer's conclusions, including those dealing with the present orientation of the Mongols as a whole. He would have liked to hear more about Outer Mongolia, the country about which they knew the least of all the countries in the world. He agreed with what Mr. Lattimore had said about the Mongols themselves and their admirable qualities. On his recent journey across Asia he was accompanied by two Mongols, who could not only drive the motor trucks but could take them to pieces and put them together again in the desert. He used to while away the evenings in camp by talking

to them about foreigners, Europeans and Americans, who went to Mongolia, and one day he asked them who, among these foreigners, spoke Mongol best and knew most about Mongolian affairs. He mentioned some names, and the senior of the two men said: "All these fellows speak Mongolian very well, but, of course, the foreigner who speaks Mongolian best and has the deepest knowledge of Mongolia is Mr. Lattimore."

SIR CHARLES BELL said that last year he spent six weeks in Inner Mongolia, and could, for the most part, confirm the political aspect as Mr. Lattimore had so clearly put it. At the same time one must remember that it was extremely difficult to find out what was happening in Outer Mongolia. Some Inner Mongols of his acquaintance who went there to buy horses were received by any parties of Mongols that they met in stony silence. Even the Mongol equivalent to "Good-morning" or "Good-evening" was left unanswered.

But where an Inner Mongol alone met an Outer Mongol alone the latter would sometimes talk a little.

MISS LINDGREN expressed appreciation of the way in which the lecturer had not only described a political dilemma, but had brought home to his audience the great charm of the Mongols and their way of life. As for the future, she thought they must still hope for the best. The lecturer had pointed out the great adaptability of the Mongols. It might be less romantic if the Mongols were to run factories, as they already do motor-cars, but obviously they could not keep any spirit of freedom alive unless they took up the industrial weapons that their neighbours, the Russians, Japanese and Chinese, had been using so successfully. In the part she knew best, in north-western Manchuria, there was a clear picture of the best that the Mongols could achieve with their present equipment. In pre-Manchukuo days they were always playing off the Chinese against the Russians, and the fact of having to do this kept them divided among themselves. Some of the young people thought that salvation lay with Russia; some of those who had studied in Japan believed that the Japanese would be better, while the older people felt that they could manage the Chinese by playing the political game in the Chinese way. In these circumstances they could not, as Mongols, present a united front, and even if a policy of co-operation had been pursued by the Japanese more consistently than it seemed to have been, from the report they had just heard, it might not have been successful.

Sir REGINALD JOHNSTON, invited by the Chairman to "put the other side of the question," said he suspected he understood the Chairman's meaning, but declined to be drawn. He was recently in Mongol territory, in the province of Jehol, and the only remark he had to make was that he could corroborate what the lecturer had said about the growing feeling there against the military policy of the Japanese, and also the resentment at not being allowed to keep arms. He was told in Jehol City that banditry had been greatly increasing in the province, and, on making inquiries as to why this was, he was told it was because the Japanese had compelled the villagers to give up their arms. The peace-loving villagers retorted that they could not oppose the bandits without arms. The Japanese forces were neither strong enough nor numerous enough to pursue them in all directions. That was causing deep resentment among the Mongols and Chinese of Jehol. He could also confirm the lecturer's remarks about the resentment against T'ang Yü-lin, the Chinese Governor of the province who had been driven out of Jehol by the Japanese. He was detested, and so were his men. In one of the temples there should have been a colossal Buddha, and he was told that T'ang Yü-lin had stolen it and sent it to his town house in Mukden. Later, he saw this Buddha in what had been his town house, which, after his disastrous defeat, had been turned by the Manchurian authorities into a museum. In a general way there was nothing in the lecture that he (Sir Reginald) would wish to criticize, as he knew that the lecturer spoke with knowledge and authority.

The CHAIRMAN said they had been most fortunate in that those he had called upon had been good enough to speak. The Mongols inspired affection in his case on account of their past, but they seemed as great as ever they were. It seemed that Genghis Khan had not much idea of what was vulgarly called civilization, but, instead of borrowing from the Chinese he took the civilization of the Turks and cleverly adapted himself to that. The question of the adaptability of the Mongols had been mentioned and he thought it was extraordinarily clever that the greatest conqueror the world had ever known should have known where to take his alphabet from and did not take the Chinese language with its millions of letters, but a nice healthy language like Turkish with its alphabet. He thought they would all go away feeling sorry that this great people should be in trouble and they could only hope that a miracle would occur and they would be saved.

THE JEWISH POSITION IN PALESTINE*

BY DR. CHAIM WEIZMAN

The CHAIRMAN : I now wish to introduce to you Dr. Weizman. He has been President of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem since 1932. He is an authority on Research in Chemical Science. He was the Director of the Admiralty Laboratories from 1916-1919, and is a Director of the Research Institute in the Jewish colony of Rehovoth in Palestine. He is also the President of the English Zionist Federation. Now he is going to talk to us of the Jewish position in Palestine.

DR. C. WEIZMAN : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

WHEN I accepted the kind invitation of this Society to speak about Palestine the position there was normal, but since then the situation has changed. I must necessarily refer to recent events in Palestine, though I shall try to do so as briefly as I can.

I was in Palestine all last winter and travelled throughout the country, and I could not help feeling then that the war in Abyssinia had created a tense atmosphere both in Palestine and the surrounding countries. As the victorious armies of Italy advanced into Abyssinia the unrest in the Middle East, for reasons into which I need not go, became more marked. There is a great deal of talk about outside propaganda which was going on in those countries, but this is a matter which cannot be proved. It is known that the wireless stations on the Adriatic were speaking to the Arab peoples in Arabic, for weeks at a stretch, and carrying out a certain amount of insidious anti-Jewish and anti-British propaganda. Lawlessness began to spread in Palestine. The local press became more and more outspoken, and it needed only a spark to set things alight, and to bring about a state of affairs which certainly now can be considered as very serious.

I would like to state at the outset that, in my humble opinion, this upheaval in Palestine is not in its nature economic, and most of the economic grievances which are being formulated by the Arab leaders are, in my opinion, without foundation. The theory which has been so glibly propounded that the Arabs are being driven off the land in Palestine, and that the position and interests of Arabs are being in-

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on May 26, 1936, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., in the Chair.

jured by the incoming Jewish population under a complacent British administration is, in my view, without the slightest foundation, and to illustrate this I think, instead of making a long speech, I would like to quote to this meeting some figures.

The non-Jewish population, chiefly Arab population, of Palestine has increased in the period of from 1922-34, that is in the last 12 years, by some 41 per cent. If you compare it with the increase of population, let me say in Egypt, then the increase for practically the same period was 13 per cent.; and in Transjordan the population has remained stationary since the war. The greatest increase of population in Palestine, the greatest growth Arab population is, strange to say, in the districts of the greatest Jewish immigration. Chiefly on the coast, where the most intense Jewish activity takes place, there the Arab population has increased most, and there has been no urbanization of the Arab population in Palestine. I mean to say, the proportion of rural to urban Arab population remains practically unchanged according to the official censuses of 1922 and 1931. So that far from the Arab population having declined under the influence of Jewish immigration, there has been an increase almost unprecedented in the history of Palestine, and certainly unprecedented in the history of the East.

Before the war there was a substantial Arab emigration from Palestine, though complete statistics are not available. But from the Jerusalem district alone in 1913 about 2,000 Arabs emigrated, and this was a more or less average figure. These emigrations sank in the post-war period to about 600 annually from the whole of Palestine, so that now emigration may be regarded as insignificant. But a new phenomenon has made itself felt lately: a certain amount of immigration—Arab immigration—from the surrounding countries, like Transjordan, Syria, and Egypt, is taking place. It is difficult to give exact figures, but I think I am not going wrong, and certainly not erring on the side of over-statement, if I say that in the last three years from 15,000 to 20,000 Arabs from Transjordan, Syria, and perhaps Egypt, have come into Palestine. It is obvious that the economic state of Transjordan, as compared with Palestine, is so different that it is natural that people drift into Palestine looking for work.

Some idea of the economic state of Palestine can be obtained from the Government financial returns. The surplus of the Palestine Government to-day amounts to about £6,500,000. The expenditure of the Palestine Government in 1922 was roughly about £2,000,000. In 1935, the financial year 1934-5, it amounted to £3.5 million, an increase

of something like 60 per cent. The revenue of the Palestine Government was, in 1922, about £2·3 million; in 1934-5, £5·5 million—an increase of about 116 per cent.

The incidence of taxation, as far as the non-Jewish population is concerned, amounts to £1·3 per head. As far as the Jewish population is concerned, it amounts to £4·2 per head; and I should like to add that there is no income tax in Palestine; it is one of the fortunate countries where income tax has not been asked for; so that this higher figure for Jewish taxation is due to the fact that a great deal of the revenue is derived from imports, and the Jews import more than the Arab population.

The growth of agriculture can be judged by the following figures: in 1922 there were about 30,000 dunum of citrus plantations, of which 20,000 were Arab and 10,000 were Jewish. In 1935 there were 260,000, or eight times as much, of which half was Arab and half Jewish.

Industrial development: The output of industry in 1921 in money amounted to about £1,000,000. In 1935, to £8,000,000.

A few other figures—I am sorry to weary you, but I think this is the best way of giving you a picture of the economic state of the country:

The incidence of malaria: In 1922 there were 20,000 cases. In 1934, in spite of the vast increase of the population, only 5,000.

Infant mortality: In 1927 in the Jewish community, 115 per thousand; in the non-Jewish, 213. In 1935 in the Jewish community, 64; non-Jewish, 146. So far as the non-Jewish community is concerned, it is a very considerable decrease. In Transjordan the infant mortality is still at the very high figure of 246 per thousand.

Pupils in Jewish schools: In 1922, 18,000; in 1935, 60,000.

These are a few figures which should illustrate, I think, sufficiently that the Arabs have not been driven out of Palestine or driven off their land; but I think a word of further explanation is required of how it has happened that the population in the coastal area has increased so rapidly—I mean the Arab population—and still the distribution between the urban and rural population remains the same, because it has a bearing on what I would like to say in a minute or two. What has happened is roughly the following: The coastal plain is probably the richest plain in Palestine; the land there lends itself to the growth of irrigated crops. It is light, sandy soil and it remained a desert until about fourteen years ago, because, in order to transform this soil from its natural desert state into something which would yield a decent crop

and a decent livelihood, a very considerable investment was required. Taking Arab standards of wages and work and life, I think it is not an exaggeration to say that in order to transform one dunum (or a quarter of an acre) into something on which a family could live, there would be required a sum of something like £20, that is £80 per acre at least; £100 would be probably nearer the truth. So far as Jewish settlement is concerned we reckon about £300 per acre. With an investment, therefore, for Arab standards, of £100 per acre, it should be possible to transform the desert or semi-desert soil, which looks as though nothing could live on it, into something on which you could grow irrigated crops, vegetables, fruit, oranges, or whatever else it may be thought necessary to grow.

Now an Arab family which possesses, let us say, 20 or 25 acres of such ground would need some £2,000 in order to work it up. Such a sum of money they could in the ordinary way never hope to achieve, with the result that this soil ordinarily yields probably a clear return of about £2 per acre (that is a very, very low return). They grow barley, or wheat, with the result that the total income of an Arab farm in the coastal area was never more than about £40 to £50 per annum. This meant an extremely low standard of life, and in times when crops were bad, well—the life of the Arab family became very precarious. They got deeper and deeper into debt. There were always good friends to supply them with money at a very high rate of interest—these friends often happened to be Arabs—and the Arab farmer sank more and more. Then the Jewish immigration began, and the Arab parted with, let us say, one-third of his land. If he had 100 dunum, or 25 acres, he might sell 30 dunum, or 8 acres, and get for it a very high price, sometimes as high as £100 per acre. In contradistinction to the opinion frequently held that the Arab who gets hold of money “blues” it and loses it at once, and is then worse off than before—this happens rarely. What he does do is strictly intelligent: he sinks the money he gets into the rest of his land. He was still left with his two-thirds. These two-thirds he developed with the £700 or £800 that he had got, and instead of getting a yield of 10s. per dunum or £2 per acre, he got £20, £30, £40 per acre, with the result, as we see to-day, that the Arab participation in the citrus output of Palestine (which is second in the world) is equal to the Jewish output.

With the money which he has got from selling a certain fraction of his land to the Jews he has developed the rest of his land, and I contend that any observer who travels through the coastal plain from

Haifa to Gaza will see the outstanding difference between the Arab villages on the coast and the Arab villages in those parts of Palestine where Jews have never entered. There are villages on the coast, more or less modern, clean, with schools, and looking prosperous. This accounts for the increase of Arab population being coincident with the increase of the Jewish population; in other words, in the coastal plain land has been created out of the sandy waste. Where one man could live and live only precariously, three or four people live now with a higher standard of life.

Taking another part of Palestine, where we have been operating particularly since the war, the valley of Jezreel, where we have acquired something like 75,000 acres and where most of our modern colonization has been proceeding: now, this part of the land forms a quarter of the National Home (the total National Home rests on something like 300,000 acres, so all the noise is about 300,000 acres). Now, this part of the world, in the valley of Jezreel, was practically empty country before our arrival, and for very good reason: it was a malarial swamp, and the Arab villages which had once existed there had been deserted and had died out; at the time we began work there, there were six or seven villages dwindling away. I remember myself when we first came into this valley to establish the first colony, I was met by a deputation of Jewish doctors, who gave me a fairly bad time, saying, "What do you mean by planting these people in a malarial swamp?" Still, we began to work. We drained it, and you will find from the reports of the Malaria Commission of the League of Nations that the incidence of malaria dropped from something like 60 per cent. to .8 per cent., and to-day it is a flourishing part of Palestine which holds about 75 to 80 Jewish agricultural settlements. This was practically empty land. It did not belong to the peasants, but was the property of an absentee landlord, who might be in any part of the world. And we have developed it and created a series of flourishing settlements to-day.

This is the position, and if the Arabs talk of having been driven off their land, it is a metaphor which, even for Oriental imagination, is somewhat exaggerated. There was, you remember, after the 1929 disturbances, a very close enquiry into the number of Arab peasants (really tenants, not owner-tenants) who had been displaced from their land, and the Government was prepared—and rightly—to settle those Arabs who claimed to be landless through the execution of the Mandate—*i.e.*, through Jewish land purchase. The details of the enquiry were widely published and naturally a great many applications came in to the

Government. It was quite understandable. If you give people to understand that land is to be given away, and anyone who wishes can come and be settled by the Government, you will find a great many applicants. The number of applications which came in to the Government amounted to something like 3,200, of which 2,700 had to be disallowed, because they had no claim at all; and about 500 to 550 were allowed, and these Arabs have been settled; and it is still a question whether these so-called "landless" Arabs were in fact produced as a result of our work, or whether they have been produced as the natural drift of the people from the village economy into the towns, where they can find better pay and employment. But leaving the question open, and laying even these 500 Arabs at the door of the Jews, I think this is more than counterbalanced by the 20,000 or so Arabs who have come in from the surrounding countries and are finding a livelihood in Palestine. And I would like to say that it is chiefly these 20,000 Arabs from outside who have been specially distinguishing themselves in the present troubles.

Our experience over the past twenty years is that a family with a fairly high standard of living, a Jewish family, can live on something like 20 dunum, which means 5 acres, of irrigable land, and on most of our modern holdings the number of dunums per family ranges between 15 and 20 dunums. Of course, it means very rational and very scientific working of the soil, and the problem reduces itself to the following: if you allow the soil of Palestine to remain in a desert condition, as it is now, there is certainly no room for any newcomers—there is no room even for the Palestine Arabs themselves. If, however, this land is developed and intensively worked, there is (and this is the last figure I am going to worry you with), there is room for at least another 100,000 Arab agricultural families, and for at least 50,000 to 60,000 Jewish agricultural families. In other words, taking account only of those parts of the country where we know for certain water can be found (both from Government investigations, and from our own), the average quantity of irrigable (but not irrigated) land which an Arab family possesses to-day is 80 or 90 dunum, which can be transformed into irrigated land. In other words, on the same place where to-day one family lives, by such transformation three and even more could live. But it does mean considerable expenditure, it does mean a policy of economic development. At any rate I have tried to prove that there is room for Arabs and for Jews, provided the country is developed, and there is a very considerable reserve for the next two generations to grow up. Well, one

does not think further than two generations ahead; one scarcely thinks as far ahead as that. Theoretically there is no more room for a single Belgian to be born in Belgium! But the secret of it is this: Not the *size* of the country—the power of absorption of the country is not determined merely by the geographical size, though geographical size is a very important factor; obviously Canada is bigger than Palestine. But absorptive capacity is also determined by the intensity of development, by the energy of the people already in the country and those coming in, and by the opportunities which they create.

There are, as I think, two types of immigrants who may come to a country: a type which bars the way, and a type which opens the way, for those who are to come after them. I think, without exaggeration, and without trying to give a more glowing account than is absolutely necessary, it is true to say that the Jewish pioneers who came into Palestine have opened the way for a great many people to follow in their footsteps.

Well, assuming then that this trouble is not economic, what is it? I think it is, in its nature, entirely political. I shall not dwell on the resemblance between this trouble and what happened in 1929. We seem to have it in Palestine every seven years. It is a Biblical country and seven is a Biblical number—every seven years there is this sort of shake-up, and this trouble, like its predecessors, is entirely political. The Arabs at present wish to make a National Government; they wish for the stoppage of Jewish immigration and for the prohibition of sales of land to Jews. That is, publicly. Privately, land is being offered by Arabs on the market of Palestine every day to anyone who will buy—Jew or Arab or anyone else. Such a prohibition would mean the destruction of the Mandate, and it seems, to me at any rate, somewhat queer that a Royal Commission should have been announced to enquire into the grievances of Jews and Arabs without challenging the Mandate. The only real grievance which the Arabs see is the existence of the Mandate, and the Mandate policy, on the strength of which the 400,000 Jews are at present in Palestine, and are developing the country.

I have tried to illustrate by figures how far this development has gone. I have tried to indicate, however inadequately, that further development is possible without any injury to Arab rights or interests or position, and certainly without any injury to Arab national interests. It is almost absurd for the Arabs to proclaim that their national interests are at stake. Not only are they not at stake in Palestine—neither their religion, nor language, nor institutions, nor their holy places, nor their

land is threatened—but apart from Palestine they have an estate of something like four Arab kingdoms surrounding Palestine—Iraq, Arabia, Transjordan, Syria—roughly twenty times the area of Palestine. How many kingdoms are required for the national existence of a group of people it is not for me to determine! What is happening to-day in Palestine is a definite challenge to the Mandate policy laid down and adopted by the League, and in course of execution by the British Government; and it seems to be a form of challenge which is all too familiar in the world to-day. Anybody who takes a stick and chooses to hit out at his neighbours gets a hearing. It is not for me to say how this matter is to be dealt with. We have confidence in the High Commissioner for Palestine and I am not going to offer him unsolicited advice. All I can say is that our contribution to this present state of affairs is to keep the Jewish population quiet. Not that the Jewish population would not or could not retaliate—you can imagine it is rather hard for a young farmer to see his crops burnt down, or trees uprooted, and to preserve a certain amount of restraint; but we do preserve it, and there is a special purpose in it. We shall not reply to this provocation. We have not, at any rate, up to the present. And I think that is the only contribution we can make in the present state of affairs.

Here is the position, ladies and gentlemen: I have tried to be very brief. We have come into Palestine on the strength of a policy which has been very carefully considered, of a Mandate very painstakingly worked out, and including explicit provisions to safeguard Arab interests. It is usually said that the Mandate contains a dual obligation; we accept this dual obligation: the first part dynamic—the incoming of the Jewish population—and the second static—the safeguarding of the interests of the existing population and its further development. We accept this thesis, and we contend there is room for both of us. At present the Arab has manifested his will to push the Jews into the Mediterranean. I don't think he will succeed. Also it is rather tragic, because we are hampered in our work. Those who build, those who plant, who create values, houses, schools, naturally can least afford to stop their work and to have to employ a great deal of energy watching for highway robberies, arson, or violence. Still, comparing the conditions in Palestine with what the Jews have to endure in other countries, we shall bear it all, in the knowledge that what is happening in Palestine is for a purpose. It is our destiny. It is our future. And, stiff-necked as we are, we have now found our way after two thousand years back to the country where we hope to stay, and we hope that one day,

when the Arabs will realize—and I do hope this day is not very far distant—that they cannot push us into the Mediterranean, we shall settle down together and try to find a way out, some sort of *modus vivendi*. We have tried; so far they have proved intransigent; they have refused the hand which was stretched out to them; they have relied on violence. The cry in 1929 was “The British Government is not against it.” The cry to-day is, “The British Government dares not stop it.” I think in 1929 that impression was mistaken and I believe it is mistaken now. It is my hope that we may soon return to normal conditions.

The CHAIRMAN: I have no doubt that after that most interesting address various members of the Society would like to ask questions.

Mr. E. A. GHURY: I am an Arab. I have just come from Palestine. In Dr. Weizman's speech there were several points worth answering. I would like to be allowed a few minutes to talk about this question.

At the outset of the speech Dr. Weizman said that there was outside propaganda working in Palestine which had something to do indirectly with the troubles. There were these troubles in Palestine before this, and there was then no outside propaganda.

As to the increase of the population, Dr. Weizman said that the Arabs increased 51 per cent. since the 1922 Census. The 1922 Census was not a correct one; the Arabs boycotted the Census and only at the last minute they, a majority of them, took part.

As to Arab emigration from Palestine to outside, it did not drop because of the Zionist immigration: it dropped because the Western governments, particularly the United States of America, closed their doors to Syrian immigrants.

Dr. Weizman referred to the surplus in the Government Treasury, but he should have also referred to the loans under which the Government of Palestine has about $7\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds to pay.

Palestine is not happy because there is no income tax: we hope that the Government will establish income tax in Palestine, because of the banks, foreign and commercial houses, and all those people who get the profit from the country and are not Arabs. As to exports and imports of the country, in 1920 when the Jewish immigration was not more than 8,000, the ratio was 2.2 exports to 6.4 imports. In 1933, when the Jewish immigration rose to above 40,000, the ratio was 2.5 exports to 12.1 imports. That does not show an economic solution in Palestine.

And 40 years ago—in 1896—the Coastal Region was not a desert: the British people then first knew of the Jaffa oranges.

As to the driving out of Arab families, I think when we go back to Government official reports, the report of Sir John Hope Simpson, an impartial Commission establishes the fact that 29·4 per cent. of the Arab rural families are landless, and I would like to ask Dr. Weizman to tell the audience what was the fate of the Arabs of Afuleh, Um Khalid, Wadi Hawareth, who were all displaced. I would ask him also where are the Arabs of Zibeidat, and Tal'un, Attireh, and those 6,000 Arab families which have become landless because of Jewish immigration.

It is true, of course, there were many Arabs who lent money to the poor farmers, but there were some others who lent them money who are *not* Arabs!

On the question of the recent troubles, they are of course political, but underlying economic causes are also at the centre. We feel, and I believe that every true Britisher in Palestine feels, that the country is being just swamped with Jewish immigrants. In 1930 Sir John Hope Simpson established the fact that the minimum amount of land required to be sufficient for the needs of an Arab family was 130 dunums. He found out in 1930 that each Arab family possessed 90 dunums only, and since that day up to now the Jews have acquired more than 500,000 dunums of land; that means that the amount of land for each Arab family is less than 60 dunums. How, then, can the Arabs still remain in the country?

Furthermore, we Arabs do not see why the people of Palestine should be deprived of their political and social rights. Dr. Weizman has very well appealed to the audience here on humane and similar grounds, but he has neglected the political grounds, the rights which were granted to the Arabs and promised by Great Britain itself. Furthermore, even if the Arabs had ten kingdoms, the Arabs are not supposed to let one of the states slip out of their hands. Of course, if it is generosity for nations to give away a part of their lands the Arabs will not lack generosity—and in such a case generosity is comparable to what a person possesses. The British people have more land than the Arabs, let them give!—but there is no generosity in giving one nation's land to another. The Arabs have been driven to this trouble; we have appealed several times to the British people: we have appealed against the injustices, and these injustices, believe me, were fairly established by the British Commissions of Enquiry which came to the country; they

were all-British Commissions, no Arab was on them. They are great injustices. We have appealed to the British, we have appealed to the Government of Palestine, we have appealed to everybody; but nobody came to our aid. We felt recently, and we have felt this since the day of the Balfour Declaration, that the day will come when the Arabs are driven out of the country. The country can hardly take more inhabitants than it has to-day, and this is established by British experts.

The Jewish population in Palestine has increased 108 per cent. during the last four years. This is according to official figures; but at the same time many Jews besides are entering the country by illicit methods, and the High Commissioner himself referred to them in a speech at Nablus in September, 1933, when he said that the number of illicit Jewish entries into Palestine are not much less than the number of legal immigrants. That—for 1933—was about 30,000, so the total number of immigrants, licit and illicit, must have been nearly 60,000.

The Arabs insist on their demands. The three immediate demands at present are, stoppage of Jewish immigration: establishment of a Constitutional National Government representing all the population of Palestine in equal proportion to their numbers—the Jews will have their representatives in proportion to their numbers, the Arabs will have their representatives in proportion to their numbers; and, thirdly, we ask for the stoppage of land sales to Jews. These are the three demands.

The land in Palestine is not being offered for sale to Jews, but the economic conditions have forced people to sell their land; but most of the land in Palestine was sold by absentee landlords, who have nothing to do with the country, and the money was taken by those absentee landlords to be spent in countries other than Palestine; therefore when the Arabs build their orange groves and houses, they do not build them from the money which was given them as a result of the sale of their land.

Mr. CUST: We have listened to the extremely eloquent and able address from our speaker, on the Jewish side. We have had a few words, also, I feel you will agree, equally eloquently expressed—thanks, I think I am right in saying, to an education at S. George's School, Jerusalem—by Mr. Ghury. And now I will say a few words as an ex-British official of the Government of Palestine, and thus you will get a complete picture of the Palestine problem from all three sides—the Jewish side, the Arab side, and the Mandatory side.

The trouble about this extremely baffling issue is the complete confidence and conviction with which people can argue on diametrically

opposite sides and convince their audiences that each is right. Nobody like myself, who spent fourteen years in Palestine, can offer a word of disagreement with Dr. Weizman of the picture he has painted of the tremendous Jewish developments. But there is just one thing I will say—he never made one single reference (and I am sure he will perhaps regret it when he thinks of it) to the work the British Colonial Service has done there. It is perfectly true that the Valley of Jezreel was malarial when Lord Allenby's troops galloped over it, and it is true the Jews have done a great deal of work there. But if they had not been there, we should have done what we did in Egypt and other colonies all over the world. It may be argued that we could not have done what has been done in the time as we would not have had the money to do it. But on the other hand, we should not have had the tremendous expense which the Jewish National Home has cost us. I don't know if it is realized, but in my last year in Palestine three years ago, on police and defence alone, out of the Palestine Budget one million pounds had to be spent. That huge sum is on defence alone, and of course primarily that was on account of the conflict between the Jews and the Arabs. If that conflict had not been there, a great deal of that money would have been available for other purposes.

What is it which is wrong? Why have we this septennial fever of recurrent outbreaks and riots? I don't think it is any use discussing this question on the basis of statistics. It is not just a case of figures, and how many people are landless, and how many not; it is something basic and fundamental. There is the irresistible force of the Jews driving against the immovable object of the Arabs, and it is our business as the Mandatory to try and find some way out.

What is going on now in Palestine? Nazareth, Cana of Galilee—places of the most precious associations—feature in the sensational columns of the evening Press!

Let us all here go away determined to think, and try and make other people think, how the way out can be discovered. There is an idea which, in my humble capacity, I have suggested. It is not an idea which is original to me. It is an idea which our lecturer himself thought about some years ago. It is an idea to which certainly an element among the Arab leaders gives some support. It is a scheme which enables all the fundamental obligations of the Mandate to be carried out: that is to divide the country—and geographically it is not very difficult—into an Arab sphere and a Jewish sphere, giving both the fullest local autonomy, so that the people of the country can have the

chance of getting the jobs they want, and run their own affairs; and then bring them both together in a Federal system under a Central Council controlled by the Mandatory.

It may not be easy to accomplish, but I do submit it to you as an idea. What we want is to hammer out some solution; to forget the past; and from the tragedy of the present to derive the determination that the future at least shall heal the wounds of the Holy Land.

The Rev. M. L. PERLZWEIG: I would like to make one or two observations from a somewhat different point of view; from the point of view of one who is a follower of Dr. Weizman, but who is no less keenly interested in the British point of view.

I would like to say that the panacea Mr. Cust has suggested cannot be applied—namely, that we should forget the past. We are living at a time when promises and undertakings in some parts of the world seem to have neither value nor validity, but I hope we shall all agree that so far as Great Britain is concerned, a promise or pledge once given is of validity, and so long as that stands, so long as there is on record the Balfour Declaration which is incorporated in the Mandate, that Declaration stands; and therefore, apart altogether from the present situation in Palestine, any proposal to take a country which is no larger than Wales, and to divide it up into still smaller sections, ought not to be entertained.

Of course, this proposal is only a circumlocution for the suggestion that Jewish immigration should be limited. It is proposed that those places in which there are Jews should be given local autonomy and the right of self-development. But clearly the only possibility, as Dr. Weizman has, I think, shown, of any real development of the country is by development covering the country as a whole; and if you are officially to create two ghettos, an Arab and a Jewish, if you put up administrative walls between the Arabs and the Jews, you will never succeed in developing the country; you will only exacerbate the differences which separate them.

The Balfour Declaration stands, and it is a serious matter, because hundreds of thousands of people have taken it seriously, and staked everything on that Declaration. You can only set up a system of the kind Mr. Cust has in mind by abandoning the present Mandate, and he will not only first of all have to persuade both the Jews and the Arabs, which he will find extremely difficult, but he will have to persuade the British Government, and, what is more, the whole Council of the League of Nations. I venture to think that the prospect of any such

wholesale persuasion is so remote that, really, with the very greatest possible respect to Mr. Cust, and with respect to the energy with which he has pursued this proposal, it is really hardly worth thinking about.

Now I have said large numbers of persons have taken seriously the promises of the British Government that a very ancient wrong will be righted, and it is because that has happened that this curious disparity between imports and exports has developed. An earlier speaker said, when there was a small immigration the disparity was not great; when there was a large immigration, the disparity was much greater. Of course it was much greater. If you say to people, "You can come and settle in the country if you bring in a thousand pounds"—which was what the British Government said; if you get five, or six, or ten thousand people, each bringing in £1,000, the imports are bound to be larger than the exports. It is not that the state of the country is unhealthy, but that a large amount of capital has been imported into Palestine—a state of affairs which applies to every country of immigration, and it is a healthy and not an unhealthy sign; it is part of the foundation upon which the whole of the development has been made. Therefore I think there is nothing to worry about here. On the contrary, if there were not that import of capital, then people might turn round to the Jews and say: "You are coming in as a burden on the country and not bringing in the means with which to develop it."

Mr. Cust referred a little plaintively to the cost of defence, which he said came out of the Palestine Budget. Where does the Palestine Budget come from? I wonder if he has ever thought about that? That without this import of capital, without this development, you would not have a state of affairs which is unique in the world—that a country has in its treasury an accumulated surplus equal to twice the total annual revenue of the country. There is no parallel to it anywhere in the world, and that money is spent for the benefit alike of Jews and Arabs, and I think no one will say that more of it is spent on Jews than Arabs; and if most of it comes from the Jews because their standard of living is higher, I don't think Mr. Cust has the right to complain.

There is one devastating fact, which, without going into statistics, is a complete reply to complaints of the Arab speaker, and that fact is this: that instead of there being an emigration from Palestine of Arabs, as in the pre-war years, whatever the reason may be—and I think the reference to the United States is a little fantastic—whatever the reason may be, there is actually an immigration from other Arab countries in Palestine, and a large one; so large (this is a fact, it is a public fact) that

several hundreds of these Arabs have been deported by the High Commissioner—not a Jewish High Commissioner—during the past few weeks because they have taken a large part in the troubles.

Now a country in which Arabs are suffering all the troubles sometimes suggested is not a country which is going to attract a large Arab immigration. And yet Palestine is attracting an immigration from countries that are purely Arab countries.

When one reflects that this ancient territory of Palestine is divided into two spheres, Western Palestine, to which the Jewish National Home clauses of the Mandate apply, and Transjordan, to which, unfortunately, they do not apply; that in Palestine, in spite of the predictions, the population has increased by leaps and bounds, both the Jewish and Arab population, whereas in Transjordan it has remained stationary; that in Palestine there is an accumulated budget surplus equal to two years' revenue, whereas in Transjordan—I direct Mr. Cust's attention to this—there has had to be a subsidy from the British Treasury: when one reflects on the fact that in Transjordan there are large areas of land (more fertile land than in Palestine) on which, if cultivated, a large population could be established, as in Palestine a large population has been and is being established: I say that the policy of the Mandate can hardly be criticized. It is not a Jewish Mandate. It is a British Mandate. The British point of view, which is expressed through the Colonial Office, has given sanction to an increasing Jewish immigration. You must remember that if Mr. Cust challenges that immigration he is not challenging the Jews, but the British Administration. He is suggesting that by granting these Labour Certificates and giving these facilities, the Colonial Office and the Administration are conniving at something not really British and not in the interests of the British Empire. I venture to submit that in the creation of a Jewish National Home, with full safeguarding of Arab rights, all the rights they have ever had and certainly more care on the part of the Government than they have had before, there is being created a centre of possible strength and stability, which is destined to become a great British interest in the Near East, and which ought not to be a matter of indifference to the British Empire; and, as Dr. Weizman has said, the solution of the difficulties is the creation of conditions under which Jews and Arabs can come together and sit down round a table and come to some understanding. Foreign influences, influences from outside, the example of other countries, all these have only helped to make things worse. I think I am entitled to say that British Jews, who

have in this matter a double interest, are entirely behind Dr. Weizman in his proposal, in his policy of the development of the country for the benefit of both sections under the British Mandate, the full development of a policy which will enable them to come together in the common interests of Palestine.

Mrs. SOANE MALCOLM ELLIS: Is there any truth in the rumour that the Zionists in America are trying to have the Mandate in Palestine revised by the League of Nations?

Mr. A. B. NASHASHIBI: In answer to the speaker before the last, I would like to bring to the notice of the audience the fact that the Zionists, whenever they talk about Palestine, give the question of Transjordan as a vivid example of the backwardness in comparison to Palestine; but I think this argument should be dismissed. Transjordan has always been backward in proportion to Palestine; and while the Arab inhabitants of Palestine are settled Arabs, not Bedouin, in Transjordan they are nomadic Bedouin. So this comparison should not be used persuasively by Zionists.

Furthermore, the gentleman refers to the fact that the Cantonization scheme, which was very cleverly put forward by Mr. Cust, could not be accepted by a Zionist for the simple reason that the Zionist wants to "push forward." I think Arabs and Jews should agree on the meaning of the Balfour Declaration. I think, and I believe I can speak for every Arab when I ask, What do you mean by the Balfour Declaration? The last speaker vehemently said that the British Government must stand by a promise. But what is it about? Does it give the Jews, or the Zionists, a promise of a National State, an Asiatic kingdom, a successor to the kingdom of King David? I don't think anything of the sort was said. The Balfour Declaration promised the Jews a National Home in Palestine, and now there is one, what do they want more? I don't know. The Jews, on the other hand, especially the Zionists, come to us Arabs and say, "Now we will always work towards the time when we will sit together and find a *modus vivendi*." They have been proposing that for the last fifteen years. The Arabs, on the other hand, have also said: "What proposals do you want to put forward?" The last speaker said the Jews want to "push forward"; rather hopefully, Mr. Weizman said there are four other Arab countries where the Arabs can go. This is invariably the alternative to the question of the Arabs, Upon what basis do the Jews want to discuss?

Mr. Ben Gurion, the leader of the Labour Movement of Zionists, says again, "The Arab countries are very big."

It is time that the meaning of the Balfour Declaration was really made clear. Does it mean that the Arabs should be relegated to the status of aborigines? That they should be put out of the country entirely or not? Actually the Arabs suspect it very much; they suspect it from the utterances of authoritative people; I suspect it even at this very hour; I suspected it from the speeches of Dr. Weizman. The other day I saw a book by a notable Frenchman, Monsieur Cadmi Cohen, who does not profess himself to be a Zionist, although he is in reality a Revisionist. The book was called *L'Etat d'Israël*, in which he gives a beautiful map, where he shows the future kingdom of Israel stretching over the whole of Palestine, the south and middle of Syria, the whole of Transjordan up to the southern half of 'Iraq; and in the yellow desert he writes, "Confederation of Arabia." (Laughter.) I am very much afraid these are the real intentions of the Jews.

The Arab Palestinians, who have been restless since the Balfour Declaration, were not consulted when such a Declaration was promulgated, which would encroach upon their vital rights to such a devastating extent. There is, of course, a legend about the dealings of King Feisul with the Zionists, but we have always asked the Zionists in vain to put forward a document acknowledging King Feisul's unqualified acceptance of the Jewish propositions on the Zionist question. Nothing of the sort can be produced.

If anything of this kind is meant, the Arabs should know by now officially, and through the mouth of the British Government. I think it lays upon the British Government an obligation of honour, as well as an obligation for the sake of peace and right, that it should give an authoritative explanation of the Balfour Declaration: because on either side they do not know what it really means. The Arabs, very rightly, suspect certain intentions of the Jews, and they are defending their rights, regardless of any supposed propaganda which may come from outside.

I think again, the British Government should settle that question once and for all, whether the Arabs in Palestine are to be reduced to aboriginal status in their own country or not.

Dr. WEIZMAN: I shall briefly deal with one or two questions.

I am very grateful to Mr. Ghury for raising these questions. But I think the question of imports and exports has been dealt with. Surely he could not possibly mean this false conclusion, neither could he suggest very earnestly that all the money brought in by Jews had been expended outside the country? All the money which has gone for

development, which is infinitely more than the price of the land, has been spent in the country. I think the Jews have brought in about £80,000,000. This £80,000,000, almost every penny, has been spent in the country and both Arabs and Jews have benefited by it.

Neither is it correct to speak of the subsistence area as being 130 dunum. Of course, if you are taking a piece of half-desert country, then 130 dunum is not sufficient; as I explained before, it depends entirely on the development of the country. If there is intensive development, then you may require only 20 dunum; if you leave it undeveloped, 130 dunum is not enough. In the hill country where the majority of Arab families live, the country is not developed; there, there are Arabs who may have 200 dunum and still go on leading a miserable existence. They need better crops. If they would work it more rationally, then they might do with less.

Now with regard to Mr. Cust's remarks: I think it is too late now to enter into the problem of "cantonization." There might be something in this idea, but I would like to know where the cantons are to be, and how we are going to delimit them. If it means crystallizing the National Home at its present size—which I do not think Mr. Cust thinks is desirable—then of course we should deplore it. In a sense there is a certain amount of cantonization going on now. In the triangle between Jenin, Nablus and Tulkarem, there is practically not a single Jew, and no Jew intends to go there. But I do contend that outside this triangle there still exist vast possibilities for development both by Jews and Arabs, and if this cantonizing idea does not content itself with limiting or crystallizing the National Home as something outside the possibility of further growth, then it may perhaps be worth discussing.

I am really sorry if I did not mention the rôle which the British have played in Palestine, but surely even Mr. Cust won't suspect that it was omitted because I think lightly of it? I am accustomed to mention it always, but to-day my subject was "The Jewish Position in Palestine," and I had to compress my remarks into forty minutes; and I think the British Administration in Palestine stands in no need of any verbal recognition from me, who have worked in close co-operation with it for twenty years.

Still, there was one remark which I felt to be a little unfair: speaking of the expense of the National Home, Mr. Cust lays at the door of the Jews the whole defence expenditure, which he puts at £1,000,000. Well, the Jewish contribution to the Palestine revenue, in spite of the

fact that they are only 30 per cent. of the population, is at least 50 per cent.; in fact, I think the surplus, which is made up chiefly of the revenue which comes from imports, is more than 50 per cent. Jewish money.

Troops, if they were not stationed in Palestine, would have to be stationed somewhere else, and even if the additional sum they cost in Palestine *is* on account of the Jewish National Home, it is compensated by the vast contribution of the Jews to the Palestine Budget, and is paid by that Budget and not by the British Exchequer.

Perhaps in the same breath one could mention that Palestine has paid her share of the Ottoman Public Debt—about the only country which has done so. She has paid for the Military Railway from El Kantara to Palestine, whereas in 'Iraq the cost of the Military Railways is still not paid. She has paid—through the nose—for the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem. All that has been possible because there has been development; there has been a constant and increasing creation of new taxable property. I am very happy that this should have happened, but at the same time, I feel it should save us from being charged only on the debit side.

Now as to the last speaker: he wants an authoritative explanation of the Balfour Declaration. This has been given repeatedly in various papers and various statements of the British Government. Still the Arabs go on suspecting. They go on suspecting because a gentleman, with whom I have very little to do, and who is not even a member of the Zionist Organization, once wrote that he would like to see the Throne of David erected in Jerusalem, and the boundaries stretching from Jaffa to Damascus. (I have not read the book myself.) But the principle on which we have been conducting our policy is a quite different one, and I would like to repeat it, and with this to close my remarks:

I am not pessimistic. I do believe in a future co-operation of Jews and Arabs, whatever may be happening to-day; and I do believe that a time will come when both the Jews and the Arabs will understand that they can live as, for instance, the different races live in Switzerland; because there are two races in Switzerland, French and German, and they work together for a common end, for a common Fatherland which is called Switzerland. History tells us that Jews and Arabs have worked together in the past, and I do believe that they will work together again, for the up-building of a country in which each has a great part to play. There is one indispensable condition: and this applies equally to both

sides, to Jews and Arabs; that neither should dominate, and neither be dominated by the other, irrespective of their numbers. To-day the Arabs are in the majority and they try to dominate, whether by clubs, or knives, or arson—I am not charging that to the gentlemen who have been speaking to-day. To-morrow the Jews may be in a majority. But neither Arab nor Jew should dominate, nor be dominated. There are examples in the world, in the British Empire, of two peoples, two groups, living together and working together for a common end. It seems perhaps a distant ideal, in these difficult times, but it is not impossible; and even to-day, in the midst of all this trouble, there is still a remarkable amount of co-operation between Jew and Arab in actual everyday life. When all this trouble is over and forgotten, and all this friction is eliminated, I think there is hope for a better understanding between the two races.

At any rate, so far as concerns those who have been guiding the destiny of the Zionist Movement for the last twenty years, they have consistently aimed at such an understanding, and they are going to aim at it until their hope is realized on the soil of Palestine.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF FA HIEN, IN UPPER SWAT

By LT.-COLONEL S. H. GODFREY, C.I.E.

Paper read at a meeting on May 6, 1936, the Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., in the Chair.

TO get the perspective of the ancient Buddhist civilizations beyond the Indian administrative border into correct focus with the present century, a wide angle time lens seems necessary. The passes of the Himalayas have looked down through the centuries on the movements of men between Central Asia and India from the days of Alexander the Great to the present time. Some of these have influenced the course of history from before the Christian era.

It may be of interest to trace very briefly two European contacts, one ancient and one modern. The first European visitors to India were apparently the armies of Alexander. They crossed the Hindu Kush in about 327 B.C. and passed through the Swat valley.

From that distant date, about twenty-two centuries ago, until the eighties of the last century, few, if any, Europeans had visited either Swat, Dir, or Chitral. In 1893 the *de facto* Mehtar of Chitral was recognized by the Government of India.

Two years later Sir George Robertson, the first British Agent there, was besieged in Chitral by the enemies of that Mehtar and by Umra Khan of Jandul. Their forces were only dispelled after severe fighting by British Indian columns advancing from the Malakand, and from Gilgit via the Shandur Pass.

This was the second European visit to Swat, in force, after Alexander's.

To preserve the peace of the North it was subsequently decided to maintain an Indian Regiment in Chitral. One of the celebrated regiments of Gurkhas from Nepal was usually selected for this duty.

The political charge of that peace was later transferred from the British agent at Gilgit to the Political agent for Dir, Swat and Chitral at the Malakand Pass. The reason was just plain common sense—the communications between India and Chitral via the Malakand were far shorter than those through Kashmir and Gilgit. I had succeeded Sir George Robertson at Gilgit and was later on transferred to the Malakand and was, therefore, twice responsible for Chitral.

In the interval between the establishment of a British agency in Gilgit in 1893 and the close of the last century, extensive frontier risings had taken place in the South. These had to be quelled by military measures, and those in their turn led to a review by the Secretary of State for India of the whole political status of the Indian northern frontier. The despatch on this subject was issued as a Parliamentary paper in 1898. It is therefore a public document. It is also a singularly interesting one. For in one single sentence of that despatch Lord George Hamilton laid the foundations of many years of future frontier peace. He suggested to the Government of India "the limitation of your interference with the tribes so as to avoid the extension of administrative control over independent tribal territory."

This Magna Charta of transborder tribal law secured for the clans of Dir and Swat the continuance of their customary laws—Lar (or the road), the customary law, and Shariat (religious tradition), which form the bases of tribal government.

Incidentally, this also enabled the local representative of the Government of India to visit the Chiefs as a tribal guest and therefore under their protection, and not as a foreign magistrate.

It was during a visit to the Mehtar of Chitral under that system by "the broken road," in the first decade of the present century, that I took the opportunity of inviting some head men from Kafiristan to visit me there. They asked me to return their visit.

There seems little public literature about this Eastern Switzerland. Hunter's Gazetteer of India tells us that "Kafiristan, meaning the country of the unbelievers, is a mountainous district due north of Jalalabad and east of Chitral, from which it is separated by the Durand line. The country was formerly independent, but was made over to Afghanistan—so far as the British Government were concerned—when the Durand line was fixed as the British political frontier." It states that "with the exception of a short visit by Colonel Lockhart's mission in 1885, and Sir George Robertson's two visits, the country has not been penetrated in modern times."

The idea behind my visit was neither political nor military. It was merely to ascertain what, if any, traces could be found locally between Alexander's armies or their descendants and the present mountaineers who had resisted Muhammadan invasions and who claimed Greek descent. And whether any connection was to be found there with the early Buddhist civilizations of Swat. The point arises because of the possible Hellenistic influence believed visible in the Buddhist relics

from Swat now brought from there for the Royal Central Asian Society to see. I took with me into Kafiristan as an unofficial A.D.C., Captain E. Willis, D.S.O., and a handful of Chitral levies—to see this country of Rudyard Kipling's "Man who would be King." We found no traces of freemasonry. Crossing the Pass at about 15,000 feet—an easier one than most of those of the North like the Kilik and the Mintaka of Hunza or the Khardong or Sasserla of Ladak—we found hot springs coming up through the snow—just like the last-mentioned pass, and far below us a large village with a great gathering of people.

It seemed that a noted local chief had recently died and that the gathering was in honour of his funeral. Our offer to go back was not accepted. They hoped we would attend (1) if we only talked in whispers and (2) took no pictures. The latter, of course, referred to a possible camera. A verandah was made ready for us. The dead chief—dressed in gorgeous raiment—was seated in a chair. This was carried to an altar draped in white, with a wooden bowl of water on it. A priest, also in white, with a green fillet round his head, conducted a quiet service, the only words of which we caught were Yamsh—Yamsh—Yamsh, as he struck the altar three times with a handful of green twigs—dipped each time into the ceremonial bowl. Then the mourners sang a quiet song in a minor key, and the whole of them—men and women—danced a kind of waltz round the altar. The dead chief's daughter—a pretty girl with blue eyes and long yellow plaited hair—was among the dancers.

Colonel Willis has sent me the following notes: "The dress of the chiefs was exactly that of the old pictures in the Bible. Horns on the head and axes—not lethal but for show—in their hands. They danced in waltz time—*i.e.*, three-time singly, and the reverse way to which we do. You will remember their uncanny facility with the bow and arrow, and the blue-grey eyes and reddish beards of the chiefs, and the ceremonial dancing floor round the pillar on which the wooden bowl stood. In the cemetery they had large wooden effigies which reminded me of centaurs."

The effigy of the chief was to be placed on his grave—that of a mounted horseman—carved in wood. It was explained to me that this was an honour only paid to chiefs or others—men or women—who had done signal service to the tribe—whether the service had been military against the Afghans or other Muhammadans, or charitable. So there were evidently women's rights in this land. Specimens of those effigies were given me in honour of the occasion. I have one here. The ex-

planation I must leave to those more learned in ancient ceremonies than myself, but a few facts may be of interest.

We saw no horses in Kafiristan. The roads are goat tracks—and bad at that. The inhabitants claim descent from Alexander's Greeks—as, incidentally, did Raja Sikandar Khan of Hunza Nagar. They have maintained their language, religion and independence—at least in part—through the centuries to the present day, and lastly, unlike the East, we were told that it is only men and women of the upper classes who are allowed to dance at such ceremonies.

Leaving Chitral for Dir and Swat, there was another hitherto unexplored basin in the Upper Panjkora valley. This need not delay us, for it is described in an account written for the Royal Geographical Society in their Journal for July, 1912. It includes maps of Chitral, and Kafiristan adjoining. The latter is marked—quite correctly, politically speaking—as Afghanistan, and it shows my route. What is germane to the present subject is merely the fact that the tribesmen of the Panjkora Kohistan definitely claimed to have descent from Alexander's people and former relationship to the Kafirs of Kafiristan. Whether anything has been discovered there since I do not know.

The return journey from the North brings us once more on the tracks of the great Chinese traveller, Fa Hien, who came to Swat about 400 A.D. For one afternoon a visitor from Upper Swat was announced to me at the Malakand as the Chief Mullah of the shrine of the Akhund of Swat. My Pathan orderly regarded with obvious suspicion a parcel he was carrying. It might have held some lethal weapon. The mullah placed the package on my office table and looked disapprovingly at the orderly. I smiled and dismissed him. The mullah unwrapped the green silk, saying that it held the Akhunds Koran—now the property of the Mianguls, the direct descendants of the Akhund. He opened the sacred volume, pointed to a single word in it and asked if that was my name. He had seen it in my seal on a letter to the Nawab of Dir. This being confirmed, he continued: "Then as a descendant of *his*, you are entitled to our obedience." I pointed out that Godfrey of Bouillon had been dead for very many centuries. Moreover, he had not—so far as history tells us—ever been married. The mullah laughed, but stuck to his point. The name was the name, and he proffered a written invitation to visit the lands of the Mianguls—and, if I wished, the Akhunds shrine. I accepted with thanks, subject to Government approval. In applying for this I did *not* produce the foregoing improving story, but merely stated I had received the

invitation. The reply was that I could go if the Jirgas (local parliaments) would guarantee my safety. This did not take long, for the Mianguls were—and are—influential folk. The clans were quite flattered when I asked if their invitation could be extended to my wife. In view of the fact that she was the first European lady to ever see the Arcana of Upper Swat, perhaps her private description of this visit, written at the time, and never published, may be more human than the dry-as-dust official notes of an ex-Political agent of the country.

“ We had received letters of invitation, in which I was included, to visit a very little known and hitherto rather inaccessible part of the frontier, I believe the Greek Suastos. The tribes of Upper Swat are supposed to be left to themselves and their own devices. It was therefore with a delightful sense of something unusual falling to my lot that I heard the date was fixed, and that I was to be the first white woman to see this wild tract and the home of the Akhund of Swat, a very holy priest who had combined the tribes to fight against us in the Umbeyla campaign so many years ago. His grave is visited by many pious Muhammadans every year. We were met at the recognized border by our mounted Levy escort of eight horsemen and their officer, looking very smart in khaki and red belts, with the red and white pennons of their lances fluttering in the breeze. There was also the usual gathering of Maliks, or head men, who accompanied us from village to village. As a concession to prejudice I had tied a gauze veil over my hat, but no doubt, in spite of this, I enjoyed the reputation of a bad, bold woman, among a race who shut up their women so strictly as Pathans. The day was ideal with brilliant sunshine. Before us lay an open valley covered with waving crops. Here and there we came on groups of Chenar and mulberry trees backed by glimpses of forest-covered ranges, and snow peaks which lay between us and Gilgit. All combined to make a picture which it will be hard to efface from the memory.

“ The road lay along country paths with irregular hedges at intervals, reminding one forcibly of a country lane at home, with its tangles of blackberry and clematis, and occasional patches of tall buttercups and clover.

“ Our first halt was at a large village, where preparations had been made to give us tea. A circle of villagers formed round us, the innermost row seating themselves on string beds, while two or three were placed for us, covered with gay quilts and bolsters to lean against. Tea was brought in an earthen pot, and with it bowls of curds and fowls

boiled in rice. A portion of tea was ladled out into little china bowls and handed to us. It required some resolution to drink weak tea with lots of sugar and cinnamon. Mindful that I was a political officer's wife, I think I did my duty nobly. Meanwhile, conversation was carried on in Pashtu, and after a short while we murmured excuses about camp and proceeded on our way. The ceremony had to be repeated at the next village, and here goats and sheep were also presented and accepted, and divided among the escort.

"A delightful touch was thrown in by the arrival of large baskets of pink roses—the Persian rose—very sweet smelling and used to make the celebrated attar of roses. These adorned our button-holes and the escort and bystanders decorated their turbans and belts with them. One wild-looking man went so far as to fasten a bunch on to the bayonet of his rifle. It was getting dark when at last we arrived in the first camp at Birkot, and found our tents pitched under spreading trees. It felt weird and unreal to see groups of warlike looking men passing to and fro, their faces illumined by the light of flaming torches. I feel sure we ate our dinner under the glance of hundreds of eyes, invisible to us in the darkness. But the people were all so hospitable that one went to bed feeling absolutely safe, and our night's rest was only marred by the barking of village dogs and the bites of—certainly not dogs.

"Next morning we breakfasted at seven, and while the tents were being taken down and packed up, my husband was suddenly seized with the brilliant idea of collecting the children of the village and having a scramble for pice. A bag of these copper coins was produced, and the children made to stand a few yards away. Then handfuls of coins were thrown about in all directions, and on a given signal the children rushed to see who could pick up most. This evidently caused immense amusement among the men, who were all sitting round watching. Many, we could see, were longing to join in, and we were told that the boys would all go home and please their mothers with the account of their success. Pathan children certainly would be fascinating if they were clean, but as it is their features are obscured by dirt, and their only garment is generally in rags. Nevertheless, they seem to be fat and cheerful, and to accept the dirt with great equanimity.

"Our progress that morning was through a flat country with groves of olives and the sweet-smelling so-called Persian lilac, the only tree I know which locusts leave untouched. Everywhere about the hills are ruined Buddhist buildings, traces of the former occupation of the

valleys by Buddhist settlers. We passed in particular one large tower now filled up with earth and stones, but some of the outside work was still perfect, and the people near said there were the remains of an old well in the centre.

“One is much struck by the large quantities of graveyards passed, but is less surprised when one realizes that the people are constantly having faction fights. We halted in fact about ten o'clock at a village where there had been fighting the day before. They had agreed, however, among themselves to postpone the quarrel as a guest of the tribes had arrived. Their laws of hospitality are strict, and public opinion would strongly resent any breach of them. They gave us tea and sat round quite unconcernedly, promising themselves they would go on with the matter when the restraining influence of guests of the country was removed.

“That evening our camp was reached earlier and proved to be pitched in a particularly sacred village, Saidu. The tents were placed outside a grand new house in process of erection for the head man, the grandson of the Akhund of Swat. It was surrounded by a large ditch, which had to be crossed on a plank and was intended to act as a moat. It was very interesting to camp here, as this village is the stronghold of fanaticism in the valley, and one felt it was a compliment to be invited to stay there. My husband was invited to go and see the shrine, and as I sat and read there was a large audience, who, luckily, were obliged to be at some distance as the moat intervened.

“The next day we started early, accompanied by forty or fifty villagers, all armed, behind us or ahead. The tribesmen had all arranged among themselves to be responsible for us, each clan within its own borders. Our way lay along the river or, rather, along portions of it where irrigation cuts were taken off from the main stream. The scenery was very fine; great towering cliffs came down to the water's edge, leaving only a precarious and extremely narrow path. But by and by we left the cliffs and crossed the stream, several times our horses going in far above their knees. It was an amusing sight to see the armed followers of the head men of our camp of the night before finding their way across almost to their waists in water, and I wished I had a camera to take a view of the picturesque crowd, some on foot and some on little shaggy ponies. On the further side we had a glorious view of snows and cedar forests (deodar) stretching far away to the north to the starting point of the river rushing and tumbling at our feet. Camp was pitched to-day inside the village at Charbagh, to

my discontent, as a Pathan village in warm weather is by no means an agreeable place. However, the head men, on the score of safety, preferred to have us in their midst, so we had to take the smells and the insects as calmly as we could.

“ That afternoon we walked about near the village and were taken to see a large mound, evidently a relic of Buddhist times. Indeed, in several places on the way up we had seen remains of ancient buildings testifying to the occupation hundreds of years ago of the Swat valley by the Buddhists. These Buddhist ruins are generally built of stones, very cleverly fitted together, and have remained so long intact, I fancy, because the present inhabitants are too superstitious to make use of the buildings or material they contain. The ruins are left severely alone.

“ Next morning, the day of our return, we were up early, as the journey was to be made down the river on rafts, and our tents had to be started off to return by road. My husband, however, left me with the escort, and, taking some of the Pathan chiefs, rode off up the river towards a place called Gulibagh, which means the garden of flowers, and from there to get a view of a pass called Kotkai, which leads to Khana Ghorband, an unexplored country of the Indus Kohistan. On his return we rode down a mile or two to the river and then waited until the rafts were ready. I was looking forward immensely to this adventure as I had never been on a skin raft before.

“ Everything was of the simplest and most primitive. The raft itself was composed of six bullock skins turned upside down and distended with air, so that they have the most ludicrous appearance, like cattle rolling helplessly on the ground. Every portion of the skin is sewn up, except the legs, and these are tied up with rope made of twisted rice straw. The man in charge blows down one of the legs if he thinks the air is coming out and the raft likely to sink. A rude framework of logs tied together with straw ropes is then placed upon the skins already inflated, and the raft is practically ready, though a heap of straw and some branches are thrown on the top to improve the seating accommodation. It all sounds incredibly primitive, but the flotation power possessed by these skins and the load they will carry is extraordinary.

“ To pamper the lady, however, a string bed, which plays such a useful part in so many circumstances of life, was brought and laid on the straw, legs uppermost, and upon this we put our hold-alls of bedding and pillows. We were a fairly large party and so six rafts had been provided, each able to hold five or six individuals—that is, a boat-

man and four or five others. We had a raft to ourselves with two boatmen, though, as a matter of fact, one man did all the work and the other sat and looked on, though he occasionally made a dive for the bullock's legs and blew down them until he was purple in the face.

"Two of the rafts went in front of us as escort—the men with loaded rifles—then came ours and then two more, so we were quite a flotilla. At last all was ready and, with a momentary feeling of nervousness, we embarked on our frail structure and paddled off into the main stream.

"It was a most exhilarating feeling. We were whirled along in the rush of the rapid river, now fairly full owing to the melting snow, much in the same way as one has often watched a stick or a bit of paper being carried down a flood, sometimes straight on for some distance and then twirling round helplessly but always at a great pace.

"Our raftsmen were evidently quite *au fait* at the game, for they steered with the greatest ease, and were very clever in exactly hitting off the swiftest rush of water, when we would drop down at a tremendous rate. Once or twice we nearly grounded, and could hear the stones grating against the under-side of the skins in a way which made one realize what a cockle-shell our craft really was. But on the whole the sensation was like that of flying through the water with a fresh breeze cooling one's heated frame, for the sun was uncommonly hot and the glare off the water very great.

"We had taken three days to reach our furthest camp, but coming back we did the raft trip in four hours—passing many villages we had not seen before.

"Only once was there any sign of hostility. A man, said to be a 'talib,' or budding mullah, threw a stone at our raft. The Malik in the raft next us raised his rifle, but my husband signed to him to put it down, and we were out of range of stones in a very few seconds.

"At last we saw familiar landmarks rapidly approaching, and then the towers and flagstaffs of the Chakdarra Fort came into sight, looking in the distance like the conning tower of a stranded battleship.

"It was with great regret we found ourselves pulling up under the great iron bridge below the Fort and heard the raft grating on the stony banks of the river. Then, bidding our friends farewell, with compliments on their skill in navigation and thanks for their care of us, we went up to the hospitable mess at Chakdarra and were supplied with some most welcome refreshment while conveyances were got ready for our drive home to Malakand and frontier civilization. And

so ended what will always remain in our memories a delightful and unprecedented excursion."

The visit to the Akhunds Shrine, referred to in my wife's account, had been extremely simple. I put on uniform in respect for a former enemy—passed with his descendants down a dark passage to the lighted tomb—saluted it—did the peregrination customary by all visitors—saluted again—made the recognized offering to the shrine and left for the open air. My conductors seemed pleased, and, on coming back, the senior Miangul presented me with some aged stones exhumed locally because he said he had heard I was interested in old relics. They were of the times of the Kafirs.

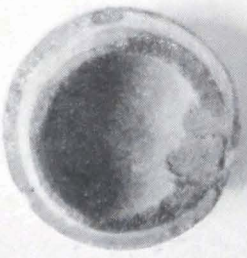
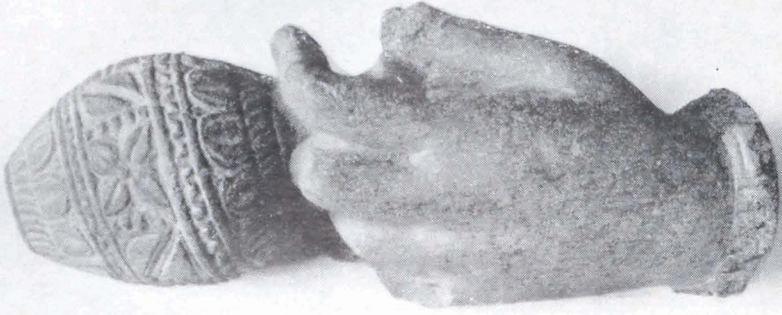
If these were genuine, then two points of interest might possibly arise. You will see that one of the figures seems like some old Triton with fishes' tails. When did the then inhabitants of the Swat valley, hundreds of miles from the sea, get any idea of marine figures, and was this through any possible Greek or European influence?

For many years the stones given me by the Miangul remained unexamined by experts. One incident ought to have remedied this defect. Two reports reached me from the Levies. One that Buddhist sculpture from Swat was in request in the Panjab and was being bought up there. Another that the bodies of Pathans who had apparently died in the transborder were being conveyed into India for burial there. This was, of course, unusual. I made enquiries from my head men. A short while after they reported that they had stopped a caravan of alleged corpses passing through their territories and had enquired the destination. When told this was British India they had examined the alleged deceased. They had found they were of unnatural weight, and the forms were not human but carved stone. In fact, Buddhist statues.

These duly arrived—not in British India, but at the Malakand, where they were deposited in a spare room at the Levy post.

There had been many visitors during our time. It may be of interest to note that the second Royal visit to Swat after Alexander's was that of Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, when the Royal Standard was flown for the first time across the border in peace, not war, from the flagstaff of the Political Agent's house. It was an honour the tribesmen appreciated.

A party of some five or six Japanese interested in Buddhist history also came up, but spoke and understood so little English that communication was very difficult. Among others was a charming American gentleman, Mr. Miller of New York, who brought a letter of introduc-



tion and stayed with us. He, too, was interested in Buddhism, and I showed him the foregoing sculptures in the Levy post. He asked if such could be obtained for, if I remember right, the Metropolitan Museum of New York. I told him that if he could obtain the Viceroy's consent to their transit through India I thought I could gain the assent of the Jirgas of Swat, whose property they really were. He produced that authority and I arranged for their despatch to Bombay by train. Whether they ever arrived safely at New York I never heard. But my Levies had got their spare room back.

Later on again I showed the Buddhist relics which the Miangul had given me to Mr. Percy Brown, formerly Curator of the Lahore Museum and now of the Victoria Memorial of Calcutta. He thought them most interesting and possibly Græco Buddhist and advised my taking them to the British Museum.

This was done quite recently, and I was advised there to see the Royal Central Asian Society. Then an air mail letter recommended me to consult Sir John Marshall, the great Taxila expert and formerly head of the Archæological Department of the Government of India. The latter took up the plaque now brought for the Society to view, glanced at it, back and front, and said, "Last century B.C. or first century A.D."

In a subsequent letter on the subject Sir John Marshall wrote: "As to your toilet tray, make whatever use you like about my observations. It is an interesting example of Indo-Parthian art of the first century A.D., which was directly copied from, or inspired by, Græco-Roman art of the West, and which paves the way for Gandhara art. I found a large number of such trays at Taxila. Some of them came from the Saka-Scythian city of the last century B.C., but the majority from the Parthian city of the first century A.D., destroyed about 64 A.D. They appear to have been used for toilet purposes like the trays found in Egypt. The carvings on them exhibit a variety of scenes and motifs, some erotic, some Bacchic, but the commonest motifs are winged horses and griffins, fish-tailed monsters, hippocamps and the like. None appear to have any religious significance—they are essentially mundane in character and almost all traceable to Hellenistic prototypes."

Whether there may be any connection between the claims of Greek ancestry made by the tribes of the North and apparently Hellenistic influence in carvings found in Swat, is a question best left to the Royal Central Asian Society, as recommended by the British Museum.

But the trail had been blazed by my wife's journey to Upper Swat,

now some thirty years ago. In recognition of local prejudices no cameras were then carried. Those who may wish to see really good photographs of Buddhist remains in Upper Swat might well consult Sir Aurel Stein's *Archæological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill-Tracts*, published in 1930, and also perhaps General Cunningham's *Ladak*.

For the long peace in that formerly explosive frontier where the above visits were made we are indebted, as I have stated, to Lord George Hamilton when Secretary of State for India. His despatch had practically confirmed the policy of that great frontier officer, Sir Robert Sandeman, who ruled Baluchistan so quietly and long under the system of local tribal self-government he inaugurated there. I had served under him and should like to pay this humble tribute to his memory and his system. It maintained the peace of the "broken road" to Chitral from India for seven years at least to my knowledge. Two unimportant facts may show this. The numbers of killings and woundings on it were less in those seven years than a day's casualties on the London streets. And a European nurse with two small charges and an orderly out for a walk on that road were asked by a polite Pathan wayfarer why she did not wear her jewellery. When she said she had none, he equally politely reassured her with the statement that she might walk the whole way to Dir and Chitral with an open tray of gold on her head and no one would touch it.

There is only this to add. For access to my old confidential political diaries I should wish to thank your Hon. Secretary, Sir Percy Sykes. He obtained from Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, leave for my reference to them in the India Office, and even to publish data derived from them on such a subject. As to the relics themselves brought from the country visited by the Marco Polo of the East, the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien, these have been pronounced genuine by a great expert, and may I therefore request the Royal Central Asian Society to form their own opinion—as recommended by the British Museum—with regard to any archæological interest they may claim.

As to the religious significance of the "exhibits," the small stone reliquary shown may prove the most interesting. Such receptacles held the greatest treasure of a Buddhist stupa, a human personal relic of the Buddha himself, whether hair, tooth, or portion of a nail. It may quite possibly have been there when Fa Hien visited the country.

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THE GERMAN HINDU KUSH EXPEDITION, 1935

THE *Münchener Neueste Nachrichtung* of January 26 of this year gives a short account of the German Expedition to the Hindu Kush in 1935, written by Dr. A. Herrlich, doctor to the German Legation in Kabul. The article starts by giving an account of the early difficulties in getting permits for the expedition—the gloomy prognostications of their friends in Kabul of the difficulties they would encounter and of the hardships they would have to endure.

Dr. Herrlich then gives an account of the objectives of the expedition: Why did the expedition choose this difficult and inaccessible place and what did they hope to find there? Modern botany points to the recesses of innermost Asia as the place of origin of many of our cultivated plants. These, in their more primitive forms and in their native places, have a large number of inherited qualities which in their wanderings from the hills and high plateaus they have lost and which are lacking in the garden and field forms which we have in Europe in our cultivated specimens to-day.

The expedition therefore aimed not only at searching for the original forms and in solving questions of descent, and at finding out the wanderings of plants from place to place, but they hoped to collect plant material and to bring it back so that, through the practical research of the savants in the laboratories, the original hardness might be brought to our cultivated specimens—security against frost-bite, power to withstand certain plant sicknesses, etc.

The central territories of the Hindu Kush were to be the main objective, with its great peaks of over 6,000 metres and one great peak of at least 7,500 in the Nuksand and Tirich group. This tract of land called Nuristan lies in the north-east corner of Afghanistan.

We know Afghanistan to be a hill country, we see on the map that the Hindu Kush, like the Himalayas, stream out from the roof of the world, the Pamir, and form the backbone of Afghanistan, traversing it in a south-westerly direction, and finally loses itself in the chain of hills of the Parapamisos. Therefore these mountains divide the steppes of Turkistan from the deserts of Southern Afghanistan. Tracks thousand of years old traverse the well-known Hindu Kush passes—the Unai, Shibar and Salang passes—passes which Alexander's army used on their march through India. But the eastern district of the

Hindu Kush was quite unknown. "In outermost Eastern Afghanistan, on the border between Afghanistan and the Indian district of Chitral, stands a powerful peak, like a guardian. No European eye has ever seen its precipices and its gorges, no European foot has trodden on its glaciers. Its snow and icebound pinnacles rise to a height of 7,800 metres, and overlook one of the wildest tracts of Asiatic mountain country"—so wrote Emil Trinkler in 1925.

This is the wild tract called Nuristan. Until some decades ago it was called Kafirstan—the land of Kafirs, unbelievers—until after the conversion of its inhabitants Abdul Rahman named it Nuristan, the land of light. The English traveller Robertson had visited Eastern Kafirstan at the end of the last century. At that time the Kafirs were marauding the fertile valleys of neighbouring Afghanistan—they were the dread of their neighbours and never could be caught, as no one could follow them into their fastnesses. High passes, 4,000 to 5,000 metres, guarded their access, and the valleys and paths were precipitous and easily defended. Even after its capture by the Afghans the valleys and ravines of the country remained a secret—Government let no one go in, and only two Germans (Vogt and Seydlak) succeeded in 1925 in visiting a few of the valleys on an Afghan Government Commission. English, French and, later, Russians tried in vain to send expeditions to this white spot in the map, and it is directly due to the trouble taken by the German Ambassador to Kabul, Dr. Ziemcke, that the German Hindu Kush Expedition obtained permission to explore Nuristan.

(Here follow details as to other permits, supplies, portorage, etc.)
 "No one could tell us how far pack animals could go or what porters would be available, so the equipment had to be carefully looked into.

"On May 28, 1935, the expedition set out in a high, packed lorry from Kabul. The road went through Jelalabad, and from there followed the Kunar River towards its source to Chigan-serai. Here we unloaded, and the members of the expedition packed their equipment and themselves on to 40 mules—they had 4 servants, 16 Afghan soldiers and 3 officers, who had servants. There were 15 mule drivers. The expedition then headed up the Pech Valley in the direction of Central Nuristan. It was known that the mules could only carry the loads a short way and then porters would be needed. Owing to the sparse population we wanted even more porters than usual; for the official statements as to the size of the villages, small though it was, 20 to 30 men, was an exaggeration. In order to secure our specimens we made depôts and left Afghan soldiers to guard them. The longer detours started

off from and led back to these points, and new material was left in them for safety. In Eastern Nuristan and in Chitral the depôts moved by the main roads and lightened our difficulties on the side tracks.

“In Central Nuristan the horse caravan from the Chigan-serai came to its halt. During the two and a half months following we marched continuously through Nuristan in all directions. With its ranks well kept, the expedition moved over the passes from one deep valley to the next, climbing passes of 4,500 metres high—then following the glacier streams down into the ravines.

“Our work can best be described by giving a specimen of our day. This started at 5 p.m., when we pitched camp; if the pass had been a very high one, we would have had to start at an unbelievably early hour in order to get over while the snow was still frozen. At long last we would reach our next settlement and would pitch our camp, generally in a spot near a stream in a forest meadow. In about an hour we were ready and each man had settled down to his own work. The botanists collected plants, the field workers collected their specimens. The most difficult work fell to the anthropologists and philologists. The former had to get head measurements—it often happened that I stood in the middle of the meadow with one single “sacrifice,” the others having fled in terror before the shining instruments. In the evening came the “talk hour,” and we would assemble in front of the tents and attend to the wounds and smaller troubles of our porters and of the natives. After a month or two the Europeans began to feel the want of fresh fruit and vegetables, and small wounds would not heal and insect bites became troublesome.

“*The Ethnological Riddle.*—The inhabitants of Nuristan do not all belong to one stock—before we came we knew they fell into different groups. Almost every valley had a different dialect, and we often had to use more than one interpreter. The history of Nuristan is not yet known, and the origin of its inhabitants disputed. One thing the Afghans always notice about them is that they sit on their toes and heels (*i.e.*, like Europeans) and not on the ground. The country is, to borrow a modern word, *autark* (self-supporting). A few pedlars climb the passes and bring Indian textiles. The people live on their husbandry—on the tiny terraced fields and their pastures.

“We succeeded in getting over three hundred anthropological measurements, and hope that when these are examined and the work done on the various dialects some new light may be thrown on these subjects.

“In their outward appearance the Nuristanis have a percentage of big blond-haired, blue-eyed types which mark them out from the surrounding peoples. There is a remnant of early Aryan stock among them and also traces of descent from Alexander the Great’s soldiers—but this is not cleared up.

“Also they have their own peculiar culture. Their houses are of wood and stone, often clinging like swallows’ nests to the high overhanging rocks, the fronts supported by long poles. Rich carvings show a high degree of skill in the art of wood carving.”

Leaving Nuristan, the expedition crossed into Chitral, where, thanks to the excellent organization of the British military authorities, they were met on the summit of the Sumavag Pass by an Indian and Chitrali escort—at a height of 4,400 metres. “We said our farewells to the Afghans, and a new field of work opened up before us on which we spent two months.

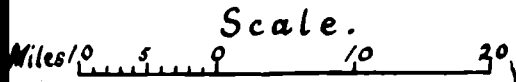
“In Nuristan we were the first to go in, the explorers of the land. In Chitral, which was already well known through repeated British expeditions, we had to follow our objectives more closely. Thanks to the better roads, we could ride and could send on our luggage on mules and donkeys. We made quicker progress than we had done in Nuristan. A seventeen days’ ride led us up the valley of the Kunar to its source in the Boroghel Pass—the border hill between the Russian and Chinese and India Pamirs where they all meet. We saw the great hills and glaciers of the border. We pushed up as far as the Tirich Lake towards the 7,800 metres high peak in the Hindu Kush. Two English expeditions had tried in vain to climb the north side. We made our base at Chogor, near the chief town of Chitral, and attempted the southern flank—with our outfit it was not possible to climb the mountain, but it delighted us to discuss its possibility. We succeeded in reaching 5,850 metres, a small feat in the huge heights of the Himalayas, but one of our company got pneumonia and we had to hurry back. . . .”

THE KOHISTAN OF EASTERN PROVINCE, AFGHANISTAN

BY CAPTAIN D. R. CRONE, R.E.

A BRIEF review of the topography of and historical references to Nuristan may give a better perspective to the problem of this tract than the

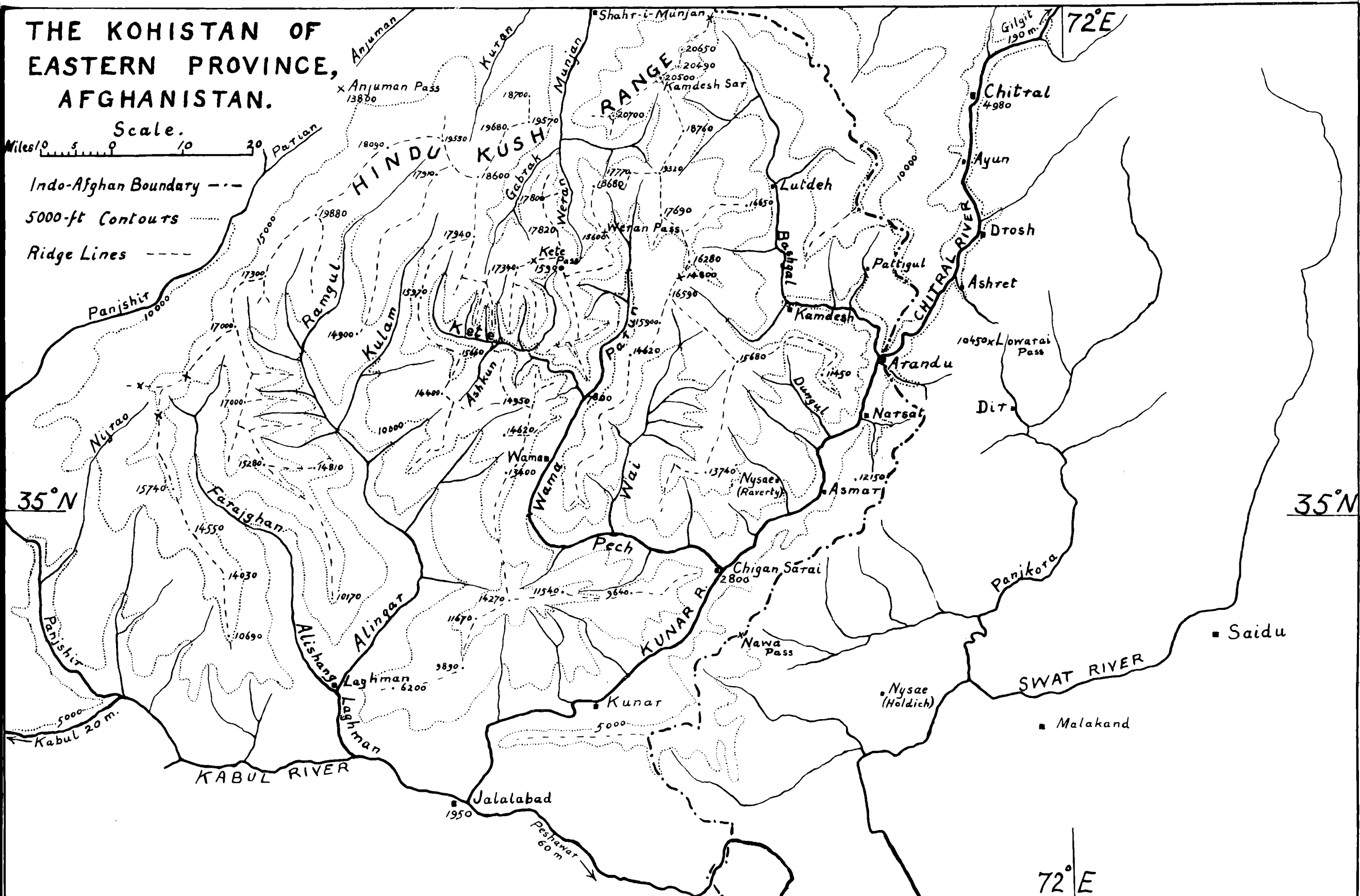
THE KOHISTAN OF EASTERN PROVINCE, AFGHANISTAN.



Indo-Afghan Boundary ---

5000-ft Contours - - - - -

Ridge Lines - - - - -



rather vivid journalese of the above preliminary report of the German Hindu Kush Expedition of 1935.

Nomenclature

A great deal of confusion in references to this area has arisen from the fact that numerous units, different topographically and ethnographically, have been lumped together within the title, the Kafiristan, the area covered by which has never been defined. It appears that from the time when Afghanistan first became Musulman the tract occupied by the original inhabitants who did not embrace the new faith has been known as a Kafiristan. The boundary of this Kafiristan has thus had no topographical location but has contracted continually in response to the pressure on the infidel inhabitants. Kafiristan has never been the name of an area; it has merely been a descriptive reference easily understood by contemporary Muslim readers. The name "Bilaur" or "Bilauristan" seems to have been a geographical name for the area occupied by the Kafirs in the sixteenth century and corresponds roughly with the area I define later as the Kohistan. The present Afghan name "Nuristan," taken literally, should refer only to the area, ever increasing, occupied by families converted to Islam since the enforcement of Afghan suzerainty in 1895. With this meaning it is as objectionable, as a geographical name, as the former Kafiristan. In the absence of any really suitable name for the area, I have used the topographically descriptive name, Kohistan (the mountain tract) of Eastern Province, Afghanistan, to refer to the mountain complex bounded in the east by the Indo-Afghan frontier, in the south by the Kunar, Kabul and Laghman Rivers, in the west by the Kabul Province, the boundary of which follows the Alishang River, and in the north by Kataghan and Badakhshan Province, the boundary of which follows the line of high peaks of the Hindu Kush.

Topography

The sketch map shows the most recent surveys of this area. The country appears to consist of a slightly tilted peneplane of extreme elevation which has been heavily eroded by the very considerable precipitation. The level reaches nearly 21,000 feet in the north-east, 20,000 feet in the north-west and 15,000 feet in the south. The line of the highest peaks runs along the north of the area and, with the exception of the high basin of the Weran and Gabrak streams, which united cut through the high line and flow north to the Oxus, all the

drainage runs south to the Kabul River. One of the most interesting features of the country geologically is the line of three massive blocks running north and south through the centre of the tract and diverting the south flowing rivers to the east around their flanks. The main valleys form the units of this country and are the Weran basin on the north slope already mentioned, and from west to east on the south slope Ramgul, Kulam, Kete, then the large single valley which is in turn from its source Parun, Wama and Pech, then Wai, and finally Bashgal. No point of the watershed at the head of these rivers appears to be less than 15,000 feet above sea-level, whilst the heights of the main peaks are shown on the map. The divide between the Alingar and Pech Valleys appears to be about 9,000 feet at its lowest. The valley floors appear to fall at the same rate as corresponding valleys in Chitral, about 1 in 10 along the stream, but the valleys are narrower and the sides more precipitous.

Historical Boundaries of Kafiristan

Alexander's chronicles give the earliest record of people who can be definitely connected with the present inhabitants. These were located at Nysae, which unfortunately has been identified both in Bajaur by Holdich and a short distance west of the Kunar in our Kohistan by Raverty. It is certain, at any rate, that this village was within easy reach of the Swat Valley, in which Alexander was then operating.

From Raverty's accounts the non-Islamic peoples known as Kafirs occupied in the sixteenth century the whole of the area we are considering and, in addition, the Nijrao and Farajghan Valleys in the west and the whole of Chitral and Gilgit as far as the junction of the Gilgit and Indus Rivers, and also the northern portion of the present Dir State. By 1850 the area occupied by these people had shrunk to minor valleys in Chitral and Gilgit and our Kohistan north of a line from the junction of the Ramgul and Kulam Valleys to the easternmost point of the Pech River, then east to the eastern watershed of the Wai Valley, north along this, thence to the Bashgal confluence with the Kunar, and along the present Indo-Afghan frontier to the Hindu Kush, just including the upper part of the Lutkoh Valley of Chitral.

The country occupied by the Kafirs in 1891 appears to be identical with this area. The present situation is difficult to assess, but it is probable that only the upper valleys of Ramgul, Kulam, Kete, Parun and Bashgal now contain Kafirs living in their customary manner.

Theory of Origin

A glance at the map will show at once that if the present inhabitants have been forced into their present abodes by hostile pressure it is most likely that the Ramgul and Kulam Valleys have drawn their inhabitants from the south-west and south—that is, from Kabul and Laghman, the Wama and Pech and Kete from the Kunar Valley, the Peshawar Plain via the Nawa Pass and from the Ningrahar Plain, and also possibly have taken some of the immigrants via the Alingar River from Laghman. The Bashgal would form a refuge for fugitives from the east and south-east—that is, from the Chitral, Panjkora and Swat Valleys—whilst the Wai Valley could take immigrants from either the Pech or Bashgal streams. The Weran Valley would afford a sanctuary for fugitives from the Oxus Valley in the north.

The only movements in historic times of which there appear to be traces seem to confirm this generalization. The displacement of the Kafirs from the head of the Dungul Valley, from Narsat in the Kunar and from Ashret in Chitral into the Bashgal Valley within the past century is well established, and Raverty records a movement of Kafirs from the area south-east of Kabul towards the Kohistan in the ninth century. What particular tribe these are it is impossible to say.

This hypothesis of the ever contracting ring enclosing specimens of all types of inhabitants of Afghanistan and Northern India back to the earliest times and driving them into the narrow and easily defended confines of the Kohistan will at any rate serve to explain simply the few recorded facts which we possess so far regarding the country. Under it we would expect to find the inhabitants of each valley stratified with the earliest arrivals at the highest elevations and the last comers at the bottom. The strata at the same levels in different valleys should be similar, with the possible exception of the Weran, which has obtained its supply from the north. Further, the flanking valleys of Ramgul and Bashgal should present the best field for the ethnological observer, since there is probably less chance of intermixing or of the banking up of earlier races in side valleys. The northern origin of the Weranis may afford an explanation of their fair complexions, their peaceful disposition and their style of clothing, indicated by Robertson as being so distinct from the other inhabitants. It would seem that the Weranis (called by Robertson *Viron*) must have crossed the Weran Pass some time during the last century, as Raverty places them north of the divide in the latter part of the eighteenth century, while Robertson in

1891 found them occupying Parun, the head waters of the Pech River.

The only continuous stratum according to existing records is that of the Kator, who occupy the uppermost parts of Ramgul, Kulam, Kete and Bashgal. This tribe was the object of an attack by Timur in the year 1398, a campaign which lasted three weeks only and in which honours appear to have been divided.

The complete series recorded by Robertson in 1891 in the Bashgal is, at the top, Kator, next Muman, then Kashtan, and, finally, Kam, with the Jazhi banked up in the side valley of Pattigul and the Bari or slave population. It is probable that, owing to intermarriage in the case of the Jazhi and the heterogeneous origin of and trade in the Bari, no type of either of these races can be distinguished for ethnographical purposes, but it is to be hoped that among the results of the German expedition there will be sufficient data to correlate the inhabitants of the various valleys, to define with some accuracy the various strata and their relation to the so-called Dards of Chitral and Gilgit, and ultimately to date the migrations and possibly obtain a link with the Indus civilization of Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa. This is a very high expectation, but unless these data are obtained in the very near future they will never be obtained, for the Kafir will soon disappear before the insistent pressure of Islam, so well indicated by the name given to their country, Nuristan.

The principal sources of these notes are :

Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, London, 1888, and *The Kafiristan and Kafiri Tribes*, Calcutta, 1896.

McNair, *A Visit to Kafiristan*. Lecture to R. Geog. Soc., December 10, 1883.

McGregor, *Gazetteer of Central Asia, Afghanistan*, Calcutta, 1872.

Robertson, *Kafirs of the Hindu Kush*, London, 1896.

Voigt, *Kafiristan*, Breslau, 1933.

KALAT

Short Notes of the lecture given by Mr. C. P. Skrine, O.B.E., on June 3, 1936, General Sir John Shea in the Chair.

THE lecturer began by showing a map, specially prepared for the lecture, indicating the political divisions of the Kalat State and its dependencies at the present day, and the alignment of the few roads and motorable tracks which traverse it. He pointed out that the State comprises about two-thirds of the area of Indian (as opposed to Iranian) Baluchistan and occupies a strategic position between Afghanistan, Iran, and the Arabian Sea at the extreme western end of the Indian Empire. The country first appears in history when Alexander marched his army from the Indus Valley through Gedrosia (Mekran) to Persia, probably via Kulanch and the Kech Valley, while his general, Krateros, took the heavy baggage by the Mula Pass and the valley of the Helmand to Sistan. After this, nothing more is heard until the middle of the seventh century A.D., when the Arabs conquered Baluchistan. There is a tradition, however, that prior to the Arabs a Hindu dynasty called the Sewas ruled Kalat, whose picturesque "Miri" or citadel, now ruined by the earthquake, is supposed to have been founded by them. The name of Sibi, winter headquarters of the Baluchistan Administration, is believed to derive from this ancient but somewhat shadowy race.

Between the seventh and sixteenth centuries Kalat was ruled by a series of short-lived Muslim dynasties, Ghaznavid, Ghorid, Khivan, Mongol, and Arghun in turn. With the sixteenth century came the Moguls, under whose suzerainty the rival races of Baluch and Brahui strove for predominance. The former are a Semitic race who believe that their ancestors came originally from Aleppo in Syria, while the Brahuis are undoubtedly of ancient Indian stock; their language, as is well known, is closely allied to the Dravidian tongues of the far-off Madras Presidency.

The struggle lasted through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, towards the end of which period a Brahui clan called the Mirwaris obtained the ascendancy. Under the leadership of successive Khans of the Ahmadzai dynasty, named after Mir Ahmad Khan (1666-1696) but founded by a much earlier Mir Hasan Khan, these Mirwari Brahuis gradually succeeded in combining the various Brahui and Baluch tribes into a loosely knit confederation with its capital at Kalat, some 90 miles

south of Quetta. Mir Admad Khan Ahmadzi wrested the last shadow of sovereignty from the Moguls, but under his successors the country gradually came under the domination of Afghanistan. Finally, in 1749, Ahmad Shah Abdali of Kandahar, successor of Nadir Shah, sent an expedition against Kalat and conquered it for Afghanistan. In the following year Mir Nasir Khan Ahmadzai became Khan of Kalat under the suzerainty of Kandahar. This man ruled till his death in 1794, and his memory is still green as "Nasir Khan the Great." He was loyal to Ahmad Shad for most of his reign and frequently assisted



that monarch in his various wars, in return for which the Emperor granted him "Shāl" or Quetta, Mastung and other fertile lands. Within Kalat, Nasir Khan the Great was head of a confederacy of tribes, each under their own Sardar or chief; he was never a despotic ruler. The present Khan or "Wali" of Kalat, His Highness Beglar-Begi Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, G.C.I.E., is the twenty-sixth ruler in succession from Mir Hasan.

The lecturer indicated on the map of Baluchistan the four divisions of Kalat proper, Sarawan, Jhalawan, the Kalat "niabat," and Kachi, as

well as the province of Mekran and the two more or less independent principalities of Kharan and Las Bela. Sarawan and Jhalawan are mainly tribal, the former to the north being held by tribes of mixed Brahui and Pathan stock and the latter by Brahuis with a minority of Baluch tribes, including the powerful Magassis and Rinds. The expeditions of Nasir Khan the Great carried the arms of Kalat far afield; at one time or another in his long reign he brought not only Mekran and Persian Baluchistan, but the East Persian provinces of Sistan and Kain right up to Turbat-i-Haidari under his sway. To this day Baluch tribes are an important element in the population of these lands, and some of the best "Baluch" tribal rugs on the market come from the neighbourhood of Turbat-i-Haidari.

The first European, so far as is known, who ever visited Kalat was that remarkable traveller, Lieutenant Pottinger, who went there in disguise in 1810. Great Britain comes into the picture in 1838, when Lieutenant Leech was sent on a mission to the court of Khan Mehrab, Khan of Kalat, to secure his goodwill for the proposed expedition to Afghanistan in support of Shah Shuja's claim to the throne. The first Treaty with the Khan, concluded in 1841, became a dead letter owing to the failure of our policy in Afghanistan; there was another in 1854 which worked for some years, but it was not till 1876 that our relations with Kalat were placed upon a sound and permanent basis by the Treaty obtained in that year by Captain (afterwards Colonel Sir Robert) Sandeman. This Treaty, together with sundry other agreements relating to the railways, the Bolan Pass, the telegraph line, and the leasing of Quetta, Nushki and the Nasirabad subdivision to the British Government, have since Sir Robert Sandeman's time formed the basis not only of our relations with Kalat State, but of our whole position in Baluchistan. They have worked well, and are a standing monument to the genius of that great political officer.

Concluding his brief historical sketch, the lecturer proceeded to show a number of slides and films, both plain and in natural colours (Finlay and Spicer-Dufay methods), illustrating life and travel in the various divisions of the Kalat State. The subjects dealt with included the annual migrations of the Brahui and Baluch tribes; reconnaissances by R.A.F. aeroplane; frontier watch and ward by the Mekran and Chagai Levy Corps, based on Panjgur and Nushki respectively; motor-ing in British cars and lorries along desert tracks; floods at Sibi, ploughing with camels in Kalat, and a Brahui wedding caravan on the move; the Miri or ancient citadel of the Khans of Kalat; the difficulties

of motoring in the wilds of Jhalawan and Mekran; ibex shooting among the precipitous mountains of Kharan and Johan; scenes on the Arabian Sea coast and in the territories of the Jam of Las Bela; the arrival of Herr Oscar Spic at Sonmiani on his way from Hamburg to Australia in a rubber canoe. Mr. Skrine concluded with a reference to his miraculous escape in the earthquake of May 31, 1935, when the Residency at Mastung in which he was sleeping collapsed in ruin.

Sir John SHEA: Would anyone like to ask any questions?

A MEMBER: Could the lecturer tell us how he manages to oil and fuel his car when making such journeys as those we have just seen?

Mr. SKRINE: Dumps of petrol are kept at Kalat, Surab, Khozdar, Panjgur Turbat and a few other points, not only for Government cars but for the R.A.F. with whom we and the State authorities co-operate in this matter for our mutual convenience. But it is of course essential to use cars of low petrol consumption; large luxury vehicles burning petrol at the rate of 7 or 8 miles to the gallon are useless.

Sir John SHEA: Ladies and Gentlemen, before the lecture began, I wondered to how many people here Kalat was *terra incognita*. There may have been even some who hardly knew where Kalat was.

But after Mr. Skrine has given us this very charming and lucid lecture, we all have a very good working knowledge of that State.

I knew it fifteen years ago, when I was in charge of the Western Command in India, and I can testify to the extreme difficulty of getting about the State, and also to the extreme hospitality one meets when one gets inside. I wonder, by the way, whether the Khan's stud is still going?

Mr. SKRINE: Yes.

Sir John SHEA: It so happened at that time there was some slight trouble going on in India. The Khan of Kalat said to me, "I hear there is some trouble in Hindustan. You can have 10,000 or 15,000 or 20,000 Baluch horse, and we will go and settle the matter for you."

Sir Mir Shams Shah, whose untimely death must have been heard of with regret by hundreds, and almost thousands, of Englishmen, was an Indian whom one is proud to have known: a delightful host, a charming companion, and a real gentleman.

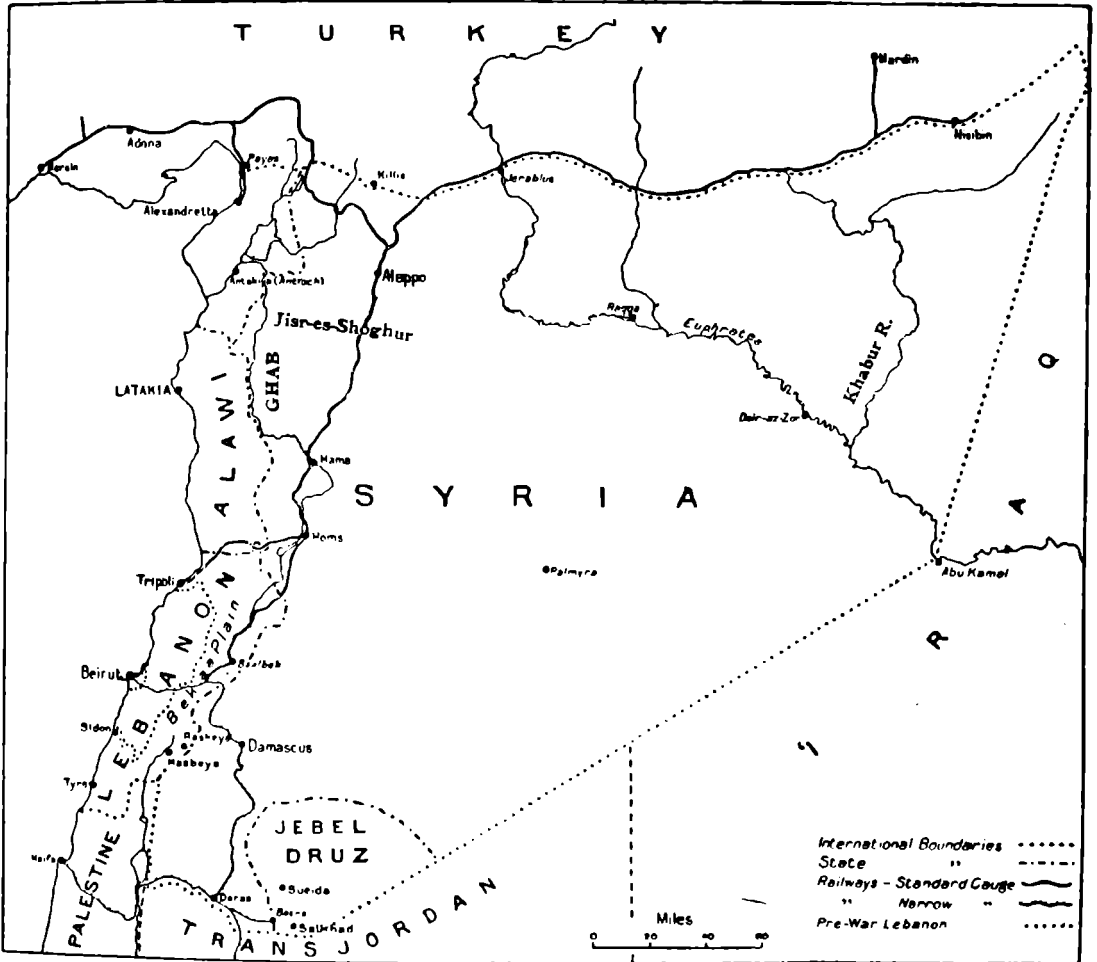
I will ask you now to join me in thanking the lecturer for the trouble he has taken to tell us so much about the state of Kalat, to tell it so interestingly and charmingly, and also to show us those delightful photographs. (Applause.)

INSTALLING THE ASSYRIANS IN THE ORONTES VALLEY

(Translated from a paper)

By M. MAURICE BÉRARD

(President of the Bank of Syria and Grand Lebanon.)



THE history of the last quarter of a century has shown the necessity of Franco-British collaboration. This joint responsibility is not only necessary in European affairs, but also in the Near East, where, too often, the fate of Christian communities is at stake. Christianity is, after all, the charter of the civilization of which France and England are the corner-stones. It is therefore natural that our two countries should make a joint effort, both moral and material, to solve the problem of the unfortunate Assyrian tribes whom Fate has hit so hard during the last twenty years. I shall not stop to recall the

origins and character of their trials; others infinitely better qualified than myself have made them widely known to British public opinion, which is always sensitive to the misfortunes of native peoples. There have been widespread appeals for raising the money which will allow the realization of the humane acts which the dramatic turn of events has made necessary.

The Assyrian population—more than 20,000 souls—have to be transplanted from the north of 'Iraq to Syrian territory under the French Mandate. This transfer must be effected in such a way that the families who go to make up the population find security of person and of goods—bodily protection and justice, liberty of conscience, respect of traditions, customs, and language; in fact, all that we still have courage to appreciate in France and England—that ancient principle of justice which, *au fond*, never troubles anyone as long as he lives honestly.

Here, then, is the problem. How does France, in collaboration with those eminent men delegated from the League of Nations to carry out this work, intend to solve it?

We must remember that there is a colony of Assyrians which started in 1933 in the Khabur district in the north of Syria, which has been growing slowly until it reached its present size of about 6,000 souls.

Social Organization.

Their social organization is essentially that of a tribe of which the principal "cell" is the family—in the larger sense of the word. The head man (chief) of the tribe, the "Malek," is sometimes nominated by his hereditary title, sometimes by vote. The nomination may be for life or for a limited period; this varies according to the tribe.

The father of the family, truly a *pater familias*, retains a wide authority.

Marriages are almost exclusively between Assyrians, and preferably between members of the same tribe. It is true that one finds occasional cases of marriages of Assyrian men with Chaldean or Armenian women, but never of Assyrian women with strangers. The woman is bought by her husband, who pays the price to her father or, failing the father, to the nearest relation. On her side the woman brings her trousseau by right of dowry. Divorce is not admitted, because it is forbidden by their religion, but there are a certain strictly limited number of cases where marriage may be nullified. This nullity must be declared by the chief cleric. The husband whose union is annulled must pay an indemnity to the family to which he gives back his wife;

she, on her side, falls once more under the tutelage of the head of the family.

The birth-rate is very high. It is difficult to give exact figures. The first contingents arriving in Syria in 1933 were of 550 men only, and it was not until September, 1934, that their wives were allowed in. Their reunions resulted in almost 400 births in 1935. Other contingents making up the Colony to its sum total of 6,000 arrived in 1935. The conditions of living and types of houses are the same as those provided for the preliminary period of the installation of the new settlements in the Ghab.

Economic Organization.

In order to increase the worth of the land on the banks of the Khabur, where the Colony is installed, three pumping stations have been planned, one with three motors of 50 h.p., two with three motors of 10 h.p. The station with three 50-h.p. motors, and one of the two stations with three 10-h.p. motors, have actually been constructed. The third station is being built. It is calculated that these three stations will allow of the irrigation of 4,525 acres. The water pumped by these stations is reserved principally for corn land. For market gardens irrigation is by means of wheels, called "norias," which are made either of wood or of metal. The first sowings, at the end of 1935, were principally of corn, barley, lentils, chick-peas, and beans. Cereals are grown, for the time being, in common under the superintendence of a delegate of the Trustees. The cultivated lands will only be taken over by tribes and families when the whole 4,448 acres have been put under cultivation. The market gardens, on the other hand, are already the property of the individual settlers, who own the produce.

This work of cultivation is still in its infancy. Up to the present the Colony has lived on the grants made by the Committee of Trustees. Maintenance—uncooked meat, flour, and vegetables—costs about a franc a day per head. Rations can already be diminished as the vegetable gardens begin to give their first results and as the produce of the various flocks and herds, which were either brought over by immigrants or purchased by the Trustees, materialize. Already members of the Colony have begun to exchange their surplus and are also selling in the nearby markets, Ras el Ain or Hasseché. It is thought that by 1937 the Colony will be self-supporting and will not need subsidizing.

The experience which the Administration has already acquired will be of the greatest value when they settle the newly arrived refugee

families in the Ghab area. This is actually a swampy plain about 37 miles long and about 5 to $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles wide, through which the River Orontes winds. The ground, now covered with reeds, should answer well for the cultivation of cereals and of cotton, rice, or tobacco, etc. We must not forget that in antiquity this land was the centre from which the whole of Central Syria was provisioned.

The plans adopted provide for the drainage and irrigation of the whole of the plain—about 98,800 acres—37,050 acres of which are to be allotted to the Assyrians. Works have been planned as follows :

(1) The construction of a reservoir at Acharné on the Orontes. This reservoir, situated on the lower part of the Acharné plain, is built to hold the flood waters coming from upstream during the winter months, and so to store a reserve which can be distributed in the dry season.

There is to be a dam about 2,734 yards along the crest and of a maximum height of just under 46 feet. The total capacity of the reservoir will be 176,580 million gallons.

The outlet, built in front of the barrage, is a rectangular tower which contains the sluices. These, twelve in number, regulate the flow into six channels, which will in their turn feed the two principal irrigation canals and also direct the overflow water into the Orontes. At times of flood enough water will be held to inundate 24,700 acres. The maximum yield at the outlet will reach to 1,518.61 cubic feet per second.

(2) Works for regulating the overflow from Kharkour.

(a) A dam at the downstream end of the newly straightened Orontes, designed for the regulation, during times of minimum flow, of the water level in the drainage canals to serve the needs of agriculture to the best advantage.

(b) A tunnel about 984 yards in length to insure the continuity of flow. It will be a rectangular section 17 to 18 feet wide and 9 feet 10 inches high. The maximum yield will be 2,825 cubic feet per second.

(3) The deepening of the Orontes. This will be effected by dredging the river bed and by straightening out the most pronounced curves.

(4) Drainage canals. These will include a main canal just over 20 miles long; secondary canals of a total length of about 40 miles.

(5) Irrigation canals. These will include a main canal about 25 miles long, secondary canals of a total length of about 56 miles, and subsidiary canals to take water from the above to the properties to be irrigated.

The general plan for improving the Ghab is based on an allotment of 13.2 gallons of water per $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres per second; but, taking into account the volume of water which will be available in the Acharné reservoir, the irrigation canals have been calculated to take an excess of about 30 per cent. of the above yield to allow a margin for lands requiring strong irrigation (rice, new meadowlands).

The total cost of these works, allowing only for the 37,050 acres to be allotted to the Assyrians, has been estimated at 62,000,000 francs, to be expended between 1935 and 1939. They will be carried out under the Public Works Department of Syria.

The Settlement of 21,000 Assyrians.

The Assyrians now to be installed in the Ghab are, firstly, 13,000 Assyrians brought directly from the Mosul region into the Ghab (approximately 6,000 in 1936 and 7,000 during 1937); ultimately, when the works on the Ghab plain are entirely completed, 8,500 Assyrians will be brought from the Colony on the Khabur, which will then be closed. Six thousand are now there, and 2,500 are to come during 1936.

The majority of these Assyrians are Nestorians; a few, but not many, are Chaldæans or orthodox Catholics.

Their settlement will be safeguarded by an autonomous organization, called the Council of Trustees instituted by the League of Nations. There are three members, one of which is nominated by the High Commissioner (for Syria). They will look after :

- (i.) The transportation of the settlers from 'Iraq.
- (ii.) The provisional settlement, made during the preparation of the Ghab, for those being brought direct from 'Iraq.
- (iii.) The actual settlement.

(i.) *Transport.* The settlement of the Assyrians coming from 'Iraq will be carried out as far as the railway frontier of Tel-Kochek by lorries under the 'Iraqi Government, from Tel-Kochek to Hamah by rail, from Hamah to Acharné by lorries.

The cost of transport per head with 100 kilogrammes of luggage is roughly 12 francs from Tel-Kochek to Hamah and 4 francs from Hamah to Acharné.

(ii.) *Temporary settlements during the preparation of the Ghab.* 1,976 acres of land have been rented in the neighbourhood of the Ghab for the temporary accommodation of the population.

On their arrival, detachments will be installed in tents rented from the Military Administration. They will immediately begin building the houses which are to shelter them during the five years of work on the Ghab. These houses will be of unburnt brick of the "pain du sucre" type, a type which has great advantages, as doors and windows are made without requiring any woodwork. Every house will have two cupolas, corresponding to two separate rooms, and will hold one family. A house so built costs about 300 francs. It must be noted that these houses are distinctly an improvement on the dwellings these people have had up to now. Each house will have its garden round it for the cultivation of vegetables. The Council of Trustees has also provided ground in the same district for the cultivation of cereals.

Manual labourers will be used also from their start, both as cultivators and as builders and constructors.

In the preparation of the Ghab the obligatory employment of Assyrian labour, at any rate in part, is provided for in the agreement with contractors.

Lastly, the actual settlement in permanent villages will be carried out. To start with, the price of the keep of one person will be about 1 franc a day; at the end of the year it is believed that this may be halved through the yield of the crops.

(iii.) The actual installation and settlement must include :

(a) The construction and organization of villages.

(b) Putting under cultivation the land made available by the drainage of the Ghab plain.

(a) *The construction and organization of the villages.* Villages will be built on a hillside, in places specially chosen with regard both to the water supply and to the centres of cultivation. Houses will be of stone, planned like those of the same neighbourhood. The Council of Trustees consider that their help will still be needed for the building of the villages, chiefly by providing materials. The public buildings, churches, schools, infirmaries, etc., will be built with the help and under the direction of the Council.

Villages will be arranged as far as possible to keep each tribe together; the tribes will be under the authority of their chiefs (Maleks), who, until the new order is established, will be the acting administrative authorities under the Council. Police will be those of the country under the French authorities. The Assyrians will accept the rulings of native (Syrian) courts on all questions of public order; on the other

hand, they will keep their own religious institutions for all questions concerning their personal status.

The Health services will be under the French Director of Health Services of the troops of the Levant, who will be an ex-officio member of the Council of Trustees. Clinics will be organized in each village; an infirmary-hospital of thirty beds will be established; provision will be made by the Council to ensure hospital treatment at the St. Louis Hospital in Aleppo for such cases as need special care or surgical treatment. The Council will appoint a doctor to organize this service; Assyrian nurses (men) who are already attached to the 'Iraq settlement will look after the village clinics and infirmaries. Measures have been taken to fight malaria by compulsory treatment, not only among Assyrians, but also among all the Syrian natives.

School education will be given free of charge by the Council. Teachers and language will be Assyrian, but both French and Arabic will be compulsory. The schools will be of primary grade and will aim specially at technical development both in agriculture and handicrafts. There will be a school in each village.

In each village there will be a church. Religious instruction will be given in the church by the clergy and not in the schools.

It is calculated that the villages can supply their own labour. Artisans will be appointed by the Council; all the rest of the population will be agriculturalists.

(b) *Getting the land under cultivation.* The 37,050 acres of land of which the reclamation has been planned will be given free of all charge to the Council of Trustees, in proportion as the work advances.

The Council of Trustees will undertake its division amongst the Assyrians. This division will, in principle, be by families or groups of families, after consultation with the heads of the tribes; as far as possible any division of the tribe will be avoided. Ground will be reserved to provide for a possible growth of the Colony.

Based on the allotments found practicable in the Armenian settlements, a plot of 10 acres should allow each family to get a living, and any surplus of produce can then be sold either in the Syrian markets or in the coast markets.

Lands thus given out will be sold to the occupants at a price fixed by the Council, to be paid back in fifteen years by yearly instalments. The title deeds of the property will not be handed to the occupier until this debt is paid off.

The Council will see that the cultivators have as many different

crops as possible. For this purpose they will employ an agricultural adviser. Trials will be made of different crops as soon as the first land is reclaimed, in order to ascertain what will answer best.

This, then, is the programme. It has been begun. The men responsible for its realization have the work in hand. The drainage works have commenced. The first contingents of Assyrians are about to arrive. In five years the work will be finished and will open a new page in the history of the Assyrian people.

We have to report with deep regret that the plan for the settlement of the Assyrians in the Orontes Valley has been abandoned.

THE QUESTION OF THE STRAITS

In view of the importance of the Straits with regard to Sea Power we are publishing an article by Sir Percy Sykes on the Emperor Heraclius and Sea Power and are reprinting a lecture given by Mr. Philip Graves.

Turkey has notified the League of Nations of her desire to refortify the Dardanelles.

I.—THE EMPEROR HERACLIUS AND SEA POWER

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR PERCY SYKES, K.C.I.E.,
C.B., C.M.G.

“Of the characters in history, that of Heraclius is one of the most extraordinary and inconsistent. In the first and last years of a long reign the emperor appears to be the slave of sloth, of pleasure, or of superstition. But the languid mists of the morning and evening are separated by the brightness of the meridian sun: the Arcadius of the palace arose the Cæsar of the camp; and the honour of Rome and Heraclius was gloriously retrieved by the exploits and trophies of six adventurous campaigns.”—GIBBON.

CYRUS the Great founded a mighty empire in 550 B.C., and for more than one thousand years Persia continued to be the protagonist of the East; and Europe, whether represented by Hellas or by the Roman Empire, fought many a desperate battle against the great Eastern Power. In 53 B.C., Crassus was defeated by the Parthians, who ruled Persia at that period. Did we not read at school:

“Miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi (timet)”? ”

Some years later Antony invaded Parthia and attempted to capture the great fortress of Praaspa, situated to the south of Lake Urmia, but was driven out of the country after sustaining heavy losses. Trajan penetrated to the Persian Gulf, but was forced to retreat; Valerian was captured by Shapur I., and Julian was killed while retreating in A.D. 363. On the other hand, the Persians suffered many defeats at the hands of Rome.

In A.D. 226 the Parthians had been succeeded by the Sasanian dynasty, whose founder, Ardeshir, addressing his son on his deathbed, had said: “Consider the altar and the throne as inseparable; they must

always sustain one another." This policy was carried out by his successors, and Shapur the Great, considering it desirable to check the advance of Christianity in his dominions, issued severe edicts against his Christian subjects. Constantine the Great, with considerable lack of tact, wrote to Shapur: "You can imagine how delighted I am to hear that Persia is adorned and made illustrious by the Christians, on whose behalf I write to you. All prosperity then be yours, and all prosperity be theirs—may both flourish alike!" Needless to say that, as in the case of the Armenians in modern times, this intervention was bitterly resented and resulted in redoubled persecution.

Generally speaking, hostilities constituted the order of the day between the two empires, although peace treaties and truces were occasionally negotiated, and such was the state of affairs when, in A.D. 590, Khusru Parviz ascended the throne of Persia. At this juncture Bahram Chubin, a successful general, had revolted, and Khusru, defeated in the field by the Pretender, fled to seek the protection of the Roman Emperor, Maurice. In his letter the refugee monarch pointed out that it was to the advantage of Rome "to support the two monarchies which balance the world, the two great luminaries by which it is vivified and adorned."

Maurice accepted the refugee monarch as his guest and son, and decided to despatch a Roman army against the usurper, who was defeated and disappeared from the scene. Khusru Parviz was restored to the throne of his ancestors, and, until the murder of Maurice, he remained the firm friend of his benefactor. During this period, as documents which have been preserved prove, there were hopes that Khusru, whose veneration for Sergius, a Saint of Antioch, was undoubted, might be converted to Christianity, more especially as the beautiful Shirin, his best-beloved wife, was a devout Christian. Moreover, on more than one occasion Khusru ascribed a victory to the prayers of his Patron-Saint.

In 602, Maurice and his five sons were murdered by a military usurper, Phocas, who despatched an ambassador to the Court of Persia to announce his accession, and most foolishly selected for the mission the very man who had presented him with the heads of Maurice and his sons.

Khusru learned of the murder of his benefactor with horror and, throwing the Roman envoy into prison, announced himself his avenger. He commenced operations in 603 by the siege of the great frontier fortress of Dara, which he captured in 605. Two years later the Persian

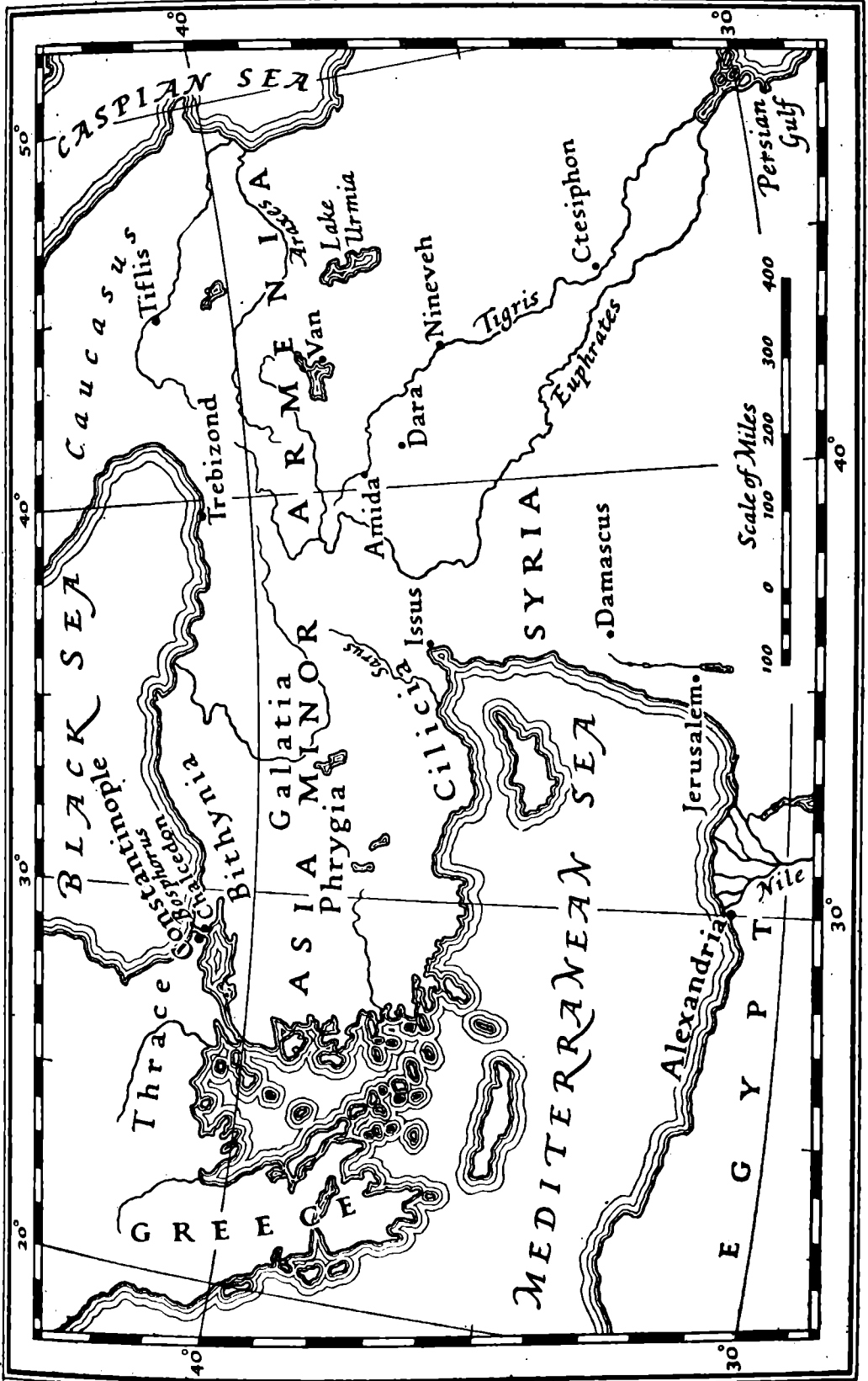
army crossed the Euphrates, while a second army, after invading Armenia, raided Phrygia, Galatia, and Bithynia. Indeed, the invaders, who were everywhere successful, penetrated so far that, for the first time, the citizens of Constantinople saw villages burning on the opposite shore of the Bosphorus. Meanwhile Phocas, who attempted to maintain his position by means of acts of extreme cruelty, proved incapable of dealing with internal affairs, much less with the Persian menace. Accordingly, Heraclius, son of the Governor of Africa, who had maintained his independence against Phocas, was invited to overthrow the usurper. He reached Constantinople unopposed in 610 and waited on board until the tyrant's own ministers brought Phocas before him as a prisoner. "Is it thus, miserable man, that you have ruled the state?" exclaimed Heraclius. "Will you rule it any better?" was the defiant reply. Phocas was executed, and Heraclius ascended the throne.

The situation of the new Emperor was indeed gloomy. Taking advantage of the confusion, Khusru, who might well have made peace with the avenger of Maurice, continued his victorious career, capturing Damascus in 614. From this centre in the ensuing year, threatening a war of extermination against all Christians, and aided by a strong Jewish force, his general captured and sacked Jerusalem. There the victors gained possession of the "True Cross," the loss of which caused a thrill of horror and dismay throughout Christendom. The churches of Helena and Constantine and the treasury were alike plundered and burned, while all Christians were massacred.

To add to these disasters, in 619, Pelusium was surprised and Alexandria was captured. Little resistance was offered, and Persian troops, after an interval of nearly one thousand years, once again occupied the valley of the Nile. A letter of the haughty Khusru to Heraclius re-echoes the famous summons of Sennacherib to Hezekiah: "Khusru, greatest of gods and master of the world, to Heraclius his vile and insensate slave. You say that you trust in your god. Why then has he not delivered Jerusalem out of my hands?"

Further north a second army invested Chalcedon, situated on the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople, and by the fall of this city the disaster was wellnigh complete and the Roman Empire appeared to be tottering to its fall. To add to this desperate state of affairs, the Avars, who received tribute from Constantinople, overran Thrace and, after raiding and nearly capturing Heraclius at a meeting, threatened to invest the capital from the land side.

Heraclius now despaired. The loss of Egypt brought famine and



with it pestilence to Constantinople, while the once mighty Roman Empire had been reduced to the capital, some maritime cities on the coast of Asia Minor, the remnant of Greece, Italy, and a strip of the coast of North Africa. Utterly cowed by the hopelessness of his position, which had deteriorated yearly since his accession in 610, he decided to flee back to the security of Carthage, possibly with the intention of recruiting and training a fresh army. His treasure had already been embarked when the secret leaked out, and the Patriarch, supported by the frantic citizens, forced Heraclius to swear in St. Sophia that he would not desert Constantinople. The emergency roused all classes. The Church provided gold and silver, the free dole of corn was abolished, and successful efforts were made to organize a powerful expeditionary force.

Few, if any, campaigns in history have been more dramatic than those which have conferred imperishable fame on Heraclius. As children we read of Christian's discovery of Promise, which furnished the key to the dungeon door of Doubting Castle. In the case of Heraclius, whose empire had shrunk to almost nothing, the magical key was sea-power, which, as used by him, changed certain disaster into victory.

In 622, twelve years after his accession, leaving Constantinople safe with a victorious Persian army in sight, which was powerless to cross the Bosphorus in the face of a few galleys, Heraclius, sailing along the coast of Asia Minor, landed at Issus, famous for the victory of Alexander the Great, where he could equally threaten Asia Minor, Syria, or Armenia. He collected the garrisons of the fortified ports and trained his men, urging them to seek revenge on the spoliators of the "True Cross." When he advanced inland towards Armenia he was attacked by a Persian army under Shahr-Baraz, the captor of Jerusalem, whom, by skilful manœuvring and hard fighting, he utterly defeated, capturing his camp. He thereby gained the first victory that had been won by Roman arms since the death of Maurice. This concluded the first campaign, and Heraclius returned to the capital for the winter.

In 623, thanks again to sea-power, Heraclius, whose success had gained him the adherence of the Khan of the Khazars, sailed into the Black Sea and invaded Armenia, accompanied by contingents of his allies. Khusru marched north with a powerful force and held Praaspa. He ordered two of his generals to unite and bar the advance of Heraclius, but that able leader marched with such rapidity that Khusru, who always preferred to remain in safety, fled upon the defeat

of his guards. Thereupon his army dispersed. With the prestige of Rome in the ascendant, Heraclius crossed the Araxes with fifty thousand prisoners, whom he released and wintered in the Caucasus. In 624, Heraclius again crossed the Araxes, when three Persian armies closed in upon him. With consummate skill he feigned a panic-stricken retreat, beat off the attack of the two armies after much marching and counter-marching, and then fell upon the third, commanded by Shahin, which he completely defeated. He concluded this wonderful campaign by surprising and almost annihilating the army of Shahr-Baraz at Van, where he took up his winter quarters.

In the spring of 625, Heraclius marched westwards to the Euphrates, recovering Martyropolis and Amida. Opposed by his old opponent, Shahr-Baraz, he avoided him and marched into Cilicia, where he was once again in touch with the sea and was able to refit and rest his army. This season ended with a strenuously contested battle on the River Sarus, which led to the retreat of the Persians. The valour of Heraclius on this occasion is proved by the eulogy of his opponent, who exclaimed to one of his officers: "O Cosmas, dost thou see the emperor, how boldly he engages in the battle, against what a multitude he contends alone and how, like an anvil, he cares not for the blows showered upon him?"

In the following year Khusru, alarmed at the changed situation, made a final effort to crush his doughty opponent. He formed two great armies, one of which was designed to meet Heraclius, while the Khan of the Avars was to be supported by the other. Heraclius decided to garrison Constantinople strongly, and, placing a field army under his brother Theodore to oppose the western Persian army, he landed to the east of Trebizond, but failed before Tiflis, although that city was subsequently captured. In his absence Theodore, aided by a hailstorm which drove into the faces of the Persians, defeated Shahin, the captor of Chalcedon. Meanwhile the Avars had failed signally before Constantinople. The Byzantine galleys destroyed a flotilla of Slavonian canoes, destined to transport the Persians across the Bosphorus, thus reducing them to the rôle of impotent spectators of the repulse of the Avars.

In 627, Persia was beaten. Heraclius again advanced across the Araxes and, after desperate fighting, defeated a Persian army near the ruins of Nineveh, where Alexander the Great, at the battle of Arbela, had administered the *coup de grâce* to Darius. Hearing of this disaster, Khusru took up a position near Dastagird, seventy miles to the north of Ctesiphon. Protected by a broad and deep canal and with an army

supported by elephants, he determined to fight to the very end. But his heart failed him when his great adversary approached and, like the craven Darius, he fled, was deposed, and put to death.

His successor hastened to make peace, and in the spring of A.D. 628 this terrible war, which had lasted for a generation, was ended by a treaty which practically reconstituted the *status quo ante bellum*. Provinces of the Empire were evacuated, and prisoners were surrendered by both belligerents, who were utterly exhausted.

In the following year Heraclius undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and replaced the "True Cross," which had been carefully preserved by Shirin, in its shrine at Jerusalem, to the intense joy of Christendom. Thus ended a series of campaigns in which sea-power had been instrumental in saving the Roman Empire from destruction.

II.—THE QUESTION OF THE STRAITS*

By PHILIP GRAVES

MY LORD CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, In this paper which I have the honour of reading before you to-day I have first dealt with the history of the question, its origins, and its dependence on geographical and economic factors, and I have next endeavoured to give a brief summary of the methods by which it has been solved or by which its solution has been attempted until our day.

Finally, I have allowed myself some speculation as to political developments within the region in which the question of the Straits may at any time become an issue of the highest political and economic importance.

I

As soon as men began to use the sea instead of merely collecting salt on its shores and combing the beach for eatables, even before technical advances in boat building allowed them to take risks instead of hugging the shore on fine days, straits were important as points where migrating hordes might be checked, and as meeting-places where men met men for barter or negotiation. With each technical improvement marking the advance from dug-out and paddle to the plank-built galley, sail, and rowlock, their importance increased, and settlements multiplied on their shores; with closer settlement

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came increased cultivation, trade, and fortification to protect the trader and cultivator.

The Bosphorus and the Dardanelles furnished an excellent example of this process. Before the legends of the foundation of Troy and the Golden Fleece took shape, out of the first contacts of the Greeks with the peoples of the Marmora Basin and the Black Sea coast, the cultivators of Transylvania and the Danubian Basin generally were trading directly or indirectly with the peoples of the Ægean. If, as archæologists are inclined to believe, the Danube was the chief channel of this trade, we must place the beginnings of this "Question of the Straits" in the third millennium before Christ. It is probable that with the domestication of the horse and the development first of pack transport and then of wheeled transport, the Straits in question gained vastly in commercial and political importance. The Anatolian plateau may have been one of the first regions from which horsemanship spread east and west. The effects of this new discovery on the region of the Straits must have been enormous. It accelerated land transport and thus increased the commercial Hinterland of what we may as well call Troy. It gave the horse-using peoples a military advantage and made settlements on either side of the Straits more vulnerable to attack from the Russian Danubian plain or from the Anatolian plateau. The Trojan War is a struggle between the sea-peoples of Greece and a "horse-taming" Phrygian aristocracy who have entered Asia Minor from the Balkans, for the control of the trade-route to the Black Sea. It is the opening of one of the chief themes in the drama of the Straits. The theme reappears when Venice uses the Fourth Crusade to overthrow the Byzantine monopoly of the Black Sea trade; and again when the Turks, after conquering the remnant of the Byzantine Empire, close the gates of the Black Sea for centuries against foreign traders and foreign naval penetration.

But this is only one side of the problem. Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula are by no means the only regions commercially served by the trade route through Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Behind Constantinople is the Black Sea, and on its European shore the great plain that stretches from the Carpathian to the Altai. Here you have a region which is destined by nature to be a political and an economic unit. No sharp natural obstacle breaks its unity. In this immense region you have vast areas suited for cereal cultivation and for cattle ranching. It holds great mineral riches—the Donetz Coalfield and the mines of the Ural, for example—others lie within easy access, like the oilfields of Baku. Up to a point communications with the south are excellent; great rivers flow into the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, and the Black Sea does not freeze in winter. The Volga runs into the closed Caspian, but by the Caspian Sea the masters of the plain can outflank the Caucasus barrier and reach the wealth of Transcaucasia. But for this region there is only one natural trade route to the Mediterranean, and that is the sea way via Black Sea, Bosphorus, and Dardanelles.

Here therefore is another factor in the problem. We have begun with the struggle for control between the people on the Mediterranean side of

the Straits and the people holding the Straits, Greeks against Trojans, Venetians against Byzantines and then against the Great Turk; we might call it the struggle of the Mediterraneans against the Byzantines. But as soon as the vast region beyond the Straits begins to organize itself politically a third element takes part in the struggle for their control.

Let us call this element the Scythians, or, better, the Russians. To begin with, their importance is commercial. Even in the days of Herodotus the Scythian rulers are exporting corn to the Ægean. The first signs of political organization appear when Mithridates of Pontus extends his Transcaucasian kingdom into South Russia, enriches himself by the corn trade, and builds the first Black Sea fleet. Later we have the Gothic episode. But when I said that the Great Plain was naturally destined to be a political and economic unit, I should have added this reservation—"given the will to unite and given the technical factor of relatively rapid communication between the extremities of this area." Without these conditions the Great Plain was no more than a disturbed tribal sea, although its spring tides were a constant danger to its shores. That was its history until the definite triumph of its latest master, the Slav agriculturist. As long as the struggle between the herdsman and the corn-grower for the mastery of the plain remained undecided, so long the Russians were not a constant factor in the Problem of the Straits. I must also remark that, while the "Russians" exercised no continuous influence on the "Byzantines" until the eighteenth century, the danger of a sudden flood from the North was a factor in the policy of the Byzantines from the time when the Roman Empire fell apart into a "Mediterranean" and a "Byzantine" division. The elaborate fortification of Constantinople, the maintenance of strong naval bases in the Straits, the constant attempt of the rulers of the Straits to make the Danube their Northern frontier, all show that Russia or, as they then called it, Scythia, was regarded as the region from which horrid surprises were always possible. Remember that one of the waves from the plain took the Huns to France. After the Hunnish nomads had driven the Goths westward the plain became a cattle ranch, and in the eighth century the Byzantines were exporting corn to Russia. Then comes the episode of the first Russians, Slavs with Scandinavian leaders, who push agriculture southward, almost become a danger to the Byzantines, but finally are driven from the greater part of the plain by fresh nomad swarms. Then in the thirteenth century we have something different, the great Mongol-Tartar attempt to unify the whole plain from North China to the Danube. We know from contemporary evidence that the Mongol rulers, Jenghiz and his immediate successors, were more than mere destroyers. They destroyed abundantly, but their atrocities were inspired by policy; they founded an organized empire which for three generations was the strongest power in the world; and its influence on the future development of Russia was of immense importance. The Mongols bequeathed the idea of the political unification of the Great Plain to the Tsars, who succeeded to their power and finally conquered the plain right up to the Amur in the reverse direction to the Mongol movement. The Russian Princes who used

to do homage to the Great Khan of the Mongols and later to the chief of the Golden Horde must have learnt much from their masters.

But there were limits to Mongol power. They were emphatically a continental people and plainsmen. They had no interest in the sea; their only overseas campaign, that against Japan, came to utter grief; in the Black Sea they contented themselves with a commercial and political *entente* with Venice. But their failure to found a more permanent power over the plain was not, I think, military, nor was it necessarily the difficulty of communication that broke up the unity of the Empire. After all, the Russian rulers of the eighteenth century were no better off for transport than the Mongols, yet they ruled effectively over an almost equally large empire. It was the conversion of the Western Mongol States to Islam that in my opinion chiefly broke up Mongol unity. Once the Tartar master was divided by a religious cleavage from his pagan relatives on the Chinese side, and was prevented by religious prejudice from fusing with his Christian subjects on the Russian side, his defeat was certain. This explanation will not please the Marxians, whose prophet gave Mohammed and his revolution less than a line in the introduction to *Das Kapital*, but it is up to them to find a better one.

Islam put the cowboys of the western side of the plain into permanent opposition to the farmers, and in the later stages of the struggle the remnant of the herdsmen were clients of their Turkish co-religionists. The Turks thus threw out a flank guard against the Russians, but by the end of the eighteenth century the Black Sea was a Russian lake and the Turk, once undisputed master of the Straits and the successor of the Cæsars and the terror of Europe, seemed on the point of becoming a Russian door-keeper. But it did not suit the chief Mediterranean Powers, France, and later Great Britain, that Turkey should fall under Russian dominance, or that either Turk or Russian should be in a position to bar the Black Sea to their trade or their war-vessels. The French and other Mediterranean sea-powers had been forced to put up with this exclusion in the days of Turkish greatness, and though Francis I. secured some privileges for French commerce from the Turk, these privileges were strictly limited. The Mediterraneans were not minded to risk a repetition of this situation. The British, when they became "Mediterranean minded," were equally unwilling to agree to the closing of the Straits, and therefore of the Black Sea, to their warships. It is true that Napoleon and not the Russians brought them into the Mediterranean as permanent naval residents. His threat to India terrified the British capitalists who had sought to recoup themselves for their American losses in India. But when the Napoleonic wars were ended it was against Russian dominance over Turkey that British diplomacy worked with unremitting industry. In 1774 the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji had given the Russians the right of interference in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. The secret article of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, signed in 1833, gave the Russian fleet the freedom of the Straits, and closed them to every other fleet save the Turkish. These treaties led to the Crimean War, in which Great Britain and France combined with Turkey against Russia.

The Treaty of Paris, which left Russia navally at the mercy of Turkey in the Black Sea, was an outrage against common sense. It was denounced by Russia in 1870, but the British Government was no longer disposed to fight for the neutrality of the Black Sea. Something had happened in Egypt that made the Straits less important for the moment to Downing Street. That was the construction of the Suez Canal. It made the British occupation of Egypt practically certain. And that occupation finished British influence in Turkey, and gave the utmost importance to the fourth and latest factor in the problem of the Straits—the Danubian or Austro-German factor.

The Russian plain was made to be united politically and economically. The conditions in the Danubian Basin were totally different. They were the reverse of uniform, as were the affinities of its many peoples. They made for political division. But the Danubians of the middle and upper basin of the river had advantages denied to the people of the Russian plain. They were nearer the centres of European civilization—indeed, Vienna was one of these centres—they had always possessed a better technical equipment and a more constant tradition, and they had abundant refuges from the nomad hordes. However, their political and racial disunion nullified these advantages until well into the Middle Ages. Till then only one Danubian people, the Bulgarians, exercised any influence on the question of the Straits for any appreciable time, and they were more often a buffer state for the Byzantines or unwilling subjects of Constantinople than serious rivals to the Eastern Empire. When the Turk took the Byzantines' place he promptly made the Danube his frontier, and from his advance up to and across the river sprang the long struggle between the Sultans and the Holy Roman Emperors of the Hapsburg House. Now the Empire was part of the West European system of States, but the Hapsburgs looked East, and fifteen years after the end of the Thirty Years War they had begun their counter offensive which was to compensate them for their losses in Germany. Thereafter until the end of the eighteenth century they were generally the allies of the Russians against the Turk.

In the nineteenth century the Austrians drew away from the Russian alliance. There have been two different currents in Russian diplomacy. One led to the Straits and the Mediterranean; the other led to the Balkans and was consequently a danger to the expansionist plans of the Hapsburg monarchy, and eventually to the Hapsburgs' hold over their own Slavs.

Alone the Austro-Hungarians could not hope for victory against the Russians, but when United Germany, highly organized, patriotic, wealthy, mighty in industry and arms, became their ally, the combination promised immense profits. Bismarck had already encouraged the Austrian *Drang nach Osten*, for he wished to keep Austria from any attempt to renew the interference in German affairs which had led to the war of 1866. His successors saw in Asiatic Turkey a field for German enterprise and discreet German colonization. The naval policy of the Empire would arouse British hostility. That hostility must be met by counter-irritants, and these could be supplied with German promptings by the Moslem world.

In that world the Turks were chief. From 1882 onwards their diplomacy was governed by two motives. One was their fear of Russia. The other was their determination to keep as much of Asia as they could if they must lose Europe. The larger and potentially richer part of their Asiatic Empire was Arab; losing the Arabs, they lost their religious prestige; they also would lose a multitude of military and civil jobs which maintained countless Beys and Effendis and their dependents in agreeable if uncultured ease. They felt that the British occupation of Egypt was a threat to their hold over the Arabs, and they were right. So the failing Byzantines called in the Austro-Germans against the Russians and the British Mediterraneans who threatened them in Asia, and the Germans dreamt of a great transverse block of states controlling and defending the Straits against the Russian Plain and the Mediterranean peoples and extending from North Sea to Persian Gulf. So came the War.

Of the conduct of the War in the Near East I will only say two things: first, that it was decided there when the defeat of Bulgaria and Turkey uncovered Austria-Hungary and brought about a collapse of the Austro-German alliance. Secondly, that Russia suffered from the duality of her objectives. Publicly these were Panslav, the detachment of the Slav peoples from Austro-Hungarian rule. Behind the scenes Russia sought and obtained the consent of her Mediterranean allies to her annexation of the region of the Straits, including Constantinople. But for diplomatic reasons this was not made public in Russia, where Panslav enthusiasm had declined, until the beginning of December, 1916, and by that time the only fire burning in Russia was the Revolutionary one.

Russia emerged from a welter of defeat, civil war, and anarchy as a Communist dictatorship as much governed by a book and as faithful to a prophet as were the Moslems in their first days of conquest. The Mediterranean victors were bled too white to impose their will on the Turks. The experiment of using the Greeks to do their work for them broke down disastrously and drove the Turks into the arms of the Russian Dictatorship. The Treaty of Sèvres died at birth. Now let me pass to the present and future of the Question of the Straits.

II

Different methods of solving the problem presented by the passage of a most important waterway linking two seas through a territory controlled by a single power have been attempted by three of the different groups interested in the solution. The Mediterraneans have generally worked for full freedom of the Straits to their commerce and to their warships. This is not to say that individual Mediterranean States have not attempted to obtain special advantages from the holders of the Straits, but human theory is not always wedded to practice. The Byzantines or holders of the Straits have, on the other hand, worked for the strict control of such foreign commerce as used the waterway, and during the greater part of the historical period have aimed at reserving the trade within the Black Sea to their own

merchant navy. The Turks, who in their day of power simply closed the two Straits, the Marmora and the Black Sea, to foreign commerce, regarded these seas and channels as reserved territorial waters; but they were only improving on the practice of the last strong Byzantine rulers, the Comneni, who allowed Italian trading ships to come up to Constantinople, but retained the monopoly of trade in foodstuffs in territorial waters and excluded foreign merchantmen from the Black Sea. The Turks, moreover, insisted to the last on the "ancient rule of the Empire in virtue of which it has at all times been forbidden for ships of war of foreign powers to enter the Straits." They insisted as long as they could insist on the closing of the Black Sea to foreign merchantmen. In 1700, when Peter the Great demanded the right of navigation on the Black Sea for his trading ships, he was told that the Black Sea was "a chaste virgin inaccessible to everybody."

Naturally these claims could only be enforced by a power formidable on land and sea, but even in their decadence the Turks fought for them. It took nearly three generations and four wars before the Russians obtained the right to use the Black Sea and the Straits for commercial navigation on the same footing as the chief Mediterranean Powers, to whom the Turks had given concessions in the hope of enlisting their support. On the ancient rule they stood firm until the signature of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi in 1833. There was much to be said for their firmness. If men had stuck to long bows and catapults it might have been possible to allow foreign fleets to pass through Turkish territorial waters and through what was, in fact, a high street of their capital. But the invention of gunpowder made it dangerous to grant such permission save to allies, and then only in exceptional circumstances such as were foreseen in the Treaty of London in 1840.

Now for the attitude of the Russians. They had reached the sea, but they were not at home on it. Their attitude throughout the nineteenth century and later suggests a complete lack of confidence in their ability to wage naval warfare or protect their commerce against any strong naval power. Goryainoff, the best Russian historian of the Question of the Straits, wrote: "For Russia the famous Eastern Question may be summed up in the words—on what authority are the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles dependent? who holds that authority?" And he makes it clear that the last thing the Russians wanted was the opening of the Straits to war vessels of the Mediterranean Powers. What they seemed to have obtained from the Turks by the secret article of the Treaty of Alliance of Unkiar Skelessi was the exclusive right to pass through the Straits in either direction, while the Turks would impose the "ancient rule" on the warships of other powers. Palmerston defeated the Treaty by the Convention of London, in which the Sultan affirmed his resolution to maintain the "ancient rule." Then came the Crimean War, forced upon Russia and Great Britain by Napoleon III. and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; the Russians lost their Black Sea fleet and had to begin all over again.

Russian policy did not change—nor the Russians' bad luck. They denounced the Treaty of Paris in 1870; they began to build big ironclads in the Black Sea in the early 80's, and by 1900 they had a numerically respect-

able Black Sea fleet. They established political *ententes* with the two chief Mediterranean Powers, first with France and, much later, when the Germans were becoming a formidable sea-power, with Great Britain. In 1911 they proposed to the Turkish Government an alliance on lines similar to the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. The British and French Governments having been sounded, informed the Porte that they would consent to this departure from the Rule of the Straits if the Porte agreed, but if it did not agree they would exercise no pressure on Turkey. Germany and Austria-Hungary strongly supported the Rule, and the Porte refused the Russian offer. But the Russians had learnt that in easily imagined circumstances they could count upon British and French support of their claim to the Straits. They obtained that support in March, 1915, even though the cession of Constantinople and the Straits must indispose three possible Balkan allies of the *Entente* in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece; Italy afterwards consented—but Russia fell.

Of the policy of the Austro-German or Danubian combination towards the Straits there is nothing to say. Until the War they supported the Turks in upholding the Rule. Had they won the War— But they did not. Though it was abortive, the Treaty of Sèvres deserves more than passing mention. For the first time the idea of international control of navigation through the Straits was mooted, and there was much to be said for the assumption on which the Treaty was based—namely, that the retention of control over the Straits and the Marmora by a single power was injurious to the general interest. The greater part of the European shore of the waterway was therefore to be ceded to Greece and the whole coastland of the Straits and Marmora with the islands near the Dardanelles was to form a special zone wherein only the three Mediterranean Powers, Britain, France, and Italy, were to maintain armed forces. The navigation of the waterways was to be open in peace and war to all ships and aircraft without distinction of flag. These waters were to be exempted from blockade or from any warlike operations save in pursuance of a decision of the Council of the League of Nations. An international commission composed of representatives of the Great Powers, except Germany, and including the United States and Russia (should she join the League), of Greece, and of the Black Sea littoral powers other than Russia, if members of the League, was to control navigation within the Straits and would report any interference with the liberty of navigation to the representatives of the three Powers at Constantinople.

Now, little as the Turks or the excluded Germans or the Bolshevik Government of Russia liked this proposal, it must be said that, apart from certain obvious crudities—which would have been remedied in time—it did offer an international solution of a problem which had been found insoluble on purely national lines. The actual solution was very different. The Treaty of Lausanne extinguished the territorial guarantee provided by the division of sovereignty over the Straits area, as well as the military sanction placed in the hands of the three Mediterranean naval powers.

The shores of the Straits were demilitarized, but not the coasts of the

Marmora, and the Turks may maintain a naval base at Constantinople. Warships and military aircraft retain complete freedom of passage in time of peace and, if neutral towards Turkey, in time of war, though neutral aircraft will be bound to alight to submit to investigation. The maximum force which any one power may send through the Straits into the Black Sea must not be greater than that of the strongest fleet of any one of the Black Sea Powers, and no squadron sent into the Black Sea shall exceed three ships in number, of which no ship shall displace more than 10,000 tons. The signatories, and in any case Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, acting in conjunction, agree to protect Turkey from any untoward consequences of the demilitarization of the Straits and to protect the freedom of navigation of the Straits and the security of the demilitarized zones against attack or danger thereof by all means that the Council of the League of Nations may decide for the purpose. The League is represented by the Straits Commission under the perpetual Presidency of the Turkish delegate and composed of the representatives of the four Black Sea Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan—the United States, Greece, and Yugoslavia. The Commission's business is to see that the Convention is duly observed and to report regularly to the League.

On paper it is not a very satisfactory settlement. So far as I can see the Commission, though charged *inter alia* with the supervision of the demilitarized zone, has no right of precautionary inspection of that zone; moreover, the restoration of Turkish sovereignty over the European shore puts it in the power of the Turks to close the Straits if they are at war with a maritime power and are ready to take the risk of defying the League. On the other hand, Turkey has lately joined the League; her policy towards her neighbours and indeed generally has been increasingly pacific and reasonable. At present, if there is danger, it comes from Russia. Completely as that country has changed its political and economic shape, its foreign policy remains unchanged in the matter of the Straits. At Lausanne the Russian delegate urged that the Straits should be closed to all warships coming from any quarter and attempted to represent the Convention as a threat to Turkish independence; his Government had previously signed a Treaty with Turkey which provided *inter alia* that to guarantee the free commercial passage of the Straits a Conference of the riverain states of the Black Sea should draw up an international Statute governing the Black Sea and the Straits, and safeguarding the sovereignty and security of Turkey and her capital. Not Unkiar Skelessi, but a step towards that Treaty. However, neither the Bulgarians nor the Rumanians wished to be locked up with the Turks and the Russians; and at Lausanne even the Turks, though they disliked the limitations of their sovereignty imposed by the Convention, began to feel disturbed by the effusion with which Russia took up the defence of Turkish interests. The Russians retired protesting from the Conference. In 1923 they became a protesting party to the Convention. Still they never ratified it, and have not yet sent a representative to the Straits Commission. They supply the information required of them by that body through the Turkish delegate.

III

The Future

Any attempt to foretell the future development of the Straits Question must be speculative as long as there is complete uncertainty as to the direction in which Soviet Russia is moving and as long as a political and economic "small state confusion" prevails in the Danubian Basin. I will deal first with the Danubians. Without going into the minority problems raised and the ambitions left unsatisfied by the post-war treaties, I should like to point out that for the Austro-Hungarian Empire there has been substituted a group of states divided by sharp national jealousies and by ever-rising tariff walls.

The exploitation of the conflicting nationalisms of Eastern Europe by grammarians and General Staffs has furthered political disunion; the errors of Western Capitalism have produced general economic suffering in most of these states and equally in Bulgaria and Rumania, with the result that the peasant proprietor who, far more than the banker or the factory owner, is the bulwark of capitalism on the Continent, is being driven in the Communist direction in sheer despair. The possibility of a return of the Hapsburgs or of some sort of economic alliance between industrial Central Europe and agricultural Eastern Europe may disturb many politicians, but without some such unifying force the Danubians, who should have a say in the solution of the Straits Problem, remain powerless. As to Russia, I would submit that we do not know where she is going, because we do not know the real intentions of the present leaders of the Russian Communist Party. It may be argued that the Five Year Plan has been adopted because Stalin and his group have come to the conclusion that the world Revolution is as far off as ever, and wish to divert the hopes and energies of the young Communists from Messianic dreams to the herculean task of industrializing Russia. Some observers interpret the better treatment of technical experts, the wide introduction of the system of piecework and of unequal wages and other changes as a sign of a diplomatic return towards capitalism. Moses, they hint, is leading his people back to the fleshpots of Egypt and hopes that the Red Sea will not be too rough. One cannot help feeling that in all this the wish is father to the theory. It is equally possible that the Russian Communist leaders are simply stepping back a bit for a running jump; that the concessions they have made are merely tactical; that the younger Communists, brought up in blinkers, fanatical and ignorant of conditions outside Russia, may yet ask their rulers to "show value" and to "get on with the world Revolution" which never begins. A slow return towards capitalism should mean—I do not say it will mean—an improvement in Russian foreign relations and a greater chance of a fair settlement of the Straits Question. The growth and intensification of Communism will produce the contrary result.

Meanwhile, I would like to emphasize five points concerning the attitude of Russia towards the Straits.*

I. The economically important regions of Russia lie for the most part in reach of air attack from the Straits or from bases on the Black Sea littoral. These are the great cornfields of the Ukraine and its grain depots; the Don coalfield; the Baku oilfield. It is possible that the range of aircraft may be sufficiently increased to bring the arsenals on the lower Volga and even the metallurgical industry in the Urals into the danger zone. This furnishes the Soviet Government with reasons for endeavouring to do away with any arrangement like the present one, which admits the stronger naval powers into the Black Sea in peace and war and for endeavouring to make Turkey into an ally or a vassal.

II. If Russian foreign trade improves, the greater part of it will, as formerly, pass through the Straits, giving the Soviet Government an additional reason for desiring to control their shores directly and indirectly, but at the same time furnishing other powers with reasons against attempting to control the Straits in an anti-Russian sense, an attempt which would result in an explosion.

III. Whatever the value of the Russian army and air force—the Red navy is not good—there can be no question that the Five Year Plan will give Russia greater power of manufacturing munitions, arms, and other war material than she previously possessed.

IV. Given the defensive power conferred on a nation with a weak fleet by torpedo-carrying aeroplanes, submarines, and mines, it appears improbable that any maritime nation hostile to Russia would risk its fleet in the Black Sea until it was assured of at least the friendly neutrality of Turkey and preferably of the friendship and alliance of Turkey.

V. The incident of January, 1930, when two of the strongest Russian warships from the Baltic entered the Straits without notifying the Straits Commission, but unquestionably with Turkish foreknowledge and consent, showed that the Russian Government could, if it pleased, increase the strength of its Black Sea fleet and thus disturb the balance of naval power in the Black Sea and potentially in the Eastern Mediterranean without any contravention of the present Straits Convention.

The feelings of the Turks towards the Straits Commission are mixed. Turkish *amour propre* is offended by the restrictions imposed at present on Turkey by the Straits Convention and by the activities of the international Straits Commission in her territorial waters. So far, however, her leaders have taken the practical view, and have not forgotten that the representation of the Mediterranean sea-powers on this body may be a safeguard rather than a danger. League Membership may strengthen this feeling. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the capital of Turkey is no longer on the Bosphorus, and that, if Russia sought to reach some formal agreement with Turkey on the lines of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, the sentimental objection to this would be less strong than in Sultan Mahmud's days.

* This lecture was given before the development of Russian waterways and before her admission to the League.

But whatever may happen when the great General and reformer who rules Turkey is no more, there seems little likelihood of any Turkish adventure while he lives. The Turks are, and wish to continue, on good terms with Russia, but this is but common prudence on their part. They are members of the League, but who could blame them if they doubted the readiness of the powers composing the League to assist them in case of a Russian movement into Kurdistan in spite of collective resolutions at Geneva? And they have to remember too that not only Constantinople, but also Angora and Eskishehir, are in reach of long-range bombers from the Crimea. At the same time a very natural respect for Russian strength and a kindly recollection of the aid given by the Soviets to Turkey in 1919-1922 will not persuade the Turks, an independent and proud people, to follow blindly in the Russian wake. If they do it will be through ambition rather than fear; but



the example of moderation shown by the Ghazi after his astonishing success in 1922 is not likely to be lost on the present generation in Turkey. Still, who can say by what hands the sword of Osman will be wielded when the Ghazi joins Cromwell and Napoleon?

Finally, what of the Mediterraneans, ourselves included and indeed first? How do the Straits interest us? Doubly, because a hostile power or combination of powers holding the Straits could threaten our most direct line of communications with the East and with Australia and New Zealand, perhaps the Suez Canal, almost certainly our air route to the Persian Gulf and India, and quite certainly the Mosul oilfields, which may before long become the chief source of our supplies of naval fuel; and also because as members of the League we might be called upon to resist aggression from the Black Sea aiming directly or indirectly against the Straits. Such aggression might not take the shape of official warfare—although during the last

year we have seen warfare without a declaration of war in China and a war in all but name is raging in South America—but it might stir the League to more genuine activity than the Manchurian troubles or the quarrel between distant Bolivia and Paraguay, and I doubt whether the most pacific British Government could look unmoved at a Russian advance into Anatolia or the Balkans.

What then should British policy be in the matter of the Straits? Clearly support of the present Convention, for though it is an imperfect instrument it would not be easy to modify it and “*le mieux est toujours l'ennemi du bien*”; also the maintenance of friendly relations with Turkey, with Greece, now friends, and with Bulgaria and Rumania. And if something on a large scale is needed, why should we not support some Central European economic combination between the agricultural and the industrial states? Would such a combination guaranteeing the German cereal and cattle market to the Danubian peasant and guaranteeing the German industrialist a market for his wares from Austria to the Black Sea do us any real harm? Would it not rather stabilize economic conditions in a part of Europe where economic distress is the chief cause of the political malaise that is alarming every good European? Of the other Mediterraneans, the French, though less interested in the Question of the Straits than we are, must nevertheless be affected by any untoward development. They have an ally in Rumania, the most exposed of the Balkan states; like us, they have large commercial interests in the Levant; their Asiatic Empire and Madagascar are of high importance in their national economy; they are likely to retain a hold on the Lebanon, whatever happens to Syria proper, and they have a share in the Mosul oil.

Admiral Sir RICHARD WEBB: I am entirely in agreement with everything that our lecturer has said. At the same time, speaking as a sailor, I should like to underline the point about the threat to our line of communication to India and the East—the threat from the Dardanelles. So long as there is a strong ruler in Turkey, so long there will be no threat, but one must remember that European countries have difficulty in seeing eye to eye on Near Eastern questions. There is evidence of this forthcoming almost every day.

I do not think we take it quite gravely enough, because it does not stick out quite as much as it should. We have so many other difficulties to solve, but Mr. Graves has made it clear that the threat is tremendously grave, and will continue so long as a solution is not forthcoming.

The difficulty does behove us if we can to put our personal claims and our little personal rights in the Near East on one side, and to try to come together as a real League of Nations, so that we should be united, when the time comes that the strong leader goes, and ready to meet the threat that may arise should Russia try to solve the problem of the Dardanelles in the way that she tried unsuccessfully before, that is by the solution of the sword.

Captain ARMSTRONG: I would not have had the temerity to speak here this afternoon if I had not been invited. I accepted because I hoped to have the opportunity of heckling Mr. Philip Graves. As you know, Philip

Graves is a member of *The Times'* staff and, like a parson in his pulpit, he can say whatever he likes and we cannot answer him back. I thought that today I would have the chance to get at him, but in reality, having heard his speech, I find nothing on which I can heckle him, and I can only give him my sincerest thanks.

Now the Straits are the neck of a bottle—and a bottle which is not merely the Black Sea but all those vast countries behind it—Bulgaria to the Crimea, and the Black Earth lands beyond, away to the Caucasus with its oil, and even away to Baku and Krasnovodsk and the Oxus. There are other ways out of the bottle. There is the way from Van down to Alexandretta, and by Bessarabia to Salonika, and by the Slav Road across to Fiume. But these routes are all extremely difficult, and the real neck and outlet to the bottle is by the Straits.

That bottle is today filled with the most explosive force known to mankind—nations in all stages of development coming near to the starvation line.

There are in the world sufficient necessities, and even some of the luxuries, for everybody; but while corn is being destroyed in New York, fish thrown away in the North Sea, and cattle killed and buried in the Argentine, there is a shortage of bread, fish, and meat in many parts of the world. The means of production have been vastly increased, but the means of distribution are breaking down. The roads of distribution have been blocked artificially and deliberately by tariffs and laws.

The Straits are one of the great roads of distribution of the wealth of the world, and it is from this aspect that I am asking you to consider this question.

Today the Turks control the Straits. You may imagine that this is done by the Straits Commission, but the Straits Commission is a farce.

The Turks treat the Straits not as though they were the international guardians of one of the great roads of distribution of food and wealth, but as a fortress to be defended, a military possession, and a door to be slammed in the face of anyone with whom they disagree. They hold the Straits by the right of conquest—for they defeated not only the Greeks, but they chased us all out, the Italians and French and the British.

They have, moreover, no conception of the value and wealth of the Straits. Constantinople has been emptied while Athens and Salonika have their harbours full. The Turks, by their foolish laws imposed without due consideration as to the result, by their custom and stevedore regulations, have made trade impossible, and by their unconcealed dislike of foreigners a state of insecurity. They treat Constantinople as a city of traitors because the Sultan was there, because it is full of Christians, because it has opposed Angora. They dare not come to Constantinople for fear of the Great Nations, and they have become essentially a land-state, with the Straits only as an annex.

Now many of us believe that an individual has no right to handle his personal wealth in such a way as to hold up trade, but we know that it is an international crime to allow the Straits, which affect the prosperity of millions, to be controlled in this fashion.

As to the future of Turkey. Some of you may have read, or even heard, Ismet Pasha talk about the industrialization of Turkey—how one day Turkey will be full of factories and smoking chimneys and hundreds of thousands of workers and great streams of gold flowing in to make Turkey rich and great. We have in English a word “bosh.” The Turks have a perfectly good Tartar word which means empty or futile or “bosh.” What Ismet says is “bosh,” and for three very good reasons. Firstly, it will take many generations before the good, sturdy Turkish peasant develops the factory mentality. I pray that he will never develop it. If Ismet, and Stalin too, would do a tour in Lancashire or along the Tyneside I doubt whether they would talk so glibly about industrialization. Secondly, because Turkey has not the necessities of creating a factory-country. Thirdly, because the Turks are so far behind, and even if they produced the best products in factories there is no one who wants to buy them.

Turkey, if she is to succeed, will not be a great industrial nation; she will be a peasant state and a small and poor peasant state at that.

Accept that fact and face the future. The nations in the bottle behind the Straits will once again be great and rich and expanding. Russia, Bolshevik or National, will demand its way out into the warm, rich southern sea. The little Turkish peasant state will be the porter on the door.

You and your children will have to decide whether you will help the porter to close the gate—whether with one hand you will give up India and with the other you spend millions and perhaps fight a war to keep the road to India open.

TRANS-IRANIAN RAILWAY (NORTHERN SECTION)

THE Northern Section of the line has now been completed as far as Firuz-Kuh. On April 24, H.I.M. the Shah, accompanied by the royal family, travelled by special train from Firuz-Kuh to Do-ab.

The distance from Bandar Shah, the northern terminus, to Firuz-Kuh is 257 kilometres, and includes the most difficult section of the line.

The following are the principal stations on this section, with their distances from the terminus :

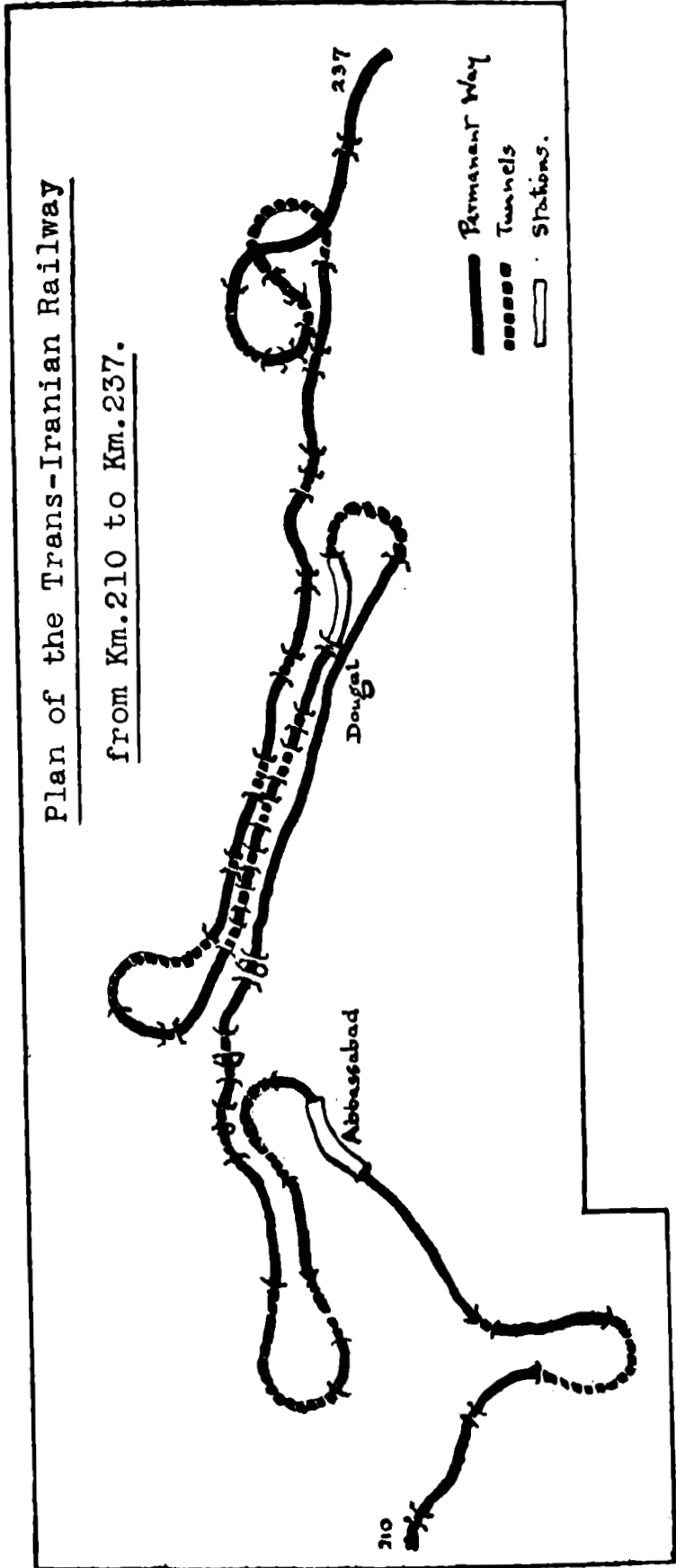
BANDAR SHAH ...		...	...	0'00
Galughah	... 33 kilometres		Pol-Sefid	... 174 kilometres
Tir Tash	... 40 "		Do-ab	... 191 "
Ashraf	... 57 "		Sorkhabad	201 "
Negah	... 81 "		Abbasabad	214 "
Sari	... 100 "		Dogol	... 224 "
Shahi	... 127 "		Gaduk	... 242 "
Shirgah	... 147 "		Firuz-Kuh	257 "
Zirab	... 164 "			

A glance at the plan shows the circuitous route made necessary by the steep gradients and mountainous country. According to the *Journal de Teheran* of May 8, there are 37 tunnels in the 27 kilometres (roughly $16\frac{3}{4}$ miles) from *Kilom. 210* to *Kilom. 237*, a section which cuts through the mountains, the shortest being between 19 and 20 yards long and the longest almost three-quarters of a mile. In all nearly $5\frac{3}{4}$ miles of this 27-kilometre section is tunnelled.

From Firuz-Kuh to Shahi there are just over $80\frac{3}{4}$ miles of line with 68 tunnels; at Gaduk the railway passes through the Gaduk tunnel, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles long, the longest tunnel in the northern section. Other tunnels are 657 and 389 yards long. At last the line comes out on the mountain-side at a great height, dominating all the valley as it winds its way along the flank of the hill. After the station at Dogol there is a tunnel of about three-quarters of a mile long, and then a bridge of about a third of a mile crossing from one hillside to the other. The crest of the next hill is about 7,267 feet high, and the tunnel, of over half a mile in length, is at a height of 6,929 feet, only 338 feet below the summit. Shahi (see plan at *Kilom. 127*) is 164 feet above sea level,

Plan of the Trans-Iranian Railway

from Km.210 to Km.237.



and the tunnel, $952\frac{1}{2}$ yards long, which has been built at *Kilom. 227*, is at a height of 6,929 feet, a difference of 6,765 feet in the 62 miles.

These altitudes prove the serious technical difficulties which attended the building of the line and explain its windings, for in order to lessen the gradients it has been necessary to take this circuitous route so that ordinary powerful engines can be used. Otherwise a change of engines would have been necessary for this section of the line and traffic facilities would have been hindered.

Construction from Firuz-Kuh towards Teheran is being actively pursued, and the station at Teheran is already under construction. The country between Teheran and Firuz-Kuh presents no formidable difficulties, and the capital should be linked with the Caspian early in 1937.

REVIEWS

A Constitutional History of India, 1600-1935. By Professor Arthur Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt., F.B.A. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. xvi+536. Methuen. 1936. 15s.

On May 5 at the annual dinner of the London Chamber of Commerce the rescue of the beleaguered American Minister and his family at Addis Ababa by a small detachment of British Indian troops sent from the British Legation moved the American Ambassador to say: "I think that the greatest achievement in the world is the British administration of India. To hundreds of millions of people of divers languages and religions the British have brought order and peace, and, above all, help." The constitutional history of such a considerable achievement is traced in this valuable book which clothes the dry bones of charters and Acts of Parliament with flesh and blood, explains lucidly the causes and conditions which brought them into being, guides us through the mazes of parliamentary legislation, and brings us to the end of a momentous stage in India's long march through the centuries. Professor Keith's verdict on the measure of 1935 is that, although it will be difficult to operate even in the Provinces under social conditions which necessitate reserving large powers of intervention to the Governors, it presents, as the Act of 1919 did not present, "the possibility of true responsible government." Of the federal scheme he does not think so well. "If it operates successfully, the highest credit will be due to the political capacity of Indian leaders, who have infinitely more serious difficulties to face than had the colonial statesmen who evolved the system of self-government which has now culminated in Dominion status." The last chapter on this question is particularly interesting, as the author is thoroughly acquainted with past developments in the Dominions. Care has been taken to place matters which bear on the evolution of self-government in a clear historical setting. The narrative begins by tracing the début of the East India Company in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. It was and long remained an "essentially commercial" corporation. Then came the time described by Warren Hastings when "the seed of its political character was sown by the hand of calamity, nourished by fortune and shaped by necessity." With a "sudden accession of military strength" came territorial dominion and inescapable political responsibility. "Perilous and wonderful paths" were taken from which there could be no retreat.

Hastings, in spite of stubborn opposition and enormous obstacles, "added greatly to British power and dominion," but is charged with "much wrongdoing." Summary judgments are passed on some of these doings which cannot be appraised correctly without much fuller discussion. On page 77 the refusal of the judges of the Supreme Court to respite Nanda Kumar after sentencing him to death is condemned in these words: "No more odious crime has ever been committed by a British court, whether or not at the instigation of a British Governor-General." After very careful consideration, Mr. P. E. Roberts, in *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v., p. 238,

arrives at a more lenient and, I venture to suggest, a fairer conclusion. An additional consideration should, I think, be taken into account. From Busteed's "Echoes of Old Calcutta"* we can form clear impressions of the personalities of the judges who sat with Impey, but were not even mentioned by Macaulay, although he must have been well aware that they shared the Chief Justice's responsibilities. Chambers, who later on succeeded Impey as Chief Justice, was indeed weak-kneed. After being overruled when at the beginning of the trial he proposed from the Bench that the indictment should be quashed and the prosecutor be allowed to prepare a fresh one, he resigned himself to all subsequent proceedings.† Lemaistre and Hyde were certainly men of tougher fibre. Nanda Kumar would not have come before the full Bench at all had he not previously been committed by these two judges after a day-long enquiry which lasted to 10 p.m. There is no reason whatever for supposing that then or at any subsequent stage of the proceedings either was moved by affection for or fear of Impey or Hastings.

We learn from Chapter V. how even the pacific and well-balanced Cornwallis was constrained by necessity to annex territory. Whatever Parliament might order, hard facts controlled the situation. "India was a complete stranger to the conception of a system of international law regulating the activities of a number of distinct fully sovereign powers. History had accustomed it to the claims of universal sovereignty by the Mogul Emperors. The reality of imperial power had passed away, leaving it open for any ambitious officer to seek to establish his power, and the Company had resources which were manifestly certain to give it a great advantage over its rivals" (p. 111). War with each other was the principal occupation of these rivals. But the Home Government tenaciously adhered to the maxims of 1784, discarding non-intervention only "when its impossibility became too obvious to be longer ignored." With Wellesley's arrival came a new policy of "acquisition of paramount power." As Professor Dodwell says, the early period of the Company's territorial rule had been, above all, "*a time of experiment*. The Parliament and the court of directors in England—Clive, Warren Hastings, and Cornwallis—had been feeling their way amid great uncertainty towards a system of administration which would work."‡ By degrees a considerable degree of success was attained. Administration and extension of territory proceeded with occasional setbacks but growing confidence. The Company was bidden by Parliament to wind up its commercial business, and in 1833 became simply a governing agency. Directly afterwards systematic Western education and freedom of the Press made their first appearance in British India. After the tragedy of the first Afghan War and the desperate conflicts with the Sikhs, the Company's charter was renewed in 1853, when for the first time the Governor-General called in outsiders to assist him and his executive council in legislation. But the advisers were all officials and included no Indian. The terms of the charter had clearly portended the end of the Company. Four years later came the Mutiny of the Bengal Army, due to causes which are summarized on

* See *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v., Bibliography, p. 627.

† Busteed, p. 89 n. ‡ *Cambridge History of India*, "Shorter History," p. 696.

page 165. When order was restored the final disappearance of the last Mogul Emperor "rendered the direct sovereignty of the Crown natural as well as inevitable" (p. 125).

Much of the substance of Chapters VI.-VIII. is elaborated in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. vi. They cover the peaceful years 1861-1905, as well as the far less tranquil period 1905-19. Lord Curzon, the last and most notable Viceroy of the old school, had toward the close of his first period of administration warned the Secretary of State that public opinion in India was growing, was articulate, and could not be ignored. A great change was passing over that country which he believed history would recognize himself as having done much, whether wisely or unwisely, to accelerate—viz., the lifting of India "from the level of a Dependency to the position which is bound one day to be hers, if indeed it is not so already, namely, that of the greatest partner in the Empire." It was Curzon's hand that finally shaped the wording of the Declaration of 1917; but it was also Curzon's determination that accomplished the Partition of Bengal in 1905, in spite of loud Congress and Hindu opposition at a time when the victories of Japan over Russia were resounding through Asia. Had he dreamt of the vantage-ground which this measure would afford to the revolutionaries who had already tried their hand with young Bengal, he would certainly have paused. Minto bore the brunt of the storm that blew up, and recognized from all signs of the weather that the time had come to experiment seriously in political concessions. Cautious man though he was, both he and Morley in fact prepared the way for the establishment of a parliamentary system while paradoxically saying that India was unfitted for one. They hoped that some compromise would work out. What is said, however, on such occasions is soon forgotten or ignored. The issue lies with what is done. Favoured by the frank and attractive personality of Lord Minto, the reforms of 1909 worked well at first and contributed to bring India into the War in a unanimous and hearty fashion. One effect of the War, however, was to discredit European and Christian culture among the political classes in India. The Irish rebellion of 1916 attracted much attention, and was closely followed by the Home Rule movements of Mrs. Besant and Tilak, which attracted political Moderates as well as Extremists. Ever since 1905 a revolutionary terrorist movement had been growing in Bengal and had affected other provinces, although the conspirators and their tools represented merely a small clique of Hindus. The extent and probable consequences of their workings in educational institutions were reported by Minto from Calcutta in November, 1908,* but were never fully appreciated by Morley. Throughout the troubled years that followed the conspirators went on spreading their nets in schools and colleges with little hindrance, and the fruits of their labours were not only murders and outrages, but the ruin of many youthful lives. After repeated failures of temporary remedies, the state of Bengal, the poisonous infection diffused through other provinces, repeated murders of officers, a largely attended European and Indian indignation meeting in Calcutta forced the Government and the legislatures out of the threadbare theory that the tragedies were passing phenomena, and that education in

* *India, Minto and Morley*, p. 254.

the province could be allowed to continue on existing lines. From November, 1931, terrorism and its subsidiaries, which had grown apace in the lawless atmosphere diffused by the parallel "non-violent" civil disobedience movement, were comprehensively and resolutely met; and since then Sir John Anderson and his officers have fought magnificently a very arduous battle, and, supported by the provincial Legislative Council, have appreciably enlisted public co-operation. But the return from Avernus has been gradual and laborious.

Space fails us to follow further here the broadening stream of constitutional and general history, although the temptation to do so and to note the impressions of so shrewd and learned an observer as Professor Keith is very strong. His book will be of lasting service to students of Britain's record in India. Three great internal problems stand out on the horizon: the economic well-being of immense and increasing populations, the remedy of unemployment by more practical education, the protection of the country from the operations of fanatics whose hostility to any form of British control is bitter and persistent.* Questions connected with these problems will often recur and will severely test the capacities of the new governments and provincial parliaments. There is a fourth problem, a very old one, but never more important than now: the defence of the sub-continent from foreign attack, a problem which, in addition to its land-frontier perplexities, has lately "suffered a sea-change." Listeners to Sir Philip Chetwode's address to the East India Association on April 7 will have been impressed by warnings which deserved a larger audience. India now faces all her problems under a Viceroy new to his task, but exceptionally well-equipped for it by his personal character and previous services in her cause. For India's sake, for the sake of our brethren and companions, we wish him all success.

H. V. L.

Jazirat al-'Arab fi l-qarni 'l-'ishrin (Arabia in the Twentieth Century).

By Hafiz Wahbah, Sa'udi Minister in London. Cairo, 1354 = 1935.

The Sa'udi Minister's work is both interesting and valuable on many grounds. It starts with some statistical geography of the peninsula, dealing with the location of different communities, estimates of their numbers, enumeration of their industries, and accounts of the physical features of their territory. It proceeds with some chapters on their moral qualities and customs, enlivened with anecdotes, and furnishing valuable hints as to the etiquette to be observed by visitors; and then enters the historical field, in which the author might say (though he does not) *quorum pars magna fui*. Occasionally, however, his narrative becomes autobiographical, and we learn something of the sagacity which he can display in difficult situations. He exhibits throughout a desire to be fair to all parties. Thus, though Ibn Sa'ud's most persistent opponent was King Husain of the Hijaz, this writer's account of the latter is in the main eulogistic: "he was the first Arab to give the Arabian country an imperial character and undeniable importance in Europe."

* See Jawahar Lal Nehru's Autobiography.

The history of the Wahhabi dynasty has recently been told by Mr. Philby, who like Hafiz Wahbah is a great admirer of Ibn Sa'ud. One important difference in their accounts is deserving of attention. Mr. Philby makes King Husain's assumption of the Caliphate, following on its abolition by Mustafa Kemal, the immediate cause of the war declared by Ibn Sa'ud on the King of the Hijaz and the consequent absorption of that province in the Wahhabi Empire. Hafiz Wahbah makes no mention of this incident, finding the cause of the war in the policy which caused Ibn Sa'ud to be surrounded by potentates of King Husain's family.

Probably the most important contribution to the history of the time contained in this book is a series of hitherto unpublished documents; four letters from Sir Arthur Macmahon to the Sharif Husain promising him certain rewards if he will join the Allies in the Great War; accounts of the money and provisions sent by the British Government to the Hijaz when Husain accepted the offer; a letter to the Idrisi chieftain inviting him to war against the Turks; diplomatic correspondence connected with the Versailles Conference. King Husain's assistance was expensive: somewhere between £125,000 and £200,000 monthly, and vast supplies of wheat, barley, rice, sugar, and coffee. As Hafiz Wahbah remarks, the Arabs were giving their lives. King Husain undoubtedly was led to expect that after the Allies' victory he would be sovereign of an empire embracing all the Arabic-speaking countries which had formed part of the Ottoman Empire. But promising and paying are not identical operations, and when the claims of France and the Zionists had been met (satisfied would not be the right word in the latter case), there were only leavings for King Husain. The writer has no phrase which could be interpreted as criticism of the British Government. But perusal of these documents suggests that, in spite of the edifying language which we are constantly hearing about the sanctity of treaties, they share with other promises their proverbial resemblance to piecrust.

A portion of the work is devoted to an account of Wahhabi doctrine and practice. The latter involved taboo of all European inventions: even the humble bicycle was connected with the devil. Ibn Sa'ud had need of all his patience and sagacity to accustom his followers to telegraphs, telephones, and motor-cars.

The character of the Sa'ud is skilfully drawn without fulsome eulogy. The coup whereby he with a handful of followers gained possession of Riyadh, the first step in his ladder, is told dramatically, and, indeed, reads like a romance. His long series of military and diplomatic successes, with his ability to substitute order for anarchy and co-operation for internecine war, justifies the description sometimes given of him as the greatest Arab since the founder of Islam.

D. S. M.

Persia and Great Britain on the Eve of the War. Persian Section of vol. x., Part I., British Documents on the Eve of the War. Edited by G. P. Gooch and H. Temperley. London: Stationery Office, 1936.

In this review of a section of the British Documents on the Origins of the War, running to over three hundred pages, dealing mainly with Persia,

I am merely giving a brief summary of the most important questions, which, in this bulky volume, are treated in considerable detail. The chief figures in our Foreign Office at this period were Sir Edward Grey and Sir Arthur Nicolson, but there are often brilliant minutes from other members of the Foreign Office. M. Sazonoff was the Russian protagonist, and presents the picture of a man who lacked ability to fill the difficult position of Russian Foreign Minister.

The famous Potsdam Meeting between the Russian and German Emperors took place in 1910. M. Sazonoff was most anxious to improve Russo-German relations, and agreed to support the Baghdad railway, while Germany equally bound herself to support Russian interests in Persia.

The British objected to Russia giving unlimited support to the Baghdad railway, upon which Sazonoff replied that he only intended the term to signify one section, from Konia to Baghdad, but he declined to correct his draft to "jusqu'à Baghdad." Needless to say, Germany took advantage of his mistake. Germany intended to construct a branch from the Konia-Baghdad railway to Khanikin, while Russia equally intended to obtain a concession from the Persian Government for the construction of a railway from Teheran to Khanikin. The feeling in Russia was strongly against building this railway, which would admit German goods to Northern Persia, while it was impossible for Sazonoff to obtain the funds to construct any railway line. The Russian Foreign Minister next attempted to persuade our Foreign Office to finance a railway line from Enzeli to Teheran, to form part of a great Trans-Persian railway. He stated that, although it would benefit the trade of Russia almost exclusively, yet that Power was unable to finance it in any way whatever! The British were more anxious to build a railway from the Persian Gulf to Dizful to Khoremabad, in order to counter possible hostile rates on the Baghdad railway. This line, it is interesting to note, is being constructed by the Iranian Government, and forms part of the great Trans-Iranian railway. Fortunately none of these schemes materialized.

Eventually, in August, 1911, the Potsdam Agreement was signed. Russia agreed not to oppose the construction of the Baghdad railway. She agreed to obtain a concession from the Persian Government for the construction, among other lines in Northern Persia, of a line from Teheran to Khanikin to meet the German Sadija to Khanikin branch line of the Konia-Baghdad railway as soon as this branch line was constructed. Russia, moreover, agreed that if, two years after the construction of this branch line by Germany, she had not commenced the construction of the Teheran-Khanikin line, the German Government was at liberty to apply for the right to construct it. Russia had thus sacrificed her own interests to Germany, and had certainly weakened the *Entente* with Great Britain. Her lack of good faith and her financial weakness had been fully proved. In the event nothing more was heard of these grandiose railway schemes, one of which was intended to cross Persia from the north-west to the south-east.

The following chapter deals with Anglo-Russian friction in Persia, in which connexion it must be remembered that the Anglo-Russian Agreement had been signed in 1907. It was intended to put an end to rivalry in Asia

between the two great Powers, and did so to a considerable extent. The position in Persia at this period was chaotic. The dying Muzaffar-u-Din had granted a constitution in 1906, but his successor, Mohamed Ali Shah, an Oriental despot of the worst type, was determined to ignore it. In June, 1908, he bombarded the building in which the *Majlis* assembled, and strangled some of its leaders, while others took refuge in the British Legation. The answer to this success at Teheran was a revolution at Tabriz. The city was invested and gradually suffered from famine, with the result that Great Britain agreed that Russian troops should be despatched for the protection of foreign subjects. Upon the appearance on the scene of the Russian column, the investing forces dispersed to their homes, and the hopes of the Shah were ruined.

The protracted defence of Tabriz had given time for forces to be organized at Resht and at Isfahan, and in 1909 the two forces captured Teheran. The Shah took refuge in the Russian Legation and abdicated.

Mohamed Ali was succeeded by his son, Sultan Ahmad, a boy of twelve, with Azud-ul-Mulk, the aged head of the Kajar tribe, as Regent. Upon his death in 1910, Nasir-ul-Mulk, a graduate of Oxford, undertook the thankless task. Hardly had he taken up the post when the ex-Shah, with the connivance of local Russian officials, was permitted to organize a party, furnished with arms and ammunition, and to engage a ship which landed him in the south-east corner of the Caspian. There he was welcomed by the Turkoman, with whom he had been in correspondence for over a year. The Russian Consuls in Persia favoured the ex-Shah, and my colleague at Meshed openly worked for him, but his force was defeated, mainly thanks to quick-firing guns operated by a German. Mohamed Ali escaped back to Russia, much to the disappointment of Russian officials in Persia.

The financial position of Persia was gloomy in the extreme, and the Persian Government decided to engage an American Financial Adviser, in the person of Mr. Morgan Shuster, who had reorganized the Philippines Customs Service and was a member of the Philippine Commission. Shuster was given the widest powers by the *Majlis*, but displayed marked tactlessness. For example, the Regent advised him not to interfere with the Customs, which, under Belgian administration, was a model department, but he entirely ignored this advice, and thereby excited bitter hostility, not only of the Belgian officials, but also of Russia, as the despatches prove.

Shuster determined to organize a special Treasury gendarmerie and offered the appointment to Major Stokes, whose appointment as British Military Attaché at Teheran was coming to an end. Major Stokes was a devoted friend to Persia and was unfriendly to Russia. In any case, such an appointment was undesirable and was contrary to the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. It caused serious trouble to both Governments, as is proved by the lengthy correspondence on the subject. Finally, Major Stokes was ordered to return to India.

The relations between Shuster and the Russian Government became worse as the months passed, and it was finally decided by that Power to oust the American Treasurer-General, and that on a case in which he was entirely in the right.

To quote from Sir George Barclay's telegram of October 16, 1911,* Pokhetonov, Russian Consul-General at Teheran, "quite unwarrantably interfered by force with the seizure by the Persian Government of certain properties of the ex-Shah's brothers which had been confiscated in consequence of the part their owners have taken in the insurrection."

Russia presented an ultimatum supported by troops in November, 1911. Persian feeling ran high, as was proved by attacks on Russian troops at Resht and Tabriz, but, finally, unable to oppose Russia, she had to yield, and Shuster was dismissed. Russia had small reason to be proud of her behaviour on this occasion. Actually it demonstrated the fact, which is hardly sufficiently noticed in these despatches, that her consuls were able to pursue a policy of their own which aimed at the annexation of the Russian sphere in Persia. A still clearer proof of their sinister designs was afforded by the criminal bombardment of the golden dome of the shrine of the Imam Riza at Meshed in the following year—a bombardment which I witnessed. In this case the Russian Consul-General sent *agents provocateurs* into the shrine to create a disturbance, and then brought in a Russian force which bombarded the shrine and killed several innocent pilgrims. The *agents provocateurs* were escorted out of the city that night. Their leader, dissatisfied with the reward given to him by my Russian colleague, wrote me a full account of the whole affair, which corroborated what I had learned from other sources.†

To conclude, this interesting series of despatches shows the British Foreign Office to great advantage, each case being treated with singular acumen and care, while throughout runs the British ideal of fair play.

P. M. SYKES.

The Hindu-Muslim Problem in India. By Clifford Manshardt. 7½" × 5".

Pp. 128. George Allen and Unwin. 1936. 5s.

The author in a modest preface tells us that "this little book is an attempt to analyze some of the causes of Hindu-Muslim tension in India." He is well qualified for the task; for, as an American with wide experience, he "has devoted the last nine years to a practical attempt to bring about communal unity in a crowded section of the City of Bombay," where he has been actively engaged in social work among both communities. His fear that as an outsider he may be treading on dangerous ground is unfounded, for that fact enables him to view the problem from a detached and impartial standpoint. Indeed, the book is an admirably clear and valuable analysis of the relations—traced from their historical origins—between the two communities, and of the causes—religious, economic and political—which have contributed to bring about the violent antagonisms which are to-day, more than ever before, disturbing public order over the greater part of India.

He gets to the root of the matter when he quotes (p. 37) Sir Theodore Morison's saying that "the Hindus and Muslims who inhabit one village, one

* P. 817.

† *Vide Sykes: History of Persia*, 3rd ed., ii. 426.

town, or one district belong to two separate nations more distinct and spiritually further asunder than two European nations"—*e.g.*, France and Germany. This is emphasized by Sir Abdur Rahim, the leader of the Bengal Muslims. "Any of us Indian Muslims travelling, for instance, in Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, etc., would not find anything to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary, in India we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our Hindu fellow-townsmen live." Dr. Manshardt's conclusion is unfortunately true that all over India potential communal conflict lies just beneath the surface, and it takes very little scratching to bring it to light.

But he brings out one all-important, but sometimes overlooked, fact which explains the growing hostility—*viz.*, that though social and religious differences are a primary cause, "the more recent and disturbing elements are economic and political." He proves this very clearly in the chapter dealing with the Bombay riots of 1929, of which he was a close observer. The trouble began with a strike among Hindu mill-hands; Pathans (Muslims) were called in as strike-breakers; the fury of the strikers, stirred up by violent sectarian and revolutionary propaganda on the platform and in the Press, at once broke on the Pathans, several of whom were brutally murdered; that at once brought to their aid their Muslim co-religionists, and for a week, in spite of the efforts of the police and the so-called leaders on both sides, the city was given over to murder, carnage and looting. At least 150 were killed and some 3,000 seriously injured before the calling out of the troops stopped the massacre.

The delay in taking this step was rightly criticized at the time; the explanation given by the Commissioner of Police was that the authoritative contradiction by Government of the malicious story, so often invented to inflame the Hindu mobs, that the Pathans had kidnapped Hindu children, would at once restore confidence! The absurdity of that view is exposed by the author; it shows a complete ignorance of the psychology of an ignorant and credulous mob ready to swallow every malicious rumour. Dr. Manshardt also makes it clear that the Hindu and Muslim leaders, having come to agreement among themselves, made a grievous mistake in believing the Hindu and Muslim mobs would follow their lead. That failure of the so-called leaders to control a situation which often has been created by themselves for political objects is one of the greatest weaknesses in Indian politics. The author has been quick to expose it in showing the futility of the various Unity and All-India conferences both in India and at the various Round-Table Conferences in London. One hopes with him that the time may come when Indian politicians will realize that the mere passing of a pompous and platitudinous resolution in favour of communal unity does not help to bring it about.

How it is to be brought about is discussed in the final chapter.

The author shows that the methods of (1) subjection and (2) conflict have been tried, have failed, and are no longer possible; that (3) the methods of segregation and (4) *laissez-faire* are to-day impracticable. There remains only (5) "the method of intelligent goodwill." All who know India will agree with him that this offers the only hope of a communal settlement, but that the process must be a slow and a gradual one. Apart from the agelong religious antagonism so often stirred up into bloodshed by such apparent trivialities as the Muslim slaughter of a cow for sacrifice, or the Hindu procession playing music close to a mosque, the economic and political rivalries between the two communities are growing more acute as the impartial British overlord is abdicating in favour of what he believes to be Indian nationalism, but what in fact is, to-day at least, Indian com-

munalism. One may agree with the author that the political struggle—for power and place—will continue longer than the economic, and also accept his view that “it is extremely difficult to see how parliamentary institutions can operate when founded upon separate communal electorates.” Whether India can overcome her past and gain the summit of her political aspirations depends upon the courage and vision of her own leadership. In this, too, we may fully agree with Dr. Manshardt while regretting that the necessary courage and vision have hitherto not been conspicuous, at least among the older men. He puts his trust in the younger generation, and all who wish well to India will hope that it is not misplaced. Whatever happens, he has done a great service to India by his admirably fair and well-reasoned statement of the problem and his wise suggestions for its solution.

M. F. O'DWYER.

Jawaharlal Nehru. An autobiography. With musings on recent events in India. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. xvi + 618. Illustrated. John Lane. 15s.

“The primary object in writing these papers was to occupy myself with a definite task, so necessary in the long solitudes of gaol life, as well as to review past events in India, with which I had been connected, to enable myself to think clearly about them. . . . My attempt was to trace, so far as I could, my own mental development.”

Thus writes Jawaharlal Nehru, who has already been seven times in gaol, in the preface of his autobiography. It might also be termed a study in introspection, for the author is more occupied in tracing his own mental development than in attempting a survey of recent Indian history.

Jawaharlal Nehru was born at Allahabad in 1889. At a very early age he was filled with resentment against the alien rulers of his country “on account of the overbearing character and insulting manners of the English people”—a subject which apparently was very frequently discussed in his home, and which is referred to, at intervals, throughout the book. Thus began his first antagonism. After the Russo-Japanese War nationalistic ideas filled his mind, and he dreamt of an India and an Asia free from the thralldom of Europe.

Next came Harrow and Cambridge. One might have anticipated a more marked advance in ideas; but his education in England merely left him with certain not clearly defined socialistic tendencies and an admiration for Sinn Fein. These were not strong enough, however, to prevent him from seriously considering the Indian Civil Service as a career. He eventually rejected this idea, and was called to the Bar in 1912.

He returned to Allahabad in that same year, and commenced legal work by joining the High Court. But gradually neither the law as a profession nor the constant companionship of legal men gave him real satisfaction; so, with the coming of Gandhi, he began his career as a prominent figure in Congress.

His reactions to Gandhi are interesting. There is no question that he both loved and admired him; but while he recognized him to be a great leader, he also was very alive to his fads and peculiarities. He was worried by his mysticism, and never could accept the doctrine of non-violence. Later in his book he sums up Gandhi: “What after all is he aiming at? In spite of the closest association with him for many years, I am not clear in my own mind about his objective. I doubt if he is clear himself.” It would appear that Nehru's first definite

espousal of socialism was the result of his contact with the peasantry of the United Provinces, and his fight for their cause against the so-called tyranny of the capitalist and the callous landlord.

It was a tribute to his ability and to his political development that he was elected President of the Congress at the age of forty. But his book, written six years later, gives the distinct impression that he still considers the aims of Congress too indefinite.

He had long been drawn to Socialism and Communism. Russia had appealed to him. Russia, he says, in theory but not in practice. Yet it is difficult to reconcile this statement with, "Inevitably we are led to the only possible solution, the establishment of a socialist order, first within national boundaries and eventually in the world as a whole, with controlled production and distribution of wealth. . . . Our final aim must be a classless society with equal justice and opportunity for all. . . . Everything which comes in the way must be removed, gently if possible, forcibly if necessary." And so we will leave the political side trying to gauge what the result might be of the application of this doctrine to India.

The author claims that he has written his book without bitterness. In many respects this claim is justified, certainly as regards individuals. But the book is written purely from the Congress point of view. "Gratitude is due to the British for their one splendid gift of science, and its rich offspring. It is difficult to forget or to view with equanimity the efforts of the British Government in India to encourage the disruptive, obscurantist, reactionary, sectarian and opportunist elements in the country."

No review, however short, of this remarkable book could possibly omit to mention two arresting chapters, "Paradoxes in India" and "What is Religion?" while the examination and the rejection of the Oxford Group Movement will certainly intrigue some readers. It is interesting also to note the parts which a singularly happy marriage and a love of nature have played in the author's life.

This is a book which is attractively and easily written—merits which should commend it to a large circle of readers. Its additional recommendation is that it discloses, in some degree, the mind of one who not only possesses a singularly brilliant intellect, but who also, in all probability, will prove to be the most formidable opponent of the new Constitution in India.

J. S. S.

Grass for My Feet. By J. Vijaya-Tunga. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 230. Edward Arnold. 1935. 6s.

This account of the simple life of Sinhalese villagers in parts of the country remote from Ceylon's westernized towns makes delightful reading. The simplicity of the tale, though a sophisticated simplicity of conscious art, is consistently and successfully maintained. The result is a faithful picture of Sinhalese village life such as one will not find elsewhere. The author was evidently born in the surroundings which he describes, a true Sinhalese of an influential family as village families go. He was clearly a lad of considerable promise and was early initiated into the mysteries of English, to be sent in due course to a boarding-school at Galle. Ceylon's secondary schools offer an excellent foundation for a Western education, and it is not surprising to those who are familiar with Ceylon's mastery of the English language to find that the author, with the help at a later stage of a number of years' sojourn in America and London, writes English with-

out fault and as one to whom the tongue seems to be an easy and natural medium of creation.

Each chapter is a separate picture of village life or personalities or activities. We have here not the stark struggle against overwhelming obstacles in the remote uncultivated areas of Wolf's *Village in the Jungle*, but the typical countryside of the cultivated low-country in the Southern Province with its palms and paddy-fields and its (on the whole) easy-going and not unprosperous life. A suitable parallel would be a simple picture of the life and activities of a village society in a farming area in England remote from the enterprises and atmosphere of modern commercial and mechanical industries. The people live and think as they have lived and thought for a century, and one wonders whether they are destined to go on living and thinking thus in perpetuity or whether this pleasing village life too must, in the fullness of time, under the spur of political development, adult franchise, and industrial expansion, lose its unsophisticated simplicity and take on the restless confused characters of modern civilization. Would the author, we wonder, returning to his village after years of life in places like London and New York, see no change in the temper and mentality of his village folk? A new generation may not be that untutored society of simple and amiable country folk which has always hitherto been reckoned by those who have served there among the chief attractions of that incomparably beautiful island. If the character and life of Ceylon's peasants are to change under the impetus of a new political status, it was urgent that we should have some authentic record or picture of their traditional ways of living and thinking. The author of *Grass for My Feet* is by origin body and soul of a Southern Province Sinhalese village. By education, travel, and long contact with the West he has acquired not only a mastery of the English tongue, but also, it would appear, a competent knowledge of the technique of Western literary forms. It is possible without reserve to commend his book to the general reader. It is good measured by the best standards, and one could wish that this real success will be a stimulus to further competent literary work by the educated men of Ceylon who have yet to add to their proved ability to assimilate all that our arts and sciences can teach them a more distinctive and fruitful power of literary and artistic creation.

Grass for My Feet is presumably obtainable at your bookseller's. But if you wish to invest your purchase with something of the Ceylon "aura," why not buy a copy at Ceylon House in Aldwych, and, perhaps, in the process make contact with that exceptionally able and passionately filial son of Ceylon, Dr. Paul Pieris, Ceylon's Trade Commissioner in London? Ceylon merits a better knowledge of its people's excellent qualities than is possessed by those who picture it either as an unlocateable and unimportant tea estate in Assam or as "an island somewhere off the South Coast of India" (as an American lady once described it in a postal address).

R. M.

The Southern Gates of Arabia. By Freya Stark. Pp. xii+328. With one hundred and sixteen illustrations and two maps. London: John Murray. 1936. 16s.

Along my bookshelves I see the names of Wellsted, Von Wrede, Van den Berg, Hirsch; I see Bent's large tome and Helfritz's yellow volume, and the English translation of Van den Meulen's travels. Other more recent names, not yet come to book fame, spring to my mind—Cochrane and Rickards, Lee-Warner,

Boscawen, Little, and Ingrams. All can tell of that south-western hinterland of the Arabian peninsula, that most intriguing frankincense land, the first corner of Arabia to become known to the West—the last to be rediscovered. All these authorities tell of journeys, discoveries, antiquities; there are hosts of facts at my command if I want them; one felt there was little room for fresh labours over the same ground. But I also had a deep feeling that the great bastioned valley, which forms the middle Hadhramaut, choked with palm groves, dotted with villages, and dominated by great sky-scraping townships, was awaiting a master-mind to do justice to its own peculiar atmosphere and its own particular Society. Now we see what an artist with a new vision can make of the same old subject. The Southern Gates of Arabia were closed to us before Freya Stark opened them. We enter to find an altogether *new* world, a world of delightful hosts and lavish hospitality, of modern comforts side by side with mediæval squalor, a strange mixture of civilization and savagery, of anarchy and order, of Nature in her most generous and in her most forbidding moods.

Freya Stark was in the country two months, and only at one point, Andal, did she touch what might be called new ground, yet the story of experiences is so original and so vividly told, in fact so different from any other story of travel—excepting her own *Valleys of the Assassins*—that it must take its place as a most valuable addition to the literature of the Hadhramaut in particular, and of Arabia as a whole.

Going up from Makalla by the age-worn route over the Jol, she took the usual short-cut from the coast to the middle and most populous section of the great Wadi Hadhramaut, by way of its subsidiary Wadi Duan. Even this comparatively dull going makes good reading: “The Jol has usually been dismissed by travellers as a piece of dull dreariness, a plateau where heat and cold are alike unbearable, where food is quite, and water almost, non-existent, a hard inhospitable flat expanse.” To Freya Stark it has the “fascination and the terror of vastness not only in space but in time,” and her mind feasts itself on the thought that this 7,000-foot uplift was born beneath the sea. There being a lack of human interest here, she concentrates on Nature, and shows that her insight into it is as deep as her sympathy with the strange people with whom she fared. “As we passed the heads of these defiles, and deviated like ants that come in summer to cracks in the ground and wind about to circumvent them, we could watch the processes in the excavation of a wadi, its growth in concentration, as it were. Like our own affairs, it is first determined by some almost imperceptible accident, an invisible dip in the ground: the rain water gathers by chance of gravity, and pushes and labours downwards, the eating of the hard earth begins; the turn is taken to left or right; the force of water imprisoned in walls becomes irresistible and cuts its way victorious; and a purpose is born, a direction fixed, for ever (or at least for a very long time). . . . The landscape is hewn out like a statue from a piece of marble, a drama spread on æons of years.” No geologist could improve on that!

Once off the plateau and in the winding trough of the greater drainage system in Arabia (barring the Wadi Rumma), she was at home amongst friendly people who received her well. But measles intervened and spoilt her best chances. In spite of this setback and other more serious complications, Freya Stark is able to give us five chapters on the old-fashioned life of the country which still exists in these side-valleys, untouched by foreign influence, and better seen here than in the great cities of the Hadhramaut itself. On recovering some of her strength, she moved on into the main wadi, and tells in her own inimitable style of the glory and strangeness of its three great cities—Shibam, Seyun, and Tarim.

"And now it looked as if a lower cliff had wandered out into the middle valley: wrinkled and pitted as we drew nearer, with beehive holes; split like the valley sides in vertical fissures; the top of it splashed with white as by a giant paint-brush: an old and wrinkled city, made of the earth that made the hills around it, built on a mound wherein no doubt lie buried the ancestor cities of the past. This was Shibam."

"Built by the hands of giants
• For Godlike kings of old."

Turning on her tracks, Freya Stark made towards the real object of her journey, the unknown sources of the great wadi. Passing into the Wadi Amd, which she entered as the fourth western traveller, she visited Huraidha and Andal. To the west lay unexplored country: an easy four days' journey separated her from Shabwa—the ancient Sabota—mentioned by Pliny as a city with sixty temples, capital of the land of frankincense; and "not only Shabwa, but new, unvisited places, the dead valleys of Hadhramaut, Tamna' the Katabanian and Gebanite capital, even the far north-western Jauf, where the giraffe is still improbably rumoured to exist, . . . all these opened in my sight. . . . All I had to do was to get a little stronger and then go." The Badawin were ready to take her; there was no obstacle between her and her goal. But she didn't get any stronger, she crashed. One wonders what would have been the ultimate fate of this extraordinarily gallant person had not a strange illness checked even her indomitable spirit. Certainly the prospects were rosy, for although Boscawen had penetrated into that unknown patch two years before, he had done so at considerable risk. The men of Shabwa have an evil reputation. The bullet which greeted Colonel Boscawen's arrival beneath its walls and killed one of his men was, as Freya Stark relates, meant for the Colonel! But at the time of her visit there was a period of peace, owing to a treaty having been concluded between Ibn Saud, King of Arabia, and the Imam of Yemen. One can only wish that so accurate an observer and so charming a writer could have been permitted to enter the inner gates and to tell us of Shabwa and possibly of the principal remaining mystery which lies beyond. Inshallah—she will do so at some future date.

The volume is beautifully printed and embellished with innumerable photographs of her own taking. The two maps are adequate and instructive, showing her own routes and those of the ancient incense trade, for the story of the Southern Gates is largely that of the frankincense traffic of early days—of which period Freya Stark gives us a brilliant picture in her introduction and a most valuable historical survey in an appendix.

D. C.

The Port of Basrah, 'Iraq. Compiled by Cecil Byford, A.M.Inst.T.
10" × 7½" Pp. 153. Illustrations and two maps. Published under the
authority of the Port of Basrah Directorate, 1935. Basrah. (Printed Waterlow.)

No more is claimed for this work than that it is a compilation of information about the Port and its development during twenty years from the "exceedingly primitive conditions before the War" to "one of the best equipped ports of its size in existence." Before the War there were "no facilities except three Customs examination sheds—all loading and unloading being done in stream by means of lighters."

The information given under each heading is concise and complete. The record is one of very remarkable achievement, carried to success through difficulties that must have seemed almost insuperable. The plans were based from the outset upon a wide view of the probable expansion of the requirements of the Port, a view that has been amply justified. A well-deserved tribute is paid (p. 63) to Colonel J. C. Ward, the Port Director, to whose foresight, vigour and initiative success is mainly due.

The facts here set forth will have a specially vivid interest for those who struggled against the baffling conditions of 1916-17, when the congestion was such that at one time no less than twenty ships laden with stores urgently needed for the British Expeditionary Force lay at anchor in the stream for several weeks before their cargoes could be dealt with. Much of the criticism levelled at those responsible for the maintenance of Force D in the field would have been modified if the critics had realized the tremendous difficulties of this tangled knot in the Line of Communications.

The Port Directorate has wide and varied functions, for the Port comprises the course of the Shatt-al-Arab, with its extensive approaches from the open sea, for a total distance of 100 miles. The wharves, jetties, dockyards, air port, etc., cover an area of 2,000 acres. The oil port of Abadan, also administered by the Directorate, exports 7,000,000 tons a year. At Fao, near the entrance to the river, a large depot has been formed. It includes the base for the dredging operations and lighting of the channel through the bar, and fulfils many other purposes as set forth on page 80. A chapter on "The Constitution of the Port" relates the agreement made with the Iraq Government for the eventual institution of a Port Trust in place of the existing Directorate.

In this brief statistical compilation little room has been found for romance; only on pages 79 and 80 the author finds a strange beauty in the Shatt-al-Arab, its creeks and canals with their setting of date-palm groves. Little imagination is, however, needed to understand the romantic interest with which the Port of Basrah is invested, and that not only on account of its ancient history and traditions.

A dominating factor in the development of the Port has been the bar off the mouth of the Shatt-al-Arab. Dredging operations have increased the depth of water over this bar from nineteen feet at high tide to thirty-two feet. There are good photographs of the specially constructed dredgers, and on pages 67 to 71 details of their construction and capabilities, as well as statistics of the work accomplished by means of them. These bald details, however, give no idea of the strenuous incessant labour involved in keeping clear the channel through the bar. This outer bar, much of it beyond sight of land, is the scene of the principal labours of the dredging organization. The selection of the Rooka channel (p. 56) was due to the discernment of Colonel Ward following upon an exhaustive examination by experts of other possible lines of approach. Dredging, not usually an inspiring subject, in this case furnishes a theme worthy of the pen of Kipling. The battle with the forces of nature that are constantly at work to obstruct the channel allows no relaxation in the work. Severe as it is in the cold and stormy winter, it is in summer when the rivers come down in flood that the utmost efforts barely suffice to check the silting-up of the essential waterway. In the fierce heat and glare of the days, and at night by the brilliant light of the row of beacons marking the channel, the dredging must continue unceasingly; but it is during the frequent sandstorms, obscuring all marks for days together, that the work is most exacting. For the dredgers it means perpetual groping in the oppressive sand-laden atmosphere to keep in the lines marked out for them by the survey. The work of the survey vessel (the picture of which on page 137 gives

the impression of a trim pleasure yacht) is no less strenuous. At all seasons and in all weathers the daily survey of the channel must go on, marking out and indicating to the dredgers the course that they must follow.

The brief paragraph on Pilotage (p. 76) touches upon a subject with historical associations. The prescriptive right to the Pilot Service belongs to the Persian islanders of Kharag near Bushire, handed down for centuries from father to son, and confirmed to them by the British Government in recognition of their good offices during the Anglo-Persian War of 1856.

A new airport is being constructed at Margil as a more convenient site than the existing one at Shaibah; and it is expected that it will be completed during this year (p. 143).

The book is illustrated by a large number of excellent photographs and an architectural sketch of the proposed airport. There are two clear coloured plans, and statistical tables of finance, shipping and merchandize.

J. K. T.

La Croix dans l'Islam. (Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Patriarcats Melkites). Par Habib Zayat. Harissa : Liban Imprimerie de Saint Paul.

In this short and well-documented brochure, which deals with the symbol of the Cross in Moslem times, there is much interesting and suggestive matter. The explanation offered by the author of the persistence of the cross on coins of the Ommayyads is that Moslems were already familiarized with the sign on Byzantine money. It is possible, however, that the sign was not regarded at this time as purely Christian. The discovery during recent excavations at Samarra of a cross-like design in some stucco decoration of a Moslem building seems to confirm this theory. The cross as magic sun-symbol was in use before Christianity, and, although the word *ṣalīb* is not used, the cross is often used in curative tattooing to-day amongst Moslems in Iraq. Herzfeld, in his *Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet*, gives an illustration of a cross on a vase which, like the most popular form of tattooed cross, has a dot in each quarter, and states that the vase is, in his opinion, pre-Christian.

Again, I am inclined to doubt the author's statement that the Copts borrowed the practice of circumcision from the Moslems; for the custom of circumcision is of ancient Egyptian origin. It may perhaps be worth mentioning that the Assyrian priests use the thumb for making the sign of the cross, and that while for the baptism of infants and living persons the cross described is made with an upward movement for the vertical, for the dead it is described with a downward movement. Similarly, the cross with which a grave is sealed on the first day is described with a downward movement, but on the visit of the priest to the cemetery on the third day, the cross is described with an upward movement, to symbolize the resurrection of the soul. As the names of the points of the compass are pronounced when making the cross, the sign may symbolize the movements of the sun, itself a symbol of resurrection, for it sets in the west and rises in the east to the life and vigour of another day.

E. S. D.

Siamese White. By Maurice Collis. 9" x 6". Pp. 322. Eight illustrations and four maps. London: Faber and Faber. 1936.

For more centuries than can be told with any exactitude the coast of that long, south-protruding tongue of Further India, the lower part of which is Malaya, has been the entrepôt for the exchange of merchandise from India and the western world against the products of China and the Far East. Here was the Golden Chersonese of the Ancients, and there exists evidence that some four thousand years ago Chinese junks regularly visited its eastern shores, and even reached the seas to the west of it by a long-vanished channel that once divided Malaya from the continent.

The trade was in the hands of foreign Hindu settlers, living under the inconstant protection of native potentates—Peguan, Siamese, Kambodian, and others—and attaining at times to numbers and influence sufficient to control the destiny and modify the customs and even the physical appearance of their hosts. Then, with the rise of Islam, Mahomedan merchants, missionaries and sea-rovers generally, spreading through the East, supplanted the Hindus, developed communication with Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and, bartering the wares of the Orient with occidental merchants of the Mediterranean, sowed the seed from which, in the course of centuries, grew direct European commerce with the Far East.

The centre of the entrepôt trade moved about, up and down the peninsula as political and other contingencies dictated, and during the historical period of eight hundred years or so that preceded its ultimate establishment at Singapore, Hansawadi, Martaban, Thalang, Malacca, and other places had each their day; and amongst them the old Peguan port of Mergui, captured by Siam in 1565 and made the western terminus of an overland route from the east coast, rose to a notable prominence in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

In 1826 Mergui, retaken by Burma from Siam and divested of all importance, became a minute part of the British Empire, and about a hundred years later the chances of the Civil Service sent the writer of this book to rule over the pretty little town and its surrounding district. A few crumbling ruins, sundry relics of the long-defunct overland trade, a hazy legend and a lingering name, inspired him to investigate the history of his charge both on the spot and, later, in the records of the India Office and other relevant literature, the result supplying him with material for the construction of this stirring tale of commerce and politics as conducted in the Orient when the later Stewarts reigned in England, the Mughal Aurangzeb in India and Chao Pen Din Narayana in Siam.

The protagonist in the drama is a young English sailor named Samuel White, who, when twenty-five years old, joined the East India Company's Madras establishment, and, at the instance of Phaulkon, Prime Minister of Siam, was lent by the Company to the King of that country, in whose service he, for six years, commanded a ship trading between Mergui and the East India Company's stations across the Bay of Bengal. Then, being appointed Shahbandar of Mergui, again by the influence of Phaulkon, he organized and maintained a Siamese fleet under British officers, waged maritime war against Pegu and the crumbling but still powerful kingdom of Golconda, and captured ships and destroyed coast towns until his name became a terror, and for a time he held the Bay of Bengal in fee. Whereafter, having incurred the enmity of all and sundry and brought down the wrath of the East India Company upon his head, he escaped in a flurry of flame, slaughter and shipwreck to England, where he died suddenly before he could enjoy the fortune he had accumulated by trade and other means during the brief but lurid course of his activities.

The scenes are laid chiefly in and about the lovely islet-studded inlet of Mergui,

but more than a glimpse is afforded of the splendours of Ayuthia, then the capital of Siam, and of King Narayana and his Greek Prime Minister: and much is narrated of the plots and counterplots, risings and massacres that culminated, soon after White had left the country, in one of the many revolutions that have afflicted Siam in the course of her history.

In the hands of his chronicler, White, the haughty, ruthless, subtle and daring nobleman, very adequately fills the big rôle assigned to him; but that he was, in fact, quite the man that the author in his enthusiasm would have him, seems open to a certain degree of doubt. Though ignorant and sycophantic seamen might belord him, his Siamese title was actually no more than the stereotyped designation of a minor official, while the author avowedly draws the details of his character and conduct almost entirely from the questionable record of a servile knave who lived on his bounty and abused his confidence. Phaulkon was engaged in a desperate struggle on behalf of Christian as against Mahomedan influences in Siam. White was his creature, hired for the sole purpose of carrying out an anti-Mahomedan policy, which included the Golconda war, and from the evidence in the book itself it appears that ethically and morally he was neither better nor worse than the run of the European adventurers who frequented the Far East in his time, though, more astute than the average, he made the utmost use of his opportunities and escaped with his private gains just in time to avoid the catastrophe that destroyed his patron. But whether the author's intention in writing was the recapitulation of unvarnished history or the production of a thrilling historical romance, those who read his book, and they will be many, will surely conclude that he has signally accomplished the latter; and a certain emphasis on the lights and shadows of his hero's character is admittedly within the licence of the historical novelist.

Skilfully constructed, correct and easy of style, vastly interesting and adequately furnished with maps and index, the work is one on which the author is entirely to be congratulated.

W. A. GRAHAM.

China: A Short Cultural History. By C. P. Fitzgerald. Edited by Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. iii-xx + 1-615. Maps and Illustrations. London: The Cresset Press. 1935.

This is an ambitious volume covering the whole range of Chinese history, and is likely to prove a very useful compendium for those who have sufficient first-hand knowledge to enable them to check the author's statements. But it is doubtful if that is the sort of public which Mr. Fitzgerald had in mind, and it is certain that a far wider range of readers will welcome a book attractively illustrated, written in an authoritative and quite readable style, which does seem to offer a clear and logical account of what was really happening in Chinese history, where other books have too often given only unintelligible and apparently disconnected facts.

But a reviewer, faced with the history of a third of the human race for four thousand years, can hardly avoid turning to those small fragments of it to which he has himself tried to give attention and, perhaps unfairly, regarding them as test cases.

For example, it is remembered that in announcements of this book stress was laid upon the descriptions of Western lands from Chinese sources. But if Mr. Fitzgerald has looked at the Chinese sources, how can he repeat once more on

page 194 the old misprint in Hirth's *China and the Roman Orient*, "Hou Han Shu," Chap. 88? This is almost the only page on which detailed references to authorities are given.

Turning to the T'ang dynasty, we find fifteen pages out of six hundred devoted to foreign religions other than Buddhism, and as many as four of them to the most interesting but culturally and historically unimportant effort of the Nestorians. In these pages we note: p. 325, "black beards" (*T'ang Shu* "dark and bearded"). P. 330, "Abu Zaid, an Arab traveller who was in China" ("ni voyageur, ni marin," says M. Ferrand; nor does A. Z. claim ever to have been in China). P. 332, l. 10, "A.D. 635" (638). P. 333, "emperors . . . even attending Nestorian religious services"; "counting among its protectors and benefactors the celebrated Kuo Tzu-i"; Kuo "spent large sums in restoring and enlarging churches, giving alms to monks and priests, and also held conferences with the Nestorian hierarchy. If Kuo Tzu-i was not a baptized Nestorian, he must have been very near to the Christian faith." If Mr. Fitzgerald had looked at almost any of the many versions of the "Nestorian tablet," he would have seen that it lends no support whatever to any of these striking statements. It seems a pity that in 1935 this familiar subject should have been given so exaggerated and so inaccurate a prominence. On p. 334, where did Mr. Fitzgerald learn that of the 260,500 monks and nuns secularized in A.D. 845, "only 2,000 are said to have been Christian, and 1,000 Zoroastrian"? On p. 335 the emperor I Tsung's "wide knowledge of foreign religions" is rather discounted by the presence of "an inscription [in Chinese]" above each of the pictures which he so accurately described!

To the class of reader who feels that all Chinese names are Tang or Wang—and it doesn't much matter which—the difference between Pan Chao and Pan Ch'ao may seem to be negligible, but nevertheless their interchange confuses two quite distinguishable and distinguished persons. And indeed the statement that "the romanization used in this book follows the Wade system" is only partially true. Not Ning P'o but Ning-po is the Wade spelling of the city of the "Peaceful Wave"; not Tsao but Ch'ao the name of the famous rebel; and so on.

On p. 277 Mr. Fitzgerald has expressed very well the important but too seldom stated fundamental difference between the exclusive claims and creeds of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam from the West and the creedless inclusiveness of the religions of the East, showing in this case conspicuously that thoughtful ability to understand and express essentials which, as has been said above, often makes the reader feel that here at last he is helped to understand what was really going on in the episodes of Chinese history.

A. C. MOULE.

The Silver Situation in China. A Memorandum presented to the American Economic Mission to China. June, 1935.

This Memorandum, presented to the American Economic Mission to China in June, 1935, appears to be the composite work of an anonymous body of Chinese. It is a damning indictment of the silver policy and acts of the American Government in respect to China.

To observers on this side of the Atlantic it is a conundrum beyond solution why President Roosevelt, surrounded by clear-sighted advisers, believed the explorations of Senator Pittman that China was suffering from a low exchange, and

that raising the price of silver would benefit that country. He must have been advised it would be disastrous to China.

Senator Pittman succeeded in securing for American silver mines an enormous subsidized revenue. Meanwhile China was being beaten to the ground. To her statesmen, and advisers, is due a great meed of praise for resorting to the drastic steps that were forced upon her, and which, taking her courage in her hands, she enforced overnight. The Government of our own colony of Hongkong was compelled to take similar action. The alarming anxiety and severe losses flung upon China from the other side of the Pacific were faced with courage and fortitude. Those who know China, and the Chinese, admire the qualities in her people which, in spite of her delinquencies, make her peoples one of the most successful traders in the world. And yet the recapitulation of the calamities endured by China owing to American action makes miserable reading.

China was practically the only country remaining on the silver standard, and the fall in the price of her metallic basis was of serious import to her. But the course of forcing the price up to double its value was not a remedy. Any economist will tell you that the *stabilization* of exchange is the panacea sought by all traders. If the variations experienced by manufacturers trading with foreign countries were the daily experience of our own internal trade, not a shopkeeper nor housewife in the country would rest until stabilization was secured.

The course of events to June, 1935, is summarized succinctly by the Memorandum. Useful appendices and diagrams are annexed.

To epitomize the events that have occurred before and after the issue of the Memorandum. In the spring of 1935 silver attained its peak for the year. From then onwards silver declined, and there began a flight of funds from China, necessitating the sale of an enormous amount of silver. The movement gathered momentous force in the autumn, with the result that the Chinese Government placed an embargo on the export of silver, and in December promulgated measures to control exchange, thereby bringing China under a managed currency policy. The American Treasury immediately ceased purchasing silver, and the price fell rapidly, adding greatly to the difficulties of the Chinese authorities in establishing the new system. Since then, however, there has been a comparative rest from extreme fluctuations.

Sir Frederick Leith-Ross was in Shanghai at the time of the embargo in November, and it is understood that he was in no way responsible for the decisions taken by the Chinese Government. He was reported to be preparing a scheme of financial reform for submission to the Powers, whose collaboration was desirable, but the foreign exchanges degenerated so rapidly that the Chinese Government felt compelled to take action before detailed plans could be completed or international support assured.

The Memorandum points out that the Silver Agreement of the World Economic Conference, known as the "Supplementary Agreement," which was signed in 1933, gave good hopes of relief to the falling price of silver. But the "Silver Bill," passed in 1934 by Congress, gave as its aim the acquisition by the United States of one-quarter silver and three-quarters gold in its monetary stocks. "This," the Memorandum continues, "would take 1,300,000,000 ounces of silver in order to bring it up to the required proportion, more silver than the United States has produced for the last twenty years, or more than fifty times the amount the United States has promised to buy every year as set forth in the London Silver Agreement."

The Memorandum continues (speaking only of events up to the middle of 1935): "Thus President Roosevelt's policy has been transferred from monetary

stabilization into upheaval change (*sic*) of price of silver, and accordingly our blissful hope of 'Silver Cross' has become the painful torture of 'Silver Bullet.' On account of this Silver Purchase Plan, the price of silver rose from 45 cents to 81 cents within ten months." "Chinese commodity prices have fallen since 1931, and this new rise of silver price, on account of the United States silver purchases, adds acceleration to the commodity price downward movement. All . . . the world (has) . . . painful experience of what havoc falling prices have done to their industries and business, and yet the Silverites in the United States have the nerve and conscience . . . to declare that high price of silver—the counterpart of low commodity prices in silver-using country—will wholesomely increase the purchasing power of China."

In its concluding summary, the Memorandum states that owing to the Shanghai exchange being below the London or New York parity, a handsome profit was secured on shipments of Chinese dollars to New York. "Consequently (one-half of the stock of dollars) in Shanghai was shipped out of the country up to the end of 1934." "On account of the depletion of currency, the market suffered immensely. At the end of last year (1934) the daily market interest rate, usually about 6 per cent., went up to 26 per cent." "Bankruptcy was heard every day, several hundred stores on the most populous Nanking Road in Shanghai were closed, many business houses owed rents for a long time, and the Municipal authority refused to accept petitions to foreclose these because there were too many of them. About one-third of the native banks were closed." "Thus many business houses and even millionaires were forced to bankruptcy." Suicides became of daily occurrence. "Not only in the city were such happenings found, but also the people in the suburbs and villages suffered in the same hardship. Over 30,000 starving men, women, and children from the villages . . . marched to Nanking to beg for relief. All these, and more yet to come, are the results and gifts of the American Silver Purchase Plan."

The extracts have been quoted verbatim, as they express with unrehearsed force a Chinese view of the disastrous effects on China of the actions of the United States Government. The Memorandum concludes: "It may also be mentioned in way of conclusion that this silver experiment in the United States has taught the whole world how unstable is silver, and what monetary crises can be generated by its ebbs and flows at the whims of politics, so that a nation should hereafter think three times before it would adopt or maintain, in whole or in part, the silver standard."

Such is the story as told by the compilers of the Memorandum. Yet, as already recounted, that was only the beginning. The Memorandum was issued in June, 1935, and for another five months the difficulties of China grew ever deeper. It is true that apparently one effect of the visit of the American Economic Mission (and possibly the reception in Washington of the Memorandum under review) was a cessation of the immediate determination to force the price of silver upwards until it reached the fictitious basis of one dollar per oz. But the harm had already been done, and the disaster became cumulatively greater. In the view of thoughtful Chinese, American silver-mine owners were rewarded and enriched, whilst their own people were despoiled and crushed.

If support of the Chinese allegations is required, it will be found in the recent speech of the chairman of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, where the miseries and anxieties passed through are recounted with studied moderation. The chairman said, *inter alia*:

"Senator Pittman has suggested that China will before long go back to a silver standard. All I can say is that it will need a very different silver policy in the

United States before this is likely to come about. It is true that after the heavy purchasing of silver by the United States Treasury in the first half of the year, the so-called 'permissive clause' was carried out from September to early in December in such a way as to keep silver steady around $65\frac{3}{8}$ cents an ounce, and, indeed, at one time it began to be said that the United States Government were doing their best to avoid causing further difficulties to China as a result of their silver policy. However, on the definite abandonment of the silver standard by both China and Hongkong in November they suddenly withdrew their support from the London Silver Market. What the next step will be no one knows. The statement attributed to the Secretary of the United States Treasury himself that the monetary policy of his Government is on a twenty-four-hour basis shows just how far we can look ahead in regard to this matter. But the question is not purely a domestic one for the United States, and it is particularly unfortunate for China that America first raised the price of silver to an extent which forced China to alter the basis of her currency and then allowed the price to drop before China had been able fully to establish the new system. The United States have always been animated with good-will to the Chinese people, and we can only hope that they will appreciate their responsibility for the present difficulties and assist China to overcome them."

A. F. A.

The New Culture in China. By Lancelot Forster. With an Introduction by Sir M. Sadleir. 8" x 5½". Pp. iv. + 240. George Allen and Unwin.

Since Mr. Lowes Dickinson published his *Essay on the Civilizations of India, China and Japan*, in 1914, there have been many attempts to interpret for Western readers the new culture which was beginning to spread over China at the time when the author of that famous little classic made his tour of the Far East. Few have had the quality of philosophic detachment which gives the "Essay" its charm and which the reader will welcome again in this latest book by the Professor of Education at Hong Kong University. The fact that it savours a little of "armchair philosophy"—letting one feel that the book might, for the greater part, have been written by a student of China who had never set foot in the country—makes it none the less welcome, for in presenting cultural movements on such a scale as the present renaissance in China, the "close-up" view gives too often only a blurred impression.

The title of the book is that of the first chapter, a reprinted article from the *Hibbert Journal*. Here Mr. Forster is asking the crucial question whether the exchange of old lamps for new is for China a gain or a loss. He develops this question further in the immediately following chapters which, taken together with the first, form the real essence of the book, the latter third being regrettably near to "padding." The answer to the author's question it is left to the reader to find. But although Mr. Forster's philosophy will not allow him to commit himself to a judgment on so fundamental a point, he lets his sympathies with the old China come freely to the surface and shows himself far removed from the spirit of modern iconoclasm.

In comparing the effects of the old and the new cultures, he makes the somewhat challenging suggestion that the "old" encouraged cultural universalism within China itself, while the "new" tends towards regional divisions. Just, he says, as the Renaissance in Europe "destroyed the international republic of letters and religion and substituted the narrower, but more virile, system of nationalism,"

so China, in abandoning old traditions, is in risk of losing "a classical and ethical system which cut across all provincial barriers" and of ending not in greater unity, but in less.

In the experience of the reviewer, the Chinese parent to-day aims at giving his son dual training combining the old and the new. How to do this represents an almost insoluble problem. If the two trainings are concurrent the boy is exposed to conflicting methods, the result of which Mr. Forster describes as being "rather like spending the morning in a cinema and the afternoon in a morgue." The only alternative, and one not infrequently adopted—namely, to give a purely Chinese schooling for the first five or six years and thereafter to switch abruptly to "foreign-style" education—offers a hardly less comforting prospect.

Perhaps, after all, the choice for China will lie along quite different lines. The reaction against Western ideals which the sorry state of our own civilization is producing in China, as in Japan, may have unforeseeable results. To quote another of Mr. Forster's vivid similes, our Oriental imitators are "like an artist painting a model whose form seems to change gradually from one of surpassing beauty to one of depressing ugliness."

The chapter entitled "The Moral Issue in China," in which Mr. Forster deals with the religious and ethical side of the problem, is perhaps the most suggestive part of the book. China's lack of a religious basis of society, such as Christianity has provided for the West, is a determining factor in Chinese cultural development, the importance of which escapes many contemporary writers. Mr. Forster deals with it fully in a highly interesting way. The Confucian "gentleman's code" is, he feels, inadequate to deal with the problems raised by the adoption of Western science. The result threatens to be sheer materialism. "The Chinese social and ethical system seems peculiarly unfitted to deal with the problems which the Western scientific system has created," and which, as Mr. Forster points out, require an understanding of the spiritual inspiration—the search for absolute truth—which underlies the best scientific work in the West.

We are thus brought back to conclusions which Mr. Lowes Dickinson came to a quarter of a century ago, when he wrote about the psychological revolution in China that "the question forces itself upon one whether we have not here another demonstration that old bottles will not hold new wine; that ideas derived from an alien civilization may transform the brain, but cannot penetrate the soul of a different race."

It is difficult to conclude a review of Mr. Forster's book without drawing attention to his remarks on page 93 concerning the British attitude to China, which seem to the reviewer at least very lacking in fairness. The British Government's treatment of the question of the rendition of the Boxer Indemnity is admittedly open to controversy (though its actual results are proving eminently valuable to the advancement of Chinese culture), but to accuse the English of being "apparently incapable of thinking in terms of the concrete and not further ahead than one year" is surely quite uncalled for.

G. E. HUBBARD.

Unwilling Passenger. By Arthur Osburn. 5¼" × 7½". Pp. 408. Faber and Faber. 7s. 6d.

We notice this reissue of a well-known war book because at one point it touches the Far East. The author reproduces an account of the capture of Mandalay in 1885 given him by an officer who was present.

Our troops, so runs the story, found their advance on Mandalay bitterly contested; exhausted by forced marches through the jungle, infuriated by the atrocities they suffered when taken alive by the Burmese, they at last reached the city; drunk with rum and toddy, they bayoneted every man and boy in the palace, and raped the hundred maids of honour, many of them to death, tearing or even cutting off their ears to get their ear-rings.

Whoever told that story was yarning. The facts are demonstrable. Our men arrived in admirable temper, having suffered no atrocities or indeed any provocation at all. There were no marches, forced or otherwise, the advance being by river steamer the whole way. They lost no prisoners, for though there had been minor engagements on the bank, far down the river, they verged on comic opera, the Burmese having no heart and making no stand. The only march was a parade from the landing-stage to the city, a mere couple of miles; there was no noticeable rum ration in that climate; the garrison had orders to offer no resistance, and withdrew in silence, whereupon our men peacefully entered the palace. Our sentries had insufficient instructions and allowed bazaar people, whom they mistook for palace staff, to enter and leave, with the result that considerable property was stolen; and on the following night, owing to inadequate patrols, the criminal element in society broke loose all over the town, robbing their own nationals right and left: but these were the only disorders.

The reviewer has not only made a study of the period, but also lived at Mandalay, mixing with the "bayoneted" palace officers and the "raped" maids of honour. They resented the annexation, for it reduced them to commoner's rank, and what they said, in confidence, could be exceedingly unpalatable. But they never, even at the worst, alleged physical violence, let alone what is described in this book. Incidentally the "huge almost priceless pigeon-blood rubies of [*sic*] Mogouk" which our soldiery tore off, together with the flesh, are imaginary: maids of honour didn't wear that sort of ear-ring.

The reviewer regrets the annexation of Upper Burma, for it extinguished an interesting survival, an Asokan theocracy which, however misgoverned for the moment, contained much that was admirable. And he has reason to be acquainted with the seamy side of the guerilla warfare which followed the capture of Mandalay; but it was only seamy, never atrocious, or indeed even exciting.

G. E. H.

Great Britain, the Jews and Palestine. New Zionist Publications, No. 1.
By Samuel Landman. New Zionist Press. March, 1936.

The announcement last December of the intended Legislative Council for Palestine appears to have brought the internal affairs of Zionism to a crisis. Mr. Landman's pamphlet is supported by an appendix reproducing a letter from Colonel J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., which appeared in *The Times* of January 3 of this year, in which Colonel Wedgwood appeals for time to criticize the proposal before any enactment is made. And the issue of the pamphlet coincided with the Debate in the House of Commons on March 24 this year, which produced such strong criticism of the proposed Council. Mr. Landman's paper is the first publication of the "New Zionists," and, if current events in Palestine left this necessary, would serve as a timely reminder that the stage has not yet been reached when complacency is justified regarding our mid-war commitment to the Jewish race.

The author writes with the authority of his experience as the Honorary Secretary of the Joint Zionist Council of the United Kingdom in 1912 and Solicitor

and Secretary to the Zionist Organization from 1917 to 1922. He explains how the New Zionist Organization has come into being, commencing by recalling how it was the genius and knowledge of Mr. James A. Malcolm which initiated the Balfour Declaration. Mr. Landman here throws a light on the implementation of Zionist aspirations which is not provided by Miss Dugdale in her articles on Lord Balfour's life now appearing. Mr. Malcolm was able to convince the late Sir Mark Sykes, then Secretary to the War Cabinet, and enlist his sympathetic and practical interest in mobilizing, by the promise of a National Home, the goodwill of Jewry as the best means to influence Mr. Woodrow Wilson in bringing the United States into the War on the side of the Allies. Mr. Landman indicates how this was done and how a "Gentleman's Agreement" was reached amongst all concerned in 1916, in which the Jews carried out their part, and of which the Balfour Declaration of 1917 was the public confirmation and not merely "a voluntary altruistic and romantic gesture" on the part of Great Britain, as misrepresented in some quarters. The author quotes the words of Professor H. M. V. Temperley that the Balfour Declaration was a definite contract between the British Government and Jewry. He might have quoted also the late Dr. Hogarth's view that "the Balfour Declaration is as binding an engagement as Great Britain has ever been committed to." He also gives an interesting appreciation by General Ludendorff of the value of this policy to the Allies at the expense of the Germans; a policy for which Mr. Landman considers the Jews in Germany are suffering to-day.

He claims that the Declaration was the salvation of Jewry after the war, and that, of the sixteen million Jews in the world, millions of youths have been saved by it from Bolshevism, Communism, and other forms of destructive activity. He points out that the fact of the dependence of the future existence of Jewish Palestine upon a Mandate of the League of Nations has contributed powerfully towards making the Jews everywhere strong supporters of the League. But he goes on to say that, after the first enthusiasm, the undecided attitude recorded in the Minutes of the Mandates Commission relating to Palestine has had an unfortunate effect upon Jewish minds, especially in America, and that faith in British promises and the value of the League has been shaken. In fact, it is the steady growth of profound dissatisfaction among the Jewish masses during the last ten years in regard to Zionism and the Jewish National Home which has created the new organization. Mr. Landman pays tribute to the signal service rendered to the Zionists by Dr. Weizmann during twenty years or more, but he says that the masses of Jewry feel that they have been let down by their leaders, who have failed to utilize the wonderful opportunity given them by the British Government in particular and the non-Jewish world in general.

He gives the causes of complaint as being, firstly, the acceptance of a position in which even the distant prospect of a complete national regeneration in a National Home seems to have faded out. The Nazi policy of anti-Semitism in Germany has given a tremendous impetus to Jewish National feeling all over the world, and, in the author's opinion, this can no longer be satisfied by the spiritual sustenance provided by a small Jewish model settlement in Palestine living on healthy national lines. According to the author, every Jew now sees clearly that without a physical and political, as well as a spiritual, centre, Jewry stands very little chance of survival.

Mr. Landman gives the second cause of complaint to be the growth of left-wing Socialism in Palestine with the spread of extreme doctrines. The leaders are alleged to have permitted, or fostered by means of liberal subsidies from Zionist funds, the growth of the Poale Zion (Labour party) until it has developed

the features of Labour Dictatorship, class war, and frequent strikes. Mr. Landman explains that the mass of Jewry are far more nationalist than socialist at heart, and that the predominance of Poale Zion leaders in the present executive of the Zionist Organization has undermined their confidence.

Finally he informs us that the negative attitude of the old Zionist Organization towards the Jewish religion has estranged the mass of Jewry. The old Organization declares that religion is a private affair of the individual. The majority of Jewry, however, hold that the heritage of their religion has preserved them as a nation and should not be thrown away, nor do they believe that civilization can be maintained without an established form of religion.

The outcome is that the New Zionist Organization has been formed and has absorbed the Zionist Revisionists, a party formed in 1925 by Vladimir Jabotinsky to resist the tendencies described above. 713,000 Zionists elected delegates for the Congress held in Vienna in 1935 for this purpose as against the 632,000 (including plural votes) represented at the Congress of the old Zionist Organization held at Lucerne in the same year. It should be noted that franchise for the new party is free, whereas a contribution of two shillings is made by the Old Zionists. Mr. Landman claims that the number of New Zionists is swelling daily.

Mr. Jabotinsky has been adopted as the leader of the new party and Mr. Landman gives a sketch of his career. Born in Russia, despite the ill-treatment of Jews in pre-war Russia, Jabotinsky in 1915 became the advocate of Jewish support for the Allies, for he saw in an Allied victory the hope of a Jewish Palestine. The author outlines his military activities and explains that the circumstances of his imprisonment in Jerusalem in 1920 and subsequent release have endeared him to Jewry, while this sentiment has been stimulated by the prohibition of his re-entry to Palestine. In considering the prospects of the New Organization, Mr. Landman tells us that it emphasizes the great traditions of England: "Fair play, recognition of the spirit of nationality, free but orderly democracy, and especially respect for those who stand up for their rights." The Socialist left has had its innings, and almost every Jewish visitor to Palestine has returned thoroughly disappointed with its régime. Now is the time for the Revisionist right, "pro-British to the core" and with Jewish youth on its side and taught through the organization, to prepare itself for Palestine not only in Hebrew and agriculture, but also in team work, self-defence, and obedience to leadership.

We are informed that a National Assembly of Zionist Jewry will be convened as soon as practicable. All Jews of either sex over twenty will have the right to vote for the election of delegates to this assembly to which a plan, now being prepared by experts, will be submitted for the colonization of between one and a half and two million Jews in Palestine and Transjordan over a period of ten years.

As regards Transjordan, Mr. Landman claims that there is overwhelming evidence that, if they were allowed to do so by the British Government, Transjordan Arabs are most anxious to sell their surplus and uncultivated lands to Jewish immigrants at very much lower prices than the Palestine Arab proprietors are demanding, and obtaining, for theirs.

Mr. Landman closes by an appeal to the sense of humanity and fair play of the British Government and people. He submits that the British Empire can afford to hasten slowly, but that the choice before Jewry is either speedily to rebuild Palestine or slowly to perish in the Diaspora.

This publication is valuable in helping us to distinguish between the wood and the trees. It is not necessary to go the whole way with the author that Zionist influence was the main persuasion to bring the United States into the War. But it may be accepted that Jewish influence to that effect was a very important

factor and was the expression of Jewish hopes and faith in the magnanimity and greatness of England.

Romance, adventure, hero-worship, descriptive writing, costume and local colour have created a British complex towards the Arabs which does not seem to be enjoyed by the Jews. But the fact remains that Jewish service to the Allies in the War which produced the Balfour Declaration, if less picturesque than that of the Arabs, was great and material. There is an epic which has yet to be written regarding Jewish self-sacrifice and courage on behalf of British arms, and, without including the unrecorded casualties in the Russian Army, the Jewish casualties on the side of the Allies in the Great War must be considered. Also Ludendorff's remarks quoted by the author gives some colour to the suggestion that the Jews in Germany are still paying the price of Jewish assistance to the Allies. A genuine comparison between Jewish and Arab sacrifices in the cause of the Allies in the Great War might be illuminating.

The Jews read the wording of the Balfour Declaration clearly to be a commitment to the whole people without reference to the number of Jews in Palestine at any particular moment. The civil and religious rights of the *existing* million or less Arabs and Christians in Palestine must not be prejudiced. But it is understandable that the Zionists, representing sixteen millions, mistrust the proposal to set up a local legislative body based on present numbers. Not surprisingly they fear an attempt to constrict their sixteen-inch neck by a one-inch collar. Nor are recent events in Palestine and Abyssinia likely to restore their waning faith in British promises or the value of the League of Nations.

W. H. G.

Governing Palestine. The Case against a Parliament. By J. M. Machover.
P. S. King and Son.

This book has made its appearance at a very appropriate moment,* when the British Government's scheme for the establishment of a Legislative Council in Palestine is being critically discussed in Parliament and in the Press. Its contents will be anything but reassuring to those—and they appear to be many—who feel doubtful whether the scheme is either well-conceived or well-timed. Mr. Machover has marshalled a very formidable battery of destructive argument, equipped with copious quotations from documents, communiqués, speeches, and the like, with which he delivers a smashing attack on the entire scheme from every angle.

First, the attack is frontal; constitutional developments in Palestine since the war are summarized in such a way as to show that the British Government have been progressively yielding to the anti-Jew agitation of the Arab nationalists which is as uncompromising to-day as it ever was, and that to set up a legislative council with an Arab majority in such circumstances will stultify the National Home policy and so involve the breach of British pledges to the Jewish people. Then the scheme is attacked in flank by reference to "Precedents and Parallels," whereby it is demonstrated that a representative constitution is quite foreign to normal British practice in the Crown Colonies, and cases are cited in which attempts to set up such constitutions elsewhere have met with failure. Finally, possible lines of retreat for apologists for the scheme—that it embodies adequate safeguards for the maintenance of the National Home policy and that the establishment of self-government in Palestine is an obligation to the League of Nations—are cut off by two chapters, the first sufficiently summarized by its title, "The

* March, 1936, when this review was written.

Futility of Paper Safeguards," the second showing with circumstantial evidence that the Permanent Mandates Commission view the proposal to introduce self-governing institutions into Palestine under existing conditions with apprehension, and have been careful not to give it any encouragement.

Perhaps the most interesting section of the book is that, already referred to in passing, which examines precedents and parallels. It includes a more or less detailed account of the constitutional problems of Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Uganda, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, Syria, Lebanon, 'Iraq, Transjordan, Cyprus, and Ceylon. The analogy of Cyprus is particularly apposite, since there a similar problem of mixed races was handled in a very similar way to that now proposed in Palestine. The result, writes Mr. Machover,

"was disaster, economic stagnation and political chaos. . . . National hatreds reached their climax, and the hostile attitude of the Greek majority to the Turk minority is at the present time stronger than ever."

The examples of 'Iraq and Syria are also cited with considerable effect. Certainly experience gained in 'Iraq seems to belie the hope that, in so far as the Legislative Council scheme represents a concession to Arab agitation for self-government, it will tend to appease that agitation and facilitate co-operation between the Arabs and the Government. Mr. Machover does not exaggerate when he writes that

"The generous treatment of the 'Iraqis by the British Government not only did not lead to an appeasement of political passions and the creation of a pro-British atmosphere in the country, but on the contrary, with every concession, the anti-British propaganda in the Press and on the platform became more vituperative and anti-British feeling more outspoken and violent."

Another convincing point is that constitutions based on an irremovable executive and an irresponsible elected legislature have never succeeded and have been generally condemned by competent authorities. The Hilton Young Report of 1929, for instance, is quoted:

"The system does little to train the unofficial members for the work and responsibility of Government; it is rather an education in the art of embarrassing those who are responsible. . . . (It) tends to develop in the unofficial members an attitude of permanent opposition."

It is a little disconcerting after reading this to find Mr. Thomas justifying the Government's proposals to the House of Commons on the ground that they will "give an opportunity for Jew and Arab to work together in a legislative assembly and to get an insight into government and responsibility."

Enough has been said to show that Mr. Machover has made the most of what is undoubtedly a very strong case. At the same time, one cannot escape the feeling that the book is a piece of special pleading, that Mr. Machover, a lawyer with a case to argue, has skilfully selected the facts and quotations that suit his purpose and has made no attempt to present a judicial survey of the question as a whole. His case for the prosecution is, in fact, so strong as to convince us that there must be a case for the defence which we ought to hear before passing judgment (though it must be admitted that that conviction is a little shaken by the recent debates in Parliament). Mr. Machover tends to spoil his case by over-emphasis, as when he states that the course of action proposed by the British Government "Constitutes a fundamental breach of the terms of the Mandate," whereas, in fact, the proposals include a definite proviso that

"No resolution or amendment to a Bill shall be moved in the Council which in the opinion of the President calls in question the validity of the Mandate . . . or suggests that the Mandate should be abolished or ought to be disregarded."

If it is found, as Mr. Machover predicts, that the proposed Legislative Council scheme obstructs the fulfilment of the terms of the Mandate, it is safe to presume that the scheme and not the Mandate will be abandoned. A great deal of Mr. Machover's argument, being based on a contrary assumption, seems therefore to be beside the mark.

The book also lays itself open to the criticism that its purpose is purely destructive. It contains no sort of constructive proposal for the better government of Palestine, and leaves one to infer that the existing arrangement leaves nothing to be desired. A franker appreciation of the difficulties inherent in the operation of the Mandate in Palestine and of the vital necessity for the development of co-operation between Jew and Arab would have strengthened rather than weakened the author's case.

Appended to the book are a chronological table of selected events relating to the question at issue, a bibliography, reprints of most of the relevant documents, and an encyclopædic index occupying 17 out of 283 pages.

R. S. M. S.

Geographic Disarmament. A Study of Regional Demilitarization. By Major-General J. H. Marshall-Cornwall, C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C. Demi-8vo. Pp. 220. One map. Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.

One of the merits of this book, which is published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is that, in spite of very recent happenings in the Far East, in the Rhineland and in Abyssinia, it can be read with profit and interest. Beginning with the earliest forms of protection from external aggression, the author traces the development of the idea from the linear boundary, from the delimitation of natural frontiers by intermediate waste spaces, to the plan of excluding by agreement a definite area of land to ensure separation from direct military contact. The Germans have somewhat happily termed this "Befriedung," to express the exclusion by treaty "of any particular part of the territory of a state from warlike operation."

Neutral territories in Europe and Buffer States in Asia and Africa are subjected to an informed and interesting survey: though it is clear that neither of these expedencies solve the problem. The reader cannot fail to note that the neutrality of Switzerland (the only neutrality that has not been violated) was only agreed to by the Powers in 1815 on the express condition of her being able to make it respected. Would that similar wisdom were applied to present-day problems.

Waterways, coasts and islands receive special separate investigation. The Rush-Bagot Agreement, which demilitarized the Great Lakes between Canada and the U.S.A., is a classic instance of successful application of this principle. But the fact that the relations between these two countries "are such that not a regiment or a single soldier is on guard against aggression" is due to "common interest and mutual trust." It would appear that this instance alone were sufficient justification for the author's contention that three cardinal points are essential for the success of any form of regional pact—Reciprocity, Relativity and Mutual Consent.

The chapter "Conventions resulting from the Great War" is sad reading,

especially as it is headed "The main object of the Peace Treaty was to conclude an early and durable peace, which was necessary for the safety and welfare of Europe." But as a proof that he is no fanatic, the author does not hesitate to quote Lord Lothian (*The Times*, February 1, 1935): "Two hundred pacts for the renunciation of war have been signed in the last fifteen years, and nobody has any confidence that they are effective as security against war." Thus while General Marshall-Cornwall concludes that the zonal frontier "gives us our base to depart or starting-line," he is insistent that no scheme to secure peace can succeed unless a general feeling of security is introduced into international affairs.

In spite of its modest dimensions, this volume contains a veritable wealth of historical information, and should be particularly valuable as a book of reference. But it deserves a place in any library for other reasons. It is submitted that no exact parallel of this book has as yet been printed in the English language, and that it presents in very moderate and convincing terms a road towards peace which is indeed worthy of investigation.

"No single process can be regarded as an infallible prophylactic against the occurrence of hostilities, but by hampering their range in certain danger zones we can at least, as Guizot wisely recommended, make war difficult and obviously wrong."

J. S. S.

A Searchlight on the Navy. By Hector Bywater. (New edition, with Foreword by Sir R. Keyes.) 8" x 5½". Pp. x. + 308. Constable. 1936. 5s.

This book is written by a well-known friend of the Navy and an acknowledged expert upon naval affairs.

Mr. Bywater is one of the few who has consistently opposed the naval policy of successive Governments and who has not been afraid to raise his voice in protest against the weak state the country has been allowed to drift into.

His book appears at an apposite time. The whole question of rearmament generally is now very much to the fore; the recent Naval Conference has just terminated, and its conclusions will be fresh in the minds of the public.

In Chapter I. Mr. Bywater makes it clear how failure to obtain a general agreement by the naval powers for a negotiated treaty results in those Powers which do bind themselves by its terms finding themselves at a disadvantage with regard to those who maintain a free hand.

Readers will be able to form their own opinions as to the result which the abstention of Japan from signing the recent treaty may have in the immediate future.

The present international situation is analyzed, and certain strictures passed upon the naval policy of the United States, "made deliberately," we are told, as a "provocative statement," with which few will disagree.

Discussing naval limitation, Mr. Bywater points out how at the end of a period of comparative rest from shipbuilding all countries find themselves faced with the necessity of rebuilding their fleets, not to expand or to improve their position as against a possible rival, but "solely and simply to maintain the existing ratios of strength."

The paragraphs devoted to showing the growth of the expense of building are instructive, and the need for some agreement as to the limitation of size of the various types is made very apparent. Unfortunately, little has been achieved in this

respect by the recently concluded conference—and while the United States continues to think in terms of Pacific Ocean distances, not much can be looked for.

Mr. Bywater takes care to show that he has a full realization of the position of the Royal Air Force in national defence. As he says (Chapter III): "It would be dishonest and stupid to pretend that a strong Navy is all we need to make us secure from aggression." It is indeed upon the assumption that the requirements of "a one power standard in air and naval armaments, the former Continental, the latter world standard," is accepted and agreed that he bases the arguments that follow for a strong Navy. It is frequently stated that the war of the future is in the air, those who use this cliché overlooking the fact that this country is in reality only vulnerable from the air from two powers, and those little likely to be combined against us." As Mr. Bywater points out, it was not the German break through in the spring of 1918 that made the supreme crisis of the war, but that this had occurred twelve months earlier when the question was whether or not the submarine could be mastered. In every war in which this country is likely to be engaged, air power will, of course, play a prominent part, but in the majority the ability to develop that power will depend upon efficient sea communications being maintained.

It is made clear, as stated by the author, that of recent years the British Navy has been used as a "pawn" in the game of international politics. It is fatally easy to give up two cruisers just about to be laid down as a gesture or example to others; so difficult to make up for lost time when it is realized that those you hoped to placate are taking no notice of your lead.

Mr. Bywater makes certain attacks, which are not original, upon what he calls the materialistic school of naval officers, and the effect upon naval thought in the past. This hardly affects his arguments and is rather to be deplored. That the Navy has received consideration from both Press and Parliament, as mentioned on page 51, is on the whole true, but there have been notable exceptions as regards the former.

In Chapter IV., "Big Ships or Small?" are several indisputable arguments in favour of the reduction of tonnage of various types of ships by international agreement.

It is certainly to be regretted that the British proposal to limit the displacement of battleships to 25,000 tons was not accepted, but something was achieved as regards other types. That the author's criticisms of those who were responsible for accepting the designs for our 10,000-ton cruisers are amply justified has been proved to the hilt by the expenditure on this class of ship of large sums of money in order to fit them to meet their foreign rivals.

On page 81 is described what we must hope will prove to be the last "gesture" we shall make at the expense of the Navy—that is, the building of an inferior type of cruiser "in the hope that other nations will follow our lead." It is hardly necessary to say that the other nations did nothing of the sort.

Chapter V. makes sad reading, the statements therein cannot be refuted; and Chapter VI., which deals with destroyers and submarines, does little to help the reader to recover a cheerful outlook upon our naval future. The "escalator" clause, which applied to destroyers, proved, as many foresaw that it would, quite useless; it could not be invoked for fear of offending foreign susceptibilities. We were then told that foreign policy must override naval requirements; we are now told that our foreign policy has been adversely affected by our naval and air weakness.

The question of fuel for both national and naval needs is dealt with in Chapter VIII. It is dealt with in a broadminded way. It is realized that the

technical advantages of oil fuel are too great to make a reversion to coal a practical measure, but the case for adequate reserves and the perfection of arrangements for extracting as much as possible from national resources is well put.

Chapter VIII., which deals with "Naval Officers in the Making," is an interesting study of a controversy which has ranged for some years wherever naval officers have been gathered together. Into this it is not proposed to go; the present system may need revision, but whether at such a very early point in an officer's career seems debatable.

Mr. Bywater is on less secure ground when he discusses "Britain's Blunder at Washington" (Chapter IX.). He seems to overlook the fact that under the conditions prevailing at the time this country was in no condition either to impose terms or enter into an armament race. A reduction all round suited us at that time. It is the more recent policy that has been a blunder. The case of the "apocryphal ship H.M.S. *Caerleon*" is an excellent illustration of what "unilateral disarmament" may entail. But readers must bear in mind that as every nation cannot have all its ships either up-to-date or equally powerful, such incidents as this have been frequent in all wars of the past and will occur again in the future.

It is well brought out how, after a brave start at Geneva, 1927 proved a sad year for British naval position. As the author remarks, "A new era of world-wide naval rivalry opened when the British nation turned its back on the sea." That year was occupied in ineffective gesturing. To quote the author again, "The experiment has been an utter failure."

Your reviewer can assure your readers that there are nowadays no senior officers of the Navy who "still look askance at the air arm . . . for any but 'stunt' purposes" (p. 191, Chapter XI.). On the contrary, the full realization of the fact that aviation is now an integral part of any naval activity, that the fleet air arm is one of the principal weapons of the fleet, causes naval officers to chafe under the restrictions the present system of dual control imposes upon them. The Navy wishes to develop in unison and to the full all the factors that go to make the strength of the Navy, to train the personnel in how most usefully to apply that strength, to have control of the reserves and other matters connected with placing the Navy on a war footing. It may be said that the Naval Service will never feel happy or confident until it has that control.

Mr. Bywater's Chapter XI. on "Sea and Sky: Britain's Clipped Wings" is good reading, and an interesting study of a question of which more will be heard in the near future. The advantage possessed by the United States Navy as regards the control and strength of its fleet air arm nullifies any consideration of parity under present conditions.

Chapter XIV., p. 240, is dedicated to "In Defence of the Battleship." The reasons are given very clearly why that class of vessel is considered essential in naval strategy. It may be said that, however much the size or type of battleships may be altered by mutual agreement, the function will still remain. The possibility of the advent of air power having modified the importance of those functions is dealt with. Space will not allow of further remarks upon this point; the following paragraph (p. 262) sums up adequately: "How, for example, would they (*i.e.*, aircraft) deal with a hostile battleship raiding the Atlantic routes?" The quarry could not be reached by aircraft flying from the land. "It would have to be sought for by 'planes carried in ships . . . themselves liable to be sunk out of hand by naval guns."

The last two chapters are interesting studies of the "Problems of the Pacific" and "Britain and the Continental Fleets." Useful appendices are attached.

In conclusion, it can be said with confidence that this book should be studied by all who are interested in current naval problems. The inclusion of a map showing the Atlantic trade routes would have rendered such a study more fascinating.

C. AND O.

Humanity, Air Power and War. By Philip Mumford. Jarrolds. 12s. 6d. net.

Captain Mumford declares his object to be to show the futility of attempting national defence under modern conditions owing to the advent of aircraft; and he advocates the institution of an International Air-Police Force. He has not much to add to the arguments adduced by Lord Davies, Mr. Jonathan Griffin, and others, which have been so often refuted. He denounces all opponents of his theory as being superficial thinkers, but does not himself appear to delve deeply beneath a somewhat threadbare surface.

It is a work of supererogation to warn people of the need of peace and security in these perilous days. All parties, all classes recognize the need. Where they differ is in the method of its fulfilment. None would gain more than Great Britain by the institution of an effectively organized International Police Force, for such a body would afford her satisfactory security at minimum cost. But if the Government and nation are to adopt such a policy, they must be convinced of its feasibility; and there is nothing in the book under review to show that the immense obstacles likely to be encountered in the experiment can be surmounted. The author does indeed set up a few skittles for the purpose of bowling them over; but, if he would learn the real arguments against his case, he should study Hansard for the debate on the subject in the House of Commons on December 18 last.

There are thousands of technical difficulties to be overcome whose consideration would occupy a large volume. Whether they are superable or insuperable, however, is not of great importance, because at the moment the proposal, politically, is nonsense. The United States, fully satisfied with her present position as regards peace and security, refuses to join a League of her own creation, lest she should incur commitments in Europe and lest she should seem to support the theory that war should be suppressed by war. She is unlikely (and she stands for America) to subscribe to a yet deeper entanglement and yet more forcible measures. Japan, the leading Asiatic nation, and aiming at expansion, is not a probable recruit. Our police force has therefore now dwindled from international to European status. And that would not please the Dominions or satisfy their demand for security. In Europe, of the five great Powers, it is inconceivable that Germany and Italy would participate in the scheme until their aspirations and demands for expansion had been fulfilled. And if their aims were accomplished, other nations, at whose expense they had been achieved, might then become non-starters.

Captain Mumford makes no attempt to solve the political difficulties except to suggest that dictators are really in the hands of democracies who are just giving themselves a rest and are apparently to wake up and insist on having an air-police force at the critical moment. He perhaps does not realize the power that modern weapons, modern communications and modern means of propaganda have placed in the hands of dictators. Out of fourteen of them, some have ruled for fifteen years and none has been unseated.

He repeats the gibe that the militarist would acquire national defence by making everyone stronger than his neighbour, but omits any mention of the chaos and ill-will engendered in Europe by the long-drawn failure of the collective security of the Covenant. He is, in fact, a partial and unconvincing advocate of an impossible project.

There are two points, however, on which we may agree with him: the one that the Government would have been well advised to have voted for the abolition of bombing, including police-bombing; and the other that we should aim at the eventual internationalization of civil aviation.

H. R. R.

Sanctions Begone. By Major-General H. Rowan-Robinson, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

General Rowan-Robinson's book is not by any means a reasoned advance after careful research, but rather a gallop in and out of statements and opinions as expressed in the Press of this country (not abroad), on the public platform, and elsewhere. Yet, in spite of serious faults, it is a readable book and deserves attention. Sometimes he fails in clarity—*e.g.*, p. 114: "When Italy attacked Abyssinia, who was then the aggressor? Curiously enough, in spite of the clear indication by the Italian High Command of aggression on the part of the Abyssinian troops implicit in their deliberate withdrawal thirty miles from the mutual frontier prior to de Bono's advance, the committee (of the League) came to the conclusion 'that the Italian Government had had recourse to war contrary to its engagements under Article 12 of the Covenant.'" Why curiously? Sometimes the thought is confused and in conflict with the author's ideas of an amended League for which there is a great deal to be said from the standpoint of law itself—*e.g.*, p. 57: "It is not even certain that the substitution of law for war is a desirable objective." The truth, as we who have spent a large part of our lives in considering the problem know full well, is that law in the sanctional sense is impossible without a state, and to expect sanctions to operate nakedly without law is to deny their meaning. The substitution of Conventional (largely sanctionless) law for war is surely what we await.

It is when the General turns to the consequences of sanctions if fully applied, as recently contemplated, that he is on firmer ground. He points out that in some instances the entire burden would fall on Great Britain—I would go further and say the United Kingdom. I wish the General had thought fit to deal, at greater length than in a few casual references, with the military weakness of the whole conception of sanctions and had followed it round the world. Except for a sentence or two on Japan he does not touch Asia at all, and yet who can doubt that Asia is watching? It would have compensated for the fact that since the book was written the Germans have reoccupied the demilitarized zone and Italy revealed what would have been the mentality of our ally if, the Abyssinian War never having taken place, we had ventured on a large-scale commitment in war by her side.

Asia, viewing from afar the sorry spectacle of Europe unmasked and Western civilization held up by raw might gathered in the hand of one man prepared to risk all, has had a timely reminder of the repetition of history. The armed grip of Japan on China, the overshadowing of Persia by the forces of Russia, the reconsolidated strength of Turkey in the field and at every vital coastal point, the weakness of the smaller peoples and communities hardly yet states, and the vast opportunities there ready to the hand of the determined spoliator, must

present a problem to the East which they can scarcely see solved by the machinery of League sanctions. Where do they stand with us? Where will they stand if we are to be committed not merely to a general war but to a war that might require policing Asia as well as Europe? England must be alert and free, and General Rowan-Robinson should write another book.

EDWARD MOUSLEY.

Nicolas II. (Prisoner of the People). By Mohamed Essad-Bey. Translated by P. H. and E. Branden. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. xxiv + 292. Seventeen illustrations. London: Hutchinson and Co. 1936. 18s.

The author in his Foreword tells us that this book "might be termed an historical biography," and adds that "all events described herein actually took place," and that "the words in quotation marks were actually spoken," so says the author of this entertaining book. Apparently he aims at giving a precise description of the "tragic figure of Nicolas the Second" and refuting "the avalanche of lies and slanders gathered round the Emperor." The reviewer, therefore, is limited to finding out whether the author has really achieved his aim, or whether it is an entertaining book of fiction in which imagination has brought out a picture which "si non è vero è ben trovato."

Having chosen this aim, the biographer must either depend on a thorough knowledge of facts, on the atmosphere of events, on a knowledge based on personal contact and personal experience, or, not having these, should stick very carefully to written sources, checking them and eliminating all that is fiction, good or bad. This is the case more especially when dealing with people and events of his, or our, lifetime. He should be even more careful when describing such a figure as Nicolas II., absolute ruler of one-sixth of the globe, not to slide into the domain of fiction, nor to write what might be best described as a film scenario, written for a special purpose.

The crash of a great absolutistic state, as was the Russian Empire, is for us who are contemporaries like a landslide of a huge mountain chain, the vastness of which may be only judged when removed to a sufficiently far distance. It is not easy for contemporaries to achieve a true perspective. The author gives a list of 134 books, from which he has compiled his work, but has not examined sufficiently carefully the accuracy of his sources. Many of them are of extremely doubtful historical value or are written by authors in conformity to what one calls in Soviet Russia "a social order," in which one idea predominates, that everything, even science, must be Marxian in essence. The first category of books to which the author of this "historical biography" refers are those of an Austrian writer of "hot stuff"—Rene Muller, whose main idea in visiting Soviet Russia a few years ago was to get good photographs, which indeed he got from the Soviet authorities. By the way, the author of the book under review seems to be guided by Rene Muller about whom he says: "Rene Fulop Muller, with his innate gift for understanding the feelings of others, describes the relations of the Imperial couple to the outer world"—the Imperial couple whom he never saw, nor did he see pre-revolutionary Russia! The doubtful sources of information on which Essad Bey bases his "historical" biography are those of the adventurous semi-illiterate monk Iliodor, or the writings of the secret agent of the Tsar, Ochrana Orlov. The veracity of the last-named has been proved to be essentially doubtful. Other books in his bibliography are by General Krasnov, who never claimed that his books were anything but historical novels. Then come the

books of Princess Paley, doubtful in their historical value. Princess Paley, having been linked by distant family ties to the Russian Imperial family and finding herself an emigrée, launched attacks of a very personal character on Sir George Buchanan, trying to prove that it was he who was morally responsible for the tragedy of the Tsar's family by not saving them in due time. This assumption is perfectly untrue and biased. Other books are those of the tragi-comic political clown Kerensky, full of self-admiration. Taken from such books, facts and dialogues are presented to the reader as having actually taken place, as being nearly verbatim reports of things said by the Monarch and his immediate entourage. It must be remembered that the *sancta sanctorum* of the Russian Court was the domain of a very restricted number of people, and that its customs and its mediæval conception of the "rulers" were rather unwritten laws than contained in documents, these latter being but of minor importance and not binding for Nicolas II. To analyze his thoughts and endeavours an historical biographer must find the right atmosphere and true perspective, and a long time must yet elapse before the true historian can scrutinize and marshal his facts accurately. Let us just mention some of the very doubtful and misleading statements which should not have found a place in an "historical biography."

The author describes the life of the Guard regiments as if it consisted of drunken orgies. This, to say the least, is an exaggeration, as the officers in the Russian Imperial Guard did not drink more than guard officers in any other country, and most certainly there would not have been any such scene when "their sodden brains were filled with animalistic pictures and conceptions; they seemed deprived of everything human." If any people in Russia drank heavily it was perhaps amongst the merchant classes, who, being extremely rich and often semi-literate, spent their huge profits on drink and debauches, throwing bottles of champagne at expensive mirrors and bathing their female friends in baths filled with champagne, but even this is more of a legend than a reality. One could challenge the author as to his statement (p. 29) on officers marrying demi-mondaines and leaving "in many instances" the regiments. He does not give one single instance to corroborate that statement. On page 133 the author shows a lack of knowledge of the existing conceptions amongst the ruling classes of Imperial Russia when he says that "highest dignitaries of the country . . . entrusted their fortunes to banks in Berlin and Stockholm." This never happened. It was a point of honour that all the aristocracy kept their funds and money in Russia, and if such a thing had happened and was known the person would immediately have been disgraced and ostracized. The proof lies in the fact that the Russian Tsar's family (those who escaped murder and settled abroad after the revolution) found themselves penniless. Numerous aristocratic families who fled from Russia in the Bolshevik revolution had no money abroad, and those who had villas on the Riviera and in other spas had not the money to retain them. Incidentally the author calls the Cubat Restaurant in Petersburg—in which he alleges the drunken orgies of the Prince Heritier took place, during one of which he covered the face of the Chief of Police with a crystal bowl of caviar (an incident which never happened)—a night club. This is hardly credible, and shows the lack of personal knowledge, because Cubat was a highly respectable restaurant and was something on the line of Scott's in London. Nobody in Russia (and still less the moujiks) heard of the Dowager Empress filling up the wrinkles of her face with porcelain (p. 41). Or that (p. 187) the habitués of the Palace were "imbecile Mitya Koljaba, a demented woman Darja Ossipowa introduced to court." Of the same class of legends are those in which the author describes (p. 62) the prophetic onrush of flocks of rooks to the Palace during the Coronation,

or some mystical hidden document in the Palace of prophecies on the reign (p. 103); or that Nicolas I. (p. 183) stopped the revolt of the masses in the cholera epidemic by coming into the street and roaring at the crowds, ordering them to fall on their knees, and that as a result the revolt, as well as the epidemic, ceased. Also when Nicolas II. (p. 181) refused to bless the Neva River waters and an epidemic spread, and only when later did he bless them the epidemic stopped—this was too fantastic a legend even for the semi-barbarous mentality of the peasant masses. Or that Nicolas II. rowed alone in a small boat across the Neva in the white nights of St. Petersburg (p. 102). Or that (p. 239) the people embraced each other in the streets after having heard of the death of Rasputin. Again, the author describes the day of the funeral of Alexander III. as a day of ominous fog, whilst I remember it as a day of glorious sunshine. Or (p. 60) the statement that Moscow is in the midst of “icy Russian steppes”—whereas Moscow is situated in a plain of forests, as is the greater part of Northern Russia. Film-like is also his description that (pp. 174-175) when the Imperial train passed, anybody approaching within a mile of the tracks was “shot without warning,” and that “there was hardly a journey of the Tsar that did not cost the lives of several people.” This is absolute nonsense. If the author really knew the etiquette of the Russian Empire he would know that there was no such thing as “bending the knee before the Tsar,” especially in the Russian Diplomatic Service; and that the Consul in Alexandria (p. 36) would obviously do the right thing. Also nobody ever heard of the fact (alleged by the author) that the Prince Heritier’s consumption was caused by his being flung down a cruiser’s steps on the armoured deck.

Much doubtful history is contained in this “historical biography.” For instance, the author refers to a very problematic meeting of the Tsar with the son of Tolstoy the writer (p. 97). People who knew the general conditions prevailing at the Russian Court would hardly credit the fact that such a meeting ever took place, even if the son of Tolstoy boasted about it. Or that the Tsar would accept from Russian political emigrants (p. 90), seriously or otherwise, a drafted Liberal Constitutional reform. Or, going back in history, that Ivan the Terrible took counsel with the Zemski Sobor (a sort of advisory body), for it is known that Ivan the Terrible was one of the most drastic and absolute of rulers who did not hesitate to cut off the heads of all advisers around him not selected by himself. Discussing the epoch of Catherine the Great, the greatest reformer on the Russian throne, he limits the whole of her reign to the following words (p. 207): “Catherine the Great ascended the throne. She conquered countries, kissed Potemkin, and wrote her memoirs.” Again, if he repeats the legend that Alexander I. became a Mystic, left the throne, disguised himself in peasant clothes, and wandered to Siberia under the name of Ivan Kousmitcheff, a legend long ago proved to be false, then he ought to know at least that, according to the legend, it was not the Crimea, but Taganrog, a port on the Azov Sea, which the Emperor left, disguised as a peasant. Also Livadia, the residence of the Tsars, is in the Crimea on the Black Sea, and therefore the Tsar being in Livadia could not take dips, as the author says, in the Caspian Sea. He is right in saying (p. 51) that the Russian Empire was basically a military Imperium; but it sounds rather exaggerated when he says that most of her wars “terminated victoriously.” The Crimea War of 1856 was a defeat; again in 1878 after the Turkish War there was a diplomatic defeat. Then the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 was a crushing defeat, and later the Russian Empire was crushed to its downfall by the Great War of 1914. If the limitless love of the moujiks to the Tsars which, as he says, “formed a magic entity” (p. 187) was a fact and their adoration for the “Little

Father" was so great—and he reiterates this all through the book—how can one explain the coming of the Russian Revolution, the complete destruction of the Tsarist Monarchy, and the acceptance by the Russian moujiks of the Bolshevik régime. It would not have been possible if the belief in Tsarist Absolutism and faith in the ruler had actually been so deeply ingrained in the majority of the peasant State—*i.e.*, Russia. This conception was but one of the many false conceptions which was a creed of the Tsars, but not of the masses of the population of the Russia Empire. Pobendoneszeff was never a priest, as the author says on page 104. The author omits to mention that Asew, this "Satan" of the secret police, was a Jew, and, belonging as he did to a nation oppressed and despised by Tsarist Russia, he obviously found issue for his hatred to the régime he so loathed by serving it in a treacherous way—a régime which paid him for producing "plots," disclosing them and sending revolutionaries as well as Tsarist officials to their graves (p. 115). The lack and superficial knowledge of history the author shows at every step of his narrative. So on page 180 he speaks of Mazeppa as of a robber and rebel, putting him in the same category as the semi-legendary robber and escaped convict Pugatchew, Rasin, and Boulavin. Mazeppa was the recognized chief of an independent country, the Ukraine, and was an ally of West European monarchs (Charles XII. of Sweden), while Rasin and Boulavin were escaped outlaws and convicts, robbers and raiders on the Volga. Referring to later dates, the author is full of unbased hearsays. The Tsar was never obsessed with the idea of being predestined or "ill-fated"—this may be good perhaps for a film, but has no historical ground. It is well known that even in exile he, as well as the Empress, believed that Russia would win out again, and the "beloved masses" would reinstate him and his family on the throne. It is not true to say that the Tsar at first ordered the *general* mobilization against Germany. In his mind, it was a partial mobilization against Austria. No such thing as a partial mobilization existed in the Russian military plans, and so without the knowledge of the Tsar a general mobilization took place. This accounts for his reiterated assertions to the Kaiser that no general mobilization was proceeding.

It was Sazonow (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and Suhomlinow (the War Minister) who misled the Tsar and precipitated the war. The Russian Guard did not take part in the crushing defeat of Tannenberg. The Grand Duke Nicolas Nicolaievitch never dreamed of a Palace Revolution which would put him on the throne. And still less did the Dowager Empress plot against her son (p. 247). Did the Grand Duke Cyril never (p. 251) try to suppress the Revolution with his sailor detachments in Petrograd? It was he, as an exception amongst the Romanov family, who swore allegiance to the Revolutionary Duma Government two days before the abdication of the Tsar, his cousin, and in this way he broke the oath of allegiance of an officer and a member of the Romanov family. General Russky, the Commander-in-Chief of the north-western armies, was the most loyal general of the Russian Army. It is untrue to say that the Moscow Soviets (p. 267) were not to blame for the murder of the Imperial family, owing to the local Soviets having disobeyed the orders of the Soviets of Moscow. Nor did Jakowlew, the Red Commissar, ever contemplate the rescue of the Tsar's family. All this is good for a film, but not for an historical biography. Voikov's statement, as reported on page 279, is correct: "According to him the order to annihilate the entire family had come directly from Moscow." Orlov's assertion that part of the family could have escaped is a false rumour, which was spread abroad when impostors appeared as "victims who saved themselves from the slaughter of the Ekaterinburg cellars." If the author seems to lack the necessary

knowledge of historical facts, he is equally at fault in the domain of architecture. On page 98 he says that the Winter Palace in Petrograd had *Gothic* columns, while it is well known that they are classic examples of *Doric*. What has the world-famous architect Rastrelli, builder of the most beautiful palaces in Russia and Europe, in common with Gothic? Many well-known Russian families are given the wrong titles, so on page 118 and page 127 he writes of *Count* Sviatopolk Mirski when the family had the rank of princes. On page 19 he speaks of the Grand Duke Alexander Nicolaievitch when he means Alexander *Mihailovitch*. His dates are also confusing; in some instances he uses the new style, while in other cases he uses the old style (p. 120). His names often are misleading, so, for instance, he calls the cruiser (p. 33) "Asow Gedenken," which, if translated into English, is "Memory of Asow." Why he has to use the German translation one does not know. On page 152 he cites a famous piece of poetry by Pouchkin, and instead of "horse" uses "donkey."

As a "hot-stuff" American film the book probably is not bad; but as an historical biography it is a pity that so much effort and space has been used by an assiduous and talented writer.

V. DE K.

Nowhere Else in the World. By Gordon B. Enders, with Edward Anthony. Pp. 304. Thirty-two illustrations. London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd. 1936. Price 18s.

It is not easy to describe a book of this kind. It is true that the publishers make a great bid, as is their duty, for our interest, or else show a touching belief in our credulity. The blurb talks of high mountain passes guarded by Bengal Lancers, and we are told to listen to "sinister underground political intrigues," and are referred to the vast goldfields and stupendous riches of the Tibetan monasteries. The author is spoken of as the power behind the throne governing 150 million people, and who was to send the immense wealth of Tibet to Shanghai.

After this imaginative, encouraging, but alas! misleading introduction, we do naturally expect something. But we are disappointed. The book is full of large, indifferent, and poorly produced photographs of Tibetan and Mongolian scenes, and it is rather a blow to find that Mr. Enders never visited either Tibet or Mongolia.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first one we have a long, rambling and, it is to be feared, trivial account of the author's boyhood at Simtola, eight miles from Almora. But it is a strange Almora, for it lies 120 miles from rail-head, six miles from the Nepal frontier, is garrisoned by Bengal Lancers, British soldiers and sepoy of every creed and caste. We learn of a Tibet that only half a dozen explorers have entered in a century, which is closed to all except the Chinese, and we are amazed to hear of the British-made dividing-line between India and Tibet. But surely the British never invented the Himalayas? We are told that Darjeeling is the summer capital of India (pp. 35, 60, 103), and that Moslems dye their beards to show that they have been to Mecca (p. 71).

There are odd digressions about Wilbur Wright, a good deal of sharp criticism of the Dalai Lama (pp. 114, 115), and many irrelevant and dull remarks. Needless to say, Dorjicff appears furtively in these pages. No Tibetan narrative is complete without him.

In Part II. the reader hopes to find the author in Tibet. Not at all, but it is Wooster, Ohio, instead, where he spends five years till the war comes, when he

sensibly goes to France, joins the French air service, which shows his pluck, and flirts for several pages with Olga, a somewhat grasping Russian minx.

Part III. takes us to Peking. Here we are a little nearer Tibet. At first a trite dissertation upon the Chinese language induces the somewhat exasperated reader to skip a few more pages, and finally we are rewarded by the arrival of the Panchan lama. After a second-hand account of his journey to China from Tibet, Mr. Enders does get to grips with this potentate. He describes with relish his long pow-wows with the Lama and his suite, and all the plans they made. I am quite sure that they all enjoyed it, for day-dreams are the jolliest and cheapest form of amusement that any Oriental ruler ever indulges in. The Lama discussed all sorts of plans, which Mr. Enders took *au grand sérieux*. The boredom of their stay in China was beguiled for the Tibetans by these fantastic and grandiose schemes; and the honest and earnest Mr. Enders was enthralled at the glowing future with which these entertaining people regaled him. If only Mr. Enders had been to Tibet, he would have been spared disappointment, and perhaps the public this book. However, all these dreams were destroyed by the sudden death of the Dalai Lama, and that is the end of the modernizing of Tibet, the export of its vast wealth, and of Mr. Enders' prospects of being a great power in that country.

It is an odd book to write, and, to be frank, it is an odd one to publish. Perhaps Messrs. Hurst and Blackett are of opinion that the illustrations compensate for the lack of reality in the subject-matter. Nothing can compensate for the small black smudge that lurks on page 261, and is the size of a visiting card and called a map. One character who flits through the book and who is an unmitigated bore has not been recorded. It is Chanti, the preceptor of the writer in his tender years. Let him be honourably mentioned. He started and spent his life in the Secret Service, and ended up in charge of the dairy at the Charleyville (*sic*) Hotel.

The literature of Tibet may not be large; but assuredly with this addition it can compare with that of any country.

(Contributors only are responsible for their statements and their opinions expressed in the Journal.)

OBITUARY

F. WILLIAMSON, C.I.E., I.C.S., P.O. IN SIKKIM

DIED AT LHASA IN NOVEMBER, 1935, AT THE AGE OF 44.

FROM the earliest days of his service in India, Williamson was attracted to the Himalayas and Tibet. He came to India in 1914, but after a few months in Bihar, to which province he had been posted, he volunteered for military service. He was attached to various Gurkha regiments in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt, and did not return to his province till 1919. Shortly after his return, he applied for a transfer to the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, and in 1922 his application was accepted. He served for short periods in Hyderabad, Mysore and the N.W.F.P., and at last in 1924, he was posted as Trade Agent, Gyantse, where he was able to begin his first-hand acquaintance with the country which had always attracted him and in which he was to die. He remained in Gyantse for two years, studying the Tibetan language and customs and making friends among Tibetans of all ranks. In 1927, he went on leave to China and visited the Tashi Lama then living in Peking. On his return, he was posted to Kashgar as Consul General. Here he spent three uneventful but to him most interesting years, and, as in Tibet, he made many friends among the local officials. In 1931, he returned to Tibetan affairs as Political Officer in Sikkim. He was deputed by the Government of India in 1932 to act as their representative in a dispute over the boundary between Tibet and India on the borders of the United Provinces, which had for long been a source of friction. He travelled some hundreds of miles in the course of this investigation, much of the journey over country which had never before been traversed by Europeans. During the last three years of his life he travelled through Bhutan and was given permission by the Tibetan Government to visit Sakya and Shigatse. He also visited Lhasa twice at their invitation. He had always been a keen shot, and now, when the laws of the country prevented him from indulging in this sport, he turned to photography and became a most enthusiastic cinema photographer. I have often had the pleasure of seeing the films of his travels, and they are of very great interest to anyone who can appreciate the country and

the civilization they portray. It was during his second visit to Lhasa in 1935 that he died. He knew, when he received the invitation of the Tibetan Government, that he was not a fit man, but he felt that his presence there would be useful in the attempts then being made to negotiate with the Tashi Lama, and he applied to the Government of India for permission to make the journey.

Williamson was a man of great personal charm and was liked and admired by all who came in contact with him, including the Tibetan and Bhutanese officials with whom he had dealings. His known affection for their countries and his knowledge of their customs and politics made him sympathetic towards their difficulties without obscuring his judgment; at the same time, it enabled him to press the views of his Government, or offer his advice without incurring ill-will. In him the Government of India have lost an officer whose knowledge and opinions they have always valued.

CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITOR,

Royal Central Asian Society Journal.

DEAR SIR,

I trust you will allow me to make a brief reference to the Lecture on the War in Abyssinia given by Major-General A. C. Temperley, C.B., on January 22.

I am sorry that my absence abroad deprived me of the pleasure of being present on that occasion, but I have been able to enjoy the very interesting and informative matter brought forward by the lecturer, through the medium of your printed report.

In this report, on page 254 of the Journal, I was shocked to read Major-General Temperley's remarks to the effect that the British Empire constituted the greatest exponent of the art of "grabbing" colonies, and I was surprised to note that such a remark seemed to have evoked no protest.

Surely everyone knows that the most remarkable thing about this great Empire is the fact that nearly all of our overseas possessions literally fell into our lap, and in many cases were acquired with the greatest reluctance.

Canada was originally taken by the French, and only fell to us as a side issue of our perpetual wars with that country. We took it from the French in the early years of the seventeenth century and gave it back to them in 1629. They finally ceded it to us in 1763 under the Treaty of Paris after the Seven Years' War.

Australia was "taken" by Captain Cook in 1770, but for the next 18 years we made no attempt to occupy the country.

In New Zealand the flag was hoisted in the late years of the eighteenth century, but the action was repudiated and the flag hauled down soon after. Some fifty years later the country was re-occupied, but the sovereignty of Queen Victoria was not pronounced until 1840.

These three great dominions afford striking examples of our consistent reluctance to "grab" territory, but the finest example, and the one that affords the greatest contrast to Mussolini's methods, is to be found in the case of the very country under discussion.

In 1868 General Sir Charles Napier entered Abyssinia at the head of an army of 32,000 men, with hardly any artillery and obviously no aeroplanes, poison gas, or mechanical transport. In three months' time his force had occupied Magdala and the Emperor Theodore committed suicide. Two months later the entire force was evacuated and Abyssinia handed back to its own people.

I will refrain from adding further examples lest critics should say "qui s'excuse s'accuse," but as our Journal is to a considerable degree authoritative, and is largely read and quoted by foreigners, I trust you will find space for this brief but most emphatic protest against the groundless accusation of "grabbing" brought forward by Major-General Temperley.

If you think Mussolini will have had time to read and enjoy the last number of the Journal, I hope you will send him a copy of this letter "for information and guidance."

L. C. DUNSTERVILLE,
Major-General.

LONDON,

May 29, 1936.

MAUDE HOTEL,
BAGHDAD
(IRAQ).
April 29, 1936.

*The Secretary, The Royal Central Asian Society,
77, Grosvenor Street, London, S.W. 1.*

DEAR SIR,

I have just arrived here after motoring from Calcutta through Iran. We (a party of four) spent eighteen days in Iran.

May I therefore kindly make an observation on the review by "H. G. H." on Wassmuss, "*The German Lawrence*" (C. Sykes)? On page 345 of the JOURNAL he refers to one or more minor defects in the book: p. 68, etc. "The Persians do not say 'Anglees' when they mean 'Englishmen.' The noun is singular."

Throughout our journey—whether we halted at towns or villages—we were invariably referred to as "Anglees," meaning "Englishmen," by illiterate or semi-literate people.

Yours faithfully,
T. B. USSHER.

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 77, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1935.

EXPENDITURE.				INCOME.			
To		£	s. d.	By		£	s. d.
To <i>Office Expenses:</i>				By <i>Subscriptions received:</i>			
Salaries and National Insurance ...	...	468	19 8	Subscriptions (1,465 Members) ...	...	1,528	1 4
Rent ...	...	160	0 0	„ <i>Journal:</i>			
Telephone ...	...	12	3 3	Subscriptions and Sales ...	...	69	0 7
Stationery and Printing ...	...	52	2 4	„ <i>Interest Received</i> (less Income Tax) ...	...	27	2 8
Postage ...	...	78	2 9	„ <i>Annual Dinner</i> ...	...	197	8 0
Office cleaning ...	...	23	4 0	„ <i>Sandeman Luncheon</i> ...	...	44	17 0
Audit fee ...	...	5	5 0	„ <i>China Exhibition Luncheon</i> ...	...	118	13 0
Bank charges ...	...	8	7 9	„ <i>Dinner Club:</i>			
Lighting and heating ...	...	14	3 5	Contribution to expenses ...	...	25	2 2
Sundries ...	...	9	17 1	„ <i>Balance of Unspent Crest Fund now transferred</i>			
Repairs ...	...	17	10 8	to General Income ...	...	25	13 1
			849 15 11				
„ <i>Journal:</i>							
Printing ...	...	556	16 4				
Postage ...	...	68	10 4				
Reporting ...	...	8	5 2				
Maps ...	...	1	7 6				
			634 19 4				
„ <i>Lectures:</i>							
Lecturers' fees ...	...	1	1 0				
Lecture halls ...	...	54	12 0				
Lecture expenses ...	...	39	13 5				
Lantern ...	...	10	9 5				
Lantern slides ...	...	1	16 0				
Reporting ...	...	10	17 4				
Printing ...	...	15	18 6				
			134 7 8				
„ <i>Annual Dinner</i> ...	...		201 7 7				
„ <i>Sandeman Luncheon</i> ...	...		46 5 0				
„ <i>China Exhibition Luncheon</i> ...	...		114 14 1				
„ <i>Library</i> ...	...		27 1 9				
„ <i>Income Tax, Schedule "D"</i> ...	...		2 2 3				
„ <i>Corporation Duty</i> ...	...		1 6 6				
			2,012 0 1				
„ <i>Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure</i>							
for year to date		23 17 9				
			£2,035 17 10				
						£2,035 17 10	

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by Billing and Sons Ltd.,
Guildford and Esher*

CHINESE TURKESTAN*

By SIR ERIC TEICHMAN, K.C.M.G., C.I.E.

CHINESE Turkestan is known to the Chinese as Sinkiang, which is the generally accepted rendering of the two Chinese characters romanized according to the *Wade* system as *Hsin-Chiang* and meaning "The New Territory" or "New Dominion." Lying in the heart of Asia, it is one of the most continental and remote regions in the world, all its drainage, excepting that of the north-west corner, being internal. Owing to the scanty rainfall, the greater part is a vast desert, a continuation of the Mongolian Gobi, dotted with oases and strips of cultivation. The Province is bisected by the great snow-capped range of the T'ien Shan, "The Heavenly Mountains," which run right across from the Russian frontier in the west to the borders of Mongolia in the east, and furnish a never failing water supply for the corn and cotton fields and orchards of the oases. The T'ien Shan mountains, with their extensions the Bogdo Ula and Karlik Tagh ranges, divide the Province into two distinct regions, known to the Chinese as the *T'ien Shan Nan Lu* and *T'ien Shan Pei Lu* (the Southern and Northern Circuits) respectively. The former is the real Chinese Turkestan, being racially almost entirely Turkish, while the latter has a more Siberian and Mongolian character, and is racially more Tartar and Chinese. From east to west on the southern circuit the chief oases are Hami, Turfan, Toksun, Karashar, Korla, Kuchar, Maralbashi, Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan. On the Northern Circuit the chief cities from east to west are Barkul, Kuch'eng, Tihwa (Urumchi), Manass, Kulja, and Chuguchak.

The remoteness of Sinkiang is emphasized by its bad communications and the physical difficulties of reaching it from the east or the south. Coming from China the traveller has to cross a thousand miles of empty Gobi desert before reaching the borders of Chinese Turkestan; while from India to Kashgaria one has for hundreds of miles to traverse the Himalaya, Karakoram and Pamir ranges by one of the most arduous mountain trails in the world. Communications with Russian Central Asia, on the other hand, are much easier, especially since the

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on July 22, 1936, Sir Denison Ross in the Chair.

construction of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, which connects the Trans-Caspian with the Trans-Siberian lines and provides rail communication near and all along the Russian frontier of Sinkiang.

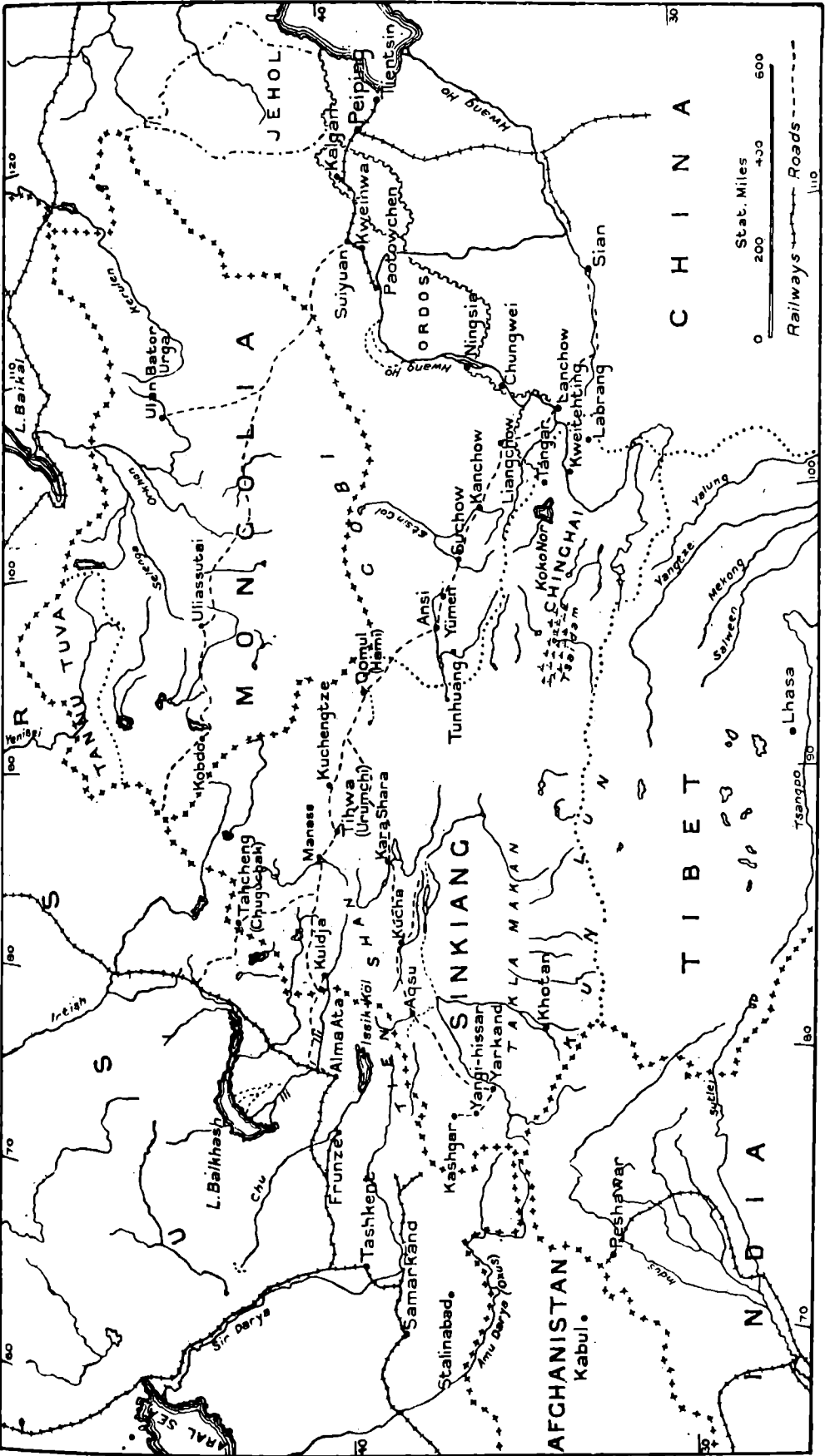
Chinese Central Asia is mostly empty desert, and the population, estimated at about three millions, is naturally very sparse. Of these three million probably seventy per cent. or more are Moslems of Turkish race. The bulk of these again are the *Turks*, commonly known to the Chinese as *Ch'an-t'ou*, or "Turban-heads," who are the agricultural inhabitants of the oases; they are known to the Russians as *Sarts*, or, nowadays, *Uzbeks*. The rest of the Turkish Moslem population are made up of the *Kirghiz* and *Kazaks* (in Chinese *Hei-hei-tzu* and *Ha-sa*), who are the Mohamedan nomads of the uplands, the former in the south and the latter in the north of the Province, and other minor races, such as the *Tajiks* of the Pamir country in the south. All these peoples speak Turkish dialects and are of the same stocks as the corresponding races in Russian Central Asia, where the autonomous republics of Turkmanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kirghizstan and Kazakstan have been established as constituent parts of the U.S.S.R.

Side by side with these Turks there is a considerable population of Mongols, who, like all Mongols, are nomads and Lamaist Buddhists by religion. The Mongols of Sinkiang (known to the Russians as Kal-mucks) belong to the Torgut tribe which migrated in the seventeenth century to the Lower Volga region in Russia, where some of them are still found, and returned to Chinese Central Asia a hundred years later. They are now widely distributed on the upland pastures of the northern half of Sinkiang, while an outlying branch of the tribe occupies the Etsin Gol Oasis in the Gobi north of Kansu Province.

The third big element in the population of Sinkiang are the Chinese Moslems known locally as *Tungans* (*T'ung-kan*), whose colonies extend from Shensi and Kansu (the latter Province being their main home) across Northern and Southern Sinkiang to Kashgar. These Tungans are the most war-like people amongst the native populations of Chinese Turkestan. In speech and culture they are Chinese, but they show in their appearance clear traces of a Central Asiatic origin.

The purely Chinese population of Sinkiang is relatively very small, consisting of soldiers and officials and a few merchants and colonists, the latter in the north of the Province. Especially nowadays, since the rebellion, a Chinese face is rarely seen in the crowded Turki bazaars south of the T'ien Shan.

The Chinese connection with what is now known as Sinkiang dates



Stat. Miles
0 200 400 600

Railways ———
Roads - - - - -

C H I N A

M O N G O L I A

S I N K I A N G

T I B E T

A F G H A N I S T A N
Kabul.

I N D I A

T U V A

S I N K I A N G

A F G H A N I S T A N

I N D I A

J E H O L

O R D O S

M O N G O L I A

S I N K I A N G

T I B E T

A F G H A N I S T A N

I N D I A

J E H O L

O R D O S

M O N G O L I A

M O N G O L I A

S I N K I A N G

T I B E T

A F G H A N I S T A N

I N D I A

J E H O L

O R D O S

M O N G O L I A

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from the dawn of history and was consolidated in the early years of the Manchu Dynasty. With the weakening of the power of the Manchu Empire, the nineteenth century was marked by a series of Mohamedan rebellions in Sinkiang, the most formidable of which was the rising led by Yakub Beg, a soldier of fortune from Russian Central Asia, who in the sixties and seventies of last century set up an independent Moslem State in Chinese Turkestan. Modern Sinkiang was established in the early eighties, after the suppression of the great rebellion, when a Chinese provincial administration was introduced and the "New Dominion" settled down under direct Chinese rule. The last Mohamedan rebellion, until the recent troubles, occurred in 1895-6 amongst the Tungans of Kansu, then, as now, the danger-point of the north-west. Thereafter, Sinkiang and Kansu lay under the shadow of further rebellions; but trouble was averted by the successful co-operation of the local Chinese Government with the leaders of the Tungans, who, enjoying a large measure of autonomy, showed themselves during the last decade of the Empire and the early years of the Republic entirely loyal to the Chinese Realm.

The recent troubles in Chinese Central Asia began with the passing in 1928 of the old Governor Yang Tseng-hsin, who had ruled the Province since the revolution of 1911. During the time that Governor Yang was in control of Sinkiang, China Proper was passing through the troubles that attended the birth of the Chinese Republic, from the days of Yuan Shih-k'ai, through the period of regional militarism which ensued on his death, down to the time of the Communist revolution in South China, the rise of the *Kuo-min-tang*, and the establishment of the National Government at Nanking. During these two decades of turmoil in China, Yang Tseng-hsin was successful in preserving the Imperial framework of administration, and with it law and order, in Sinkiang, and in keeping the New Dominion outside the factional politics of Republican China. He was, however, led by his own interests to exercise complete local autonomy and to pursue a policy of segregating Sinkiang from the rest of China. This was especially the case towards the end of his reign, when General Feng Yü-hsiang and the revolutionary *Kuo-min-chün* were in control in North-West China. But if Governor Yang was suspicious of the new Nationalist movement in China Proper, he was equally anxious to keep revolutionary Russia at arm's length.

The assassination in 1928 of Yang Tseng-hsin ushered in a period of turmoil and revolution in Sinkiang. Under the rule of Governor

Yang's successor, Chin Shu-*jen*, points of friction between the native population and the Chinese local government developed and increased. In 1930 the old Turki *Wang* (or *Prince*) of Hami, Shah Maksud, died and the Chinese Authorities at Urumchi took steps to assume more direct control over the local administration of that region. This led in 1931 to a rising of the Hami Turkis against the Chinese. It happened that at this time there was a young Tungan General in Kansu named Ma Chung-ying, who had been fighting to maintain himself against Feng Yü-hsiang and the Kuo-min-chün in North-West China. He joined his co-religionists, the Mohamedan rebels of Hami, and led his army of Kansu Tungans into Sinkiang against the Chinese.

Hostilities between Ma Chung-ying and the Chinese Authorities in Urumchi ebbed and flowed across the plains of Northern Sinkiang for the next two years. In the spring of 1933 developments occurred which led to the defeat of the Tungans. The Chinese at Urumchi, who had with difficulty been holding their own assisted by a force of local Russian mercenaries, were opportunely reinforced by the arrival in Sinkiang from Siberia of a strong body of Chinese troops expelled by the Japanese from Manchuria in the previous year. At the same time the Governor, Chin Shu-*jen*, was overthrown by a local *coup*, and was succeeded by the present ruler of the province, General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, a Manchurian officer of the Chinese General Staff who had been sent to Sinkiang in a military capacity a year or two before. General Sheng, a younger and more forceful figure than his predecessor, carried on the war against Ma Chung-ying. He was greatly strengthened by the Chinese reinforcements from Manchuria, but the decisive factor which enabled him to defeat the Tungans was the assistance of the Russian Authorities, with whom he reached an understanding and who decided at this juncture to throw their weight in the scale on the side of the Chinese Provincial Authorities. Before the end of the year this Russian intervention in Northern Sinkiang had proved decisive and Ma Chung-ying withdrew with his army to the south of the Province.

In the meantime the troubles had spread to Southern Sinkiang, where the local Turkis and Kirghiz, combining with the Tungans, had risen against and swept away the local Chinese administration in Kashgaria. In the early summer of 1933, however, the Turkis and Tungans fell out and for the rest of the year a Turki régime was in control at Kashgar, with the local Tungan force besieged in the New City, the Chinese citadel six miles out from the old town of Kashgar. Early in 1934, the civil war having gone against the Tungans, Ma Chung-ying

arrived in Kashgar, where he relieved the besieged Tungan garrison, overthrew the native Turki régime and took over control of the local government. It was in the course of this fighting that the British Consulate at Kashgar was attacked in February, 1934. (This unfortunate affair was an incident in the fighting and had no political significance.) The Tungan ascendancy in Kashgaria was, however, short-lived. In July, 1934, General Sheng's provincial troops, represented by a combined force of Manchurians and Turkis, reached Kashgar and drove out the Tungans, who withdrew without fighting to Yarkand and Khotan. Ma Chung-ying himself caused general surprise by fleeing across the border into Russian Central Asia.

By the year 1935 active hostilities between the Chinese and the Tungans had ceased and Sinkiang was settling down under the rule of General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, who was in effective control of the whole Province with the exception of the Khotan area still occupied by the Tungans in the south. British interests in Sinkiang had naturally not remained unaffected by the upheaval, and it was at this juncture that His Majesty's Government decided, in view of the termination of the civil war and the consolidation of the new Chinese Provincial Government at Urumchi, to send me to Chinese Turkestan with instructions to establish contact, on behalf of H.M. Embassy in China, with the new Administration in Urumchi and discuss with the latter outstanding questions and measures for the restoration and encouragement of British and Indian trade.

I left Peking in the latter part of September, 1935, travelling with two motor trucks across the Gobi desert, and arrived at the end of October in Urumchi, where by previous arrangement I joined forces with His Majesty's Consul-General, Lieut.-Colonel Thomson Glover, who had travelled up from his post at Kashgar to meet me in the provincial capital. We remained for some weeks in Urumchi, where we were most hospitably entertained by the Chinese Authorities and Russian Consular officials. Leaving Urumchi in the middle of November, we reached Kashgar before the end of the month. The Chinese Central Government in Nanking and the Chinese and Turki local authorities in Sinkiang afforded me every facility and assistance, without which it would have been impossible to make the journey.

Motor transport has revolutionized travel in Chinese Central Asia, and one can nowadays accomplish in a few weeks the long journeys which formerly occupied many weary months of travel by camel caravan or cart. It took me in all thirty-eight travelling days to cover

the 2,550 miles by motor truck from Suiyuan, the railhead on the Chinese border, to Kashgar. This does not sound very fast, but the same journey used to take about six months by caravan, and one meets, of course, with all kinds of incidents and mishaps on the way. The roads, if they exist at all, are mere caravan trails, and, especially in the Gobi desert, one is entirely dependent on one's own resources, and each day's journey is apt to be a continuous adventure. Travelling by the desert route across the Inner Mongolian Gobi, we entered Sinkiang by the Mingshui pass in the mountains on the Turkestan Mongolian border. Twelve hundred miles from our starting point at Suiyuan we reached Hami, the first big oasis in Chinese Turkestan. The Chinese side of Inner Mongolia was much disturbed by brigands and political troubles, but, once we were well on our way, we experienced no difficulties other than the physical obstacles of the road and met hardly a soul on the long journey across the empty Gobi. From Hami we crossed the T'ien Shan by the main road via Kuch'eng to reach Urumchi, the provincial capital, which is generally known in China by its Chinese name of Tihwa.

Urumchi has a northern character, and one senses the proximity of Mongolia and Siberia. The climate is severe and resembles that of Harbin in North Manchuria; before we left in the middle of November the thermometer had already fallen at night-time to zero Fahrenheit and the countryside was snow-clad for the winter. The situation is a pleasant one, in a sort of basin close under the peaks of Bogdo Ula on the northern face of the T'ien Shan. The place comprises three towns adjoining one another, the Chinese city, the Turki-Tartar bazaar, and the Russian settlement, lying along the banks of a mountain stream, the Urumchi river, which flows down from the T'ien Shan and out on to the steppes of Dzungaria. Although so remote from the Chinese side, Urumchi can be reached with comparative ease by motor truck from Russian territory and the Turkestan Siberian railway via Chuguchak. Owing to its isolation, severe climate, and lack of amenities, it is far from being an agreeable place to reside in, but we enjoyed some good shooting, the countryside being full of game, especially partridges and hares.

At the head of the present Chinese Provincial Government in Urumchi is General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whose official title is *Pien-fang Tu-pan*, or "Frontier Commissioner." Associated with him are the *Chu-hsi* and *Fu Chu-hsi*, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Provincial Government, the former an elderly Chinese gentleman from

Barkal named Li Jung, and the latter a Turki, Khoja Niaz. Another important official is Mr. Ch'en Te-li, who duplicates the posts of Commissioner for Finance and Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. There are also Commissioners for Industry, Education, and so on. Nominally the local Government is modelled on the Chinese provincial system, with an admixture of Turkis. Actually, as so often happens in China, the power is largely in the hands of the chief military authority, the *Tupan* Sheng Shih-ts'ai and his Manchurian colleagues.

Internal conditions in Sinkiang are now relatively satisfactory, civil war is at an end, law and order, judged by Central Asian standards, are preserved, the main roads are reasonably free from bandits and safe to travel on (certainly much safer than those in most parts of China Proper), and the peaceable and ease-loving Turkis are once more growing their corn, melons, grapes and cotton under the protection of Chinese rule. History has thus repeated itself in Central Asia; but it may be of interest to examine in greater detail this latest come-back of the Chinese in Turkestan.

First among the factors which have contributed to the restoration of Chinese rule in Sinkiang must be placed the assistance afforded by the Russians to the Chinese authorities at Urumchi in their struggle with Ma Chung-ying. It is, I think, the general opinion amongst those who know the facts that without this assistance the Chinese would not have won through, or at any rate not so completely as they have now done. The Tungans are a race of tough fighters, who have in the past always dominated the military situation in Chinese Central Asia. But, cut off as they are in Kansu and Sinkiang from supplies of modern war material, they were quite unable to stand up against the munitions, motor trucks, and aeroplanes furnished to the Chinese authorities at Urumchi from neighbouring Russian territory.

The second factor contributing to the success of the Chinese was the timely arrival in Urumchi in the spring of 1933 of the relatively efficient Chinese troops from Manchuria. These troops, expelled by the Japanese from the Three Eastern Provinces, entered Siberia and were transported by arrangement between the Chinese and Russian Governments via the Siberian Railway to Northern Sinkiang. Relatively well trained and well equipped, they were the first representatives of China's modern armies to enter Sinkiang, and they brought with them into this remote dependency a new spirit of military efficiency and modern ideas. The arrival of these Manchurian troops thus lent a great accession of strength to the Chinese Provincial Government in Urumchi;

and General Sheng, the *Tupan*, being himself also a native of the North-Eastern Provinces, the administration of Chinese Turkestan is now largely in the hands of a Manchurian faction.

The third factor which has contributed to the restoration of the Chinese position has been the attitude of the leaders of the Turkis, who, as indicated above, constitute the majority of the population of Chinese Turkestan. At the outset the recent upheaval seemed to take the form of a general Moslem rebellion against Chinese rule. But later on the Tungans and Turkis drifted into conflict (as they were, traditionally, bound to do), the latter went over to the Chinese side, and the struggle assumed rather the character of a civil war between Chinese and Tungans for control of the Province. Now, with the situation settling down, the Chinese have definitely embarked on a policy of conciliating the Turkis and co-operating with them in local government. In the old days all the district magistrates and higher civil and military officials were Chinese or Tungans. Now all the magistrates of the Turki districts are Turkis, and we did not meet a single Chinese official between Karashar and Kashgar. Several Turki leaders are also associated with the Chinese Authorities in the Provincial Government, including notably General Khoja Niaz at Urumchi, General Mahmoud at Kashgar and General Yulbaz in Hami. In official Chinese circles the Turkis are no longer referred to by the local slang expression *Chan-t'ou* ("Turban Heads"), but are known as *Wei-wu-erh* ("Uighurs"—the Turkish race which ruled in Central Asia before the Mongols).

The relations between Urumchi and Nanking are unfortunately somewhat complicated and unsatisfactory. General Sheng and the Government at Urumchi profess their loyalty and obedience to the National Government of China at Nanking. But in practice they enjoy complete autonomy and do not allow the latter to do more than exercise a measure of influence in Sinkiang. This state of affairs, which is not unknown in other outlying parts of the Chinese Republic, and which, in the absence of foreign complications, would not need to provoke any particular attention, arises naturally enough from the historical and geographical circumstances of the case. As indicated in a previous paragraph, the former Governor Yang Tseng-hsin, while showing no secessionist tendencies, segregated Sinkiang from China Proper and ruled the Province for seventeen years with very little reference to the Central Government then located in Peking. Since the death of Governor Yang circumstances have tended to increase the

estrangement between Urumchi and Nanking. For three or four years the Chinese Provincial Authorities of Sinkiang were engaged in a life and death struggle with the Tungans. The Central Government, not being in a position to intervene, adopted a neutral wait-and-see attitude towards both parties in this struggle; the "Pacification Commissioners," General Huang Mu-sung and Dr. Lo Wen-kan, whom they sent to Sinkiang in 1933, met with less than no success, and mutual misunderstandings and suspicions between Nanking and Urumchi were bound to arise.

In the result General Sheng and his colleagues have been led to continue and accentuate the policy of their predecessors of isolating the New Dominion from the rest of China. No one, whether Chinese or foreigner, can enter Sinkiang without the permission of Urumchi, and it has in many cases been found even more difficult to get out of the Province. The old caravan trade with China has thus been strangled and the Chinese merchants complain that the commerce of Sinkiang is going the way of that of Outer Mongolia. The Sino-German Eurasia Air Company, whose first experimental flight from China to Sinkiang was successfully accomplished some four years ago, and who actually maintained for a short time an air service from Shanghai to Urumchi, were driven out of the Province by these political difficulties between the local and Central Governments. They have now abandoned the attempt to reach Europe via Sinkiang and operate their north-western air service only as far as Lanchow in Kansu. The Chinese motor transportation company, which runs trucks between Suiyuan and Sinkiang, is strictly controlled, their trucks not being allowed to go beyond Hami, and their passengers having before they start to secure from Urumchi permission to enter the Province. Postal communications are maintained, but the service, though nominally directed from Nanking, is in practice largely controlled by the local government. The Chinese Customs Administration has never functioned in Sinkiang, and the Provincial Authorities collect their own Customs duties on their land frontiers, nominally in accordance with the National tariff, but without reference to the Central Government. The old land telegraph line from China via Urumchi to Kashgar is largely derelict, and the Provincial Government control their own wireless communications.

The local corollary of strained relation with China is a closer intimacy with the U.S.S.R. For geographical and racial reasons the connection between Chinese Turkestan and the neighbouring territories of Siberia and Russian Central Asia must always, unless artificially sus-

pended for political reasons, be specially close and intimate. The native peoples of Turkestan, the Turkis, Tajiks, Kirghiz and Kazaks, are of the same stocks and speak the same Turkish dialects on both sides of the border. Long before the Great War the Russians were already paying particular attention to the markets of Central Asia, and an increasing Russian trade with Chinese Turkestan was a natural result of the colonization and development of the neighbouring regions of Siberia and Russian Central Asia. After the Russian revolution relations between Russia and Sinkiang (as between Russia and the rest of China) were broken off and all trade and intercourse were suspended for some years, during which the trade between India and Kashgaria increased and large quantities of Sinkiang produce found their way to China and were exported from Tientsin. In 1924 diplomatic and consular relations between China and Soviet Russia were resumed and trade between Sinkiang and the neighbouring territories of the U.S.S.R. rapidly grew up again. In 1931 the then Chinese Governor of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen, concluded with the Soviet Authorities a commercial agreement which regularized Soviet State trading in Sinkiang. This agreement was much criticized in China at the time, and, as it was concluded without the authority of the Chinese Central Government, it contributed to the growing estrangement between Urumchi and Nanking. But, in view of the geographical situation of Sinkiang, it was in any case inevitable that the native merchants should send their cotton, wool, skins, and meat to the neighbouring Russian markets rather than to the distant coast of China, and that they should turn to the Russian and Siberian manufacturers to supply their needs, especially in bulky and heavy imports such as piece-goods, machinery and iron-ware. Unless, therefore, special political conditions intervene, Chinese Turkestan is bound to be nowadays, as it already was before the Great War, economically dependent on the neighbouring territories of Siberia and Russian Central Asia. It is also inevitable that such economic dependence should be accompanied by a measure of political influence, an influence which has been greatly strengthened by the events of the past few years and the assistance rendered by the Russians to the Chinese Authorities at Urumchi in their struggle with Ma Chung-ying. How far this influence will increase must depend on the future relations between Urumchi and Nanking and on the measure of control retained by the National Government over Suiyuan, Kansu, and the rest of North-Western China.

From Urumchi I travelled with Colonel and Mrs. Thomson Glover

by the main cart road to Kashgar, covering the distance of nearly a thousand miles in twelve travelling days, but again meeting with various adventures on the way. The three main obstacles to motor traffic between Urumchi and Kashgar are the passage through the Toksun gorge between Turfan and Karashar and the crossing of the Karashar and Aksu rivers. There is also a good deal of heavy sand, especially on the southern part of the route, where one travels along the edge of the great central desert of Kashgaria; but on the whole the cart roads of Chinese Turkestan afford easier going for motor transport than the camel trails of the Gobi.

I spent some days in Kashgar enjoying the hospitality of Colonel and Mrs. Thomson Glover in the British Consulate, where so many Central Asian travellers have found rest and recreation in the past. The local Government at the time of my visit to Kashgar was a triumvirate consisting of the Chinese General Officer Commanding the garrison of Manchurian troops, the Chinese *Hsing-cheng-chang* (Chief Civil Official, corresponding to the former *Tao-t'ai*), and the Turki General Officer Commanding the Turki troops. The two former were Manchurian Chinese and the whole administration was closely controlled from Urumchi. A few marches away, on the other side of the Yarkand river, was independent Tungan territory. The Tungan power had at this time been destroyed over the greater part of Sinkiang, but Tungan troops were still in unchallenged control of all the country south of the desert from Yarkand and Khotan East to the Kansu border. Negotiations with these Tungans were supposed to be in progress, but with the Chinese it takes a long time to reach finality in such affairs. Certainly no settlement in Sinkiang is likely to be satisfactory or permanent which does not take the Tungans into account.

I left Kashgar on December 9 on the last lap of my journey to India, the passage across the great mountain barrier separating the upper waters of the Indus from the plains of Turkestan. My motor journey was now at an end, for only pack animals can travel, and properly only in the summer months, on the mountain trails which lead from Kashgar to Kashmir. There are two roads to choose from, that across the Karakoram via Ladakh to Leh and the more direct route via the Hunza Valley to Gilgit. We took the latter road, which, difficult though it is, furnishes the only natural artery of communication between India and Chinese Turkestan. Both roads are really closed in the winter, but, thanks to the arrangements for our journey made by the British and Chinese Authorities, we got through without any par-

ticular difficulty, except for the cold. It is twenty-eight short marches from Kashgar to Gilgit by the Hunza road. We travelled by pony, with recourse to yak where the snow on the passes was too deep for laden ponies. The trail, after crossing the Kashgar plain and ascending through a formidable mountain gorge, runs for some ten marches across the flat valleys of the Chinese Pamir at an average elevation of eleven to thirteen thousand feet. Here we recorded our lowest temperatures, more than twenty degrees below zero Fahrenheit at night-time in camp. All the way on this part of the route one marches along the Russian frontier, passing close under two snow ranges, Kongur and Muztagh Ata, both over 24,000 feet high. The Indian frontier is crossed at the Mintaka Pass, 15,500 feet, which leads over the mountain knot, where the Hindu Kush, Kun Lun, Pamir and Karakoram ranges meet. This is the home of *Ovis Poli* sheep, ibex, and markhor; the roof of Central Asia, *Where Three Empires Meet*—to quote the title of Mr. Knight's book, which, written more than forty years ago, is still perfectly up to date as a description of the road through the upper Hunza Valley.

After being hospitably entertained at Baltit by the Mir of Hunza, I reached Gilgit on January 9. The main road south from Gilgit across the Western Himalaya to Srinagar is impassable in mid-winter owing to the snow, but it is possible to get through to the plains by making a detour westwards via Chitral. Major Kirkbride, the Political Agent, was good enough to arrange for my Chinese and Mongol followers to be sent out that way, but I myself, by the courtesy of the Government of India, travelled down by air. It was an unforgettable experience flying at 15,000 feet over and through the Himalaya, passing close to Nanga Parbat and following down the valley of the Indus, which here flows, like the great rivers of Eastern Tibet, in a tremendous gorge thousands of feet deep. Leaving Gilgit in the middle of the morning on January 16, we reached Rawalpindi in two and a half hours (as against sixteen days for the same journey by road) and landed in Delhi in time for dinner the same evening.

The Chairman in offering a very warm vote of thanks to the lecturer, said he thought Sir Eric had made little of what was a remarkable journey. He was sorry to hear of the bad plight of a country once so happy.

THE PALESTINE SITUATION

On June 29 Miss Nabiha Nasir spoke on the situation in Palestine from a woman's point of view. Miss Nasir is headmistress of an Arab high school at Bir Zeit, in which there are two English teachers in addition to Arabs, and where educated Moslem Arabs, as well as Arabs of all Christian denominations, send their children to be educated.

The Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bt., was in the Chair.

Miss A. SOLTAU SYMONS, introducing Miss Nasir, said :

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Under the terms of the Mandate a National Home for the Jews is promised, while preserving that of the Arabs. Surely the future success of the country depends upon the way in which both communities bring up their children.

Miss Nasir is the headmistress of a large secondary school for Arabs, in which I have twice had the pleasure of being temporary teacher of English. The school is run by a committee of Moslem and Christian Arabs, and the pupils come from all parts of Palestine and Transjordan. The ages of the boys and girls range from five years to twenty. There are Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox, members of the Church of England and Moslem children in the school, and all these denominations form a very happy, hard-working party. It is the aim of the school to turn out broad-minded, tolerant men and women who will work together for the common good while respecting the religion and opinions of their neighbours.

The present policy of the Government, in allowing almost unlimited Jewish immigration, must bring in the psychological factor of fear; and fear breeds hatred more surely than divergence of opinion and belief. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the present strike in Palestine is not anti-Jewish, but is simply directed against Zionist policy.

T. E. Lawtence has written : " Arabs could be swung on an idea as on a cord. . . . Without a creed they could be taken to the four corners of the world (but not to heaven) by being shown the riches of earth and the pleasures of it; but if on that road, led in this fashion, they met the prophet of an idea who had nowhere to lay his head and who depended for his food on charity or birds, then they would leave their wealth for his inspiration. They are incorrigibly the children of the idea."

The idea now firmly planted in the mind of every Palestinian Arab, man, woman and child, is the peril of Jewish domination. More than half the agony of mind they are now undergoing is caused by feeling

that their case has not had the same chance of a hearing as that of the Jew. They respond very quickly to kindness and are quick to appreciate a friendly gesture. This school, being Arab, is really an important factor in the life of the country, and it will be a very real help towards the restoring of confidence if those in touch with it know that Miss Nasir has been allowed to speak to you to-day and that she has had a sympathetic hearing.

MISS NABIHA NASIR: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel it is a great honour for me to be allowed to talk to your Society this afternoon. Although I am not a delegate nor a speaker, and I have never spoken in England before, I am willing to give up every minute of my holiday in order to make our case understood by the English people, who are always ready to hear the two sides of any question. There are already some who know that we have been unjustly treated and are trying to help us to get our rights.

Conditions throughout Palestine have been very bad for about two and a half months. Women are sharing with the men great anxiety for their children's future, yet they are against the outrages and acts of violence to which some of the strikers have been driven by despair and by the fear of losing their country. They are only against the Government on the question of Zionist policy. Even in remote country districts there are repercussions of the strike. Transport is very difficult and dangerous, and it is difficult to get food supplies. The people are already hungry, and every man, woman and child is suffering in one way or another. It is evident that only great national peril will cause a people to unite in bearing such hardships.

Naturally in these disturbed times it is very difficult to keep discipline, but with the help of all the staff we have been able to keep the school open until the end of term. Some schools have had to close owing to the difficulty of getting food supplies, others owing to the children striking. We were lucky in having laid in a store of food last October when we were afraid of a European war. Of course, the boys wanted to strike, one day refusing their lunch and saying they intended to go home. I do not believe in children striking; in my opinion the best thing they can do for their country is to go on quietly with their education and leave political questions to their elders. Many parents were of the same opinion, and wrote asking me to keep the children at school.

The children sent in their protest in writing to the High Commissioner through the District Governor, and they all subscribed money

to the poor. We managed to keep the boys at school by allowing them two days in which to demonstrate in the village. They were sternly forbidden to go beyond the village. All obeyed except some little boys who walked all the way to Ramallah. It took them about two hours, and I was, of course, unaware that they had broken bounds until there was a ring at the telephone. It was the Governor of Ramallah who told me that his small boy of ten had just arrived, with ten others of about the same age, to protest! I was very angry to think that they had dared to disobey and asked him to send them to me at once. He very kindly drove them to school in his car and came and begged me not to be too severe with them. The young patriots had rather a depressing interview with the headmaster that evening! The real difficulty was that outsiders came frequently to the village and tried to stir the children up. Before I came away all the pupils gave me their word of honour that they would not strike, but would go on with their lessons and exams until the end of term. I am thankful to say that I have had news that they are keeping their promise. Twenty-five boarders could not come to us this term, as the strike started a day before the opening of school, and the parents, thinking it would only last a few days, decided to keep the children at home until it was over. This means a serious financial loss to the school as well as to the parents.

Although the women are against outrages and are in favour of a peaceful strike, they are powerless to stop the desperate men from violence. It is evident that the stern measures of the Government have not been effective. The men are really in despair. The Arabs do not respond to threats, but to kindness. They look upon those who are killed as martyrs. They are only fighting to preserve their rights and are not asking for anything more. I met some villagers before I left Palestine who voiced the opinion held by Arabs throughout the country: that it is better to die with honour than to live in dishonour. By dishonour they mean under Jewish domination.

Last winter a Legislative Council to be composed of Arabs and Jews was suggested by the High Commissioner, and he was anxious to have it at all costs. The majority of Arab parties agreed to the proposal; while asking for a modification in the form it was to take, they were prepared to accept it in the original form if need be. The High Commissioner replied that the Council would be formed with or without their approval. The Jews were against the Council and made a strong protest in the British Parliament. Being still in the minority in Palestine, they were afraid of having less power in a representative

Council than under the Mandate. After the Jewish protest the High Commissioner told the Arabs they might send delegates to London to discuss the matter and bring it before Parliament. We felt his change of attitude was due to Jewish influence. It was during the time of choosing the delegates that the strike broke out and everything came to a standstill.

Both in 1921 and in 1929 Jewish immigration was suspended temporarily whilst a Commission inquired into the causes of the disturbances. It distresses us very much that the High Commissioner does not see his way to making a similar suspension whilst the Royal Commission makes its inquiry. Unfortunately the findings of the two previous Commissions were not acted upon by the Mandatory Power, and, in consequence, the people have lost faith in the reports of Commissions being practically applied. It would give them more confidence if the Administration could give them some sign or faint hope that something tangible will be done to preserve their rights.

The Arabs wholeheartedly welcomed the British in the Great War, and, as you know, fought and suffered side by side with them. At that time many Palestinian Arabs were executed and exiled by the Turk for their pro-Ally sympathies. We rejoiced when Great Britain was given the Mandate because we believed then in her earnest desire to develop our country economically and to raise the standard of living. Some of our hopes have been fulfilled, and the fellahin have benefited particularly by the reduction of taxes which were exorbitant under the Turk. Government schools and the Public Health Department, amongst others, are doing a great work and we fully appreciate them; but it is bitterly sad for us to realize that, if the influx of Jews continues at its present rate, in a comparatively short time we shall be ousted from our country by the force of numbers.

It can be said that it was the fault of the Arabs selling their land to the Jews, but it must be remembered that people who were not indigenous, Syrians, sold the fertile Plain of Jezreel, and that many landlords were very poor after the war and needed money. A few were rich but grasping, and money was a great temptation to them. At that time no one realized the danger of selling land to the Jews. Surely the Mandate could have made a law, as there is in Egypt, 'Iraq, and other countries, to protect the land from being finally sold?

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that we do not want to turn out the Jews who are already in the country, large though their numbers are, but we feel there is no room for more without serious loss to

ourselves. Before the Great War there were about 40,000 Jews in Palestine and we never had any trouble, living peacefully and dealing with one another. But some of the European Jews from Russia and Poland, amongst other countries, have been causing trouble by behaving as if the whole country belonged to them and treating the Arabs as simply inferior neighbours. I am sure you will agree that this is very irritating to a nation which has occupied the country exclusively for thirteen hundred years, while the Jews were merely in possession of part of Palestine from the time of Saul to the Exile. Even then the coast belonged to the Philistines, the south being inhabited by Moabites, Edomites, etc.

Of course, the mental and moral outlook of the modern Russian and Polish Jew is the antithesis of that of the Arab. Their ways are not our ways, and it is difficult to find a point of contact. We find little that we can admire in the communistic way of living. In spite of the wide difference in outlook, we are not "anti-Jew" in the way some countries in Europe are, but we are appalled by the way the land is slipping from us and by the idea of being ruled by a people of such different mentality and way of living. And this will surely come to pass when the Jews become the majority.

When the new broadcasting station was opened the news was read in the three official languages. The English announcer began with "Jerusalem calling," the Arab with "Palestine calling," the Jew with "Land of Israel calling." This continued until the Arabs protested and the Government made them change to "Jerusalem calling." This is a small incident which is characteristic of the attitude they are adopting.

It has been said that the Jews have brought a great deal of money to Palestine. This is true, but it has mostly been spent locally on their own buildings and colonies and has not benefited the Arabs much. Jewish industry has been protected by heavy custom tariffs, increasing the cost of living for the Arab consumers. In making this protection a higher wage for Jewish labourers was allowed than the prevailing wages of Arab labourers. Thus the Arab labourer who earns two shillings a day is required to pay a higher tax in order to support a labourer in a Jewish industry who receives four shillings a day.

Jaffa has been famous for oranges for hundreds of years, and until a few years ago provided good income for the Arab who was developing the trade at a normal rate. Planting of citrus groves has been pushed by the Jews without any control to such an extent that the whole industry, Arab and Jewish, is threatened with ruin. In 1926 orange

exports amounted to 2 million cases; in 1935 to 7 million cases, and in 1940 exports from groves already planted are expected to be 20 million cases. Prices have consequently dropped from 6s. per case on the tree to 4s. and 3s. This heavy plantation was against the recommendations of the Jewish experts themselves. There is now genuine fear that the prices will drop below cost of production and the capital invested be lost.

An article was published in a Jewish paper, saying that the strike was caused by Italian propaganda. Some Moslem and Christian friends came to see me before I left Palestine, and all agreed that even with the troubles there, they would far rather have England as Mandatory Administrator than Italy. We have been horrified by her brutal conquest of Abyssinia and by her treatment of the natives in Tripoli.

Mr. Lloyd George, in his speech during the Debate on Palestine in the House of Commons, said that it would be dishonourable if Great Britain did not keep her promise to the Jews. I think she has been fulfilling that promise for the last sixteen years. Surely it will be equally dishonourable if she does not fulfil her promise to the Arabs! So why not call a halt in immigration for, let us say, sixteen years?

If she does not do so soon she will surely be faced with the problem of finding a National Home for the Arabs, for whom, as the holder of the Mandate, she is responsible.

The demands of the Arabs are :

- (1) Suspension of Jewish immigration.
- (2) Reformation of Constitutional Government.
- (3) Prevention of sale of land to Jews.

Dr. ERIC THOMSON said he had recently been to Palestine and Syria and hoped to go back again shortly. He felt that both the English and the Arabs would be glad to help Jews in the distress in which they now found themselves. He would make the following proposals to guard Arab rights in Palestine :

(1) Jewish immigration not to be interfered with, but any distress caused by unemployment of Arabs, and found to be due to Jewish immigration, to be met financially by the Jewish community, a mixed tribunal to investigate any disputed cases.

(2) No land to change hands without the approval of a mixed tribunal—of equal numbers of Jews, Christians, and Arabs.

(3) A Legislative Council to be formed of eight Jews, eight Christians, and eight Moslems—in perpetuity, so far as the British Mandate is

concerned, or as long as Palestine is in the sphere of British influence. The result would be that, even should the Jews greatly outnumber the Arabs in the future, their vote would never be greater than that of either the Moslems or of the Christians, so that the Arabs need never fear to be a political minority. Early this year a Legislative Council was proposed, but not accepted by the Jews, consisting of twelve Arabs and eight Jews. My proposal would give the Arabs 2 to 3 per cent. greater power.*

Admiral Sir HERBERT RICHMOND: I was in Palestine the other day, after an absence of many years. I talked with Arabs, Americans, English and French, and I came to the conclusion that we are trying to follow two different policies which are absolutely irreconcilable. In this audience there are optimists who appear to reply upon the motto "Solvitur ambulando," that all will come well with patience: it will not. We cannot expect things to solve themselves in that way.

Primarily, the cause of the present trouble is the Jewish immigration, and the first step that is needed towards restoring peace is to stop that immigration. I do not believe that there is any other way. To say that Arab fears are unjustified is merely shutting one's eyes to facts. The Jews are quite frank about their intentions. In a discussion at the Society of Arts some years ago Dr. Weizmann was perfectly clear as to his intentions. Palestine was to become a country as Jewish as England is English, and, pointing to a map on the wall from which he was lecturing, on which the Jewish settlements were marked with red spots, he said, "These small spots will expand until the whole of Palestine is red." When I asked where the Arabs were to go, he replied that they could go over to the other side of Jordan: and when Palestine was full the Jews would colonize Transjordan as well. That is the Jewish interpretation of the Balfour Declaration. Only a few days ago the Zionist Federation in London expressed their view that Transjordan as well as Palestine should be "colonized" by the Jews. When I visited Transjordan the other day I found everyone there very contented except for this fear that they in turn would be swamped by Jewish immigration.

The Balfour Declaration was interpreted by Mr. Winston Churchill

* In *The Times* of August 8 Mr. Amery proposed "equality of representation, or at least of voting power as between Jews and Arabs, quite independently of their relative numbers from the point of view of population." Mr. Amery's question is probably fairer, although hardly acceptable to the Arabs, as I found in Jerusalem when investigating the causes of the trouble.—E. T.

some years ago, and there was no ambiguity about it. But in any case I have never seen why we are more bound by these engagements to the Jews than we are by our promises to the Arabs made by Sir Henry MacMahon. I believe that in the promises made to King Hussein there was no exclusion of Palestine whatever: indeed, the word "Palestine" did not exist then; the country was known as "Southern Syria."

The position of the Jews in Poland and Germany to-day is atrocious. But if some room is to be made for them elsewhere, why make a present of some other people's country to them? If we claim to do so by right of conquest, then we must also admit the Arab's right of insurrection.

Mr. S. TEMKIN: A good deal has been said this afternoon about fair play for the Arabs, but I should like to say a word on behalf of the Jews. One speaker said that the Jews want to dominate the Arabs in Palestine. But is that quite true? The Jews in Palestine do not wish to dominate the Arabs, or to be dominated by them.

I think you will all agree that the Jewish people have a certain measure of historical justification for desiring to return to Palestine and to build up their National Home. Palestine is a small country, the size of Wales, and they want to build it up and have part of it as a Jewish home where they may bring up their children in freedom. When you tell people in England of the plight of the Jews in Germany, they are sympathetic, but say, "For goodness' sake, do not bring them here." Well, where are they to go? What is to be the solution? Everywhere they are in the minority, and everywhere they are subjected to the will of the majority. We ask for an opportunity to build up a Jewish entity in Palestine without in any way affecting the rights of the Arabs. The large influx of Jews has brought prosperity to Palestine, to an unparalleled degree. A great number of Arabs—over 20,000 in the last few years—have immigrated into Palestine to participate in that prosperity, while in Transjordan, where there are no Jews, there has been no appreciable increase in the population for the last fifteen to twenty years.

We are told that economic prosperity does not come into the question, and that it is irrelevant, but if the coming of the Jews had not brought prosperity to Palestine, then the economic factor would have been dragged out against us quickly enough.

We desire to have a National Home so that there may be Jewish children who may grow up without this wretched inferiority complex; that among the hundreds of thousand of Jews who are divided into

Polish Jews, German Jews, or American Jews, there may be a nucleus drawn and inspired by what is being done in Palestine by Jewish Jews. We are in no way harming the Arabs. What is said is that they are afraid of future Jewish domination, but we want, not domination, but harmony and co-operation between Jews and Arabs, so that a state may be built up in which Jew and Arab would live in freedom and equality.

Mrs. MALCOLM ELLIS: I think it is true that Zionists in the Colonies are forbidden to employ Arabs?

Miss PRENTICE: How many Arabs are employed by Jews in Palestine?

Mr. L. BAKSTANSKY: The intensity of the persecution of Jews in Germany is well known, but what seems frequently to escape attention is that the economic depression of Polish Jewry and in Eastern Europe in general is not less acute than in Germany; it is probably worse. I regret very much, in this connection, that most of the speakers have almost entirely forgotten the existence of the Jewish problem and its relationship to Palestine.

It is untrue to suggest that Palestine is overpopulated, and that there is not room for new immigrants. Altogether its total population is only about $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions, which is only about a quarter of the population which inhabited it in Biblical times. The immigration of Jews into Palestine has been responsible for this uninterrupted period of intensive development which has, on the one hand, increased the economic absorptive capacity of the country, whilst also enriching the native inhabitants and raising their standard of living to a level which they have not enjoyed for centuries. Indeed, it is true to say that the Arabs were never better rooted to the soil of Palestine. It is now a well-established fact that the western part of Palestine alone could accommodate, even at the present rate of development, another 150,000 agricultural families. Without taking into consideration the south of Palestine, the north, and other parts which could be further developed, it is obvious that the country can already now accommodate a population at least three times its present size, whilst providing adequate safeguards for the legitimate interests of the existing population. Prior to the outbreak of the disturbances, there were many spheres in which Arab-Jewish co-operation has been in evidence, and it is a pity that the peaceful development of the country should have been interrupted recently, largely through the influence of international affairs and the general unrest which has characterized the Eastern Mediterranean in recent months.

Miss NEWTON carried on the discussion, speaking on behalf of the Arabs.

MR. J. M. N. JEFFRIES: All the talk of the value of the economic development of Palestine by the Zionist immigrants is irrelevant. There should be no mention of this while our promises to the Arabs remain unkept. With regard to these promises, the phrases "contradictory promises" or "contradictory pledges" are too often used, as though we were equally engaged by simultaneous promises to Jews and to Arabs.

But there were no such simultaneous promises. There was a promise, an agreement made with King Hussein, which antedated by two years that made to the Jews and enshrined in the "Balfour Declaration." Now it is the essence of a pledge that it is a guarantee not to give another pledge, so when this second "pledge" was made to the Jews, it had no legitimacy and no value.

The Balfour Declaration is best described as a bigamous vow. If a man takes a second partner by a bigamous "marriage," she is not his wife, and it would be preposterous to suggest that the status of his real wife is in any degree altered by this "contradictory pledge." Yet that is exactly the plea which is put forward by the defenders of the Balfour Declaration, that a later and therefore illegitimate pledge pairs with and reduces the validity of the previous one.

No doubt some compensation is owed to the Jews, in so far as they were deceived by the Balfour Declaration, just as compensation is owed in like case to a man's second partner, if she be innocent. The Jews at present in Palestine should receive normal political rights, but not the rights of a majority or of a body of equal size, when they are a minority.

Nowhere in the world but in Palestine is it suggested that a majority should be on a situation of equality with a minority.

To revert to the agreement with King Hussein, the McMahon treaty, the only effort to disprove it was made by Mr. Winston Churchill when he was Colonial Secretary. In order to do so he introduced into his argument an entirely suppositious vilayet of the Ottoman Empire, the vilayet of Damascus, in order that the text of the treaty might not turn upon the city and district of Damascus only. The country west of the cities of Homs, Hama, Aleppo and Damascus was excluded from the Arab area guaranteed independence because French interests were involved there. Palestine obviously did not fall in this

reserved area. Therefore Mr. Churchill imagined, or whatever word be preferred for his action, a vilayet of Damascus into the text of the treaty. A vilayet or province, of larger extent than a city and extending southward, might by some stretch be held to exclude at least part of Palestine. But at the time one of the Arab delegations was in England and was able to declare at once that there was no such vilayet nor had it ever existed.

The Secretary for the Colonies was forced to acknowledge this. A public statement was made that "the Secretary of State, after consulting the authorities concerned in the correspondence, had decided to make a modification in the draft on a point of fact." The modification was to abandon the claim but to enforce the policy based upon it! Mr. Churchill said that the district of Damascus, the city and its surroundings, had "always been regarded as covering" the vilayet of Beyrout and the sanjak of Jerusalem, a geographical impossibility!

The CHAIRMAN closed the discussion by saying that a Royal Commission would be appointed and would go out as soon as the present disturbances were over. Until then nothing would be done.

THE DESERT BEDUIN AND HIS FUTURE

By MAJOR C. S. JARVIS, C.M.G.

THE first question that occurs to a desert administrator is what can be done to better the lot of the nomad Arab, and this is a very difficult subject indeed, for in the first place one is faced by the fact that the Arab does not wish anyone to help him nor improve his status. He does not appear to have realized yet that the spread of civilization and increase in public security during the last eighteen years has deprived him of his normal means of livelihood, but this nevertheless is the case. The general use of cars and lorries has almost entirely killed the camel transport business; efficient policing of the desert has obviated the necessity for travellers and merchants paying large sums to sheikhs as guarantees for safety on journeys; tourists nowadays visit Petra, St. Catherine's Monastery, Palmyra, etc., and other places of interest by hiring a taxi and not, as was the case formerly, by taking a caravan with guides, escort and camel men; whilst the public security that now maintains means that the nomad Beduin can no longer extort large sums from the settled cultivator in return for what he called protection. Raiding, which was a more or less fifty-fifty business, as raids meant counter attacks, was nevertheless a paying concern for the stronger tribes, and this also has been denied the Arab and with it his chief incentive to live.

One way and another the efficient and thorough administration we have brought to the deserts means the ultimate death-knell of the nomad Beduin unless something can be done to change his mode of life, and this is an almost impossible task as most Arabs would prefer death by starvation to an existence that meant work with a *fas* (mattock), or hauling on a *shaduf* (water-raising bucket) for eight hours a day.

I have been an administrator in both the Libyan and Sinai Deserts, and the problem is not so acute in Libya, for the Arabs of this area are probably not of pure Arabian descent and the distaste for manual labour is not so pronounced. In the days when I served there, from 1919-20, they maintained of their own initiative gardens of figs, vines and pomegranates wherever water existed, and under Captain Green's

governorship I understand that much has been done in encouraging them to clean out the old Roman cisterns and wells and plant olives and fruit trees in the vicinity. Given the opportunity and a little encouragement, it would seem that the Libyan Arab is quite prepared to become a cultivator, and this is proved by the very large number who have become fellaheen and who live on their irrigated land between Behera and Assiut on the western side of the Nile.

It is with the Beduin of Sinai, Southern Palestine and Trans-Jordan that the greatest difficulty exists, for here you have a race of nomads to whom all manual work is anathema. They have always ploughed the land for a haphazard crop of winter barley, but they have never sown a square yard more than was absolutely necessary, and in any case the sowing, reaping and thrashing only lasted for fifteen days out of a total of 365, and the remaining 350 were at their disposal for complete rest.

One is inclined to say at first glance that all Sinai, Southern Palestine and the lowlands of Trans-Jordan are howling desert and that nothing whatsoever can be done to improve conditions for the Beduin. Fate has put him in a sterile waste on which practically nothing will grow owing to insufficient rainfall, and he must make the best of it. It is only after one has lived in the deserts for some time that one comes to the conclusion that these wastes need not be so hopelessly barren, and that not so long ago in the world's history these areas were occupied and cultivated by a virile, hardy people who managed to live in thousands where to-day one small family of Beduin can barely exist.

We have it on the very best authority that the rainfall in this part of the world was no greater fifteen hundred years ago than it is to-day. This is proved to some extent by the way in which the Byzantines conserved every drop of water, damming wadis, terracing hillsides and carving out cisterns (harabas) in every place where an infrequent thunderstorm would be likely to provide a small flood for half an hour or so. It is also proved by the absence of both wood and lime mortar in the ruins at Esbeita, Auja, Kosseima, etc.; if the rainfall had been heavier there would have been ample acacia and tamarisk wood for roofing and sufficient fuel to burn the limestone, which is plentiful.

A close examination of that part of the Sinai Peninsula which borders on Palestine in the vicinity of Kosseima and of the hilly country south of Auja in Palestine itself will disclose the fact that in

late Roman days the whole of this area was more or less densely populated. The hillsides have the ruins of scattered stone huts in every direction; all the small wadis that now run down to the low land as boulder-strewn gorges were dammed every fifty yards and the remains of orchard walls can be seen in every direction. And if this evidence is not sufficient, the enormous number of harabas (underground cisterns' carved from natural rock) that are to be found in all the places where water might run is definite proof that only thirteen hundred years ago this barren area, that now accommodates, say, 3,000 Arabs on the brink of starvation, supported a population that cannot have been less than 50,000, and one who could afford to build churches and monasteries of cut stone.

It is admitted that this stretch of country lies on the old trade route between the ports of Suez and Akaba and Palestine proper, along which in those days travelled caravans carrying the merchandise of the East that required forage and food on the road, and this trade, of course, can never be revived. Nevertheless, if some 50,000 people managed to exist here thirteen centuries ago it is not unduly optimistic to hope that at least 5,000 could eke out a livelihood to-day.

It is not suggested that this harsh country could ever support people of a European race or that the standard of living could ever be high, but as the Arab just manages to survive on his present ration of a handful of barley flour and a cup of goat's milk a day, with the addition of a few olives with the concomitant oil, tomatoes, onions and other vegetables, and possibly some maize flour, he might cease to be the miserable "roasted snipe of a man" he is and become a more useful member of the community, and a more peaceful one.

The scheme that I have been working on in Sinai for the last fourteen years has been to repair some of the disused Roman cisterns, reconstruct the dams, provide the olive, vines, almond, and other trees free, and above all erect stout fences of barbed wire round the plantations. In some places where no old Roman works exist, I have made new dams and constructed concrete reservoirs below the surface. These gardens represent neither great difficulty nor heavy expense; all one has to do is to select a spot where water flows freely in the rains, construct an earth or stone dam across the lowest part, run out for two to four hundred yards on either side a small ditch and embankment, and at the lowest point in front of the dam dig out a square hole twenty feet by twenty feet and twelve feet deep and line it with reinforced concrete. Around the dam and inside the irrigation channels a stout wire fence with a

gate is erected, and a spot like this should experience at least four falls of rain in the winter, which will mean that not only is the reservoir filled, but the whole area inside the dam is inundated to a depth of probably eight inches. Thirty-two inches of rain in a year is more than ample for olives, vines, almonds, carobs, and in some areas apricots, and will also allow millet, water melons, and tomatoes to be grown in summer.

It is most disappointing and almost heart-breaking work, for the Beduin has not the faintest conception of tree culture, and one is up against the natural suspicion of a race who regard the Government only as a rapacious parasite when it is not a khurbag-wielding monster. The Arab's first idea is that the Government means to take his land from him, and he is frightened that any improvements making it more valuable will result in his losing the little he has. Then there is the nomad habit of trekking off to other grazing lands in summer when the trees require some attention and watering, and one must be prepared to see orchards of vines and olives die off from lack of attention. A few of the hardier trees, however, will survive, and now that the work has been in progress for some fourteen years, and trees have been replaced again and again, there is some small result to show. A few of the gardens are beginning to bear fruit, and here and there one finds an Arab who has some taste for agriculture and as the result is making a small profit.

Demonstrations in gardens run by the Government, though interesting to the administrator as proof of what this poor country can produce, are unfortunately of no value in inducing the Arab to follow suit. He says, "Of course, the Government can do this—it has the men, the money, and the knowledge, but I cannot do it." When, however, one of his tribe manages to earn £5 by the sale of his olives the Beduin begins to take notice and show some initiative.

It is uphill work, and one may wonder if the Beduin is worth the trouble. He is regarded by those who are not acquainted with him as a wonderful figure of romance; others who know him better consider that he is a hopeless and useless creature and a definite bar to progress; but, whatever his value may be, he is the inhabitant of the desert, and now that civilization has altered his life for him one must do what one can to change him to suit existing conditions. It is not an altogether hopeless task, as in the Wadi Gedeirat, where I had the advantage of running water and a Roman system of irrigation that only required reconstructing, I have definitely succeeded in settling some hundred nomads

of the Teaha tribe on the land. They now have large orchards bearing a big variety of fruit; they sell their olives for a substantial sum, and in the summer, instead of moving off to Palestine for grazing as they did formerly, they remain on the land and grow millet, maize, and vegetables. Recently also on their own initiative they have dammed the lower end of the wadi to carry off the flood to a low-lying area where they can grow winter barley. This is satisfactory proof that the Beduin can be settled on the land after a time if conditions are favourable.

A simpler method of making use of the possibilities of the desert is to transport to the best lands the surplus cultivators from the existing villages such as El Arish, Khan Yunis, Gaza, Tafeleh, Kerak, etc., but there is a difficulty here, for every feddan of land in the desert is claimed by some Arab and he is most jealous about it. He may never have made the slightest use of it, but this does not affect the case, and if his land is wanted for a fellah from a village it is necessary to buy up his rights and give the new owner a deed (hoja) signed by him and duly witnessed. It has been my experience that no villager will accept Arab land unless this is done, as he will say, "Yes, this is quite all right now with the present Government, but what of the future? If we get a weak Government in the days of my sons they will not only lose their lands but have their throats cut as well, for the Arab never forgets"—and this is a quite understandable argument, for object lessons occurred in Sinai in 1914 and 1915.

Sinai and Southern Palestine I know well, but Trans-Jordan, to my regret, not so well. My infrequent visits there at different times of the year have given me the impression that here is a country that once supported hundreds of thousands of cultivators now containing thousands only. I came into Petra once from the west along the road from the Wadi Khushiebeh and near Gebel Haroun and noticed that every hillside in the vicinity was terraced to the highest points. This terracing was constructed between 100 A.D. and 600 A.D., and to-day produces nothing whatsoever. Thirteen hundred years ago, when the rainfall was the same as it is to-day, these terraces must have yielded grapes, olives, and possibly corn, and if this state of affairs existed in the south of the mountain range that rises from the Dead Sea depression, what was the yield farther to the north where the rainfall is more reliable, and what did these late Romans make of the various streams that flow down from the high lands to the Dead Sea below? In Petra itself there is an amphitheatre that would seat 3,000 people; in Amman (once Philadelphia) another theatre capable of seating the same number, and

in Jerash there were two theatres. To-day in this area one could barely fill a cinema seating 500.

Where running water exists in the desert it is a comparatively easy matter to reconstruct the Roman system of conservation and irrigation, of which one would almost certainly find traces. In the Wadi Gedeirat, though the dam that raised the level of the stream had been almost entirely demolished, the huge reservoir was intact, and merely needed cleaning out and relining with cement; the orchard and garden walls lay in fallen rows and merely had to be built up again, and the foundations for the aqueducts existed.

If the Arab can be given running water and the employment of manual labour is thereby greatly reduced, it is far easier to settle him on the land, and it has been my experience that in course of time, as his physique improves from work and better feeding, he will become more energetic and enterprising. Trans-Jordan possesses far more streams than either Southern Palestine or Sinai, and thirteen hundred years ago every drop of these brooks was employed to good advantage.

The Beduin's chief concern in life is grazing for his animals, and he will cheerfully forsake his garden and his crops to follow the rain. His animals may only consist of one old she camel with her calf and four goats, and it never occurs to him that it might be more economical and more convenient in every way to provide this small herd with a little artificial feeding than to trek a couple of hundred miles to some spot where there has been a copious rainfall, but where he will probably be taxed by another Government, and where he may very possibly have some of his animals stolen by his old enemies. This annual trek in search of grazing is nothing more than a migratory instinct acquired ages ago when the Arab really possessed herds of such size that a move had to be made to some area where feed existed. Nowadays such men are rare in the real nomad tribes, and I have actually known a case where a man left a thriving olive orchard with a healthy little patch of millet to trek two hundred miles to Trans-Jordan for the purpose of grazing one old goat and her kid. When he returned in the autumn and found that straying camels had got into his garden and destroyed everything, he accepted the situation with equanimity. He had found satisfactory grazing for the goat, though it was a pity that a wolf (deeb) had taken the kid on the way!

The question of the improvement of grazing is a very difficult one, for it may be taken for granted that Nature has done her utmost and that the plants and bushes she has supplied in these arid stretches are

the best suited to the climate. The grazing bushes that survive and flourish are naturally those that are either of little value or those that are thoroughly protected by thorns. I have introduced four kinds of salt scrub from Australia, which were very kindly supplied to me by Dr. Angus Johnson of Adelaide, one of which thrives by the sea or in salty areas. They all produce a prodigious quantity of seed designed by Nature to blow about the desert, and after three years of the experiment I have noticed from time to time odd plants in the desert, which proves that the seed has travelled five miles or more. The drawback to all these salt scrubs is that they are so extremely succulent and palatable that goats and camels will graze them right down to the ground. Possibly in the course of some thousands of years this Australian scrub will devise some means of protecting itself, but at present it is too innocent and confiding to establish itself naturally in the harsh deserts of the Mid-East unless given some measure of protection. It is, however, so extremely prolific that, given a satisfactory year for rain—a rare event—it might so carpet some area with plants that the grazing herds would be unable to account for it all. Unfortunately my experiments only started during the last four years of my service and coincided with the worst droughts that Sinai has experienced in the lifetime of man. The salt scrub, therefore, has not had a chance except in one or two small fenced areas, but its seeds must now be scattered over hundreds of square miles of desert, and it will be interesting to see the results in a really wet year. Incidentally, all these shrubs prefer clay or gravel to sand, and I do not think they will ever flourish in dune country.

What the desert really requires is a short breathing space of ten years or so to enable it to re-establish its natural growths that have been eaten off to the roots by grazing flocks and removed by fuel collectors. This can only be done by effective fencing, as no orders can ever be enforced that will keep a shepherd with his flocks off an attractive bit of grazing; and, moreover, there are always the unattended camels to contend with. To see what can be accomplished by declaring a "forest" preserve one has only to look at a small fenced area south of Beersheba, where in three years a tract of sand dunes has become so thickly covered with small trees, scrub, and other growth, that it is almost impossible to see the surface of the soil. Possibly if large areas were fenced for ten years or so and then opened up the desert would have so established itself that the grazing animals could never get it back to its original barren state, but this is a question that is very much open to argument.

The preservation of the existing scrub bushes and the provision of others is, however, a very vital matter, partly because it is in the slight shade cast by these growths that the green grasses and herbs grow on which animals feed and fatten, but more particularly because it is these bushes that bind the soil together and prevent the desiccation of the deserts that is advancing so rapidly. Over-grazing by camels and goats causes denudation to a very large extent, but a still greater evil is the removal of scrub for firewood, which has assumed vast proportions largely due to the betterment of public security. A few years ago it was not safe for a villager to go into the desert for his firewood, as the chances were he would lose his camel and possibly his life. Now, owing to efficient policing, the townsfolk go out some forty or fifty miles to well-wooded areas and remove the bushes and trees in the most methodical manner. The charcoal burning business, instead of being a haphazard affair, carried out by the nomad when he was actually driven by hunger to earn a few piastres, is now being organized on a large scale by the more up-to-date merchant from the towns, and the absolute denudation of all growth from the vicinity of towns and villages is the result. Glaring instances of this are to be found at El Arish in Sinai and Maan in Trans-Jordan, both of which towns are surrounded by ten miles of the most barren and hopeless desert, and, in the case of El Arish, not only is the country absolutely devoid of all grazing, but the increase of drift sand is such that vast areas of possible cultivable land are now covered with embryo dunes. This denudation of the desert by villagers and profit-seeking charcoal merchants is one that should be dealt with by effective legislation before it is too late, for, besides the two ill-effects already mentioned—lack of small grazing plants and general desiccation—the removal of all growth undoubtedly has an effect on the rainfall.

In my opinion anything that is done in the nature of irrigation or water storage for the improvement of the lot of the Beduin should be done on a very small scale to start with. If the gardens provided are of the inexpensive type I have mentioned, they are quite sufficient to make the difference between semi-starvation and a bare sufficiency for a family of five, and this is all and more than the Beduin expects. Moreover, a big scheme involving big masonry dams, high-powered pumping plant, etc., would savour so much of Government interference, intensive cultivation, an eight-hour day, and all the other trammels of civilization, loathed by the Beduin, that he would in all probability trek off into the harshest part of the desert to avoid it. The Govern-

ment, having expended some tens of thousands of pounds, would of necessity have to settle somebody on the reclaimed land to justify the expenditure, and they would find no difficulty in doing this from the surplus inhabitants in the villages, but this would not be helping the nomad Beduin. It would, in fact, merely store up trouble for the future, as the Arab when the time was ripe would return and put in a claim for the lands he had lost through his own fault.

There is nothing very ambitious in the foregoing suggestions, for the simple reason that one must bear in mind the peculiar mentality of the individual one wishes to help, and big schemes for land settlement would merely defeat themselves. Critics may well say that one might expect a trifle more concrete and far-reaching plan of campaign from a man who has spent eighteen years in the desert among the Beduin Arabs, but it is precisely because I have been in close touch with these peculiar people for so long that I realise the absolute futility of trying to run before one has learned to walk. The only way to save the Beduin from extinction is to slowly wean him from his present haphazard nomad existence and gradually settle him on his own land, which is quite sufficient to support him if the best is made of it; but the task as I have said before is a most difficult and heart-breaking one.

NOTES FROM A PAPER ON THE PRESENT CONDITIONS IN THE HAURAN

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

I. HAURAN: THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS

1. *Area, Administrative Division and Population.* Hauran, or the post-war administrative unit bearing that name, stretches over an area of some 400,000 hectares (hectare=2·471 acres), including not only Hauran proper, but also Julan and Bashan, and constitutes a separate province of the Syrian Republic. The province of Hauran stretches from the Damascus plain southwards to the Yarmuk gorge and to the Ajlun. The western boundary runs from the base of the Hermon southwards to the Huleh marshes; thence along the Jordan and the Lake of Tiberias to the mouth of the Yarmuk. The eastern boundary is Jebel Druze. The political boundaries with Palestine and Trans-jordan were fixed by the Treaties of Paris (1920 and 1931) and of Jerusalem (1926). The administrative centre of the province is Der'a, which is the residence of the District Governor, who is directly responsible to the Ministry of the Interior in Damascus. Second in importance is Izra', centre of a smaller administrative unit and residence of the local official, the Qaimmaqam, subordinate to the District Governor at Der'a. Hauran is divided into seven districts, each administered by a Mudir and connected with one of the three provincial centres, Der'a Izra' or el-Zawiye (Fik).

Six localities in Hauran have been granted the status of municipalities: Der'a, Izra', Qa'baqeb, Nawa, el-Zawiye, Bosra-Eskisham.

The number of inhabitants in the Hauran cannot be accurately estimated. The results of the Census of 1931 have not yet been fully published. In the same year, in connection with the elections to the Syrian Parliament, the population of Hauran was estimated by the Central Government at 68,136. Local officials, however, admit that the figure is too low and that it totals at least 100,000.*

* The annual report of the French Government to the League of Nations on the administration of Syria and Lebanon for the year 1934 brings the number of 34,215 in regard to the population of Hauran.

The population of Hauran is scattered over 135 villages and small towns. The following table indicates the size of the settlements (according to the official estimate mentioned above):

<i>Number of Inhabitants.</i>	<i>Number of Settlements.</i>
up to 250	55
250 to 500	37
500 to 750	18
750 to 1,000	6
1,000 to 2,000	16
2,000 and over	4

Der'a, with 7,035 inhabitants, is the most populous city of Hauran and its capital, having superseded the former capitals Sheikh Sa'd and Sheikh Miskin.

2. *Geological Structure, Water Resources, and Climate.* The soil of Hauran consists of soft decomposed lava and is very rich in phosphates, valuable for agriculture. The region of El Leja (the "refuge") is a "lava sea" spread around extinct craters, which has been riven into deep chasms, conical peaks, and confused masses of rock. Excluding the Leja, Hauran is a vast expanse which lies at an average of 2,000 feet above sea-level, with a gentle slope southwards. Its surface, partly flat and partly undulating, is marked by volcanic mounds and basalt outcrops variously disposed, in some parts fairly frequent and in others few and far between. In general, the treeless plain is furrowed by widely separated wadis, which, however, are more frequent in Julan.

There is very little flowing water. Rivers are few, and those which do exist are for the most part dry in the summer-time even in ordinary years; during a period of drought they are invisible in the winter also. Almost all fall into the Yarmuk, which flows along the boundary-line of Hauran, Transjordan, and Palestine.

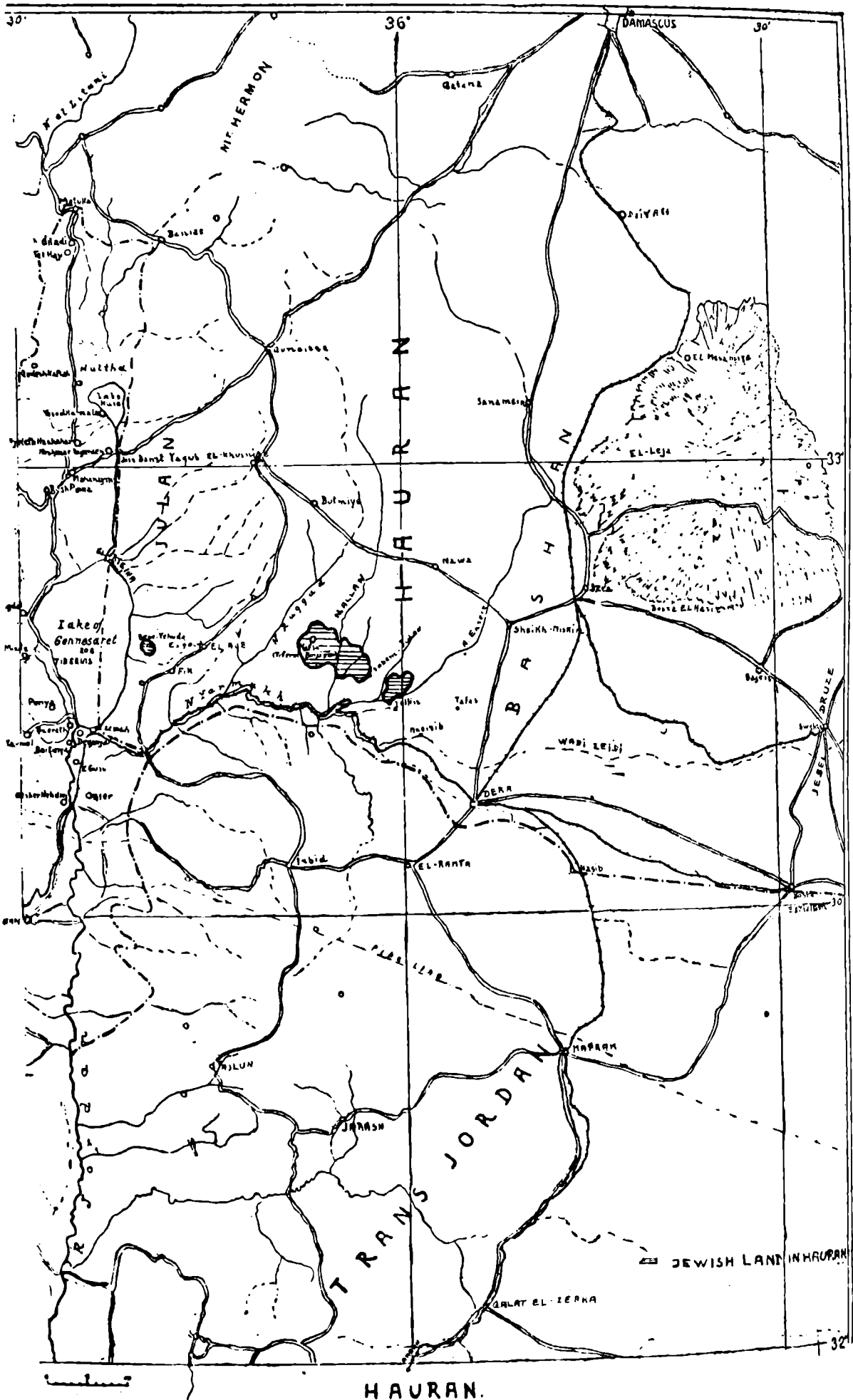
The following are the most important rivers of Hauran:

(1) Nahr el-Ehreir, rising in the Hermon and flowing southwards to the Yarmuk.

(2) Nahr el-Allan, flowing parallel to the Nahr el-Ehreir, but slightly westward, and also emptying into the Yarmuk.

(3) Nahr el-Ruqqad, rising in the Hermon, but for a long distance an unimportant watercourse. It flows into the Yarmuk.

(4) Nahr el-Zeidi, which has its source in the Jebel Druze and then crosses the Hauran on its way to the Yarmuk. This river is transformed



H A U R A N .

into a waterfall—Tel Shehab—several kilometres distant from the village of Mzeirib.

There are also several small lakes, the largest of which is Bije, in the neighbourhood of Mzeirib. The springs of the Jebel Druze are small and shallow, and, except Nahr el-Zeidi, supply only the interior. Moreover, the inhabitants of Jebel Druze are now attempting, by means of dykes, to stem the natural flow of the Nahr el-Zeidi to Hauran so that the entire supply may be kept for their own needs.

Water in Hauran is mostly found at a depth of 100 to 300 metres, and not infrequently not even at 300 metres. Digging is difficult because of the lava composition of the soil. Large rock-cut cisterns, vaulted reservoirs, and artificial pools—all ancient—are used for storing rain water and afford supplies throughout the year to many settlements which otherwise would be waterless.

Rainfall has been measured only since 1926. An annual amount of 200-250 mm. is commonly accepted as adequate for a normal harvest.

The climate of Hauran is considered very healthy. During spring and summer it is, in certain areas, subject to morning mists, the moisture from which is of great value; during the heat of the day it is swept by fresh breezes, and nights are cool. In winter the winds are cold and biting. During July and August, the hottest months of the year, the maximum temperature is about 104° F., and in January, the coldest month, frosts are common.

3. *Agriculture.* Even in ancient times Hauran enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most fertile regions of the Near East, and was known as the granary of Greater Syria. Extensive ruins of ancient cities found throughout the Hauran bear testimony to the past prosperity of the country. Historians of various periods (the Bible, Josephus, Strabo, etc.) describe the dense settlement in Hauran and its great fertility. Since the second Muhammedan conquest Hauran has undoubtedly entered upon one of the most difficult chapters in its history. The present decline is due in no small measure to the encroachment of the desert along the entire border-line between the Syrian desert and the settled areas of Syria, Transjordan, and 'Iraq. The incursion of the Beduin brought in its wake great economic and social deterioration, and flourishing agricultural centres were reduced to wilderness.

Under the Turkish régime the entire district was completely neglected, and scant attention was paid either to the peasant or to the needs of agriculture in general. For generations the Haurani fellah was

mercilessly exploited on all sides, by the Government, the landlords, the Beduins and the Pashas residing in Damascus, Lebanon, Jebel Druze or Palestine. Continual persecution and extortion reduced him to a spineless creature, lacking all self-respect and completely dependent on his master. He lost all interest in his plot of land and worked only to secure the most meagre subsistence for himself. Why work harder if the product of his labour would only fall into the hands of the raiding Beduin or the rapacious officials? Every year the fellah sank into ever deeper distress, and the soil deteriorated with him. The history of Hauran is typical of the decline of the Middle East under Turkish rule, especially in the districts bordering on the desert.

Of the total area of 400,000 hectares, 300,000 are arable. Of the arable land fully one-third is not cultivated at all and lies entirely abandoned and desolate. But, in fact, only 50,000 to 70,000 hectares are actually brought under the plough each year; the remaining land lies fallow and "rests" in accordance with the native principle of self-fertilization. The chief crops of Hauran are wheat, barley, maize, dhura, lentils, and beans, the quality of the first-mentioned being famed throughout Syria and even in Europe, to which a large quantity is exported in good years. The following table shows the annual yield of the 50,000 to 70,000 hectares which are cultivated:

		<i>Tons</i>		<i>Tons</i>
<i>Grain.</i>		<i>In average year.</i>		<i>In less than average year.</i>
Wheat	...	40,000 to 45,000		15,000 to 20,000
Barley	...	18,000 to 20,000		3,000 to 5,000
Oats	...	10,000 to 12,000		1,000 to 2,000

(Official figures.)

In years of drought the annual yield sinks to an alarmingly low level. About 5,000 to 6,000 hectares are irrigated. The irrigated district lies along the Yarmuk, in the neighbourhood of Mzeirib, which is watered by the Tel-Shehab falls and by the springs in the vicinity of the Hermon. All varieties of vegetables, grapes, and fruit trees (apples, pears, and peaches) are successfully grown in this area. Up to the present the Haurani fellah has exploited the natural water resources to a very limited extent. Instead of a blessing they were a curse and brought him only persistent fevers. Because of the lack of a modern system of irrigation, many opportunities are neglected for introducing new crops in those districts close to a supply of water and for raising

the standard of agriculture and the conditions of life of the fellah in Hauran proper.

The accepted system of cultivation is the "dry system." Each holding is divided into three strips, one for winter crops, one for summer, and one lies fallow. The order is changed every year. It may be noted that the fellah rotates the crops only on his private land. The land he leases is cultivated haphazardly and unsystematically, to the obvious detriment of the soil. An exception must be made for the northern part of Julan, where twenty-two colonies of Circassians have increased the productiveness of that region by reclaiming tracts of the basalt-strewn waste. The whole of Julan is famed for its rich pasture and livestock, but agriculture, which is chiefly confined to the southern part, is not progressive.

Fertilizers and agricultural machinery are almost unknown in Hauran. The fellah burns manure in the winter in place of coal or wood, which are exceedingly rare and costly. In Tafas, however, the writer found the people using wood in the common village stove for baking bread, which is not the case in many other places which the writer visited, where manure is used for all purposes. The residents of Tafas obtain wood for their needs by despoiling the remains of a eucalyptus forest near the neighbouring village Jellin, which was planted about forty years ago by the Jews who attempted to settle on these lands, which are now owned by the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association.

In view of the scarcity of water and natural pasture, except in Julan, sheep and cattle raising play but a small part in the local economy. Recurring drought and the poverty and lack of initiative of the fellah have effectively prevented the development of livestock farming.

The following table illustrates the ups and downs of the Haurani livestock market from 1928 to 1932 :

<i>Animals.</i>	<i>Average Year.</i>		<i>Less than Average Year.</i>	
	<i>Year.</i>	<i>No. of Heads.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>No. of Heads.</i>
Cows and oxen ...	1930	42,000	1932	36,900
Horses ...	1930	5,000	1928	3,800
Sheep ...	1932	125,263	1929	110,530
Goats ...	1931	104,000	1929	77,300
Camels ...	1930	6,600	1931	5,400
Buffaloes ...	1928	1,800	1932	500

(Official figures.)

The Government has not yet published details on conditions during the two years of drought. It is estimated that some 75 per cent. of the livestock perished.

By far the greater part of the land is owned by the fellaheen, about 80 to 85 per cent., and the rest by landlords. Land tenure is for the most part "Moulk." "Miri" lands are to be found chiefly in Julan, where "Giftlik" lands are almost unknown. In many districts, especially on the leased land, the "Mush'a" (common holdings) system prevails. Most of the peasant holdings are small; generally not over one-half or three-quarters of a "Rub'a" (consisting of 120 old dunam) for a family of five to seven persons. Upon the death of the father the land is divided among the heirs, and as a family grows the subdivision becomes ever smaller until the individual holdings are almost minute. This breaking up of large holdings into insignificant strips is a contributing cause to the decline of agriculture in Hauran, and is an inducement to emigration even in normal years. The poverty of the Haurani fellah and the utter lack of agrarian credits combine in making him, in periods of general distress and hardship, an easy prey for large landowners who wish to extend their possessions at the expense of the poor. For the present, however, the danger of such expropriation is not very serious, as the landowners themselves are up to the neck in debt owing to the system of extensive cultivation and to the meagre harvests of the last few years.

About a quarter of the population is landless. The landless fellaheen lease holdings or hire themselves out as agricultural labourers. The accepted form of lease is the "Mroub'a" (quarter)—*i.e.*, one-fourth of the yield belongs to the landlord and three-quarters to the tenant. If the tenant does not cultivate the plot himself but hires labour in his turn, the workman receives one-fourth of the three-quarters' yield which is due to his master, besides food and lodging. The hired man performs all the work in both house and field, and must bind himself in service for not less than a year. It may be noted that conditions of hired labour are somewhat different in the neighbouring Jebel Druze. In Jebel Druze the workman does not eat in the house of the farmer, but receives stipulated yearly rations, in most cases as follows: 27 rotl wheat (a rotl is roughly 6 lbs.), 140 rotl dhura, 2 rotl oil, 3 rotl onions. At harvest time he receives 2 rotl farina. The workman is obliged to do field labour only and all other services must be paid for separately. Many Christian fellaheen in Hauran employ workmen according to the Jebel Druze custom.

The same splitting up of holdings, so marked among the fellaheen, is to be noticed in the large estates also. The great original estate of the El Hariri family has been divided among a large number of descendants, and the units have been reduced to small plots. Another typical example of the results of such a process is to be found in the village of Tel Shehab, where the founder of the El Hashish family originally owned about 5,000 dunams, but the property was so divided and subdivided among the various heirs and their descendants that the largest plot now totals about 250 dunams.

4. *Craftsmanship, Trade, Commerce, and Communications.* More than 90 per cent. of the population of Hauran is engaged in agriculture, and only some 10 per cent. in crafts or trade. There is practically no industry, and the only handicrafts are basket weaving, cheap rugs, and sacks for saddles (in the Christian villages). The principal markets are in Der'a, Bosra-Eskisham, and Nawa. The merchant generally comes to the market in person and buys the fellah's produce on the spot. Most of the merchants are from Damascus, the central and most important market for Haurani produce. Trade with Hauran is one of the most important branches of the economic life of Damascus, and in normal years is one of the most profitable. Trade relations with Hauran are, to be sure, based on the merciless exploitation of the fellah. The merchant is also a moneylender and charges from 50 to 200 per cent. interest for petty sums. At harvest he buys the fellah's produce at his own price and, needless to say, realizes a further handsome profit. The fellah seldom receives actual cash for his crops, which he generally surrenders in payment of debts or of interest, and is fortunate if "his merchant" provides him with the bare necessities of life. Even in fat years the fellah is unable to save something for next year's sowing, and in years of drought he is brought face to face with dire poverty, misery, and utter subjection to the city merchant. It is not surprising that under such conditions the hungry and wretched fellah should see no alternative but emigration and the only hope of salvation in fleeing his home for more fortunate countries.

It has already been mentioned that the merchants from Damascus control the trade of Hauran. Even the few shopkeepers of Der'a, Nawa, and Bosra-Eskisham are for the most part Damascans, although some of them are Armenians who came to the Hauran after the war. In normal times wandering peddlars visited the villages, but the last two years of drought have driven them almost altogether out of existence, due to the decrease of the purchasing power of the population.

Several years ago the Bank of Algiers, which functions in the French Mandated Territories, made an attempt to extend its operations to Hauran. The bank announced its willingness to grant loans to the farmers at 5 per cent. interest, provided their repayment was guaranteed by the Government and by the title-deeds of the applicants. In practice, only the owners of large estates benefited from the low interest, since the Government did not guarantee the loans to the small proprietors. The Bank of Algiers plays no perceptible part in the economic life of Hauran. The Syrian Government Bank does not have even one branch in Hauran and does not function at all in that province.

Communication with the outside world is carried on by means of the Hejaz Railway, which passes through Hauran, and by automobile. The Hejaz Railway, which now travels only as far as Ma'an in Transjordan, has lost most of its importance since connections were broken off between Damascus and El Medina. Before the war the railway, which brought thousands of pilgrims to the Holy Cities of Hejaz and goods from Syria to Arabia, was an important source of income to Hauran. Since the war this source of income has dwindled away altogether, and the loss of connections between Syria and Hejaz gave an added economic blow to both Hejaz and Syria. The railway passes three times a day between Der'a and Damascus, three times a week between Der'a and Bosra-Eskisham, and three times a week between Der'a, Haifa, and Amman. Six small automobiles, old Fords, and two large autobuses travel on the Der'a-Damascus route. Roads in Hauran are not bad in the summer-time, but in winter are often impassable. Even the Der'a-Damascus route is not paved throughout, while paved roads in the interior are practically non-existent. The Government is now building a new road between Der'a and Damascus which will be opened up to traffic during the coming year.

5. *Social Conditions.* Socially and economically the province of Hauran stands on a lower level than any other part of Syria. The causes of the decline have already been indicated. The fertile plains of Hauran, stretching along the important highways of the East and devoid of any natural defences (except the rocky district of the Leja), have attracted the invader of all periods. Time after time the unprotected fellah has been conquered and despoiled, until oppression was as familiar to him as the air he breathed and cringing had become part of his very soul. Only in his family was the Haurani a free man, and his freedom was used to vent his accumulated anger and despair in reckless abuse of wife and child. Small wonder, then, that the term

“Haurana” has become a byword in Syria, a synonym for cowardice and general worthlessness, especially among the hardy Druze, whose steep mountain-sides proved an effective barrier to all invaders. The outstanding trait of the Haurani fellah is laziness. Even now under the new conditions prevailing in Syria, when he enjoys protection against raids from the desert, he does not work more than is necessary for a bare existence. If in addition he succeeds in paying off a small part of his debts to the merchant he has realized the height of his desires.

The Haurani not infrequently does only the ploughing, while all the other labour in the field as well as in the house is left to his wife. For his family he cares very little. His great indulgence is smoking, and not infrequently he will sacrifice even the barest necessities of life, his family's as well as his own, in order to satisfy his craving for a cigarette. As soon as the Haurani has obtained a morsel of bread with which to satisfy his hunger, he will abandon all work without the slightest care for the morrow. His greatest pleasure is to spend endless hours in the common guest-hall of the village, drinking coffee, if there is any, and listening to gossip on any subject whatsoever.

The Haurani wife is a most miserable creature and her lot is often little better than that of a field animal. Most of the labour and practically all the worries of the household are heaped on her shoulders. The husband cares but little either for her or for the children and beats her mercilessly upon the slightest provocation. The accepted attitude towards a wife is that she was bought in order to work and to make her husband's life as easy as possible. The price of a bride in the Hauran is from 80 to 100 Turkish pounds (gold). It is, of course, no easy matter for the Haurani to secure such a sum and the “exchange system” is very widely practised. “A” gives to “B” “A's” sister as a wife and receives “B's” sister in return. Poverty has compelled monogamy and only the wealthy sheikhs can afford the luxury of two to three wives.

It is difficult to ascertain the yearly budget of the Haurani family. There are no statistics, and information must be gathered first-hand in the course of conversations with the fellaheen themselves. It appears that in normal years the annual expenditure of a family of four is as follows: 20-25 Syrian pounds (£5-6) for food and 5-6 Syrian pounds (£1 10s.) for clothing (it may be mentioned that just the interest on the fellah's debt generally amounts to more than the entire amount spent on food or clothing). In normal years the fellah's diet consists princi-

pally of bread and kernels of wheat. A minority, who own sheep and cattle, taste milk and semna (boiled sheep butter). A very small percentage, who live near the sources of water, eat vegetables, fruit, and grapes. Different conditions, much more comfortable and normal, prevail in the Circassian villages situated in Julan. The Circassians have retained their ancient language, habits, and traditions and live apart from the Arab majority. Their standard of living is much higher and their system of cultivation much more advanced and developed. The Circassian is in general quite distinct from his Arab neighbour and lives in a world apart.

Under these conditions the hospitality of the Haurani, a virtue which he shares with all Oriental people, is all the more noteworthy. At harvest a share of the yield is set aside for guests and stored in the common guest-hall. This food is on no account touched by any but guests.

Medical service in Hauran is limited to one hospital in Der'a and a dispensary in Izra'. There are no private doctors and the single dentist resides in Der'a.

In Hauran natural selection weeds out the weaker and only the fittest survive. Infant mortality is very high, and children who manage to reach maturity are practically inured to want and hardship.

6. *Religion and Communities.* Although Islam is the dominant religion in Hauran, about 15 per cent. of the population profess Christianity. The Muhammedans belong to a single sect, the Sunnites, while the Christians are split up into three denominations: Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, and Protestants, of which the strongest numerically is the Greek Orthodox. There are neither Druzes nor Maronites in Hauran. The Christians are scattered through the province and live in the midst of the Moslem majority. In some twenty villages they number from two to three families to half of the entire community. There are, however, four exclusively Christian villages: Tissiya (number 370 souls, the majority of whom are Greek Orthodox with a sprinkling of Protestants), Khabab (1,012 souls, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic), Jibbine (217 souls, all Greek Orthodox), Rahem (477, all Greek Orthodox).

The rise of Protestantism during the last few years is due to the post-war activity of the Protestant missionaries, most of whom are Americans; the first Protestant, incidentally, appeared in Hauran some forty-five years ago, when the general Christian population had already been settled in the province for generations. The gains of the Protestants

have been made at the expense of the Greek Orthodox. In pre-war years the Greek Orthodox Church had received powerful support from the Russian Empire, which was given for both sentimental and political reasons, and with the elimination of this prop was deprived of most of its influence as well as of its material resources. The Moslem population, which for generations has been professing the faith recognized as official and protected by the authorities, is almost entirely out of the sphere of Christian influence. The Greek Orthodox fellah, on the other hand, ignorant of theological niceties and entirely intent upon his personal interest, has responded more readily to Protestant persuasion. The fact that the Protestant missionaries do not levy Church dues, but on the contrary distribute presents when visiting, has enhanced their popularity and facilitated their activity. They have exercised, however, almost no influence on the Greek Catholics, who are under the tutelage of the pro-French clergy.

The Protestant missionaries are greatly hampered in their activity not only by the local Moslem authorities but also, and sometimes chiefly, by the French. It may be noted, incidentally, that there is not one local Christian official in all of the Hauran. The Mandatory of Syria regards all Protestants, and especially those who are not of French nationality, as an undesirable element from the point of view of French interests. The Catholic Church has been an effective instrument for the furtherance of French political ambitions in the Near East. Anticlericalism in France notwithstanding, the Catholic Church has received unwavering official support and encouragement abroad, including the Mandatory territories of Syria and the Lebanon.

The Haurani in general is very little given to religious speculations and believes less in God than in evil spirits. By fear of the latter he is as a matter of fact completely dominated and is given to all sorts of superstitions. There are few villages which have prayer houses or even places which might be used for public worship. The Haurani is entirely ignorant of and indifferent to anything that partakes of formal religion. He never occupies his head with such matters, nor has he ever been particularly fanatic. Although a feeling of unlikeness and even occasionally of tension between Moslem and Christian cannot be denied, conditions are much more normal in Hauran than anywhere else in Syria. At the time of the Druze revolt in 1925 the Christian Uklah el Kutaimi headed the Haurani rebels and later played an important part in the uprising. The absence of perceptible religious friction may be explained by the fact that Moslem and Christian fellaheen

are equally miserable and that there is no room for economic competition or envy. The great landowners are without exception Moslems.

7. *Beduin Tribes.* Hauran has always been open to inroads of the Beduin from the Syrian desert. In the summer-time, when pastures fail and the rain water which has collected in the cracks of the desert rocks has dried up, many important tribes are wont to camp in the neighbourhood of the villages and the wells. But apart from these seasonal visitors there exist tribes which confine their wanderings within the territory of Hauran proper and do not leave the province at any time. These, unlike the pure Beduin, do not derive their livelihood only from camel and sheep raising, but also engage in agriculture, although the grain they grow is exclusively for their own use.

The sweeping changes which have taken place in the Syrian desert since the World War have undermined the age-old social and economic structure of Beduin life, and have created new and pressing problems which must be dealt with in the light of the altered conditions and environment. With the rise of new States in the Near East, each intent upon creating a strong centralized government, the barrier between desert and town has broken down and the Beduin is deprived of a great deal of his autonomy as well as of ancient privileges still enjoyed under the Turks. The Syrian desert, once a unified tract where the Beduin could wander at will, has been divided into separate national territories, each governed by a different power. The development of automobile traffic and the growing network of roads in the Near East have reduced the value of the camel and horse as means of transportation and have deprived the Beduin of his chief source of livelihood. As further evidences of the new order may be added abrogation of the right to levy tribute from caravans and pilgrims on the way to the Holy Cities of Hejaz, abolition of the "Khawa," or special tax which the stronger tribes imposed upon the weaker and upon the rural settlements in return for "protection," and, finally, the ban on raids, in which the Beduin was wont to indulge not so much out of love of battle as from sheer economic necessity, especially in periods of drought.

Up to the present remnants of the old tribal law, according to which the affairs of the Beduins were administered in pre-war years, persist in the legal code of Beduin districts in Syria, and especially of Hauran. But these remnants are steadily diminishing, and in all important cases judgment is rendered according to the general law. In lesser suits, however, both the Government officials and the judges adapt their rulings to the traditional law of the desert.

All these factors contributed in plunging the Beduin into a state of hopeless confusion and chaos. The evolution of a society from a nomadic to an agricultural stage is a highly arduous and complex process and must by no means be classed as a purely mechanical act. Not only vast material resources but far-reaching psychological preparations—such as, for example, eradication of a feeling of contempt for the tillers of the soil—are necessary in order to arrest the course of anarchic dissolution and to effect a more or less orderly transition from the migratory to a more settled form of existence.

Even before the war certain tribes, especially those camping permanently in the neighbourhood of villages, had begun to engaged in agriculture. The process was continued in the post-war period to an increasing extent, but the transition was neither organized nor broad enough in scope, since the Government lacked the means necessary for effecting large-scale settlement of Beduins on the soil. Many Beduins, driven by hunger and suffering, leave the desert and flock to the towns, where they lower wages and depress still further the city worker's standard of living. The villages of Syria, especially of Hauran, are too poor to absorb the Beduins as farm hands. Many Beduins seek their sustenance outside the desert, but the majority cling to the old ways, in spite of hardships, and wait for better days and the restoration of their erstwhile power and glory.

Under such conditions only force of arms keeps the hungry and embittered nomads in check and preserves peace in the desert. But woe betide the rural communities when the Beduin sees the hour fit for revenge. Although he is for the present subdued, his presence hangs like a cloud over the farms and is a continual source of danger, especially to the villages bordering the desert.

8. *Political Conditions.* The rôle played by Hauran on the political stage of Syria has been a drab and insignificant one. Generations of oppression have hardened the Haurani to the yoke and have accustomed him to suffer foreign domination without resistance. Unlike his neighbour, the Druzes, he does not revolt against tyranny, but maintains an attitude of passive loyalty to whatever powers that be. During the Turkish régime the Haurani rendered blind obedience either to the Pasha, if he lived in town, or, if in a village bordering the desert, to the Beduin Sheikh.

At present he is a peaceful citizen of the Syrian Government and of the Mandatory. But in times of stress and conflict he invariably throws in his lot with the stronger. During the revolt of 1925, when the

French were temporarily forced to abandon large stretches of Syria, particularly in Hauran, the Hauranis did not hesitate to join the rebels wherever they invaded the province. But they were the ones who first gave up the fight and implored the authorities for mercy. This attitude of submission to the powerful is characteristic not only of the simple fellah but also of the more political-minded leaders, including the influential Ismael el-Turk el Hariri. It may be noted that in those parts of Hauran where the rebels failed to penetrate, the chiefs and other prominent personalities gave full support to the French. Fares and Muhammed el Zohbi particularly distinguished themselves in this respect.

The three Hauran members of the Syrian Parliament were returned with the support of the authorities and joined the moderate group, headed by the President of the Parliament, Soubhi Bey Barakat. Although the Haurani members subsequently followed Soubhi Bey Barakat when for various reasons he switched from a moderate pro-French policy to stout support of the National Bloc, and also signed the "Mazbatah" (public petition) against the French-Syrian pact proposed by the High Commissioner, the ardour of their nationalism was short-lived. No sooner did they leave Damascus and return home than their enthusiasm flickered down to ashes. No attempt was made to stir the population to resist the Government project, although in other parts of Syria, both town and village, the nationalist leaders persistently urged the masses to active opposition and protest.

Some years ago, upon the support of Haurani Government officials, a project was evolved for establishing Hauran as an autonomous province similar to Jebel Druze and Alouites. This plan had at the time considerable French sympathy.

The project came to nothing, for just at this time a sharp attack was directed against the French and against the three autonomous provinces of their creation, Jebel Druze, Alouites, and the Sandjak of Alexandretta. But whereas in these provinces there existed some logical basis for autonomy, in Jebel Druze and Alouites differences of religion among the inhabitants and in Alexandretta the factor of language (two-thirds of the population speak Turkish), in Hauran, where Arabic is the language of the masses and the Sunnis (the most popular denomination in Syria) the dominant religious sect, there appeared no justification for proceeding with a venture so much criticized as autonomy. And the entire plan, deprived of French support, disappeared as abruptly as it had arisen.

Less than a third of the Government officials in Hauran are natives of the province; the remaining are Syrians, more especially Damascans. The Hauranis occupy the minor posts, and the Secretary of the Court of Justice in Der'a is the highest native official. A native of Hauran, Awad Bey el Amir, who received his education in France, entered the civil service of the Central Government in Damascus and is the pride of the province.

Many Hauranis voiced the complaint that the almost direct French administration in Jebel Druze after the revolt of 1925 is more alive to the interests of the native population than the Syrian Arab officials to the interests of Hauran. In the course of private conversations the following opinion was freely advanced by many Hauranis: "We would gladly renounce the Arab official from Damascus and submit to the severity of a Frenchman who would possibly take better care of our interests, as is the case in Jebel Druze." This feeling of dissatisfaction is general, especially in districts bordering on Jebel Druze, where the inhabitants have the opportunity of informing themselves about what is going on in the neighbouring province.

II. EMIGRATION FROM HAURAN: CAUSES, PROBLEMS, AND CONCLUSIONS

1. *Drought.* Periods of drought are by no means uncommon in the Hauran and have always been considered the greatest scourge of the country. Small wonder, when one recalls that almost the entire water supply is dependent upon rainfall, which fills not only the cisterns but the streams. Extensive farming and limitation of crops to cereals, which depend on rain for a bountiful harvest, lay the province still further at the mercy of the heavens.

The last period of drought, the most severe since the war, reached catastrophic proportions in 1932-34, although, in fact, it had begun several years earlier. The amount of rain during the last two years not only fell below the accepted Hauran minimum for agriculture (about 200 mm.), but came too late and in the wrong proportions. The little rain that fell was concentrated in the north-western part of Hauran; other places enjoyed hardly half that amount, and in some sections there was scarcely any rain at all.

The effects of the drought were soon evident. Not only was there no hope of a harvest, but the few sources of fresh water soon dried up, and the cisterns in which the villagers collect rain water with which to

quench the thirst of man and beast remained almost completely empty. These cisterns in the majority of villages form the only supply of water for human beings and cattle. At the railway station in Ghazme the writer witnessed a sight only too typical of prevailing conditions in Hauran. As soon as the train drew into the station it was surrounded by a crowd of women and children shouting, "Water, water," and begging the driver for the water from the engine with which to quench their thirst. In the village Magharbe thirst impelled the inhabitants to walk six hours to the nearest source of water in order to relieve their suffering. In Kheil the writer saw people drinking filthy water drawn from a cistern which was almost completely dry.

Although the Government sent trains with water twice a week for the villages along the railway line, this supply was quite inadequate. It may be noted that the water was not given free of charge, but was sold to the villages at the rate of 3 Syrian pounds (750 Palestinian mils) for every 15 tons, to be paid in the following year if the harvest was successful. The Government also attempted another relief measure in so far as drinking water was concerned—viz., drilling wells. This project, however, was only moderately successful, since budget difficulties precluded drilling at the great depth necessary in some villages. A Frenchman, M. Albert Jerau, and an American, Mr. M. A. Hopkins, hold a contract with the Syrian Government for drilling wells in twenty villages where the water shortage is most acute. The Government pays for the drilling, but the upkeep of the pumping engines is at the expense of the villages. In many villages no water was found even at a great depth, and the work was discontinued owing to lack of means. On the other hand, in the village Saida the writer observed that the people did not avail themselves of the well dug for them, since they could not afford to engage a mechanic or to purchase petroleum for the engine. The writer was informed that similar conditions prevailed in other villages, which were unable to meet the expense of maintaining the wells.

2. *Famine.* Not all Hauran suffered equally from the great drought of 1932-34, although agriculture was hard hit through the entire province. In the more fortunate regions—*i.e.*, the western part of the Izra' district, in Nawa and its environs—this year's harvest reached only 25 per cent. of the average yield. In the second region, which includes part of the Izra' district, Sanamein, Sheikh Miskin, Ghabagheb and environs, and a considerable part of the Der'a district, Ibt'a, Dael, Rahem, and environs, the harvest was even poorer. However,

in both these regions there was something left in the granary for at least the most urgent needs of the population.

In the third region, which includes about 40 to 50 per cent. of Hauran, there was no harvest at all, the seeds having failed even to take root. The villages—Naime, Saida, Kheil, Sahwe, Magharbe, Jumarin, Sammad, Semakh, Tissiya, Mutiye, and many others—remained literally without bread. But famine was stalked by yet another misery. Not only did the fields remain bare, but a large part of the livestock perished from lack of water and pasture, and the poor fellah who in time of distress could fall back upon his goat, sheep, or cow found that this mainstay, too, had failed him.

The fellah who did not wait for death to overtake his animals, but hurried to sell them in the city markets, received such low prices that the proceeds afforded him only short-lived relief. The following figures (for Syria—those for Hauran being still lower) indicate the great decline in prices of livestock. A horse of pure blood which formerly cost 200 to 250 Turkish gold pounds now brings only 10 Syrian pounds (LP. 2½); an ordinary horse, ten years ago 30 to 50 Turkish gold pounds, now brings 5 to 6 Syrian pounds (LP. 1.25 to 1.50); a camel, formerly 30 Turkish pounds, now 5 to 6 Syrian pounds; a sheep, formerly 3 to 5 Turkish pounds, is now 2 to 3 Syrian pounds (500 to 600 mils).

On the writer's visit to Hauran the greatest distress was evident throughout, and there was scarcely any difference between the places which were, so to speak, better off and those which had suffered most from the drought.

Each fellah owes on the average thirty Turkish gold pounds to the Damascus merchants. For two years he has not paid either principal or interest, nor has he received any fresh loans. Meanwhile the burden of debt is constantly increasing, and in the more prosperous years the fellah will have to pay all the accumulated interest for the bad years as well as for the good.

3. *Emigration.* No exact figures can be cited either as to the extent of the total emigration from Hauran or as to the total number of Hauranis who entered Palestine during the period April-November, 1934. Personal observations, however, corroborated by experts on conditions in Hauran, have enabled the writer to come to conclusions that may be regarded as fairly reliable. There is reason to assume that during the spring and summer of 1934 some twenty-five to thirty thousand people left Hauran, and that 90 per cent. of them emigrated to Palestine. Mass emigration started in April from the drought-stricken regions

when it became clear that all hope of a harvest had to be abandoned, and soon spread to other districts. In August-September, when the available food supply had been almost exhausted, emigration reached its height. The largest number of emigrants came from the Der'a and Bosra-Eskisham districts, where some villages were almost completely deserted. Approximately 10 per cent. of the emigrants turned to the Syrian cities, Damascus and Beirut. The present grave economic crisis in Syria and the labour glut, due to the constant influx of fellaheen from the rural districts to the towns, have deterred the Haurani from wandering to the interior of the country. On the other hand, reports of conditions in Palestine, the plentiful employment, the higher wages, and the general prosperity, proved irresistibly attractive, and the first immigrants were soon followed by those who had previously tried their luck in the various cities of Syria. Even in normal times there was a continual stream of emigration from Hauran, and in periods of drought, such as has occurred during the last two years, the exodus assumed mass proportions. It is not surprising that it should be so. Unemployment in Hauran has never been a subject of concern to the Government. The poverty of the few towns and the absence of public works or other building operations leave no alternative to the unemployed—even the seasonal unemployed—but emigration. Native Hauranis were familiar figures in the large towns of Syria and of Palestine in normal times as well, although their numbers never reached the present total. The existing situation must not, therefore, be regarded only as a result of the drought. The underlying causes go much deeper, and the problem of emigration from Hauran is neither new nor merely temporary.

At the beginning of October a number of Hauranis began to return from Palestine to their homes. Most went voluntarily, but there were also deportees. At the end of October it was estimated that about 30 per cent. had returned to Hauran. Most of them had managed to save about LP. 2 to 5 during their stay in Palestine (as the writer was informed by many Hauranis who had just returned to their homes), but a considerable number brought no money with them, either because they spent what they earned or because they did not stay long enough to save anything.

A merchant who possesses intimate knowledge of economic conditions in Hauran expressed the opinion that the emigration of the Hauranis to Palestine had had the effect of a safety-valve which saved Hauran from starvation and Syria from upheavals. Had the famished

Hauranis been forced to turn *en masse* to the Syrian cities, where poverty and labour-glut make absorption of new elements impossible, the result could only have been a general catastrophe.

The ease with which the Palestine frontier is crossed (which was revealed to the writer by many Hauranis who had made the crossing) may be considered an important factor in bringing about Haurani mass emigration to Palestine. The Haurani who knows every step along the Jordan-Yarmuk rivers has no difficulty in crossing to the western frontier, especially in summer, when the streams are shallow.

Under pressure of Jewish public opinion and the growing opposition of the Arabs themselves to Hauran immigration, which had begun to affect the local wage level adversely, the Government of Palestine began to make sporadic arrests of Hauranis, and some were deported. But the Hauranis themselves told the writer that only a small number of the immigrants were sent out of the country, and that the majority of the deportees returned either immediately or a little later. Those who went back to Hauran did so for the most part voluntarily, owing to the approach of the sowing season. It should be pointed out that even the fortunate Haurani who returns from Palestine with some savings will not be able to effect a substantial improvement of his lot, the more so since he almost never has a sufficient sum for sowing the entire land. In most cases one-half of the migrants represent the height of their hopes. Nor is any help to be expected from the Syrian Government that might substantially change the present position. In view of these facts the problem of emigration from Hauran to Palestine may be expected to persist even if there should be a rainy year. The volume of future emigration depends on other factors, and on the turn conditions may take in Hauran itself.

4. *Relief and Remedies.* Government relief to the drought-stricken areas in the Hauran consisted for the most part of emergency measures intended to alleviate the immediate suffering. Temporary palliatives include distribution of drinking water by the trains, free distribution of seeds (valued at 3,000 Syrian pounds—LP. 800) in the most severely stricken villages, exemption from the *werko* and tithes in those villages where the crop was below 75 per cent. of normal (it may be noted that the annual Government revenue from the Hauran normally amounts to 600,000 Syrian pounds—LP. 175,000—this year barely 10 per cent. of this sum was collected), and last, a private contribution from the President of the Syrian Republic of 20 Syrian pounds (LP. 5½)!

Other measures, such as drilling of wells, already discussed, and the

establishment of a small grain elevator in Izra' are more definitely constructive and far-sighted. The grain elevator project is being undertaken jointly by the Syrian Lebanon Bank and by the Hejaz Railway. At harvest time the fellah will be advanced loans at low interest against a part of his crop, while the facilities for storing will do away with the general fall of prices which occurs when the entire produce is thrown on the market at the same time.

But the largest piece of constructive work is the exploitation of the Tel Shehab falls. This project has been given considerable publicity in the Syrian press, and several newspapers have announced that work will begin soon. But this report was denied in the Department of Agriculture at Damascus (when the writer inquired as to its correctness), although it was stated that the project was under consideration.

The limited resources of water in Hauran and the unproductivity of the existing supply, which generally brings more malaria than blessing, have already been discussed.

As to the possibilities of extensive irrigation, especially in the Tel Shehab district, the writer wishes to quote the opinion of an engineer connected with Hauran who, in the course of a conversation, discussed this subject in great detail. He warned against exaggerating the importance of the Tel Shehab falls. The Syrian Government will not support any project which has no definite prospects of becoming self-supporting, and there were many factors which made the financial success of the Tel Shehab plan rather doubtful.

Many difficulties, natural and technical, stand in the way of utilizing the available water supply in the Hauran for an extensive system of irrigation. Streams are few, and those which do exist are quite shallow even in normal summers, while in periods of drought they are almost completely dry. The construction of reservoirs is difficult and in many places impossible because of the width of the valleys and the lava composition of the soil. Huge expense is involved, altogether beyond the financial means of Syria. The high degree of evaporation in the Hauran and the difficulty of constructing dams in the wide valleys are also factors which must be reckoned with. He expressed the opinion that there was no source of water, except the Tel Shehab falls, which could be utilized for systematic irrigation. And even the possibilities of the Tel Shehab project should be carefully considered so as to avoid exaggerations.

From the financial point of view, especially in so far as the Syrian Government is concerned, it is doubtful whether the investment is

worth while. The poverty of the Haurani fellah and the limited area which will be irrigated make it improbable that the project will pay its way. There are other places in Syria (the Valley of Orontes, the Jazirah) where greater areas and more cultivators will be benefited by an irrigation scheme. The Government of Syria will consider the Tel Shehab project very carefully before arriving at a definite conclusion, in spite of the distress in Hauran and the need of constructive aid.

But it must not be assumed that solution of the Haurani problem lies in the realization of the Tel Shehab scheme, as the local press would have us believe. The plan will no doubt bring benefits—and even great benefits—but within a limited and, in relation to all Hauran, an insignificant area, and the condition of the masses will remain substantially unchanged.

TREATY-MAKING IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By ARCHER CUST

DURING the recent months diplomacy has scored three notable successes in the Middle East. Two are developments which will have a profound effect on the future history of the Levant, and on the relations between the two great European democracies and the Arabic-speaking world. Great Britain has concluded the long-awaited Treaty with Egypt, and France and Syria have initialled an Agreement whereby the Syrian Mandate is replaced by an Alliance, closely modelled on the instrument which terminated the Mandatory régime in the neighbouring country of 'Iraq. Egypt and Syria may now look forward to entering the League of Nations as independent sovereign States. In addition, the troublesome issue of the Pilgrimage, that disturbed the relations between Egypt and Sa'udi-Arabia for a decade, has been finally disposed of in a Treaty of Friendship concluded between these two Powers last May.

Events also are moving towards closer accord between 'Iraq and Sa'udi-Arabia, which may perhaps prove an important step towards the ultimate goal of a Federation of all the States in the Arabian Peninsula.

These constructive measures, whereby Western Islam is putting its external relations in order, and drawing its component parts closer together, throw into sad relief the unhappy state of Palestine; and it cannot be doubted that the freeing of the Arabs of Syria from the tutelage of the Mandatory system will have deep effect on their southern cousins, particularly the inhabitants of the Mandated area of Trans-jordan.

A. *The Egyptian Treaty.*

The fundamental purpose of the Treaty with Egypt is the termination of the military occupation, which dates from Sir Garnet Wolseley's campaign in 1882. For her part, Egypt recognizes the vital interest to Great Britain of ensuring the liberty and entire security of navigation of the Suez Canal, the main artery of the Empire's communications, and accordingly grants to Great Britain the right to retain her troops in the Canal Zone up to a specified maximum and for a period of years, until such time as it is agreed that the Egyptian forces are able to

assume full responsibility for the defence of the Canal themselves. The Treaty provides for a close military Alliance between the two parties, whereby each Government will come to the aid of the other in the event of war, and Egypt will furnish all facilities to Great Britain in the event of any threatened international emergency. Each country also agrees not to conduct its foreign policy in a manner that is in any way inconsistent with the terms of the Treaty.

The Treaty itself is for a period of twenty years, though revision may be made any time after ten years. In any revision, however, the principle of the Alliance is to remain. At the end of this period the question whether the presence of the British forces in the Canal Zone is still necessary will be reviewed: and if agreement is not reached on the matter, reference will be made to the League or some other acceptable body for a decision.

The military provisions are naturally of the greatest general interest to this country. These are dealt with in Articles 7 and 8. Under Article 7, in the event of war or international emergency, Egypt will furnish all possible facilities and assistance, together with the use of ports, aerodromes and means of communication; and will also take all administrative and legal measures, including the establishment of martial law and an effective censorship, to render these facilities and assistance effective.

Article 8 gives the authority for the stationing of British troops in the Canal Zone, but stipulates that their presence shall not constitute in any manner an occupation, and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt. In a lengthy annex to this article details are given of the maximum number of the forces to be allowed, of the areas where they are to be stationed, the provision of their quarters, and the additional road and rail communications that the Egyptian Government is to construct. The strength of the land Forces shall not exceed 10,000, and of the Air Force 400 pilots, with the necessary ancillary personnel. They will be distributed as regards the land forces in Moascar, and by the Great Bitter Lake, and as regards the Air Force along the railway between Kantara and the Suez-Cairo-Ismailia junction to the south, with an extension to include the existing station of Abu Sueir. The Egyptian Government will be responsible for the provision of the necessary land, for the construction of all necessary accommodation and amenities, including a convalescent camp on the Mediterranean coast, at its own expense, less the sum spent in 1914 on new barracks in Cairo, and the cost of one-fourth of the barrack

and technical accommodation for the land forces under the present Treaty. The execution of these works shall be under the control of a committee, composed of an equal number of members representing each of the two Governments, and the proposals for plans and specifications put forward by His Majesty's Government shall be accepted provided they are reasonable. As to the improvements in communications, the roads from Ismailia to Alexandria and to Cairo via Tel-el-Kebir, from Port Said to Suez, and a link between the Great Bitter Lake and the Cairo-Suez road are to be widened to twenty feet, with bye-passes round villages, and will comply with prescribed specifications so as to be permanently utilisable for military purposes. Roads will also be constructed south of Cairo along the Nile to Kena and Kus, and thence to the Red Sea coast, from Kus to Kosseir and from Kena to Murghada. Railway facilities will be increased and improved in the Canal Zone to meet the requirements of a modern army; the line between Zagazig and Tanta will be doubled, and that from Alexandria westwards to Mersa Matruh improved and made permanent. All these improvements and additions to communications will be carried out at the cost of the Egyptian exchequer. Provision is also made for the use by His Majesty's Government of landing grounds and seaplane anchorages as may at any time be required, and for full port, etc., facilities for the supply of the British forces; furthermore, apart from a corridor 10 km. wide at Kantara, the Egyptian Government will prevent the passage of aircraft within 20 km. of the Suez Canal, except those belonging to the forces of the High Contracting parties, or to genuinely Egyptian air organizations or Imperial air organizations operating under the authority of the Egyptian Government.

As soon as the works to be undertaken by the Egyptian Government in the Canal Zone and on communications are sufficiently advanced, the British forces in Cairo will be withdrawn to their new stations. The British forces in Alexandria may be maintained for a period not exceeding eight years. Finally, so as to ensure the fullest military benefit from the Alliance now concluded, the Egyptian Government will avail themselves of the advice of a British Military Mission, the equipment and armament of the Egyptian forces will be the same as the British, and personnel of the Egyptian army will be sent to England for training.

The provisions for the stationing of British troops in the Canal Zone and for the Military Alliance may be said to dispose, "by free discussion and friendly accommodation," of two of the four points

reserved in the 1922 Declaration. That they will meet with strong criticism from the "die-hard" section of opinion on both sides is to be expected; but it cannot be doubted that they present a satisfactory compromise, whereby on the one hand Great Britain obtains a valued Ally and secures her communications to India and Australasia, while on the other Egypt obtains her full sovereignty, with the removal of what to her were irritating indignities, and also her security and protection from external aggression—matters which recent events in the Mediterranean had brought sharply to the fore.

The reserved point regarding the Sudan is dealt with in Article 11. Here again it may be conjectured that outside events were not without influence in creating the accommodating atmosphere that enabled what had hitherto been the most serious stumbling-block to be overcome. The question of the sovereignty of the Sudan is dealt with by a provision that nothing in the Treaty prejudices that issue, while the administration shall continue to be that resulting from the Condominium Agreements of 1899. Liberty is, however, reserved to conclude new Agreements in the future. Immigration from Egypt is reopened, and Egyptian officials and troops are readmitted—that is to say, the position virtually returns to what it was before the murder of the Sirdar in 1924. It is also provided in an Agreed Minute that all Sudan legislation will be notified direct to the Egyptian Prime Minister, and the Egyptian Government shall receive a copy of the Sudan Government's Annual Report. An Egyptian economic expert will be selected for service at Khartoum, and an Egyptian officer appointed to the post of Military Secretary to the Governor-General.

The remaining reserved point, that of the protection of the foreign communities, is dealt with in Articles 12-13. In Article 12, the responsibility for the protection of the foreign communities is devolved upon the Egyptian Government, and Article 13 provides for the progressive abolition of the Capitulatory régime, which, it is admitted, is no longer in accord with the spirit of the times. The British Government agrees to support the approaches that the Egyptian Government will make to the Capitulatory Powers for the above purpose, so that as a first step restrictions on the application of local legislation to foreigners may be removed, while the Egyptian Government pledges itself that no Egyptian legislation made applicable to foreigners will be inconsistent with modern principles of legislation, or be in any way discriminatory against foreigners, whether individuals or corporate bodies.

As the result of the new situation created by these two Articles, the Egyptian Government has notified its intention to abolish the European Bureau of the Public Security Department forthwith. It agrees, however, to retain for five years certain European elements in the city police, which for that period will remain under the command of British officers. One-fifth of the European police officers will be retired annually, to allow for their gradual substitution by Egyptians.

Finally, Great Britain will be represented in Cairo by an Ambassador, who will receive precedence over all other foreign representatives.

The Treaty must be viewed as a whole. It may be felt that certain British interests may be exposed to uncertainty, at least for a period: on the other hand, the firm basis on which the Military Alliance has been constructed meets, according to a reasonable interpretation, the legitimate needs of the Empire in its most vital area, while the relations of the two countries, from being clouded by suspicions and memories of past bitterness, are now placed on foundations that hold out every prospect of permanent friendship. Furthermore, on the part of the Egyptians, the negotiations have been conducted by a Delegation representative of every important group of political thought in their country, thus avoiding the factious opposition by which previous attempts to bring about what has now been accomplished were wrecked.

B. *The Syrian Treaty*

After numerous setbacks, the attempts of France to come to terms with her Mandated Territory of Syria have achieved success with the initialling of a Draft Treaty of Alliance and Friendship. The Treaty cannot receive formal signature until a General Election has been held in Syria, which will be a matter of some months.

The Treaty itself contains nine articles, and there is a separate military convention attached, as well as a number of protocols and annexes explanatory of the main Treaty. The Treaty throughout follows in the closest manner the Treaty concluded by this country with 'Iraq, under which the Mandate was terminated, and is for a period of 25 years. Syria is recognized as a fully autonomous State, and France will support her application for membership of the League of Nations. There are the usual provisions of mutual aid in the event of any aggression on Syrian territory, and of consultation in all matters affecting foreign policy. The Syrian Army is to consist of one division of infantry and

a brigade of cavalry, with the necessary auxiliaries, and will be trained and equipped by France.

The only matter of delicacy in the negotiations appears to have been the status of the Jebel Druze and of the Latakia district, which are inhabited by coherent minorities. In these two regions, it is agreed that some special form of administration similar to that now in force in the Sanjak of Alexandretta shall be set up, in accordance with the advice of the League of Nations, and France is authorized to maintain troops therein as a safeguard. In addition, France will have the right to the use of two aerodromes in Syrian territory, and will receive all facilities in the matters of rail and road communications, and the use of ports and anchorages.

France will be represented at Damascus by an Ambassador, who will receive precedence over all other foreign representatives.

C. The Treaty between Egypt and Sa'udi-Arabia.

By this Treaty, the diplomatic relations between these two Muslim countries, which were broken off in 1926 as the result of the incident when, owing to the playing of a brass band, the Egyptian Mahmal was fired on by fanatical Wahabis, are restored.

In the first article, Egypt recognizes Sa'udi-Arabia as an independent sovereign Power; and in the second, a permanent state of peace and friendship is declared between the two countries. Article 3 deals with the accrediting of diplomatic and consular representatives. Articles 4 and 5, which regulate matters concerning the Egyptian Pilgrimage, are the core of the Treaty. King Ibn Sa'ud binds himself to facilitate the passage of pilgrims, and to protect them in every respect, providing them with water, installing adequate lighting in the mosques, repairing the roads used by them, and generally organizing the services necessary for their well-being, in accordance with the desires of the Egyptian Government. The Egyptian Government is also authorized to repair the two mosques of Mecca and Medina.

Under Article 6, the two States agree to regulate all matters outstanding between them, and to conclude customs, postal and maritime conventions.

This Treaty, which is viewed with much interest by other Mediterranean Powers, is a further tribute to the diplomatic skill of King Ibn Sa'ud and his advisers, whereby the desert kingdom is safeguarding itself on all sides by pacts of amity and non-aggression.

SOANE AT HALABJA: AN ECHO

By C. J. EDMONDS

I

THERE has just (1936) been published at Sulaimani a small collection of poems, in Kurdish and in Persian, by Tahir Beg Jaf,* a poet of some repute among the Southern Kurds. The following is an extract from the introduction in Kurdish:

Tahir Beg, the well-known, celebrated, melodious and word-sweet poet, was the son of Osman Pasha, son of Muhammad Pasha, Jaf. The stock and family of the Jaf Begzadas were accounted among the great and celebrated Kurdish Amirs. One hundred and fifty years ago they held the chieftainship of the Jaf tribe. Later, on the encouragement of the Baban† Government, they came to Sharazur, and from the time of the Baban Government until the formation of the 'Iraqi Government they continued to hold the leadership of the Jaf.

Tahir Beg came into this world in the year 1295 of the *Hijra* (=A.D. 1878), and departed from it in 1337 (=A.D. 1918). He died in Sulaimani; they brought his body to Halabja; he was buried in the village of Ababailê, so named after one of the Companions of the Prophet, one hour's ride up-hill from Halabja.

Tahir Beg did not study in a big or high school, but only passed through a local village school. Nevertheless, his understanding, general knowledge and sagacity did not correspond with the degree of his studies; they were ten times higher.

Tahir Beg composed poetry in four languages—Kurdish, Persian, Turkish and Arabic. He produced a vocabulary of these four languages in rhymed verse. We have expended great effort and trouble, but

* The Jaf are a typical Kurdish nomad tribe numbering several thousand tents. They spend the winter in the Kifri region as far south as Qara Tappa, and the summer in the mountains of Iran, east of Bana. Their range of migration is thus some 130 miles. The settled Jaf are even more numerous than the nomads, occupying many villages throughout the length and breadth of the migration routes. The members of the ruling family are referred to as Begzada. These Jaf of 'Iraq are known as Jaf Muradi; other sections remained in Iran.

† See my article, "A Kurdish Lampoonist," in Part I. of the *Journal* for 1935.

unfortunately we have not been able to lay hands on that rare book. The fragments of his work that we have been able to obtain we owe to his sister, Nahida Khanum, who sent them to us. We request those who have any more works of this personage in their possession to send them to us for inclusion in the second edition.

The sagacity of Tahir Beg was on this wise. In the time of the Turkish Government, fifteen (sic) years before the Great War, the well-known Major Soane came on a journey to Kurdistan in 'Iraq. After spending several years in this manner he went to the house of Osman Pasha, the father of Tahir Beg. He became his servant and remained in his employment six or seven months. He called himself Ghulam Husain. This Ghulam Husain, who was Major Soane, worked very well at his duties as servant. Tahir Beg also, on account of his good service, treated him with the greatest respect and liked him.

From certain peculiarities of the behaviour of this Ghulam Husain Tahir Beg conceived some doubts; for he observed that his manners were not like those of other servants, so polite and conscientious was he.

One day Tahir Beg was looking at a French book. Ghulam Husain (Major Soane) said to him, "Sir, I suppose that your Honour knows French?"

Tahir Beg replied, "Yes, I know a little; and you, don't you know any?"

He said, "Yes; some six or seven years ago in Persia I was servant to a Frenchman; through him I know a little."

When Tahir Beg knew that, he always talked to him in French about any secret matter. One day when they were talking there slipped from the tongue of Ghulam Husain (Major Soane) instead of the word *na*, the word *new*—no. Tahir Beg was puzzled at this and concluded that this man named Ghulam Husain was English, because the word *new*—no is the English for *na*.

Then Tahir Beg called to Ghulam Husain and said, "What is your name?"

Ghulam Husain said, "May I be thy sacrifice; what do you mean, what is my name? My name is what you called me by."

T. B. "No, you have changed your name; you are English."

G. H. "How do you know?"

T. B. "It is obvious from your speech."

G. H. "You are right; I am English; my name is Major* Soane;

* The Editor may be excused this naïve anachronism; at this time, of course, Soane was a civilian and had no connection with the Army whatsoever.

for some years now I have been travelling about 'Iraq, 'Iran and Turkey."

When he knew this, Tahir Beg asked him not to stay there, lest he should fall foul of the Government. Major Soane went away and wrote a book of travel, in which he praises highly the sagacity and cleverness of Tahir Beg.

If her Honour Nahida Khanum, sister of Tahir Beg, will oblige, we shall print after this the *Diwan* of their brother, Ahmad Beg.*

II

Perhaps the most entertaining pages in the late E. B. Soane's delightful book *To Mesopotamia and Persia in Disguise* are those describing his time at Halabja, the little Kurdish township situated at the south-eastern end of the Sharazur plain, under the shadow of the great range of Hewraman.

In 1909 Soane's *Wanderlust* had brought him without any definite plans to Constantinople. Here a chance meeting with a Kurd styling himself Shaikh-ul-Islam of Senna suggested to his mind the project of going on to Southern Kurdistan. Resuming his earlier disguise of a Shirazi and the characteristic Persian-Shi'a name of Ghulam Husain, he travelled by way of Beyrut, Aleppo, Diarbekir, Mosul, Arbil and Kirkuk to Sulaimani, where he was befriended by a Christian merchant of Mosul named Matti. From there, after a stay of four days, he pushed on to Halabja, then under the rule, nominally of Osman Pasha Jaf, but in fact of his wife, the remarkable Lady Adila.

The traveller, in accordance with the custom of the country, went boldly to the house of Tahir Beg, the Lady's eldest son,† and announced himself as a Persian scribe and merchant. By her order he was assigned an upper room in Tahir Beg's house, but later he moved across to a downstairs room in the house of the Lady herself, to whom he gradually assumed the post of Persian secretary.

There is no mention in Soane's narrative of any discovery of his identity by Tahir Beg; so far from hurrying him away, he says that they, and in particular the Lady, who wished to keep him as Persian tutor for her two younger sons, put every obstacle in his path when

* For a short example of Ahmad Beg's verse see my article, "A Kurdish Newspaper," in Part I. of the *Journal* for 1925, p. 88.

† By a curious error Soane describes Tahir as the Lady's stepson. There was a stepson Majid, but Tahir was the eldest of her own three sons.

the time came for him to go. But he was not entirely free from occasions for anxiety.

The first cause of embarrassment was a certain Amin Effendi, a renegade of German origin, who had set up as medical adviser to the Lady. Rendered apprehensive by the presence of a traveller who, although a Persian, had spent several years in Europe and might expose his quackery, Amin Effendi set to work to sow suspicions in the mind of Tahir Beg; but these seem to have been directed to the motives and business of the stranger rather than to his race and religion.

The second arose out of the arrival in the neighbourhood of the above-mentioned Shaikh-ul-Islam of Senna, who had known Soane at Constantinople in the character of an Englishman, and whom Soane now rather rashly sought out at Biyara, a village on the Persian border some ten miles to the north-east. The Shaikh, who at their earlier meetings had refused to believe that he was English, now professed himself unconvinced of his *bona fides* as a Muslim. Indeed, after Soane's return to Sulaimani, the Shaikh visited Halabja and created a sensation at the Lady Adila's daily reception by publicly denouncing him as a Christian. But according to the account brought by Soane's servant Hama, who was there, she and her son had stoutly stood up for him, quoting his Shirazi accent and the fact of his having been seen saying his prayers.

Soane records that before leaving Kirkuk for Baghdad he divulged his identity to Matti, the Christian of Mosul.

III

The present writer once asked the Lady Adila if she had ever had doubts about Soane when he was staying with her. "Indeed," she said, "I remember that my son Tahir did come to me one day and say that he suspected that Ghulam Husain might be a European. But I replied that he was our guest, and that we should not pry into what concerned us not."

She may or may not have been wise after the event. In any case this evidence from the Kurdish side confirms the merit of Soane's remarkable performance. Even the panegyrist of Tahir Beg's sagacity claims no more than that he penetrated the disguise after six or seven months of constant companionship.

FIFTEEN GUNS

By LAURENCE LOCKHART, PH.D.

IT sometimes happens that an episode which is, in itself, trivial has the most unexpected and far-reaching consequences. Such an episode occurred at Constantinople early in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

In his capacity as representative of the Levant Company, the Earl of Kinnoull, the then British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, was wont to call upon the captains of British vessels visiting Constantinople. On an afternoon towards the close of February, 1732, Lord Kinnoull, in response to an invitation from Captain Petre, of the *William*, was rowed out to that vessel in company with those whom he termed "the Nation"—that is, the most important of the British merchants resident in Constantinople. As Lord Kinnoull afterwards reported to the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State for the Southern Department (which in those days dealt, *inter alia*, with the affairs of South-East Europe), Captain Petre "gave us a very handsome Entertainment, where after Dinner at Drinking His Majesty's and the Royal Family's Healths, Prosperity to the Trade and to the Ship, he fired his Guns, as has been allways practised here. . . . He fired some more Guns a little after sunset, and I then told him that that must be the last, because the Grand Signior's Orders were very strict against firing in the Night. I never saw a Dozen of People more happy together nor more pleased than we were all, with the Captain's generous Entertainment, without Drinking, without Noise, without the least Disorder. We sat till 9 o'Clock, passing our time away very agreeably with different Arguments and Discourses which for most part ran upon the Subject of the English Trade in this Countrey. There was an Hungarian Nobleman with me, who said he never saw a Nation so happy together in wishing one another Prosperity so much as appeared to him that night on board the Ship, a great deal of Friendship and a great deal of Sobriety, which, as matters fell out afterwards, was very lucky, and which is not common in Entertainments on board of English Ships. But it seems that night we were to be more prudent than is ordinary upon such occasions, which was very happy."*

* This and the following quotations are from Lord Kinnoull's original dispatches to the Duke of Newcastle. See State Papers 97, vol. xxvi. Public Record Office.

At 9 p.m., as stated above, the party broke up, and the Ambassador, his Hungarian friend, and "the Nation" set out in the ship's boat for the shore. A young factor named John Lisle, who was of a very mischievous disposition and who (as was afterwards discovered) had long harboured a grudge against Captain Petre, remained on board. When the boat had got halfway to Pera, Lisle prevailed upon the ship's gunner to fire a salute of fifteen guns, in the hope that this breach of the Sultan's regulations would have serious consequences for the Captain.

On hearing the guns boom out, Lord Kinnoull naturally supposed that Captain Petre, in a fit of misguided zeal or enthusiasm, had had the salute fired in his honour. Lord Kinnoull was at first much perturbed, as he feared that the untimely salute might be a cause of trouble with the Turkish authorities. On reflection, however, he comforted himself with the hope that, as it was the month of Ramazan and as the Turks were therefore all awake, feasting and enjoying themselves, the matter might well be overlooked. He was, however, to be rudely disillusioned.

If Captain Petre had an enemy in the person of John Lisle, Topal 'Osman Pasha, the Grand Vizier, had several; the chief of Topal 'Osman's foes was the formidable Hajji Bashir Agha, the Kizlar Agha (the Chief Eunuch), who was a master of intrigue and possessed immense influence over the Sultan. The Kizlar Agha had already brought about the appointment of several Grand Viziers, but had invariably encompassed their fall when their conduct of affairs no longer met with his approval.

For some little time the Kizlar Agha and his partisans had been on the lookout for some means whereby they could embroil Topal 'Osman in serious trouble and so bring about his downfall. When the guns of the *William* were fired in defiance of the regulations, they felt that their moment had come. Although Topal 'Osman was not, in the ordinary way, unfriendly to the British, he was annoyed at the breach of the regulations by the *William*. Knowing him to be of a choleric temperament, the Kizlar Agha's friends deliberately fanned the flames of his anger until he lashed himself into such a rage that he was no longer able to view matters in their proper proportion.

Early on the morning following the party on the *William* two messengers from the Grand Vizier called at the Embassy with a request for Lord Kinnoull to call at Topal 'Osman's palace two hours later. Lord Kinnoull guessed the reason for this summons, and whilst on his way to the palace he requested Pisani, his chief interpreter, to give the Chief Dragoman of the Porte a full explanation of the affair, in case it should

prove impossible to do so during the interview with Topal 'Osman Pasha. His lordship desired it to be stressed that the firing of the salute (which he still imagined to have been due to an excess of zeal on the part of Captain Petre) had not been intended to give offence to the Sultan or to any of his subjects, and that he himself (in view of the Capitulations) would make himself responsible for the punishment of the culprit.

On reaching the Grand Vizier's palace, Lord Kinnoull was astonished to find that he was not received with the pomp and ceremony which invariably attended the arrival of ambassadors; instead, he was merely ushered into an ante-room and requested to wait. The French Ambassador and some other foreign representatives then arrived, and, after being received in the customary manner, were conducted to the presence of the Grand Vizier. Lord Kinnoull, however, was completely ignored. A few minutes later Pisani came into the room where the Ambassador was waiting and said, "with a sorrowfull Countenance," that the Grand Vizier was in a rage against him. "I soon perceived," Lord Kinnoull afterwards reported, "that I must not dally in taking a proper resolution becoming the Character of an English Ambassador to prevent this Brute of a Vizir from committing extravagancys that would have been difficult and perhaps impossible to have been excused any manner of way. Therefore I told him that since the Vizir did not know how to treat the King's Ambassador, I had nothing to do there, and that I would immediately return to the Palace where I would be better able to take proper Measures to manage this unruly Monster. Accordingly I retired with all my Court, in great State, Order and Decency, and arrived at the British Palace about 12 o'Clock. . . . As I knew the Vizir's Brutal Temper very well I judged that I would have more strength to deal with him than either the Gentlemen of the Nation or the Captain, and that if I could stop his fury against them, he would have some regard for the Character of an Ambassador, if he could by any means be brought to reflect upon what he was doing; and in this I did not judge amiss, for my leaving the Porte in the manner I did, gave the Vizir time to reflect upon the Consequences that might attend a Breach with the English Nation upon such a trifle. When the Vizir saw Me out of his window, on Horseback in the Court, he put himself in a great Passion against the Chehaja (Kahya) or Great Steward and the Reis Effendi or Secretary of State, that they had suffered me to depart; who, however, being very reasonable Persons and my very sound Freinds have told me since, that they were very glad that

I had taken that part to go away without seeing the Vizir, because the fear that he was in to lose his Place (His Enemies in the Seraglio having improved this accident so as to incense the Grand Signior against him) had put him in such a Rage against the English that they would not have been able to have prevented him revenging himself upon me, that he had intirely lost his Temper, and at that time would not have had any regard to the Character I was honoured with, so that they made the best excuses they could for my going away, and he was wisely advised when I was on horseback not to stop me."

The Grand Vizier then summoned certain of the English merchants, and made his Kahya, or Chief Steward, inform them that "this enormous crime" was entirely Lord Kinnoull's fault, and that, as the Porte would no longer acknowledge him as Ambassador, they must "chuse the fittest Person amongst themselves to transmit their Business at the Porte till the Arrival of a New Ambassador, and that the Vizir would write to His Majesty to send another Ambassador as soon as possible." Two of the merchants were then detained, and it was stated that they would not be released until Captain Petre was handed over to the authorities. Realizing that Captain Petre was in serious danger, and being determined that he must not fall into the hands of the Turks, Lord Kinnoull hid him in the British Embassy.

On hearing of the affair, the French, Dutch, and Venetian Ambassadors sent their secretaries to the British Embassy to offer their assistance; the Austrian and Russian representatives soon afterwards followed suit. Unfortunately, the French and Dutch Ambassadors disagreed as to what steps should be taken, "so that," as Lord Kinnoull remarked, "I was obliged to manage them with great Care to prevent my being a Sacrifice to the pique those two Ministers have one against another."

On the following day the Dutch Ambassador offered to mediate between Lord Kinnoull and the Porte; Topal 'Osman Pasha was now, he said, desirous of having a mediator, as he was beginning to regret his unseemly outburst of temper. However, owing to the jealousies amongst the ministers and officials at the Porte, the Dutch Ambassador found that he could not act as he had proposed. The French Ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, thereupon offered to act as mediator; no one than he was better qualified for this rôle, because Topal 'Osman Pasha had a particular regard for him, and, indeed, for all Frenchmen. Many years before, when Topal 'Osman was a young man, he was travelling by sea to Sidon when the vessel on which he was sailing was

attacked and captured by a Spanish privateer. Topal 'Osman was severely wounded (it was in this action that he received the wound which lamed him for life), and was afterwards held to ransom at Malta. Here a generous Frenchman trusted him sufficiently to advance the ransom money and set him free. In his dealings with the French he never forgot this kind action.

However, it so happened that the good offices of the Marquis de Villeneuve were not required, for the very next day the Sultan dismissed Topal 'Osman Pasha from his office and appointed the Daftardar, a high official of the Treasury, as "Caimacam" (*i.e.*, Qa'im-maqam, or "Deputy") until a successor could be found. The Kizlar Agha's intrigues had succeeded.

For Lord Kinnoull the change could not have been more opportune, especially as the "Caimacam" was a firm friend of his.

The next morning the Chief Dragoman of the Porte brought the following message from the Sultan to Lord Kinnoull: "That the Grand Signior his Majesty being informed that the firing the Guns of the English ship in the night was done by Mistake and out of no bad Design, had forgiven that Offence, upon condition that the British Ambassador would punish the Captain for his imprudent action, and that he had ordered the two English merchants who were confined . . . to be delivered to their Ambassador, that there had been a great deal too much Noise made upon account of this Affair, by the bad conduct of his late Vizir whom he had deposed for this and his other evil actions; Therefore he desired that what had passed in this affair might be forgot on both sides."

The two English merchants were released forthwith, and, thanks to the conciliatory attitude of the Qa'im-maqam, Captain Petre was enabled to emerge from his hiding-place and rejoin his ship without undergoing any punishment whatsoever; he was merely warned never again to fire his guns at night. Strange to say, it was not until several months had elapsed that Lord Kinnoull discovered that the salute was due to Lisle's prank and not to Petre's orders.

The most important result of the fall of Topal 'Osman Pasha was that French foreign policy suffered a check. France had long been endeavouring to involve Turkey in war with Austria and Russia, and to keep her free from entanglements with Persia. Topal 'Osman, besides being so friendly to France, was extremely hostile to Austria and Russia, and was desirous of maintaining peace with Persia. With his removal from office, this policy was reversed, which was very pleasing

to Lord Kinnoull, for it was one of the principal aims of Great Britain to prevent Turkey from attacking Austria or Russia. As Lord Kinnoull put it: "Our good Ally the Emperor should give Captain Petre a Flag for his good Service upon this occasion, for if Osman Pasha had continued Grand Vizir the Turkish Army would certainly have been assembled this Summer, in order to have marched next Spring to the German (*i.e.*, the Austrian) Frontier."

As for Topal 'Osman Pasha, he was made Governor of Trebizond. When the war against Persia broke out in the following spring (of 1733) he was made Generalissimo of the Turkish forces, and sent to the relief of Baghdad. He succeeded in relieving that city, but lost his life four months later in a great battle against the Persians.

A VISIT TO SHEIKH ADI: THE SHRINE OF THE PEACOCK ANGEL

By FLIGHT-SERGT. P. W. LONG, M.M.

Flight-Sergeant Long's journeys in 'Iraq started some twenty years ago when he escaped from the Turks and wandered through the country, then still in the enemy's hands. After the War he entered in the Royal Air Force and served in 'Iraq until 1934, when he was transferred to England. On one of his leaves he visited Sheikh Adi, the famous shrine of the Yezidis. Since that time these poor people have once again experienced the difficulties of their religion, owing to the enforcement of the conscription laws, from which before the War they were exempted.

In Canon Wingram's *Cradle of Mankind*, first published early in 1914, he gives the reasons for this: "One peculiar privilege, however, has . . . been conceded to the Yezidis. They have gained that exemption from military service which Kurds and Christians earnestly desire. This was done not exactly in kindness to them, but more for the comfort of the army. For, about a dozen times a day, every Moslem is accustomed to 'take refuge with Allah from Sheitan the stoned': and a Yezidi who hears such blasphemy has a choice of just two alternatives; either he may kill the blasphemer, or he may commit suicide himself!" (*Cradle of Mankind*, chapter v., p. 103. This chapter has a full and scholarly account of the Yezidis and of their peculiar religion.)

THE tunnelled entrance was veiled in greenery and scarcely discernible in the half-light. On the rocks bordering the pathway to the entrance were lighted wicks, placed there recently, and there was ample evidence that thousands of similar wicks had been put there before. We passed through the short tunnel and arrived into a paved courtyard where we were halted by a lame gatekeeper, who asked us our business. His Arabic was sketchy, and I was vainly trying to make him understand that we wished to stay for the night when a second man arrived. He was a tall bearded person and carried a rifle, but, what was more to the point, he could speak Arabic. I told him who we were and that we wished a place on which we could put our beds and where we could camp. He assured me that such a place would be made ready and then turned to the lame man and held a conversation in Kurdish. This gave me time to look round this eerie place, sacred to thousands of Yezidis. Although the Yezidis are popularly called Devil Worshipers, Devil Propitiators would be a truer description of them. They recognize God as the Supreme Being

and say that He takes no account of things of earth so it is unnecessary to pray to Him, but rather it is better to propitiate the Devil, who can and does harm human kind. They have, of course, their own tenets and religious laws, customs, etc., which do not concern us here. Many vile practices are attributed to them by their enemies, Christian, Moslem, and Jew alike, though wrongly, and they have suffered much persecution and many massacres.

Lighted wicks twinkled at us from scores of places, niches in the walls, keyholes of doors and on many odd rocks and steps. In the fast-failing light we could make out arched entrances on every side leading to other courtyards, paved in the same manner as the one we were in. A third person now approached us accompanied by a young girl. He was carrying a vessel of oil filled with lighted wicks and the girl carried a large bundle of unlighted spare wicks. Now and again he stopped and put a wick on a rock or some other special place and the girl kissed the place near. He asked who we were and what was being done for us, and, when I told him, he gave a curt order to the others and continued on his way; none of them appeared excited or perturbed, or very much concerned about the arrival of a party of strangers in their midst at this late hour. The man with the rifle motioned us to follow him, and we passed under an archway decorated with small bunches of flowers, stuck on to the stonework with a mixture of dough and eggshells. On the steps at either side of the opening were lighted wicks and the passage-way was lit with oil-cruise lamps. We emerged into another courtyard, climbed a few stone steps, walked along the top of a wall and arrived on the roof of a building. A pile of bedding was on the roof and on the branches of a huge mulberry tree which overhung it, and had evidently come from one or other of the two windowless rooms which opened out on to the roof. Our guide intimated that we could use one of these rooms. Not for us; we had no intention of sleeping inside any building in this place! I said that we had no wish to deprive anyone of their sleeping quarters and would prefer to sleep on the roof. He protested that we were not disturbing anyone and that we should be too cold outside, but he did not protest very strongly! We made our beds on the roof and meanwhile gave the two policemen who had followed us permission to remain, but outside the precincts of the shrine. It was now quite dark and we asked for firewood to cook our meal.

A man now arrived whom we judged to be a Priest and whom we had seen putting out the wicks who said that food would be sent

to us; meanwhile his servant would make us tea. A brazier was brought and a fire lit and we sat down to wait. We had not eaten for nearly eight hours and would much rather have opened a few tins of our own stuff, but of course we had to wait, and after about half an hour a big dish full of half-cooked wheat was brought, just that—no bread, nothing but that unpalatable mess. We ate what we could of it and passed the dish over to our servant and the muleteers.

The Rais Khadima, Bait-el-Sheikh Adi, to give the High Priest his full title, or the Chawush, to give him his more popular name, now dispensed glasses of sweet tea and then sat down beside us to talk. He was barely settled when there was a great shouting and hullabaloo outside and the younger policeman came dashing in to us to say the horses had not been properly secured and that one had galloped away into the night. The Chawush and his armed attendant said that they must go and help the policemen look for it, so I lent them my electric torch and away they went. What a grand opportunity for us! In a trice we got out our tin-opener, and by the time they returned from their unsuccessful search we had satisfied our hunger and were quite ready for talk. We were not left in peace for long; the policeman came in and said something in Kurdish which caused a good deal of argument, so I asked what it was all about. It appeared that he had told the Chawush that someone must be sent to the nearest village and a search party sent out to hunt for his horse before it was found by thieves! It was then ten o'clock and I refused to allow this, as had it not been for our visit there would have been no policeman or lost horse, and therefore no trouble. There were tears and whimpering, but I would not relent, so our brave guardians crept out into the darkness and left us in peace.

When morning came, from the place where I had slept beneath that huge mulberry tree, whose fruit made gentle thudding noises as it dropped on my bed, I could see the well-wooded slope of the 4,000-foot mountain that overshadowed Sheikh Adi. The oaks, walnuts, fig and mulberry trees covered the hillside and many varieties of wild flowers made a brave show in the rich grass. Golden orioles, piping their liquid notes, flashed among the topmost branches, and squirrels played round the trunks, occasionally taking flight to the security of the interlaced branches above them when they were startled. It was a beautiful scene. Soft footfalls behind me made me turn over, and I saw below me the main courtyard, in the far corner of which was the door leading to the holy tomb of the Devil Worshippers (Sheikh

Adi), from whom this shrine gets its name. The stone and marble doorway and surrounding stonework were elaborately carved with mysterious symbols, and the famous "black snake" could be plainly seen from where I lay, carved on the left of the doorway. The whole courtyard was in deep shadow from the dense foliage of the trees which grew therein, round whose trunks were built protective walls about three feet high.

The footfalls which had disturbed me were made by a tall woman dressed in white with a short red cloak draped across her body from her left shoulder to her right armpit. She was walking round the courtyard and at each of the many niches in the walls she made obeisance and kissed the stone beneath. Crossing to each of the trees in turn she bowed low and then kissed the stone protecting-wall, standing for a few moments in silent prayer. She next advanced towards the door of the shrine, bent almost double with arms outstretched. Dropping to her knees at the doorway she kissed the doorstep, the plinths of the columns on either side and, rising to her feet, kissed the "black snake" and passed inside the building. I watched for a quarter of an hour, but did not see her come out, so turned over once more to see the Chawush bringing us glasses of tea.

After our breakfast we went down to the main courtyard and out to the grounds beyond the building. Scores of small-domed buildings were dotted all over the hillside, with here and there a small shrine topped with a fluted tower, showing brilliantly white against the dark green of the foliage. Many of the buildings we entered were in a neglected and ruined condition. Some of them appeared very ancient and bore inscriptions on the walls. Those in better condition had lighted wicks placed in the keyholes of the doors or on the steps, presumably to keep out the Devil (the Angel of the Darkness) or, as he is called by the devotees, Malak Taüs (the Peacock Angel).

Here and there we came across the remains of a well-built stone conduit that had carried the waters of the spring from the head of the valley to the shrine. No attempt had been made to repair it, but the waters had been diverted to other underground conduits. There was a stone-built bath but no water to fill it. This deserted mountain village had been well built and was almost luxurious compared with the miserable hovels of the present-day inhabitants. Later on I was told why it lay deserted. During the years prior to the massacre of 1892, many thousands of Yezidis made a pilgrimage to the tomb of their one great saint, Sheikh Adi, and the festival of his birthday was

kept up with great magnificence and feasting. Then the whole valley was filled with pilgrims, and the village housed the more important of them. The ruined chapel that we had passed lower down in the valley had been used in those prosperous days to hold services in for those who could not get into the chapel in the shrine. The annual festival is still kept, but the glory is now passed and the numbers of pilgrims few. When one looked at the maze of passages, archways and flights of steps that led to apparently blank walls, one could easily imagine that those black rites ascribed to the Yezidis by their enemies had actually been celebrated and might yet once again take place in this mysterious place.

When we came back to our roof I found the Chawush waiting to show us the interior of the shrine. I had read the accounts of the shrine written by famous travellers and knew what I should see before we entered; it seemed familiar, even as the "black snake" had seemed when I first saw it.

Arming myself with an electric torch, we took off our shoes and entered the holy place. We found ourselves in a large vaulted room, dank and dark, and wet underfoot. The sound of running water was all that broke the deathly silence. Near one end a tiny flame was suspended in mid-air; it seemed to be surrounded by a ball of its own light, but made the darkness seem blacker. We passed on our left the tomb of some important personage, probably a bygone *Mir* of the Yezidis, and then came to the great tomb of Sheikh Adi, in front of which was the suspended light, an oil cruise, from which hung a lighted wick. This is the light which is never allowed to go out. All that we could see was some old and tattered hangings on the wall; these I pulled aside and in the darkness beyond saw a draped coffer.*

We came to a low door at the end of the main room which was unlocked by the Chawush, through which we passed, and went down a few steps in total darkness. Here my torch was practically useless, for its light did not penetrate for more than a few feet. The Chawush unlocked another door and we passed into a vault, at the far end of which was a tiny glimmer of daylight. By the light of the torch we saw scores of huge black jars of the type made familiar in the story of "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves." These were oil jars, constantly replenished by the believers, and the oil was used to feed the "ever-burning light" and the propitiatory wicks. It was an eerie place,

* This coffer or ark, as Canon Wingram describes it, contains the sacred image of the "King of the Peacocks."

made more eerie by the twinkle of running water, which seemed to come first from underground and then from the walls. We came out and, as the Chawush was locking the door, I saw another door beside it and asked what was behind it. The Chawush seemed reluctant to open it, but I said that I desired to see everything, so he unlocked it and we passed into the room where was the sacred "coffer" with the ever-burning light, which we now saw lay immediately below the fluted towers, which are such a prominent feature of this shrine. From here we passed out into the ante-room and through that into what we were told was the oldest part of the whole building, the chapel of the shrine. It was obviously very old and was certainly dirty and ill-kept, and part of the marble floor-paving was missing. I asked the Chawush to show us where the water was; we heard it but could not see it. He showed it to us in several places: first, in a channel built into the wall itself, from which it cascaded through an opening high up in the wall of one room, to be channelled off along the floor of another, until it dropped into a well and ran into a conduit built under the floor of the third room—and so on until it passed out of the buildings and escaped into a natural bed in the valley.

We next visited the many walled-in courtyards, in one of which was a tank of crystal-clear running water, which issued from a low building covered with cabalistic signs. This building seemed to be divided into several small rooms with very small doors. We went into one room, which was really a stone tank, brimming with water and with an eighteen-inch footway all round. The Chawush would not tell us what it was used for, though he denied that it was a bathroom. He would not take us through another door that we could see, but said that it contained another room similar to the one we had just been in. I did not believe him, but could not imagine what was behind that door!*

* Dr. Wingram first visited the shrine in 1907; the Yezidis had not yet been able to return and a Moslem mullah was in charge. "The Mullah allowed him to go anywhere, and through that gloomy doorway the investigator accordingly went. . . . It was very dark down the staircase and he was only provided with matches. But it seemed to him that he had penetrated into a vast natural cavern, teeming with rills of trickling water—the birthplace of the sacred spring, which feeds the temple tanks and forms the main source of the rivulet which flows down the glen below.

"And here perhaps we have the key to the time-honoured sanctity of Sheikh Adi. It was primarily a seat of that fountain worship which is one of the earliest of all known cults. Melek Taüs himself was but a later accretion, though he has now usurped pre-eminence. . . ." (*Cradle of Mankind*, chap. v.)

We next ascended to the roof and looked at the white fluted towers which show the position of Sheikh Adi to travellers in the mountains. In the rectangular base of each tower were stones upon which were carved various signs and symbols. From the roof of the shrine we could see many ruins, and I could not help thinking that this place must have been designed originally for some greater purpose than was now apparent. We had occasionally caught sight of one or two children as we moved about, and I asked to be allowed to photograph them. The Chawush smilingly agreed, so off we went to find them—up stone stairways, through rooms that were now roofless, and into a small yard where, on reed mats, sat the females of this strange place. One was the Priestess I had seen in the early morning, one was an old woman and the others were young girls, one of whom we had seen the night before, following the Chawush and carrying the wicks. The elder women hurried out of the place and the children were following, but I stopped them and bribed them with sweets to sit and be “snapped.” We returned now to where we had left our baggage and gave orders to load up and make ready to leave. In a room close to where we had slept were thousands of flaps of bread, and I asked the Chawush what they were for, as a cat was mothering a litter of kittens on them and the bottom layers were dirty and mouldy. He replied that no one was sent away from Sheikh Adi empty-handed, and that many poor Yezidi travellers called there for food during the year. The bread was supplied by devout Yezidis. We felt sorry for the recipients of that bread! We took none of it, but, leaving an offering to the shrine, we bade good-bye to the Chawush and his assistant and made once more for the open road.

LIEUT.-COLONEL G. LEACHMAN, C.I.E., D.S.O.

MAJOR BRAY'S book, *A Paladin of Arabia*, is a great tribute to a wonderful man and a revelation of stories unknown even to those who had the privilege of knowing Leachman pretty well. There is little one can add except a few pictures taken from the last three years of his life.

When he was at Mosul in 1919 he decided to drive across the desert to Dair al Zaur to give a hand to the P.O. in that division. Dates were duly arranged and Goring of the L A M Bs (who was later to earn full recognition from Leachman for his gallantry around Anah and Al bu Kamal in early 1920) went out to meet him at Margada on the Khabur, the crossing of which had to be carried out on a most unseaworthy old Shakhtur. Leachman arrived, the Dodge was driven to the river bank and the embarkment duly commenced. Exactly what happened history has never related, but that evening Leachman was back in Mosul (a matter of 150 miles from Margada to Mosul) and Goring was back in Dair el Zaur with a scrap of paper from Leachman's note-book, and on it:

"DEAR . . .

If all your division is like your bridge, God help it.

Yrs.,

G. L."

It hurt and it was meant to, the crossing should have been made more efficient. But Leachman was not one to leave things at that. In a short while he was over by air, quickly visited by old acquaintances in the town, and within an hour giving the P.O. a truer idea of the position in his division than he could gain himself in many months. One cannot help wondering now whether the rising of 1920 might not have been avoided if it had been practicable to transfer Leachman back from Mosul to the Upper Euphrates as soon as the Armistice was signed. As Major Bray so clearly shows, the main stream of poison was coming through from the Sherifian front in Syria, and Leachman was the one man who might have so controlled the temporary frontier as to hold this stream back and to have prevented the capture of Dair

al Zaur and the commencement of hostilities around Al bu Kamal which slowly spread to the general rising. For be it remembered when the general rising came, the Dulaim from Hit to Falluja (until Leachman's murder) remained steadily friendly to us, largely owing to the wisdom Ali Sulaiman had imbibed from Leachman, and owing to the presence of that strong hand.

Leachman demanded—and got—hard service out of men but never let down those who served him. One time he had been on one of his dashes into the desert, leaving behind in charge of his headquarters (which happened also to be the H.Q. of an army division) a young officer of little experience. On his return Leachman, with an uncanny knowledge of all that had passed in his absence, at once questioned his junior on some event (now forgotten) and poured the full blast of his wrath on the unfortunate one for his foolish action in the circumstances. Even as the junior sat at his desk, feeling a blighted worm, with Leachman standing by, not yet cooled down, a Senior Staff Officer strolled in and related this unfortunate affair to Leachman, glancing witheringly at his junior. Leachman turned on the Staff Officer with grim politeness, pointed out to him that when he (Leachman) was away, his junior acted in his place and he took strong exception to any interference coming from outside. Whatever his junior had done was done for him, and was perfectly in order. The Staff Officer slowly faded away and one heart rose gently from the boots of its owner to a worship of Leachman.

Major Bray tells in his book that from Mosul Leachman called the Amarat to cross the Euphrates near Dair al Zaur and raid the Shammar. In actual fact they, some 4,000 wild beduin, crossed at Dair al Zaur itself, going right through the town. And here is another example of the amazing hold Leachman had over these people, even when he was miles away. When the news reached Dair al Zaur that the Ghazzu was to come through the town, utter panic set in. The shops would be looted, not a man's life was safe (we had no troops in the town to protect them); somehow this calamity must be averted. The day of the crossing came. Fahad Bey came in first and bade all keep calm. The sight of the *Abids* beating all those camelmen and their camels through the town and on to the bridge of boats cannot easily be forgotten. When all was over and they had departed on their raid, the townsfolk came and owned a miracle had happened. Not a thing had been stolen, not a man had been harmed; El Arab, in fact, had shown themselves as good as a finely disciplined force.

Leachman never forgot. On his last visit to Damascus before the War, he had to leave hurriedly and asked for his washing to be back at a certain time. The washing was not forthcoming and the hotel proprietor not at all helpful nor even polite. Leachman left without it. In 1919 he came from Mosul on leave, travelling via Aleppo and Damascus for Egypt. Arrived at Damascus, he went to the same hotel (then under another name) and was met by a more than obsequious proprietor, who, however, did not recognize him. To the proprietor's horror, the tall, lanky Colonel turned on him and rent him all ways, enquiring for the washing left there many years before. There was nothing lacking in the apologies and courtesies then forthcoming!

One night Leachman was entertaining a rather senior Colonel who had a fetish for keeping fit: 'walk a mile and swim a mile every morning before breakfast'. With the fish the Colonel, who was sitting on Leachman's right, fell asleep and remained so. In due course the party broke up and said Good-night, all save the Colonel, who slept on. For nearly an hour Leachman and his staff sat on and only after much persuasion would Leachman allow Hasan to drop a soda bottle on the floor in the vicinity. The Colonel awoke and with considerable presence of mind remarked it was time he was going—a jolly evening—and so good-bye. By never a sign did Leachman show that anything at all unusual had happened.

That Hasan—the genuine one, known to him as Has—was not with Leachman at the end is grim humour mixed with stark tragedy. A month or more before the murder Hasan had got hold of a bottle of whisky, which always implied trouble to come. Having reached a full state of bliss, he proceeded to borrow Leachman's revolver and, it being sunset, wandered to the Mosque, called to all the bowed, worshipping heads, and bade them turn and worship him or take the consequences. Then realizing presumably the enormity of his offence and that no ordinary beating would expiate it, he fled and had not dared return by the fatal August 12. Whether his presence at Khan Nukta could have made any difference it is impossible to say; they had come through so many scraps together, would they have come through this one? Probably not, it was all too cold-bloodedly arranged. Dhari had been assured his reward would be as great if he murdered Leachman as if he had annihilated a brigade, and probably at that moment the values were about equal. But almost certainly Leachman would not have died alone if Hasan had been there.

At the time Leachman's death seemed tragedy, but sometimes one wonders if it was not rather as he would have had it. His life's training had reached its culmination in the War and its early aftermath and it is hard to imagine him fitting into the changed political situation of the East of the last fifteen years.

F. C.

THE STORY OF THE SACK OF ISPAHAN BY THE AFGHANS IN 1722

By FRIAR ALEXANDER OF MALABAR

Kort Narigt van de seer droevig ondergang der residentie-stad Spahan. (Brief narrative of the very sad destruction of the royal city of Spahaun.) By F. Alexander à Sigismundo, Carm. disc. miss. Appr. ad Mallab. Written "In de stad Cochín" (In the town of Cochín) on April 10, 1724.* (Translated by H. Dunlop.)

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Under the reign of the Safavi kings† Persia had attained a position of power and influence in the East which reminded her gifted children of the glory of the days of the Achæmenians and of the Sasanians. In the seventeenth and in the early eighteenth centuries there were three mighty monarchs in the East: "The Great Turk" (the Sultan of Turkey), "the Great Moghul" (the Emperor of India), and "the Great Sophy" (the Shah of Persia).

Shah Abbas the Great had made the ancient city of Ispahan his capital. That city, owing to its situation in the centre of the kingdom, was much safer from outside aggression than the previous royal residences of Qazvin and Ardabil. A part of the present Kingdom of Afghanistan, in the days of Safavis, was a Persian province, and evidently Abbas did not foresee aggression from that side. Unfortunately among his successors there was not a single man of genius like Abbas the Great, and yet, so solid were the foundations of the State—largely laid by him—that nearly a century of misrule was needed to bring it down.

Shah Abbas was truly called "the Great," for he was great in everything: in virtue and in vice alike. There is something weird and terrible in his character, and he reminds us very strongly of Harun-al-Rashid, the great Kalif. Like Harun, who had Yahyah the Barmecide, his trusted vazir, executed because he feared his popularity, Abbas the Great caused Murshid Quli Khan, who had been his mentor and by whose aid he attained the throne, to be killed. From jealousy he ordered the execution of his eldest son, and the blinding of two more of his sons, and, as Colonel Sykes truly remarks in his admirable *History of Persia*, so great was his suspicion of his offspring that he inaugurated the system of having

* The original manuscript is No. 1893, p. 364 *et seq.*, of the Ryks Archief (Koloniaal), and may be consulted at the Ryks Archief, Blyenburg, The Hague, upon application to the Ryks Archivaris at that address.

† Shah Ismail, 1499-1524; Shah Tahmasp I., 1524-1576; Shah Ismail II., 1576-1577; Shah Muhammad Khudabandeh, 1577-1586; Shah Abbas I. (the Great), 1586-1628; Shah Safi, 1629-1642; Shah Abbas II., 1642-1666; Shah Sulaiman, 1666-1694; Shah Sultan Husain, 1694-1722; Shah Tahmasp II., 1722-1732; Shah Abbas III., 1732-1736. (From 1722-1732 the country was conquered by the Afghans, and the two last Safavi monarchs ruled only nominally, Nadir Quli, later Nadir Shah, being commander-in-chief.)

the princes royal being brought up in the *andarum*, and not trained to arms, which caused the degeneracy of his successors, to which the overthrow of the dynasty, nearly a hundred years after his demise, is largely attributable.

* * * * *

Shah Abbas, who rightly valued foreign trade, greatly encouraged European nations to carry on commercial operations in his dominions (which then included a large part of Mesopotamia, of the Caucasus and of the present Kingdom of Afghanistan, and were equal to the combined areas of Germany, France and Spain). Persian trade in those days, and indeed up to the nineties of the nineteenth century, was largely a transit trade. The Persian merchants purchased the commodities which the Europeans imported, and sent them by caravan far into the interior of Asia, and indeed across the frontiers of China. The country itself, sparsely populated, could not consume the large quantities of spices, broadcloth, copper sheets, etc., which were landed in the Gulf, and it was the geographical situation of the country which, besides the production of silk, carpets, and of other arts and crafts, was one of the chief causes of its wealth; the latter, especially in Safavi days, must have been very considerable. Persia's ancient transit trade with the interior of Asia was ruined by the Russians some forty years ago, when they closed their frontiers against all non-Persian commodities.

It was this ancient trade which attracted the English East India Company early in the seventeenth century, and in 1623 also the Dutch East India Company. The archives of the latter are kept in a very good state of preservation at The Hague in the Ryks Archief, and when I looked through the letter files from the East, some eighteen years ago, in order to see whether I might find some unpublished records which would be likely to complete the known history of Persia which I was then studying, I came across an exhaustive description of the Sack of Ispahan in 1722, written in Dutch, which I have translated into English* for the purpose of the present article. The text (here and there somewhat abbreviated) rendered into English is as follows:

“ The terrible siege of the populous town of Samaria, as recorded by the Old Testament for the teaching of posterity, hath at all times been the subject of the greatest amazement, the heart-rending famine having caused more havoc than the sword. It was hardly less dreadful than the dire disaster that befell the imperial seat of power, the ancient City of Rome, which commanded all nations and was well fortified. And yet its splendour was extinguished and destroyed by threefold attacks, as also happened to the Greek Imperial city of Constantinople, which thereby fell a victim to slavery and Ottoman tyranny.

“ Now, as the disasters of history appear to be the preparation to the tragedies of this unstable world, we may well in our days place the ill-fated city of Spahaun, that beloved apple of the eyes of Persian monarchs, above Samaria's famine and above the fearful massacres of Rome and Constantinople, where countless numbers of persons were

* I published it in Dutch in my work *Perzië voorheen en thans*.

killed. For Spahaun was a town overflowing with wealth, abundance and delights, and in her pride she spread her wings above all Asiatic, African and American princes and empires, and also tried to outvie all kings and potentates of Europe. In which she would have succeeded, had not an unfortunate accident covered her excessive brilliancy, which had blinded her own eyes, with a sad gloom and a lamentable winding-sheet. Now this display of pomp and magnificence being so great, it had roused the envy of the principal inhabitants of Candahar (which is a province about 300 miles away from Spahaun). The Persians imagined in their arrogance that such rough peasants and uncouth mountaineers would not have the courage to try and do them any harm, and this served the Afghans very well, one of them, a certain Mirwais, placing himself at their head. He had, on previous occasions, enjoyed the hospitality of the Dutch Company's factory so as to carry on his trade with other merchants both at Candahar and Tedeas.* This Mirwais, being the chief rebel, contrived to murder Gurgin Khan, born in Georgia, the Governor of Spahaun, at the gate of his fortress, as he came home from the chase. He took the fortress which he provided with stores. When after several years of preparation the Persians tried to reconquer the said town of Candahar, the courageous Afghans drove them back as far as Kirman, which they took at the point of the sword and by famine, plundering the same in a scandalous manner, and returning to Candahar with a rich booty for the first time.

“ Mirwais, seeing that luck was on his side, and that the Persians paid little heed to his progress, collected an army by means of the booty, those who had no swords being provided with sticks and cudgels. But his plan miscarried, as he was vanquished by the great enemy of the human race, namely death, having wrestled with fever for a few days. So with his life he also lost all hopes of the crown of Persia. But this did not put down ambition, neither the undying hatred which the Afghans feel for the Persians, for the moribund Mirwais having summoned his youngest son Mahmud to his bedside, he enjoined upon him most gravely to continue the war with all his might. But, as he said, Mahmud possessed neither the ability nor the experience to do so, let alone to rule the haughty Persian, he submitted himself to a certain divine, named Miansi, empowering him to be unto him like a father, mentor and governor, recognising him as such immediately. And being encouraged by this mentor, he proceeded with 5,000 Afghans to

* I cannot identify this name.

Kirman and laid siege to that town as he found he could not quickly bring it to surrender by famine. And as he lost many of his men, as likewise also his chief general, he allowed himself to be put off with 10,000 tomans, which the Persian commander of the fortress handed over to him. He thereupon left straight for Spahaun, appointing the brother of the dead general, Amanullah Khan, as commander of his army, arriving on March 16, 1722, at Gulnabad at a distance of three hours from Spahaun, murdering everybody he met on the way.

“The Persians were quite aware of the coming of his army, but being 70,000 men against the 5,000 Afghans they did not allow their careless sleep to be disturbed until the next day, being March 17, 1722, the entire Persian nobility mounted on horseback, being 40 strong with all the royal servants, besides 30 foot, who were called together the same evening, 23 pieces of ordnance being also sent outside, under the command of Monsr. Philip, a native of Paris, being royal gun-founder, the entire Persian army of 70,000 men thus having taken the field and apparently enough to destroy their enemy completely.

“For the sake of brevity we refrain from describing the pomp and extravagant equipment of these proud Persians in their pageant towards the enemy, which looked as if they would not have spared even a cat or a dog.

“And yet, as victory is in the hands of the Almighty, who giveth it to whom He willeth, He caused the Persians, without having even properly looked into the eyes of the enemy, or having had an encounter with them, to take to their heels from sheer bewilderment, thus being forced to a headlong flight in which they could not possibly be stopped, paying the heel-money, as they say, with the loss of all their ordnance, powder, baggage, as well as an immense treasure of gold, silver and trinkets, together with the most extravagantly adorned tents, equipped horses, the whole army that night taking refuge in the town with the exception of Ali Mardi Khan, a prince of the Bakhtiari, who returned with his men to his province, it being believed that he had been in secret correspondence with Mahmud and the Afghans, as he had separated himself without apprising the King. But the Georgian prince, Colar Agassi, chief of the King's slaves (you should understand by this: the aristocracy and the royal family), with a few Georgians, attacked the Afghans, dagger in hand, killing nine of their number, and wounding the chief rebel Mahmud with his lance, but being abandoned by the Persians, his horse was killed under him, his lance being broken, his Georgians massacred, and he himself being

thrown down with seven deadly dagger-wounds and nine stabs with lances and thus he fell gloriously. Mahmud himself indeed had to admit that if there had been 300 such doughty Georgians they would have put him to flight.

“Whilst the Georgian was in action with the Afghans, the Arab prince Abdullah Khan, as General of the Persian army, attacked with his Arabs the baggage of the said Mahmud, taking three loaded mules which he brought into Spahaun, but only, as it was said, to make the Persians believe that he had no secret correspondence with the Afghans.

“Meanwhile the Afghans advanced up to the Persian batteries, being under the command of the said Monsr. Philip, who could only fire three pieces, he being killed by four stabs of their lances and miserably trampled to death by their horses. This caused a dreadful wail in the town, one about his father, the other about her husband, and especially in the house of the said Georgian prince.

“The next day the town was filled with wounded men, whose sad cries and wailings caused such a fear and consternation that nobody knew what was to be done and it appeared as if all had lost their wits. Furthermore, the people of the surrounding villages rushed into the town with but very scanty supplies. The Persian princes were so desperate and cowardly that everybody thought of nothing but of hiding themselves, thus all gates being left open, both the city gates and those of houses. After three days the said Mahmud with his army went across the Armenians' churchyard to Farabad, where is the famous country-seat and pleasance of the King, which he occupied without meeting any resistance, and also easily mastering the baggage of the soldiers who fled from the town.

“Now it appeared as if the Persians came to their senses and resolved to fortify the town of Spahaun, causing the bridges to be partly demolished and planting the Portuguese cannon on the batteries, thus beating off Mahmud three times. But since then, one morning very early, Mahmud occupied the bridge called Polmarinon* which so far had been well defended by the King's eunuch, called Mahmud Agha, having found the guard drunk and asleep and having him killed where he lay. And although the bridge was fired at from the batteries the Afghans held it.

“Meanwhile they also took the suburb of Julfa, being well received by the Armenians, who proclaimed Mahmud their King, drinking several glasses of wine to his health. But Mahmud, having settled

* Sc. Pul-i-Vargun (?).

his army in Farabad, had the (Armenian) Kadkhuda called before him, and taking from him all moneys and supplies, as also their sweet young daughters, which the Armenians had to bear from their new King so as to avoid the sticks as a reward for their treason. A great many followers of Moses also paid allegiance to him. Yet some Armenians of a better disposition took refuge in the town, where they were allowed to stay together with the Dutch and English agents. The number of people increased so much that a fearful famine ensued, a few sallies being rendered futile by the traitor, the Arab prince Abdullah Khan.

“The Persians, in their deplorable state, resolved to save one of the royal children, and in this they succeeded as regards prince Thomas* Mirza whom they sent outside the town with several hundreds of their great men under cover of the darkness of the night. Neither the people of the town nor Mahmud could find out whither they had taken him.

“Now the townspeople brought much pressure to bear upon the King to try another sally, but he was thwarted by the said Abdullah Khan under the pretext that succour had to come from outside. With such practice this malicious Abdullah caused more people to perish from the famine than from Mahmud’s sword. This rebel prevented all provisions from reaching the town, either by money or by the sword. Without money he would have been lost owing to an attack of Aly Mardan Khan’s brother who commanded the Bactrians,† who caused him to take to flight with much loss. He, Mahmud, promising him much money and high charges if he became King of Persia.

“It is quite impossible to describe the sad wailings and death-wrestlings in this royal capital, nor to impress the same upon human understanding, for all streets and gardens were covered with dead bodies, so that it was not possible to put down your feet without coming upon a place where piles of two or three human bodies lay rotting. For at the end of September a measure of rice, weighing 12 lbs., was sold at from 4 to 7 hundred rupees, a small cow being paid for by the English with 900 rupees or 32 tomans; horses, donkeys, dogs, cats, rats, mice and all that seemed eatable were sold at very high prices, but when all this had been consumed nothing but human flesh remained which could be purchased at the market, although it was not openly called by that name. Yea, the sword of hunger was sharpened so much, that not only when a person died, two or three

* Sc. Tahmasp.

† Sc. Bakhtiari.

men at once came who cut off pieces of the warm flesh, eating it without any pepper with great relish, but even young men and girls were enticed into houses and killed there to appease hunger. This sad banquet lasted to October, accompanied by such terrible circumstances that they cannot be described without shedding tears. For the mothers killed their own babies, others were killed by their children and eaten, and babies gnawed at their mothers' breasts with bloody teeth. Camel-hides, bark of trees, leaves, rotten wood pounded and boiled in water tasted as sweet as honey, and oh! this unheard-of horror I saw with my own eyes, that people had to satisfy their hunger with dried human excrement.

“Now in order to save themselves from this continuous death, many Persians took to flight, but they had hardly left the town but they were held up by bloodthirsty murderers, some soldiers killing 70, 80 or 100 in one night, a certain Captain having stated in my own presence that he reckoned the number of persons killed in this way to be 7,000. Old women were not spared, but they took the young girls for their pleasure.

“In this way Spahaun seemed a perfect scaffold, of which the streets were cutthroat dwellings, the houses appeared to be graves, palaces tombs, thus the whole place could not be called otherwise than a pitiful storehouse of deathbones, where all pleasure and happiness were turned into a lingering heart-ache, indescribable sadness and death-like silence, like a person who is in the utmost extreme of misery.

“The number of inhabitants had been so greatly reduced that there were no guards at the gates, and at last the councillors of the State sent very favourable terms to Mahmud, who, never having dreamt of these, now asked for the whole royal family and wished the King to come to him at Farabad to hand over to him his person and crown, and therewith the empire itself, and if this were refused he would destroy the whole town and all its inhabitants and murder the royal family.

“This hapless council and King having been forced to accept these hard terms, the King on October 21 at eleven o'clock at night, mounted on horseback, his eyes full of tears, with 24 of the servants who remained to him, carrying with him the 'tzige' or small royal crown, consisting of a long feather, mounted with a large diamond, being obliged to ride over the dead bodies and delivering himself and crown and country to his bitterest enemy.

“ This departure was witnessed by the Dutch dispenser,* Monsr. Lypsig, the English divine, Mr. Fraast, I myself and some 12 Persian men and women, the King asked a napkin from one of his slaves to wipe his sad eyes. The European nation, from the mercy of God having been almost the sole survivors, they had the rebel Mahmud saluted by their dragoman, a certain Armenian named Markar, having arranged that they would not be troubled, yet they were in great fear.

“ In the evening about 9 o'clock there was a sudden and dreadful uproar and screaming in the royal palace where Amanullah Khan had arrived with 1,000 men, the dead bodies being removed as Mahmud wished to make his entry, as he did on October 23, the old King following him with very few attendants. He was indeed a perfect picture of the utmost sadness and sorrow. The Hollanders and the English had to witness this entry and tyrannic usurpation of a throne. The French consul was not invited because he had eaten his horse during the famine.

“ The old King was locked up in the seraglio and bereft of all his royal treasure and his daughter given as a wife to Mahmud.

“ The obstinate Armenians were badly beaten by the new King, some were killed, such as Khwaja Cadsik, Khwaja Serad Chal, Khwaja Manik, so as to take all their possessions from them. All this did not appease Mahmud, and he called the Hollanders, whom he received politely but with a false heart, accepting their presents and favouring them with dresses of honour, but the English were not favoured with an audience.

“ Meanwhile the houses of the Persians who were dead or had absconded were broken into and all valuables divided between the King and his soldiers, the King sending his mace-bearer, Muhammad Nishun, to the Dutch factory, threatening them with the sticks and if he, the chief, did not comply, he would lose his head. The Dutch chief (Nicolas Schorer) replied courageously that the Company was powerful enough to revenge his death, which he did not fear, adding that there was no money left (for Muhammad Nishun asked 40,000 tomans from the Company). Nishun replied ‘ Before to-morrow thou must supply the money, otherwise we shall see how the cudgels shall dance on the Dutch backs ’ (for this Muhammad Nishun was a beastly tyrant and he enticed Mahmud to all evil works). Thereupon

* Presumably this was the title given to the physician. The name seems to denote Jewish extraction.

the Hollanders took refuge with Miansi, who treated them well, sending his secretary to Mahmud to inform him of Nishun's action, so the King excused himself, saying the Hollanders were his guests, and Miansi sent one of his men as 'salve garde' instructing him if any of Nishun's men came to the factory, to cleave their heads. And so they were safe and well satisfied, and when next day Nishun's men came, they had to retire with empty bags.

"Shortly afterwards Mahmud sent 4,000 Afghans and as many Georgians and Persians to take Qazvin, where they were well received, but the next day in the afternoon they were attacked and most of them killed, Amanullah Khan taking to his heels in the night with 300 or 400 men. And if the Persians of Spahaun had been as brave, they might have treated Mahmud in the same way, as Mahmud had not more than 200 men, most of the Candaharis having returned to their country fearing the power of the Persians. The people of Spahaun could have easily laid their hands upon their bitterest enemy, dead or alive.

"Mahmud, hearing of what had happened at Qazvin, seemed to go mad with rage, especially as he had just ordered the celebration of victory by bonfires and trumpet calls, which he had continued for nine days. When Amanullah Khan returned, all the grandees and King's slaves were murdered by way of revenge, which caused a frightful tumult and pitiful screaming, which I heard as I happened to be with the Dutch in the garden of their factory, we were nearly dumb, not knowing what it meant, although such screams had sometimes been heard at night, as the Afghans now and then broke into people's houses and murdered them.

"The next morning the murdered grandees and King's slaves were laid out naked on their backs in the forecourt of the palace so that everybody could see what bloody revenge the tyrant Mahmud had taken. Some people said they had seen the old King and some of the royal princes among the dead bodies.

"Mahmud, owing to the losses he sustained at Qazvin, hurried the larger part of his treasure off to Candahar, and as he had no power outside Spahaun the famine returned, and he allowed the Dutch and English residents to fetch provisions outside. When they returned with a caravan of rice, corn and butter, he at once took half, also Amanullah Khan and Nishun the traitor, paying for the same. The French surgeon, named Harmet, who had treated Amanullah Khan for his wounds, declared that for eight days no rice had been cooked

nor bread baked in his excellency's residence. The cause of this renewed famine is easily understood, as the Afghans had not been able to take a single village* round the town, being kept at bay by gunfire. They are brave soldiers on horseback with their sabre in hand when they find no resistance, but like the Persians they cannot bear the smell of powder, pretending that the fumes of sulphur cause great pain and swimming of the head. And when they appear before a village they are treated with pills that give them such a purge that they do not like to return. There was also a report of the coming of Prince Thomas† at the head of an army from Qazvin; the guards were doubled and Nishun sent to reconnoitre.

“As soon as this traitor had left, the English got permission from Amanullah Khan to go to Gamron,‡ on condition that they would take nothing with them. I availed myself of this opportunity, leaving in their company on March 26, 1723, on horseback; we had only some pocket-pistols hidden about our persons. After three days' journey we reached Qumishah, where we were kindly received. There I was informed by letter that Nishun had return to Spahaun. When I arrived at Shiraz I received the sad news that the Dutch factory had been destroyed and the Dutch had been very badly treated and were in fear of their lives. Their garden had been searched for treasure, but it is not known how much was taken. In another letter from an Armenian it was stated that Mahmud had had all Persian women who had mixed with Afghans beheaded with their children.

“The principal reason of this undying hatred between the Afghans and the Persians is said to be that now about a hundred years ago Shah Abbas, called Buzurg, that is the Great, had conquered Candahar, causing a fearful massacre, giving women and girls to his soldiers. After which, the grandees having been called together from around Candahar, a treaty was made under which the principality of Candahar was to submit to Shah Abbas, who would appoint a governor, and 20,000 tomans, besides dresses of honour, were to be given to them each year. Now although the successive governors had carried this out (taking the women they liked unto them as slaves), the annual present and dresses of honour had ceased under Shah Sultan Husain, these uncouth peásants and mountaineers not being looked

* Persian villages then as now are walled in and look much like mediæval castles. The walls are generally made of sun-dried bricks, and on each corner of the square building is a round tower.

† Tahmasp.

‡ Now Bandar Abbas.

upon as worthy of them, besides which they were treated tyrannically by the governors.

“The above has thus been described briefly from what I have seen during fifteen months with my own eyes at Spahaun, having heard the rest from veracious friends, requesting humbly that this narrative may please him who wishes to become acquainted with it.

“In the town of Cochin, April 10, 1724.

“F. Alexander à Sigismundo, Carm. disc. miss. appr. ad Mallab.”

* * * * *

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

I have been unable to find out who Friar Alexander à Sigismundo was, but I presume that he was a Flemish Roman Catholic monk, who had joined the Carmelites at Ispahan.

Already on November 18, 1722, the Dutch had been forced to pay Shah Sultan Husain 17,000 tomans, against bills on the Governors of Resht and Lahijan and on the Governors of the Gulf ports. The total amount taken from them by the Shah and by Mahmud was over 40,000 tomans (about £160,000). The English factors, having proved their treasury to be empty, had been allowed to escape to Bandar Abbas.

In 1728, as it appears from the records at The Hague, the Dutch factory was attacked by Abdullah Khan, the Dutch residents having been treacherously kidnapped by him. They were murdered just before the arrival of two ships which had been sent from Batavia for their relief with a force of Dutch and Balinese soldiers. The story of the siege of the Dutch factory (now used as a Custom-house by the Persian Government) is very interesting reading, but cannot be given here.

Nadir Shah, who had risen to power in the same years, some time afterwards intended to attack the Dutch and English factories at Bandar Abbas, and he wrote to the Dutch Commander there that he had heard from the English that the Dutch had taken the side of the Afghans, thus trying to create ill-feeling between them. The proposed attack, however, did not succeed, warning having been sent in time by means of a messenger who was despatched post-haste from Ispahan.

Contributed by Lt.-Col. Sir Arnold Wilson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O.

REVIEWS

History of Early Iran. By George G. Cameron. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. March, 1936. 13s. 6d.

"At present there is no single work which describes in a comprehensive fashion the history of the Iranian plateau before Cyrus attained mastery. . . . The present study endeavours to present the facts about early Elamite and Iranian history in a manner which will be at the same time useful to the scholar and intelligible to the layman."

These introductory remarks are fully justified; on the other hand there are good reasons why such a book was not written, and it is Cameron's merit to have dared to tackle an extremely difficult subject. The book is full of material, and I don't remember to have found missing any fact worth mentioning. Some of it is of deep interest. I can only choose one as an example.

The kingdom of Elam is one of the rare instances in history of "matrilinear . . . succession; right to the throne was traceable through the mother." To explain the perplexing data in the inscriptions, Cameron expounds the theory of a "step-by-step policy of throne succession" (p. 71)—except for natural irregularities as premature death, etc.—and of a "threefold division of power": a young "*sukkal* of Susa" in due course was raised from this office to the higher rank of "*sukkal* of Elam and Simash," and lastly attained the supreme rank of "*sukkalmah* of Elam." After the death of the supreme ruler a new *sukkal* of Susa was chosen, probably by the new *sukkalmah*, invariably from the ruler's family. In many cases the *sukkal* of Susa was a mere child. By such a choice the *sukkalmah* would retain the imperial power with less risk to his own life—cf. p. 87: "Elam's involved system of succession surely invited assassination"; p. 157: "An individual could, through family prestige and political intrigue, eventually reach the highest office." In consequence, Cameron is very often inclined to disbelieve a king who calls himself "son of a sister of the founder of the dynasty."

This conception, which is the leading idea for his interpretation of the facts of the political history of Elam, makes scarcely any use of the perfectly true observation of the female succession. This primary fact is clearly outstanding.

Matrilinear succession does not mean a gynæcocratic system. It is the male members of the family that rule the land. But female inheritance would never originate in a patriarchy nor where monogamy prevails. Although the marriage forms in Elam were surely not monogamic, it is improbable that real polyandry was still practised in historical times.—Let us call an ancestress the "Queen." Her son is the ruler of the land. He may have sons, but those enter into the families of their mothers and do not belong to the royal clan; they are no heirs. The example of Kutur-Mabuk, son of Shilhaha, who established two of his sons as kings of Larsa in Sumer,

shows how important a part such sons of the kings might play: and yet there is no question of their succession to the throne. The successor is the son of the eldest daughter of the queen, the nephew of the king. And so on from sister's son to sister's son. That would be the natural thing in a true communistic state, and it is of great interest to know that such a system prevailed in a highly civilized country through thousands of years.

But, contrary to Cameron's view, such a system would produce less inbreeding than any other one. The sister's husband, the Queen's consort—even in the plural—must naturally also have played an important part in politics, especially if there was no male child. And that is the darkest point in the whole problem as offered by the Elamite documents. We must expect to find some of the king's brothers-in-law, anyhow, hidden behind the veil of those strange titles. I do not see any support for the assumption that the existence of the queen's consort and of sons of the king must have caused more political intrigue than, e.g., the polygamic system in all other Eastern kingdoms.

In all patriarchies a family is named after a male ancestor. In a truly gynæcocratic system a family name might be derived from that of an ancestress. But where men rule as kings with matrilinear succession, it seems quite natural to call a family the "sons of *the* sister of the founder"; "of *a* sister" is a misleading translation. Such was the case in Elam. There is no reason to doubt the truth of all those rulers who call themselves in that way. In various countries the pedigree of a new ruling family has been connected somewhat artificially with that of their predecessors. But in Elam we find several dynasties—much clearer than, e.g., in Assur—and we have no proof that the irregularity of a succession has been concealed.

Royalty in Elam was hereditary through the women. The "Eternal Empire" came to an end when Asurbanipal deported "the females of the lines through whom royalty descended" (p. 207).—The successor was not a young member of the family of the king, chosen by his second in command at the moment of the supreme ruler's death, and often a child for the safety of the ruler—if there was a choice it was that of a consort for the queen—but the successor was always a child born to his high rank by the queen or king's sister, who herself, in the olden times, remained in most cases anonymous. It is especially this child that is often called the "sister's son." Against Cameron's scepticism (p. 61, n. 51), the Akkadian translation of the Elam. word *ruhu shaḫ* by *mār ahītim*, "sister's son"—as well in the Hammurabi period as a thousand years later in the Babyl. Chronicle—is unquestionable, and it is not invalidated by the use of the Elam. word as a translation for OP. *napa*, "grandson." Considering the incongruity of such notions and words in a patriarchal and in a matriarchal system, the *tertium comparationis* is quite clear: the generalized meaning of the Elam., the Akk., and the OP. word is the "heir": so we must translate *ruhu shaḫ*.

The number of exceptions and unexplained contradictions to his interpretation of the facts, which Cameron himself annotates, is a relatively large one, and becomes multiplied by the cases where another interpretation is

more satisfying. Apparently, his interpretation comes near the truth without hitting it. "*Sukkal* of Susa" we must consider as the title of the heir to the throne. *Sukkalmah* is that of the supreme ruler. Where we are able to see, the *sukkal* of Susa is a child, the *sukkalmah*, an old man. "*Sukkul* of Elam and Simash" may either be the title of the heir to the throne after the birth of a new heir in the second generation, or perhaps the title of the queen's consort.

We cannot enter into details here, but one or two examples are indispensable, the more so, as they lead to further conclusions or confirmations.

If, in the oldest period, Idaddu I. is called "son of Bebi" as well as "sister's son of Hutrantepi," Bebi must have been the sister of Hutrantepi. Supposing that this man founded a new line, his sister Bebi became the ancestress of the new royal family by his assumption of power.—The richest material for these studies is furnished by the long-living house of the "Divine Messengers" or "sons of the sister of Shilhaha" at the beginning of the second millennium B.C.—But no conclusion must be drawn from Babylonian sources, for no foreign text can avoid to misrepresent the widely differing terminology of the Elamite.

Near the end of the Elamite empire we have the case of Huban-Nugash, "whose sister was the wife of Huban-immena, in whom we must see the first king of the new empire." I doubt: Huban-immena was nothing more than what the text says, the queen's consort. The successor is, quite regularly, the nephew of the king, Shutruk-Nahhunte II., son of that sister. "The real claim to future power of this individual lay in the fact that he was the son of the great king of Anzan and Susa, Huban-immena." The real claim was his birthright as heir of his mother. The second successor, again, is not a descendant of Huban-immena, but an uncle of Shutruk-Nahhunte, a second brother of his mother, the same queen; apparently because there was no other son or grandson of hers.

Thus we have the matrilinear succession at the beginning and at the end of the Elamite empire, for almost 2,000 years. The more striking is it that, at the height of Elamite power, after the "Kassite Interlude," in about 1300-1100 it looks as if there had been male succession. That cannot be, and a few data suggest another interpretation. The greatest ruler of that dynasty of "kings of Anzan and Susa," Shilhak-Inshushinak, calls himself sister's son of Beyak (a woman!).—*Ruhu shak*, here, means clearly "the heir," and the strange expression confirms that female succession subsisted. This king married the wife of his predecessor, Kutir-Nahhunte, and his own son of this marriage succeeded. Normally the marriage of the king would be of no consequence. But here it appears indeed as if the queen's consort had assumed supreme power. The succession of the son, normally, would imply that the father did not belong to the royal family. Nevertheless, another interpretation is possible; the more so, as under this dynasty there are more cases of the succession of a king's son—namely, that these, in fact, are cases of the marriage of half-brother and sister. The idea of the marriage of full brother and sister—the Vaelsinga-saga shows that it was not absolutely "repulsive to the Aryan mind"—we may leave quite apart: it probably never

happened. But the wives of the kings appear more prominent during the reign of this dynasty than at any other period of Elamite history. We touch here, once more, the problem, not yet elucidated, of the political part played by the queen's consorts.

Matrilinear succession did not disappear in Iran with the Elamite empire. There is an exact analogy in Sakastān, before and after the beginning of our era, as I have shown in *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran* IV., pp. 91-98. There the supreme ruler is the "great king," the second in rank is the "king's brother(-in-law)," and the third the "king's nephew"—*i.e.*, sister's son. There, too, it has been erroneously assumed that a threefold, or even fourfold, division of power and a step-by-step succession was customary: in truth, the king's brother, though second in rank, stands quite outside the succession. The same institutions are, *e.g.*, reported from the Malabar coast in Western India, still about 1300 A.D., by Ibn Battūta, also in Central Africa. Possibly similar customs prevailed also in Hittite Asia Minor. The problem deserves careful study, for these things occur so rarely that they are specially important for the obscure questions of the ethnical relationship of the nations concerned. But that will be still a long study.

Cameron feels apparently more at home where he speaks of Elam than of Iran proper, or other regions. In the chapter called "The Kassite Interlude" he broaches other problematic themes. He begins with words to the effect that few conquerors left so great an impress upon Babylonia as did the Kassites. I cannot but consider the Kassite period as the "Dark Ages" of Babylonia. Long before their invasion the old civilization of that land had been absolutely dead. All creative power ceased, and the whole period was one of stagnation, of changeless repetition of the same thoughts and things, as it is peculiar to primitive races. The Kassites were, like many other peoples, horsebreeders, and Cameron therefore believes in a connection between them and the "Indo-European hordes," like the Hittites or the rulers of Mitanni, that were attacking at this time the N.W. borders of the "Fertile Crescent," a term much used at the Oriental Institute. The Hittites in this case are the "nasi"-speaking people that founded the great empire of Khattusas. The true relation of their language to the Indo-European ones is far from being definitely established, and the only assertion regarding their "race" we can make from their representations in sculpture is that they certainly were no Europeans. They ought not to be called "Indo-European hordes." The rulers of Mitanni came from a quite different stock: they appear after 1500, and were Aryans—*i.e.*, a small number of warriors—detached from the main body of the Aryans that were wandering, about that time, from the Oxus-Iaxartes region towards India.

To substantiate this supposed connection, Cameron adduces the names of three Kassite gods: *Shuriash* = Skr. *surya*, Gr. *Helios*; *Maruttash* = Ved. *Marut*; and *Buriash* = Gr. *Boreas*. In his own inscription Ulamburiash calls himself and his father Ulaburariash and Burnaburariash, shapes of the name that forbid a comparison of Buriash and Boreas. *Maruttash*—if it was actually the name of a god—and *Marut* is scarcely more than an assonance. Only *Shuriash* = *Surya* stands criticism. Cameron infers that "an Indo-

European and so ultimately Nordic ruling cast, had once lived among the Kassites, an aristocracy that forgot their own language, and of whose Indo-Iranian culture scarcely a vestige remained behind; if there had been an Indo-European intermixture . . . none of the traces remained by 900 B.C." This can scarcely be called "a presentation of the facts about the early history." The appearance of the name Shuriash may easily be explained by the assumption that it was transmitted from the Aryans in the plains of the Oxus-Iaxartes region to the Kassites on the Iranian plateau. The homeland of the Kassites is not doubtful; there is more evidence than that already alleged by Cameron: it was the land North of Elam, East of Northern Iraq, the modern Pish-Kūh in a generous application of that name. Cameron sees an obstacle in the mention of the name *Kashshen* already in the twenty-fourth century B.C. "at a time when it is highly improbable that the Kassites had yet arrived." I cannot conceive any reason why they ought to have "arrived" at all, instead of having been there from times immemorial, at least as long as their relatives the Elamites in Elam, that means from the real Stone Age. The homeland of the Kassites has become more than well known during the last few years by the so-called Luristan-bronzes. These cover a period, at least from Sargon and Naram Sin down to about the year 1000 B.C. The main bulk of the objects is datable by their affinities with corresponding objects from the Kassite period of Babylon, with the great foundation deposits of Susa, and by a great number of seals and some inscriptions, into the Kassite period of Babylon, down to the Second Dynasty of Isin. Cameron touches the subject in another chapter, on p. 183: against his view that bronze manufacture had been initiated in the mountains by import pieces from Babylonia, I want to recall the basic fact that the mountains contain the metal foreign to the alluvial lands, and that at all times metallurgy has been brought down from the mountains into Babylonia. Various opinions have been expounded regarding the Luristan bronzes, few attempts at a scientific proof have been made. Their place in relation to the other prehistoric periods of the Iranian plateau can be nothing but the Kassite period of Babylonia. And there is a pretty long series of archæological material to be inserted between the end of the Luristan-culture and the eighth century, where the Aryan civilization begins.

To write the chapter "The Land and the People" one would need a thorough local knowledge, and, likewise, to solve the intricate problems offered by the many hundreds of unknown place-names of ancient Iran, one would need years of exploration as there are no maps with reliable nomenclature. The Chapters VIII., X., and XII. deal with the Iranians. More than in the chapter on "Kassite Interlude," these contain interpretation instead of presentation of facts. We know so very little, and the amount of preparatory historical criticism and research which has not yet been undertaken, is immense. Meanwhile, the keen desire to know, to draw a general picture, makes all of us lay axiom on axiom, supposition on supposition. But that is building in the air. The time has not yet come for a coherent representation of the facts known. The only way, at present, is to analyze, and to leave the synthesis to the future.

I do not wish to appear to criticize severely. I have chosen as example of the interesting contents of the book some problems consequential for other related studies, in which I believe the author is not on the right way. But Cameron's book is of great value and a most welcome help for every student. If there are shortcomings they are not his fault. It is partly the tendency of our time. The interest of an educated public demands books on historical or archæological subjects from parts of the world, the exploration of which is still in a rudimentary stage. Therefore, books, summarizing our present knowledge, begin to precede the analytical research work and the elaboration of the material so far collected. Without that public interest and response, scientific work is condemned to a sterile *l'art pour l'art* attitude and cannot live. Hence, one tries to accomplish the impossible: there may be merit in it; at any rate it proves an enthusiasm which is the best promise for future achievements. But it is also the cliff on which many of us are wrecked.

E. HERZFELD.

The Birth of Indian Psychology and its Development in Buddhism. By Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A., President of the Pāli Text Society. 6" + 4". Pp. xii × 444. London: Luzac. 1936. 5s. Paper covers, 3s. 6d.

This book is a much altered and enlarged edition of the author's *Buddhist Psychology*, published in 1914. The alterations are the result of the still further study devoted by her to the Pāli, to which she has now added the Sanskrit scriptures.

Was Buddhism born monastic, pessimistic and nihilistic, or did it grow to be such? That is the question with which Dr. Rhys Davids' works show her to have been long preoccupied. She plumps decisively for the second alternative; and she arrives at her conclusion from the results of a higher criticism of the Hīnayāna scriptures, and the philosophical outlook of the times in India, from which, combined, she deduces what the original doctrines must have been.

The Pāli teachings, she holds, have been much falsified by successive pious editings; but passages have been left in them which are inconsistent with their general line of doctrine, and in these it is possible to find evidence, however fragmentary, as to the nature of the genuine doctrine of the Sakya sage.

She has not, as yet, carried other Buddhistic scholars with her.

In the preface of the first edition of this book she complained: "While scholars are beginning to get at and decipher the long-buried treasure of Buddhist writings brought from Mid-Asia, the general reader is being told that the group of other descendants from early Buddhism, called Mahā-Yānism, is not only evolved from the earlier doctrine but is its completion and apotheosis." Dr. E. J. Thomas, however, in his *History of Buddhist Thought*, published three years ago, was apparently still unconvinced. He referred with some doubt to Mrs. Rhys Davids' "hypothetical" primitive

Buddhism, and observed: "Other scholars have been at work, and we know now of other schools with an equal right to claim that they were holding the primitive teaching," so that "the problem about the primitive teaching now becomes actual," rather than a matter for hypotheses.

Dr. Rhys Davids' present work, however, dealing with psychology in particular, and only secondarily with metaphysical and religious doctrine, is no mere presentation of hypotheses. She commences by laying before the reader an enlarged and objective study of Brahmanical psychology, to show the antecedents and background from which the Sakya psychology emerged, and then proceeds to a detailed account of Buddhist psychology in its successive stages. It is a task taking her considerably beyond the requirements of her main and familiar line of argument.

In the early Upaniṣads a man's spirit (*prāṇa*) was regarded as veiled by *nāma-rūpa*—roughly, qualities and body. Man valued creation, being himself a maker or doer. Mind was referred to as a food and a wherewithal of the central self.

In the principal Buddhist scriptures, the Piṭakas, on the other hand, mind is analyzed into a number of constituents, all connected with the world of change and therefore themselves transient, and no central soul or spirit is left remaining. In fact, the non-existence of soul (*an-attā*) was one of the cardinal dogmas of developed Buddhism.

Was this annihilation of the central self an integral part of Gautama's doctrine? What, in the first place, was the Brahmanical doctrine in this respect?

In the early Upaniṣads we are only on the threshold of psychology, but still we are on the threshold. The Ātman (self or soul) was the director, that which "makes to go within." Mind was an instrument, that by which one sees or hears, although no word for instruments or for "using" is found. The term *puruṣa*, "man," referred not merely to the bodily man, but far more to the centre of personality, the self. The Ātman, far from being denied, was held to be one in nature with Brahman, the divine reality. "The man who is seen in the eye . . . the self; that is immortal fearless Brahman."

In this inchoate psychology God and man were not viewed as static or as mere percipients. There is a number of words and expressions indicating activity and process as essential to reality, in contrast to the tendency, which the author regards as belonging to modern Indian commentators, to emphasize the Absolute as unchanging and to despise the transient as illusion (*māyā*).

"He who has found and is wakened to the self . . . creator he in sooth, maker of all the world." Free and increasing use is made of the word *bhavati*, "becomes," and of other words from the same root; a fact which, according to the author, has been overlooked by modern translators and commentators. The ancient commentator Yājñavalkya, similarly, spoke of "the way," a path of progress towards the heaven-world, and remarked that "doer of good becomes good," and so on.

The contents of the Upaniṣads were often ill-expressed, because words

suitable to the sense had not yet been found. For example, there was no word to express potentiality. The famous "That art thou" meant "Thou art potentially That," or "Study to become one who is becoming That."

Mind was not yet conceived, as the Buddhists later saw it, as the unifier of sensations into percepts, although one passage in one of the older Upaniṣads approaches near to this conception. But the older writers described mind as the light of man, as "enclosed behind hearing," and as something beyond, though included in, life, just as understanding was something beyond, and included in, mind.

There was no word, either among the Brahmanical or among the Buddhist teachers, for Will, although this significance was practically borne by one term or another, of origin quite alien to this meaning, from time to time.

Mind carried an efferent sense, a sense of action, and even of Will: "When by mind he minds 'I want to learn mantras . . . I want to do karmas,' then he learns, he does." Here "mind" is practically Will. Mind was expressly distinguished from purpose, thought and musing (*dhyāna*).

Dhyāna, in the early Upaniṣads, was merely "musing" in the sense, the author suggests, of the classical expression "I sits and thinks," without any idea of concentration. But in the middle Upaniṣads—and we have no concern with any Upaniṣads later than the middle—it began to emerge definitely as "a mental state which it is now the vogue to call mystic"; and later, in the Maitri, it occurs in the Sixfold Yoga.

Even in the early Upaniṣads there was a tendency to exalt *prajñāna*—i.e., forward-knowledge, wisdom, understanding—into a comprehensive term embracing all the qualities of man's nature; in fact, into a term for the self converted into a mere mind. Here the Kauṣītāki, though early, foreshadows a prominent feature of Buddhism. It foreshadows also, in the author's opinion, another feature of Gautama's own teaching, which was set at naught by the developed form of Buddhism. It says:

"One should desire to understand not the speech but the speaker . . . not the act but the agent . . . nor mind, but the minder."

This was evidently a warning against a tendency already existing to disregard the self and concentrate attention upon its individual manifestations.

The emotional vocabulary was weak. In some measure, one may suggest, this is due to the nature of the subject-matter of the old texts. But the author is struck with the absence of words for wonder, awe and holiness, although she concedes in this connection the significance of the sacred syllable *Om*.

She finds little reference to *sukh* and *dukh*, pleasure and pain, which were so prominent in Buddhist philosophy. *Ānanda* (bliss or delight) was the goal, and was contrasted with sin and desire. "Release" is a word touched with emotion, and is bound up with Brahman, the Highest. It is release either from the body or from death or desires.

There are certain approaches to the idea of Will in the shape of "inten-

tion," "purpose," "insistent seeking-out," and *kāma* ("desire"), which, in spite of being mentioned as something to be escaped from, is also still used in the honourable sense of striving after good.

In the early analysis of the self we come finally to an unseen equipment which was conceived as belonging to a man when in deep sleep. He is "in the embrace of the wisdom-self," rid of sorrow, in a state in which all distinctions are obliterated, but consciousness persists. In the same passage, however, the author finds a perplexing reference to physical enjoyment taking place before the return to the sleeping body. With reference to this, and also to a passage in another Upaniṣad, the author's theory is that there is a reference to the *linga-śarīra*, the subtle or "astral" body, which in the peace of the co-present next world becomes the real and tangible body. Dr. Rhys Davids thinks we are too sceptical about the stories of abnormal psychical phenomena. Instead of the conception of the subconscious, which we try to explore by way of the earth-mind, Indian psychology saw dimly in our unconscious nature the possession of more instruments than we credit ourselves with—to wit, a different mind and a different body.

In the middle Upaniṣads—the latest with which we are concerned—two fresh and potent influences are visible: the intrusion of Sāṅkhya analysis and the development of Yoga; movements which, though superficially linked together, were essentially opposed one to the other.

Sāṅkhya was a preponderatingly secular and speculative movement of thought. Speculating as to causes, it reads man's qualities into the universe as three great principles or forces by the play of which man's activities are governed. The mind, in the Sāṅkhyan view, was a part of nature, of *prakṛti*, the "manifest." The spirit, *puruṣa*, on the other hand, though united with nature, was of a different form of existence, and aimed at the consummation of detachment and isolation (*kaivalyam*). Its dualism was, in effect, a negation of the very idea of *yoga*, "union" or "communion."

The Sāṅkhya, which penetrated and influenced rather than captured the Upaniṣadic schools, was accompanied by a considerable enlargement of the philosophical and psychological vocabularies.

From nature, it was held, issued intellect, *buddhi*, a term apparently little used in Buddhism itself. From *buddhi* issued *ahaṃkāra*, "I-making," or the ego-principle; or, in Farquhar's words, "a subtle cosmic substance which marks every psychical movement with the word 'mine,' and makes each spirit imagine itself an active human being." The self was emasculated by the branding of its activities as factitious. For the spirit was held to be, in point of fact, inactive.

In this system also the author is able to point to the recognition of process and growth. Among the new terms are the *ṛttis* and the *bhāvas*. The former are processes or functions. *Bhāvas*, sometimes translated "dispositions," are literally "becomings." They result from acts or conduct. For example, the result of the waning of passion is held to be "a becoming of waning in the phenomenal"; its reverse "a becoming of more *samsāra*," wayfarings, transmigrations. They are not states, but processes.

Dr. Rhys Davids points at a later stage to Sāṅkhya analysis as one of the

formative influences of the developed Buddhism. The points of resemblance between the two, cosmic and psychological analysis and depreciation of the ego, are obvious. The chronological relation between the Sāṅkhya and early Buddhism is, however, obscure, and those who reject the author's view of early Buddhism as having thought nobly of the soul may regard both schools as examples of the same pessimistic tendency.

Yoga, in contrast to Sāṅkhya, was esoteric and introspective, and, of course, mystical. In the early Upaniṣads is found mention of the seeking for an inner unity, especially in man's own composition; a seeking for the real, the thread, the inner controller of worlds, through knowledge of which the seeker, "having become calm, tamed . . . overcomes and burns evil." In the middle Upaniṣads it has become a definite religious practice. The features of the Sixfold Yoga were breath-restraint, withdrawal, musing, sustained attention, application and concentration; a list which was not intended to indicate order in time.

The influence of the cenobite had grown. The old idea of Immanence had given way to some extent to a concept of life as ill because of man's hampering bodily encasement (this appears both in Sāṅkhya and in Yoga), and of the social evils to which men were led by the dominance of this encasement.

Before quitting the Upaniṣads, the author notes that they contain little analysis of the senses and their operation. They speak of *indriyas*, lordships or faculties, in this connection—a term which remained in use among the Buddhists; they call the senses "graspers," which illustrates again their view of the sense as active rather than mere percipients, and they came, under the influence of Immanence and non-personal Deism, to call them *devas*, gods or powers.

The psychology of the school of Immanence, in the author's opinion, while dwelling on the goal, paid comparatively little attention to "the long, long way of becoming." To show the materials for such a psychology was one of the first and pressing tasks of Buddhism.

Gautama Buddha went so far with the ascetics as to hold that the gates of sense must be guarded. But his gospel was intended for Everyman. It is questionable, in the author's opinion, whether he intended even his order of missionaries to lead an ascetic life. There is extant an indication that he saw this from the first to be impracticable.

Again, in one of the Suttas, a young Brahman tells the Buddha that he has been taught that cultivation (or development) consists in "not seeing, not hearing." "In that case," the Buddha rejoins, "the blind and the deaf must be cultivating their senses." Cultivation, the answer seems to mean, must be of the whole man.

The Buddha, the author concludes from her comprehensive and life-long studies, called it wrong to see body or mind as *attā* (Sanskrit *ātma*), but did not say that it was wrong to see the *attā* as *having* a body and mind. Indeed, current idiom, as used by the founders, according to the Suttas themselves, admitted the self to "have" a mind. For example, in the Great Gosinga Sutta, Gautama's disciple Sāriputta says that a human being can

dispose of the mind (*citta*) as a gentleman may don just the suit that he thinks fit, "and not," says Sāriputta, "the mind dispose of him."

"Had," continues the author, "the idiom of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. provided India with popular terms for instrument or tool or 'use,' it is very probable that the discarding of man's reality in institutional Buddhism might never have come about."

We turn now to the Nikāyas (Collections), which form the contents of the second and most important of the three Piṭakas, the Sutta (or "Sermon") Piṭaka. And here it may be said in passing that the first consists mainly of rules for monks, and the third of the schoolmen's elaboration and completion of theory.

In the Nikāyas *attā* kept in many contexts its meaning of a divine or superhuman self. The Second Utterance, as the author interprets it, says—if one may summarize it briefly—that if the self were identical with the body, or with the mind, the body's or mind's power of choosing would be omnipotent, whereas this is not so, and mind and body are liable to ill. It did not deny the existence of the imperishable self.

The *attā* is also, in various passages, a witness or conscience, a "gait," a light and a refuge. Such designations are difficult to reconcile with *an-attā*.

Turning to the treatment of mind in the Nikāyas, the author finds that, in general, interest is diverted from man's mind to mental aspects of his life and to *dhammas* or the mental phenomena in which he expresses himself. But references to the mind as a sort of instrument of man survive in many places.

There are three terms specially in use for "mind." *Mano* corresponded roughly with the Vedic *manas*. *Citta* was the mind as impulsive, experiencing and affected, almost the "heart" in our usage. *Viññāna* was at first "awareness," not of this world only, and almost amounted to soul, but declined to mere consciousness, including that undefined consciousness which was held to survive physical death and rebirth.

Of the numerous other mental terms originated by Buddhism, defining itself to make clear its distinctions from Brahmanism, the general characteristic, according to the author, is that each is a process or a way rather than a state.

While there is no Pālī term for Will, Dr. Rhys Davids states that the abundance of terms for creative energy in various forms has been generally neglected. There was *virīya*, energy; *padhāna*, strenuous effort; *iddhi*, "effectuating," which in some contexts meant realizing a "More" by successive stages of concentration; *chanda*, a (righteous) desire, "noble quest," "wrestling," "giving birth to," and the constant use of "to make become." Institutional Buddhism came to fear the idea of change, and, man having already been stripped of Immanence, it stripped him also of this self-directed activity.

There is no word for our "love"; but there is *anukampā*, goodwill; *mettā*, friendliness; and *muditā*, sympathetic joy. The author points out that it is remarkable that although the Buddha was shown as a man of

endless sympathy and amity, the eight *bhāvas*, which she evidently regards as subsequent to his time, contain no reference to any such feelings.

There is very little curiosity shown in the Suttas as to the means of contact in the operations of sense. Sense was held to be empty, but not unreal. There is no reference to *Māyā* in the Piṭakas.

Pāli literature contains no reference to the "other-world mind." But "psychic" experiences were evidently accepted without question, and with very little curiosity as to the human instrument called in them into play. Three kinds of such experiences are mentioned: *jhāna*, *iddhi* and *abhiññā*.

In *jhāna* (*dhyāna*), thinking or musing, certain stages of elimination lead on to the winning of perfect *sati*, lucid, alert mentality, and of *upekkhā*, indifference or poise. The word *yoga* is never used in this connection, nor is there anything in the accounts of *jhāna* pointing to intensive introspective meditation. The author emphasizes, indeed, that Yoga, contrary to current belief, is practically no feature of Buddhism. The word *yoga* appears with varying meanings, always as a mere accessory and in no way as a specific practice.

Jhāna was, in the author's belief, a preparation to receive supernormal experience. It is often mentioned as a preparation for *iddhi* and *abhiññā*.

Iddhi was the exercise of abnormal will-power, as in levitation and disappearance.

Abhiññā, "much-knowing," means, roughly, the following:

- (1) Hearing sounds not audible to normal hearing,
- (2) Thought-reading,
- (3) Recollection of one's past incarnations, and
- (4) Seeing Beings not visible to normal sight,

besides *iddhi* as above. These faculties are said to be acquirable by long-ing and practice.

The author regards all these practices as being attained largely through the "other body," which, however, is not actually mentioned in Pāli literature.

The *arahān* (Chinese *lohan*) was the religious man who had attained perfection in this life—a conception repellent to Dr. Rhys Davids. This typically static conception did not long remain in favour in Southern Buddhism.

Space does not allow of our following the author into the Abhidhamma and later literature.

The above sketch departs in many instances from her wording: partly for simple brevity's sake, and partly because her jargon of "a More," "a Less," "the man," "worthing," and so on, would have been perplexing to the reader.

It is almost an impertinence for a layman to offer an opinion on the author's general argument. But the reviewer may perhaps record some impressions for what they are worth.

Dr. Rhys Davids' arguments are, in general, well supported by detailed instances. One feels some uneasiness as to whether many of her *bhavatis*

and processes may not have been, in the minds of their mental begetters, merely instances of flux, and not really of growth and progress; but this does not cut at the root of her argument. What is perhaps more important is that one feels doubtful when she disputes the current belief that Gautama refused to synthesize his own opinions, and suggests that this was a late invention to conceal deletions. If she is wrong here, her inferences as to the nature of Gautama's original teachings become less secure.

But in the main she appears to make out a *prima facie* case requiring answer, although one will not be surprised if her case is, in the end, a little damaged by the enemy's fire.

There appears no reason, in any case, why the evidence from the Northern Buddhist schools should render Dr. Rhys Davids' circumstantial evidence worthless. It will surely have to be a *very* early tradition which will be conclusive as to the nature of original Buddhism.

A. F. K.

The Archæological History of Iran. By Ernst Herzfeld. (Schweich Lectures.) 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. xii + 112. Twenty plates. London: Milford. 7s. 6d.

These lectures are as exciting as a detective story: they give a bird's-eye view of how the greatest living authority can illustrate and interpret archæologically the history of pre-Moslem Iran (meaning thereby the political unit formerly known as Persia, not the wider geographical area). Being brief, as lectures must be, and full of matter, they have the defects inseparable from their very unusual merits. Each remnant of antiquity is mentioned only for its bearing on the whole picture, and in some cases the interpretation is not so obviously a fact as the argument assumes; while for other points dependent upon Professor Herzfeld's own recent researches, we have only such evidence as he gives us here, pending a fuller publication. This applies to one of the most important sections, concerning the fire-temples of late Zoroastrian times; the identification as such of a certain type of building is convincing, but the descriptions of some examples are inadequate, and a more detailed report will be eagerly awaited in the case of a very important ruin he has excavated on an island in the Hamun Lake of Sistan. In its second reconstructed form, this is plainly Sassanian, but the original structure is ascribed, with perhaps undue confidence, to the Parthian period: the island is identified, through an ingenious use of traditions, Avestan and Christian, as a sacred place associated with Zoroaster and with one of the Magi connected with the birth of Christ. One result is to aid the conjectures that Zoroaster's date should be the sixth century B.C., that the Hystaspes who helped him was Darius' father, and that subsequent members of the Achæmenian dynasty adhered to the Zoroastrian faith. The weight of evidence is formidable, if one would explain it away as coincidence, and in Professor Herzfeld's hands it all tends to this conclusion.

He also uses the painted decoration of the temple to support the theory that the Hellenized art of the Indian frontier arose in the Greek kingdom of Bactria, of which the only certain relics are the coins. But these, it is generally recognized, might have been the work of a few immigrants, and do not necessarily imply the existence of a flourishing local art; they are, in any case, purely Greek, whereas the postulated school should be partly native in its tradition. A dependence of Greco-Indian art upon the contemporary Romano-Parthian borderlands still seems to me more plausible than any direct debt to the adventurers who had maintained

the defunct Greek kingdoms of Bactria: the regular swoop of parallel folds so characteristic of Indian drapery is found in contemporary Greco-Egyptian terracottas—there is a striking example in the Fitzwilliam at Cambridge—and something like it is habitual at Palmyra.

I mention these questionable points to show that the book, great achievement as it is, must not be regarded as the last word on its subject, but rather as an extremely suggestive starting-point for further research on the ancient and mediæval civilization and art of the Near and Middle East.

A. W. LAWRENCE.

The Birth of China: A Survey of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization. By Herrlee Glessner Creel, Instructor of Chinese History and Language, the University of Chicago. Jonathan Cape. 15s. net.

Anyone who is interested in Chinese art, history, or civilization will find this book of great value.

It will appeal alike to experts and to those who are comparatively ignorant of China. To the expert, because it gives details, not elsewhere available in English, concerning excavations and finds of the utmost importance which have only recently been made; to the tyro, because the book is written simply, demands no previous knowledge of early Chinese history, and gives a very clear account, based not upon conjecture or second-hand evidence but upon scientifically established fact, of the early development of the oldest living civilization that the world knows.

The literature upon China available to the European is enormous. The majority of these books have been written by people who have insufficient knowledge and experience, or by those who have contented themselves with drawing largely upon the work of others, the basis of such work being at best conjecture or invention on the part of early Chinese writers.

To meet a work which is based upon archæological discovery, scientifically carried out, is therefore a welcome innovation; and Dr. Creel may be regarded as a pioneer among those who will in future unfold the early story of China as further facts become known.

In China Archæology is a study which has only recently come into being. Little more than a generation ago a Chinese scholar who had any knowledge of this, or indeed any other of the sciences, was practically unknown. The study of his own language and literature was enough for him. Any archæological discoveries which were made in the past were carried out by Chinese who had no knowledge of, or training in, a difficult art, and whose only object in digging was the conversion into money of the objects found. Excavation was accordingly done by night and with the utmost despatch, bronzes were the principal objects sought, and superstition necessitated the destruction of any human remains encountered lest the spirits of the departed should take vengeance upon the marauder. For the disturbance of graves in China has always been regarded, in theory at any rate, with the utmost abhorrence, punishable by a lingering death; and only recently one has heard of excavation, undertaken by the authority of the

Chinese Government, in which the nocturnal digging was done with the greatest secrecy and with a minimum of disturbance of the soil, so that the pottery objects discovered were deliberately broken underground and removed in fragments, since the hole through which they were passed was too small to allow the finds to be brought to the surface intact.

On the other hand, any European who attempted to excavate would at once have been the object of hatred and suspicion. He would have been accused of disturbing the good luck of the district, or (as an ulterior motive is always suspected in China) of prospecting for precious metals. In any case he would have been infringing the prerogative of native grave-robbers, and his activities would have been short-lived.

All this has been very rapidly changing during the past few years. The Chinese have quickly realized the importance to the world of the secrets of their own origins held in the soil of their own land. The foreigner has too often in the past become famous through scientific research of one kind or another carried out in China. The *amour propre* of the Chinese has been aroused. Schools of archæological research, museums, and public libraries, all unknown a few decades ago, have been started; young Chinese have been obtaining archæological degrees in foreign universities; and, as the result of the enterprise thus newborn, we may hope that our acquaintance with the details of the early civilization of China may one day approximate to our knowledge of the ancient peoples of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

Accounts of the early history of the Chinese, while stating that the record reaches back for nearly five thousand years, have hitherto acknowledged that almost the first half of this period was legendary, and that authentic fact dated only from the year 841 B.C., some 300 years after the beginning of the Chou dynasty. Chinese writers have maintained that their civilization was developed by the great sages of that dynasty, while many foreign writers, bent upon upholding the intellectual superiority of the West, have gratuitously developed the theory that the Chou people, assumed to be the pioneers of Chinese culture, must have been immigrants from the far West and have brought with them, ready-made, the elements of that civilization which is now regarded as essentially Chinese. And this in spite of the fact that there exists in early Chinese writings no hint or allusion which could possibly warrant so bold an assumption.

Dr. Creel's book definitely puts an end to these theories. Nothing as yet has been revealed to throw a light upon the earliest days of record or upon the still obscure Hsia period (? 2255-1818 B.C.), but the recent excavations give us the most illuminating details regarding the subsequent Shang period, which preceded the Chou by some 600 years and has hitherto also been regarded as mythical.

The early anthropological record of China is scanty enough. First the fossilized human remains discovered near Peking in 1927; next the records of palæolithic man found in the Ordos region and in the valley of the Yellow River between Shensi and Shansi; lastly, various neolithic cultures, including the Yangshao painted pottery finds in Northern Honan, and the later black turned pottery found in Shantung.

The Peking man lived, very possibly, half a million years ago, and was separated by untold ages from the authors of the later cultures; but the interesting point emphasized by Dr. Creel's book is that most, if not all, of the discoveries just indicated possess characteristics which are peculiar to China. While the other very early skeletal remains of man found elsewhere, in Java, Sussex, Germany and South Africa, possess characters which make it probable that none of these races has any living descendant, the skull of *Sinanthropus pekinensis* indicates direct genetic relations with the Mongolian group of present-day man. Much of the earliest neolithic pottery found in China is unique in design, but is very obviously the forerunner of later typical Chinese forms. It will probably, therefore, soon be universally recognized that the Chinese themselves and their distinctive civilization are alike the product of the soil where they still flourish, and that China owes little or nothing—with the exception, probably, of the discovery of bronze—to importation from, or contact with, the West.

Dr. Creel's book is divided into three sections. The first three chapters are devoted to a very brief description of archæological discovery in China and make fascinating reading, particularly the third chapter. The next eleven chapters describe the discoveries made in Northern Honan since the autumn of 1934, of the Great City of Shang, and of the civilization, the arts, the religion and the life of the Shang people, whose tombs were stocked with elaborate and beautiful art objects of every description, and with sacrificial victims of which the tomb figures of the T'ang dynasty are doubtless the direct descendants.

The final fourteen chapters describe the Chou period, which is less well known through excavation than the preceding Shang, but which, as regards its later centuries, is well within the scope of authentic written record.

The description of Shang times is the kernel of the book. Knowledge of this period began in 1899 with the recognition of the Shang "oracle bones" exposed years before by the ploughshare in the Anyang district of Northern Honan. The Shangs took no action of importance without first consulting the spirits of their ancestors. To this end a question was cut upon a piece of bone which was then subjected to heat, and the resulting cracks, interpreted by the diviners, gave the enquirer the advice which he sought. A development of this practice is still quite common in China, though bone is no longer used. These oracular relics were first called "dragon bones," and found a valuable place in the Chinese pharmacopœia, of course with the inscriptions scraped off; but the archæological importance of these bones was not noticed until the year 1899, when Chinese scholars, skilled in the most ancient known forms of Chinese script, recognized that these bone inscriptions must be a still older form. The oracle bones were, however, very quickly counterfeited, for scholars were willing to pay high prices for them and the Chinese excel in faking antiques. The activities of grave-robbers, through whose agency some dozens of Shang bronzes came into the Peking "curio" market each year—mostly to pass into the hands of foreign collectors, who would give the best prices—were the only further links with antiquity until 1928, when scientific excavation for these

bones was initiated, twenty-nine years after their first recognition. Such research had three important difficulties to contend with: firstly, the national antipathy to disturbance of the soil; secondly, the vested interest of professional grave-robbers; and, thirdly, the climate, which only permits excavation during the spring and autumn, when blinding dust-storms are prevalent. Until the autumn of 1934 not a single skeleton datable as certainly Shang had been found and not a single tomb of certainly Shang date had been excavated.

At that time, however, the officials of the National Research Institute succeeded in obtaining the support and protection of the Chinese central authorities, and began systematic excavation in the neighbourhood of Anyang, formerly known as Chang Te Fu, a city in Northern Honan some 80 miles north of the Yellow River. There, on the site of the capital city of the Shang dynasty, they excavated more than 300 Shang tombs, four of them royal tombs of huge proportions. More than 1,100 human skeletons of the Shang period were recovered, many of them in excellent preservation, and the art finds were on a very large scale. Bronze ritual vessels of the finest quality were found by the score; examples of marble statuary (an art which hitherto had been regarded as having originated in the Han dynasty over 1,000 years later) were found of an excellence, in Dr. Creel's words, almost breath-taking; white pottery vessels of an incredible workmanship, bronze helmets by the score, and weapons by the hundred. In one treasure pit alone there were 5,801 articles, including pottery, bone, mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, cowries, bronze, gold, and jade.

The extent of the territory swayed by the Shang kingdom was probably small, and Dr. Creel gives his reasons for believing that it did not exceed 40,000 square miles—four-fifths of the size of England without Wales. The conquest of so small an area may not, therefore, have been a very considerable task, and we read that the Chou people, who successfully invaded the Shang territory from the Wei River basin some 350 miles to the south-west, though superior in military power, were mere barbarians, unable to write until they learned to do so from the subject nation.

As has invariably happened in China, the conquered people absorbed the conquerors, and from the subject Shangs the Chous acquired the civilization and culture which entitled them to that high place which they have always held in history.

Space does not permit reference to details of the life of the Shangs and of their successors, as set forth in Dr. Creel's work, their religion, their family customs, their handicrafts, and their daily life. Two important factors should, however, be noted. Firstly, that the climate of North China has apparently undergone considerable modification in the last 3,000 years, and animals, notably the water-buffalo and the elephant, which could not now endure the northern winter, were then found in Honan; secondly, that the Shangs were very much the same sort of people as the Chinese of to-day, agriculturists and town-dwellers and not pastoral nomads, though their dwellings exemplified the principle of the tent where the roof was supported by upright poles, the walls being mere screens built up after-

wards. Such is, indeed, the ordinary Chinese house of to-day; such are the huge imperial buildings of Peiping. The institutions of China are indeed deep-rooted.

If one may venture upon captious criticism of Dr. Creel's book, one might question the name which he has chosen for it. The China that he deals with is a well-grown stripling, not adult perhaps, but by no means in the cradle. The Shang art objects of bronze, jade, bone, gold, and stone which are described must have been made by a people far advanced in civilization, with no one can say how many ages of initiation behind them. From the skull of 500,000-year-old Peking man to the bronze Shang people, who inhabited the Honan plain but a paltry 3,500 years ago, is a very long step; and since there is no prospect of any inscribed record, it is to further archæological research alone that we may look for knowledge of the birth and childhood of the Chinese people.

One could have wished for several improvements in the book. The index might have been fuller; it would have been a convenience if the notes had been numbered consecutively throughout instead of in a fresh series for each chapter; and one would have been very grateful for more plates, particularly to demonstrate the superiority of the Shang bronzes over the later Chou types. One of the plates, moreover, is unfortunately printed upside down.

The book shows some evidence of having been hastily prepared. There was no doubt good reason for this, and students will look with keen anticipation for Dr. Creel's forthcoming work *Studies in Early Chinese Culture*, now in process of publication.

E. BUTTS HOWELL.

Diplomatic Commentaries. By Viscount Kikujiro Ishii. Ed. 1931, translated and edited by William R. Langdon. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xxvi + 351. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 15s.

It is no uncommon thing in Western countries for statesmen of international repute to produce books setting forth their personal reminiscences of, and comments on, important diplomatic events of recent years. The interest and—for the serious student of foreign politics—the value of such works need no stressing. Similar volumes by Japanese statesmen are, however, all too few, and, owing to the difficulties of the Japanese script, they receive but little attention outside Japan itself, even in the rare event of their being published. Mr. Langdon is therefore deserving of both thanks and praise for the painstaking task of translating into very readable English the remarkably interesting *Gaijō Yoroku* (*Diplomatic Commentaries*) produced five years ago by the veteran Japanese diplomat and statesman, Viscount Ishii.

It may perhaps be regretted by some that these frank, outspoken commentaries were compiled before the outbreak of the Manchurian trouble in September, 1931, and the epoch-making developments that followed; but against this sense of regret must be set the recognition that, if Viscount Ishii had published his book after the outbreak instead of before, he would probably have felt compelled to tone down some of his comments and to suppress his views to such an extent that the book would have lost much of its value. It would, nevertheless, be of interest

to know to what extent his views on such matters as the League of Nations and armament limitation have been modified by what has happened since these commentaries were first published. Would he, for example, still champion the League as strongly as he did five years ago if he now felt himself free to express his innermost thoughts once more; and would he still endorse the criticism he levelled in 1930 against the Japanese naval authorities for having "driven people unfamiliar with technical matters into a valley of fear"? These and many similar queries must occur to anyone reading this intensely interesting volume. At the same time such questionings should not in any way detract from the reader's sense of enjoyment or from the value to be derived from the shrewd comments and frank views set forth by this liberal-minded Japanese statesman in the pages of his book.

Within the brief space of a review it is impossible to deal adequately with all the diplomatic developments discussed in a volume of this kind; but, generally speaking, it may be said that they cover all the more outstanding events connected with the history of the Far East during the thirty odd years lying between the Triple Intervention of 1895 and the signing of the London Naval Treaty in 1930, and that they include first-hand accounts of, and observations on, the Boxer Rebellion, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Portsmouth Treaty, the Twenty-One Demands, the Ishii-Lansing negotiations, the Versailles Treaty, and the various post-war conferences concerned with armament limitation. These and many other matters of importance, with which Viscount Ishii himself was either directly or indirectly concerned, are all examined in detail and commented upon in the body of the book; and, as readers are wont to overlook prefaces, forewords, and the like, let it be added that no less interesting and instructive than these main chapters is the introductory Editor's Note, in which are summarized the remarkably shrewd and acute observations contained in chapters which, for one reason or another, have been omitted from this translation of the original commentaries. Here, for example, are to be found his views as to the "balance, adjusted to the needs of the times, (that) should be maintained between military domination and civilian softness," and, in the same connection, his comments on the lessons to be derived from Sparta and Athens. "War-exalting Sparta has left us no trace of any greatness, whereas Athens, which cultivated commerce and the arts of peace without neglecting defence, has left us a grand heritage of law, art, literature, and philosophy," he remarks, and then goes on to find "in Germany and England in modern times a repetition of the lessons of Sparta and Athens."

Elsewhere he gives his views on British diplomacy, which, he contends, is the most successful of all because it has generally "avoided distant planning and with common sense formulated policy to meet the situation at hand." In other words, unlike those who laugh at the British habit of "muddling through," he considers that, where diplomacy is concerned, it is far safer to be tied down by no hard-and-fast policies, but to be free to improvise according to whatever unexpected circumstances may arise.

From these and other observations Viscount Ishii makes clear his admiration for British diplomatic methods and national characteristics as a whole; and although he criticizes the way in which England brought about the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and is critical of individual British and American statesmen, he is whole-heartedly in support of closer friendship and co-operation with Great Britain and the United States as the best means of advancing Japan's truest interests and of ensuring the peace and stability of the Far East, in which those interests are mainly concentrated. For this reason as much as for any other he deplors the passing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; for, as he aptly puts it,

"As long as the Alliance remained in force the interests of the two nations remained secure, but the moment it was dissolved these interests were exposed to risks."

The nature of these risks and of their unfortunate effect on the whole Far Eastern situation since the termination of that mutually valuable treaty is made as clear by these frank and revealing diplomatic commentaries as by the developments witnessed during the five years that have passed since first they were published in Japanese in Tokyo.

M. D. KENNEDY.

England's Policy in Turkey before the Crimean War and before the Great War.

Two books recently published reproduce official correspondence on the very different issues involved in the two wars in which England and Turkey took part—in one as allies, in the other as enemies.

International Economics and Diplomacy in the Near East is a work by the American writer Vernon John Puryear, published by Humphrey Milford at the Oxford University Press at the price of fifteen shillings. The author gives his book the subtitle of "A Study of British Commercial Policy in the Levant, 1834-1853."*

Let it be said at once that the author's style is heavy and sometimes obscure, and that English readers will find such words as "obligate" distasteful. Apart from this criticism the book should appeal to students of history as presenting an unusual view of the cause which led to the Crimean War. Most people would probably give the cause as political hostility between England and Russia stimulated by a quarrel over the holy places in Jerusalem and by the personal resentment felt by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe at the Tsar's rejection of his appointment as ambassador. The author suggests rivalry in the grain trade as the true explanation. He seizes the great truth, little understood until now, that policy and diplomacy are founded on commerce. Starting from the repeal of the Corn Laws in England he traces the development of England's import trade in grain from Russian Black Sea ports and from the Danube. This trade was affected by various matters which became burning questions at the time—the freedom of the Straits, the navigation of the Danube, the silting of the Sulina channel, quarantine restrictions between the ports of Moldavia and Wallachia, export dues levied on grain. In respect of the last our treaties with Turkey gave us more favourable treatment than we enjoyed in Russia, and our commercial interests required the maintenance of Turkish independence. Wheat exported to Great Britain from Turkey, including the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (now Rumania), paid an export duty of only 3 per cent. "The growth of Turkey's trade with England was phenomenal after 1839. Exports of grain from the Turkish provinces rose from a negligible quantity in 1838 to equal that of Russia by 1851, while the sales of

* *International Economics and Diplomacy in the Near East*. By V. J. Puryear. U.S.A.: Stanford University Press. England: Humphrey Milford. *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, vol. x., 1, Gooch and Temperley.

British manufactures to the Ottoman Empire, including the principalities, were twice as large in 1851 as the total sales to the Russian Empire. In 1842 only 250 British ships passed the Dardanelles, in 1852 the number had increased to 1,741, totalling almost half a million tons."

"Thus Great Britain steadily increased her sales of manufactures to free-trade Turkey and absorbed much of the rapidly increasing quantities of grain and other produce available for export from Turkey. By 1853 the probable expansion of this trade, in contrast with the opposite tendency in trade-restrictionist Russia, was unquestionably a large factor in leading the British statesmen of the era of the Crimean War to support Turkey."

Of the burning questions mentioned above the freedom of the Straits alone remains to embarrass Europe and may still be a source of strife in the future. In a paper read to the Royal Central Asian Society on June 10, 1931, Admiral Sir Richard Webb pointed out that the question of the Straits was not settled at Lausanne. This view may have been unwelcome to our Foreign Office, but it is clear to-day that the Admiral with naval precision hit the nail on the head. It is remarkable how 1936 repeats the story of 1841. In 1841 the question of the Straits led to difficult negotiation between the principal European Powers in connection with the threat of Mehemet Ali, the Albanian Viceroy of Egypt, against Constantinople. Our author tells the whole complicated story. To cut it short—Mehemet Ali had invaded Turkey in 1831. The Sultan appealed for help, and Russia, after landing troops to protect the Turkish capital, induced the Sultan to sign the treaty of Hunkiar Iskellesi, which gave Russia a quasi-protectorate of Turkey and an engagement that the Dardanelles should be closed to her enemies. In 1839 Mehemet Ali again attacked the Sultan. Anxious negotiations ensued between Palmerston, Metternich, and the Tsar, in which the question of the Straits played a great part. Eventually, on July 13, 1841, was signed the European Convention of the Straits.

The Sultan declared "that he is firmly resolved to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his Empire, and in virtue of which at all times it has been prohibited for the ships of war of foreign Powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus; and that as long as the Porte is at peace, his Highness will admit no foreign ship of war into the said Straits."

The Powers engaged "to respect this determination of the Sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared."

It is strange that the author in his copious bibliography has omitted the late D. A. Cameron's book *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century, or Mehemet Ali and His Successors until the British Occupation in 1882*.

The second book under review is volume x, Part I., of *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, edited by Messrs. Gooch and Temperley. It deals with the Near and Middle East on the eve of war. This is a heavy book in the literal sense, for it contains over 1,000 pages and weighs well over four pounds. The latter portion treats of Persia and was reviewed in the July issue of this Journal. The Turkish portion is divided into five chapters under the headings: Albania, the Ægean Islands, General Balkan

Politics, the Liman von Sanders Mission, and Armenian Reforms. The text consists of selected despatches on these subjects. Perhaps the most interesting features are the Foreign Office minutes on these despatches and the private letters written to and by the Secretary of State and Ambassadors and Ministers.

The future of Albania, after it had been detached from the Ottoman Empire, was a thorny question during the twelvemonth preceding the war. Austro-Hungary, Italy, Servia, Montenegro, and Greece were intriguing and Sir Edward Grey was doing his best to put an end to "a very tiresome situation." Scutari in Albania had been occupied by an international naval force under Admiral Burney, which was later replaced by troops under Colonel Phillips. The tiresome situation was aggravated by a Servian incursion in the North and a Greek in the South. International boundary commissions were sent to fix the frontiers of the new Albanian State; and an international Commission of Control was instituted, of which the British member was Sir Harry Lamb, who had spent eight years as Vice-Consul in Scutari in the last century. An amusing light on the nicety of diplomatic language is shown in a despatch written from Rome by Sir Rennell Rodd: "The Italian Minister had been instructed to request that the evacuation might no longer be delayed, the word employed being 'domandare,' which has not the peremptory significance of the English word 'demand,' but is equivalent to 'demander' in French. The Austro-Hungarian Minister had been instructed to say that his Government now 'expected' ('erwarten') that the evacuation would ensue, whereas we and the French had only expressed a 'hope' to that effect. There was not much difference really, but he learned from Athens that the more forcible word 'expect' would be appreciated by the Greek Government as giving them a somewhat stronger reason for acting on the communication from the Powers."

Finally, an occupant for the new throne of Albania is found in the Prince of Wied. Then came the war. Sir Harry Lamb was withdrawn on August 12, 1914, and the Prince of Wied left Albania at the end of that month.

A still more thorny question was that of the Ægean Islands, ultimately largely responsible for bringing Turkey into the war.

Italy during the Tripoli war had occupied Rhodes and the Dodecanese, while Greece had seized Mitylene and Scio during the Balkan war. Italy had promised to evacuate the islands occupied by her as soon as Turkey ceased all resistance in Tripoli. The Powers were trying to persuade Turkey to accept the return of these islands in exchange for those occupied by Greece, which Greece should retain.

In this question, too, the straightforward action of Sir Edward Grey stands out in contrast with the tortuous policy of other countries. No better testimony of this can be given than that of the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, quoted by Sir Rennell Rodd (p. 131): "He said it was once more the question of the islands which preoccupied him. He was ready to repeat for the twentieth time in the most formal manner possible that Italy had no intention of retaining any one of the islands now occupied for herself,

neither Rhodes nor Stampalia nor any other. What she had undertaken to do she would abide by. But there was one point on which he felt a certain nervousness. The English mentality was different from the Italian. Englishmen took words at their face value. Italians read subtle intentions and significances into phrases, and he was haunted by the dread of some misapprehension arising which might have the very consequences which it was his greatest object to avoid—namely, to occasion a feeling of irritation between the two nations owing to the excessive susceptibilities of the Italian people." Later on in the same despatch Sir Rennell Rodd reports a conversation with the Italian President of the Council, Signor Giolitti: "He said he was at a loss to understand why it was assumed in certain quarters that Italy contemplated evading her undertakings, and he referred especially to the insistence of the French press in this respect. He had declared his policy once for all in the Chamber when the question had been raised as to what the future of the islands would be. He had then said that Italy had no intention of retaining any of them; the population was entirely Greek, and the last thing he would contemplate would be to give occasion for a current of Hellenic irredentism directed against Italy."

Italy's plan seemed to be to use her occupation of the Dodecanese as a bargaining counter and to carve out for herself a large sphere of influence in Asia Minor with a claim to ultimate possession. In speaking of Italian projects at Adalia the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs alluded in half-apologetic manner to the fact that Italy, like Germany, was a new nation and had come late into the field. "He likened her to an unexpected guest at dinner for whom space must perforce be made."

With reference to Italy's delay in giving up the Dodecanese, Sir Edward Grey frankly remarks that "our experience in Egypt had been that the longer one stayed in a place the more difficult it was to get out of it."

Turkey declared again and again that she would fight to recover Mitylene and Scio. The complicated bargaining went on. In June, 1914, Mr. Venizelos and Talaat Bey were brought into touch with one another through the unofficial mediation of Dr. Dillon. They were to meet in Brussels. Then the Turks announced that the Grand Vizir Said Halim, a nonentity used by the Committee of Union and Progress as a stalking horse, would go instead of Talaat. Mr. Venizelos was disappointed, but the meeting never took place. On July 20 the German Ambassador told Sir Edward Grey that his Government hoped to see an agreement between Turkey and Greece. The chapter closes with a minute by Sir Eyre Crowe: "This shows that even if the war had not intervened, there was little chance of the Dillon negotiation leading to a satisfactory issue."

The chapter on General Balkan Politics treats of the tangle left by the Balkan war, which was to result in the fateful enlistment of Turkey and Bulgaria against us in the Great War. It would serve no purpose to dwell on this phase of past history; but a significant feature is the reappearance of one of the burning questions of the Crimean War period, the Question of the Straits.

On June 25, 1914, Sir Edward Grey in a despatch to Constantinople

refers to a communication from the Russian Ambassador in London showing anxiety owing to the progress of the Turkish navy, and adds: "I am disposed to think that this communication confirms the possibility that Russia may in the near future revert to the question of the Straits." In that event "H.M.G. would adhere to their attitude laid down in 1908." That attitude was that any change as regards the Straits should be dependent on Turkey's willing consent and that no pressure should be applied to her. Subject to this, H.M.G. agreed that the Straits might be opened under proper conditions, which would be safe for Turkey, which would leave her perfectly free in time of war to open or close them as she pleased, and which, if she were neutral, would not place any of the belligerents at a disadvantage. The late Mr. Tcharykow, however, who was Russian Ambassador at Constantinople from 1909-1912, tells in his book *Glimpses of High Politics* how he attempted to conclude a direct agreement with Turkey for the opening of the Straits to Russian warships, but was opposed by Great Britain and was recalled by his own Government. In 1936 Bolsheviki Russia seems to have achieved this aim. The Montreux Treaty has abolished the international Straits Commission and handed back the waterway to Turkey as the doorkeeper. She means to refortify the Straits at enormous expense. The Turks are rejoicing. Do they remember what Trotsky said in 1924? "We must cry aloud that we need Constantinople and the Straits. A country such as ours cannot suffocate for the caprice or interest of anyone. Be persuaded of it, the Straits will belong to us sooner or later." Will Turkey submit to incorporation in the Union of Soviet Republics?

After the ever-living question of the Straits, the final two chapters on the Liman von Sanders Mission and on Armenian Reforms are merely dead bones of controversy. The German military mission to Turkey was hotly opposed by Russia, but without success, and a few months later it was General Liman von Sanders who defeated Sir Ian Hamilton at the Dardanelles.

The story of the revival of the old problem of Armenian Reforms begins with a private letter from Sir Edward Goschen, our Ambassador in Berlin, to Sir Arthur Nicolson at the Foreign Office warning him that Germany had her eyes on Anatolia in case Turkey broke up. Trouble in Turkey was anticipated in 1913 after the Balkan war; and if a new massacre of Armenians took place it was thought that Russia would invade the eastern provinces, and then Germany would step in to claim her share. The Turks were alive to the danger and took the initiative by applying to Great Britain for the loan of British inspectors and other officials to reform the administration in Eastern Anatolia. Sir Edward Grey foresaw Russian objections, which immediately followed. The Russian Embassy in Constantinople prepared a paper reform scheme, based largely on the futile reforms imposed on Sultan Abdul Hamid by Sir Philip Currie in 1895. The Turkish Union and Progress Government, taking a leaf out of Abdul Hamid's book, put forward a scheme of its own to cover the whole Turkish Empire. The unreality of both schemes was exposed by Mr. G. H. Fitzmaurice, the only

member of any Embassy in Constantinople who knew the country (pp. 506-515). The usual diplomatic fencing ensued, mainly between Germany and Russia. In April, 1914, the Sublime Porte selected a Norwegian and a Dutchman as inspectors of the eastern vilayets. All further anxiety was eliminated by the subsequent deportation and massacre of the Armenian population during the war.

The most striking passage in this volume is the appendix of two pages, which records the appeal by Turkey to Great Britain in June, 1913, for an alliance.

The Young Turk party, known as the Committee of Union and Progress, had turned its eyes to England when Italy made the unprovoked attack on Tripoli. After the Balkan war it applied for British advisers to reform the administration in the eastern provinces, and the Turkish Ambassador in London was instructed to renew the proposal for an alliance. The imagination is allured by the might-have-been. Turkey on our side in the Great War, no Dardanelles campaign, no surrender at Kut, no collapse of Russia, no Sphinx-like Balfour Declaration!

But no confidence could be placed in the Committee of Union and Progress.

The book ends with Sir Edward Grey's sound minute: "We alone can certainly not put Turkey on her feet; she would, when her fears subsided, resist efforts at reform and play off one Power against another unless all were united."

A. T. WAUGH.

P.S.—Since writing this review I have received the Turkish newspapers of September 5 and 7, describing in enthusiastic appreciation King Edward's visit to the Dardanelles and Istanbul. A leading article in the *Republique* of September 5 says: "It was not only at the Dardanelles that Turks and English fought loyally. Near the railway station at Haidar Pasha is another British cemetery where lie the English killed in the Crimean War fought side by side with the Turks."

A. T. W.

Western Civilization in the Near East. By Hans Kohn. 9½" × 6½".
Pp. xii + 329. Routledge. 15s.

It is perhaps one of the least expected results of the Great War that it should have been the means of bringing modern progressive civilization to the countries of the Middle East. It was, of course, bound to penetrate to them in time—the cry "Unity and Progress" had already been heard in Turkey since 1908—but the war enormously accelerated the process. And since the war the entanglement of the Middle East in European politics, the elimination of mountain and desert barriers by the motor-car and aeroplane, and the development of new oilfields have all combined to transform every facet of existence in that region. Changes which in Europe have been spread out over a hundred years and more are here being crowded into little more than a decade. This transformation scene is not a spectacle which the West can afford to sit back and watch with detachment. The eastward wave of progress (to change the metaphor) is already creating a backwash, which threatens the foundations of the old relations between East and West.

Victorian ideas of imperialism and the White Man's Burden, whatever value they may once have had, must now be discarded and the transformation of the East must be reflected by a profound modification of the attitude of the West if the two are to continue to have profitable relations at all.

Such are the reflections created by reading Hans Kohn's in many respects remarkable book, *Western Civilization in the Near East*, in which this transformation is analyzed with a wealth of detail and commentary. ("Near East" is used in a rather elastic sense to cover Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran, as well as Syria, Turkey and Egypt.) The author has a wide first-hand experience of this part of the world, extending, he tells us, for over twenty years, and the additional advantages of acute powers of observation and fluent expression, a copious library (to judge by the bibliography at the end) and a good deal of inside information.

The first few chapters of the book are devoted to an account of the geography, climate, flora and fauna of the eastern Mediterranean region, and to a considerable recapitulation of its past history with such subheadings as The Ancient World—The Eastern Church—Islam—The Crusades—The Ottoman Empire. It may be objected that some pages of this historical survey are not altogether justified on grounds of pertinence; there was so great a gap in effective relationship with the West between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries that the record of the earlier period may appear to have little bearing on modern developments. None the less this chapter has a definite intrinsic interest, and it shows how the present is often rooted in the long distant past, how, for example, "France in taking possession of Syria in 1919 entered into the heritage of Godfrey de Bouillon and Saint Louis." Here, too, are set forth the origins of the many still existing religious sects in which "the independence movements of medieval times found expression," and one may trace the rivalry for influence with the Eastern Church between Rome and, successively, Byzantium, Moscow and Lambeth.

This introduction is followed by a most admirable account of the character, life and habits of the "Levantine" or "Mediterranean" man, with a general examination of the changes which both the man and his environment are undergoing during the period of transition from one stage of civilization to another. One feels that the author is approaching the core of his subject, but in the next two chapters he steps back and views it afresh from different angles; he traces the incorporation of the Middle East, first, in the world system of communications from the cutting of the Suez Canal to the inauguration of air services to Baghdad and beyond, and, secondly, in the world economic system with the development of cotton-growing in Egypt, of oil-getting in Iran and Iraq, and of local industrial and financial enterprise generally. Both chapters are packed with information supported where necessary by statistics. Finally, after a cynical account of the manœuvres of the European Powers in the Middle East since the war, we come to the last chapter, in which recent developments in Turkey, Iran, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Egypt are examined in turn.

Such is the structure of the book.

The first criticism that suggests itself is that the author's handling of his mass of material lacks scientific method. The historical introduction does not seem to lead up to a deduction of general principles, nor is there any definite testing of a theory by reference to historical facts. Indeed, fact and theory are so closely interwoven, or, in other words, the author's presentation of the facts is influenced by his theories to such a degree, that what purports to be a scientific enquiry degenerates at times into a propagandist essay.

But the author's thesis, though never stated as such, is clear enough; it is

that, as "the emergence of the European peoples from the Middle Ages into the present epoch took place under the banner of nationalism," so it is only in a state of national independence both political and economic that modern European civilization can flourish among the peoples of the East. Consequently, though European domination or imperialism may sow the seed of modern civilization in the East, that seed can never fructify until independence of European domination has been achieved. "Europeanization" (the author, or his translator, is fond of rather fearsome abstract nouns)

"has proceeded most rapidly and most thoroughly in the states which have won national independence such as Turkey. . . . In states which are not independent, in colonial and mandated territories, the foreign government directly or indirectly responsible for administration has little interest in the economic modernization of the country through the energies of the native population itself or in any rapid improvement in the level of education."

In considering this thesis it is essential that we should know precisely what the author means by "modern" or "Western" or "European" civilization, and unfortunately, though allusions to its qualities are numerous, there is no precise definition. We are told in one place that it connotes, *inter alia*, "freedom of the person" and "critical play of the intellect." Does this include political freedom and freedom of political criticism? Such liberty can hardly be said to flourish pre-eminently in Turkey to-day. (It may be remarked in passing that in referring to the President of the Turkish Republic as "Mustapha Kemal," the author shows that the latest advance of Turkey along the path of progress has left him a lap behind.) The author's conception of Western civilization seems to be confined to its more material evidences—mechanization, industrialization, secularization are frequently recurring terms—which Kamal Attaturk has reproduced so amazingly in modern Turkey. His conception is never associated with any standard of morality, whether it be in politics, commerce, or, which is perhaps most important, in the administration of justice. While, for instance, he has much to say of the iniquities of the capitulations, he makes no mention of the conditions which rendered their introduction essential, nor does he discuss to what extent or by what means those conditions have been removed.

The last chapter of the book, which reviews the progress made by the different states of the Near or Middle East, is the least convincing. The development of cotton growing by the British administration in Egypt, for example, is represented as having placed the country in a position of economic dependence and as being of doubtful advantage to the fellah. There is no mention of Lord Cromer; and both here and in the section on Iraq the impression is given that all real progress, educational, industrial, military, etc., dated from the relaxation of British tutelage. In the latter section the author's faith in the capabilities of independent government leads him into definite error. He writes: "Parliamentary life and self-government have welded the originally heterogeneous population of Iraq into a unit," and proceeds in support of this statement to expatiate on the favourable position enjoyed in that country by the Kurds. The inference that the grant of special privileges to the Kurds was in any way due to the attainment of independence by the Iraq Government conflicts sharply with the facts of Kurdish history during the past ten years. It is perhaps significant that the author does not mention the Assyrians at all.

There are other surprising *lacunæ*. While there is an interesting comparison between modern Turkey and modern Italy, there is no comparative study of the

various forms of government in the Middle East and their respective suitability to the Oriental character, or of the value of democratic institutions based on European models, such as elections and popular assemblies. There is only one fugitive reference to the Anglo-Iraq Treaty, the terms of which, being largely reproduced in the Anglo-Egyptian and Franco-Syrian treaties, will presumably regulate European intervention in Middle Eastern affairs for some time to come. The Jewish National Home in Palestine—so much in the public eye at the moment—which must be one of the most important channels for the flow of the methods and appliances of modern civilization into the Levant, is barely mentioned and no section on Palestine is included in the last chapter.

But to continue to pick holes in the book, though easy to do, would be to give quite a false impression of its merits. As a contribution to the study of a vitally important subject its value is immense. In particular, the author excels in generalized summaries of subtle and complicated processes. Take, for example, the following account of the transition between two stages of civilization.

“The transition from one stage of civilization to another is always a painful and confused process and seldom pleasant to watch. An old civilization, self-contained and harmonious in its working, is destroyed; and then the internal balance, the peaceful security, and the dignified elegance which characterized pre-industrial civilizations begin to disappear. Morality, until then strictly enforced by custom, family tradition, and religious precept, slackens; the unknown, its whole nature often completely unfamiliar, faces men unprepared and perplexes them. The inherited sense of beauty cultivated through centuries of craftsmanship, the thoughtful leisure of a life lived without haste, generally in a narrow environment, are destroyed by the machine, its products and its tempo. Much that is good and solid gives place to a Europeanization which often is only external, a merely superficial assimilation, sometimes, indeed, an adoption of the least desirable features of European civilization. Men are uprooted and easily lose their hold. They do not penetrate the essentials of modern Western life, its humanism, or the intellectual bases of science and research, but are out to adopt only the ‘practical.’”

The book is full of illuminating passages of this kind which call for quotation, but considerations of space already overtaxed forbid.

In conclusion, it must be said that, even where we cannot always accept the author's reading of history we cannot afford to ignore it, because the assumptions on which it is based are undoubtedly shared by the new generation of which he writes and determine its conduct. Nationalism in the East has turned to bite the hand that fed it; it is an intolerant phase, an extreme reaction from an inferiority complex, but perhaps a necessary condition of further progress. And it is a phase that will not pass immediately. Even in Europe, where at one time we seemed to be outgrowing it, the gospel of nationalism is being preached with renewed vigour. But if we took Hans Kohn to be its blind disciple we have misjudged him, for after emphasizing the omnipotence of nationalism to-day “in all nations in every latitude and clime,” he continues in an eloquent peroration:

“But for that very reason it no longer seems to suffice in the changed situation. . . . In a situation which, for the very reason that it embraces the whole of the habitable globe, is not comparable with anything in the past, all peoples without exception share the feeling—some in almost painful clearness, others in dim presentiments—that a critical turning-point has come

for all humanity. All have to find a way to subordinate national interest, in which the will to live and the lust for power have become sovereign and overweening, to the discipline of humanity and of the spirit, which alone can give life a meaning and save from chaos this age of unexampled portent and promise."

Nurse Cavell said the same thing in fewer words twenty years ago.

R. S. M. STURGES.

The Problem of Japan. By Captain Malcolm D. Kennedy, O.B.E. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. xvi+287. Illustrations. Nisbet. 15s.

There are few people who write with more authority on Japan than Captain Kennedy. Many years' residence amongst the Japanese, a knowledge of the language, of the inner workings of the army and a term as Reuter's Correspondent in Tokyo—all combine to render his writings worthy of the closest attention.

The Japanese are well known to be a proud and exclusive people, and few Westerners are able to penetrate their reserve. Captain Kennedy has to some extent succeeded, and therefore gives us a point of view which is sympathetic to the Japanese. Sympathy does not connote undue bias, and those who are best informed will agree that the case he puts is a true and fair one.

His opening quotation, at the head of chapter one, reads, "Nations in danger of economic strangulation will eventually resort to force in order to improve their positions," attributed to Dr. Nitobe at the Banff Conference in 1933. This is the *text* of the book, and any understanding of the Far Eastern question must be accompanied by a realization of Japan's population problem. Maurice Dekobra, in his light-hearted book on Japan, says that if rabbits are kept in an enclosure the time comes when the increase in numbers renders it physically necessary for the rabbits to burrow underground and spread into neighbouring fields, where there is grazing available. A similar state of affairs exists in Japan, and Captain Kennedy illustrates this well in his chapter "The Problem Stated."

In "The Land and its People" Captain Kennedy says:

"A nation that can come through so appalling a disaster as the great earthquake and fire of 1923 without giving way to despair, and then set to work with so much vigour to repair the terrible ravages in so short a space of time, is not to be despised."

This is very true and may be cited as a supreme example of character and what we are now permitted to call "guts."

We can find little to disagree with in Captain Kennedy's remarks on what he calls the "Manchurian experiment," though we find the use of the word "experiment" verges on understatement. In his Mongolian chapter we do not feel that he is on such firm ground. Japanese policy has not had the success with the Mongol peoples that they anticipated. The Russian *suaiviter in modo* has been more successful than the Japanese *fortiter in re*, and Japan has been placed in the position of the aggressor, and Russia in the position of the defender of Mongol rights and soil in Outer Mongolia. This

has given her a much stronger position with the Mongols, of whose mentality she has shown a greater understanding than have the Japanese. Captain Kennedy states that Moscow has no desire to engage in a serious clash with Japan in the immediate future, and we think a non-aggression pact between Russia and Japan is certainly within the range of practical politics.

Since the writing of the book relations between Japan and Great Britain cannot be said to have improved, but Captain Kennedy voices the hope of co-operation in the economic field rather than cutthroat competition, and here we are entirely with him; in fact, the constructive critic would have welcomed more on these lines from the author. The book is a serious and valuable contribution to Far Eastern problems, and will remain long on the shelves of those interested in those problems which are likely to grow, rather than lessen, in importance to the peoples of the West.

H. ST. C. S.

News from Tartary: A Journey from Peking to Kashmir. By Peter Fleming. Pp. 382. 2 sketch maps and index. Photographic illustrations. Jonathan Cape. 1936. 12s. 6d. net.

Mr. Fleming's book describes a journey of some 3,500 miles made in 1935, beginning rather vaguely at Peking in February, and, after chancy travel through Western China and Sinkiang, ending abruptly at Nedous' Hotel, Srinagar in September of that year.

Discounting the Blurbs Beautiful and Literary Pettings with which it has been greeted, the book remains a finely written account of Central Asian travel, perhaps the best since Huc's work of a century ago. As to security and amenity, Central Asian travel does not seem to have improved since Huc's time, nor have the dwellers in Tartary changed their natures from the Western observer's point of view. The Central Asian caravaner remains the same ill-conditioned rascal who gets one there all the same, and the traveller can still reckon on stumbling on a helpful friend in a tight corner. The Central Asian cavalcade marches on as ever with its Tartars and Mongols and Thibetans and mongrel Chinese and stray Eurasians and their ponies, donkeys, camels, yaks, and lice.

Mr. Fleming, like Huc, crossed the line of progress of a Tashi Lama on return to Lhasa from the middle kingdom (if that can be taken as Nanking's prototype), and a slow progress it is, as the Tashi does not seem to have yet reached the borders of Thibet. The political situation, also, is much as Huc found it: Chinese authority merging westward into quasi-Mongol autonomy, and fading out in Sinkiang into a welter of warring tribes, with Yakub Beg's rebellion fermenting in the background. The only change is the Russian shadow creeping slowly over the deserts towards China Proper. China's domination has ebbed before in these regions, and may flow again.

For the present the fate of the New Dominion seems overcast. Since the Revolution the adhesion of Sinkiang to the Central Governments of China has been frail, and the late Governor, Yang Tseng-hsin, did not go

and could not go much beyond lip service to them. The local Tungan threat alone kept Governor Yang in touch with Peking; Russia was too occupied in Russian Turkistan to pay Sinkiang affairs much attention; Pan-Turanianism had died at its source; the Uighur Movement was nebulous. The Usbeg, Tajik and Khirghiz republics were gradually established on the Russian side of the border, and the Turk-Sib railway was pushed up the whole length of the north-western frontier of Sinkiang. Then Governor Yang was murdered, and later the Tungans rose in revolt, and with the assistance of the Chinese Moslems of Kansu threatened the capital, Urumchi. Now was the time for Russian intervention. Chinese troops from Manchuria were brought up the Trans-Siberian railway, the White Russians of Sinkiang were pressed into the service, and Soviet arms and money poured into the country. The Tungan forces were driven back to the south-eastern confines of the desert. General Sheng Shih-tsai, who had been brought up with the Manchurian troops, was installed as Governor at Urumchi, and Russian domination was complete except in Khotan and the south-eastern oases of the Province, where the Tungans still hold out with backward glances in the direction of China. The purely Turki population of the south seem to carry on much as usual in the now chronic turmoil of the land and show no sign of independent action. The currency remains a printed paper tael used as a medium of local barter, but with no exchange value outside the country.

Such, roughly, is Mr. Fleming's news from Tartary, and it looks as if the New Dominion, or such parts of it as are of any value, will quietly be absorbed into the union of Soviet Republics as soon as occasion offers.

Mr. Fleming's account of his journey is amusing and exciting and not a little interest is added by his Swiss companion in travel, Miss Maillart, a lady of astounding endurance and capacity. The photographs reproduced are good and give an adequate idea of the peoples and the countries traversed.

One slight error might be noted—page 324. From the terrace of the British Consulate at Kashgar one "looks across the green and chequered valley of a small river" towards the Tien Shan; mountains that are never visible from that place. The "too seldom visible" Karakoram lies southward behind the Consulate. A previous traveller, Marco Polo, journeyed along the edge of the Taklamakan, and, though within 50 miles of the foothills, presumably never saw the snows of the Karakoram, as he made no mention of them, for which the dust haze is accountable.

Mr. Fleming's book is a valuable record of Central Asian conditions at the present time and is eminently readable, and his journey was an achievement.

R. A. L.

Unknown Karakoram. By R. C. F. Schomberg. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. 244. Illustrations. Hopkinson. 15s.

The vast mountain range, familiarly termed "the Ridgepole of the world," stretches south-east from that great upland area the Pamirs, which

divides the Oxus from the Indus. It can claim to possess the second highest mountain in the world, which rises to 28,250 feet, and is still known as K 2, while in it rises the source of the Yarkand River, which flows through the city of that name, and under the name of Tarim disappears into the sands of Lop-Nor.

Explorer after explorer has penetrated into this austere country. Montgomery and Godwin-Austen in the sixties of the last century were followed some twenty years later by Younghusband, Grombehevski, Conway, Bruce, Longstaff, the Dukes of Abruzzi and of Spoleto, de Filippi, Wood, Deasy and Mason, all of whom have won fame as explorers. Colonel Schomberg, who has already published valuable works dealing with the lands lying between the Oxus and the Indus and within the heart of Asia, in the present work describes his journeys to unknown and almost inaccessible areas on the northern slopes of these stupendous mountains.

Starting from Srinagar towards the end of April, 1934, he travelled fast to keep ahead of "one of those Gargantuan foreign expeditions which cost so much and achieve so little." In due course he reached Hunza. His immediate objective was the Shingshal Valley, and on the way he met "a most unlikely party of Turks from Constantinople, provided with the unimpeachable passports of the Turkish Republic. The fact that the leader was a Russian Tartar from Kazan, as too were his friends, confused us slightly." Russians using Turkish passports are certainly remarkable!

The Pass leading to the Shingshal Valley, known as Karun Pir, was crossed at 16,000 feet. From it glimpses were obtained of gigantic Dastoghil, 25,858 feet, *the* feature of the area, it appears in one of the excellent photographs with which the book is illustrated. The village of Shingshal, "almost the most remote and inaccessible place in the Indian Empire," consisted of fifty houses with some three hundred inhabitants. These people have plenty to eat and being inaccessible escape heavy taxation. They seldom leave their homes and the author sums them up as "happy, contented, surly, intractable and quite untrustworthy." He also, as was inevitable, observed signs of cretinism.

From this village the next objective was the Shingshal Pass "on the watershed between Central Asia and India." Below the Pass the author noted that "the sheep varied in size and some were no bigger than tom-cats." The Pass he described as a mere saddle, but yet it marked the watershed dividing the waters which flowed eastward to the Lop-Nor deserts from the tributaries of the mighty Indus, which finally discharges into the Arabian Sea.

From the Shingshal Pass the traveller made for the Mustagh River and with extreme difficulty reached the Oprang, one of its affluents. He there found some Tajiks of Iranian stock with herds of yaks and sheep, the only members of that race who are British subjects. Colonel Schomberg had now reached the borders of Chinese-Turkestan, where chaos had succeeded the comparative law and order which prevailed under Chinese rule. Raiders were reported, but turning westwards the party crossed the rich Pamir unmolested to find it unoccupied by all save a few miserable survivors. All

that was valuable of men, women, children and beasts had been captured by Andijani communists.

From the crest of the Oprang Pass, Mustagh Ata, once a familiar sight to me, was visible, and descending the very difficult Khunjerat with very little to eat, the expedition ended the first part of its programme at Misgar. "The Shingshalis," we are told, "all went away with a fistful of silver, but they declared that never again would they undertake such a journey."

The objective of the second journey was to cross the Mustagh River, which is the main stream of the Yarkand, and to follow it down to the point where the Raskam joins it. The physical difficulties were exceptional, as a photograph of the "Pass of the Weary Camel" proves. Finally, Raskam was reached where the Mir of Hunza has cultivated land for many years and maintains a post. Many years ago, when I was in Chinese-Turkestan, the question of Raskam was continually coming up. The author points out that there are valuable grazing areas which would give the Hunza peasants sorely needed land for expansion. He also points out what harm is done to communications and to the cultivable lands by changes of course in the rivers and by the advance of glaciers. Throughout, valuable surveys were carried out in unexplored or partially explored country, and much accurate, well-digested information is supplied, thanks to Colonel Schomberg's deep knowledge of the country and its primitive inhabitants. His map and his illustrations are excellent.

P. M. SYKES.

India. By H. H. Dodwell. Part I. to 1857; Part II., 1858-1936. Modern States Series. Arrowsmith. 3s. 6d. each part.

In these two little volumes of a series which aims at giving the complete story of the development of individual States, Professor Dodwell has traced Indian history from its earliest days to the threshold of the democratic Government projected in the legislation embodied in the Government of India Act. His difficult task has been most admirably performed. He has inevitably been hampered by limitations of space and of personal knowledge, which has clearly been confined to a portion of India only. It would therefore be possible to take exception to his broad statements on many points of detail. To give some examples of these, Professor Dodwell ignores the passage down the Indus into Sind and thence to Kathiawar and even to Malwa, which many invaders of India—Aryan Yadavs, Bactrian Greeks, and Scythians—followed. It is hardly correct to say that the Marathi language is an amalgam of Sanskrit and Dravidian, while the statement that the Marathi-speaking folk were divided into two main classes, the peasants and the soldiers, ignores the fact that there was no caste distinction between the Maratha cultivator and fighting man, and that all castes of the Deccan and Konkan, whether Maratha or not, were readily enlisted into Shivaji's army. It is not strictly accurate that the Madras Army was untouched by the Mutiny, nor can that event, a purely military rising, be fairly regarded as a reaction against the Company's policy of education and reform. The statements that Elphinstone was the first man of any race to compose a History of India, and that the Muslim chroniclers had no genuine interest in history for its own sake, are surely scarcely sustainable. Incidentally it may be noted that no mention is made of the modern

school of Hindu historians. Such points, however, if defects they be, are of little importance in comparison with the clear and well-balanced general picture which Professor Dodwell presents. He shows in particular the inherent weakness of the physical position of the country, which has rendered invasions by land easy in the past and far from inconceivable in the future. Curiously enough, he appears to make no reference to the possibility of attack by sea, a possibility clearly enhanced by the expansionist ideas of at least two great nations. To meet any such danger the Indian Navy is practically negligible, and reliance must be placed upon the Navy of Great Britain, the country from which Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and his friends desire complete separation. Professor Dodwell rightly shows the early origin of communal differences in India, due to the failure of Hinduism to absorb the Moslem invaders as it had absorbed all previous newcomers. The author's treatment of modern developments and events is especially to be commended for the manner in which he does not hesitate to state the case for the unpopular side in several episodes, such as the Afghan Wars and General Dyer's action at Amritsar. He rightly emphasizes the importance of the Minto-Morley reforms, though possibly he overestimates Lord Minto's personal share in them, and he points out with great truth that, unfortunate as was the manner of Mr. Montagu's incursion into Indian affairs, his reforms were not in themselves so epoch-making as he considered them. The treatment of the question of the Indian States, and especially of their adherence to Federation, is not altogether satisfactory, but the author has been obliged by restrictions of space to generalize on a very complicated subject, which cannot be adequately dealt with except from intimate personal knowledge. It is satisfactory to find so clear-minded a historian writing with at least modified optimism on the working of the Government of India Act. It is true that he appears to base this conclusion upon the belief of all Indian politicians that representative and responsible government is suited to the needs of India. This would appear to be a somewhat slender foundation for optimism. Professor Dodwell, however, succeeds, in our opinion, in showing that the grant of some such system of government was the logical, if not inevitable, conclusion of a long series of development. If it is a great experiment, it only follows other experiments which have proved fairly successful in the past.

P. R. C.

The Indian Theatre: Its Origins and later Developments under European Influence. With special reference to Western India. By R. K. Yajnik. Allen and Unwin.

The Indian theatre has a long history behind it. Long before Kalidas and Bhavabhuti put the finishing touches to its Romantic tradition it flourished among the people as a folk institution, and was mixed up with religious music and dancing. The polished Sanskrit plays, as we know them, are almost all secular. Though they are instinct with a feeling for Nature and freely make use of popular legends and incidents from Hindu mythology, they breathe the atmosphere of courts and were mostly acted in palaces. It is for this reason that there seems to be a break in dramatic tradition in medieval India, when the old political order passed away under Muslim rule. But the popular tradition never died, and the simple village folk kept it alive in their Yatras and religious festivals and their comic village-street farces. These, in the nature of things, did not rise to the dignity of literary productions. But they kept up a tradition which was remoulded under the influences of British education in the nineteenth century, and shows some signs of vigorous growth in some provinces in the present century.

Dr. Yajnik pleads for a "line of continuity from the Gupta golden age," but the real continuity is in folk traditions, which are being profoundly modified in our day.

Dr. Yajnik's thesis is mainly concerned with modern European influences, and he is less conversant with the Marathi drama of Western India, though he has used all the published material in English on the Bengali drama, on which we have the valuable monograph of Dr. Guha-Thakurta, besides references in standard histories of Bengali literature like that of Dinesh Chandra Sen. Dr. Yajnik's references to the Parsi Gujarati theatre of Western India are less appreciative than they might have been, considering the immense progress made in technique by such men as Khatau and Balliwala. His description of the Urdu Theatre is the weakest part of the book. He only knows of the Urdu plays as performed by the Parsi companies. There is not a single reference to *Indar Sabha*, an Urdu opera-play that has held the stage for over three-quarters of a century, nor to the movement of which it forms a part, the movement which started the first impulse in the direction of the modern Urdu drama in the Court of Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh. This movement, in spite of all its deficiencies, is the only one that has an all-India character, as the Urdu language in its simplest form is understood all over India. Nor are there more than two passing references to the late Agha Hashar Kashmiri, of Delhi, the greatest modern Urdu dramatist of all-India fame.

On the other hand, full justice has been done to the Bengali Theatre, which, as Dr. Yajnik points out, has the greatest claim to be considered genuinely national, in so far as a Provincial movement can be called national. Bengal has a compact territory, in which the Bengali language, enriched in its literature by such mighty names as those of Michael Madhusadan Datta and Rabindranath Tagore, has no serious rival. Moreover, Bengal was the first of the Provinces to come under British cultural influences. Its Permanent Revenue Settlement created a wealthy cultured class in the Bengal Zamindars, and a middle class that arose out of them that supported music, the drama, and the fine arts generally. In Calcutta it has a true provincial capital, with no old traditions to live down and with a flood of new cultural influences, which the sensitive Bengali mind imbibed and assimilated quite early under British rule. In men like Girish Ghosh, playwright, producer, and actor, it found a theatrical talent which has explored the possibilities of many kinds of drama and has used the theatre as a centre of popular movements. The modern Calcutta theatres, like the Star, the Minerva, the Manmohan, and the Arts, exert an influence among the youth of Bengal comparable to the influence of the Paris theatres among the *Jeunesse* of a France that is rapidly passing away. And full credit must be given to the women of Bengal for producing famous actresses like Sukumari Datta and Tarasundari and for making amateur acting fashionable among the ladies of the highest circles of society.

The Marathi stage has some very interesting features, which have been well analyzed by Dr. Yajnik, this being the strongest and most original part of his thesis. But Marathi has not the advantage of having a single linguistic, artistic, social, and political capital in the same sense in which Calcutta is the linguistic, artistic, social, and political capital of the Bengali people. The cultural writ of Poona does not run in Nagpur, Berar, or the Mahratwara section of the Nizam's dominions. The Maratha mind, though deeper, is less susceptible to foreign influences than the plastic mind of Bengal. It shines best in heroic plays like those dealing with Sivaji or masculine plays like Professor Kelkar's version of *The Taming of the Shrew*. The latter play is a clever adaptation, but it made the

fortune of the Shahunagaravasi Dramatic Company, and has been produced and published over and over again.

It is a doubtful generalization to say that the modern Indian stage is built up on the Shakespeare tradition. Shakespeare's plays have been translated into most of the advanced vernaculars of India, but the success of such versions as literary productions is very problematical. The versions produced on the vernacular stage have been generally very free adaptations. Some of them have been quite successful, but they can hardly be called Shakespeare. In the present writer's opinion the success is usually in inverse proportion to the fidelity to the original Shakespeare. This is not to be wondered at. In spite of the universality of Shakespeare's genius, its expression is so typically English that no really successful translations have been possible into other languages, except possibly German. Nay, more; it is so typically Elizabethan and poetic that even in England, until recently, a Shakespearean production did not reap any great financial rewards. The atmosphere of stage-goers in India is poles apart from the atmosphere in which Shakespeare can be genuinely appreciated. The name of Shakespeare would certainly be a draw in any educated audience. But the real influence of Shakespeare or of Western playwrights in India would be the subtle influence passing through the minds of the Indian dramatists themselves. They are, in almost all cases in modern India, the products of English education. And higher English education in India almost invariably includes Shakespeare.

Can we speak of a national drama in modern India? In a loose sense we do. But a real national drama can only arise after we build up a common national language, national sentiment, and national social standards. We are yet far from doing that. The Marathi drama pursues a path of its own, and its achievements are only known to the greater part of India through the medium of English. The Bengali drama has achieved great successes, but only in Bengal. The Urdu drama is produced in centres as far apart as Peshawar, Karachi, Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Calcutta, and Bombay. But what it gains in catholicity is counter-balanced by a lack of well-defined standards and definite artistic and social ideals. The indigenous sound film industry is now well established in India and bids fair to kill the indigenous theatre. But it suffers from the same handicaps. What suits one place or one section of the population is often repugnant to another place or another section of the population. In politics provincial autonomy is already retarding the achievement of the ideal of a united India. Will art, literature, or drama help to further that ideal? Not until the Indian spirit rises above its watertight compartments and evolves a common language of artistic expression.

A. YUSUF ALI.

August 6, 1936.

The Universities of India. By P. Seshadri. Oxford University Press. 1935.

There are eighteen Universities, sixteen in British India and two in Indian States. Between them they control 120 University Departments or Classes, 54 Constituent Colleges, and 249 Affiliated Colleges, with a total of 105,238 students and 7,383 teachers. They are all modern, the earliest dating from 1857, and all but five of them dating from 1916 or subsequent years. Each of them has a separate history and well-defined territorial limits, and many of the recent ones are unitary or federal Universities. A brief survey covering the whole of them is useful in these days of educational reforms.

Such a survey has been provided in Professor Seshadri's volume of fifty-one pages and two statistical tables. He is well qualified for the task, having filled the post of Secretary to the Inter-University Board, which was established twelve

years ago. His essay has been reprinted from the Year Book of Education, 1935. It summarizes the published information on the subject of the Indian Universities and the problems they have to face. I have noticed two slips, strange in a volume of this kind. Among the subjects mentioned as dealt with by the technological departments of the Calcutta University are included "*dying*" and bleaching (p. 48). The fine science laboratories recently constructed and equipped by the Aligarh Muslim University are described as "*high school* laboratories" (p. 8). The statistics in the tables refer to the year 1931-2, but they serve to give a general idea of the volume of University interests in India.

The problems of University education in India are only a part of the general educational problems facing the country and urgently demanding attention. For they touch all sides of Indian life—political, social, industrial, and agricultural. Many of the Universities would be bankrupt if they adopted urgently needed reforms. Lord Willingdon, in the third Quinquennial Conference of Indian Universities at Delhi in March, 1934, referred to the "tendency for each University to attempt a wider field of activities than its financial circumstances permit," and to "extravagant duplication and overlapping between Universities." Again, University reform depends for its efficacy on the school system, which is responsible for the earlier training, while the school system is twisted out of its natural course by the lure of University examinations. Piecemeal reform is worse than useless, and if the educational systems are swayed by different centrifugal forces in the Provinces under provincial autonomy, even such unity as there is in India will be endangered. Is it not time that an authoritative Indian Commission should investigate the whole question comprehensively?

August, 1936.

A. YUSUF ALI.

Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum. By Ramaprasad Chanda, late Superintendent of the Archæological Section Indian Museum, Calcutta. With an Introduction by R. L. Hobson, C.B. Pp. xiv+77. Twenty-four plates. Kegan Paul. 1936. 10s. 6d.

Partly owing to the system, prevailing until lately at the British Museum, of classification of the Oriental antiquities by religions, it has not been realized generally, even by experts, what resources the Museum has for the study of Indian sculpture. It is not a very well-balanced collection, but it contains examples from every period of Indian art, from seals of Mohenjodaro type recovered from Harappa to eighteenth-century bronzes and ivories. But its outstanding collections are of remains from the great Stūpa at Amarāvati, the rich series of Gandhara sculptures and of medieval work, especially from Bihar and Orissa. It is with the last of these that Dr. Chanda deals, though his book is much more than a guide to the Museum collection. In it he sets forward shortly and forcibly his view on the origin of the cult images in India and on the merits and limitations of Indian figure sculpture.

Of greatest general interest is his argument that the earliest representations of Buddhas and Jinas, appearing simultaneously at Gandhara and Mathura about the Christian era, can be attributed to a revival of an entirely Indian practice, rather than to Western example, though he does not go so far as to deny Western influence. He is able to point out that these images conform to the idea of the *yogi*, exhibiting the auspicious characteristics, which is a purely Indian conception. It is by reference to this fundamental criterion of Indian images that Dr. Chanda judges the quality of the examples that he discusses, and by reference to it that he arranges them in chronological sequence. Their geographical distribution is deter-

mined mainly by their material. That this is necessary is due to the origin of the greater part of the collection, which is known to-day as the Bridge collection, from the name of the donor, but which was actually formed by General Charles Stuart, who served in India from 1777 to 1828. He formed a museum in his house at Calcutta to illustrate Indian religions and iconography, in which he was deeply interested. His methods were not scientific and the *provenances* of the pieces that he collected are not recorded. Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814-93) was the first man to excavate or collect sculptures scientifically in India. At the Museum are a number of important gifts, especially of Buddhist sculpture, received from him.

Since Cunningham's death the subject has been further elucidated by scholars, among whom the author of this book stands high for his work on the sculpture of Eastern India. The artistic appreciation of Indian sculpture is even more recent than its scientific study. Such an understanding of the aims of Indian religious sculpture as can be gained from this book is an essential preliminary to any deep appreciation of it. In detail we may not agree with all the judgments of Dr. Chanda, as when he depreciates the work of the Kushan period as lifeless; the simplification of form in it may seem to us distinctly preferable to the realism of the Pala sculptures, "pulsating with life," which Dr. Chanda praises so highly. But in any case we can agree with him that it is only in the Gupta period that there is true harmony between the two dissimilar factors present in Indian sculpture: realism; and the purity of intention informing the sculpture with the correct spiritual or psychological value, which dominates and controls this realism in the Gupta period.

B. G.

Indian Mosaic. By Mark Channing. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " \times 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. 285 and map. Harrap. 1936. 8s. 6d.

Yād bād ān roz-i girān! Yād bād, yād bād! (Remember the days that are gone! Remember, remember!)

The above words formed the parting injunction given to the author of *Indian Mosaic*, by "Mirza II.," an old Mohammedan munshi. As indicating the charm to be found in the book, they are what I myself should have chosen to adorn the cover of the book in preference to the Sanscrit symbol "Om" which is found there. For, though the Preface to the book tells us that "the age-old spiritual teachings of India . . . and those teachings alone are the *raison-d'être* of *Indian Mosaic*: the rest is but a setting for them"; to myself it is as a descriptive writer, with the power to bring a pang to the hearts of those who have known and loved India, and to draw others to the country and people he describes, that the author excels, rather than as an exponent of Hinduism or an interpreter of Brahman philosophy.

Mr. Channing writes in the first person, but he is careful to explain that his book is not an autobiography. This disposes of any criticism that his life has been incredibly full of incident, and at the same time secures for him the licence that may be claimed by the "story-teller" to save himself from the dullness of the historian. For instance, if some might judge the author's account of the Zakka Khel Expedition of 1908 as, historically, rather too rich in heroics, he can justly claim that the incidents related serve to give a true picture of North-West Frontier fighting in general. On the other hand, I feel that some protest is necessary against an amazing regiment, "The Rutlandshires," whose customs both in and out of the officers' mess were unlike those of any known unit of the British Army.

But, if I cannot accept the "Rutlandshires" or, as I shall show later, certain statements that the author makes concerning the Hindus and their beliefs, I can

say, for the rest, that I have read no book in which the incidents and characters described give a more true or charming picture of life in India. Whether it be the joy of that first day in the hills after a long sojourn in the heat and dust of the plains that is described, or the glory of dawn on an Indian river; the awe and fascination of the jungle at night, or the delightful, if sometimes embarrassing, ceremony of an Indian entertainment, the scenes presented will be as vivid to the mind of those who have never seen them as they are true to the recollection of one who has shared the author's experiences. The incidents related are so varied, and cover so wide a field, that quotation on the scale that I could wish to indulge in is not possible. But, as reminiscent to many, and amusing to all readers, I cannot refrain from reference to the band which received the British guests at the "hajji's house" with "a feverish rendering of some odd bars of 'God save the King,' which incontinently drifted into 'Daisy, Daisy, give me your answer do.'" It was at another party, I think, that Mr. Channing was honoured with a tea-cup which bore the words "God help you" in golden letters. It is the same with the characters that are mingled with these scenes to form the author's Indian mosaic; it is not only that they live, but that the reader is made to feel they are so lovable. Prior place among the author's British friends must be given to "Frog," a sapper officer, who, we are told, though neither married nor Methodist, fulfilled an old saying about his Corps by being mad—*about shikar*. In attractiveness, however, a typical D.S.P. runs "Frog" very close. Mr. Channing thinks that readers may, perhaps, judge him as prejudiced in favour of the Hindus; but my own impression was that, among his Indian friends, the two Mirzas and Sheikh Ahmed ("who stroked his black beard and let silence be his final argument") were really dearer to his heart—as they were to mine! None the less the Babu, Balmokand, will endear himself to all readers, if not by his religious dissertations, then by his original cures for belly-ache and heart trouble. The Babu's wise reflection on the proverb "Two sisters married to one man are equal to one devil" was that "A thousand wives would be a much more hellish business apart from budgetary difficulty!"

It is reluctantly that I turn from the charm, tenderness, and humour that characterize the "setting," of which I have been able to give but a fragment, to the religion and teaching of the Hindus, which the author has declared to be his main objective; for immediately he comes to this his touch is less sure and his style less convincing. I confess that, from what I judge to be his qualifications to write on the subject, I should have been astonished had it been otherwise. For, though I have good reason to be the last to deny its fascination, it is a subject of which a clear exposition has presented supreme difficulty even to most learned Sanscrit scholars who have made it their life's study: it is one, moreover, that should be dealt with fully or not at all, for superficial treatment will almost inevitably prove misleading. Mr. Channing makes it clear that he is fully aware that "philosophical Hinduism is utterly different from ritual Hinduism," yet he seems often to attempt to conceal the difference that exists with something of the sophistry of a Brahman pundit. For instance, having expressed his shocked views of a scene witnessed in a Hindu temple where he saw hundreds of humble people "bowing their paint-streaked foreheads . . . before a stone *Nandi* bull," he gives the well-worn apology for idolatry on a later page, by claiming that the Hindu does not worship the images in his temples, but "the particular aspect of God" which these things represent. "The cow, for instance," he says, "stands for spiritual virtue." Inevitably one wonders what "aspect of God" he imagined was presented to the minds of its worshippers by Śiva's bull. In another passage he declares the virtues of the Hindu peasants to be "the outcome of consistent

adherence to a faith untampered with by faiths less faithful—the beliefs that have comforted a just and lovable people through unknown milleniums.” Yet, he must know that such a statement cannot be reconciled with the historical fact that present-day Hinduism is the outcome of a pure Aryan philosophy contaminated by the absorption of the superstitions and observances of the Dravidians and aboriginals of India.

It is rather astonishing to find Mr. Channing making so elementary a mistake as to describe the upright mark (ūrdva-pundra) which, borne on the forehead, distinguishes the Vaishnavas, as the “red-and-white trident of Śiva”! There are indications, too, that his knowledge of Hindū mythology is a little shaky. For example, he credits Śiva with the production of the cow, Surabhi, by the churning of the ocean, when this miracle should properly be attributed to the Kurma Avatāra (incarnation) of Vishnu. Again, he seems to link the goddess Kāli in some way with the Kāli-yuga (present age), though it is difficult to discern what connection there can be between the two, apart from a resemblance in the English spelling of the names—if vowel accents are disregarded.

I confess that such mistakes rather shake my faith in the author’s qualifications to write on Brahmanism and Hinduism. The points to which I have referred, however, though they may mislead certain readers, will not disturb them, or interfere with the pleasure they will get from the earlier chapters of the book in which they occur. I wish that I could say the same with equal assurance of the last few chapters. But, frankly, when I came to those entitled “The Guru,” “Wisdom Speaks,” and “I start Yoga,” I found myself thrown into the same condition of complete mental confusion that seemed so frequently to afflict the author. The guru impressed me as an extremely banal old gentleman, whose wisdom was not of a very high order, and who, somewhat typically of his kind, would seldom give a straight answer to a straight question. Nevertheless, he seemed capable of hypnotizing his disciples into being blind to the most obvious openings offered in argument.

Finally, we come to the chapter which describes the author’s practice of Yoga, when “sitting straight-backed and cross-legged with eyes shut and then saying, ‘Om,’ . . . a cavalcade of arrogant thoughts rode through my mind.” He asks, “Was I going mad, or becoming spiritually sane?” At the end of the chapter we are still left in doubt as to the conclusion he formed, and I can only hope that it was the same as that arrived at by a novice in Yoga, of whom the Abbé Dubois tells us in his Memoirs. After relating to the good Abbé experiences and reflections similar to those of Mr. Channing, he concluded: “At last worn out by those foolish and fatiguing practices, and fearing lest my brain might really be turned, I left the Sannyāsi and his meditative penances, and returned to my former state of life.”

In his Epilogue the author tells us of more than one thing that was *not* his aim in writing *Indian Mosaic*, but I cannot find that he states what his aim *was*. If I may venture to give my own view as to this, in the *Mirza idiom*, it seems to me that his aim was to *put the powder of Hinduism and Yoga into the jam of pleasant incident and adventure*. Where the mixture is made up in suitable proportions it will be taken by all with very great relish; unfortunately a good deal of unadulterated *powder* has got to the bottom of the spoon, and this I found difficult to swallow. Though I have said some harsh things about *Indian Mosaic*, it is a book that I would confidently recommend to people of every age and persuasion, and one which if read by boys should do much to remedy that “shortage of the right kind of Briton for the recruitment of the Indian services” which Mr. Channing deploras.

H. R. S.

The Indian States and Princes. By Sir George Macmunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 287. Thirty-one illustrations. Jarrolds. 18s.

Sir George Macmunn in this addition to the number of books which he has written about India has found a subject suitable for his vivid and fluent pen. It is not, perhaps, likely to rank as a standard authority because, in the first place, it contains, for a book which claims to be "written for those who do not know rather than those who do," too large a number of errors of fact. Further, some degree of knowledge is desirable in an authoritative volume of the feelings of the Rulers themselves, especially as regards their attitude to outside forces, and of recent developments in the working of their States. Sir George lays no claim to such knowledge, and his acquaintance with the States does not seem to have been at any time intimate. Much of his history, moreover, relates to India as a whole and has little direct connection with the States themselves. His account of the origin of the States is, however, interesting, though exception might be taken to his description of certain States (one of them very ancient) as Pirate or Bandit States. He does, as might be expected, full justice to the services of the Rulers' forces in the defence of the Empire.

Sir George's references to the views of the Princes on the Report of Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee and to the working of the Chamber of Princes cannot be regarded as entirely accurate. Nor does he sufficiently represent the fears of the Princes as regards the future. That they have some reason for apprehension may be gathered from the view expressed by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in his recent autobiography that the States "are personal autocracies, devoid even of benevolence or competence." Sir George rightly, however, emphasizes the value of the wider horizon that is opened to the Rulers by the prospect of Federation, and the good influence and stability which they can bring into its working. The lack of homogeneity among the States themselves seems the principal obstacle to the useful application of that influence. The Chamber of Princes, whatever its defects in the past, seems to be the only instrument, possibly in a strengthened and amended form, for attaining that common policy for the States which is so essential for their welfare.

The numerous illustrations in the book add greatly to its interest.

P. R. C.

Leaves from the Jungle. Life in a Gond Village. By Verrier Elwin. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 243. Seventeen photographs. London: Murray. 9s. net.*

A vivid and interesting "inside" view of the everyday life of the Gonds by a man who has lived with them and loved their simple, primitive ways and thoughts.

Mr. Elwin left Oxford to devote himself to the alleviation of the sufferings of this aboriginal people, and his keen sense of humour keeps the reader laughing, but does not hide his deep interest, sympathy with and understanding of these people amongst whom he has chosen to do his life's work.

C. F.

The Sunwheel. Hindu Life and Customs. Published by P. S. King and Co., Ltd., Westminster. 12s. 6d.

"To me a most fascinating book," writes N.

"For me it is written with such 'uncomfortable' punctuation and balance that I cannot get on with it!" says M., and gives as examples:

* A longer review of this book will, it is hoped, be in the January number of the *Journal*.

(a) "He (Mahadeo) is the Self-Born, who carries a trident and should be worshipped with leaves of the *bel* tree, that is like to the shamrock, and with tears" (p. 41).

(b) "A few evenings after the Arat, Her Highness the Junior Maharani very kindly invited me to the verandah of her palace that I might see another procession, which commemorates a hunting expedition of the Lord Sri Padmanabha, escorted by the Maharaja" (p. 143).

Between these two criticisms lies *The Sunwheel*, waiting calmly for the reader's own opinion to evolve.

This book is put forth by Helen Cameron Gordon, F.R.G.S. (Lady Russell), after considerable travels in South India, and extensive research into the meaning of the Hindu life and customs that she has had the very good fortune to see.

E. L. T.

Three Deserts. By Major C. S. Jarvis. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. x+306. London: John Murray. 1936. 10s. 6d.

I cannot guarantee that I am "a man of average intellect" (p. 73), but I do express it as "a perfectly unbiassed opinion" that the average reader will find that he was unable to put this book down "as it held him enthralled to the end."

Anyone who expects subtlety or "sheek" stuff or ravings on desert sunsets will be grievously disappointed; this is a "round unvarnish'd tale" with no frills on it, by a man who has no illusions about Arabs and remained uncompromisingly English through seventeen years of close contact with them. But I think most readers will agree when they have read the book that probably few men can have left more goodwill or kinder memories behind them than Major Jarvis must have done. No one could have given more, in good measure, pressed down and running over, of service than the writer of this book has given to the desert folk of Egypt. Major Jarvis seems to have succeeded in remaining English without being aggressive about it; even when he is humorous about some Egyptians and their methods he is never unkind, and an Egypt which has now grown up will be able to see a joke against itself.

Disappointment is also in store for those who expect a serious volume on the manners and customs of the Arabs of the Three Deserts among whom the author has lived, or a treatise on natural history or Arab politics, and yet those who want information on all these subjects will do well to read the book, for, like the schoolboy who succeeds in side-tracking a master from a dull Greek construe lesson to telling of his wanderings among Grecian temples, they will go away having learnt more than they think.

In the midst of much well-told information on these matters there is also a vast amount of entertaining reading. Can there, for instance, be anywhere else on earth a race like the Ægypto-crusado-franco-bosnio-turco-australio-arabs of Al Arish? They remind me of that dish of Aristophanes' beginning Alektruo-something.

In a land where nature is ordinarily so stingy with her bounties, it is interesting to read of the fecundity of pi-dogs, locusts, and even humans;

indeed, the astonishing evidence for a shorter period of gestation in the latter case (pp. 77 and 196) is almost convincing. I remember in the southern part of the Peninsula a young Sultan proudly displaying the distended abdomen of his wife to my wife and asking her if it took the same time in Europe.

But Major Jarvis made even the most unpromising desert bloom, and has probably done much for many a despondent garden-minded enthusiast in like country by explaining how to do it. On this subject, however, as on all others, he points out the necessity of learning by experience, and one learns from him time and again how experience triumphs over the theories of science and textbooks. Of course, not all desert-dwellers will be able to grow asparagus, for in some places a sufficiency of dead dogs and camel bones may be hard to come by. Again, fame clearly awaits the enterprising entomologist who brings back the fourth kind of mosquito, which is "nearly as big as a sparrow hawk and makes a noise like a saxophone."

Much has been said about camels, but I do not remember any more original discovery of late than the explanation the author gives of the look on the camel's face and probably of its temperament—namely, the observed fact that it does not digest more than ten per cent. of its food.

"Writers on the East have often commented on the camel's disgruntled expression and wondered as to its cause—it is not far to seek, as in any club in London one can see half a dozen retired colonels with exactly the same soured look and the cause in both cases is the same—acute dyspepsia."

There is also much delightful writing about birds and animals, and a great deal of valuable information about desert travelling, particularly with motor transport. Although this has now become a very specialized affair in the deserts of Northern Africa, there is much that will be useful to those who have to travel over sand with an ordinary car. The vividly written chapter on a locust campaign will bring home to many what really heroic measures are necessary to cope with an invasion.

I found myself in complete sympathy with Major Jarvis' feelings on shooting and hunting: I suspect more people are than care to admit it. I was surprised, though, to find nothing said of the pleasure that can be had from watching animal life through glasses or photographing it. But I rather suspect an apology may be forthcoming when Major Jarvis sees that another recent and very talented Arabian writer imagines that a fox enjoys being hunted!

In this latter case the argument is used to support the thesis that we all enjoy fighting and that therefore the Beduin might be left to his raiding. I do not imagine the writer was being very serious in this plea for the maintenance of a state of picturesque savagery, but the Jarvis attitude on this subject expressed in the following passage will commend itself very strongly to those who are trying to bring increasing order and some prosperity to the dwellers in areas at the turning of the ways between a rather barbarous mediævalism and the impact of a newer civilization.

“The trouble is that some administrators find Arab law an all-engrossing subject, and are vastly intrigued by some of the queer customs that date back possibly to the days of Abraham. Many of these customs have been discarded by the Beduin themselves as unsuitable to present-day conditions, for, though the march of time has affected the Arab less than any race in the world, the advent of the motor-car and more rapid means of communication has had a civilizing, or perhaps it would be more correct to say restraining, influence on them. However much one may be accused of iconoclasm and spoiling the natural charm of a nomad race, it is the duty of an administering official to do what he can to improve the lot of the Arab and also to maintain public security. It is an impossible situation to have towns inhabited by townspeople, settled areas with irrigated lands, and a system of roads linking them up, whilst there is roaming in the vicinity a primitive race who still consider it their absolute birthright to raid and rob the settled cultivator who has worldly possessions. The Arab must either conform to present-day conditions or remove himself to Central Arabia where his lawless methods will not interfere with the well-being of others.”

I admit that if the Arab comes out of the deserts into the world at the present moment he may find himself in something more deplorable than a few mild blood feuds, but if we give up hoping that sanity will some day prevail we may as well shut up shop altogether.

I ought, perhaps, to finish this review on that note, but I do commend this book to all those who have to deal not only with Arabs but with other “backward” races; as a matter of fact I have discovered that the theory that it needs Arabian experts to deal with Arabs is a myth, and here is an Arabian expert whose methods can with advantage be used elsewhere. Sound commonsense combined with imagination is the keynote of them.

W. H. I.

Palestine Department of Education: Annual Report, 1934-5. 13¼" × 8½".

Pp. 93. Map. Illustrations and tables. Jerusalem, 1936. 2s.

This Report appears at a time when the affairs of Palestine are attracting general attention, and in itself it is well worth reading for the light it throws on some aspects of life in the country that are often ignored, and that yet have their bearing on the present troubles.

The Report opens with an account of the dual system of Education—in Arabic and in Hebrew—that is provided by the Government. It is interesting here to note that for the purposes of this report the entire Christian population of Palestine is Arab. It is, of course, the great majority of Christians who are Arabic-speaking. But, to take one instance, “Arab” here covers the 701 Armenian children in the Armenian primary schools of Jerusalem alone. “Arab” covers, in fact, all those children of Armenian, Greek, Russian, German, English, and other most various nationalities, who attend the numerous Christian primary and secondary schools in the country.

This is but one example of the extreme complication that the question of

education in Palestine presents. The Report for its main statistics, therefore, makes a division of the population into only three parts—Muslim, Jewish, and Christian. From these we learn that the proportion of each religion that is now at school is 1 in 5 of the Christian population, 1 in 6.45 of the Jewish, and 1 in 18.4 of the Muslim (Table xxvii). Allowing for the greater proportion of adults in the immigrant Jewish population, and the possibly lower birthrate, one may deduce that practically all Christian and Jewish children of school age are being given at least an elementary education, but only one child in 3 or 4 among the Muslims.

After an account of the whole system of education as set up since 1918, the Report passes to a list of the outstanding events of the year. These were: The opening of the new premises for the Government Arab College which is in building; some development of village school work, where there has hitherto been a conspicuous shortage of women teachers; and the addition of a commercial class to the Government school at Jaffa. A number of local education committees have also now been set up and are functioning. After this follows a detailed examination of the Elementary Educational system, and then accounts of the Secondary Education, Education for the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, and the Mentally Defective, and, finally, under the heading of "Miscellaneous," the statistics of public examinations and survey of out-of-school activities, such as sports, Scouts, Guides, and the provision of open-air playgrounds, with some pages of statistical tables that will well repay study.

The figures on finance would appear to dispose of the charge that there is anything but the most scrupulous justice in the proportion of the amounts spent on the education of the various communities. The Jewish institutions get their share, but do not seem to get more than their share of the total sums.

The elementary and secondary education of Jews is provided by their own community, with this substantial assistance from the Government. This education, when public and under the Va'ad Leumi, is modelled on that of pre-war Germany, although among the Jewish private or philanthropic schools there are some noteworthy and very up-to-date institutions. Generally speaking, the education provided is very thorough, and particularly praiseworthy in the place it gives to training in manual, domestic, and farming work. On the other hand, though in part a nominally public education, it may fairly be accused of being highly exclusive, and of doing nothing whatever to teach the rising generation how to live with members of the numerous other communities of this cosmopolitan country. To this failure we may perhaps ascribe some of the evils of the present situation. A community that is brought up to despise and to neglect to learn a word of the language or culture of the country to which it has come will hardly produce "good mixers." Jews who intend to put their children into commercial life sometimes try to counterbalance this weakness by sending them to finish their education with three years at different mission secondary schools, or the American University at Beirut, that they may there acquire each language in the atmosphere of a French, English, American, or German school, but one rarely meets a Jewish child in a purely Arabic school, or *vice versa*.

The schools of the Arabic and other communities are far more varied in character. There are private and church schools of every possible Christian denomination, conducted in half a dozen languages. There are some few, but very successful, schools provided for Muslims on a religious charitable foundation. As a rule, however, Muslim primary education is carried on in buildings provided locally and by teachers financed by the Government. The rural schools are being carefully provided with a suitable syllabus for rural conditions, and the chief weak points seem to be the still very small proportion of children who attend at all

regularly and the neglect of education for girls. In both respects, however, the charts at the end of the book show that a real improvement is beginning to appear. The Muslims are even beginning to wake up to the advantages of secondary education for a rural as well as an urban community; this perhaps under the stimulus of Jewish rivalry.

Agricultural education is being developed. But a point in which Jewish elementary school-children—except perhaps those of the Sephardim community—still show a distinct superiority over their Muslim Arab neighbours is in the matter of physique. Dr. Jamali, in his recent book on the *Problem of Bedouin Education in Iraq*, and in connection with the subject of hygiene, says: "Education is the process of directing and bettering human life, and this process is not furthered so much by formal schooling as it is by providing and directing living." If this be true, it is high time that authorities in Palestine directed their attention to the provision of clinics and first-aid stations in the villages of Palestine. Until there is some better knowledge of the elementary laws of hygiene taught in the Arab villages, other education cannot progress far. Ophthalmic diseases alone exist to an extent that is a disgrace to any modern civilized community. Some excellent work along these lines is recognized in this Report as the holiday occupation of the pupils of the Christian secondary schools of the country, but much more could be done by proper organization under the Department of Health.

The elementary schools fall into five categories: The Jewish schools to serve the Jewish community; the schools provided for the Arabic-speaking population by Government, which are almost entirely attended by Muslims; the Muslim Waqf schools, which also are Arabic and Muslim; the schools of the Christian churches, such as the Armenian schools mentioned above, for the children of each communion (these will be conducted in the language of the community in question, and they do not, of course, number nearly so many pupils as either of the first two categories); lastly, Mission and charitable Christian foundations. These last schools used to be conducted in a variety of languages, but the wisdom of the present day has usually prevailed to ensure that the language used now should be the native speech of the bulk of the scholars, which is generally Arabic. Difficulties will occur in a few cases where the scholars are from a more than commonly cosmopolitan group, and then the language may still be that of the community supporting the institution, French, Italian, German, or English.

On the whole, we may conclude that except for a few less fortunate children, the language of primary education in Palestine is the native language of the children: Hebrew for Jews, Arabic for almost all other scholars, but Armenian, French, English, and so on for small local groups. Jewish elementary education is in the hands of the Jewish community. Muslim elementary education, with some exceptions, is provided or largely subsidized by Government funds. Christian elementary education is of the most variegated character: sometimes it is provided or subsidized by Government, sometimes supported by the community (usually an urban one), and sometimes by Catholic or Protestant missions; and it only affects about one-fifth of the elementary school population.

Secondary education where the Jewish community is concerned is the sequel to the elementary system. It is organized in various forms and other various authorities from the Va'ad Leumi downwards, for Jewish children only, and in Hebrew (with some teaching of European languages). In the year 1934-5, 1,768 pupils attended the Jewish public and 712 the Jewish private secondary schools. About 591 Jews are receiving a University education, 391 at Jerusalem and about 200 in Europe.

Arabic secondary education presents a totally different picture. Government

public schools occupy an insignificant rôle, compared to their position in Jewish secondary or Arabic elementary education. The total number of pupils in Government secondary schools for 1934-5 was 406, of whom nearly all were Muslims and Arabic-speaking. 113 pupils attended Muslim secondary schools (all boys), and 1,021 pupils the Christian secondary schools of the country. In other words, Christian missions, Protestant chiefly, but some Catholic also, provide two-thirds of the secondary education for the Arabic-speaking population. And a far smaller proportion of Muslims than of Jews receive any secondary education. 252 Arabic-speaking students are receiving a University education, of whom 232 are at the American University in Beirut and 20 are in Europe. (It may perhaps be remarked here that for a girl to win a Government scholarship for any training in England appears, so far, to be the same thing as buying an engagement ring, at least the one seems to be invariably followed by the other.)

The pupils of the Christian secondary schools, unlike those of the Jewish, are a very cosmopolitan group. Some Jews and many Muslims are enrolled. It has been objected in this Report and elsewhere that the medium of instruction in these schools is very rarely Arabic, although, of course, instruction in Arabic language and literature are continued from the elementary stage. But that lessons should be conducted in French, English, or German is not without advantage in a country where some European language is the only lingua franca between Jew, Arab Christian or Muslim, Armenian or Levantine; secondly, where half the pupils only attend in order to acquire a European language; and, thirdly, where to receive a European secondary education is the only means of producing a sense of equality and some points of a common culture between Arab and Jew. That the extreme racial and religious bitterness met with outside has not yet done much to upset the good feeling within these institutions is a very real tribute to the way in which they are succeeding in drawing together the communities that the Government can only deal with by a method of segregation.

At present, in fact, the secondary education of Palestine, to an amazingly large extent, is an act of piety, paid for by the contributions of Jews, Christians, and to a less extent Muslims of every country in the world. That it is a worthy act of piety is perhaps proved by the examination statistics, and the very pleasant photographs at the end of this Report. With all its difficulties it seems impossible to paint a picture of life in Palestine that does not have a cheerful and hopeful side to it. It is a country with a future, and that future is in the hands of these children.

The Report is completed with a map showing the distribution of village schools, that with slight adaptation might almost serve as illustration for a lecture on Cantonization for Palestine.

R. O. W.

The Making of Modern Iraq. By Henry A. Foster. 9½" × 6½". Pp. 319. Illustration and maps. Williams and Norgate, Ltd. 15s.

The American author of this book is an open admirer of what he calls "the superb British colonial technique." It is, therefore, rather unfortunate that he has had to write of one of our least successful imperial experiments. For experiment it undoubtedly was. Mr. Foster has made a very close study of the short history of Modern Iraq, and his book contains internal evidence to show that he has read a not inconsiderable number of the books, reports and documents which he cites in his bibliography. Moreover, he has been at pains to be fair, and his impartiality cannot be denied, even if some of the conclusions, which he draws, may be disputed.

The title of the book naturally challenges comparison with Lord Cromer's classic, but to that work it cannot, in fact, be compared. For Lord Cromer knew not only Egypt but the Egyptians; and it is just because Mr. Foster has no intimate knowledge of the people of Iraq that he has failed in his honest endeavour to paint a true picture. It is true that he describes the natural eagerness of the Iraqis to gain an early independence and their impatience with anything which appeared to stand in their path. It is also true that he understands something of the forces, which were at work in England, to induce us to relinquish the mandates as early as we did, though, perhaps, he is over-generous in suggesting that much altruism could be found therein. Again, while he devotes several chapters to a study of the constitutional laws and general administration of Iraq—and both read well on paper—he omits to say how the machine actually works. For example, he gives full details of the electoral system, but there is nothing in the book to show that the law became a dead letter almost at once.

Nevertheless the book will be of value to the future historian, for Mr. Foster has largely succeeded in tracing the steps by which Iraq gained her independence. He gives a correct description of rebellion of 1920, of the negotiations leading to acceptance by Iraq of the British Mandate, and to the drawing up of the brand-new constitution. His account of the Mosul dispute (with special reference to the oil interests) and of the League of Nations Frontier Commission is, in the main, accurate, as is that of the terms of the Anglo-Iraqi treaties, proposed and accepted, and, finally, of the deliberations at Geneva and of the hesitations on the part of some members of the Permanent Mandates Commission. There are certain omissions. Though he deals with the Kurdish question, it is strange, even admitting that he apparently completed his writing before August, 1933, that he hardly mentions the Assyrians, for it was the British failure to solve the Assyrian problem which so fatally prejudices the case of any would-be advocate of our other achievements in Iraq. There are also a few misstatements. It was not Lawrence who endeavoured to bribe the Turkish commander at Kut. He exaggerates the importance of the differences which occurred just after the war between Great Britain and France in regard to the Near East. Nor was the German "Drang nach Osten" one of the major causes of the Great War.

An American, it is perhaps natural that Mr. Foster should assign to America an undue share of the idealism which lay behind the League of Nation's system in particular and the Mandatory plan in particular, the more so since America at once refused to take her share in the working out of the obvious difficulties inherent in these novel ideas. But apart from this, the book is without bias except perhaps in one direction—namely, that the author is too intent in proving that a fine idea has been successfully put into practice.

R. S. S.

A Pageant of the Spice Islands. By R. H. Crofton. Pp. i+131.
With five illustrations. London: John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd.
1936. 5s.

I wonder how many people who eat an apple pie, cut a ham, or leave a dentist's chair reflect on the romance that lies behind the clove. Mr. Crofton's valuable essay, like Miss Stark's quest of the incense routes, leads me to ask again when the whole story of the age-long search of the West for the frankincense, ivory, spices, and other luxuries of the East is going to attract the pen that can do it justice. "In my kingdom," wrote the

Zamorin of Calicut to the King of Portugal in a letter which is almost an epitome of the tale, "there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper and precious stones. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral and scarlet."

The first eighty-two pages of this short book are so packed with indications of history and travel at its most picturesque that they left me more breathless than any American tourist can feel after being whirled through the East in a few days. These pages form one chapter of five contained in 124 pages and take the story of the clove among the ancients, the Arabs, and the Chinese, down through all the intrigues of Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and British, to its cultivation in the Dutch East Indies to-day. There follow short chapters on its history and cultivation in the Mascarenes, Zanzibar, Madagascar, and Penang. A native of only five islands of the Moluccas, the clove was later cultivated in Amboyna under a Dutch monopoly. Thence it was stolen by Poivre, the famous Intendant of Mauritius, and distributed to Cayenne, Dominica, and Martinique. From Bourbon and Mauritius it seems to have been smuggled to Zanzibar, whence comes to-day the bulk of the world's supply. The other partners are Madagascar, where its cultivation no doubt started after Poivre's *coup*, the Dutch East Indies, and Penang, whence it was brought at first unsuccessfully from Mauritius and later from the Moluccas. The Mascarenes and the West Indies have dropped out; whether it survives in the latter I do not know, but a small cultivation continues in Mauritius. Almost all those who have cultivated the spice seem to have tried, down to modern times, when it has been threatened by the production of synthetic vanillin, to preserve a virtual monopoly.

It is curious that the clove has hardly been used by the inhabitants of the countries which produce it. Sir James Frazer records in the *Golden Bough* the curious customs of the Moluccans connected with the fertilization of the tree, and the taboos surrounding those who work in the plantations. Customs such as these are only found associated with crops which have long been vital to the producers, and their occurrence in the case of the clove speaks, as in the case of the incense gatherers, for the antiquity and importance of the foreign trade.

Mr. Crofton leaves open the question whether cloves were known in the West earlier than the second century. It has been doubted whether Pliny's *caryophyllum* refers to cloves. The word is usually derived from *karuon* (walnut) and *phullon* (leaf), but bearing in mind the analogy of such a word as *nargilion*, used in the Periplus for coconut, and plainly derived from *nargil*, it is permissible to look for a native derivation. In China and in the West, as "clove" reminds us, the names given to the spice are derived from its resemblance to a nail. In India it bore a resemblance to the small ear and nose plugs, and so it is known by names meaning ear-ring—derivatives of the Sanskrit *laonga*. In Arabic it is called *karanfūl*, which, it has been suggested, is derived from the Sanskrit *karṇa* (ear) and *ful* (flower), and this seems a better derivation for *caryophyllum*. If it is acceptable it may perhaps be taken as an indication that Pliny was

acquainted with the clove, and that, though its use was not yet widespread, it was known in the West at least in the early part of our era.

Mr. Crofton has tapped so many sources for his references to the history of the clove that it may be of value to future research if I call attention to one other likely to escape an eye even as far roving as his has been. In 1929 Messrs. Maggs Bros. published a catalogue containing a valuable and detailed account of a collection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts on Spanish and Portuguese activities in the Far East. These documents, some of which are still in the possession of Messrs. Maggs, contains a large amount of valuable information on the clove trade and its history in Ternate and Tidore, some of which amplifies and corrects Mr. Crofton's account. They mention, for instance, Magellan's earlier visit to Ternate when he made the mathematical calculation which enabled him to assert to the Spaniards that the islands were outside the zone assigned by the Pope to the Portuguese, and the Portuguese loss of the islands following their defeat by the Moslems. There is also a great deal of information on the amount of cloves produced and the manner in which the trade was organized. These documents constitute a primary authority which future historians of the subject must consult. I doubt if there are many others which Mr. Crofton could not supply.

Knowing how fastidious the clove can be as to the localities in which it consents to flourish, one is struck again by the variety of places in which it has grown. It must be interesting to know if it is possible to define exactly the conditions of climate, soil, and altitude which are certain to be favourable. But perhaps this is a secret closely guarded by the clove growers!

W. H. I.

The Old Consulate at Zanzibar. By R. H. Crofton. 7 $\frac{2}{5}$ " x 5". Pp. 60. One illustration and one plan. London: Oxford University Press. 1935.

The modern literature about Zanzibar owes its increase in output and high quality essentially to the zealous and expert work of active and retired Government officials. The author of the book under review, who was for many years Chief Secretary to the Government, shows by this publication a wide range of well-founded interests even for those subjects which were beyond his sphere of duty.

It is from those who administered the Old Consulate at Zanzibar that for more than thirty years, from 1841 till 1874, the far-reaching British influence in East Africa was built up and established. A man of outstanding ability and character, Captain Atkins Hamerton of the 15th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, arrived in Zanzibar in May, 1841, from Muscat, where he had taken up his duty already a year before as the Honourable East India Company's first Agent in the Dominions of His Highness the Imam of Muscat and Sultan of Zanzibar, the Seyyid Said Bin Sultan. He was later nominated Her Majesty's Consul and promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, filling these posts with rare distinction for sixteen years. Hamerton enjoyed from the beginning the entire confidence of Said Bin Sultan, and was thus able to count on the never failing support of this remarkable ruler in the interest of a close co-operation, political and economical, of the two countries. He entertained the same good relations after Said Bin Sultan's death in 1856 with his son and successor Majid.

When Hamerton set foot in Zanzibar the main business with the island was done by the Americans, chiefly from Salem, Mass., who benefited by a kind of monopoly for their goods, owing to an understanding with the Customs Master in contradiction of the Treaty concluded in 1840 between Queen Victoria and Said Bin Sultan. Hamerton lost no time to remonstrate about this disparity of treatment with the Sultan, and, helped by the impressive arrival of two sloops of war, was able to procure a fair share for British commerce. The account which he gave to the Government of Bombay about the state of domestic slavery was not wholly unfavourable. Besides, he had the satisfaction that notorious abuses in the care of slaves were, if not completely removed, at any rate considerably modified. Hamerton displayed a generous hospitality towards the European residents and the officers of the ships calling at Zanzibar. The missionaries Krapf and Rebmann, also Speke and Burton, were staying with him before sailing for the continent and received from him most valuable information and encouragement. It was due to Hamerton's insistence and deliberation that the Government of Bombay consented to the purchase and maintenance of a suitable house in a convenient position for the Consulate, which was ready for occupation in 1848 and of which the book gives a detailed plan.

Hamerton died in June, 1857, after a long and heroic struggle against illness and fatigue, and was succeeded in the following year by Captain Rigby, who, during a period of three years, till 1861, played a prominent and successful part in favour of the abolition of slave trade. (His attractive personality found due appreciation by his daughter, Mrs. Charles Russell, in "General Rigby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade," reviewed in the Society's *Journal*, January, 1936, p. 151.)

It was under Captain Playfair's term of office that the Consulate building underwent considerable repairs and some alterations for which the Government of Bombay agreed to provide the money. In January, 1866, Livingstone arrived in Zanzibar and was the guest at the Consulate before setting out for the interior of the continent. The expedition in search for the explorer arrived from England in January, 1873, only to learn of his death when they reached Unyanyembe.

The year 1872 was marked by a great hurricane which did heavy damage to the clove and coconut plantations as well as to the houses and the ships in harbour. Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Kirk was at that time in charge of the Consulate, to which he was appointed the following year, when Sir Bartle Frere and his mission arrived to enter in negotiations for the suppression of the slave trade, which resulted in a treaty between the two Governments abolishing an institution of far-reaching influence on the social life of the Sultanate.

As the staff of the Consulate increased, the old structure proved to be insufficient and it became necessary to erect a new one in 1874 more in accordance with modern requirements. But the tradition of hard work in the interest of Great Britain's prestige and to the advantage of Zanzibar was also cultivated in the new building, as it had been done so conspicuously in the "Old Consulate."

R. S.-R.

Ali the Lion: Ali of Tepeleni, Pasha of Jannina, 1741-1822. By W. Plomer.

8½" × 5½". Pp. 288. Illustrations and map. Cape. 10s. 6d.

The cult of the ruffian is a very curious thing, and it is interesting that Mr. Plomer should have extracted from his exhaustive bibliography an account of that revolting specimen of the genus, Ali Pasha Tepeleni, and given it to the world simply for the sake of telling a story. Interesting because Ali, by the hazard of events, played a part that did much to assure the success of the Greek Revolution

in the twenties of the last century, and merits, accordingly, his own place in the history of our times. This aspect of his career, however, Mr. Plomer has decided to ignore. He says so explicitly in his preface, and, although he seems to have collected and studied very ample material, he has chosen to give us a catalogue of horrors instead of what might have been a valuable sidelight on the conditions which made the Greek revolt against the Ottoman Empire practicable and eventually successful.

Sprung from a not particularly important family that had secured the hereditary headship of Tepeleni, Ali was born in 1741, the son of Veli Bey by Kamko, daughter of a notable of Konitza. Veli, the youngest of three brothers, had been refused his share of the inheritance by the other two, whom he proceeded to burn alive when he had stormed Tepeleni at the head of a band of klephts. He obtained from the Porte rank as a pasha of two tails, but was never able to establish himself firmly in his native town, from which he was eventually expelled in the early seventeen-fifties, to die shortly afterwards. Orphaned and exiled then, while he was still in his teens, Ali was trained by his mother, a veritable hell-cat, in all the tricks and villainies of brigandage. Veli's other wife with her two children had died, reputed to have been poisoned by Kamko, who afterwards carried on a persistent warfare against the enemies of her husband, taking Ali and his sister, Chianizza, into the field with her. In one excursion, in 1772, she and her daughter were captured by the people of Gardiki and grossly and cruelly abused. Ali's earlier attempts to avenge this outrage were unsuccessful, and his mother was said to have confined him to the harem, provided only with woman's clothes, but forty years later he was to wipe out the insult by a massacre so comprehensive and so revolting that in the end even his own sons connived at the escape of some of the intended victims.

After struggling for some years without achieving any permanent success, and being sometimes in great straits, Ali amassed sufficient money and sufficient notoriety as a leader of klephts to be able to purchase the pashalic of Triccala, and later he made himself Pasha of Jannina by the production of a forged firman. In the end the Sultan confirmed him in this position, and he went on by intrigue, violence and marriages to make himself master of Southern Albania, the Epirus and Thessaly, with his two sons installed as Pashas of Lepanto and the Morea. The Porte appointed him Vali of Rumelia in 1800 soon after Prevesa, Butrinto and Gomenitza had been re-annexed to the Ottoman dominions. Suli was subdued by him in 1803. In 1807 the second cession of Santa Maura to the French checked his designs on that island and a projected attack on Parga fell through. The next year he entered on correspondence with Collingwood, who urged him to attack Corfu. He was supplied with cannon by the British Government, which appointed as agent at his court Colonel Martin Leake, whose writings are a most valuable collection not only of materials for contemporary history but of studies in classical geography and archæological research. (Mr. Plomer will have done a considerable service to the public if the appearance of his book should induce some far-seeing publisher to give us modern editions of the works of Leake, Hobhouse, Hughes, Holland, and perhaps some others of those able and observant travellers who visited European Turkey in the early years of the last century.)

Ali's career for many years had the support of the Government at Constantinople, with its centralizing ambitions. At first the Porte does not seem to have realized that the elimination of one after the other of the powerful Moslem families in Greece and Albania would weaken its hold over that part of the Empire. Nor does it seem to have viewed with any misgiving Ali's policy of encouraging and strengthening the Greek elements of the population under his

control, a policy which he calculated would tend to bring more and more direct power into his own hands. At length, however, it became apparent that he had no intention of remaining simply a powerful vassal of the Porte and that he would attempt to place himself on the same footing as the Deys of Algiers and Tripoli. Both England and France were already treating him as an independent ruler.

For many years the Sultan Mahmud had been adroitly preparing his opportunity to restore the central authority of the Empire. In 1812 he made the first move against Ali, and from then on the tide set against that superlative ruffian. Eight years later the anger aroused by an attempt to murder a dangerous rival in broad daylight in the capital itself enabled the Sultan to send a punitive expedition to Jannina. After a siege of some eighteen months, during which the old man—he was then over eighty—gave ample display of the qualities of courage, tenacity, skill and astuteness that had served him so well during his long and ignoble career, he was forced to capitulate and, appropriately enough, was treacherously murdered by the commander of the Sultan's forces. Meanwhile, however, the Greek insurrection, which Ali had done so much to make possible, had broken out against the Empire he had done so much to weaken, and at a moment when every nerve was being strained to overcome his own resistance to the imperial authority. His unconscious task was accomplished and his place in history assured.

The limitations which Mr. Plomer has set on his account of Ali Pasha preclude any criticism that might have been made of it on historical grounds. Perhaps, however, he will now give us an historical study of his villain. If so, one at least of his readers trusts that he will abandon a certain facetiousness of style, irritatingly avuncular, which becomes neither history nor story-telling, and which, as is clear from many passages in his book, is by no means inherent in his English.

China: A Short Cultural History. By C. P. Fitzgerald. Edited by Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. iii-xx+1-615. Maps and Illustrations. London: The Cresset Press. 1935.

This is an ambitious volume covering the whole range of Chinese history, and is likely to prove a very useful compendium for those who have sufficient first-hand knowledge to enable them to check the author's statements. But it is doubtful if that is the sort of public which Mr. Fitzgerald had in mind, and it is certain that a far wider range of readers will welcome a book attractively illustrated, written in an authoritative and quite readable style, which does seem to offer a clear and logical account of what was really happening in Chinese history, where other books have too often given only unintelligible and apparently disconnected facts.

But a reviewer, faced with the history of a third of the human race for four thousand years, can hardly avoid turning to those small fragments of it to which he has himself tried to give attention and, perhaps unfairly, regarding them as test cases.

For example, it is remembered that in announcements of this book stress was laid upon the descriptions of Western lands from Chinese sources. But if Mr. Fitzgerald has looked at the Chinese sources, how can he repeat once more on page 194 the old misprint in Hirth's *China and the Roman Orient*, "Hou Han Shu, Chap. 88"? This is almost the only page on which detailed references to authorities are given.

Turning to the T'ang dynasty, we find fifteen pages out of six hundred devoted to foreign religions other than Buddhism, and as many as four of them to the

most interesting but culturally and historically unimportant effort of the Nestorians. In these pages we note: p. 325, "black beards" (*T'ang Shu* "dark and bearded"). P. 330, "Abu Zaid, an Arab traveller who was in China" ("ni voyageur, ni marin," says M. Ferrand; nor does A. Z. claim ever to have been in China). P. 332, l. 10, "A.D. 635" (638). P. 333, "emperors . . . even attending Nestorian religious services"; "counting among its protectors and benefactors the celebrated Kuo Tzū-i"; Kuo "spent large sums in restoring and enlarging churches, giving alms to monks and priests, and also held conferences with the Nestorian hierarchy. If Kuo Tzū-i was not a baptized Nestorian, he must have been very near to the Christian faith." If Mr. Fitzgerald had looked at almost any of the many versions of the "Nestorian tablet," he would have seen that it lends no support whatever to any of these striking statements. It seems a pity that in 1935 this familiar subject should have been given so exaggerated and so inaccurate a prominence. On p. 334, where did Mr. Fitzgerald learn that of the 260,500 monks and nuns secularized in A.D. 845, "only 2,000 are said to have been Christian, and 1,000 Zoroastrian"? On p. 335 the emperor I Tsung's "wide knowledge of foreign religions" is rather discounted by the presence of "an inscription [in Chinese]" above each of the pictures which he so accurately described!

To the class of reader who feels that all Chinese names are Tang or Wang—and it doesn't much matter which—the difference between Pan Chao and Pan Ch'ao may seem to be negligible, but nevertheless their interchange confuses two quite distinguishable and distinguished persons. And indeed the statement that "the romanization used in this book follows the Wade system" is only partially true. Not Ning P'o but Ning-po is the Wade spelling of the city of the "Peaceful Wave"; not Tsao but Ch'ao the name of the famous rebel; and so on.

On p. 277 Mr. Fitzgerald has expressed very well the important but too seldom stated fundamental difference between the exclusive claims and creeds of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam from the West and the creedless inclusiveness of the religions of the East, showing in this case conspicuously that thoughtful ability to understand and express essentials which, as has been said above, often makes the reader feel that here at last he is helped to understand what was really going on in the episodes of Chinese history.

A. C. MOULE.

The Council apologize to Professor Moule for the printer's errors in the first printing of this review in the July Journal.

Introduction to Chinese Art and History. By Arnold Silcock. 2nd edition.

Pp. 303. Thirty-six plates. Faber and Faber. 1936. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Silcock's book is addressed to the general reader who is interested in art, and it is written from the point of view of one who "endeavours to touch and look upon Chinese things with sympathy." Mr. Silcock is particularly well qualified for his task by his profession of architecture and the exercise of that profession for some time in China, where he sought to adapt the traditional style of buildings to modern ideas of structure. His aim is, in short, to introduce and interpret Chinese art, rather than to argue or explore. He would not claim the last word on any point, but he always has sound reason or good authority for his statements of fact. This, combined with his good bibliography, with the references given in footnotes, and his attractive series of plates, make his book a good introduction to a very difficult subject and a useful reference book, as many have already found. I wish first to emphasize this because there are certain important

points on which I disagree with him. A fundamental criticism is concerned with the parallel between Europe and China, often adduced during the course of the book, and driven home in an appendix of concurrent dates. Mr. Silcock's aim is the very proper one of leading us to esteem Chinese civilization as of equal age, dignity and breadth with that of Europe and of making it more comprehensible by comparison with our own history. Mr. Silcock, however, adopts the view of European history recently expounded by Professor Toynbee. It seems to me that this view, in its deprecation of medieval culture, in many ways very comparable with that of China, and in its belief in the idea of progress, is particularly ill suited to the present purpose. Whether it is a distortion of European history is a matter of opinion, but in this context it certainly leads to a distortion of Chinese history.

Mr. Silcock has a good deal to say about Chinese painting in the Wei and T'ang periods about which I feel there is need of a word of warning. The supreme contribution of the early periods of Chinese culture, up to and including the Han, are philosophy and the formal art of bronze and jade; of the T'ang period, poetry; of the Sung, painting and ceramics. In the T'ang period there were certainly great painters—Wu Tao-tzü, Wang Wei—but their work is lost. Of earlier date we have the British Museum scroll associated with the great name of Ku K'ai Chih, which itself presupposes a considerable earlier history for the art of painting. But we should not be deceived by the lack of historical sense in Chinese art writers into antedating the period of great landscape art and into assuming that monochrome was always the medium preferred by painters. The wall-paintings reproduced in the Han reliefs must have been on a par with the wall-paintings of Greece—fresh, vigorous, summary. The received view to-day is that monochrome landscapes did not become the rule before the Southern Sung dynasty (twelfth century). To put them back into the third is contrary to all the evidence we have of surviving work. It might have been a good thing if Mr. Silcock had qualified the Chinese literary tradition as translated by Herbert Giles, by reference to the uncompromising objective criticism of surviving work in Mr. Waley's *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting*, which is not even included in his bibliography. That Chinese painting was from the beginning a medium for the communication of ideas is, except in the widest sense, very doubtful. I also think it is a pity that Mr. Silcock should speak of Chinese brush-work as linear. We are so apt to think of a line as without any thickness: in fact, no artists have so varied the nature of their brush-work as the Chinese. The usual rendering "brush-stroke" seems to convey this idea better than line.

One final criticism. It would be a pity if the large portrait of the Sung emperor T'ai Tsu, lent by the Chinese Government to the Exhibition at Burlington House and reproduced in colour as a frontispiece to Mr. Silcock's book, were to come to be accepted as a work contemporary with the subject. It is unquestionably of much later date.

The author is at his best in discussing such architectural problems as the origin of the concave roof line, so notable a feature on all Chinese buildings, and of the pagoda, the most famous feature of her countryside. To both of these questions he has given answers which may not be accepted by everyone, but which are persuasively argued from first-hand observation. The regard for the intimate connection between art development and history is constantly displayed throughout the book and cannot be too much commended.

B. G.

My Country and My People. By Lin Yutang. 8½" × 6". Pp. xviii + 363. Illustrations. Heinemann. 15s.

The appearance of *My Country and My People* opens a new era in regard to works on China. Written in brilliant idiomatic English, it is the first book by a Chinese who has so steeped himself in Occidental tradition that he is able to regard his own world with objectivity. This is not to suggest that Dr. Lin is anything but an ardent Chinese: he burns for his country. Notwithstanding, he is able to realize the angles of approach which simplify, for an Occidental, comprehension of its structure. Dr. Ku Hung-ming, of an earlier generation, certainly acquired great facility in the use of various European languages, but his point of view was that of the Confucian scholar to whom Occidental trends of thought were eternally alien. A glance at Dr. Lin's background proves illuminating. In the *China Year Book* we read:

"LIN YU-T'ANG.

"Born 1895: native of Changchow, Fukien. 1916, B.A. (St. John's). 1921, M.A. (Harvard). 1923, Ph.D. (Leipzig). 1923-26, professor of English philology, Peiping National University: Dean of Arts, Amoy University. Research Fellow in philology and English editor, *Academia Sinica*, since May, 1930. Inventor of Chinese index system. Founder and Editor, *Lun Yu* ("Analects" Fortnightly), Shanghai, since September, 1932. Delegate, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, League of Nations (July, 1932). Author of several volumes of essays and the *Kaiming English Readers*. Contributing editor, *The China Critic* (Shanghai), since 1930."

Such data refers, of course, to Dr. Lin Yutang in his public capacity. In private life he is one of that group of young intellectuals—whose mouthpiece is the *T'ien Hsia Monthly*—who live in Shanghai, representing most happily the fusion of cultures, Eastern and Western; and who express themselves with perfect ease in various alien tongues. Moreover, Dr. Lin's family life is ideal.

These facts all bear vitally upon the book in question—a remarkable book in which there is scarcely a redundant word. Of how many volumes can this be said? Although the style is, as previously remarked, "brilliant and idiomatic," each sentence is so packed with meaning that reading is a slow process. The scope of the work is vast. Part I. deals with "Bases," and is subdivided into four sections plus a delightful Prologue. In the subdivisions Dr. Lin treats of: *The Chinese People*, *The Chinese Character*, *The Chinese Mind* and *Ideals of Life*. Part II.—"Life"—is longer; the subdivisions are entitled: *Woman's Life*, *Social and Political Life*, *Literary Life*, *The Artistic Life* and *The Art of Living*. To this part are added both a Prologue and an Epilogue; several short appendices close the volume.

A reviewer is tempted to quote at length from hither and from yon, but where so much is quotable choice is difficult. I cannot resist the following passages:

"For we are now in the autumn of our national life. There comes a time in our lives, as nations and as individuals, when we are pervaded by the spirit of early autumn, in which green is mixed with gold and sadness is mixed with joy, and hope is mixed with reminiscence. There comes a time in our lives when the innocence of spring is a memory and the exuberance of summer a song whose echoes faintly remain in the air, when as we look out on life, the problem is not how to grow but how to live truly, not how to strive and labour but how to enjoy the precious moments we have, not how to squander our energy but how to conserve it in preparation for the coming winter. A

sense of having arrived somewhere, of having settled and having found out what we want. A sense of having achieved something also, precious little compared with its past exuberance, but still something, like an autumn forest shorn of its summer glory but retaining such of it as will endure."

I cannot do better than to close with Dr. Lin's noble plea for international understanding:

"Then does he truly understand China. That seems to me to be the only way of looking at China, and of looking at any foreign nation, by searching, not for the exotic, but for the common human values, by penetrating beneath the superficial quaintness of manners and looking for real courtesy, by seeing beneath the women's strange costumes and looking for real womanhood and motherhood, by observing the boys' naughtiness and studying the girls' day-dreams. This boy's naughtiness and these girls' day-dreams and the ring of children's laughter and the patter of children's feet and the weeping of women and the sorrows of men—they are all alike, and only through the sorrows of men and the weeping of women can we truly understand a nation. The differences are only in the forms of social behaviour. This is the basis of all sound international criticism."

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

Big Game Hunting in Manchuria. By N. Baikov. Adapted from the Russian by S. Ivanoff and Gertrude Mack. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 281. With seventeen illustrations. London: Hutchinson. 1936. 18s.

Fair Game. The Open Air of Four Continents. By Martin Stephens. 9" × 5¾". Pp. 268. With eleven illustrations. London: John Murray. 1936. 9s.

These two books have two points in common: firstly, they are concerned with big game hunting, and, secondly, they are anecdotal in character. Here the resemblance ends, for it would be difficult to find two more widely different books with the same theme.

Mr. Baikov's book is concerned only with Manchuria, and the period covered is mainly that of the good old days before the break-up of the Chinese Empire, when bandits were gentlemen, or very nearly, and official obstructions had not begun to mount to their present gargantuan proportions. One had anticipated that this book would fill a long-felt gap in big game literature; there have been so many excellent books on Africa, the greater part of Asia and America that not only make excellent reading, but contain much valuable information on game distribution and ways and means. Manchuria has been singularly unhonoured in this respect, and it is to-day extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information on the distribution, increase or decrease of game, the methods employed in hunting, and the best centres from which to start on a trek.

Unfortunately this book does nothing to clarify the present position in Manchuria. Even the chapters concerned with Mr. Baikov's experiences with tiger throw little light on such important points as the methods employed in hunting, the time taken to track and find the tiger, their relative frequency, past or present, and all the multitudinous details which one is so anxious to learn; there is also scant reference to bear and wapiti and none whatever to the Manchurian elk.

There are certain chapters in this book which make charming if somewhat highly coloured reading. Some of the descriptions of the Russian hunters are particularly good, as are also those of the root-searchers, though one doubts if all those Chinese who search for ginseng have quite that purity of heart which the

legends deem to be necessary. This book is somewhat handicapped by its title; it should be read on winter evenings when the imagination races back and seeks relief in boyish visions; some of the bandit stories are very exciting.

Mr. Stephens' book covers the whole range of big game countries, and the author can write with assurance, for he is one of the few men who, in recent years, has hunted in Africa, America, Asia, and Europe. His book is more full of short anecdotes than Mr. Baikov's, in which each chapter is concerned with a short sketch, but all these anecdotes are arranged to illustrate a central theme—that of the character of modern big game hunting.

It is common to suppose that big game hunting is an ancient sport, staggering senilely on its last legs, having undergone a temporary rejuvenation through the interests of American film companies. This book sets out to show that such is not the case: big game hunting has no real connection with the bowmen of mediæval times, but arose only in the latter half of the last century, rising to its peak in Edwardian days, when every rejected suitor, every man in search of excitement, was traditionally supposed to hunt big game.

To-day the case is very different. There are the rival attractions of motor-racing and of flying, and there are no longer people who have both the time and the money to spend a year or more in search of their quarry. Most big game shots to-day have to be satisfied with a paltry two months or even less, and time has become the dominating factor. In compensation there is the speeding up of transport and the advent of the aeroplane, which allow one to reach one's ground in days where formerly the journey took weeks. Mr. Stephens has many pertinent remarks to make of this and on the proper and improper use of the motor-car.

This book is an apologia for an honourable sport and one which has suffered much in literature both from neglect and distortion, and it should do much towards explaining the character of modern big game hunting, which is often misunderstood even by the older generation of big game shots.

The stories of chief interest to members of the Royal Central Asian Society are those dealing with India, and particularly Mr. Stephens' experiences after sheep and ibex in the Himalayas. The author has not yet penetrated into Central Asia to shoot in the Tien Shan and the Altai, those districts which are the most coveted of all. Central Asia was just being opened up in the early years of this century, and British sportsmen were already complaining that Imperialistic Russia was annexing all the best sheep country, when the War came. In recent years there has been little or no shooting of game in these districts owing to the political difficulties, but I have little doubt that Mr. Stephens will be one of the first to bring back a head of *ovis ammon* or a Tien Shan ibex.

This book should be on the shelves of all whose interests or inclinations lie towards big game.

G. S. H.

Behind the Smile in Real Japan. By E. K. Venables. 8½" × 6". Pp. 320. London: George Harrap and Co., Ltd. 1936. 10s. 6d.

This rather journalistic title prefaces a pleasantly written description of Japanese life and character as seen by an English Professor who, with his wife, taught in a Japanese provincial college for several years from 1925 onwards. He does not set out to explain the wider aspects of Japanese policy; but residence in "real Japan," in a district previously unfrequented by foreigners, enabled him to observe national characteristics from an angle not available to the average foreigner living in the big cities or to the confessed investigator, who is only allowed to see what his

Japanese hosts think fitting. His book, therefore, while expressing few opinions, provides a useful background for the student who wishes to understand conditions in Japan and to form his own judgment about her; and as such it can be recommended to all who are concerned with present movements in Asia.

Professor Venables has a level mind and a pleasant sense of humour, and these save him from either of the attitudes most common among foreign residents in Japan, who usually acquire either a passionate admiration or an equally unreasonable dislike and fear of all things Japanese. He eschews both the romantic or "cherry blossom" school, popularized by Lafcadio Hearn and others, and the more modern materialist school which represents the Japanese as prodigies of industrial and military efficiency engaged with Machiavellian cunning in swamping the world with their cheap goods and preparing the imminent conquest of distant regions of Asia, America, and Australasia. The Japanese have, in fact, by no means fully emerged from a state of mediæval feudalism, and their imposing industrial and military façade, so assiduously boosted to impress the Western world, conceals much that is still primitive and more that must take many years to develop to effective maturity. This is the leading impression left after reading this book.

The Japanese themselves are much worried by the problem of adapting their patriarchal social system to the Western industrial conditions, which they have adopted with such haste, but, in spite of some obvious instances to the contrary, with as yet imperfect understanding. This goes far to explain the apparent inconsistencies of their policy and their keen sensitiveness to foreign criticism. Many Japanese are fully aware that, however loudly they may proclaim their Empire's destiny, theirs is still a poor country, poor in material resources and exceedingly vulnerable to foreign pressure both commercial, financial, and in the last resort military. But the military clique who rule the country are very narrow in their outlook, most of them have never travelled abroad, and they have never yet had serious opposition to overcome. These militarists have for years been inculcating the doctrine that Japan is destined to be mistress of Asia, and they have made quite clear their determination to pursue a policy of aggression regardless of consequences. Japan can go ahead with impunity so long as she has only China to bully, but what those consequences are likely to be to herself, if she falls foul of one or more of the Great Powers within the next few years, can be gauged from reading this book.

J. S. S.

Through Forbidden Tibet. By Harrison Forman. 9½" × 6". Pp. 284. Foreword and index. 42 photographs. Jarrolds. 18s.

It is a little difficult to know whether this book is intended as a work of fiction or as a serious contribution to our knowledge of Tibet and its inhabitants. If the former, it can certainly be commended as a sensational thriller such as one might expect from the pen of an Edgar Wallace, a Rider Haggard, or a Buchan.

The Foreword, by the author, tells of his frustrated attempt to open a motor trade route to Chinese Eastern Turkestan, of the death, in an encounter with bandits, of the two white companions—Simpson, a young missionary, and Leonid Horvath, a Russian—who had arranged to accompany him on his dash to the "mystery mountain," Amnyi Machin, and his departure, alone, for Tibet.

Thereafter follows the story of his journey to the monastery of Labrang and his sojourn there, of the various interesting personalities he met, and of their customs and rites—all told in a crisp and entertaining style. A hunting interlude

follows, enlivened by a fight with Amchokh tribesmen involving five fatal casualties.

In a fanciful chapter on the wealth of gold in Tibet the author indulges in a prediction that air transport may bring about "a rape and despoliation of this forbidden land comparable to that of the early Americas by the Spaniards. And that day is not far off."

Subsequent chapters tell of the lamas' training in self-abnegation (wherein matters of sex are treated of with bald frankness); of archery and feats of horsemanship; of marriage customs; of an ancient ruined city, deemed to be haunted; of a feminine "living Buddha" and the author's unbelievable adventure with her; of the "black hat dance" and of Ab Zee, the "robber queen" of the Ngoloks; of a visit to an anchorite cave-dweller who "was said to be capable of 'personality projection' and, on one occasion, sent his astral self to the hermits to hold converse" (how the author, with his necessarily limited knowledge of the Tibetan language could have carried on the abstruse metaphysical conversation with the hermit which he describes is somewhat of a puzzle). The book ends with the account of the author's final dash from Radja Gomba across the Ma Chu (Yellow River) for the Amnyi Machin mountain, and its disastrous ending—an attack by Ngoloks and the death of one of his three trusty Tibetan followers, and the grievous wounding of yet another of them, necessitating the abandonment of the enterprise. The "funeral" of the dead follower—"the vultures' banquet"—is a gruesome episode.

The author mentions "rough survey maps which I was constantly making of my travels." It is significant, however, that he has not thought fit to append any map of his itinerary to this book. Such a map would have shown how small a corner of North-Eastern Tibet he actually traversed. In the absence of a map it is a little difficult to trace his route. The major part of the work (some thirteen out of the seventeen chapters) is devoted to Labrang and its vicinity. Labrang, in most maps (including our latest War Office map), is shown as being in the Province of Kansu—*i.e.*, in what is commonly called "China proper." Further, it is a nice point whether the Koko Nor region (wherein Amnyi Machin is situated) can properly be considered as belonging to Tibet. In the pre-Revolution days, and indeed up to 1915, Koko Nor (or Chinghai, as the Chinese termed it) was not within the jurisdiction of the Amban at Lhasa, but was controlled by a separate functionary, the Si-ning Amban. This latter's office was abolished in 1915, his functions being taken over by the Muhammadan General of Sining (in Kansu). The ruthlessness of the Moslem domination is vividly brought out in the accounts given by the author of the book under review.

The fact remains that all this region is undoubtedly Tibetan, ethnologically, so perhaps the point as to whether it is *politically* in Tibet or not may savour of ultra-meticulous criticism. It is otherwise, however, with the claim made by the sub-title of the book—*viz.*, "An Adventure into the Unknown." Labrang had, comparatively recently, been visited by Dr. Joseph Rock, who described it fully in the February, 1930, number of the (American) *National Geographic Magazine*, illustrating his article with many admirable photographs and a carefully compiled map of his route. Indeed, one of his photographs is of the Amnyi Machin massif itself, taken from an altitude of 16,000 feet, on the peak Shachu Yinkar, forty-five miles south-east of it. Dr. Rock estimated the height of Amnyi Machin's highest peak as over 28,000 feet. He took pictures also of the wild Ngoloks.

Again, the late Brigadier-General George Pereira, in the course of his great journey from Peking to Lhasa, saw Amnyi Machin in May, 1922, from the other—*i.e.*, the western—side, at a distance of some seventy miles, and estimated its

height as "anything over 25,000 feet." (Dr. Rock, who met him at Teng Yueh in 1923, asserts that General Pereira told him that Amnyi Machin *might* be higher than Everest.) Bretschneider's map of China (1900) shows the routes of various travellers who had, prior to that time, crossed some part or other of the eastern corner of Koko Nor, near the Amnyi Machin range—viz., Prjevalski (1880), Rockhill (1889), Grenard and Futterer (1894), and Roborowski, who in 1895 approached the mountain from the north before being driven back by tribesmen. From the above details it is evident that it is hardly accurate to call the region "unknown."

In his final dash into Tibet the author followed absolutely the route taken by Dr. Rock from Radja Gomba (but for four days only, till he had to turn back), and it is remarkable how their accounts tally; indeed, much of what is contained in Dr. Rock's article is reproduced, almost verbatim, in the book under review—e.g., the 30-foot lances of the tribesmen, the five giant kettles in the lamasery kitchen, the huge chanting hall with its 140 columns, the collection of clocks at Radja Gomba, all keeping different times, to mention but a few instances.

The author, it seems, has clothed the skeleton of an actual sojourn among a primitive and interesting people with a garment of sensational fiction which seriously detracts from the value of his book. The crescendo of sensational writing culminates in chapter xx., "I see the King of Hell," a sort of nightmare, divorced from reality. Earlier, in chapter xv. ("Bats"), the author evidently feels that he is putting too great a strain on the credulity of the reader in asking him to believe that the abbess (whom he describes as having completely disrobed in his sole presence in the eerie grotto) could bring dead bats to life. So he is fain to admit that it was all fancy. "It must have been the altitude!"

Elsewhere many of his statements are, to say the least, surprising: his Homeric hand-to-hand fights with wild tribesmen; his hair-raising exploit of "steeple-jack" climbing; marvellous feats of marksmanship—for example (p. 85), "As for Ahpa Ahlo, I have seen him . . . snatch up an old ex-German Army Mauser 7.92 mm., and, seemingly without pausing the fraction of a moment, neatly pop a *rabbit* zigzagging across the plain some 300 yards distant"! Again (p. 127), the author, with his pistol, shoots off the head of a hawk circling overhead. On page 229, referring to the arms possessed by these northern Tibetans, he states: "A limited number of Lee-Enfields has been allowed to cross over the border from India, *since Britain feels* that the tribesmen will obtain guns eventually from somewhere, and they might just as well get them from the British." Something of a libel, this, on the Government of India. One might multiply instances of exaggeration or inaccuracy, but the above may suffice.

One feature of the work certainly merits unstinted praise. The photographs are admirable (though it may be remarked that one of them, facing page 268, is of "a row of *chortens* at Kum Bum monastery"; nowhere in the book does the author mention that he visited Kumbum). It can also at least be said that his long sojourn among these wild folk involved much discomfort, many hardships, and no little danger.

M. E. W.

Great Britain and Egypt, 1914-1936, Royal Institute of International Affairs.
2s. net.

To those who are interested in the Anglo-Egyptian situation the booklet *Great Britain and Egypt, 1914-1936*, issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is invaluable. In the briefest possible language it recounts the various crises that have occurred in the Nile Valley during the last twenty-two years; the many

abortive negotiations towards a settlement that have been made; and the everlasting internal political dissensions that have caused the task of coming to an agreement to prove more difficult than it need have been.

The pamphlet refrains from expressing any opinions and there is no attempt to prophesy—a dangerous thing to do in Egypt at any time. It is, however, a most concise and well-written résumé of everything that has happened and is a most useful textbook to keep in the reference library.

C. S. JARVIS.

The War in Abyssinia. By Edward Hamilton. John Heritage: The Unicorn Press. Price 5s.

Edward Hamilton's *The War in Abyssinia* is a workmanlike hand-book to the campaign and describes troop-movements with exactness. Facts and figures about supplies and medical service are also given in enough detail to enable the reader to visualize the gigantic task imposed on the Italian Intendenza, but without their being set out in such a manner as to exhaust him with lists of numbers.

The book is, however, written with a strongly Italian bias, and I am convinced that all the figures for casualties—and everything else—were obtained from Italian official sources.

Consequently, even the half-successes of the motley troops resisting the invaders are to a great extent denied them in this book; and an instance of this is the author's mention of the action in Enda Gorge, near Azbi.

In a lecture to the Society, I described how Colonel Mariotti's column was ambushed there during the advance on Makalè, and it may be remembered that I said my information came from the trustworthy source of a trained observer, Mr. Herbert Matthews of the *New York Times*, who was there.

Briefly, the column advanced into Enda Gorge, which has precipitous sides and the far end almost closed by a slope of one of the mountains. The flanking files were only thirty yards up the mountain-sides. When the column was well in the gorge, Mariotti realized it was a perfect place for an ambush and halted. Fire was at once opened from both sides and from in front by concealed Abyssinians under Dejiak Kassa Sebhat, and the column was held up for the rest of the day. Italian assaults on the Abyssinian positions were quelled and Mariotti's men remained helpless in the gorge overnight.

At first light next morning, the Colonel sent his van up the rocky, steep track in front in single file. This was a desperate measure, but the Ethiopian warriors, fortunately for the Italians' native troops and irregulars, had quite unaccountably gone quietly away during the night, foregoing their overwhelming advantage.

This incident is described in the book under review as follows: ". . . On the 10th the column was at Ari, proceeding on the 12th to Arzi. It was immediately attacked by a party of Abyssinians some 500 strong, largely regular soldiers armed with machine-guns under Dejiak Kassa Sebhat. Fighting continued till evening, the Abyssinians then retiring with

heavy losses. . . ." Later, the author says: "A similar combing process (to one in the Hauzien district) was carried out in the last days of November by detachments of the Dankalia force in the Dera zone and on the eastern slopes of the plateau, where they still found some groups of Abyssinians left behind after the flight of Dejiak Kassa Sebat, who was defeated in the fight at Azbi."

The last statement can only have been founded on the figures of casualties given out by the Italians and faithfully quoted in this book: Abyssinians, 55 killed. Askari, 20 killed; 4 officers (Italian) and 52 Askari wounded.

When I was in Asmara, after the occupation of Makalè, it was learned from an officer who had been with the column that about double the number of Askari given above—I forget the exact figure—were killed in the action; but the censor would not allow the true figure to be cabled by correspondents.

This fight was only a very minor engagement (although, as Colonel Mariotti himself remarked, had the ambushers been Arabs, his force of about 1,000 would have been exterminated) and consequently it gets only the brief mention due in a hand-book covering the whole campaign. This is right; but there is no reason for a mention, however brief, to give a wrong impression in an account that should be disinterested.

Leaving military affairs, let us turn to comments on the civil situation. When all the Ethiopian armies had been defeated and a mechanized column arrived at Dessiè, we are told, "The natives welcomed the Italians with undisguised relief and returned to their fields and their markets."

Perhaps the author means here that the natives welcomed with open arms the advent of culture: perhaps he means that now there would be no more air bombing. Be that as it may, one is tempted to try to visualize what Bateman would do with the long line of tanks and lorries, and "the tactless Ethiopian who disguised his relief."

If it were not that readers are at least to some extent prepared by such details as to the author's sentiments, a certain exuberance in comments towards the end of this book, in all other respects an excellently handled treatise, might surprise them.

"The spirit of the people, the energy of the Government, strategic ability of military leaders, the technical training of the forces and the indomitable courage of officers and men, were the essential factors in this rapid, overwhelming and decisive victory."

This seems a trifle rapid and overwhelming in a book purporting, according to the blurb on the dust-cover, to be: "A comprehensive survey of the military events from month to month in the several sectors of the theatre of war, accompanied by such comments and information as may be necessary for a clear understanding of the operations. . . ."

With the comprehensiveness and clarity of the survey I have no quarrel at all. It is well done. But the comments, information and adjectives seem to me to have slipped in somehow from Rome's Ministero per la Stampa e la Propaganda.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY,

OCTOBER, 1935, TO OCTOBER, 1936.

(Copies of the Library List are available on loan.)

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- History of Early Iran. Cameron. 1936.
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- Tales from the Gulistan. (Trans. Burton.) Sa'di. 1928.
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- †Modern Persia and her Educational System. Sadiq. 1931.

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- Nanda Devi. Shipton. 1935.
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- Fifty Years with John Company. Low. 1936.
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 *Political . . . History of Gujerat. Ali Muh. Khan. 1835.
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 The Living India. MacMunn. 1934.
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 Oriental Studies in Honour of C. E. Pavry. Pavry. 1933.
 *Elementary Modern Armenian Grammar. Gulian. 1902.

* Sixteen books marked with an asterisk were presented to the Library by D. Bourke-Borrowes, Esq.

† Books marked † were presented by the authors, or by the Government Departments concerned.

CORRESPONDENCE

A LETTER FROM THE TASHI LAMA REFUTING STATEMENTS IN GORDON ENDERS'S BOOK, "NOWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD"

GREAT damage is being done to the spiritual status of the Tashi Lama, who is the head of the Buddhist religion, by statements in Mr. Enders' book which involve him in various political and commercial schemes entirely foreign to his nature and high office in religion.

Mr. Basil Crump, who has known the Lama personally for many years in China, brought the book to his notice and asked whether the statements contained in it were correct or not. The following reply, written and signed by the Tashi Lama himself, was received by Mr. Crump.

"To Lo Wa Hutukhtu arrived at T'a Er Ssu (Chinese name of Kum Bum), and I received your letter and Enders's pictures. You are courageous and warm-hearted, and I thank you very much. Enders's strange statements are entirely without foundation in fact. This shows that there is some other motive behind them. The statements and the pictures have been sent to our office in Nanking, which has been ordered to deal with them. Further, please do what you think best to see that justice be done and to prevent further mischief on these lines. Thank you very much for your kindness and trouble. With best regards.

"(Signed) PANCHEN ERDENI.

"KUM BUM,

"KOKO NOR,

"June 8 (4th moon, 19th day)."

*To the Editor, the Royal Central Asian Society's Journal,
77, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.*

SIR,

Referring to Mr. Owen Lattimore's statement of absolute freedom of Outer Mongolia in the July number of your Journal, may I add a few words about the actual "absolute freedom" in that poor country. Everybody who knows Mongolia is well aware that that nation has lived for thousands of years under the rule of the Hu tuk tu, a Prince who at the same time was the personification of God, the supreme Lama, second only to the Dalai Lama, and was helped in his rule by local Lamas, who were, more or less, as feudal Princes. This system, called the Hoshun system, was part and parcel of the Mongol nation; they had never known any other form of Government, of religion, or of social structure. Being an Eastern nation, the Mongols do not count the life of a nation in decades or even in centuries, but in millenniums. The question naturally arises, How is it possible for them suddenly to acquire the form of a Soviet State, doing away with

a social, political and religious structure which they venerated and which ruled over them for centuries? In 1911 my uncle, the former Russian Minister in China, went over to Urga, by direct order of the Tsar, and signed a treaty recognizing the Independence of Mongolia from China. The Central Chinese Government was then in the throes of revolution, and this weakness was easily exploited by the Expansionist aspirations of the Tsarist Government. "Independence" and a "Treaty with Russia" were but veiled forms of Russian Imperial expansion. But even then my uncle, who gave his long life to the study of China and Mongolia, well realized that whatever Russia could impose on Mongolia, she should never dare to try to change the religious, political and social structure of that country. The treaty he signed was that of recognition of "Mongolian Independence," together with a treaty of commerce, and that mainly for the purposes of colonization. This strict non-interference in Mongolian religious and social structure was greatly appreciated by the Mongols, and my uncle received an honour, probably in those days unique for a foreigner, the title of "Prince of the Mongolian State," given to him by the Hu tuk tu. Many changes have taken place since, which I cannot describe here in detail: The Russian Revolution, the raids of the "mad" Baron Ungern-Sternberg, the conquest of Mongolia *manu militari* by the Moscow Soviet armed forces, and at last, in May, 1924, the Sino-Russian Treaty, by which Soviet Moscow recognized that the whole of Inner and Outer Mongolia is "an integral part of the Republic of China."

This seemed to settle that particular chapter of recent Mongolian history. The Central Chinese power, which, owing to revolution, upheavals, Japanese occupation of Manchuria, and the falling of the fifteen Red provinces under the complete control of Soviet Moscow, did not stop Soviet Russia, but helped her to take Outer Mongolia entirely and completely under her domination. With the help of armed gangs heavily subsidized and armed from Moscow, Outer Mongolia became an easy prey to Moscow's aspirations. Moscow helped these gangs to form the local "Soviets," who killed, robbed, slaughtered the local rulers, the lamas, those who still clinged to their historical tradition and religion. Through a ten years' régime of terror and extermination Soviet Russia has entirely conquered the Outer Mongolian territories and formed an "Independent People's Republic" of Mongolia. This "Independent Republic" is directed and entirely controlled by Soviet agents on the spot. But since 1924, the time of the Sino-Russian Treaty, Soviet Russia as well as China have become members of the League of Nations. In 1934 Soviet Russia signed a military alliance with an "Independent People's Republic" of Mongolia, a country which has been recognized by her to be "an integral part of the Republic of China." The head of the Third International, Stalin, declared recently that any encroachment on Outer Mongolia coming from any country, even from China herself, would be a *casus feoderis* for Soviet Russia. China, being a member of the League of Nations, protested in vain against such an undiluted act of aggression on the part of a fellow-member of the League. But the League, so meticulously particular in the question of Abyssinia, never moved a finger, has never given even a gesture to recall to Soviet Russia her obligations to another League member. Outer Mongolia is run entirely on the lines of any other Soviet Republic member of the "Union of Soviet Republics," which on paper are all "independent," but in fact are ruled and controlled by terror and the military occupation of Moscow Soviet rulers, who enforce Sovietization and entirely ignore the traditions, the aspirations and religious feelings of the local population. In Outer Mongolia, as elsewhere, the Soviets have never changed the régime of terror and military dictatorship. The peoples of Eastern nations are always known to be united amongst themselves in cases

where they have to deal with Europeans; they have their own secrets, their own system of understanding each other, and only supreme terror can keep them away from each other. And the most ominous symptom of the prevailing conditions of terror under the Moscow rule in Outer Mongolia is the one mentioned by Sir Charles Bell in the discussion at your lecture of April 29 of this year, when he said that Mongols of Outer Mongolia, meeting Mongols of Inner Mongolia, refrain even from talking to each other and even refrain from saying to each other the Mongol equivalent of "Good-morning" or "Good-evening." Freedom and Independence applied to the U.S.S. Republics are words which in Europe have a different meaning.

Yours, etc.,

VLADIMIR DE KOROSTOVETZ.

OBITUARY

THE Council very greatly regret the deaths of Sir Harry Fox, until lately a Vice-President of the Society, who died after a long illness on October 3; of Sir Thomas Wagstaffe Haycraft, Chief Justice of Palestine from 1921-27; of General Hawker, Military Governor of Baghdad from 1916-18 and on the Staff in Syria, Palestine, from 1918-21; and of Mr. A. D. Carey, Indian Civil Service—all old and valued members of the Society.

NOTES FROM CENTRAL ASIA

RUSSIAN EDUCATION FOR CHINESE MOSLEMS

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN SINKIANG

SIMLA,

August 27.

Political tendencies in Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) are reflected in reports brought here by travellers from that territory. Fifty Moslem schoolboys from Sinkiang have been sent by the Chinese Government to Russia for their education. The son of a former education official is among the party. Before leaving the lads were addressed by a Moslem general, who urged them to remember the religion of their forefathers.

The Sinkiang authorities have withdrawn the restrictions they formerly imposed on Moslem education and religion. Some time ago a number of Moslem schools were closed by authority and restrictions placed on prayers in the mosques. It is now stated that these orders were issued under a misapprehension, as the Government stand for complete religious liberty.

The British Consul-General at Kashgar has been informed that in future passports and Chinese visas are essential for all persons entering Sinkiang. Unless this ruling operates with some elasticity, the need will arise for arrangements being made in Upper India, possibly at Rawalpindi, for issuing such passports and visas. It is understood that this aspect of the question has already been under consideration.

It is announced that marmot skins have been made a Government monopoly in Sinkiang; this already applies to lamb-skins. It is also proposed by the Chinese Government to inaugurate a transport service operating between Kashgar and Leh, in Eastern Kashmir.

(*The Times*, August 28, 1936.)

ANDIJAN TO KASHGAR

We went by bus from Andijan to Osh in less than two hours. The bus driver made us gasp at the rate he drove at, but we got safely through; and very pleasant it was to arrive in the evening in time to get a bed to sleep in and have a wash.

We did not have to wait more than a day at Osh. The very next day saw us leaving Osh for the mountains, sitting, one of us beside the driver and the other three on top of all our luggage in a lorry. It was a little scaring at first, but we soon got used to it, and we were glad to come so quickly and easily over this part of our way. Hitherto one has always travelled this part of the road on horseback. Before darkness fell we were already over one mountain pass, and had behind us a stretch of road that used to take us about four days' march with a caravan. The road swung round the edge of the hill as it approached and went over the pass, and we had a magnificent view below us. Seldom does one see such wild-flowers. It is very pleasant to be crossing the mountains at this time of year.

Just as it began to be dark we reached Sofi Qorghon, a place up in the mountains, and there was another car awaiting us. The driver got a mouthful of food for himself; we ate cakes, lumps of sugar, and drunk tea, and hurried on our way. The driver had orders to reach Orizel Su, eighteen kilometres from the Soviet-Chinese frontier, by next morning. It had been most disagreeably hot when we

had left Osh at three o'clock the previous afternoon, but now it began to be really cold. We had not gone much further before the road began to wind up another pass, and the higher we went, the colder it was. We were thoroughly chilled by the time we reached the top of the Pass, which is about 5,000 metres above sea-level, and where drifts of unmelted snow still could be seen here and there. We found we even needed to get out sheep-skin coats and blankets. Once or twice during the night the driver stopped because he found himself just dropping off to sleep. He had been at the wheel since three o'clock in the afternoon without a break. At six o'clock in the morning we reached the end of the automobile journey. This was at a spot where two Qirghiz tents were pitched, and it was pleasant to meet their hospitality and to drink a cup of hot tea and warm oneself inside their tents.

We were not long in Orizel Su before the Qirghiz began to discuss how to get hold of horses and camels for our caravan, and we were able, thanks to their good offices, to leave the next day, and thus we reached the frontier on June 30, 1936. On July 1 our goods were laden on to camels in Irkeshtam and proceeded to Kashgar. The entire journey from Stockholm had thus taken only twenty days.

M. B.

(From "*Svenska Missionsförbundet*," August 21, 1936.)

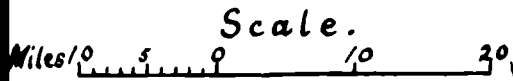
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